

Caught in the Middle – Language Use and Translation

A Festschrift for Erich Steiner
on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday

Edited by

Kerstin Kunz

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Kerstin Kunz, Elke Teich, Silvia Hansen-Schirra,
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Foreword

It is our distinct honour to present this volume of articles to Erich Steiner, our teacher, colleague and friend, as a Festschrift on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

We are delighted that so many colleagues agreed to contribute to this volume and would like to thank them all very much for their efforts. The fact that so many took the time to contribute to this collection is testimony to how highly Erich is thought of, not only as a scholar but also as a person.

As a person, Erich is earnest, modest, and extremely disciplined in all his endeavours (be it linguistics, music, cycling or hiking). But perhaps most prominently, he has a strong sense of responsibility. Responsibility is a character trait of Erich's, a systemic feature, with multiple, different realizations (such as taking on the deanship of his faculty several times), but a feature with no alternative option (a 'gate' in the terminology of the Penman generation system) — there is no other choice possible. As a scholar, Erich combines a genuine and broad interest in language — the range of contributions in this volume reflects this breadth — with unrelenting intellectual inquiry. He has published 10 books and around 70 articles on subjects as diverse as child language development, (machine) translation, text generation, lexicogrammar, discourse, register and cohesion. While being a functional linguist at heart, Erich has solid knowledge of other theoretical frameworks and has always sought to transcend theoretical and disciplinary boundaries. Again, this seems to be a systemic feature, a character trait; to Erich, being 'caught in the middle' is a necessary disposition in the search for truth. All of us who know him will have realized that this, the dialectic method (i.e., the resolution of disagreement through rational discussion), is his inherent mode of engagement with the world.

Erich is thus a true scholar and as such, even with the increasing years, is ageless! We hope that this Festschrift may be considered fitting recognition of his scholarship — but this, in all humility, we shall submit to him.

Heidelberg, Saarbrücken, Germersheim, Aachen, May 2014

Kerstin Kunz, Elke Teich, Silvia Hansen-Schirra,
Stella Neumann, Peggy Daut

A Tribute to Erich Steiner

M.A.K. Halliday

I was very pleased to be asked to contribute to a volume of essays celebrating the life and work of Erich Steiner, a distinguished scholar and a valued personal friend. Sadly, I have not been able to produce a paper in time; so I have asked the editors to allow me, as a favour, a couple of pages for a short and, I hope, unobtrusive congratulatory note.

Erich stands out for me, above all, as a scholar who understands about language. Let me try and spell out what I mean by this. We all recognise the problems there are in getting the systematic study of language — linguistics — accepted, naturalised and valued in our universities: those who are in charge don't know where to put it, and it is the first thing to be dispensed with when they need to make economies in the budget. I used to think that this was because they found it threatening: language is too close to the bone, and the study of language brings out awkward truths — or can do, if it is pursued effectively, with a clear commitment and without fear or favour. I still think this is one part of the story. But linguistics is always at risk for another reason: simply because it has no home; it does not fit into the pattern of knowledge that emerged and became established in the twentieth century. Like the platypus and the pangolin, linguistics is an anomaly: it is neither art nor science — or rather, it is both. And the anomalous nature of linguistics derives, of course, from the nature of language itself.

Language can be, and in my view must be, studied scientifically, with data, and theory, and constant consultation between the two. After all, language evolved along with the human brain, as a theoretical modelling of human experience: each language is itself, in its lexicogrammar and semantics, a natural science of life, and is apprehended as such by its speakers. But language is also the enactment of human relationships, those of the family, and the neighbourhood, and of communities of all shapes and sizes: each language is the carrier of human sensibilities, loving and hating, pleasure and pain, celebrating the beautiful and the ugly. So language is also apprehended and valued artistically. Language itself is at once both science and art.

These two angles are sometimes seen by our literary colleagues as being irreconcilably opposed, which is why departments of literature can turn out to be among the less friendly environments for hosting the scientific study of language. But the two modes of being are not separate. They cannot be prised

apart, because they interpenetrate in everything we say and mean. They are the complementary functions in which our languages evolved.

Erich Steiner personifies this complementarity. He is himself a performing artist, a musician skilled in both classical music and jazz. So he has an insider's passage to the artistic perspective on language, on the planes both of content and of expression, and is sensitive to the interaction between language and music. This is just the most visible facet, to a linguist, of Erich's character as a practising humanist. In recent years he has worked intensively in translation and multilingual studies, always with reference to a language as a variable system; and this combination provides the richest context in which to conceptualise a linguistic fact, and to tease out the relationship between an instance and the system that lies behind it. These are issues that arise in a scientific perspective on language. Erich Steiner has always been explicitly aware of the metafunctional nature of language — its manifestation as text with both ideational and interpersonal meaning, which lies at the heart of so many problems in translating; perhaps this reflects the fact that in his own temperament he combines the two personae of an artist and a scientist.

Any translator knows well that a language is a system which has a great deal of "play" in it: it cannot be contained within an ideological framework in which there is one and only one right answer, or which erects a boundary fence between what is grammatical and what is ungrammatical. This kind of idealisation of the facts is equally alien to both the artistic and the scientific images of language. This "play-full" quality of language is what makes it so eminently playful (my projected paper for this volume was to have been on the topic of word play); probably the most pervasive form of play in language is metaphor, on which both verbal art and verbal science depend.

Verbal art and verbal science — literary and theoretical forms of discourse — may be thought of as two complementary modes for the understanding of the human condition. Both these have links beyond the borders of language, with other modalities which probably derived from them in the first place: poetry with song, and then music; technical discourse with measurement, and then mathematics. Linguistics needs to keep company with these other semiotic modalities; it has a lot to gain, and also a lot to offer. Erich Steiner is a linguist who is at ease with all of them, and knows the value of such thoughtful interaction. Ruqaiya and I wish him an enjoyable and productive time ahead.

Evidence of de-metaphorization in target text unfolding¹

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Abstract

This article builds on Steiner (2001) to account for de-metaphorization in translation and on Alves and Vale (2009, 2011) to operationalize the unfolding of such processes in the course of target text production. More specifically, it explores metaphorical processes tracked in translators' process logs, focusing in particular on interim renditions comprising micro translation units that make up a macro translation unit and provide evidence of de-metaphorisation as part of text comprehension. The article examines the logs of two translators who performed a task from English (L2) into German and Brazilian Portuguese (L1). Micro translation units defined by pauses within a macro translation unit mapped onto a source text clause complex are examined. Eye fixation data obtained for the macro translation unit is also used in order to track eye movements between and within source and target text with a view to observing a reading path that can be linked to de-metaphorisation in source text comprehension and target text production. The analysis corroborates Steiner's (2001) hypothesis of de-metaphorization as an integral part of the translation process and highlights the importance of qualitative studies of eye-tracking data in order to throw light on the intricacies of translators' cognitive processing during translation task execution.

1 Introduction

Source text comprehension as a relevant component of a translation task model (Shreve 2006) has been a concern in translation studies research ever since some of the first conceptual models emerged, such as Seleskovitch (1968) for interpreting studies and Delisle (1988) and Bell (1991) for written translation studies. Drawing on insights from cognitive science and text linguistics, text understanding has been approached with particular reference to the so-called phenomenon of explicitation whereby there is a different mapping of information in the source and target texts ascribed to the translation process and the one responsible for it, that is, the translator or text comprehender.

The phenomenon of explicitation has been investigated in studies of both translated text (Blum Kulka 1986, Klaudy 1998) and translation process (Séguinot 1988, Englund-Dimitrova 1993, 2005, Alves et al. 2010) and its status as a law or general principle in translation has been variously endorsed or challenged. In translation process studies, explicitation has been part of the research agenda since the 1980s and its role in translated text production has been investigated through the different types of data available as technological advances were incorporated in the research designs implemented. Séguinot (1988) explored explicitation on the basis of translators' protocols, one of the data elicitation techniques favoured in the 1980s, to be superseded by studies of translators' logs recorded through key logging (Englund-Dimitrova 2005), nowadays enriched by the study of translators' reading behaviour as captured through eye tracking devices (Alves et al. 2010).

From the very first process-oriented studies (Séguinot 1988, Englund-Dimitrova 1993), explicitation has been reported to be a phenomenon partially accounted for by typological differences between source and target languages as well as differences in the source and target contexts of culture and situation. However, a third ground for explicitation has been claimed to be translators' understanding of the source text and its role in target text production. Drawing on systemic-functional theory, Steiner (2001) approaches the phenomenon of explicitation as a feature of translated text that can be ascribed to (i) source and target language typology, (ii) registerial differences between source and target context of situation and (iii) text comprehension and production processes at play in human understanding. Understanding is modelled by Steiner (2001) building on the notion of *grammatical metaphor* (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 2004) and is hypothesized to involve demetaphorization, which would account for a higher level of explicitness in target texts.

Explicitation and explicitness may appear to be synonyms from the layman's perspective. However, as shown by Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner (2007), explicitness is a property of lexicogrammatical or cohesive structures and configurations. Explicitation, they claim, is a process or a relationship between intralingual variants and/or translationally related texts. In view of these differences, Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner consider that explicitation/explicitness in translation can be investigated empirically if the following conditions are met.

We assume explicitation if a translation (or, language-internally, one text in a pair of register-related texts) realizes meaning (not only ideational, but also interpersonal and textual) more explicitly than its source text – more precisely, meanings not realized in the less explicit source variant but implicitly present in a theoretically motivated sense. The resulting text is more explicit than its counterpart. (Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner 2007, 243)

Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner (2007, 243) also point out that their definition deliberately excludes the indefinite number of possibilities through which meaning can simply be added to some text/discourse, without being in any motivated sense implicit in the source variant. In their approach, explicitation is characterized by a measurement of explicitness as a property of encoding, not as a property of the communicative act as such. This view is fundamentally relevant in our attempt to use Steiner's (2001) model for the experimental modeling of translation process data.

Steiner's model has been probed in translation process research, not only in connection to metaphorical processes as likely indicators of more expert translator performance (da Silva 2007, Pagano and da Silva 2008, Pagano, Alves and da Silva 2009), but also with regard to de-metaphorisation as an evidence of translator effort (Alves et al. 2010, Alves, Pagano and da Silva 2011, in press). In this respect, metaphorical processes have been tracked in translators' logs analysed for macro translation units (Alves and Vale 2009, 2011) comprising micro translation units (TUs) that provide insights into how final renditions with a similar or different level of metaphoricity were arrived at in the target text (da Silva 2012).

This article further explores metaphorical processes tracked in translators' process logs, focusing in particular on interim renditions comprising one or several micro TUs that make up a macro TU and, thus, can provide evidence of de-metaphorisation as part of text comprehension regardless of the level of metaphoricity attained in the final rendition completing the macro translation unit. The article examines the process of two translators logged

during their execution of a direct translation task from English, the subjects' L2, into German and Brazilian Portuguese, their L1. More specifically, it analyses micro translation units defined by pauses within a macro translation unit mapped onto a source text clause complex. Eye fixation data obtained for the macro translation unit is also used in order to track eye movements between and within source and target texts in an attempt to follow a reading path that can be linked to de-metaphorisation in the source text (henceforth ST) comprehension and target text (henceforth TT) production processes.

2 Theoretical underpinnings

Steiner (2001) posits three sources for observed properties of translated texts: typological differences between source and target languages, registerial differences, and understanding on the part of the translator. The first two, as Steiner remarks, have been the object of various approaches within the discipline of translation studies. The third source – translators' understanding – is still an under-researched issue and one that substantially impinges on the other two.

Steiner models understanding as an operation of de-metaphorization. A key concept to this is *grammatical metaphor* as conceived of by systemic functional theory and defined as “the phenomenon whereby a set of agnate (related) forms is present in the language having different mappings between the semantic and the grammatical categories” (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, 7) as displayed in Figure 1.

METAPHORICAL

1. The shortage of grazing caused by drought necessitated heavy purchases of feeding stuffs.
2. (Farmers) had too little land where (cattle) could graze because it hasn't rained, so they had to buy a great deal of feeding stuffs.

CONGRUENT

Figure 1 – Metaphorical and congruent wordings (after Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 640)

In Figure 1, sentence 1 packs in only one clause meanings that are construed in three clauses in sentence 2. An outstanding feature is the higher number of nominal forms in 1 (“shortage”, “grazing”, “drought” and “purchases”),

which are unpacked into major clauses in 2, requiring the explicitation of agents: “farmers had *too little land*”, “cattle could graze”, “they had to buy”. The logico-semantic relations between constituents of the clause that are implicit in 1 are grammatically spelled out in 2. Hence “caused” is grammaticalized as “because” and “necessitated” as “so... have to”. Additionally, some of the nominal forms (nouns and adjectives) require adverbials operating as modal adjuncts, as is the case of “shortage – too little” and “heavy – a great deal of”. As can be seen, the more metaphorical the wording, the more implicit the meanings construed and the more densely packed the nominal forms.

According to Steiner, understanding in translation involves mapping ST units onto their congruent meanings. This implies de-metaphorizing and making meanings more explicit. As a result, due to typological features, registerial differences or fatigue, the wordings produced in the TT may end up being less metaphorical than those in the ST.

De-metaphorisation as an inherent property of translation has been probed in experimental studies of the translation process by da Silva (2007, 2012), Pagano and da Silva (2008), Alves et al. (2010) and Alves, Pagano and da Silva (2011; in press). Alves et al. (2010) report on an exploratory study aimed at analysing grammatical shifts correlated with processes of de-metaphorization occurring during a translation task drawing on translation process data obtained through key logging, eye tracking, retrospective verbalizations and annotated translation corpora data. The authors draw on the concepts of micro and macro translation units first proposed by Alves and Vale (2009) and developed further in Alves and Vale (2011).

According to Alves and Vale (2009, 2011), a translation unit begins with a reading phase that evolves into a continuous production phase until it is realized in the final version of the TT. Alves and Vale add that this process entails pauses for planning or searching for a translation alternative, an assessment of the previous production or the beginning of a new reading phase. As the translation process unfolds, a previously translated segment may be taken up again for revision, deletion or just for consultation without any changes in the text being made. These recurrent movements can be analysed in two ranks, which results in two correlated types of units, namely a micro and a macro TU.

Alves and Vale (2009, 2011) define a micro TU as the flow of continuous TT production, which may incorporate the continuous reading of ST and TT segments, separated by pauses during the translation process as recorded by key-logging and/or eye-tracking software. A macro TU can be correlated to a ST segment that attracts the translator’s focus of attention at a given moment

and consists of a series of translation movements spread throughout the translation process in which the translator writes and edits TT segments that correspond to the same ST segment. This series of movements start with a focus of attention on the ST segment, the initial focus of attention, and ends with the translator writing the correspondent TT segment that appears as the final product of the translation.

Alves and Vale (2011) insist that the initial focus of attention of a macro TU should not be understood as the translator's ocular foci on the screen in the beginning of each micro TU. While there may be one or more ocular foci on both ST and TT in each micro TU, the initial focus of attention of a macro TU is always on the ST and it is what triggers the macro TU.

In this article, we build on Steiner (2001) in our account of demetaphorization in translation and on Alves and Vale (2009, 2011) to operationalize the unfolding of such processes in the course of TT production, analysing the interim renditions logged in the micro TUs that make up macro TUs. The next section describes the methodological procedures taken to achieve that goal.

3 Methodology

The data analysed in this article was collected in an experimental study described in da Silva (2012) and Alves, Pagano and da Silva (in press). A group of German and Brazilian professional translators and another group of German and Brazilian physicists were recruited to take part in an experiment in which they translated an English ST (L2 for all subjects) into German or Brazilian Portuguese, their respective L1. Subjects were instructed to carry out their task with no time pressure and with the sole external support of a general reference dictionary in electronic format. Their translation processes were recorded using a Tobii eye tracker with 1280 x 1024 px screen resolution and key-logged using Translog 2006. A translation brief drafted in the subjects' L1 was displayed on the computer screen prior to the subjects being allowed access to the ST. Each ST, provided in 14-point Arial font, 1.5 spacing, was displayed on the top half of the screen and could be read in full without any scrolling; the bottom half of the screen was reserved for the typing of the TT in 18-point Arial font, single spaced.

For data analysis, micro/macro TUs, as defined in Alves and Vale (2009, 2011), were mapped onto eye-tracking data and the number of interim and final solutions as well as pause intervals of 2.4 seconds were computed. A group of micro TUs related to the processing of interim and final renditions

was assigned to a macro TU, thus referring to the processing and rendering of a ST string. First interim renditions were mapped and a new rendition was mapped onto it every time the subjects' keystrokes showed indications of recursiveness, such as deletion, backspacing, and mouse clicks, which might be related to attempts at construing or revising meaningful forms. The mapping concluded when subjects arrived at a final rendition in the TT.

Eye-tracking data was used to investigate subjects' gaze trajectories and eye fixations, especially look backs and forward fixations. Fixations were set according to the Tobii standard fixation filter and identified as gaze points within a 35-pixel area with no minimum dwell time. Eye movements were analysed according to the number of eye fixations and backward movements. A fixation corresponds to the exact point of gaze which is of constant or slowly changing mean due to drift. If there is an abrupt change in the mean, this is considered a saccade. In eye-tracking studies, a reading activity is one involving successive fixations and saccades that can be mapped onto the text (although not necessarily onto all individual words). The underlying assumption in such studies is that increased length and numbers of fixations and backward movements (e.g., saccades that could be associated with revision of text strings) are signals of effortful processing (Rayner 1998).

Our discussion foregrounds a qualitative analysis concerning the performance of two of the subjects – a Brazilian professional translator (BT8) and a German professional translator (GT6), with distinctive performance among the subjects in the sample as reported by da Silva (2012). In order to pursue a fine-grained qualitative analysis, we carried out a detailed description of the subjects' keyboard and eye movements while producing renderings related to a ST sentence that emerged in the data as a macro TU with several micro TUs pointing to a translation problem faced by the subjects. From their forward fixations and look backs following the initial production of the first rendition, we looked at eye-tracking indicators of effortful processing, namely, forward fixations and look backs ascribable to first and changed renditions. These indicators show how these subjects reread a ST segment (look backs) or read a subsequent ST segment (forward fixations) in order to keep the production of their first or further renditions.

In the next section we first discuss the final renditions (final products) obtained in our experiment. Next, we look at the first and interim renditions as recorded in the subjects' logs. Finally, we report on process data as measured by eye fixations.

4 Analysis

The example selected for the purposes of our discussion is a ST sentence complex made up by two paratactic clauses joined by “and then”. This conjunction group signals coordination plus a circumstantial feature of later time, meaning “and subsequently”. The second clause in the complex has two non-finite clauses (“equipped with a piston” and “to crush the piston”) that leave implicit some of the meanings that are required to interpret agency and causal relationships. Due to this, the clause packs up meanings and can be said to involve a certain degree of metaphoricity. In the case of “equipped with a piston”, the non-finite clause can be interpreted either as a relational clause in which the cylinder is ascribed an Attribute (it has a piston) or as a receptive passive clause with no explicit agent (it had been equipped with a piston). Still more challenging to the reader is the non-finite clause “to crush the sheet”. This is due to the fact that at least two readings can be made following different ways of interpreting clause constituency and attributing agency to the material process realized by the lexical verb “to crush”.

Figures 2 and 3 show an analysis that relates the ST clause complex and a more congruent (less metaphorical) version of it, through steps in unpacking the non-finite clauses in coordinated clause 2 and rendering their agents explicit (provided within square brackets). The first analysis interprets the hypotactic clause as operating within the realm of the embedded clause, roughly implying that the cylinder had been equipped with a piston so that the piston could crush the sheet; hence its function was to crush the sheet:

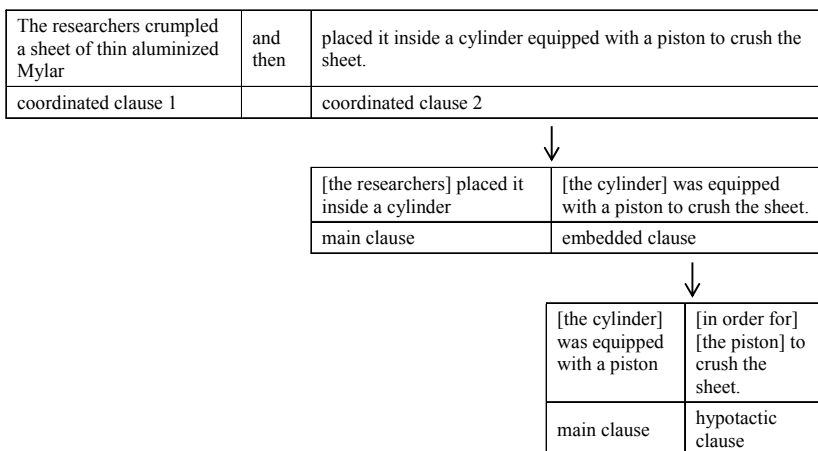


Figure 2 – ST clause complex with a hypotactic clause operating within the realm of the embedded clause

The second analysis interprets the hypotactic clause within the realm of the main clause, roughly construing the idea that the researchers placed the sheet inside the cylinder so that they [the researchers] could crush the sheet with the piston:

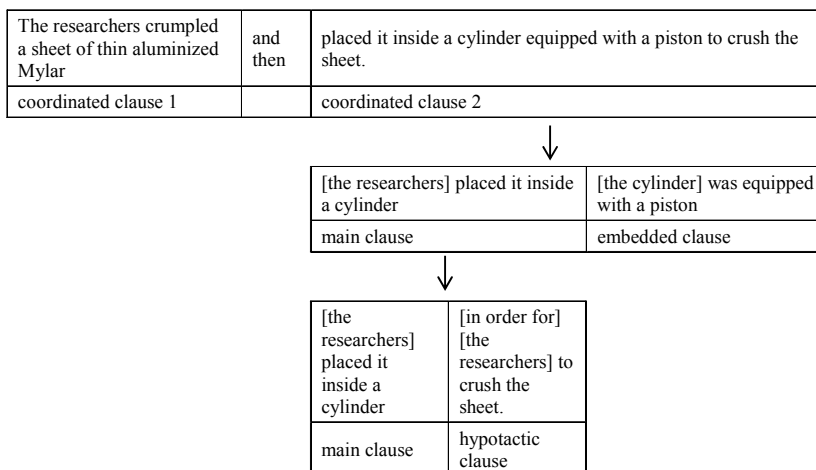


Figure 3 – ST clause complex with a hypotactic clause within the realm of the main clause

These two readings are relevant to our discussion because, as we will see below, both are implicated in the ways in which each translator rendered the ST complex and thus account for the status of the problem attributed to the ST complex and corroborated by evidence gathered from the subjects' keyboard and eye tracking logs.

As regards the final rendition arrived at by the two subjects, Figures 4 and 5 show how they relate to the ST complex when back-translated into English.

Figure 4 shows that the Brazilian translator (BT8) interpreted the hypotactic clause “to crush the sheet” as a hypotactic clause elaborating on “the piston” by referring to the piston’s function or capability. He thus demetaphorized “to crush the sheet” as he construed a more explicit meaning with “the piston” as a Participant having use or function and thus approximating our interpretation in Figure 3.

Target text clause complex	Os pesquisadores amassaram uma folha fina de polyester (boPET, ou filme PET)	e, em seguida,	a colocaram dentro de um cilindro equipado com um pistão, que servia para amassar a folha ainda mais.
Back translation	The researchers crushed a thin sheet of polyester (boPET or PET film)	and after that	placed it inside a cylinder equipped with a piston, the function of which was to further crush the sheet.
Source text clause complex	The researchers crumpled a sheet of thin aluminized Mylar	and then	placed it inside a cylinder equipped with a piston to crush the sheet.

Figure 4 – BT8’s final rendition with a hypotactic clause within the realm of the main clause

Unlike BT8, the German translator (GT6), as Figure 5 shows, rendered the ST clause complex as two independent sentences, there being no coordinating conjunction and no full mapping of information of each clause onto each sentence. Meanings were reorganized mostly due to the realization of the first clause in the ST complex as a nominal group complex in German, with implicitation of agency through the choice of passive voice. This is particularly interesting since it shows that metaphorization or implicitation of meanings can sometimes operate at lower ranks (group or word) when there is demetaphorization or explicitation at higher ranks (clause). This is the case here with regard to the hypotactic clause “to crush the sheet”. The second sentence shows that GT6 realized it by a hypotactic clause elaborating on “piston” as a

circumstance of means and implying an agent to the process “crush”, though a non-explicit one, through the choice of passive voice which runs through the two sentences. On a continuum of metaphoricity level, non-overtly realized agency, as in the ST clause “to crush the sheet” is more metaphorical than implicit agency, as is the case of passive voice in the TT clause in German.

Target text	Ein zusammen gedrücktes Blatt dünnen, mit Aluminium beschichteten Polyesterfilms (Mylar) wurde in einem Zylinder platziert.		Mit einem in diesem Zylinder angebrachten Kolben sollte das Blatt zusammengepresst werden.
Back translation	A thin pressed sheet with aluminum coated polyester film (Mylar) was placed in a cylinder.		With an attached piston in the cylinder, the sheet would be compressed
Source text clause complex	The researchers crumpled a sheet of thin aluminized Mylar	and	placed it inside a cylinder equipped with a piston to crush the sheet.

Figure 5 – GT6’s final rendition with ST clause complex as two independent sentences

Both interpretations of the ST clause “to crush the sheet” (Figures 3 and 4) are implicated in GT6’s rendition, since the piston is interpreted as having the function to crush the sheet, but at the same time there is implicit agency as the piston is a means by an agent to reach a goal, namely, the crushing of the sheet.

A striking difference between the two TT renditions supports our analysis of the ST complex as being a translation problem due to implicit meanings. BT8 chose the lexical verb “amassaram” (“crushed”) to render in Portuguese the process realized by “crumpled” in the ST. This choice turned out problematic, as the hypotactic clause “to crush the sheet” also required rendering “crush”, a near synonym of the lexical verb “crumple”. BT8 chose to repeat the verb “amassar” (“crush”), which in turn required the insertion of “ainda mais” (“further”) at the end of the clause, a rendition which was arrived at during the revision phase in his process. Unlike the Brazilian translator (BT8), the German translator (GT6) opted for two forms related to two different lexical verbs in German (“gedrücktes” and “zusammengepresst”) to render the processes “crumpled” and “crush”.

The process of understanding, as suggested by Steiner (2001), and the resulting de-metaphorization processes, may throw light on the differences in rendering produced by BT8 and GT6 in their respective TTs. Figure 6 displays a progression graph (Carl and Jakobsen 2010) showing how BT8 arrived at the Portuguese TT. The progression graph illustrates eye movements related to reading the ST and TT showing a sequence of fixations which includes look backs and forward fixations.

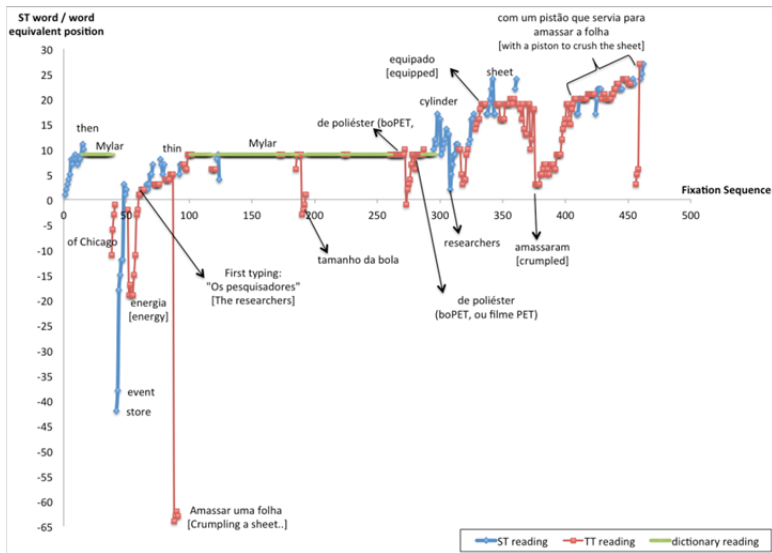


Figure 6 – BT8’s Progression Graph for the translation of the ST clause complex

BT8 read the entire text in the orientation phase. However, he did not read the whole sentence under scrutiny immediately before translating. He read up to “and then”, looked up the word “Mylar” in the dictionary, read part of the previous sentence both in the ST and the TT areas, and then typed his initial rendition: “Os pesquisadores” [The researchers]. He fixated words in the dictionary several times in order to find a solution to “Mylar” and also looked at the TT area from the last word of the previous sentence twice before being satisfied with the solution “poliéster (boPET, ou filme PET)”. He then read “and then placed it inside a cylinder” and, before rendering “equipado” [“equipped”], he fixated the ST area several times. This is actually the greatest count of fixations on the ST in a row. This is also followed by the

greatest count of fixation on the TT in a row, which BT8 took to process his rendition for “with a piston to crush the sheet”, typed while reading the ST (parallel reading and production). Parallel reading and production takes place for the translation of the end of the sentence (“to crush the sheet”) and the beginning of the sentence (“The researchers crumpled a sheet of thin”). The subject fixated more times on the TT area (205) and on the dictionary (162) than on the ST area (95). In total there were 8 micro TUs in the drafting phase (featuring 13 delete keystrokes), and 2 micro TUs in the revision phase (featuring 2 mouseclicks and 1 delete keystroke). ST processing and TT production lasted 139 seconds in the drafting phase, out of which approx. 75 (54%) corresponded to pauses equal to or longer than 2.4.

Figure 7 shows that BT8 does not have interim renditions for the translation of “to crush the sheet” during the drafting phase, and that he adds “ainda mais” [even more] to the clause complex only in the revision phase.



Figure 7 – BT8’s key-logged text production for the ST clause complex in micro TUs

It is important to notice that BT8 had already read the passage “to crush the sheet” when he was dealing with the translation of “Mylar” (fixation 275). Although key-logged data in Figure 7 does not show a pause before the production of “que servia para” [“the function of which was”], there was parallel reading and writing processing in TT production. As shown by eye-tracking data, BT8 was already processing “to crush the sheet” while working

on the translation of “Mylar”, evidence of the role of understanding in meaning construction.

The process of GT6 shows a different pattern of eye movements. Figure 8 displays a progression graph showing how GT6 arrived at the German TT. The progression graph illustrates eye movements related to ST and TT reading, showing a sequence of fixations comprising especially look backs and forward fixations.

GT6 read the entire sentence in the orientation phase. When she came to the point where she needed to translate the sentence under scrutiny, she only read the first three words before rendering “Die Forscher”. However, after reading the three last words of the previous sentence, she decided to delete “Die Forscher” and provided no further renditions before reading the entire sentence and looking up the word “Mylar” in the dictionary. She then replaced the last character of the previous sentence with a colon and started typing “Ein zusammen geknü*” and shortly afterwards “Ein zusammen gedrücktes Blatt”. She then fixated on the TT area for a long time while she strove to provide a rendition for “Mylar”: “Mylar”, “Polyesterfilms, auch Mylar genannt”, “Polyesterfilms (auch als Mylar bekannt)”, “Polyesterfilms (Mylar)”.

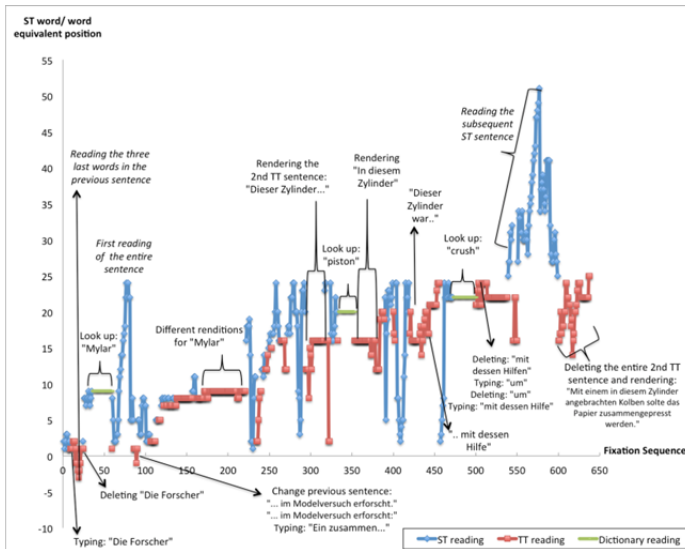


Figure 8 – GT6’s Progression Graph for the translation of the ST clause complex

Subsequently, after reaching the end of the ST sentence three times, she decided to start a new sentence and typed “. Dieser Zylinder wurde...”. She read the ST sentence to the end again, looked up the word “piston” in the dictionary, fixated on the word “Zylinder” in the TT area a couple of times, and then replaced “In diesem Zylinder wurde ein Kolben”. Shortly afterwards, she reread the ST sentence twice and opted for “Dieser Zylinder war mit einem Kolben ausgestattet”. She continued to translate the sentence until she came to “to crush the sheet”. Without rereading the ST sentence, she provided a first partial rendition, “mit dessen Hilfe” (“with the help of which”). She read the beginning and the end of the ST sentence, looked up the word “crush”, read the TT equivalent for “equipped with a piston to crush the sheet”, and decided to replace “mit dessen Hilfe” with “um”. She, however, changed her mind shortly afterwards and reinserted “mit dessen Hilfe”, concluding as “das Blatt weiter zusammengepresst werden sollte”. She thus arrived at the first complete rendition for the ST sentence and moved on to reading the subsequent ST sentence. After reading this sentence, particularly focusing on “Instead of collapsing to a final fixed size”, reread four times, she revisited her initial complete rendition, deleted the second TT sentence and provided a different rendition without even looking at the ST again. This final rendition is preserved until the revision phase (not shown in the progression graph), when the translator replaced “Papier” with “Blatt” (“Mit einem in diesem Zylinder angebrachten Kolben sollte das Blatt zusammengepresst werden.”)

Figure 9 shows that GT6 has a series of interim renditions for the translation of the clause complex. A combined analysis of data displayed in Figures 8 and 9 reveals that GT6 does not type while reading (i.e., there are few instances of parallel reading activity during unit production), which may be related to her typing skills. Her reading of the ST sentence is usually in large chunks (five or more words) up to the sentence level, and she constantly revises her TT production, usually at the word or word group level.

Drafting Phase

- 1) *Die♦f⊠**
- 2) ⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠.♦
- 3) ****Ein⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠:♦Ein♦
- 4) **zusammeng⊠♦ge
- 5) *knü⊠⊠⊠⊠gedrücktes♦Blatt♦dünnen*
- 6) ,♦mit♦Aluminiu♦m♦beschichteten♦
- 7) **Ml⊠a⊠ylars,♦⊠⊠♦(eine⊠♦Polyester⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠
⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠⊠♦Polyeserfi⊠⊠⊠⊠terfilme⊠s,

5 Concluding remarks

Overall, the evidence emerging from our qualitative analysis seems to corroborate Steiner's (2001) account of understanding as a driving force behind the translation process when translators have to deal with instances of explicitness. The performance of BT8 and GT6, analysed on the basis of their forward fixations and look backs, confirms Steiner's theoretical assumptions from an experimental perspective. It also shows that eye-tracking data are powerful indicators of effortful processing, ascribable to first, interim and final TT renditions. These indicators reveal how BT8 and GT6 reread a ST segment (look backs) or read a subsequent ST segment (forward fixations) in order to keep the production of their first or further renditions. Finally, our qualitative approach highlights the importance of a fine-grained linguistic analysis to throw light on processes that escape the grasp of large-scale statistical interpretations of data. Therefore, combining both product and process data as well as quantitative and qualitative approaches to data interpretation emerges as a productive avenue to tap into experimental data in translation process research.

Note

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Titel – Eine Analyse des PETRUS¹

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1 Die Entwicklung des Steinerschen Publikationismus

Eine Festschrift wie die vorliegende bietet Gelegenheit, nicht nur dem Forschungsfeld des Jubilars verstärkte Aufmerksamkeit entgegenzubringen und es durch entsprechende Beiträge zu bereichern, sondern sich auch dem Wirken des Jubilars selbst zu widmen und darzulegen, wie er die Forschung durch seine Werke, Vorträge und Arbeitspapiere beeinflusst und weitergebracht hat. Eine umfassende Analyse jeglicher Steinerscher Publikationen wäre ein lohnendes korpuslinguistisches Unterfangen, kann jedoch in diesem Rahmen leider nicht durchgeführt werden.

Wir beschränken uns deshalb in diesem Beitrag darauf, die Titel der Steinerschen Publikationen, Vorträge etc. aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln zu beleuchten. Welche Struktur haben sie? Wie entwickelten sie sich über gut 30 Jahre Steiner-Forschung? Welche semantischen Relationen liegen ihnen zugrunde, und (wo) kann man Steinerismen im Sinne charakteristischer Merkmale entdecken? Dies sind nur einige der Fragen, die Inhalt und Struktur des vorliegenden Beitrags maßgeblich beeinflusst haben und denen wir im Folgenden auf den Grund gehen möchten.

Zu diesem Zwecke wurde ein Korpus mit Titeln Steinerscher Publikationen erstellt (PETRUS), das keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhebt,

¹ Dieser Beitrag wurde an einigen Stellen mit einem leichten Augenzwinkern verfasst und z.T. auf der Grundlage korpusbasierter Inspirationen betitelt. Wir bitten die werten Rezipienten, dies bei der Lektüre zu berücksichtigen.

jedoch den Großteil seiner Werke umfasst. Diese Sammlung versteinierter Momentaufnahmen dürfte einen guten Überblick über die linguistisch-übersetzungswissenschaftliche Entwicklungsgeschichte des Jubilars ermöglichen. Korpusaufbau und -annotation werden, nach einer kurzen Abhandlung zur Bedeutung und Funktion von Titeln (2), in Abschnitt 3 näher beschrieben, bevor Analysen zu Titelenwicklung (4), Titelstruktur (5) und Titelsemantik (6) vorgenommen werden.

2 Wo liegt die Bedeutung im Titel – und kann man sie analysieren?

Die Untersuchung eines Titelkorpus wirft die Frage auf, wie viel bzw. welche Information überhaupt in einem Titel steckt und welche Aussagekraft ihm in Bezug auf die entsprechenden Texte zukommt. Ist es gerechtfertigt, anhand von Titeln die Publikationstätigkeit eines Wissenschaftlers zu analysieren?

Unter *Titel* wird allgemein ein „kennzeichnender Name eines Buches, einer Schrift, eines Kunstwerks o. Ä.“ (Duden online, 10.09.2013) verstanden. Nord (1993, 27) ergänzt: „Er dient zur Identifizierung des Textes, indem er explizit oder implizit Informationen über den betitelten Text, den 'Ko-Text', liefert“. Im vorliegenden Fall handelt es sich um eine besondere Art von Titeln, den *Fachtiteln*, denen Dietz (1998, 618) neben der bereits erwähnten Identifikations- oder auch Benennungsfunktion noch vier weitere Funktionen zuschreibt:

- Referenz (oder: Fachtext-Charakterisierung),
- Verdichtung (oder: Komprimierung),
- Appell (oder: Werbung) und
- Rezeptionssteuerung (oder: Textorganisatoren)

Hier zeigt sich bereits das Potential einer Titelanalyse: In ihrer Funktion als Charakterisierung oder Komprimierung von Fachtexten liefern Fachtitel viele Informationen auf engstem Raum und können dementsprechend zumindest ansatzweise, stellvertretend für den von ihnen überschriebenen Fachtext untersucht und interpretiert werden. Auch Dietz (1995, 26) vermutet, dass „in Titeln das Phänomen der Verdichtung besonders auffällig vorkommt“. Nord (1993) geht so weit, nach Überprüfung der Textualitätskriterien nach de Beaugrande/Dressler (1981) Titeln einen Status als Text zuzuschreiben. Titel sind nicht bloße bedeutungslose Textfragmente, sondern eigenständige Texte mit klarem Bezug zu einem und Informationen über einen anderen Text: „Da der Titel ein Text ist, der über einen Text informiert, muß er als 'Metatext'

bezeichnet werden” (Nord 1993, 41). Es ist also durchaus gerechtfertigt, für die Beschreibung der Steinerschen Forschungsarbeit „nur” auf die Titel seiner Werke Bezug zu nehmen.

3 Wege in die Korpuskonstruktion

Da die Korpuslinguistik eines der größeren Forschungsgebiete des Jubilars darstellt², zu dem er insbesondere mit dem CroCo-Projekt (vgl. Hansen-Schirra/ Neumann/ Steiner 2012) einen entscheidenden Beitrag geleistet hat, bietet es sich an, auch für diesen Aufsatz einen korpusbasierten Ansatz zu wählen. Dies hat den Vorteil, dass mit authentischem Textmaterial gearbeitet wird, das Aussagen zum Gesamtwerk des Jubilars erlaubt und nicht nur vereinzelte Beispiele zur Interpretation heranzieht.

Für die in (4) bis (6) vorgestellten Analysen wurde darum das PETRUS-Korpus (**P**ublikations(**E**tc.)-**T**itel **R**esp. -**U**berschriften von **S**teiner) erstellt, das aus 101 Titeln Steinerscher Publikationen, Vorträge und Arbeitspapiere besteht. Es bildet ein multilinguales Korpus nach Baker (1995), d. h. es enthält Texte (zum Status von Titeln als Texte vgl. Abschnitt 2) in unterschiedlichen Sprachen, die Originale und keine Übersetzungen sind. In sehr wenigen Fällen liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass ein Titel die Übersetzung eines bereits bestehenden Titels in einer anderen Sprache ist, wie in den Beispielen (1) und (2). Diese Einzelfälle reichen aber bei weitem nicht aus, um daraus ein Subkorpus mit Paralleltexten nach Baker (1995), d.h. mit Original in Sprache A und Übersetzung in Sprache B zu erstellen. In den meisten Fällen dürfte es sich auch eher um eine Bearbeitung als um eine Übersetzung handeln (zur Begriffsunterscheidung vgl. Schreiber 1993).

(1) *Die Interaktion von Sprache und Musik als semiotische Systeme*
(1984)

(2) *Language and music as semiotic systems* (1988)

Um aussagekräftige Analysen durchführen zu können, spielen drei Faktoren eine große Rolle (vgl. Lemnitzer/ Zinsmeister 2006, 40), auf die im Folgenden kurz eingegangen werden soll:

² Der Begriff „corpus” taucht übrigens erstmals 2002 in einem Steinerschen Titel auf: „Grammatical metaphor in translation – some methods for corpus-based investigations”.

- Repräsentativität des Korpus
- Dokumentation durch Metadaten
- Annotationen

Mit der Repräsentativität steht und fällt die Qualität der Interpretation, die sich auf das Gesamtkorpus im Sinne darin erkennbarer Charakteristika, Entwicklungstendenzen etc. bezieht. Wir haben deshalb versucht, eine möglichst vollständige Titelsammlung zu erstellen, die sämtliche Schaffensphasen des Jubilars sowie unterschiedliche Textsorten umfasst (wie z.B. Monographien bzw. Aufsätze, Vorträge und nichtveröffentlichte Arbeitspapiere etc.)³. Als Quellen dienten im Wesentlichen die Webseite des Lehrstuhlinhabers und zwei Projektwebseiten⁴, die einen guten Überblick über die Steinersche Publikationstätigkeit der letzten dreißig Jahre geben. Es wurden fast alle dort aufgeführten Werke berücksichtigt; ausgeschlossen waren nur Rezensionen, da hier der Titel in der Regel nicht vom Jubilar selbst verfasst wurde, sowie Titel von solchen nichtveröffentlichten Arbeiten, die wortgleich auch noch einmal als veröffentlichte Arbeit aufgelistet waren. Die Datenmenge ist also sowohl in Bezug auf die Größe als auch hinsichtlich der Repräsentativität ausreichend, um eine aussagekräftige linguistische Analyse durchführen und mögliche Steinerismen erfassen zu können.

Metadaten wie das Veröffentlichungsdatum, die Autorenschaft (Steiner als alleiniger Autor oder als Co-Autor), die Sprache (Deutsch oder Englisch) und die Art der Veröffentlichung (gegliedert in die drei Gruppen Monographie/Aufsatz, Vortrag, Unveröffentlichtes) wurden für alle Titel gesammelt und in eine Tabelle eingetragen. Dieses Vorgehen ermöglicht es, Auffälligkeiten in Bezug auf die genannten Parameter festzustellen oder sie als Interpretations- und Erklärungshilfe heranzuziehen: Sind die Titel z.B. länger, wenn Steiner als alleiniger Autor auftritt?

Abschließend reicherten wir das Korpus mit einer Mehrebenen-Annotation an, d.h. mit Informationen sowohl bezüglich der lexikalischen als auch zur syntaktischen Ebene. Die relativ geringe Textmenge erlaubte es, die Annotation komplett von Hand durchzuführen und damit keine Fehlerquote automatischer Systeme in Kauf nehmen zu müssen.

³ Im Folgenden wird der Einfachheit halber, wenn von allen Werken in PETRUS die Rede ist, immer von „Publikationen“ gesprochen, auch wenn nur ein Teil davon tatsächlich publiziert wurde.

⁴ <http://fr46.uni-saarland.de/index.php?id=138&L=%25252> (2.8.2013), http://www.gecco.uni-saarland.de/GECCo/Talks_%26_Publikationen.html (2.8.2013), http://fr46.uni-saarland.de/croco/publication_en.html (2.8.2013).

Nach einer Tokenisierung wurden dem Korpus die folgenden Annotationen hinzugefügt:

- Länge der Titel in Wörtern
- Wortart
- Länge der Titel in Teilsätzen (Phrasen)
- Phrasen: Informationen zu Kopf (NP/PP/Teilsatz/Frage), Numerus (Sing/Pl) und Artikelgebrauch (Def/Indef/Null)
- Nomen: „normale“ Nomen / Nominalisierung (inkl. grammatische Metapher nach Halliday/Matthiessen 1994)

So lassen sich sowohl strukturelle Aspekte der Steinerschen Titel als auch lexikalische Auffälligkeiten beschreiben und analysieren.

4 Parametereinfluss auf Entstehung und Funktion neuer Titel im Bereich der Steinerschen Publikationen

Im Folgenden sollen ein kurzer Überblick über die Publikationstätigkeit des Jubilars, sortiert nach Zeit (in Jahrzehnten), Textsorte, Autorenschaft und Sprache, gegeben und Tendenzen aufgezeigt werden.

Bei einem Blick auf die Anzahl und die Länge der Publikationen in Bezug auf ihre Entwicklung über die Zeit (vgl. Tabelle 1) fällt zunächst auf, dass die Anzahl der Werke im Laufe der Jahrzehnte abnimmt. Jedoch sollte man nicht voreilig auf Forschungsmüdigkeit schließen, denn zum einen handelt es sich nur um einen leichten Abfall der Zahlen. Zum anderen ist zu erwarten, dass die Zahl der Publikationen für das laufende Jahrzehnt wieder steigt, da bereits nach vier Jahren halb so viele Schriften (15) vorliegen wie im gesamten ersten Jahrzehnt der Publikationstätigkeit (31).

Tabelle 1: Entwicklung von Anzahl und Länge der Publikationen über die Jahrzehnte

	<i>Publikationen</i>	<i>Wörter</i>	<i>Ø Titellänge</i> in Wörtern
1980-89	31	260	7,84
1990-99	29	288	9,21
2000-2009	26	344	11,27
2010-heute	15	220	12,8
gesamt	101	1112	

Eine ähnliche Entwicklung lässt sich interessanterweise auf anderer Ebene beobachten: Im selben Zeitraum, in dem die Anzahl der Publikationen nachlässt, waren die Titel der Werke zunehmend als Frage formuliert. Gab es sowohl zwischen 1980 und 1989 als auch seit 2010 keinerlei Fragen, so stieg deren Anteil an der Gesamtzahl der Titel der jeweiligen Phase auf 5,4% (1990-1999) bzw. 13,6% (2000-2009). Möglicherweise handelt es sich hier um eine Art Sturm- und Drangphase, während der ein Forschungsprojektezoo (u.a. KOALA, MULI, Giraffe, CroCo) gegründet wurde, dessen Aufbau sowohl viel Zeit erforderte als auch viele Fragen aufwarf. Insbesondere mit dem Abschluss des CroCo-Projekts (Laufzeitende: 2010) hatte die umfangreiche und intensive Forschung ihren Zweck dann aber erfüllt, so dass alle Fragen geklärt waren und die Antworten wiederum über eine vermehrte Publikationsfähigkeit festgehalten werden konnten.

Ein weiterer Blick auf Tabelle 1 zeigt, dass wiederum im selben Zeitraum die Länge der Titel in Wörtern steigt. Diese Entwicklung stimmt mit der Beobachtung von Dietz (1998, 620) zu anderen Forschungsgebieten überein, für die er feststellt, dass „die Länge von natur- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Aufsatztiteln seit den 1950er Jahren signifikant gestiegen ist“. Zum einen scheint es dem Jubilar also ein Anliegen zu sein, stetig mehr Informationen in seine Titel zu integrieren – eine Möglichkeit, die ihm seine bereits beschriebene starke Einbindung in Forschungsprojekte eröffnet.

Zum anderen könnte diese Entwicklung darauf hinweisen, dass Steiner in einer Forschungslandschaft, die sich zunehmend dem „publish or perish“-System unterwirft und dadurch einen kaum zu überblickenden Berg an Veröffentlichungen produziert, sichergehen möchte, dass genügend Information bereits im Titel seiner Werke zu finden ist, um das Interesse potenzieller Leser zu wecken (vgl. auch Dietz 1998, 620, der auf „die Zunahme an relevanten Fachveröffentlichungen“ als Einflussfaktor verweist). Hier sei außerdem nochmals auf die in 2 erwähnte Appell- bzw. Werbefunktion von Titeln verwiesen.

Eine weitere konstante Entwicklung über den Untersuchungszeitraum hinweg ist die der Titelgliederung: Der Anteil einteiliger Titel nimmt beständig ab (von 90,32% auf 26,67%), während derjenige der zweiteiligen Titel zunimmt (von 9,68% auf 73,33%). Aus drei Teilen zusammengesetzte Titel kommen insgesamt nur zweimal vor und können daher bei der Analyse vernachlässigt werden (vgl. Tabelle 2).⁵

⁵ Hier böte sich eine Untersuchung der Interpunktion (z.B. zur kohäsionsstiftenden Wirkung von Gedankenstrich und Doppelpunkt) an, musste aus Platzgründen aber leider unterlassen werden.

Tabelle 2: Entwicklung der Titelstruktur über die Jahrzehnte

	1-teilige Titel		2-teilige Titel		3-teilige Titel	
	Anzahl	% an allen Titeln	Anzahl	% an allen Titeln	Anzahl	% an allen Titeln
1980-89	28	90,32	3	9,68	0	0
1990-99	22	75,86	6	20,69	1	3,45
2000-2009	9	34,62	16	61,54	1	3,85
2010-x	4	26,67	11	73,33	0	0
gesamt	63		36		2	

Ein hoher Anteil zweiteiliger Titelstrukturen ist nach Gnutzmann (1988, 32) ein Charakteristikum (englischer) Fachtexttitel in gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften, im Gegensatz zu den von ihm untersuchten Gebieten Mathematik und Maschinenbau. An der Entwicklung der Steinerschen Titelstruktur ließe sich also schön die Emanzipation seines Forschungsgebiets von den Naturwissenschaften erkennen; es ist aber natürlich auch möglich, dass es sich hier einfach um eine Parallelentwicklung zu der oben beschriebenen Längenzunahme handelt. Für eine Analyse der unterschiedlichen Realisierungsformen der einzelnen Glieder siehe Abschnitt 5.

Im Hinblick auf andere Parameter (vgl. Tabelle 3) sind in PETRUS für die reine Anzahl der Publikationen und die durchschnittliche Titellänge keine Auffälligkeiten zu erkennen. Für die Titelstruktur zeigt sich das folgende Bild: Ausschließlich bei Vorträgen lässt sich ein häufigerer Gebrauch mehrteiliger Titel (57,14%) ausmachen; bei Monographien und Aufsätzen liegt deren Anteil nur noch bei 43,42%, und bei nicht veröffentlichten Arbeitspapieren sogar nur noch bei 5,56%. Außerdem ist die Dominanz einteiliger Titel bei Steiner als alleinigem Autor weniger stark ausgeprägt als bei einer Ko-Autorenschaft (58,9% vs. 71,43%).

Tabelle 3: Anzahl, Länge und Struktur der Titel nach Textsorte, Autorenschaft und Sprache

	Anzahl Publik.	Ø Titellänge in Wörtern	% 1-teilige Titel	% 2-teilige Titel	% 3-teilige Titel
Monographien+ Aufsätze	76	9,82	56,58	40,79	2,63
Vorträge	7	12,71	42,88	57,14	0
nicht veröff. Arbeitspapiere	18	8,89	94,44	5,56	0
Steiner als alleiniger Autor	73	10,33	58,90	38,36	2,74

Steiner als Ko-Autor	28	8,61	71,43	28,57	0
Deutsch	14	8,57	85,71	7,14	7,14
Englisch	87	10,06	58,62	40,23	1,15

Die Anzahl der Titelgefüge lässt auch Unterschiede je nach Sprache erkennen: Während 14,28% der deutschen Titel aus zwei oder drei Teilen bestehen, sind es im Englischen 41,38% (vgl. Tabelle 3). Dies ist insofern interessant, als Nord (1993) zumindest für Sachbücher einen gegenteiligen Trend ausmacht und auf „die größere Häufigkeit von Titelgefügen gegenüber Einfachtiteln, etwa bei deutschen im Gegensatz zu englischen Sachbuchtiteln“ (1993: 250) verweist. Dass die Titelgefüge im Steiner-Korpus dagegen im Englischen überwiegen, mag textsortenbegründet sein, ließe sich nach Untersuchungen entsprechender Vergleichskorpora aber möglicherweise auch als Übertragung deutscher Titelstrukturen in die Fremdsprache interpretieren (analog zum von Teich (2003) postulierten *translation universal* „source language shining through“).

Neben der Tendenz zu längeren und stärker gegliederten Titeln lässt sich schließlich noch eine Entwicklung hinsichtlich des Fachsprachmerkmals der Nominalisierung beobachten (vgl. Tabelle 4). Zwar bleibt der Anteil der Nomen (N) an allen Wörtern über die Jahre hinweg einigermaßen konstant zwischen 42% und 46%; nur im ersten Jahrzehnt des neuen Jahrtausends sinkt er auf 36%, was wohl auf die oben beschriebene Tendenz zur Formulierung von Titeln als Fragen und der damit einhergehenden verstärkten Verwendung von Verben (V) zurückzuführen ist.

Jedoch fällt auf, dass der Anteil der Nominalisierungen (inklusive grammatischer Metaphern) an den Nomen im Laufe der Jahre stark zunimmt (von 36,98% in den 80er Jahren auf 51,09% im laufenden Jahrzehnt). Einen kleineren Einschnitt gab es nur in der bereits erwähnten projektintensiven Zeit zwischen 2000 und 2009.

Tabelle 4: Entwicklung verbaler und nominaler Strukturen über die Jahrzehnte

	<i>Wörter</i>	<i>% V an Wörtern</i>	<i>% N an Wörtern</i>	<i>Anzahl Nomen</i>	<i>% Nominalisierungen an Nomen</i>
1980-89	260	1,54	45,77	119	36,98
1990-99	288	1,74	41,67	120	47,5
2000-2009	344	4,07	36,05	124	45,16
2010-x	220	0,46	41,82	92	51,09

Hier zeichnet sich also eine verstärkte Nutzung fachsprachlicher Mittel ab, die eine detaillierte Untersuchung lexikalisch-syntaktischer Strukturen lohnenswert erscheinen lässt. Im Rahmen unserer Analyse sei jedoch nur darauf verwiesen, dass diese Entwicklung im Einklang mit den oben beschriebenen Tendenzen steht: Die Nominalisierung von Verben (die normalerweise Prozesse wie „untersuchen“ beschreiben) erhöht deren Informationspotential, da nun durch extensive Prä- und Postmodifikation mehr Informationen auf engem Raum beigelegt werden können (vgl. Halliday/ Matthiessen (1999, 270).

5 Grundprinzipien und Vorschläge für eine holistische Beschreibung von Titelstrukturen

Als nächstes möchten wir der Frage nach rekurrenten Strukturmustern im untersuchten Korpus nachgehen: Wie sind die Titel aufgebaut, welche häufigen Elemente weisen sie auf? Sind darin Steinerismen zu erkennen, oder liegen sie eher im Trend der geisteswissenschaftlichen Titeltradition?

Insgesamt haben 42 der 101 untersuchten Titel eine zweigliedrige Struktur, zwei eine dreigliedrige. Die einzelnen Glieder bzw. Teile eines komplexen Titels weisen unterschiedliche Realisierungsformen auf. Wie zu erwarten, dominieren hierbei Nominalphrasen, darüber hinaus sind Präpositionalphrasen, insbesondere nach dem klassischen „Zu/Über X“-Muster (Bsp. (3)), Partizipialstrukturen, ausschließlich in den englischen Titeln (Bsp. (4)), und Entscheidungs- sowie Ergänzungsfragen (Bsp. (5) und (6)) zu finden:

- (3) *Zur Zuweisung satzsemantischer Rollen im maschinellen Übersetzungssystem EUROTRA-D* (1987)
- (4) *Interfacing an English text generator with a German MT-analysis* (1989)
- (5) *How much variation will a text tolerate before it becomes a different text?* (1998)
- (6) *Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft – (getrennte) Disziplinen?* (1999)

Präpositionalphrasen mit *zu*, *über* und *on* kommen eher in über größere laufende Projekte berichtenden Aufsätzen vor (wie in Bsp. (3), (7) und (8)). Dies entspricht der Beobachtung von Dietz (1998, 619), nach der solche Strukturen als verkürzte Formen von „verblassten Textsortenangaben“ wie „Beobachtungen zu X“ beschrieben werden.

(7) *Über Verbeinträge in EUROTRA Transferwörterbüchern* (1988)

(8) *On the semantics of FOCUS phenomena in EUROTRA* (1988)

Das englische *towards* wird hingegen häufiger prospektiv bei in einer inkrementellen Erweiterung begriffenen Forschungsschwerpunkten des Jubilars, wie Kohäsion im Sprachvergleich, verwendet (Bsp. (9) und (10)).

(9) *Towards a comparison of cohesion in English and German – the concept of cohesion* (2012)

(10) *Towards a comparison of cohesive reference in English and German: System and text* (2012)

Analog zu den von Čulo (in diesem Band) untersuchten *quantitative future fulfilment Steinerisms* könnte man bei den Beispielen (9) und (10) auch von *directional future fulfilment Steinerisms* sprechen. Ob es sich hierbei um einen echten Steinerismus im Sinne eines häufig auftretenden Titelcharakteristikums handelt, muss eine Analyse zukünftiger Steinerscher Titel zeigen. Im untersuchten Korpus tauchen die *towards*-Konstruktionen in 8% der Titel auf.

Partizipialstrukturen, genauer gesagt, die englischen *-ing*-Formen, thematisieren v.a. die Zielsetzung einer Studie (Bsp. (11) und (12)).

(11) *Ideational grammatical metaphor: exploring some implications for the overall model* (2004)

(12) *Describing language as activity – an application to child language* (1988)

Unter den Nominalphrasen sind formal drei Fälle zu unterscheiden. Definite NPs bilden 18 Titel bzw. Titelglieder (Bsp. (13)), indefinite NPs 30 (Bsp. (14)). In der letzten Kategorie ist der Sonderfall der englischen *some*-Konstruktion (Bsp. (15), insgesamt zwölf Fälle) enthalten.⁶

(13) *Die Entwicklung des Britischen Kontextualismus* (1983)

(14) *A fragment of a Multilingual Transfer Component and its Relation to Discourse Knowledge* (1994)

(15) *Some properties of lexicogrammatical encoding and their implications for situations of language contact and multilinguality* (2005)

⁶ Vgl. den Beitrag von Čulo in diesem Band.

Von besonderem Interesse sind schließlich die Null-Artikel-NPs, die allgemein ein typisches Titelrealisierungsmittel darstellen. Nun ist bei Nomina in Plural der Oberflächenunterschied zwischen einer indefiniten NP und einer Null-Artikel-NP nicht gegeben. Semantisch lassen sich bei den Null-Artikel-NPs (65 Belege) drei Fälle unterscheiden. Diese können zum einen eine textsortenspezifische Ellipse des bestimmten Artikels darstellen (Bsp. (16) und (17)), wobei dadurch in der Regel der Untersuchungsgegenstand der Studie bezeichnet wird.

(16) Language as a form of goal directed action – the analysis of a moral dilemma (1988)

(17) Systemic Functional Linguistics – A Chomsky-Theory or a Mead-Theory (1996)

Zum anderen kann es sich hierbei insbesondere bei der Entwicklung neuer Konzepte um die Ellipse des indefiniten Artikels handeln (so in Bsp. (18), in dem eine Ersetzung durch *A discourse Grammar* wahrscheinlicher erscheint).

(18) Discourse Grammar for German (1995)

Schließlich sind Fälle zu finden, in denen die Null-Artikel-NP unterspezifiziert bleibt, so dass keine interpretative Annahme über die (In)Definitheit getroffen werden kann und als wahrscheinlichste Lesart die bloße titeltypische Funktion der Themasetzung erscheint. Diese thematische Setzung kann dabei sowohl auf den nachfolgenden Text (Bsp. (19)) als auch, bei mehrgliedrigen Titeln, auf das zweite Glied bezogen sein (Bsp. (20)).⁷

(19) Semantic Relations (1989)

(20) Contrastive studies of cohesion and their impact on our knowledge of translation (ersch.)

Ein letztes strukturelles Muster einzelner Titel oder Titelglieder bilden schließlich die *als*-Prädikationen. Insgesamt sind solche Strukturen in der Titrologie wohl bekannt, Dietz (1995, 94ff.) zählt sie neben den verbalen und verbfreien zu den drei zentralen Typen von Prädikationen in den Fachtexten. In unserem Korpus sind sechs Titel nach dem Muster „X als/as Y“ formuliert, hier kommt der Vergleichsmarker also auf der oberen strukturellen Ebene vor. Semantisch kann dabei zwischen einer Vorwegnahme des Ergebnisses, zu dem die Studie kommt (wie in Bsp. (21)), wobei der Vergleichsmarker

⁷ Dietz (1998: 620) verweist auf die Häufigkeit solcher Strukturen, in denen im zweiten Glied eine anaphorische Wiederaufnahme des ersten erfolgt.

weitgehend bedeutungsgleich durch *is* ersetzt werden könnte, und der Angabe der Perspektive, unter der ein Phänomen betrachtet werden soll (Bsp. (22)), wobei der Vergleichsmarker in etwa als *seen as* interpretiert werden kann, unterschieden werden.

(21) *The heterogeneity of individual languages as a translation problem* (2004)

(22) *Language and music as semiotic systems* (1988)

In fünf Titeln wird ein syntaktisch untergeordnetes Element in diese Struktur integriert, wobei in drei davon (Bsp. (23), (24) und (25)) die übergeordnete Struktur semantisch schwach erscheint – in (23) ist die titeltypische Struktur mit der Präposition *on* als Stellvertreter für eine verblasste Textsortenbezeichnung realisiert (vgl. die Diskussion zu Bsp. (8)), in (24) wird der Titel durch ein prospektives *towards* eingeleitet und in (25) hängt die *as*-Struktur vom metasprachlichen Verb *describe* ab, das im Kontext einer wissenschaftlichen Abhandlung eine stark unterspezifizierte Beschreibung des Textes liefert. In allen drei Belegen könnten die übergeordneten Elemente weitgehend semantisch neutral getilgt werden.

(23) *On Theme as a grammatical notion for German* (1995)

(24) *Towards a model of goal-directed action as a structuring principle for the "Context of Situation"* (1998)

(25) *Describing language as activity – an application to child language* (1988)

Hier scheint die Tendenz zur Perspektiven-Interpretation (*seen as*) semantisch dominant zu sein.

Insgesamt können wir also feststellen, dass der Jubilar zwar keine revolutionären Neuerungen in der Titelstrukturierung geisteswissenschaftlicher Wissenschaftsprosa zu verantworten hat, jedoch einige Steinerismuskandidaten in unseren strukturell-titrologischen Betrachtungen erkennbar geworden sind, deren genauer Status und Spezifitätsgrad allerdings noch zu klären ist.

6 Zur Struktur semantischer Relationen im Steinerschen Publikationskorpus PETRUS

Als letztes möchten wir nun auf die semantischen Relationen in mehrteiligen Titeln eingehen, denn natürlich ist anzunehmen, dass die strukturelle Spaltung

gewissermaßen eine Widerspiegelung des inneren gedanklichen Dialogs des Jubilars darstellt. Häufig finden sich in unserem Korpus Strukturen, in denen das zweite Glied eine spezifische Ausprägung des generischen und unterspezifizierten ersten Teils liefert (vgl. Gnutzmann 1988, 32ff.; Dietz 1995, 135ff. und 1998, 621). Dieses Muster kann sowohl in recht allgemeinthoretischen Diskussionen (Bsp. (26)) als auch bei Berichten über konkrete Studien eingesetzt werden (Bsp. (27)). Bei größeren Projekten können nach diesem Muster Titelreihen gebildet (vgl. Dietz 1998, 618 zu Serientiteln in den Naturwissenschaften), bei denen das große Rahmenthema im ersten Teil und das spezifisch untersuchte Phänomen im zweiten angegeben werden. So beziehen sich (28)-(31) auf den aktuellen Forschungsschwerpunkt des Jubilars zur kontrastiven Untersuchung der Kohäsion im Deutschen und Englischen (zum zweiten Glied können darüber hinaus auch weitere semantische Beziehung bestehen, s.u. Bsp. (33) und (38)). Hier entsteht also gewissermaßen ein Muster „Was + was genau?“.

(26) *Linguistics for MT: The Eurotra Linguistic Specifications* (1991)

(27) *The MULI Project: Annotation and Analysis of Information Structure in German and English* (2004)

(28) *Towards a comparison of cohesion in English and German – the concept of cohesion* (2012)

(29) *Towards a comparison of cohesive reference in English and German: System and text* (2012)

(30) *Cohesion in English and German: Contrasts, Contact Phenomena, and the role of Translation* (2012)

(31) *Contrasts in English-German cohesion – frequencies, functional motivations, registerial variation and some impacts on translations* (2013)

Ein weiteres Muster der semantischen Relation zwischen den beiden Titgliedern bildet die Struktur, in der im zweiten Glied die wissenschaftliche Methode oder Vorgehensweise angegeben wird, die zur Untersuchung des im ersten Teil erwähnten Phänomens verwendet wird; der Titel antwortet also auf die Frage: „Was + wie?“.

(32) *Grammatical metaphor in translation – some methods for corpus-based investigations* (2002)

(33) *Cohesive substitution in English and German: a contrastive and corpus-based perspective* (2013)

Diese Struktur kann auch in invertierter Form realisiert werden; hierbei wird im zweiten Glied ein spezifischer Einsatzbereich der im ersten Glied angegebenen Theorie präsentiert (i.d.R. mit dem Schlüsselbegriff *application*).

(34) *Systemic Functional Linguistics and its Application to Foreign Language Teaching* (1997)

(35) *Describing language as activity – an application to child language* (1988)

Das zweite Glied kann auch eine Charakterisierung des ersten liefern (dies entspricht in etwa der Ergebnis-Interpretation von *als/as*-Titeln):

(36) *Systemic Functional Linguistics – A Chomsky-Theory or a Mead-Theory* (1996)

Schließlich können im zweiten Teil des Titels die theorie- oder forschungsbezogenen Konsequenzen der Erkenntnisse zum im ersten Glied angegebenen Phänomen für weitere Bereiche Erwähnung finden. Auch hier ist die Struktur an zentralen Begriffen wie *implication*, *impact* oder *role* erkennbar.

(37) *Some properties of lexicogrammatical encoding and their implications for situations of language contact and multilinguality* (2005)

(38) *Contrastive differences in cohesion English-German and some implications for comprehensibility of translations* (2013)

(39) *Contrastive studies of cohesion and their impact on our knowledge of translation* (erscheint)

(40) *Cohesion in English and German: Contrasts, Contact Phenomena, and the role of Translation* (2012)

Offenbar lassen sich die oben besprochenen Muster auch in komplexen Titeln kombinieren, wie in (41) (Phänomen + Ausprägung + Konsequenzen) und (42) (Phänomen + Ausprägung + Methode).

(41) *Contrasts in English-German cohesion – frequencies, functional motivations, registerial variation and some impacts on translations* (2013)

(42) *Explicitation, its lexicogrammatical realization, and its determining (independent) variables – towards an empirical and corpus-based methodology* (2005)

Ein spezifisches Muster bilden schließlich Titel in Form von Interrogativphrasen mit koordinierten Paaren von Phänomenen, wobei im zweiten Glied nach der Abgrenzung bzw. der genauen Relation der Phänomene gefragt wird.

(43) *Intralingual and interlingual versions of a text – how specific is the notion of translation?* (2001)

(44) *Macro- and micro-level approaches to translated texts – methodological contradictions or mutually enriching perspectives?* (2003)

(45) *Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft – (getrennte) Disziplinen?* (1999)

7 Ein Fragment eines Gesamtüberblicks im Rahmen einer Titelanalyse

Eine Analyse wie die von uns durchgeführte kann letztlich nur fragmentarisch bleiben und erste Interpretationsansätze liefern. Eine ausführliche Untersuchung der Werke des Jubilars ist an dieser Stelle nicht zu leisten, wäre jedoch sicherlich eine interessante Weiterführung dieses Sammelbandes.

Die Frage nach der Erkennung und Erfassung aller titrologischen Steinerismen bleibt offen. In unserem vom Umfang her doch begrenzten Korpus konnten wir zwar potentielle spezifische strukturelle und semantische Muster finden, ob aber jeder dieser Steinerismuskandidaten auch zum echten Steinerismus zu befördern ist, könnte nur anhand eines viel größeren Korpus festgestellt werden. Somit bleibt uns nichts anderes übrig, als unsere Hoffnung auf ein schnelles Wachstum des Korpus Steinerscher Publikationstitel zu äußern und als unerlässliche Bedingung hierzu dem Jubilar noch viele gute Forschungs- und Schaffensjahre zu wünschen.

Primär- und Sekundärliteratur – (getrennte) Quellen?

Primärliteratur

Die von uns verwendete Primärliteratur entspricht größtenteils dem Publikationsverzeichnis des Jubilars in diesem Band. Auf Anfrage stellen wir gern das Gesamtkorpus inklusive der Annotationen zur Verfügung.

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A far encounter: report on a register-based back-translation evaluation

translated from the proto High Aldebaran
by our sentient being on the spot: Jonh A. Batema't
dateline: 16th February, 2,002,014 A.D.

This is a wonderful day; one of our regular inter-constellation expresses encountered an unpowered space probe on a trajectory clearly indicating it to be not of local origin. For the first time, therefore, we have direct evidence of life elsewhere in the universe. And, if this were not important enough, the probe also appears to be carrying a message — if only we could understand it, this would be momentous indeed. But the problems of achieving a translation are, of course, more than considerable. As our scientists, philosophers, art critics and popular press have often debated, would it be possible at all to understand messages created by totally alien forms of life? Now, we have the challenge before us in undreamt of tangible form. How to proceed?

Fortunately, the work of a renowned expert in the translation of arcane materials has been brought to my attention — drawing from an even more venerable treatment of communication, Professor Erich Steine't, known as a *Gelehrter* in the local Low Aldebaran, or top dude in the vernacular, has developed a substantial body of techniques for constructing and evaluating translations. Particularly exciting about this work is that it is based on radically different principles to those employed for centuries in the usual translation devices we take for granted in our daily lives. That is, rather than translating by finding examples of matching phrases from the Google't yottaplex of accumulated translation pairs harvested from reality TV shows, phone conversations between government leaders and multilingual virtual graffiti, the framework used by Professor Steine't builds instead on the *social and cultural values* of the communicative acts being translated. More: the framework claims that communicative acts *are shaped by* those social and cultural contexts — so much so that we may explore deriving descriptions of social contexts from the distinctions that we find being made in the language materials.

This may then be just the key we need. If we can take the message — as message we can no doubt assume it is — might we then not 'back-translate' from its form to its sociocultural meanings? Might we then solve, at least partially, the riddle its creators have set us?

The remainder of this report attempts precisely this, following closely the evaluation framework given by Professor Steine't, particularly as set out in his publication "A register-based translation evaluation: An advertisement as a case in point" from the celebrated journal Targe't. The central theoretical notion of the approach, as already given in the article's title, is *register*, a characterisation of social context going back into the mists of pre-history, but strongly associated with such legendary names as the great Michael Hallida't, and equally formidable Ruqaiya Hasa't.

As Steine't tells us, register covers three major dimensions of variation: the *field*, *tenor* and *mode* of discourse. The trick is then to approach a piece of communication, such as our message from the space probe, along these dimensions and in terms of the particular kinds of meaningful distinctions drawn within them — this pushes us to ask appropriate questions about just what the creators of the message were trying to communicate so that we can achieve a translation in terms of our own systems of communication.

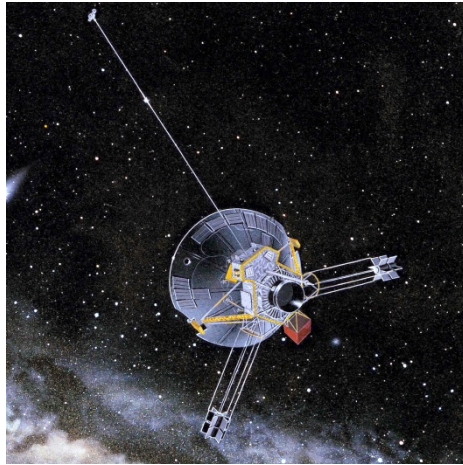


Figure 1: Captured visual of uncaptured space probe (all images in this report are taken from New Aldebaran Space Agency files in the galactic public domain)

Since, in this approach, context is all, let us first begin with our own context of investigation. The space probe was found proceeding at a fair pace a good lightyear or two out in the main space lanes — Figure 1 presents a captured image of it as it was approached for its ticket and ICE-surcharge, and to see if

it wanted t'ea or coffe't. It was evidently neither in possession of a ticket nor in need of liquid sustenance and so was brought directly to our laboratories. It was there that we found an attached item that appeared not only to be functionally disconnected to the rest of the artefact but also to be materially formed in ways strongly suggestive of an intention to communicate; and so our research started in earnest.

The attached element, which we will call a 'plaque', is flat and placed in a position which is not immediately visible from a distance. It is made of aluminium with a fused external layer of gold and so was evidently not attached for fuel or its other physical properties. No, the purpose here appears incontrovertibly *semiotic*. Sending a message like this on such a journey clearly demonstrates tremendous foresight on the part of its creators and so, as we are sure the reader will forgive us for, we will designate the space probe from now on with the rather overblown label 'Pioneer' — regardless of whether its creators might have had quite other ideas or purposes in mind, such as random charged particle and other space junk refuse collector or similar.

The first decision in the analysis of the plaque is then to determine which of its material properties are carrying semiotic information and which not — this will then help us to pursue the field-tenor-mode analysis required. The plaque is flat and only one of its sides has extensive non-natural regularities in the material: these regularities consist of small narrow valleys of a broadly regular depth. The relative constancy of their depth suggests that depth is not being used semiotically, although this cannot be ruled out entirely at this stage as we know nothing of the plaque's creators' sensitivity along this dimension. The valleys do, however, appear to create groupings of regularities that would be detectable by any reflection-based sensors or perceptual apparatus using waves sufficiently small in relation to the width and breadth of the valleys. This was then decided as being the main semiotic carrier. For ease of depiction, we therefore map valleys to lower intensity energy contours in the displays following.

The next decision is to explore whether there are any obvious consumption situation regularities that might need to be invoked for further meaning attribution — for example, is the surface of the plaque being used in a manner that presupposes orientation? As we know from our own experiences, there are often issues of symmetry to consider, which means that the plaque may have been designed with an intrinsic semiotic orientation. If we assume that the plaque's anchoring to the structure of the artefact gives us an approximate preferred orientation with relation to the probe, we must only consider what orientation the probe may have had — and, again assuming symmetry to play

some role, this gives us the four orientations shown in Figure 2 depending on the natural resting orientation of the probe when it started.

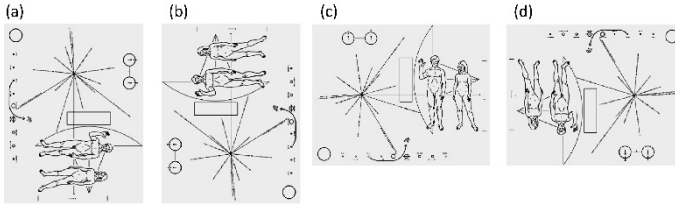


Figure 2: Potential semiotic intrinsic orientations of the plaque

Although it would be tempting here to apply what we know from the learned semioticians Kress't and van Leeuwe't and fix orientation according to the now well established and universally applicable given-new and ideal-real dimensions, we are hampered in this by not knowing just what might have been given and new or ideal or real for the creators. This may give us insights later, however, when we have uncovered more of the creators' social context.

Nevertheless, we might still be able to employ some natural suggestions to restrict the possibilities at this stage. For example, if we assume that the probe is *going somewhere* rather than *coming back* — since there is no indication otherwise — then it should be relatively clear that the direction of travel be coded as *ideal* information. This would then give orientation (d) as the logical selection because the plaque was secured to the structure with this orientation in the direction of flight (cf. Figure 3).

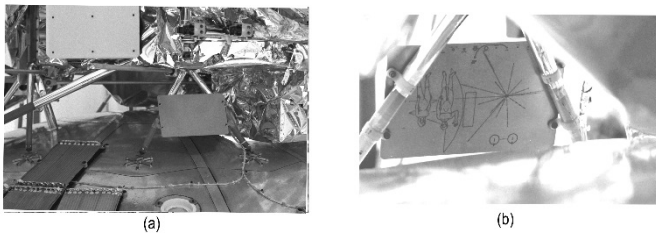


Figure 3: The position of the plaque as secured to the probe: (a) view from outside of the probe; (b) view from the middle of the probe looking outwards

We now proceed to field, tenor and mode. Somewhat reversing the order in which investigations of these register dimensions are often presented, it seems appropriate in the current case to begin with *mode*. Field is concerned with the social activity being performed in and with the communication, and tenor with the enacting of the social relationships in the communicative situation — and for both of these areas we are still very much in the dark. However, on the third tentacle, mode is concerned with “encoding and maintaining texts and discourses in terms of the role language is playing, the channel used for communication and the medium of discourse” (Steiner’t, p. 294), which we can surely already say something about.

The role of language can be ‘ancillary’ or ‘constitutive’ — to be ancillary, Hasa’t tells us that there must be action; thus, since the space probe certainly was not doing very much either with us or by itself, the role of the message here must be constitutive.

The channel “encompasses the physical basis of that discourse and the traces which this leaves in the lexicogrammar of the text.” (Steine’t, p. 308). The physical traces we have decided on as semiotic carriers were described above; now we need to consider how these impact on the form and content of the message. As Steine’t continues for his example, “[t]he use of paragraphing ...to indicate possible pauses” is one of these when dealing with visual forms — so let us apply this here also. Can we find paragraphs? If we take this as subgroupings with their own internal regularities which may, perhaps, be separated from other subgroupings, then we do seem clearly to have some distinctions that can be drawn. These are indicated in the paragraphing diagram in Figure 4 adopting the favoured orientation identified above.

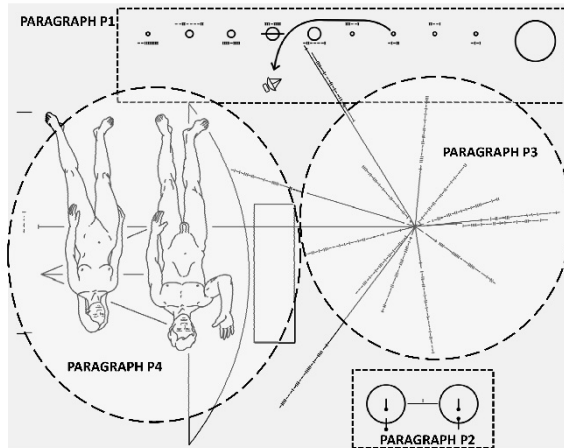


Figure 4: Paragraph boundaries in the plaque suggested by relative sparsity of connections

The medium of the discourse is more complex to ascertain as the possibilities of the plaque's creators may have been quite different to our own. Whereas we have audible spoken language and visual written language, we should not be over-hasty in applying these constructs. Thus, for the time being, we take the mode of the plaque to be 'small valleys engraved in a flat surface to be seen when turned around the plaque to face away from a supporting structure' or another, rather more disturbing possibility that we may need to return to, 'small valleys engraved in a flat surface not to be seen at all' (cf. Figure 3(a)).

To help us go further, we need also to document the different kinds of valleys employed, since it is apparent that these are being deployed for semi-otic reasons. There are straight valleys running across the surface, there are circular valleys distributed around, mostly in paragraph P1, where there are 10, and in paragraph P2, where there are just two. There are continuous valleys with sharp turning points, primarily in paragraph P4. And there are very irregular continuous valleys forming enclosed areas, again in paragraph P4. Finally there are some small reoccurring valleys which may be taking on other functions since they appear to be constructed compositionally — these are listed in Figure 5 — as well as some isolates, such as shorter horizontal lines orthogonal to one edge of the plaque, whose use is unclear.

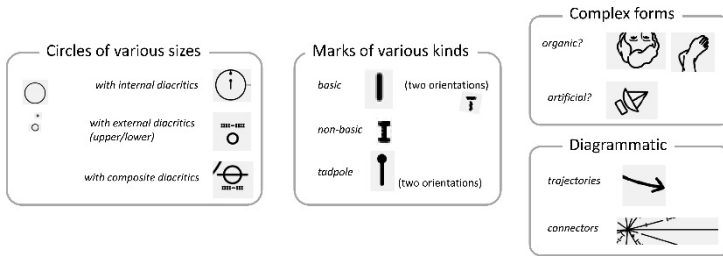


Figure 5: Distinguishable plaque units

Why there are so many different forms being displayed is itself something of a puzzle — for communication purposes a small straightforward symbolic coding scheme — even for us a quite counter-intuitive binary system — might have been employed. Indeed, the messages themselves appear slightly at odds with one another. Paragraph P2 seems to be making the claim with surprising clarity that dualities and the number 2 are important. The paragraph in question shows *two* otherwise identical circles, with *two* identical ‘tadpole’ forms within them, and *two* contrasting tadpole forms at their edges. This orientation to some kind of duality is restated in many of the paragraphs of the plaque. In paragraph P4, there is a marked contrast between straight and irregular forms, while the very fact of there being two such irregular shapes is again dual.

What these irregular shapes may be indicating is difficult to say. Their irregularity is reminiscent of organic forms — thus perhaps even suggesting a duality between organic and technical constructions — but, as well known from our own ecosystems, interpreting organic shapes without reference to the activities and environment of the originals is doomed to failure and so it is rather unlikely that the creators would have had any depictional intent with their inclusion. The decision may well be related more to our own uses of such irregular forms for identifying different text types and interpersonal force typographically, but such considerations can only be conjectural at this point.

More telling is the fact that, in each paragraph, the symbolic units that are used also come in two variants. Intriguingly, these are not mixed across paragraphs, however — which could indicate that the overall socio-cultural context against which we need to be doing the interpretation is one of strict separation of individually dual domains. Paragraph P3 uses the basic forms; paragraph P2 the tadpole forms, and paragraph P1 the non-basic forms. Why

this should be the case is unknown, although similarity is clearly valued more highly than difference, since paragraph P2 shows the identical tadpoles in the surely more highly valued central position while the lower valued position at the edges is occupied by tadpoles showing difference. This will no doubt be necessary to consider when filling in more of the socio-cultural configurations as we proceed.

Turning now back to the mode of the text, both constitutive and ancillary communication may refer either to other parts of itself (endophoric) or to parts outside of the communication (exophoric). And both paragraphs P1 and P4 contain what can convincingly be interpreted as exophoric references to the space probe itself. The large dish shaped structure placed symmetrically along one axis of the probe maps as a continuous transformation of the valleys engraved in the plaque. Naturally, we cannot know if these are instance-references or type-references — i.e., are we referring to *this* object or to some general class of objects of this kind — nor whether the valleys were designed to reflect the object or the object designed to reflect the depiction. But the connections between the depiction and the artefact are too strong to ignore.

But this rather clear use of symbols unfortunately only then serves to open up a host of further mysteries. The two depictions of the probe on the plaque point in very different directions, suggesting that orientation may not be important in the representation after all. Worse, the depicted space probes are also of very different sizes, which may either indicate that there are several of these kinds of artefacts or that scale is not important here either. This latter hypothesis is supported further by the representation in paragraph P1, which needs considerable further discussion in its own right, both because of its internal complexity and due to its probably favoured and highly significant placement at the top of the plaque — i.e., in *ideal* position.

This paragraph shows one of the space probes apparently on a trajectory — amazingly shown with an arrow, thus answering a question subject to intense debate among our own scholars for many years, and most succinctly set out by Ernest Gombrich't in his "The Image and the Eye: Further Studies in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation". But just what the trajectory is doing is unclear: it appears to be moving around some circular objects of similar size — some somewhat smaller, one larger, one crossed out. The circles obviously cannot be considered depictions of natural occurrences because they are all equidistant from one another. Although, again, if the two renditions of a space probe in fact do refer to the *same* artefact, then we cannot make the assumption that scale or orientation is significant in the depictional conventions employed by the plaque's creators. The distances shown are not then likely to be semiotically significant in their own right.

At the same time, however, the circles themselves are shown as *different* sizes: this should then be semiotically significant in some way. Since scale is not significant, this range of differences strongly suggests a symbolic coding scheme rather than an iconic one — i.e., the different sized circles mean different things. There are then four different sizes employed and so assigning these to the letters of the alphabet according to size, paragraph P1 reads beginning from the largest, in the direction of the arrow trajectory and in groups of three: ADD DDB BCC D. There is, however, an indication from paragraph P2 that there may be other sizes of circles to be considered, as the two circles there are not found in paragraph P1. Thus, to be safe and to indicate this, we take note of the fact that the D circles are very much smaller than a simple progression would indicate and label these instead G. This gives AGG GGB BCC G.

The forms sometimes above and sometimes below these circles also appear compositional and symbolic, and so may act as diacritics, although their precise purpose requires further investigation. There appears no extrinsic reason why some are above and some are below their respective circles, and so this must also be semiotically significant — in fact, they alternate, below-above, below-above, etc. following the same path as used above. What the numbers would mean is however most unclear: the first small circle receives the (upper) diacritic ‘I-I-’, which if it were a simple binary representation as perhaps suggested by Paragraph P2 would be 10, which means that the first such circle is being labelled as 10: why this is the case is a mystery and so this may not be a sustainable hypothesis. It seems unlikely that a unit of one-tenth of some *other* (unknown) distance would be selected for marking information in some way. A similar argument can be applied to the slightly damaged sequence of marks at the edge of Paragraph P4, which would if it were binary represent the number 8 — why this should appear here is again odd, although it is close to the broken connecting line running all the way between P4 and P3. Taken together these suggest that the binary assumption is probably not one that is appropriate.

The use of such arbitrary symbol systems does of itself provide indications relevant to the *tenor* of the discourse, however. Using symbol systems that are likely to be unknown by the addressee is suggestive of the assumption of a strong asymmetry in power relationships. It appears, therefore, that the creators of the plaque see themselves in an *instructional* role, providing information to an audience that must do the work of decoding. This is a somewhat worrying result in terms of what it may mean about the cultural configurations of the creators overall, but certainly will help us below when we see

that there are many aspects of the plaque that appear to be best read as instructional texts.

The long straight valleys meeting at a common point of intersection in paragraph P3 also present a challenge. It may be a schematic of the space probe itself — as can be seen in Figure 1 above, there are several pieces of equipment suspended on booms out from the main structure and the plaque includes a connecting line from the centre of the intersections to the larger probe depiction; the plaque may be identifying these, although this would mean that the probe has lost many of its outstretched tentacles during its long journey. We would then need to ask just what did all these missing tentacles do when they were attached to the probe? To make progress with further parts of the plaque, we may well need to refer to these missing components, which, for current purposes, we may term ‘empty categories’. Perhaps, one day, a theory of empty categories may help us decode the mystery in full.

Nevertheless, one of the outstretched connecting lines also comes very close to one of the circles in paragraph P1. This must then indicate semiotically some connection or association between them. Whereas the contribution of the P3-line must remain unclear at this time, for P1 we can safely assume that the designated circle is in some way particularly important for the message as a whole. Indeed, the circle that is picked out in this way is also the circle around which the trajectory attached to the probe-likeness goes, providing further additional support for its being of particular significance.

Combining these sources of evidence, we can formulate our first tentative interpretation for paragraph P1 as follows; we also repeat the paragraph with annotations we now derive in the text in close-up in Figure 6 for ease of reference. The diagrammatic representation of the (or a similar) space probe together with the arrow suggests some kind of movement. The circles that the trajectory weaves around may then indicate some kind of objects in physical space, although their respective sizes and actual distances from each other are not given.

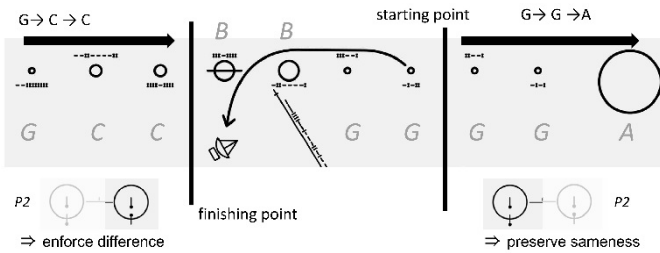


Figure 6: Paragraph P1, annotated and segmented as motivated in the text

The origin of the arrow showing the trajectory connected with the smaller depiction of an object like the space probe must, however, evidently be the starting point for reading and also acts as a segmentation of P1 as a whole into three components as shown. The central component with the circles and trajectory itself appears either as a description or some kind of instruction. In fact, its resemblance to a form of representation of our own is particularly striking — consider the well known ceremonial movements shown in notational form in Figure 7.

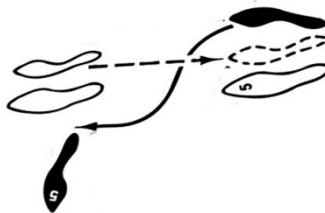


Figure 7: Standard movement notation for comparison with the central portion of Paragraph P1

This then also increases the likelihood that the rest of this paragraph should be read in a time-based fashion — perhaps as instructions to be carried out simultaneously to those indicated in the central portion because of the alignment of the row of circles and the centrally embedded placement of this segment. This would also suggest exciting further meanings for the design of the probe itself, moving into the domain of sculpture — probably modelled after the design of some aspects of the creators themselves.

The remainder of the paragraph would then indicate a reading path sequence, which must naturally be done twice, following the duality principle

identified in Paragraph P2. Beginning with the circle lying in the direction of the largest circle (thereby assuming a direction cognitively consonant with ‘gravity’), we read following this direction and then wrapping around to the other end to form the sequence: ‘GGA GCC’. We must then stop because the next circle is crossed out and we enter the region taken up by the trajectory and the probable change in modality of the information communicated.

The information from Paragraph P2, which now appears to be the legend or key to the plaque as a whole — particularly since it seems to occupy a comparatively traditional position at the bottom of the representation — then becomes particularly important. We fold this into the interpretation as suggested in Figure 6. As noted above, P2 clearly indicates that similarity is valued before difference, which might well be seen in terms of the Firth’s notion of antiprosody and, in particular, vowel disharmony as found in several of our own languages. Thus, when we encounter something the first time, we must have similarity, the second time difference. This then plays out as follows.

For the two parts of the reading path ‘GGA GCC’, the first part must remain the same since the two tadpole diacritics from the corresponding half of P2 are identical: this leaves us with GGA unchanged. The second must enact difference, however, since the corresponding tadpoles from P2 are not identical. Here the additional diacritics attached to the circles in P1 come into their own giving us an obvious way of transforming similarity into difference as required. For the first of the two C’s in the second half, the diacritic ‘II---II--’ breaks into two unequal halves ‘II---’ and ‘-II--’ and so *already captures disharmony*; in contrast, for the case of the second C, the diacritic obviously shows *equal* halves ‘IIII-IIII’ and so disharmony is still to be enforced. Paragraph P2 tells us that this must be done in the simplest way possible, and so we simply modify C to the next available form in the ‘direction’ of gravity, i.e., B.

For the second path through, the situation for the second half must of course be reversed in order to enforce the ‘harmony first – disharmony second’ principle again recursively. So this time it is the *first* occurrence of C that must be changed — and, because before we moved in the previous round towards the larger B, this direction must again be reversed according to the optimality-based principle of meta-antiprosody. This moves us towards a smaller, but admittedly unattested at this point, *D — we label this form with a star to show its hypothetical, re-constructed status.

The reader might wonder if such a simple construction can really be that what was intended by the creators — surely they would have made the message more difficult to decode considering that they also took the trouble to

make it difficult to see the plaque from the outside (cf. Figure 3(a)). However, it may well be possible that they saw this simple exercise as a key into communicating more complex patterns — after all, there are many more mysteries in the plaque as a whole to uncover and this beginning may well be only the first of many, increasingly complex coded messages. The simplicity of this decoded portion of the plaque might then well itself be a message. We should perhaps best adopt a notation form particularly suited to the simple case in order to make progress with the more complex pieces of information given in other paragraphs. Just what kind of notation is appropriate should also be pursued from the perspective of register – in particular, if we form a better notion of the activities that are being described, that is, we resolve further the question of *field*, then we may develop notations that bring out the distinctions being drawn even more clearly.

This then will be our final round of interpretation for current purposes. Since it has already been established in the discussion above that the intended text type appears to be more one of instruction rather than description, it would be best to also change our notation to one which is tailored specifically to instruction rather than the abstract alphabetic form that we have adopted so far. For paragraph P1, for example, the different sizes of the circles naturally suggest distinctions of weight and so we might consider the relationship of our message as decoded above to perturbations induced in a gravitational field or other medium of information transmission.

Here Professor Steine't has also worked extensively with alternative notation forms that would be appropriate. Particularly following the notational pattern used in his exploratory paper on 'The interaction of language and music as semiotic systems: the example of a folk ballad', we could transcode the weights of the circles to distances perturbed from the norm along the seven-point scale indicated, also then drawing on the position of the diacritics relative to the circles in Paragraph P1 for an even more fine-grained description, which we must unfortunately omit here because of the narrow page margins. This makes our derived GGA.GCB. GGA.G*DC appear as shown in the following graphical time-based instruction:



Effecting this change in notation for all aspects of the plaque may well aid further interpretation.

Of course, there are many more riddles to pursue here; but at least it appears that some solid progress has been made in decoding the message that has been sent to us. The prominent upper portion of the plaque is a time-based instruction involving at least two modalities of performance, to be carried out simultaneously. Uncovering the rest of the message will no doubt keep generations of researchers in gainful employment for centuries to come — in the meantime, however, probably the best course of action is simply for us all to follow the instructions as given, paying appropriate homage to Prof Steine't for paving the way for this work as we do so.

Dolmetschen als Transdisziplin

Zur Forderung nach interdisziplinärer Erforschung der Translation – *state of the art* in der Dolmetschwissenschaft

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Abstract

Nicht nur in der Translationswissenschaft wird der Begriff der Disziplin seit längerer Zeit diskutiert, nicht nur hier wird in den Alternativen Inter- bzw. Transdisziplin ein Ausweg aus dieser Debatte gesehen. Der vorliegende Beitrag zeigt auf der Grundlage eines Artikels von Erich Steiner zunächst in Kürze auf, wie es um diese Diskussion in der Translationswissenschaft - Schwerpunkt Übersetzen – bestellt ist. Daran knüpft eine genauere Betrachtung von Inter- und Transdisziplinarität an. Vor dem Hintergrund der dabei gewonnenen Definition dieser Begriffe erfolgt die Darstellung der in diesem Zusammenhang relevanten Aspekte in der Entwicklung der Dolmetschwissenschaft. Dabei werden die Besonderheiten dieses Forschungsbereichs im Hinblick auf seine Vielfältigkeit und damit auch auf seine ganz „eigenen“ Methoden herausgestellt. Ein wissenschaftstheoretischer Blick auf diese Eigenheiten schlägt schließlich eine bislang kaum berücksichtigte Methodik vor, mit der die Erforschung der Translation und insbesondere des Dolmetschens einen vielversprechenden Weg einschlagen kann.

1 Steiners Forderung nach interdisziplinärer Erforschung der Translation

In seinem Artikel *Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft – (getrennte) Disziplinen?* aus dem Jahr 1999 gelangt Erich Steiner zu zwei grundsätzlichen Aussagen in Bezug auf die Translationswissenschaft. Diese sollen heute, einige Jahre später, anhand eines Teilbereichs der Translation – dem Dolmetschen – erneut und weiterführend in diesem Beitrag beleuchtet werden. Die titelgebende Frage Steiners Überlegung, ob Translationswissenschaft und Linguistik getrennte Disziplinen sind, führt ihn zu der für die vorliegenden Ausführungen interessanter erscheinenden Frage, ob die wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit dem Phänomen Translation überhaupt als Wissenschaft im Sinne einer eigenständigen Disziplin gesehen werden kann. Anhand bestimmter Teilfragen (vor allem in Bezug auf das Übersetzen) stellt Steiner fest, dass der Begriff der Disziplin nur sehr schwierig auf die Wissenschaft des Übersetzens und Dolmetschens anzuwenden ist. Dies liegt vor allem daran, dass es sich beim Forschungsgegenstand im weitesten Sinne um Kommunikation, also menschliches Miteinander, handelt:

Wenn man auf einer zu strikten Trennung zwischen Translationswissenschaft und den genannten Nachbardisziplinen [Philologie, Philosophie und anderen Kulturwissenschaften] besteht, so wird das Feld des Gegenstandes und der Methoden, die hier noch konstituierend zur Verfügung stehen, sehr eng, und dies wiederum deshalb, weil die Translationswissenschaft enge Bezüge zu den hier in Frage stehenden Nachbardisziplinen hat. (Steiner 1999, 484)

Dieser Umstand ist letztlich ursächlich dafür zu nennen, dass die wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit Translation anhand ebenfalls sehr unterschiedlicher Methoden der Nachbardisziplinen erfolgt (vgl. Pöchhacker 2011, 19). Des Weiteren sieht sich die Translation besonders stark mit der Schwierigkeit konfrontiert, die die Unterschiede im Professionalisierungsgrad mit sich bringen: „Im allgemeinen gilt für Tätigkeitsbereiche, in denen die Grenzen zwischen Experten und Laien derart fließend sind, dass sich (noch) keine klaren wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen gebildet haben“ (Steiner 1999, 481). Und nicht zuletzt ist ein wesentliches Merkmal von Wissenschaftsdisziplinen die Frage nach Form und Intensität der Verbindung zwischen Theorie und Praxis, deren Diskussion in Bezug auf die Translation hinreichend bekannt ist und die hier nicht erneut aufgegriffen werden soll (wenngleich später davon noch einmal die Rede sein wird). Vor diesem Hintergrund fährt Steiner fort:

Die daraus entstehende Anforderung ist nicht Ab- und Ausgrenzung, sondern im Gegenteil Verbreiterung der Dialogfähigkeit und der Fähigkeit zu themenorientierter wissenschaftlicher Arbeit am gemeinsamen Projekt. [...] Es versteht sich dabei von selbst, dass zum hier erforderlichen Netzwerk keineswegs nur Translationswissenschaftler und Sprachwissenschaftler gehören, sondern auch Wissenschaftler aus anderen Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften. (Steiner 1999, 491)

Damit plädiert Steiner für eine wissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit Translation, die nicht im Rahmen eines „unkritisch angenommenen Wissenschaftsbegriffs der Moderne steht, sondern die sich entlang gewisser Leitthemen und Methodologien entfaltet“ (Steiner 1999, 484). Bei einer solchen Herangehensweise steht im Vordergrund, dass die besagten Netzwerke sich dadurch auszeichnen, dass sie flexibel und „ihre Grenzen eher offen als scharf definiert sind“ (Steiner 1999, 501). Wesentlich ist dabei, dass auch der naheliegende Begriff der Interdisziplinarität nicht mehr verwendet wird, sondern die Erforschung der Translation transdisziplinär erfolgen muss und auch erfolgt:

Die Beiträge zu diesen Netzwerken sind nicht mehr nach der Zugehörigkeit zu der einen oder anderen Disziplin klassifizierbar, sondern überschreiten von Gegenstandsbereich und Methode her die Grenzen zwischen den klassischen Disziplinen. Der Annahme der Transdisziplinarität zufolge findet wissenschaftliche Arbeit heute im wesentlichen nicht mehr als Zusammenarbeit zuvor klar abgegrenzter Disziplinen statt, sondern auf einen Art, die die traditionellen Disziplinen zwar wissenschaftsgeschichtlich, nicht aber in der aktuellen Arbeit voraussetzt. (Steiner 1999, 502)

Der vorliegende Beitrag will diese Überlegungen nun, einige Jahre später, im Hinblick auf das Dolmetschen näher beleuchten und der Frage nachgehen, inwieweit das Dolmetschen transdisziplinär ausgerichtet ist, sein kann und sein muss. Auf die Auseinandersetzung um die Abgrenzung zwischen dem Übersetzen und dem Dolmetschen als eigenständige Forschungsbereiche wird dabei nicht eingegangen; sie lässt sich mit der Feststellung abkürzen, dass schriftliches Übersetzen per se *andere* Anforderungen als das mündliche Dolmetschen stellt, was nichts an der Tatsache ändert, dass beide Translationsarten grundsätzlich Sprachtransfer und jeweils besondere Formen der Kommunikation darstellen (vgl. Hönig 1998).

2 Zu den Begriffen Inter- und Transdisziplin

Dass eine wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit Translation nur über die klassischen Disziplingrenzen hinweg im Zusammenwirken der Erkenntnisse verschiedener Forschungsbereiche erfolgen kann, ist in translationswissenschaftlichen Beiträgen immer wieder zu lesen. So warnt Göpferich, die Translationswissenschaft als Interdisziplin versteht, vor einer zu unflexiblen Begrenzung, wenn es um Translation, d.h. die Optimierung von Kommunikation zwischen Kulturen, Sprachen und auch Disziplinen geht: „Dazu muss man sich [...] von einem – aus meiner Sicht – zu eng gefassten Translationsbegriff trennen und seine Perspektive weiten [...]“ (Göpferich 2004, 3). Kaindl betont die „Palette verschiedenster Bereiche“ (Kaindl 2004, 63), die den Gegenstand der Translationswissenschaft ausmacht; Heller diskutiert die Einordnung letzterer ausgehend davon, „dass Translate immer disziplinär ‚mehrfach besetzte‘ Phänomene sind“ (Heller 2013, 279). Zur Verdeutlichung der Vielfältigkeit der Translation kann die Definition derselben von Prunč dienen: „Unter Translation als Sondersorte der inter- und transkulturellen Kommunikation ist überkulturell jede konventionalisierte, interlinguale und vermittelte Interaktion zu verstehen“ (Prunč 2012³, 30). Dies bedeutet, dass zumindest als grundlegende Gegenstandsbereiche bzw. Forschungsrichtungen für Translation – nicht erschöpfend – in Frage kommen: interkulturelle Kommunikation in einer Sonderform; Sprachen, die nicht als Symbolsysteme, sondern konkret, wandelbar und variabel verwendet werden; eine konkrete Realisierung der Texte und Diskurse sowie ihrer Übertragungen, die jeweils zeitspezifisch und kulturell im Sinne von vor allem Normen, Konventionen und aktueller Sprachanwendung erfolgen (dies gilt vor allem für das Übersetzen) bzw. situativ relativiert erfolgen (dies gilt vor allem für das Dolmetschen); hinzu kommen die Bezugssysteme und konkreten Bezüge zwischen den einzelnen genannten Elementen und damit nicht zuletzt auch eine notwendige Auseinandersetzung mit der Rolle und gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung eines Translats und eines Translators (vgl. Prunč 2012³, 30f.). Die Mannigfaltigkeit der notwendigen Ansätze und damit Einbeziehung bzw. Anwendung der Erkenntnisse aus nicht-translationswissenschaftlichen Forschungsbereichen ist damit offensichtlich – wenngleich hier noch nicht berücksichtigt ist, wie vielfältig sich allein der Bereich Kommunikation gestaltet, als Stichwörter seien hier nur genannt: Verstehensprozess, soziale Rollen, Interaktion, soziopsychische Aspekte und vieles mehr. Es handelt sich also um ein äußerst komplexes Phänomen, das dementsprechend nach einem Zusammenspiel unterschiedlichster Blickwinkel verlangt. So formuliert auch Steiner:

[...] dass in allen hier genannten Gebieten Beiträge und Kooperation von verschiedenen Richtungen notwendig sind. Es wird in Zukunft die Fähigkeit sein, inter- oder vielleicht sogar transdisziplinäre Netzwerke von wissenschaftlichen Agenten aus all den implizierten Bereichen aufzubauen und flexibel zu gestalten. (Steiner 1999, 495)

Wie ist diese Transdisziplinarität, auch im Hinblick auf den oft verwendeten Begriff der Interdisziplinarität, zu verstehen? Transdisziplinarität ist im Sinne Mittelstraß' (2005) eine Weiterentwicklung der Interdisziplinarität: Disziplinen und ihre Abgrenzungen zueinander entsprechen immer weniger den (aktuellen) wissenschaftlichen Fragestellungen, denn überwiegend steht hinter einer Einteilung in Disziplinen „ein ganz bestimmtes Modell der Welt, eine Ontologie nämlich, welche die Wirklichkeit als Menge abgegrenzter Regionen auffasst [...]“ (Ropohl 2005, 25). Somit steht der Disziplinbegriff de facto für die institutionelle Zuweisung dieser Fragen und den theoretischen Umgang mit ihnen. Aufgrund der häufig disziplinübergreifenden Problemstellungen sind klare Zuordnungen weder sinnvoll noch möglich, gleichzeitig erfahren alle Forschungsbereiche zudem eine vertiefende Spezialisierung, was letztlich zueinander im Widerspruch steht. Interdisziplinarität stützt sich daher lediglich auf die historisch gewachsenen, nicht jedoch durch den Forschungsgegenstand bedingten Disziplinenbegriff und verfolgt dabei keine zusätzliche Erweiterung der Wissenschaft, sondern hat Ergänzung und Koordination derselben zum Ziel:

Interdisziplinarität im recht verstandenen Sinne geht nicht zwischen den Fächern oder den Disziplinen hin und her oder schwebt, dem absoluten Geist nahe, über den Fächern und den Disziplinen. Sie hebt vielmehr fachliche und disziplinäre Engführung, wo diese der Problementwicklung und einem entsprechenden Forschungshandeln im Wege stehen, wieder auf; sie ist in Wahrheit *Transdisziplinarität*¹. (Mittelstraß 2005, 19)

Und damit wird auch eine Definition von Transdisziplinarität möglich, die demzufolge verstanden werden kann als ein „*Forschungs- und Wissenschaftsprinzip*“², das überall dort wirksam wird, wo eine allein fachliche oder disziplinäre Definition von Problemlagen und Problemlösungen nicht möglich bzw. über derartige Definitionen hinausgeführt wird“ (Mittelstraß 2005, 21).

¹ Hervorhebung im Original.

² Hervorhebung im Original.

Wie ist es in der Dolmetschwissenschaft um die „transdisziplinäre Zukunft“, von der Steiner 1999 spricht, derzeit bestellt? Welches sind die bisherigen Entwicklungen im Hinblick auf die Frage nach der (besonderen) Notwendigkeit interdisziplinärer Ansätze in diesem Bereich? Welche Forschungsfragen stellen sich aktuell, die nach einem speziellen transdisziplinären Ansatz verlangen? Wie könnte dieser möglicherweise aussehen? Auf diese Fragen soll im Folgenden eingegangen werden.

3 Entwicklung der „Disziplin“ Dolmetschwissenschaft

Nach ersten deskriptiven Arbeiten über das Konferenzdolmetschen, die von Konferenzdolmetschern³ selbst verfasst wurden (vgl. Herbert 1952, Van Hoof 1962), beschäftigen sich von ca. Mitte der 1960er Jahre bis in die Anfänge der 1970er Jahre vor allem Psychologen mit dem Phänomen des mündlichen Sprachtransfers. Bekannt sind hier Arbeiten des französischen Forscherteams Oléron/Nanpon (1965), der Psycholinguistin Goldman-Eisler (1972) sowie des Franko-Kanadiers Barik (1975). Sie setzen sich mit Fragestellungen wie Tempo, Sprachenwechsel und Spracherwerb, inhaltlicher Qualität sowie Textsegmentierung auseinander (vgl. Pöhhacker/Shlesinger 2002). Themen also, die bis heute Gültigkeit haben und deren Erforschung noch immer fortgesetzt wird (vgl. Rennert 2010). Die Arbeit von Goldman-Eisler ist hier insbesondere zu nennen, wenn man sich Steiners Ausführungen zum Nutzen der Translationswissenschaft in Erinnerung ruft:

Was die Erforschung der Translation hier einzubringen hätte, wäre als Gegenstandsbereich einen der komplexesten Sprachverarbeitungsprozesse – nämlich die Translation – einen Prozess, der zudem, richtig verstanden, einen zentralen Teil, und möglicherweise eine zentrale Variante des Verstehensprozesses überhaupt darstellt. (Steiner 1999, 493)

Diese Auffassung teilte bereits Goldman-Eisler, die das Dolmetschen als ein *real-task* für die Erforschung der Verarbeitung von Sprache sah: Sie widmete sich der Untersuchung von Pausen und Häsitationsphänomenen und zeigte auf, dass – anders als frühere Arbeiten es suggerierten – die Verdolmetschung nicht in Sprechpausen erfolgt, sondern dass das Simultandolmetschen tatsächlich einen Prozess gleichzeitigen Hörens und Sprechens darstellt. Wenngleich diese Forschungsbemühungen der außenstehenden Forscher durch eine produktive interdisziplinäre Zusammenarbeit mit den praktizierenden

³ Hier und im Folgenden generisches Maskulinum.

Dolmetschern für eine rasche Zunahme der Erkenntnisse auf dem Gebiet der Dolmetschforschung hätten sorgen können, reagierten die Konferenzdolmetscher mit einer eher ablehnenden Haltung: Anstatt Interesse an wissenschaftlicher Auseinandersetzung mit dem Dolmetschen und Bereitschaft zur Kooperation zu zeigen, wiesen sie sowohl Vorgehensweise als auch Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchungen strikt ab⁴, diese „were not valid because subjects, tasks and experimental environment had little to do with conference interpreting as it is practised“ (Gile 2008, 53f.). Pöchhacker führt in diesem Zusammenhang eine weitere Äußerung an, welche die Vehemenz und Kurzsichtigkeit dieses Desinteresses deutlich zeigt: Die Konferenzdolmetscherin Bros-Brann tat 1975 all diese Arbeiten als „pure unadulterated jabberwocky“ ab (Pöchhacker 2004, 70; vgl. Kalina 2002, 35f.). Ab etwa Mitte der 1970er Jahre ist die Forschung durch fachfremde Wissenschaftler eher rückläufig. Von Oléron ist zwar bekannt, dass er bis in die 1990er Jahre weiter zu Fragen des Spracherwerbs, der Gebärdensprache und vielem mehr forschte und umfangreich publizierte, jedoch griff er das Thema Dolmetschen nie wieder auf (vgl. Pöchhacker/Shlesinger 2002, 42).

Die 1970/80er Jahre der Dolmetschforschung sind in erster Linie durch die Deverbalisierungstheorie Seleskovitchs geprägt (IT-Paradigma⁵). Den Forschungsansätzen der so genannten Pariser Schule werden allerdings eine zu starke intuitive Theoriebildung und mangelnde Empirie vorgeworfen. Dem gegenüber setzt eine interdisziplinär ausgerichtete, prozessorientierte Forschung ein: Kirchhoff untersucht 1976 das Simultandolmetschen als kognitiv komplexen Mehrphasenvorgang, Moser-Mercer liefert 1978 ein Modell zur Informationsverarbeitung im Simultandolmetschen, Chernov setzt sich 1979 mit dem Simultandolmetschen im Hinblick auf psycholinguistische Aspekte auseinander, Gile entwickelt 1985 zunächst für den Simultanmodus seine vor allem didaktisch maßgeblichen *Effort Models* (vgl. Gile 1985, 1995). Im Jahre 1986 setzt dann mit der Triester Konferenz in Abgrenzung zur Pariser Schule eine Wende ein: Es stehen eine stark (natur-) wissenschaftliche Ausrichtung und die Untersuchung der kognitiven Prozesse im Vordergrund (CP-Paradigma⁶), die Triester Schule treibt die Forschung auf neurophysiologischer bzw. neurolinguistischer Grundlage zunächst stark voran (NL-Paradigma⁷), jedoch scheint es an einer fruchtbaren Zusammenarbeit der

⁴ Als Ausnahme ist Seleskovitch zu nennen, der Oléron/Nanpon in ihrer Veröffentlichung ihren Dank für Auskunft und Interesse an der Untersuchung aussprechen.

⁵ IT = *interpretive theory* (vgl. Pöchhacker 2004, 68).

⁶ CP = *cognitive processing* (vgl. Pöchhacker 2004, 73).

⁷ NL = *neurophysiological/neurolinguistic*, (vgl. Pöchhacker 2004, 75).

Dolmetscher mit Forschern dieser Bereiche zu fehlen. Die nun vorhandenen zwei Ausrichtungen der Forschung führen dazu, dass die Forschergemeinschaft aus einer *liberal arts community* und einer *natural science community* besteht (vgl. Moser-Mercer 1994, 18ff.) und damit entsprechend unterschiedliche Forschungsausrichtungen und -ansätze verfolgt werden. Den Umschwung von einer intuitiven zu einer stark empirisch-wissenschaftlichen Forschung verortet Gile in den 1990er Jahren, die er als „renewal period“ (Gile 2000, 298) bezeichnet. Die Diskussion um die Eigenständigkeit als Disziplin wird intensiviert, auf Konferenzen wird begonnen, selbstbewusst von *Interpreting Studies* und nicht mehr zaghaft von *Interpreting Research/Theories* zu sprechen. Die Etablierung lässt sich auch anhand der Zunahme der Publikationen verdeutlichen, die von ein bis zwei Arbeiten pro Jahr in den ersten Forschungsjahren auf etwa 50 in den 1980er Jahren ansteigt und in den 1990er Jahren einen Umfang von ca. 140 erreicht. Als Dissertationen werden in den 1970er Jahren sieben Arbeiten eingereicht, in den 2000er zählt Gile 45 (vgl. Gile 2011). Die interdisziplinäre Orientierung der Dolmetschforschung insgesamt spiegelt sich besonders deutlich in der Dissertation von Kurz wider, die den programmatischen Titel *Simultandolmetschen als Gegenstand der interdisziplinären Forschung* trägt und die als Grundlagenwerk einen wichtigen Beitrag zur weiteren Dolmetschforschung und deren Ausrichtung leistet (vgl. Kurz 1996).

Die Dolmetschforschung erfährt eine zunehmende Vertiefung in den einzelnen Bereichen, ist aber spätestens ab Ende der 1990er Jahre dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass sie zusätzlich auch horizontal immer weiter reicht, da es längst nicht mehr, wie zu Beginn, allein um das Konferenzdolmetschen geht, sondern viele verschiedene Settings untersucht werden. Den Grundstein für diese Ausweitung legt Wadensjö im Jahr 1998 mit der Arbeit *Interpreting as Interaction* (DI-Paradigma⁸). Nun setzen sich Forscher auch mit Fragen beispielsweise der Ethik und Normen, Rollenbildern, dem Dolmetschen in Kriegs-/Krisengebieten oder in der Psychotherapie auseinander. Ein wesentliches Merkmal der Dolmetschforschung ist dadurch auch, dass die verschiedenen Paradigmen einander nicht unbedingt, wie wissenschaftstheoretisch eher üblich, ablösen, sondern nebeneinander fortbestehen (vgl. Pöchhacker 2004, 68ff.).

Gekennzeichnet sind diese Forschungsansätze darüber hinaus dadurch, dass sie aufgrund der thematisch-inhaltlichen Unterschiedlichkeit des Dolmetschens immer wieder aus anderen Disziplinen entlehnen – und zwar nicht nur Erkenntnisse, sondern auch theoretische Ansätze und Methoden. Die

⁸ DI = *dialogic discourse-based interaction* (vgl. Pöchhacker 2004, 79).

Vielfalt der Ansätze entspricht dabei der Komplexität der (im Plural) Forschungsgegenstände Dolmetschen; je nach Fragestellung und entsprechender Konzeptualisierung reicht das Spektrum sehr weit und zeigt, dass Dolmetschen vieles gleichermaßen ist:

[...] a function between socio-cultural identities *and* a distinct professional profile *and* a service rendered in an institutional context *and* a set of interactional behaviours *and* a text comprehension and production task *and* a cognitive processing skill *and* a unique pattern of neurophysiological activity and as such it eludes any single or uniform research model. (vgl. Pöchhacker 2011, 9)⁹

Die Inter- bzw. Transdisziplinarität ist in der Dolmetschwissenschaft also sowohl im Hinblick auf die Einbeziehung von Erkenntnissen anderer Disziplinen gegeben, als auch aufgrund einer interdisziplinären Vorgehensweise was die Anwendung von Theorien und Methoden betrifft: Forschung erfolgt anhand von *fieldwork*, Beobachtungen oder Umfragen sowie mittels einer großen Anzahl von Mischformen (z.B. Konferenzsimulationen). Von der Bandbreite von grundsätzlich möglichen Ansätzen, die von Realismus auf der einen bis zum Relativismus auf der anderen Seite reichen, scheint sich die Dolmetschforschung für den Pragmatismus entschieden zu haben: „[...] with regard do scientific inquiry, pragmatics accept multiple realities and will use any philosophical and methodological approach that works best for a given research problem” (Pöchhacker 2011, 13). Darin finden sich auch die Worte Steiners wieder:

Die Beiträge zu diesen [entweder inter- oder transdisziplinären] Netzwerken sind nicht mehr nach der Zugehörigkeit zu der einen oder anderen Disziplin klassifiziert, sondern überschreiten von Gegenstandsbereich und Methode her die Grenzen zwischen den klassischen Disziplinen. (Steiner 1999, 502)

⁹ Hervorhebungen im Original.

4 Allgemeine Systemtheorie als Ausweg?

Wenn so viel über Entlehnungen aus anderen Bereichen gesprochen wurde, stellt sich nun abschließend die Frage, wie die Dolmetschwissenschaft von außen gesehen in Bezug auf ihre Transdisziplinarität bewertet werden kann und welche alternative Methodik wissenschaftstheoretische Überlegungen möglicherweise anbieten können.

Kennzeichen einer Transdisziplin ist der Umstand, dass Wissen, das aus den klassischen Disziplinen gewonnen wurde, mit dem problemspezifischen Wissen in Bezug auf eine bestimmte Fragestellung in einen neuen Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Es handelt sich also um ein in hohem Maße integratives Vorgehen. Die Dolmetschwissenschaft verwendet, wie gezeigt wurde, eine Vielzahl von Methoden und Theorien und verbindet diese. Die Art und Weise in der dies erfolgt, ist weitestgehend jedoch kombinierend. Eine Vorgehensweise, die für Transdisziplinen vorgeschlagen wird und die den notwendig integrativen Charakter bewahrt, findet sich in der Allgemeinen Systemtheorie (vgl. Ropohl 2005, 27). Diesem Ansatz entsprechende Modellierungen erfolgen auf der Grundlage von drei Prinzipien (vgl. Ropohl 2005, Simon 2007, Berghaus 2011³):

1) Relationen: Ein System besteht aus einer bestimmten Anzahl von Elementen (Zustände, Inputs, Outputs) sowie deren Beziehungen zu a) der system-umgebenden Umwelt und b) der Elemente untereinander. Dies bedeutet – ausschnittsweise und sehr vereinfacht auf das Dolmetschen übertragen –, dass ein Zuhörer einen bestimmten persönlichen wie kulturellen Hintergrund hat (seine Umwelt) und in der bestimmten Systemsituation in Beziehung zum Dolmetscher steht, dem er zuhört.

2) übersummativ: Das *Ganze* besteht aus einer bestimmten Anzahl von Teilen und ihrem Zusammenwirken, was bedeutet, dass die Eigenschaften des Ganzen mehr sind als die Summe der Eigenschaften der Teile. Das System Gesprächspartner A und B ist im Ganzen nicht nur A plus B, sondern A plus B plus ihre Interaktion.

3) Teil vom Teil: Jedes Ganze ist wiederum Teil eines anderen größeren Ganzen. Ein Dolmetscher ist Teil eines Kabinenteams, dieses wiederum ist Teil einer bestimmten Veranstaltung, die Teil einer mehrtägigen Konferenz ist.

Insbesondere dieses dritte Prinzip lässt sich auch anhand von dolmetschwissenschaftlichen Modellierungen veranschaulichen. Diese Modelle bilden – modellinhärent – immer nur einen bestimmten Ausschnitt ab: Es gibt Modelle zur Informationsverarbeitung des Simultandolmetschers, zum Sprachtransfer, zur Personenkonstellation im Kommunikationsprozess, zur Direktionalität

usw. (vgl. Andres/Behr/Dingfelder Stone 2013) Im Gegensatz dazu besteht das Ziel der Allgemeinen Systemtheorie darin, die Komplexität zu erhalten und eben nicht zu reduzieren; systemtheoretische Modellierungen sind daher typischerweise mehrdimensional, holistisch und integrativ. Dementsprechend erscheint die Anwendung dieses Prinzips auf die Translation mehr als naheliegend. Salevsky, die sich seit den 1990er Jahren mit dem systemtheoretischen Ansatz beschäftigt, ist die erste, die mit ihrer Veröffentlichung *Translation as Systemic Interaction* (2011, zusammen mit Müller) konkret diesen systemischen Ansatz der transdisziplinären Translation erarbeitet, da sie diese gekennzeichnet sieht durch:

[...] the non-existence of an approach covering the entire field of translation. [...] The partial theories of translation put forward so far are neither uninteresting nor barren, but they fail to account for the growing complexity of translational manifestations; nor do they overcome the lack of transparency of translational processes. (Salevsky/Müller 2011, 7)

Dabei geht es Salevsky weniger um eine geeignete Modellierungsmöglichkeit, sondern um die Schaffung einer Grundlage für eine Allgemeine Translationstheorie. Eine konkrete Umsetzung ihres Ansatzes schlägt sie anhand eines Computerprogramms vor, das multidimensionale Systeme modelliert und dabei deren Komplexität erhält. Entscheidungsfindungen bei höchst komplexen Fragestellungen werden dadurch unter Beachtung aller relevanten Faktoren möglich (vgl. Vester 1999). Eine allererste Anwendung dieses Programms auf Translation erfolgt durch Müller am Beispiel von Übersetzungen russischer Fachtexte (vgl. Salevsky/Müller 2011) und zeigt, dass die Nutzung solcher PC-basierter Simulationswerkzeuge zur Gewinnung von Erkenntnis-Matrizes für Translation vielversprechend ist. Am *Fachbereich Translations-, Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaften* der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Gernersheim laufen derzeit die Vorbereitungen für ein Projekt, in dessen Rahmen verschiedene Dolmetschsettings unter Verwendung eines solchen Modellierungsprogramms simuliert werden sollen. Diese Simulationen sollen in einem ersten Schritt Aufschlüsse liefern, inwiefern unterschiedliche Variablen in einem bestimmten Setting andere beeinflussen und in welcher Weise sich dies auf die Qualität einer Dolmetschleistung auswirkt. Dies könnte den mittlerweile anerkanntermaßen *relativen* Qualitätsbegriff (vgl. Behr 2013) praktikabel und transparent verwendbar machen. Doch darüber hinaus birgt dieser Ansatz sicher eine Vielzahl weiterer Forschungsmöglichkeiten mit der Aussicht auf hohen Erkenntnisgewinn – und dies weil das klassische Disziplinendenken damit nicht nur in der Theorie, sondern auch in der wissenschaftlichen Praxis überwunden wird, denn:

Beherzigt man das „Holistische Gesetz“ der Systemtheorie – das Ganze ist mehr als die Summe seiner Teile –, besitzen gegenüber einer Menge von Wissens-elementen selbstverständlich die integralen Wissenssynthesen eine neuartige Systemqualität, aber die erschließt sich kaum dem atomistischen Spezialisten, sondern nur dem holistischen Generalisten, der die Vorzüge der neuen Wissenssysteme in praktikablen Anwendungen und plausiblen Deutungen zu würdigen weiß. (Ropohl 2005, 30)

Und dieser holistische Ansatz eines Generalisten entspricht Pöchhackers Fazit über die Besonderheit der transdisziplinären Dolmetschforschung:

Most importantly, mixing methods, in the paradigmatic sense, and thereby, to some extent, blending epistemological orientations and research traditions would seem to suggest itself as the policy of choice for a field with as complex and multi-faceted an object of study and as great a diversity of conceptual approaches as interpreting studies. (Pöchhacker 2011, 22)

Grenzen in der Dolmetschwissenschaft scheinen auf dem besten Wege zu sein, überwunden zu werden – was daraus mindestens gewonnen werden kann, formulierte Steiner 1999 auch in seinem Artikel: „Die durch die entfallenden Reibungsverluste freiwerdende wissenschaftliche Energie kann der Arbeit am Forschungsprogramm gewidmet werden“ (Steiner 1999, 491).

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Some observations on the valency of Steinerisms: towards a methodology of investigation

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Abstract

The present contribution reports on some preliminary observations on the some-Steinerism, a text type-specific construction found in headings of scientific articles. I will examine some key features both of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the construction based on both a qualitative as well as a quantitative analysis of a small hand-selected sample. On the basis of the observations, I will argue for a classification of some-Steinerisms as quantitative future fulfilment statements. The method applied here is intended to serve as blueprint for future studies of Steinerisms.

1 Introduction to Steinerisms

This paper presents a pilot study on a phenomenon usually referred to as *Steinerisms*. Steinerisms are a type of constructions typically appearing in academic discourse, or more precisely, in titles of papers, talks, and related academic text types. They are associated with a certain type of rhetorical style, the cognitive basics of which will also be analysed in this paper. The Steinerism construction class was named after one of its most prominent users, Erich Steiner, full professor at Saarland University.

The Steinerism class of constructions subsumes a construction of the pattern

some NP_{abstract}

typically found in headings of scientific articles. The paper presents quantitative and qualitative analysis of *some-Steinerisms* with regard to both syntactic and semantic properties. I propose to characterise the *some-Steinerism* as a *quantitative future fulfilment statement*, to be argued for in the following sections. At the same time this paper aims at contributing to a standard methodology of analysing Steinerisms. The methodology used here may serve as a

blueprint for further investigations. Another candidate for the Steinerism construction class is the *towards*-construction, probably to be characterised as *directional future fulfilment statement*, which is, however, not studied here.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. Sections 2 and 3 briefly describe the data sample used for the analysis as well as its text typological background. Sections 4 and 5 are concerned with the semantic background, from a cognitive and a collocational perspective. Section 6 attempts a brief quantitative analysis of syntactic patterns typical for *some*-Steinerisms. Section 7 summarises and concludes the paper.

2 Data sample

The following investigation constitutes a pilot study on the PETRUS corpus (Atayan and Maksymski this volume). The PETRUS corpus is a collection of titles of talks and publications by Erich Steiner. It was compiled in Excel and is available upon contact with its makers (*ibid.*).

The sample contains a hand-selected list of all titles from PETRUS containing the *some*-construction (see Appendix). Only titles from written texts, e.g. journal or conference papers, were included. In the course of compiling the PETRUS corpus, double entries were already removed. The sample contains 12 elements.

3 Text typological background of Steinerisms

The concept of text types has been made fruitful for many purposes, both from a monolingual (Adamzik 2000; Lee 2001) or translational (Reiß and Vermeer 1984; Fix, Habscheid, and Klein 2001) point of view, in machine translation (Koehn and Schroeder 2007), or in contrastive linguistics (Trumpp 1998).

The Steinerism construction owes its special meaning (cf. Sections 4 and 5) to the specific text type. It appears in various types of academic discourse, both written and spoken. More precisely, the Steinerism is a typical feature of the titles, and thus an integral part of text types in academic discourse. It is a construction very typical of the phraseology of languages for special purposes (Roelcke 2010), and can only be understood in the context of such. As we will see in the following section, more than in other text types this construction guides the expectations of the reader.

4 Cognitive background of *some*-Steinerisms

In order to understand the purpose of Steinerisms, we need to take a brief look at the cognitive background of Steinerisms. What expectations does it raise in its reader/hearer?

The common element of all Steinerisms is the article *some*. In the FrameNet dictionary (Johnson et al. 2002), based on the theoretical groundings of frame semantics (Fillmore 1982; Fillmore 1985; Petruck 1996), *some* is assigned to the *Proportional_quantity* frame. This frame has the following definition:

The Denoted_quantity is (generally) an imprecise characterization of the quantity of Individuals or a Mass, made with reference to a relatively easily and precisely imaginable Reference_quantity.

Following this definition, a key property of a Steinerism is the *impreciseness of quantity*. How this property adds to the overall meaning of the construction can only be revealed by an analysis of the possible collocations.

In terms of Lakoff and Johnson's metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), the *some*-Steinerisms can be based on the containment schema and with this underlying schema be characterised as a quantitative future fulfilment scenario. If thoughts are material that our head is to be filled with, the *some* lexeme indicates an initial state that precedes, but does not reach a state of fullness. This is to be contrasted with the directional future fulfilment scenario in constructions with *towards* (cf. also Atayan and Maksymski this volume), as has been said before, another candidate for the Steinerism construction class.

Interpreting the metaphor in its use, one can conclude that the author offers some material which is abstract (e.g. thoughts, remarks), but which is conceptualised as concrete matter that can be put into a container, more precisely into a category conceptualised as physical container. Whether this container has previously been filled generally remains underspecified by the context.

To give this a less abstract interpretation: *some*-Steinerisms denote an incomplete quantity in relation to some topic. The field of discourse a *some*-Steinerism relates to is the focus of the present discourse situation, but it is not covered in its entirety. The reader/hearer is presented with material relevant to the topic at hand, but at the same time is reminded that further aspects (and probably further work) will be required to finalise the view of the topic. This interpretation strengthens the proposal to view *some*-Steinerisms as quantitative future fulfilment statements.

5 NP-head fillers of the *some*-construction

The analysis of the fillers of the NP-head in the *some*-Steinerisms helps constrain the semantic space within which Steinerisms operate. While by no means exhaustive, table 1 lists the nouns which act as heads of the NP in the *some*-constructions. The list was compiled manually from the PETRUS corpus.

remarks
strengths and weaknesses
representational issues
methodological questions
implications
thoughts
methods
properties

Table 1: List of NP-heads of the *some*-construction found in PETRUS

As stated in section 4, the collocates of *some* in a Steinerism should be only abstract nouns. However, the above list gives some more information on which semantic classes of nouns will preferably fill the NP role in this construction. The nouns listed here centre around four classes. First, there is the property class instantiated by *strengths and weaknesses* and *property*. Second, the domain of methodology is covered by the nouns *methods* and *issues*. Third, the communication class is represented by the words *questions* and *remarks*. And fourth, *implications* and *thoughts* can both be assigned to the cognitive processes class. The latter three classes are closely related, as both communication as well as the adherence to a certain methodology require cognitive processes.

The classes associated with *some*-Steinerisms are all of abstract type and can all be applied to the domain of *topic* in an academic discourse. Using a role filler from the property class indicates that properties of a certain topic-relevant entity are discussed, as exemplified by

- (1) *Some properties of texts in terms of 'information distribution across language'*

The methodology class relates to research processes and their design, as in

- (2) *Grammatical metaphor in translation - some methods for corpus-based investigations*

The communication class suggests that the academic discourse is to span beyond the current discourse situation – reading the paper or listening to the talk. Examples of this are

- (3) *Some remarks on a functional level for machine translation*
- (4) *Translation Evaluation - some methodological questions arising from the German translation of Goldhagen's "Hitler's Willing Executioners"*

The cognitive processes class stresses a similar point as the communication class, just that it relates not only to the open discourse, but it also picks up on the interpretation offered previously in section 4, by which neither the discourse nor the work in relation to the topic at hand are finished, as can be gathered from the following examples:

- (5) *Ideational grammatical metaphor: exploring some implications for the overall model*
- (6) *Construing Contextualization through Meaning: Some Thoughts on a Semantics for Theme*

All these examples strengthen the argument for a semantic characterisation of *some*-Steinerisms as quantitative future fulfilment statement.

6 Quantitative analysis of syntactic patterns for NP-complements

Table 2 shows a quantitative analysis of which complements the *some* + NP-construction combines with. It is only in two cases that the complements were not prepositional phrases, however, the vast majority of the cases belongs into this category.

NP _{abstract}	PP-for	PP-on	PP-in	PP-of	PARTP	COMPP
remarks		x				
strengths and weaknesses						x
representational issues			xx			
methodological questions					x	
implications	x					
thoughts		xx				

methods	x					
properties				xx		
TOTAL	2	3	2	2	1	1

Table 2: Type and quantity of complements of the abstract NPs found with some

The type of PP is defined by the valency properties of the noun modified by *some*. At first sight, there seems to be no difference in meaning of the *some*-constructions with regard to the PP type. While these may be instances of schematic or habitual constructions that are not necessarily connected to specific meanings (cf. Goldberg 1995), the two cases outside the PP schema deserve special notice.

One case is the phrase “some strengths and weaknesses relative to other approaches”. Here, the NP modified by *some* does not refer to the theme at hand alone (i.e. a certain approach), but contrasts it with other themes of the same type, embedded into by the “relative to”-phrase. At the same time and more importantly, the *some*-construction indicates that the list of entities presented here, i.e. “strengths and weaknesses”, is not complete and needs further amendment.

The other case is the construction “some methodological questions arising from the German translation of Goldhagen’s ‘Hitler’s Willing Executioners’”. In this construction, a present participle phrase is adjoined to “questions”, stressing the process that is connected to the semantic class that *question* belongs to, i.e. the communication class. The questions presented in this instance of academic discourse need an answer, which, however, appears not to be given in the very same instance of the academic discourse situation.

In both cases, we have strong indication of processes that span into the future, an interpretation compatible with the proposal for classifying *some*-Steinerisms as quantitative future fulfilment statements.

7 Conclusions

The study on *some*-Steinerisms presented here has drawn from a diverse range of analysis techniques, investigating the cognitive background, the semantic space of NP-head fillers in the construction, and on syntactic complements. Based on the results of the study, we can conclude that *some*-Steinerisms exhibit certain interesting semantic and syntactic properties, but most notably with regard to its pragmatic function, namely guiding the

expectations of readers and indicating that the discourse at hand is unfinished and needs future fulfilment; hence the characterisation of *some*-Steinerisms as quantitative future fulfilment statements.

Future fulfilment is also needed concerning the analysis of further Steinerism constructions. Besides a pilot study on the properties of *some*-Steinerisms, this paper presented a method of investigation which can certainly be extended to other candidates for the Steinerisms construction class, e.g. *towards*-Steinerisms, which I propose to classify and study as directional future fulfilment statement.

Appendix

List of Steinerisms extracted manually from PETRUS

- Steiner, E. 1993. "**Some remarks on a functional level for machine translation.**" In: Halliday, M.A.K. and Peng, Fred C.C., eds. *Language Sciences. Special Issue on "Current Research in Functional Grammar, Discourse, and Computational Linguistics, with Foundation in Systemic Theory.*" Vol. 14., No. 4: 1-15.
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Some models of compound verbs in English

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Abstract

Language has a number of ways to form new words. One of them is the use of analogy. In this article, analogy is understood as the use of one form that serves as a model for other forms which speakers perceive as similar to the established pattern. In the case chosen, a number of models of compound verbs in English are described which have a fixed second element, and whose open first part is filled by adjectives.

1 Introduction

It has been known for some time that analogy plays an important role in word formation (Becker 1990). In this article, I will look at a case that involves compound verbs. In English, these complex forms are less frequent than nominal and adjectival compounds (Plag 2003: 154). There has been a lively debate about the word-formational status of compound verbs dating back at least to Marchand (1969). While compound nouns, adjectives, and adverbs are generally considered to be genuine compounds, which combine two or more free forms with one another, e.g. *freight train*, *snowbound*, *stock-still*, Marchand took verbs like *to daydream*, *to mastermind*, *to short-change* to be not genuine compounds, but secondary combinations which are derived from non-verbal compounds. He distinguished between compound and pseudo-compound verbs. In accordance with the definition of endocentric compounds, Marchand accepted only verbs preceded by a particle such as *to download* and *to upload* as genuine compound verbs. They are compound verbs, because the two free morphemes follow the determinant-determinatum pattern, with a verb for their determinatum, and a particle for their determinant (Marchand 1969: 96). Verbs like *to blow-dry*, *to fact-check*, *to nutshell*, on the other hand, are classified as pseudo-compound verbs because their second part, i.e. *dry*, *check*, *shell*, cannot be understood as the determinatum of the compound (Marchand 1969: 101). I will come back to these questions

toward the end of the present article. The expression *compound verb* is used for the cases presented below.¹

2 Word-formational patterns

In the history of English, a number of these verbs have become models for new formations with a pattern-forming first or second element. Their productivity has changed over time. Let us start with a productive schema which has a pattern-forming first element.

to speed-breathe “to breathe very quickly”, *to speed-dial* “to dial somebody’s number very quickly”, *to speed-quote* “to repeat what someone else has written exactly and very fast”, *to speed-read* “to read something very fast using a learned technique of skimming the text”, *to speed-type* “to push the buttons on a cellular phone very fast”, *to speed-walk* “to go on foot at a fast pace”, *to speed-write* “to produce something hastily and without sufficient care”

Meanwhile, all four of Clinton’s top political aides were speed-dialing the Hill, sending and seeking reassurance. (*Time* August 10, 1998: 37)

High school students speed-type on their phones, zapping out messages with such ease that teachers, worried about cheating, confiscate the devices before tests. (*Business Week* May 3, 1999: 133)

These examples, taken from a variety of sources of written American (AmE) and British English (BrE), are obviously instantiations of a word-formational pattern, which one might express as the schema $[[\text{speed}]_N [_]_V]_V$ ‘to do something at a fast pace’. It has been abstracted and generalised from instances of compound words, about which historical dictionaries tell us more. The second edition of the OED on CD-ROM in its version 4.0 lists just one example, i.e. *to speed-read*. The compound verb is attested first (*to speed-read* (1960)), followed by the compound noun *speed-reader* (1965), and the verbal noun *speed-reading* (1965). Let us now have a look at a productive schema which has a pattern-forming second element.

¹ Compounds are written as one or more words, or are joined by a hyphen, e.g. *travel agent*, *dark-haired*, *bathroom*. The majority of compound verbs are written either as one-word or hyphenated forms, e.g. *to earmark*, *to name-drop*. Two-word forms are extremely rare, e.g. *to ski jump* (AmE), *to free climb* (BrE). In the lists of compound verbs given below, I have standardized their orthography by using a hyphen throughout. In the quotes taken from various sources their writing has not been changed.

to baby-sit “to take care of babies or children in the absence of their parents”, *to cat-sit* “to take care of a cat in the absence of its owner”, *to dog-sit* “to take care of a dog in the absence of its owner”, *to granny-sit* “to look after an elderly person in the absence of his or her usual carers”, *to house-sit* “to live in or look after a house while the usual occupants are away”, *to pool-sit* “to look after a pool while the usual occupants are away”

Michelle [Obama] grew up knowing useful people: she was chummy with Jesse Jackson’s daughter and even baby-sat his son when she was a teenager. (*Economist* July 5, 2008: 57)

2001 *Cult Times* Feb. 34/1 They had been housesitting while I was away working out of the country. (OED 4.0)

We will abstract the pattern as [[__]_N [sit]_V]_V meaning “to take care of a person, animal or object” from the examples given above. Historically, the series seems to have started with *to baby sit* (1947), derived from the compound noun *baby sitter* (1937). The compound verb *to dog-sit* (1951) follows next with the compound noun *dog sitter* (1942) preceding. The same relationship can be found between the compound verb *to cat-sit* (1955) and the noun *cat sitter* (1948). The verb *to house-sit* (1971) is next. Looking after an elderly person, i.e. *to granny-sit* (1979), is a recent instantiation of this pattern attested in the OED 4.0 a year earlier than the noun *granny-sitting* (1980). A fairly new formation is *to pool-sit* (2009), recorded in COCA.

... (my earthly belongings reside in a 10-by-10-foot windowless U-Haul storage unit whilst I alternately housesit, pool-sit, and cat-sit)...

3 Models of compound verbs and their adjectival fillers

In the remainder of this article, I will look at a word-formational pattern with a fixed second element whose first part is filled by adjectives. Let us begin with verbs that have a body part, i.e. *arm*, for their second component, and whose variable part is filled by adjectives connected with the physical properties of an arm.

[[__]_{ADJ} [arm]_N]_V

to stiff-arm “(Football) to tackle or fend off somebody by extending an arm rigidly; (fig.) to keep somebody at a distance”, *to straight-arm* “(Football) to ward off a tackler or make room for oneself by holding the

arm out straight; (fig.) to force or ward somebody off by or as if by holding the arm out straight”, *to strong-arm* “to use threats or violence against somebody; to bully, intimidate”

The verbs *to stiff-arm* and *to straight-arm* express actions common in American Football to tackle or fend off an opponent with a stiff or straight arm. The OED displays quotes for the two verbs from football manuals of the late 1920s and early 1930s.

1927 *G. S. Lowman Pract. Football*. xii. 218 When playing in the line, the defensive center should stiff-arm his opponent back into the play. (OED 4.0)

Many people live in the Sports Format Network, for example. I tried it once, and ran not yards, but miles for a winning Super Bowl touchdown. Dozens of bullock-like opponents tried to bring me down; I straight-armed them, dismembering them with my force. (COCA – 1990)

In everyday use, both verbs are used figuratively.

He [Helmut Kohl] never forgave them [political commentators], and has stiff-armed the despised press ever since. (*Time* January 31, 2000: 26)

UP UNTIL THEN, Clinton had been able to straight-arm the problem by refusing to answer the “have you ever” questions that undid Gary Hart. (COCA– 1993)

The third verb is associated with a person whose physical power results from the strength of his arms, which he applies in his actions in order to make people do what he wants. The verb is used in a figurative sense meaning “to treat somebody roughly, to coerce or bully somebody”.

“The US must also be careful about not appearing to strong-arm Israel, since that can sow political instability.” (COCA – 2010)

Washington was wrong to strong-arm the issue to a decision in a divided NATO. (*New York Times* February 11, 2003: online)

Another schema with colour adjectives as fillers has the noun *list* “a series of names, items, figures, etc.” for its base. The pattern does not simply mean to register but to place somebody or something in a category specified by the cultural associations that have become linked with the colour term.

[[__]_{ADJ} [list]_N]v

to black-list “to put a person, country, product etc. regarded as unacceptable or untrustworthy on a list”, *to gray-list* (AmE)/*to grey-list* (BrE) “to put a person suspected to be politically left-leaning on a list”, *to red-list* “to put a person, country, product etc. on a blacklist”, *to white-list* “to place a name, email address, Web site address, or program on a list of approved contacts”

States are beginning to blacklist companies accused of bribing public officials. (*Business Week* August 7, 1995: 18)

Offscreen, [Betty] Garrett was a one-guy girl, the wife of Jolson Story star Larry Parks from 1944 until his death in 1975. For having joined the Communist Party, he was blacklisted; she was briefly graylisted. But no one could long suppress Garrett’s sunny verve, the saucy spin she gave to a line or lyric. (*Time* February 28, 2011: 15)

According to the OED, the series started with the compound verb *to blacklist* (1884), derived from the noun *black-list* (c1619) or the verbal noun *black-listing* (1718). There are a number of reasons for being put on a list. Take the quote given for the verb *to graylist* above. It uses the colour term *gray* to express the political views of a person deemed to be moderately left-wing as compared with those of a member of the Communist Party. **Collins** (2011) has an entry for the verb *to greylist* meaning “to hold (someone) in suspicion, without actually excluding him or her from a particular activity”. The compound verb *to red-list* is a low-frequency synonym of *to blacklist*.

He did not withdraw all Robertson’s assigned men; he merely red-listed him from getting any more. (Hughes, *Shore*: 396)

The verb *to white-list* is well-known from its use in information technology. **Wordspy** has this to say about its origin.

Today’s new verb comes from the noun *white list* (or *whitelist*) which entered the language around 1900. The verb form (to place someone or something on a list of things deemed safe or acceptable) has been around since about the mid-70s. The specific sense of placing items on a list of things known not to be spam or viruses first started appearing in Usenet posts around 1996, although, as the earliest citation shows, the verb didn’t make it into the media until 2001. (Wordspy <http://wordspy.com/words/whitelist.asp>)

Wordspy gives a quote for the verbal noun *white listing* (2001) as the earliest citation for the compound verb *to white-list*.

Finjan Software has branded itself as a pioneer in the behavior-blocking field with its SurfinShield product, which provides corporate desktops with real-time monitoring of executable files, ActiveX, Java, Visual Basic Script and JavaScript, Scrap files (.shs and .shb), and Windows Scripting Host attachments (.vbs, .js, .wsh). ...

The application permits the “**white listing**” of known non-malicious programs, which are allowed to run while all other code is still monitored. —Robert Vibert, “Extending scanner range,” *Information Security*, February 2001

The OED has an entry for the compound noun *white list* (1900) meaning “a list of people or things considered acceptable”, which was obviously modeled on the noun *blacklist*. This is still used today. The OED has no entry for a compound verb *to whitelist*. In the jargon used by computer technologists, the verbs *to blacklist*, *to graylist*, and *to whitelist* are common. An email server can for example be blacklisted, which means that email of a person or organization is not delivered. Something similar takes place with *to graylist*. In computerese, it refers to a special method of defending email users against spam. To quote from **Wikipedia** (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greylisting>):

“A mail transfer agent (MTA) using greylisting will “temporarily reject” any email from a sender it does not recognize. If the mail is legitimate the originating server will, after a delay, try again and, if sufficient time has elapsed, the email will be accepted.”

To summarize, the pattern was set by the compound verb *to blacklist*. The noun *white list* modeled on the compound *black-list* does not seem to have developed a commonly used verb. The **Urban Dictionary** (entry *whitelisted*) records the usage of a verb *to whitelist* which refers to the feeling of white people in the U.S. that they are increasingly being discriminated against because of their ethnic origin. The verb is common in computerese, where it has become one of three terms to specify different methods to prevent spam. Here is an example from COCA that exemplifies *to blacklist* and *to whitelist* as antonyms.

The firewalls of the ten suites we tried all let you set some sort of general security level, whitelist and blacklist individual applications, and enable specific ports and network protocols. (COCA – 2006)

To graylist got its name because it is a mixture of black- and white-listing. The colour scale *black – gray/grey – white* has been used in full to describe these methods. The odd one out is the verb *to redlist*, a synonym of *to blacklist*. As a noun it is very common in expressions such as *red list of threatened species*.

[[___]_{ADJ} [**wash**]_N]_V

The last pattern to be considered consists of a verb and its adjectival complement. It can also be analyzed as a noun preceded by an adjective. We will adopt this analysis. Some of the compound verbs to be looked at have different senses. We will focus on their figurative meaning “to give an appearance to somebody or something, contrary to what is the case”.

to black-wash “1. to use a wash that colors a surface black, 2. (AmE) to bring (information) from concealment, to disclose, 3. (fig.) to make a false accusation in order to ruin somebody’s reputation”; *to green-wash* “to describe products as being more environmentally friendly than they really are”, *to pink-wash* “to claim to care about breast cancer by promoting a pink ribbon product, but at the same time producing, manufacturing and/or selling products that are linked to the disease”, *to red-wash* “to give the impression that one is a communist, while one is not at all”, *to white-wash* “1. to paint something, usually a wall, with whitewash, 2. (fig.) to hide the true facts about somebody or something by deliberately covering up or glossing over their mistakes or faults, 3. (esp. BrE) to defeat an opposing player or team decisively, especially by preventing the player or team from scoring at all”.

It was with this false claim that Louis Becke became the biographer of Bully Hayes, and launched the legend which later biographers have swallowed hook, line, and sinker. Becke had a peculiar literary twist. Instead of whitewashing his hero, he blackwashed him. (Clune, *Hayes*: 129)

Ruling by terror, the new leadership was only later to attempt to white-wash its atrocities by declaring that the troops had been provoked... (Elegant, *Destiny*: 352)

The pattern seems to have been set by the verb *to whitewash*, which is the earliest compound recorded in the OED. The noun *whitewash* (1689) originally denoted a “cosmetic wash formerly used for imparting a light colour to the skin” (OED entry *whitewash* n.1). It was later used figuratively for “something that conceals faults or gives a fair appearance” (OED entry *whitewash* n.3). According to the OED, the compound verb *to whitewash* (1762) is

earlier recorded in this meaning than the compound noun (1865). The compound *blackwash* developed as an antonym along the same lines. The noun *black-wash* (1818) originally expressed a lotion. The compound verb *to blackwash* (1869) meaning “to misrepresent somebody’s words or actions” is recorded later than the noun *black-wash* (1859) in this sense. The three remaining verbs are more recent analogical formations. The compound noun *greenwash* (1987) and the verb *to greenwash* (1989) came into use almost simultaneously. The quote from COCA illustrates the ways and means companies apply to present their products and business behavior as being more environmentally friendly than they really are.

Under the pressure of a worldwide environmental movement, things change, but with painful slowness. At the same time, corporations spend an inordinate amount of money to “greenwash” themselves. They lie about their records, take credit for obeying environmental legislation that passed despite their own intense lobbying efforts, corrupt scientific research, and mount intense public relations campaigns to discredit established scientific truths (Fagin, Lavelle, and the Center for Public Integrity 1996). (COCA – 1999)

The verb *to pinkwash* refers to cosmetic companies which use their support of the breast cancer cause to market products, particularly products that researchers say may contribute to rising rates of the disease. *Pink* is the colour associated with breast cancer research. Here is a quote from an action group devoted to this cause (<http://thinkbeforeyoupink.org/>).

Breast Cancer Action coined the term pinkwashing as part of our Think Before You Pink® campaign.

Pinkwasher: (pink’-wah-sheer) noun. A company or organization that claims to care about breast cancer by promoting a pink ribbon product, but at the same time produces, manufactures and/or sells products that are linked to the disease.

Wordspy (wordspy.com/words/pinkwashing.asp) has an example for the verbal noun *pinkwashing* from 2002. The **Urban Dictionary** (entry *pinkwashing*) has the following dialog.

KFC: Together we can make the largest donation in Komen [Susan G. Komen for the Cure®, a community fighting against breast cancer] history.

Consumer: Stop pinkwashing me, you fuck-head! Why wouldn't I just donate money to breast cancer if I wanted to?! Everyone knows you benefit more than the cancer foundations!

Finally, the verb *to red-wash* which means “to give the impression that one is a communist, while one is not at all”. The **Urban Dictionary** (entry *red-wash*) has an example.

The capitalists are redwashing us. However, we are up to what they actually are. They are hardcore commies.

4 Summary and some historical remarks

Language has a number of ways to form new words. One of them is the use of analogy. In this article, I have taken analogy to mean the use of one complex form as a model by which other forms can be constructed. Historically, the model developed as an abstraction from one or more specific compounds whose second element became fixed, and whose first part is open to lexemes compatible with the morphology and semantics of the word-formational pattern. In the case chosen, adjectives are placed into the empty slot.

Looking at the history of these new formations, the compound verb patterns seem to be based both on non-verbal and verbal compounds, contradicting Marchand's dictum mentioned above that compound verbs are all derived solely from non-verbal bases. From the historical evidence provided by the OED, the compound verb *to black-list* (1884) is derived from the noun *black-list* (c1619) or the verbal noun *black-listing* (1718). On the other hand, the verb *to white-wash* (1762) in its figurative meaning “to hide the true facts about somebody or something by deliberately covering up or glossing over their mistakes or faults” predates its related compound noun *white-wash* (1865) by more than a hundred years. For more examples see Erdmann (2009). In some cases, it is difficult to decide which compound came first, because the time span between a compound noun and its corresponding verb is too short or sometimes even nil. Take for example the compound verb *to stiff-arm* as used in American football, which is recorded in the OED for the same year (1927) as the compound noun.

According to Marchand (1969: 101), compound verbs as presented in this article do not follow the determinant-determinatum pattern, because their second part cannot be understood as head of the compound. That is the reason for him to call them pseudo-compound verbs. This is not the whole story.

There are compound verbs which can be interpreted as endocentric compounds. Let us look at some examples. Here are instantiations of the pattern $[[_]_{NV} [\mathbf{dry}]_V]_V$ meaning “to dry (and style) hair in a special way”.

to blow-dry “to dry and often style hair using a hair dryer”, *to drip-dry* “to dry hair merely by exposing it to the air, without using a hairdryer”, *to finger-dry* “to dry and style hair by repeatedly running one’s fingers through it”, *to scrunch-dry* “to dry hair while squeezing it together tightly in your hand to add volume and create a natural curly style”, *to towel-dry* “to dry hair by using a towel”

The verb *to dry* is clearly the head of the compound verb, preceded by a noun or verb which point to the method used to get rid of the wetness of the hair. There are a number of further examples which are to be analysed as endocentric compounds, e.g. *to arm-twist* “to use direct personal pressure in order to achieve a desired end”, *to house-clean* “to clean and tidy a house and its contents”, *to talent-spot* “to find people who are good at something”.

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Towards a scientific procedure for identifying Processes and Participant Roles in text analysis

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Abstract

I begin by tracing forty years of interacting with Erich Steiner, and establishing the areas of our mutual influence in those early years. In his work in the 1980s, first on a theory of 'language as goal-oriented action' and later on the great EUROTRA Project in machine-aided translation, we find him basing his work on the systemic functional descriptions of English that I was developing at that time. But he repaid any debt that there might be by his demonstration, in his work on the EUROTRA Project, of the key role that 're-expression tests' for Participant Roles (PRs) should play in modelling a language. By incorporating this research concept into the further development of what eventually became 'the Cardiff Grammar' - and then the broader 'Cardiff Model of Language and its Use' - we greatly strengthened both. The Cardiff Model is a version of Systemic Functional Linguistics that my colleagues and I have developed at Cardiff for use both (i) in a computer implementation of how texts are generated and understood, and (ii) as a descriptive framework for use in the research task of describing texts. It is a 'cognitive-interactive' model that includes 'socio-cultural' concerns too. In the later sections of this paper I present the current version of the 're-expression tests' for PRs which, thanks to Erich, have played a key role in our establishing a scientific approach to both modelling language and analyzing texts.

1 My debt to Erich Steiner

Looking back through my old diaries, I see that Erich Steiner and I have known each other for approaching 40 years - so longer, perhaps, than most, if not all, other contributors to this *Festschrift*!¹

In the mid-1980s, I was working at what was then the Polytechnic of Wales (now the University of South Wales), just North of Cardiff, where I had gone to help develop what was then a new type of degree course with the (then!) exciting title of 'Communication Studies'. But for our present purpose the relevant aspect of my work at the time was my research. At that point I was approaching the end of the second of the three major research projects that I have had the good fortune to direct.² We shall come shortly to the first of Erich's two connections with the project, but first I must explain the nature of the project.

The original goal of the project was to describe the development of language in English-speaking children between the ages of six and twelve. But a second goal was to create a corpus that would (i) be soundly structured, (ii) include intonation and crucially (iii) would provide a full analysis of their syntax, which would (iv) be stored in a computer and (v) be accessible to interrogation by interested researchers. Working with me were my Research

¹ Much of the research on which this paper is based was supported by grants from the Speech Research Unit at DRA Malvern between 1987 and the mid 1990s, as part of Assignment No. ASO4BP44 on Spoken Language Understanding and Dialogue (SLUD); by ICL and Longman in Phase 1; and throughout by Cardiff University. I thank all these institutions for their invaluable support for this 'blue sky' research. I would also like to express my thanks to the friends and colleagues to whom I am most indebted in developing the aspects of the descriptive framework for English (and other languages) presented in this paper. My major debt is to Michael Halliday, the 'father' of Systemic Functional Linguistics and the linguist to whom I, like Erich and many others, owe the basic concepts of the model through which I explore the nature of human language. The second major debt is to Gordon Tucker, who has worked closely with me for many years in (i) developing the version of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) that has come to be known as the Cardiff Grammar, and (ii) implementing and further developing it in the COMMUNAL computer model of language and its use. Thirdly - and with specific respect to the topic of this paper - I thank Amy Neale and Anke Schulz, without whom the related descriptive frameworks and procedures for analysis would be less valid and less reliable than they currently are. But fourthly, as this paper makes clear, I have to thank Erich Steiner for his work in the late 1980s and early 1990s - most notably in the framework of the EUROTRA Project in machine translation - for his contribution to the work presented in this paper.

² The first major project that I directed was the development of a new communication-oriented course in English as a second language for lower primary schools in Kenya, and the third was the COMMUNAL Project, as mentioned in Note 1.

Assistant Mick Perkins (now an Emeritus Professor at Sheffield University), and a team of thirteen carefully trained transcribers, eight of whom went on to analyse its functional syntax, and a computer programmer.

The first product of those six years of research was the creation of a unique corpus of the fully transcribed spoken language of 40 trios of children. These trios varied by age (6, 8, 10 and 12), sex, social class (A, B, C and D, corresponding to those in studies by Bernstein and Wells, with two trios for C, the most frequent class). Each child was tape-recorded in two spoken contexts of situation: (i) working with two friends on a building task with the biggest set of Lego they had ever seen, and (ii) talking about the building task and their interests with a friendly but previously unknown adult (so with two register variants (in 'tenor'), and a writing task for those who could write; see Fawcett & Perkins 1980a-d and 1981, and Fawcett, Perkins & McBride 1987.)

So how does this project relate to Erich Steiner? The first part of the answer is that it was the published version of this corpus that Erich used, during a year-long academic visit to the then Polytechnic of Wales, as he worked on his *Habilitationschrift* (later published as Steiner 1991). In this innovative work he presents 'a systemic theory of language as goal-directed action' (p. 22) that builds on concepts derived from the Leont'evs and others to develop a new model of the 'external and internal activities' of an 'individual human being' (Steiner 1991:24). His description continues: 'Individual activity [...] has its source in the social, in the organization of productive work and social relations. From these derive needs and objectives.' This, then, was an exploratory model of the planning and execution of language use that some of us were beginning to think about at the time.³ As you may have noticed, Erich's description of the goals and the 'external and internal activities' in a human mind that is engaged in social activities matches perfectly the goals and activities of three children who are working together to build a Lego house. In this way, then, our child language corpus provided Erich with a real-life set of data with which to test and illustrate his model.

However, there was a second and more fundamental connection between Erich's research and mine. But to explain its significance I need to provide you with a brief historical summary of (i) a key aspect of the child language project and (ii) certain further developments to which this led.

³ This was the early days of the new field of Natural Language Generation, in which we were both to become involved a few years later, I at Cardiff on the COMMUNAL Project and Erich at Darmstadt on the KOMET Project (based on Halliday's SFG).

Interestingly, the language of the children (especially the 10- and 12-year-olds) displayed all the major semantic and syntactic characteristics of adult spoken English. So one of the project's major challenges was to develop a descriptive framework for the functional syntax of English that would be able to handle the full complexity of adult English. In my previous research⁴ I had established to my satisfaction that, of the then current theories of language, the most promising model was Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG). So I naturally took SFG as the framework for this description. But the demands of the data quickly showed that the introductory descriptions of English that were available at the time were inadequate for the task, and at that point the main focus of my research became the development of a systemic functional descriptive framework for English that would be both sufficiently comprehensive and yet clear enough to be used by my team of text analysts. And the challenges of this task led me to considerably extend (but sometimes to simplify) the descriptions of English then available in SFG.^{5,6}

Then in 1987 I moved to Cardiff University as Director of the Computational Linguistics Unit, where I was joined by Gordon Tucker (and in due course others). Gordon and I continued to develop my systemic functional description of English, making it the core component of a computer model of natural language generation, and in due course acquired the name 'the Cardiff Grammar'. It has been described in many publications (Fawcett 2000/10, Fawcett 2008a, b and c, Fawcett forthcoming 2015b and c, Tucker 1998, Huang 2003, and Neale forthcoming, to name only the major book

⁴ This was on (i) curriculum development in Kenya 1966-69 and (ii) in the 1970s, on the place of a SFG in a communicating mind, for my PhD thesis, published as Fawcett (1980).

⁵ Two reasonably detailed descriptions were circulating in mimeo form (the precursor of photocopying) in the 1960s and early 1970s. One was Gregory's *Patterns of Language* (1966/2009), which was regrettably only published posthumously in 2009. The second was Halliday's *Outlook on Modern English* (referred to in Berry 1975 as 'forthcoming'). It was later published, with important extensions but few changes, as *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985, 1994, and, with revisions by Matthiessen, 2004 and 2014, with further extensions but still few changes to the description itself).

⁶ So the main products of the child language project were (i) the published transcriptions (with intonation) of the corpus (Fawcett & Perkins 1980a-d); (ii) the representation of the functional syntax of the analyses in a computer implementable format (Fawcett, Perkins & McBride 1987); (iii) Michael Day's development of a system for 'interrogating' the data to obtain statistics on the complexity of the language being used by the children (the main reference for this 'interactive corpus query facility' (ICQF) being Day 1993; inquiries about access to this to Dr Michael Day at mike.day@rolls-royce.com); and (iv) the development of an enriched model of exchange structure (Van der Mije & van Wissen 1984; Fawcett, Van der Mije & van Wissen 1988) and a small derived literature on its computer implementation.

publications, and there are also well over a hundred and fifty book and journal articles and research reports). With time, the Cardiff Grammar grew into 'the Cardiff Model of Language and its Use', with components for discourse structure, parsing and understanding etc, as well as generation (Fawcett, Tucker & Lin 1993, Fawcett forthcoming 2015a). It is the linguistic part of this body of work to which Butler is referring when he writes (2003:471), in his great two-volume survey of 'structural functional' models of language, that 'in my view the Cardiff model represents a substantial improvement on the Sydney account.' And it is also this ever-developing description of English that has been used by many generations of students at Cardiff University and other universities for both teaching and research purposes.

So from my viewpoint the main product of the child language project was a revised description of the **functional syntax** of English and the corresponding **semantic system networks**, because it was this that provided the basis for all of the later work summarized above.⁷

Now that we have completed this brief historical excursion, we are ready to consider this question: 'What is the connection between Erich's work and the topic of this paper?' The first part of the answer is that, in order to model the operations of 'planning' and 'execution' in his 1980s theory of 'language as goal-directed action', Erich needed a framework within which to describe it. And the framework he chose was the version of SFG described in Fawcett (1980) and later paper publications, focussing particularly on the part that covers the meanings of types of **Process** their associated **Participant Roles** (the traditional term being 'transitivity'), together with the Circumstantial Roles that may occur with them (Steiner 1991:166f.).⁸

⁷ While my students produced several dissertations that built on this work, the major use of the corpus for studying children's language was carried out by other scholars, i.e. Perkins 1983, Perera 1984 and the many other scholars who had access to the corpus via ICAME.

⁸ This is not the place for a fuller description of this important but under-acknowledged work by Steiner, and I regret that the pressure of other work at the time prevented me from incorporating it into the cognitive-interactive model of language and its use that I was then developing, in preparation for work on the COMMUNAL Project. One reason why Steiner's work on a theory of action is not widely known is that Halliday - followed by most systemicists - has always foregrounded the relationship between language and society rather than that between language and the mind. In my view - as in the view of many of the best scholars I know - there is no conflict between the two approaches, and I have always believed that both are necessary for a genuinely comprehensive model. Nonetheless, it is still the case that rather few systemicists who work in the Hallidayan approach take an interest in mental models of planning such as that described in Steiner 1991 - unless it is co-authored by Halliday himself, as in the case of Halliday & Matthiessen 1999.

However, this decision brought with it two problems. The first was that the description of English published in Fawcett (1980) was inevitably incomplete in many respects, with many of the system networks still under development. And the second problem was the now well-recognized difficulties that there are in identifying specific types of Participant Roles when analyzing real-life texts - i.e. the topic of this paper.

However, trials showed that this second problem was so serious that it would have been impossible to ensure an adequate level of inter-analyst reliability - so I had to abandon my plan to teach the eight analysts of the children's texts to analyze clauses in terms of their Participant Roles (Agent, Affected, Carrier, Attribute and the like) and their Circumstantial Roles (Time Position, Place, Manner etc), and we analyzed them instead in terms of the more 'syntactic' elements of Subjects, Complements and Adjuncts (with many sub-types of Adjunct).

Thus my description of English, at the time when Erich needed it for his work on his theory of action, was incomplete in precisely the area that he needed. What was he to do? His response was typical of the approach that has carried him through the various stages of his highly successful academic career: he simply took my penciled notes and diagrams and got on with the task of filling in the gaps and making changes for himself in a fruitful combination of theory and pragmatism (e.g. Steiner 1985). It is one of the great regrets of my life in Linguistics that the pressures of my other work at the time prevented me from working with Erich on this. The weakest area of description was the 'mental' Processes, and within that of what Erich has termed 'communication' processes (Halliday's 'verbal' processes).⁹ Later, at the end of the 1980s, when I was completing the transitivity networks for the first version of GENESYS, I drew on Erich's work in some respects (but not all!) - and we use his term 'communication process' as an informal term for the type of 'cognition' process just mentioned.¹⁰

In due course, Erich went on to become a key figure in the German team's contribution to the great EUROTRA Project in machine translation. He introduced to this multinational project a slightly adapted version of what was to become the Cardiff Grammar of Processes and Participant Roles in English, and later he showed that this framework for 'transitivity' was

⁹ The Cardiff Grammar treats such cases as a sub-type of 'mental' Process, i.e. A telling B something is analyzed as 'A (an Agent) causing B (an Affected-Cognizant) to know something (a Phenomenon)'.

¹⁰ GENESYS is the COMMUNAL Project's sentence generator, so-named because it GENERates SYStemically.

applicable to all the languages of the European Community at that time (twelve, as I recall). In papers such as Steiner et al. 1988 he acknowledges, with his usual courtesy, ‘the pervasive influence of Fawcett’s work’ (1988:42). And bits of the Cardiff Grammar can also be found in other projects in Computational Linguistics, such as Rösner’s generator SEMSYN (1988) and Elhadad’s SURGE (Elhadad & Robin 1996) - in part, undoubtedly, because of its use in EUROTRA-D and the publicity that this gave it.

But here it is a complementary influence that I wish to foreground: Erich’s crucial influence on my work. It was his emphasis in his descriptions of his work in EUROTRA-D on the importance of tests - and in particular on having as reliable a test as possible for each specific type of Participant Role - that pointed the way to our establishing the relatively sound foundation for this notoriously tricky area of language that this paper describes. Until that point I had regarded the few ‘re-expression tests’ that we had introduced as little more than helpful tools for use (mainly by students) in analyzing English texts. But Erich’s adaptations of them for use with a wide range of European Community languages - always expressing the tests in the language being described - gave to the concept of **re-expression tests** for Participant Roles (PRs) in ‘the EUROTRA-D system of semantic relations’ a more central research role that I had given it (e.g. as brought together in the great ‘coding chart’ that extends over pp. 50-51 of Steiner et al 1988). So it is the set of seventeen tests for PRs that underpins everything in this area of the Cardiff Grammar, as we shall see. There have of course been many valuable inputs from other scholars, including Gordon Tucker, Amy Neale, Anke Schulz and Tom Bartlett, all of whom have contributed to improvements to the present now relatively stable set of re-expression tests for Participant Roles that are the focus of this paper – and the key tool in the task of establishing a genuinely scientific approach to experiential meaning in text analysis. But it was the central role that Erich gave to the concept in the EUROTRA Project that brought out its importance for me.

Erich himself has always viewed Linguistics – as I do – as a science. If Linguistics is to gain the acceptance in the wider scientific community that the central role of language in human life suggests is appropriate to it, it must not only be a source of hypotheses about (and so often insights into) the nature of human language, such as Michael Halliday, for example, has so productively offered us over the last half century. It must also provide us with methods for analyzing our data (which will typically be real-life texts) that are both **reliable** and **valid** – as all experiments and systematic observations in science should be (see Fawcett 2011 on this topic). And this in turn will

lead to more advanced model of language, which are both insightful and soundly based in what Thomas Kuhn has called ‘normal science’.

2 Principles for building descriptions (models) of language

In the rest of this paper the limitations of the Festschrift genre¹¹ require me to give a greatly abbreviated version of what I would wish to present at this point, but I shall later point you to various publications in which these matters are amplified.

In the following list of the principles that have guided our work at Cardiff, I shall begin with the more general ones, and work my way quickly to those that directly affect the topic of this paper.

- 1 The goal of Linguistics is to enable us to understand the nature of human language.
- 2 We typically do this by drawing on descriptions of instances of language in use to build **models** of how language users **produce** (generate) and **understand texts**.
- 3 Our models should be as **explicit** (‘generative’) and as **comprehensive** as possible.
- 4 As scientists, our models should also be as **valid** and **reliable** as possible.
- 5 So we use a repeated cycle of building, testing, evaluating and revising them
- 6 A major test of explicitness and comprehensiveness is to build a **computer model**.
- 7 Another is to use the model (in a simplified version) for very extensive **text analysis**. This is in effect the scientific procedure of **systematic observation**.
- 8 Other methods include **psycholinguistic experiments** and, more recently, **neurolinguistic** investigations, both of which have been underused in testing SFL.
- 9 One of the most difficult areas of grammar to model is the **Processes** and **PRs** of clauses (so also nominalizations and nominal groups with an event noun as head).

¹¹ What a delight it is to be able contribute to Anglo-Franco-German friendship by using a nominal group with a word from each of the three languages!

- 10 In this paper our focus is on making the **text analysis** of these both more **valid** (so at a clearly stated level of language, here ‘functional syntax’) and more **reliable** (in the sense of ‘replicable’).
- 11 In the Cardiff Model, ‘participants’ appear at three different stages in generating a clause: (i) in the **input** to the lexicogrammar (e.g. as ‘agent’);¹² (ii) within the **semantic features** that make up the system networks (where the names of features frequently refer to the participants in the input, e.g. [agent overt]); and (iii) in the **functional syntax** of the clause (so at the level of form), as the different types of **Participant Role** (e.g. ‘Ag’, representing ‘Agent’). The latter are our focus here.
- 12 The most widely used description of Processes and PRs, i.e. Halliday’s description of these in *Introduction to Functional Grammar*, needs to be improved. In an important study of its use for analyzing ‘problem’ examples on which advice had been sought on sysfling (the online SFL discussion forum), O’Donnell *et al* 2009 record a disturbingly low score in inter-analyst **reliability**, and conclude that the reason is the lack of clarity in the guidelines given, with some subjects using grammatical criteria and some conceptual criteria.
- 13 The Cardiff Grammar seeks to remedy this problem by using (i) a more up-to-date descriptive framework and (ii) a thoroughly tested set of PR tests.
- 14 The principles on which this part of the Cardiff Grammar is based are:
 - (i) There can be only one instance of any type of PR in any one clause.
 - (ii) Each major Process type is defined by a different configuration of PRs.
 - (iii) There must be a workable test for each PR.

In the Cardiff Grammar, there are around 80 different types of Process, defined in terms of different configurations of PRs (the number varies with the criteria used). In contrast, there are only 17 different types of PR (one being very rare). It would be impossible to devise and remember tests for all the types of Process, but it is possible to devise and remember the essentials of the 17 tests for the PRs. There are also twelve types of compound PR (e.g. an

¹² They also occur in the **output** of the **understanding** procedure, and in representations of **beliefs** in the Performer’s **belief system**. For these see Fawcett 2015a.

Agent-Carrier) but, since each is made up of two simple PRs, analyzing them doesn't involve learning additional tests.

In Fawcett 2011 and 2012 (and also Fawcett forthcoming 2015c) you will find (i) a well-tested **procedure** for this aspect of text analysis; (ii) an equally thoroughly tested **descriptive framework** for Processes and PRs in English (which takes account of advances described in recent studies of this area); and (iii) many other **tools** for carrying out that procedure – including the **re-expression tests for PRs**.

3 The procedure for clause analysis

The full procedure provide guidelines for analyzing complex text-sentences, i.e. ones that contain more than a single clause, and this is described in full in Fawcett 2008d and forthcoming 2015b. Here we shall assume that we are analyzing a simple clause (or have already identified the boundaries of the clause to be analyzed).

The most accessible *Guidelines* for clause analysis are in Fawcett 2008a (in English), 2008b (in Chinese) and 2008c (in Spanish). In Fawcett 2008a the full version, which includes many special tips, tests and examples, occupies 21 pages (pp. 210-231), while the summary takes less than a page (p. 209). Here we shall omit all of the procedure except the part that concerns the Process and its Participant Roles.

Step 1: Identify the Process and the PRs in the clause

This crucial stage identifies the elements within the clause that are PRs - BUT NOT WHAT TYPE OF PR EACH IS. (The elements are typically but not necessarily clause elements.) The test that follows is taken from Fawcett 2008a (pp. 211-2). Lack of space forbids any further commentary, and if you wish to use it for text analysis purposes you are advised to consult Fawcett 2008a.

The Process and PR Test (99% reliable)

Assuming that **xxx** stands for the Main Verb, **yy** stands for one (or occasionally more) Main Verb Extensions, **zz** stands for a preposition; that each of **someone**, **something** and **somewhere** stands for a PR; and the brackets indicate that the element may or may not be present, try saying:

**In this Process of xxx-ing (yy) (zz), we expect to find
 someone or something
 xxx-ing (yy) (zz)
 (someone or something)
 ((to or from) someone or something or somewhere).**

(The last line says that the possible PR is sometimes preceded by *to* or *from*.)

If this makes sense, you have identified the Process and its PRs. If not, try again. Let us see whether this test will help us with the following example (where the context of situation is a six-year-old's birthday party): *She gave the balloons out to the children rather too soon*. (Here we shall ignore the Circumstantial Role of *rather too soon*.)

It makes sense to say *In this Process of 'giving out', we expect to find someone giving out something to someone*, so we have identified three PRs: *She*, *the balloons* and *the children*. (Notice that here *the children* is a PR that is not a direct element of the clause.)

Step 2: Look for a possible configuration of PRs in Appendix A

This is an optional step, but it is one that experienced text analysts would carry out at this point if they have doubts – and even experienced analysts often do! This step involves looking through a summary of the main Process types and sub-types and their associated configurations of PRs, to see if there is an example that is similar to the one that you are analyzing. In our case this summary is the table in Appendix A.

As you become familiar with the contents of this valuable tool, you will find that you need to spend less and less time in searching through its four pages. If you can't find a matching example immediately, don't worry. Just proceed to Step 3.

Can Appendix A help us with our example? It can, because part of it shows the configurations of PRs for a Process that is (i) **relational** and (ii) **possessive** (where the 'third party agent' causes someone to 'have' - or 'lack' - something):

plus third party agent 10%

Ag + Pro + Af-Ca + Af-Pos (or Pos) (*He gave me his book / cold*)

Ag + Pro + Af-Pos (or Pos) + Af-Ca (*He gave his book / cold to me*)

Specifically, it is like the second of the two patterns.

But can we assume that the PRs will be the same for both 'giving' and 'giving out'? Not with complete safety, because 'giving in' (in the sense of

‘surrendering’), ‘giving off’, ‘giving up’ etc would have completely different analyses. We therefore need the specific tests for PRs that we shall meet shortly.

Let me summarize so far. On the evidence of a largely intuitive comparison with one part of Appendix A, we have guessed (i) that the PRs in our example are Ag + Pro + Af-Pos (or Pos) + Af-Ca, and (ii) that the Process (Pro) is realized discontinuously (in the Main Verb (M) and a Main Verb Extension (MEx)). So our example is in fact quite complex, in terms of the number and internal complexity of its PRs and the elements that realize the Process. And we haven’t yet established whether *the balloons* is a simple Possessed (Pos) or an Affected-Possessed (Af-Pos). For this reason (and others), it is essential to apply the tests for the specific PRs.

Step 3: Apply the re-expression tests in Appendix B to discover the types of PR

Let us now use the re-expression tests to check the accuracy of our guess about the PRs in our example. Our tentative analysis of the PRs was: *She* [Ag] gave *the balloons* [Af-Pos] or [Pos] out to *the children* [Af-Ca]. So we shall now apply the test for an Agent (Test 1) to *She*. Here is T1 from Appendix B:

T1 for Agent (Ag) (in many Process types):

If X is the Agent, the clause can be re-expressed as

‘What X did was to’

So we change *She gave the balloons out to the children*

to *What she did was to give the balloons out to the children*

Although this sounds a little stilted, it makes sense, so the test shows that *she* is an Agent. Notice that neither *the balloons* nor *the children* would pass this test.

Since ‘giving someone something’ means ‘causing someone to have something’, it should logically include the same PRs as any ‘possessive’ Process. So the next two PRs to test for are the Carrier and the Possessed, using T6 and T12.

I suggest that you now apply the tests to find out whether *the children* and *the balloons* are indeed a Carrier and a Possessed (and, to test the tests, vice versa).

Finally, you should apply T2, to check whether either is also an Affected. (Note that the word *out* makes some of the resulting forms sound less natural, e.g. *What happened to the children was that they were given out balloons*, but they still pass.)

After you have applied these tests, you will have established, in a manner that is as reliable as is currently possible, (i) which elements in *She gave the balloons out to the children rather too soon* are PRs, and (ii) the type of PR that each is. Then our tentative analysis in Step 2, which was based on similarities to an example in Appendix A, will have been confirmed by the re-expression tests in Appendix B.

Step 4: Identify the Process type

In Step 4 we return to Appendix A to make the definitive identification of the **Process** type. But since (i) our focus here is on identifying PRs, I shall save you work by replicating here the part of Appendix A that gives this information, i.e.:

relational 30%

possessive 10%

plus third party agent 10%

Ag + Pro + Af-Pos (or Pos) + Af-Ca (*He gave his book / cold to me*)

So the process of ‘giving out’ is a process whose semantic features are [relational, possessive, plus third party agent].

And that concludes our introduction to the procedure for analyzing the Processes and their associated PRs in English clauses.

The major back-up tool: Neale’s Process Type Data Base (PTDB)

Finally, let me introduce you to a particularly helpful aid to text analysis. The Process Type Data Base (PTDB) was originally developed by Amy Neale to assist us in developing the Cardiff Grammar (Neale 2002). It currently contains almost 5,400 Process types (i.e. ‘verb senses’), of which 20% are ‘multi-word Processes’. (There are three main types of these, one being the ‘giving out’ type; see Chapter 13 of Fawcett 2008a for a short introduction to all three.)

The PTDB provides basic information about each specific Process type: its frequency, a typical example of its use, its broad Process type and its PRs. Unsurprisingly, it has come to be recognized by those who have used it as a valuable aid to text analysis. Indeed, there is at least one scholar whose decision to switch from using Halliday’s description of Processes and PRs to the

Cardiff Grammar's description was influenced by the fact that it enabled him to use Neale's PTDB. To obtain the PTDB (and Neale's introduction), simply email Amy Neale at the address given in the References to ask for them.

While we believe that the PTDB contains most of the frequently occurring Process types of English, there are still many Process types that it doesn't include – and you may even find an occasional error. So the best procedure is first to carry out your own analysis, using the tools provided here and in the recommended sources. Then, if you have doubts, use the PTDB as a check, and then apply the tests again, carefully.

The second reason for doing this is that the complications of analyzing Processes and PRs are such that there will always be cases that challenge the descriptive framework for one reason or another. See Fawcett 2012 for a discussion of seven of these problems - including the major problem of how best to analyze idioms and fresh metaphors. These, I predict, will continue to cause problems to text analysts for many years to come! Hence the word 'towards' in the title of this paper.

4 Conclusions

As will now be clear, the entire procedure for analyzing Processes and PRs in English depends ultimately on the set of re-expression tests given in Appendix B. And it was the initial stimulus that Erich Steiner provided in his work in this area in the EUROTRA Project that has led to the more comprehensive and more reliable - and so more scientific - description of this central area of English that we now have.

So - thank you, Erich!

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Appendix A: Process types and their inherent Participant Roles

There are ten points to note about the following table:

- 1 This four-page table is in essence a ‘compressed system network’ that summarizes well over 100 pages of simplified system networks, amplifying descriptions, examples and comments, which combine to give a fairly full coverage of this aspect of the grammar of English. If you are planning to use this approach for text analysis, you are strongly advised to obtain the full version, i.e. Fawcett 2010 or Fawcett forthcoming 2015c.
- 2 It classifies the Process types that occur in English clauses in terms of their main semantic features, and identifies their realizations in 80 different configurations of Participant Roles (PRs) - including their variations in sequence, etc (but see Notes 9 and 10 below).
- 3 The words in boldface are the semantic features from the relevant sub-network in the system network for TRANSITIVITY in English.
- 4 A feature that is indented one step below the feature above it is a feature in a system that is dependent on the feature above (i.e. it is entered from it).
- 5 A feature that is indented to the same depth as one above or below it is in the same system as that feature (or in one case a parallel system, as indicated).
- 6 The percentage that follows each feature is an estimate of the approximate probability, across all text types, that this feature will be chosen when this system is entered. (Wherever possible, such figures are based on corpus evidence and, where this is not available, on careful estimates). The overall probability of a rightmost feature is the figure on that feature multiplied by the figure for each feature on which it is dependent. Knowledge of such probabilities is useful in text analysis.
- 7 As a supplement to this information, the table marks cases where the semantic features from which the configurations of PRs are generated are chosen infrequently by (**INFREQUENT**), (**FAIRLY INFREQUENT**) or (**VERY INFREQUENT**), or, where the reason is that there are very few Process types that realize this configuration of PRs, by (**FEW TYPES**), or in the case of *belong to* by (**ONE TYPE**).
- 8 The table **INCLUDES** variations in elements and their sequences such as (i) those with *it* and *there* as ‘experientially empty’ Subjects,

- (ii) differences ('alternations') such as that between *He gave Ivy a pen* and *He gave a pen to Ivy*.
- 9 The table IGNORES differences in sequence due to the following:
- (i) differences due to the MOOD of the clause being other than 'information giver',
- (ii) differences due to the thematization of a PR (including 'passive constructions') or when the PR is 'sought' or 'referring out' (and so contains a *wh*-item or *how*),
- (iii) differences between a simple Process (Pro), and a Process that is also realized through one or more Main Verb Extensions (MEx) and/or a preposition.
- 10 The table gives only an introductory coverage of (i) the differences between the three 'directional' PRs of Source, Path and Destination, and (ii) whether one, two or all three are present. (The number of configurations of PRs would be over 120 if we were to include all of the possible - but mostly rare - combinations of these.)

action 27%**one-role 9.9%****agent only 39.7%**Ag + Pro *She runs {to keep fit}***affected only 60%** (including **affected as quasi-agent**, e.g. the last example below) Af + Pro *Her cat has died*, *The door opened*, *This material won't wash***carrier only 0.2% (FEW TYPES)**Ca + Pro *The dome gleamed*, *My leg hurts***created only 0.1% (VERY FEW TYPES)**Cre + Pro *He was born in 2005*, *The company came into being in 2001***two-role agentive 90% AND material 90% OR social 10%****plus affected 80%**Ag + Pro + Af *Ike cut the cake / himself*, *He fired the manager***plus created 3.9%**Ag + Pro + Cre *Ike made / baked a cake***plus range 6%**Ag + Pro + Ra *He's climbed the Matterhorn*, *She plays the harp*

plus manner 0.1% (FEW TYPES)

Ag + Pro + Ma They are behaving badly

three-role agentive 0.1% (VERY FEW TYPES)

Ag + Pro + Af + Ma She treats / handles him gently

relational 30%

attributive 48%

simple carrier 94%

Ca + Pro + At Ivy is a/the year tutor / happy

It + Pro + At + Ca It is lucky that she is sensible

affected-carrier 3%

Af-Ca + Pro + At She became happier / a cashier

agent-carrier 0.1% (FEW TYPES)

Ag-Ca + Pro + At Ike kept quiet

plus third party agent 2.99%

Ag + Pro + Af-Ca + At The war made them rich

locational 20%

simple carrier 97%

Ca + Pro + Loc Ivy is / lives / works in Cardiff

There + Pro + Ca + Loc There's a fly in my soup

affected-carrier 0.1% (INFREQUENT)

Af-Ca + Pro + Loc His luggage stayed in Cardiff

agent-carrier 1.9% (FAIRLY INFREQUENT)

Ag-Ca + Pro + Loc Ivy remained in Cardiff

plus third party agent 1% (FEW TYPES)

Ag + Pro + Af-Ca + Loc She kept him at home

directional 20%

simple carrier 0.1%

Ca + Pro + So and/or Pa and/or Des (INFREQUENT)

The plains stretch (from the Appalachians) to the Rockies

affected-carrier 0.9% (FAIRLY INFREQUENT)

Af-Ca + Pro + So and/or Pa and/or Des

My suitcase has gone to Rome

agent-carrier 80%

Ag-Ca + Pro + So and/or Pa and/or Des

Ivan has reached Moscow / gone to Moscow

plus third party agent 19%

Ag + Pro + Af-Ca + So and/or Pa and/or Des

They sent him to Sydney

Ag + Pro + Af-Ca + Af-So and/or Af-Pa and/or Af-Des
(FEW TYPES)

They threw stones at us

Ag + Pro + Des + Af-Ca (INFREQUENT)

He sprayed the wall with red paint / loaded the cart with logs

So and/or Pa and/or Des + *there* + Pro + Ag-Ca (INFREQUENT)

Into the clearing there rode a fierce-looking knight

So and/or Pa and/or Des + *there* + Pro + Af-Ca (INFREQUENT)

Out of the cauldron there arose a noxious cloud of steam

AND, PROVIDING VARIATIONS IN ‘DIRECTION’:

one direction 99%

goal 95% *She reached London / went to London*

source 4% *She left London / went (away from London)*

path 1% *She crossed London / went across London*

two directions 0.99% (INFREQUENT)

She went from A to C / via B to C / from A via B

three directions 0.01% (VERY INFREQUENT)

She went from A via B to C

possessive 10%

simple carrier 75%

carrier-oriented 99%

Ca + Pro + Pos *Ivy has / lacks / needs a car, She has fair hair*

carrier-oriented 1% (ONE TYPE)

Pos + Pro + Ca *It belongs to her*

affected-carrier 1%

Af-Ca + Pro + Af-Pos (or Pos) *I received / lost the prize, I caught a cold*

agent-carrier 14%

Ag-Ca + Pro + Af-Pos (or Pos) *I bought a car / got rid of my cold*

plus third party agent 10%

Let us see whether Appendix A can help us with the following example (where the context of situation is a children’s party): *She gave the balloons out to the children rather too soon.* (We shall ignore the Circumstantial Role of *rather too soon*.)

matching 2%**simple carrier** 50%

Ca + Pro + Mtch The key matches / fits the keyhole, The key and the keyhole match (each other)

affected-carrier 1% (INFREQUENT)

Af-Ca + Pro + Mtch The oxygen combined with the hydrogen {to make water}, The oxygen and the hydrogen combined (with each other) {to make water}

agent-carrier 39%

Ag-Ca + Pro + Mtch Will married Kate, Will and Kate married (each other)

plus third party agent 10%

Ag + Pro + Af-Ca + Mtch Ike matched / fitted the drill to the hole

mental 25%**emotion** 25%**desiderative** 40%

Em + Pro + Ph

Ivy wants (to have) an icecream, She wishes to be taller

emotive 60%**simple emoter** 99.5%**emoter-oriented** 90%

Em + Pro + Ph She loved / hated the movie

phenomenon-oriented 10%

Ph + Pro + Em The movie delighted / upset her

It + Pro + Em + Ph It pleases / worries Ike that Ivy is so rich

plus matchee (ONE TYPE)

Em + Pro + Ph + Mtch Ivy prefers chocolate to toffee

affected-emoter (FEW TYPES)

Af-Em + Pro + Ph Ike fell in love with Ivy

perception 25%**simple perceiver** 95%

Perc + Pro + Ph She saw / heard / felt it

agent-perceiver 4%

Ag-Perc + Pro + Ph She looked at / listened to / felt it

plus third party agent 1% (FEW TYPES)

Ag + Pro + Af-Perc + Ph He showed them the ring

Ag + Pro + Ph + Af-Perc He showed the ring to them

cognition 50%

simple cognizant 47%

Cog + Pro + Ph I think that Ivy is sensible

It + Pro (+ Cog) + Ph It seems (to me) that Ivy is sensible

affected-cognizant 2%

Af-Cog + Pro + Ph She realized / saw that she was late

It + Pro + Af-Cog + Ph (FEW TYPES) It struck me that she was sensible

agent-cognizant 1%

Ag-Cog + Pro + Ph Ike decided to visit Germany

Ag-Cog + Pro + Cre-Ph (FEW TYPES) He devised a new plan

plus third party agent 50% (all 'communication' Processes except the last)

with affected-cognizant 99.9%

Ag + Pro + Af-Cog + Ph I told you so / that he was late / "He's late!"

Ag + Pro + Af-Cog + Ph I told you so / that he was late / "He's late!" She taught Fred French

Ag + Pro + Ph + Af-Cog She taught Fred to Fred,

Af-Cog + Pro + Ag + Ph (FEW TYPES) Ivy heard from Fred about it

Af-Cog + Pro + Ph + Ag (FEW TYPES) Ivy heard about it from Fred

with matchee 0.1% (FEW TYPES)

Ag-Cog + Pro + Ph + Mtch She compared him with her son

environmental 0.1%

as process 60% (VERY FEW TYPES)

It + Pro (FEW TYPES) It's raining / snowing

as process plus process extension 40% (realized as a Main Verb Extension (MEX))

It + Pro + PrEx It was / remained sunny, It was / felt cold

influential 15%**two-role** 90%**with agent** 70%

Ag + Pro + Cre-Ph *Ivy started talking about her new friend*

Ag + Pro + Ph *Ivy kept / stopped talking, She caused him to miss it, He tried to eat it*

with affected 30%

Af + Pro + Cre-Ph *The bough began to bend*

Af + Pro + Ph *The girder went on / stopped bending*

one-role 10%**reified event as phenomenon** 99.7%

Cre-Ph + Pro *The party has begun*

Ph + Pro *The match has ended, Mistakes do sometimes occur*

stage of environmental event 0.2%

It + Pro + Cre-Ph *It started to rain quite heavily*

It + Pro + Ph *It stopped raining*

happening 0.1% (FEW TYPES)

It + Pro + Ph *It happened that she was there*

event-relating 2.99%**causal** 50%

Ca + Pro + Cre-Ph *Smoking causes / leads to aging of the skin / this*

It + Pro + Cre-Ph + Ca (FEW TYPES)

It makes me feel happier that he'll be home soon

Ca + Pro + Ph *Hitler's death ended the war*

inferential 10%

Ca + Pro + Ph *His frequent errors suggest that he will lose the match*

It + Pro + Ph + Ca (FEW TYPES) *It follows from his errors that he will lose the match*

temporal 30%

Ca + Pro + Ph *His visit to London coincided with the royal wedding*

comparison 9%

Ca + Pro + Ph *Rowing a boat is like / differs from paddling a canoe*

simple co-occurrence 1%

Ca + Pro + Ph *Smoking is associated with aging of the skin*

Appendix B: The re-expression tests for Participant Roles

There are seventeen PR re-expression tests, numbered T1 to T17, one for each of the PRs. Some of the tests include minor variants, to enable the PR to be identified when used with different Process types (especially the Phenomenon). T18 is a test for a class of unit in the **input** to the lexicogrammar.

T1 for Agent (Ag) (in many Process types)

If X is an Agent, the clause can be re-expressed as **What X did was to**

Examples:

change *Ike washed the dog* to *What Ike did was to wash the dog.*

change *Ivy told Ike how to do it* to *What Ivy did was to tell Ike how to do it.*

T1a for Agent (Ag) preceded by *from* (only in three-role cognition Processes)

If X is an Agent and Y is an Affected-Cognizant, the clause can be re-expressed as

What X said caused Y to

Example: change *Ivy found out that from Fred* to *What Fred said caused Ivy to find out that.*

T2 for Affected (Af) (in many Process types)

If X is an Affected, the clause can be re-expressed as **What happened to X was that**

PLUS failure in the Agent test.

Tip Occasionally the test has to be **What was happening to X was ...**

Examples: change *Ike washed the dog* to *What happened to the dog was that Ike washed it.*

change *The snow melted* to *What happened to the snow was that it melted.*

T3 for Created (Cre) (in action Processes)

If X is a Created, the clause can be re-expressed as **What came into being was X.**

Examples:

change *He wrote a new story* to *What came into being was a new story.*

change *This puppy was born yesterday* to *What came into being yesterday was this puppy.*

Note The Created is also used as part of a **Created-Phenomenon** (a compound PR in influential Processes), when an Agent (or occasionally an Affected, unintentionally) brings about an **event**. Such events may be expressed either in a full clause, a nominalization or a noun with no corresponding lexical verb, such as *game*.

T3a for Created (Cre) in a Created-Phenomenon (in influential and event-relating Processes)

If X is a Created-Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed as **What was brought about / began was X**. OR, in cases of ‘preventing’ etc, **What was prevented was X**.

Tip If the event is an embedded clause, it helps if you nominalize it (as in the examples).

Examples (influential Processes)

change *He made Ivy cry* to *What was brought about / began was Ivy’s crying*.

change *He started (me) swimming* to *What was brought about was him/me swimming*.

change *He allowed me to leave* to *What was brought about was my leaving*.

change *He stopped me from crying* to *What was prevented was my crying*.

Example (event-relating Process):

change *The IRA’s decision to end the use of violence led to the return of democracy* to *What came into being was the return of democracy*.

T4 for Range (Ra) (only in action Processes)

If X is a Range and Y is an Agent, the clause can be re-expressed as **What Y + past of MAIN VERB was X**,

PLUS failure in the tests for Affected, Created, Matchee etc AND the Event Test (T18).¹³

Examples:

change *Ike sang Annie Laurie* to *What Ike sang was Annie Laurie*.

change *Ivy climbed the Matterhorn* to *What Ivy climbed was the Matterhorn*.

¹³ An alternative test for a Range is the **passivization test** of re-expressing *Ivy climbed the Matterhorn* as *The Matterhorn was climbed by Ivy* (PLUS failure in the Affected, Created and Matchee tests).

change *Ike read a story about a bear* to *What Ike read was a story about a bear.*

T5 for Manner [Ma] (usually a Circumstantial Role so only rarely a PR; only in action Processes)

If X is a Manner PR and Y is an Agent, the clause can be re-expressed as **X is how Y behaved.**

Examples:

change *Ike acted unwisely* to *Unwisely was how Ike behaved*

change *Ivy treated Fred kindly* to *Kindly is how Ivy behaved*

T6 for Carrier (Ca) (mainly in relational Processes, but also in all event-relating Processes and occasionally in one-role action Processes)

Tip In all relational Processes, this test must be carried out BEFORE any of T7-T13, because THOSE TESTS ALL ASSUME THAT THE CARRIER HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED. The Carrier may occur as (i) a simple Carrier (Ca), (ii) an Agent-Carrier (Ag-Ca) or (iii) an Affected Carrier (Af-Ca).

If X is the Carrier, the clause can be re-expressed as

‘The thing about X is that X ...’

PLUS if necessary ‘as a result’ (if it is an Agent-Carrier or Affected-Carrier)

PLUS, if X is a simple Carrier, failure in the Agent and Affected tests.

Tip If the Carrier contains an embedded clause, you will get a more natural-sounding output if you re-express it in a nominalized form with *-ing*.

Examples (attributive Processes):

change *Ivy was happy / the boss* to *The thing about Ivy was that she was happy / the boss.*

change *That Ike adores Ivy is obvious* to *The thing about Ike’s adoring Ivy is that it is obvious.*

change *For Ike to hit Fred was bad* to *The thing about Ike’s hitting Fred was that it was bad.*

Examples (locational, directional, possessive and matching Processes):

change *Ivy was in Rome* to *The thing about Ivy was that she was in Rome.*

change *Ivy [Ag-Ca] went to Rome* to *The thing about Ivy was that she went to in Rome.*

change *Ivy has long hair* to *The thing about Ivy was that she has long hair.*

change *Ivy's shirt matches her jeans* to *The thing about Ivy is that her shirt matches her jeans*

Examples (event-relating Process):

change *His frequent lying led to a complete loss of trust* to
The thing about his frequent lying was that it led to a complete loss of trust.

Example (one-role action Process):

change *Their swords gleamed {in the moonlight}* to
The thing about their swords was that they gleamed in the moonlight.

T7 for Attribute (At) (only in attributive Processes)

If X is the Attribute and Y is the Carrier, the clause can be re-expressed as

'X is what (or how or who) Y was (or is/are)', PLUS if necessary: '... as a result'.

Examples:

change *Ivy was happy* to *Happy is what / how Ivy was.*

change *Ivy was a year tutor* to *A year tutor is what Ivy was.*

change *Ivy became / got rich* to *Rich is what / how Ivy was as a result.*

change *Ivy became the boss* to *The boss is what Ivy was as a result.*

change *Ike / the decision made Ivy happy* to *Happy is what / how Ivy was as a result.*

change *They elected Ivy (as) the boss* to *The boss is what Ivy was as a result.*

change *The parcel weighed / was 60 kilos* to *60 kilos is what the parcel was.*

change *Ivy is like his sister* to *Like his sister is what Ivy is.*

change *Ike was in a temper* to *In a temper was how Ike was.*

Note The last example fails the Location test (T8), showing that here it is an Attribute.

T8 for Location (Loc) (only in locational Processes)

If X is the Location and Y is the Carrier, the clause can be re-expressed as **'X is where (or when) Y was.'**

Examples:

change *Ivy lived in Cardiff in the 1990s* to *(In) Cardiff is where Ivy was in the 1990s.*

change *Their wedding was in 2006* to *(In) 2006 was when their wedding was.*

change *Ike was with Ivy* to *With Ivy was where Ike was.*

T9 for Destination (Des) (only in directional Processes)

If X is the Destination and Y is the Carrier, the clause can be re-expressed as

‘Y went to / towards X’, PLUS no PR passes the test for Possessed (T12).

Examples:

change *Ivy flew to Paris* to *Ivy went to Paris.*

change *Fred put it on the desk* to *It went to the desk.*

change *He threw the stone at the can* to *the stone went towards the can.*

T10 for Source (So)

If X is the Source and Y is the Carrier, the clause can be re-expressed as

‘Y went away from X’, PLUS no PR passes the test for Possessed (T12).

Examples:

change *Ivy left Peru* to *Ivy went away from Peru.*

change *Fred took it off the desk* to *It went away from the desk.*

change *He drove the cow out of the yard* to *The cow went away from the yard.*

T11 for Path (Pa) (only in directional Processes)

If X is the Path and Y is the Carrier, the clause can be reexpressed as **‘Y (the Carrier) went via X.’**

Examples:

change *Ivy passed / drove past the cottage* to *Ivy went via the cottage.*

change *Ivy crossed walked across the field* to *Ivy went via the field.*

change *Fred pushed the note through the hole* to *The note went via the hole.*

T12 for Possessed (Pos) (only in possessive Processes)

If X is the Possessed and Y is the Carrier, the clause can be re-expressed as ‘**X was what Y (the Carrier) had/lacked**’*, **PLUS if necessary ‘... as a result’**. * or ‘(had) had on’, for *wear, put on, take off, etc*

Examples:

change *Ivy had a car / problem* to *A car / problem was what Ivy had*.

change *The car needs a new tyre* to *A new tyre was what the car lacked*.

change *Ike gave Ivy a car / a cold* to *A car / a cold was what Ivy had as a result*.

change *Ivy lost the key* to *The key was what Ivy lacked as a result*.

change *Ike took off his hat* to *His hat was what Ike had had on*.

T13 for Matchee (Mtch) (usually in matching Processes, occasionally in emotion and cognition Processes, as in the last three examples be low)

Note A Matchee is a PR that is used in Processes of ‘matching’ and ‘comparing’, and, by extension, for ‘combining’ (so ‘joining’) and ‘separating’.

Tip The test for a Matchee must be applied **AFTER** identifying the Carrier in a ‘matching’ Process and after identifying the Phenomenon in an ‘emotion’ or ‘cognition’ Process.

If X is the Matchee and Y is the Carrier or Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed as

‘**It was X that Y matched (or didn’t match)**’;

OR ‘It was X that Y was matched with (or was not matched with);

PLUS if necessary ‘... as a result’;

OR ‘It was X that Y became joined with (or unjoined from).

Examples (matching Processes):

change *Her shirt [Ca] goes with her jeans* to *It was her jeans that her shirt matched*’.

change *The bill [Ca] differs from my estimate* to *It was my estimate that the bill didn’t match*.

change *The two parts [Ca] fitted (each other) to It was each other that the two parts matched.*

change *The flour [Af-Ca] blended with the eggs to It was the eggs that the flour joined with.*

change *Will [Ag-Ca] married Kate to It was Kate that Will became joined with.*

change *ICL [Ag-Ca] merged with Fujitsu to It was Fujitsu that ICL became joined with.*

change *The archbishop married him [Af-Ca] to Kate to It was Kate that he became joined with.*

Examples (cognition Process)

change *He [Ag-Cog] compared the book [Ph] with / to the film [Mtch] to It was the film that the book was matched with.*

change *She [Ag-Cog] matched the curtain [Ph] against the carpet [Mtch] to It was the carpet that the curtain was matched against.*

Example (emotion Process)

change *He [Em] preferred Ike's story [Ph] to Fred's story [Mtch] to It was Fred's story that Ike's story was matched with.*

T14 for Emoter (Em) (only in emotion Processes)

If X is the Emoter and Y is the Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed as '**X had a good / bad feeling about / need for Y**', **PLUS if necessary**

(1) adding before Y 'the idea of' and

(2) turning any clause in Y into an -ing clause.

Examples:

change *Ike liked Ivy {immediately} to Ike had a good feeling about Ivy {immediately}.*

change *Ivy loathed the caviar to Ivy had a bad feeling about the caviar.*

change *Ike liked to swim in the sea to Ike had a good feeling about swimming in the sea.*

change *Ike hoped Ivy would come to Ike had a good feeling about the idea of Ivy coming.*

change *The noise of the jets annoyed Ivy to Ivy had a bad feeling about the noise of the jets.*

change *Ivy wants some caviar* to *Ivy has a good feeling about some caviar*.

T15 for Perceiver (Perc) (only in perception Processes)

If X is the Perceiver and Y is the Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed as ‘**X physically perceived Y**’, **PLUS if necessary ‘... as a result’**

Note The term ‘physically’ is needed because ‘perception’ verbs (e.g. *see* and *perceive*) are also used as ‘cognition’ Processes, and ‘as a result’ is needed in three-role Processes (e.g. *show*, *display*).

Examples:

change *Ike saw the dog* to *Ike physically perceived the dog*.

change *Ike saw it gnawing a bone* to *Ike physically perceived it gnawing a bone*.

change *Ivy showed Ike the photos* to *Ike physically perceived the photos (as a result)*.

T16 for Cognizant (Cog) (in most ‘cognition’ Processes, but not ‘information seeking’ ones)

If X is the Cognizant and Y is the Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed as ‘**X knew / thought / didn’t know (to) Y**’, **PLUS if necessary**

(1) turning any clause or nominalized event in Y into a *that ...* clause,

(2) adding after Y ‘as a result’.

Examples:

change *Ike knew / remembered / forgot (about) Fred* to *Ike knew / didn’t know (about) Fred*.

change *Ivy realised that it was late* to *Ivy knew that it was late (as a result)*.

change *Ike forgot the answer* to *Ike didn’t know the answer as a result*.

change *Ike remembered eating it* to *Ike knew that he had eaten it (as a result)*.

change *Ike forgot to buy the bread* to *Ike didn’t know to buy the bread*.

change *Ike imagined / believed that Ivy was there* to *Ike thought that Ivy was there*.

change *It seemed / appeared to Ike that Ivy was there* to *Ike thought that Ivy was there*.

change *Ike told Ivy the answer* to *Ivy knew the answer as a result*.

change *Ivy told / said to Ike to buy some milk* to *Ike knew to buy some milk as a result*.

T16a for Cognizant in Ag + Af-Cog + Ph (for ‘information seeking’ cognition Processes)

If X is the Cognizant and Y is the Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed with the addition of **‘because Z (Agent) didn’t know’**.

Example: change *Ivy asked Ike if he was ill* to *Ivy asked Ike if he was ill, because Ivy didn’t know*.

T17 for Phenomenon (Ph) in mental Processes

Note While most PRs are typically filled by an ‘object’, the Phenomenon is unique in that:

- (i) in mental Processes, it may be filled by either an **object** or an **event** and
- (ii) in influential and event-relating Processes, it is always an **event**.

Tip You must apply the tests for the Emoter, Perceiver or Cognizant BEFORE the test for the Phenomenon, because the Phenomenon test is slightly differently for each type of mental Process.

If X is the Phenomenon, the clause can be re-expressed as follows:

if Y is an Emoter, ‘Y had a good / bad feeling about X’;

if Y is a Perceiver, ‘Y physically perceived X’, PLUS if necessary ‘... as a result’;

if Y is a Cognizant: ‘Y knew / thought / didn’t know’ X, PLUS if necessary ‘... as a result’

OR PLUS ‘... as a precondition for asking’ (in ‘information seeking’ Processes).

Examples (emotion Processes):

change *Ike enjoyed his lunch* to *Ike had a good feeling about his lunch*.

change *Ike wanted to visit Rome* to *Ike had a good feeling about visiting Rome*.

change *The noise annoyed Ivy* to *Ivy had a bad feeling about the noise*.

Examples (two-role perception Processes):

change *Ike saw the dog* to *Ike physically perceived the dog*.

change *Ike listened to it gnawing the bone* to *Ike physically perceived it gnawing the bone*.

Examples (three-role perception Processes):

change *Ivy showed Ike the dog* to *Ike physically perceived the dog as a result*.

Examples (two-role cognition Processes):

change *Ike discovered that he was late* to *Ike knew that he was late as a result*.

change *Ike planned to visit Rome* to *Ike thought to visit Rome*.

Examples (three-role cognition ‘information giving’ Processes)

change *Ike said to Ivy that he would be late* to *Ivy thought he would be late as a result*.

change *Ike promised Ivy to fix it soon* to *Ivy knew/thought he would fix it soon as a result*.

Example (three-role cognition ‘information seeking’ Processes,):

change *Ike asked Ivy whether Fred was there* to *Ivy knew whether Fred was there, as a precondition for asking*.

Note In the above type, the test would be more accurate if we added at the beginning ‘**Z thought ...**’ (where Z is the possible Agent in the original clause), e.g. change *Ike asked Ivy whether Fred was there* to *Ike thought Ivy knew whether Fred was there (as a pre-condition for asking)*.

Example (three-role cognition ‘proposal for action’ Processes)

change *Ivy told / asked Ike to be home by six* to *Ike knew to be home by six*.

Note The last example above uses ‘knew to do X’ to test a three-role ‘proposal for action’ Process.

T17a for Phenomenon (Ph) in two-role ‘influential’ Processes

If Z is the first PR in the matrix clause, and

if Y is the first PR (if present) in the embedded clause and

if X is the rest of the embedded clause the clause can be re-expressed as follows:

**‘What (Z) + past of MAIN VERB (Y) to do / (in) doing was (to xxx / xxxing) X,
PLUS X passes the Event Test (T18).**

Examples:

change *He tried to eat it* to *What he tried to do was to eat it*.

change *He kept eating it* to *What he kept doing was eating it*.

change *He stopped reading it* to *What he stopped doing was reading it*.

change *He stopped her touching it* to *What he stopped her doing was touching it*.

change *Ivy got Ike to read the letter* to *What Ivy got Ike to do was to read the letter*.

change *He succeeded in hitting the target* to *What he succeeded in doing was hitting the target*.

change *He failed to hit it* to *What he failed to do was to hit it*.

change *Their attempt to climb Everest failed* to *What failed was their attempt to climb Everest*.

change *It went on bending* to *What it went on doing was bending*.

T17b for Phenomenon (Ph) in one-role ‘influential’ Processes

The clause can be re-expressed as follows:

‘What + past of MAIN VERB was X’, PLUS X passes the Event Test (T18).

Examples:

change *The match ended* to *What ended was the match*.

change *Their attempt to climb it failed* to *What failed was their attempt to climb it*.

T17c for Phenomenon (Ph) in ‘event-relating’ Processes

If Y is the first of the two events (the Carrier) and X is the Phenomenon

the clause can be re-expressed as follows:

‘What Y + past of MAIN VERB was X’, PLUS X passes the Event Test (T18).

Example (with the Phenomenon underlined):

change *Fred’s failure in his exams led to his departure from the school* to *What Fred’s failure in his exams led to was his departure from the school*.

Tip With long examples (e.g. if both events are full clauses) use this equivalent test:

Re-express it as: ‘What is/was it that Y + past of MAIN VERB? It was X’,

PLUS X passes the Event Test (T18).

Example (with the Phenomenon underlined):

change *Knowing that a mushroom isn't a plant follows from knowing that a fungus isn't a plant to What is it that knowing a mushroom isn't a plant follows from? It is knowing that a fungus isn't a plant.*

T18 The Event Test

Note This test is not a test for a PR, but for the status in the **input** of the **referent** of a PR. It is used in T4 for Range to distinguish it from a Phenomenon, and in T17a, T17b and T17c to identify sub-types of Phenomenon. The input is termed an **event**, a unit in the Logical Form used to represent inputs. If an event is expressed **congruently** it is a **clause**, but if it is expressed **incongruently** it is a **nominal group** (a **nominalization** or an **event thing**). The tests apply to all of these.

If X is the candidate 'event', X is an event if X can occur naturally as 'X took Y

(where Y is a Duration Adjunct such as *two minutes/hours/days/months/years*).

Examples:

For *the match* in *The match ended at six* try saying *The match took two hours.*

For *their attempt to climb Everest* in *Their attempt to climb Everest failed*, try saying

Their attempt to climb Everest took two months.

If it makes sense it is an event.

Kreativität und Problemlöseverfahren als translatologische Größen, am Beispiel der spanischen Übersetzung von Herta Müllers *Atemschaukel*

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1 Vorbemerkung

Die Interessen des Jubilars auf den Gebieten der Sprach- und Translationswissenschaft sind nicht nur reichhaltig, sondern auch sehr bereichernd für das Fach. Sie sind von einer grundlegenden funktionalen Haltung geprägt, die unsere Disziplin aus der wissenschaftlichen Isolation verhilft. Zentrale Fragen in Erichs Arbeiten sind nämlich die Suche nach registerbasierten Methoden der Übersetzungsevaluation, die Übersetzung selbst als Sprachvariation und der Status der Translatologie als wissenschaftlicher Disziplin. Hierbei ist Erichs Anliegen, stets den Dialog zwischen den Disziplinen zu fördern und multifunktionale Ansätze in der translatologischen Forschung zu berücksichtigen. Spätestens hier wird eine Seelenverwandtschaft zwischen uns beiden sichtbar (wie übrigens auch in so vielen anderen Fragen), die im vorliegenden Beitrag näher zu beleuchten sein wird.

In der Translatologie richtet man oft die Aufmerksamkeit auf den Status des Translates, das meistens dichotomisch in seiner Eigenschaft als Einbürgerung des Originals oder als Entfremdung der Zielsprache analysiert wird. Nimmt man allerdings eine breitere Perspektive ein, die rhetorisch-hermeneutische Gesichtspunkte mit einschließt, erweitert sich der Horizont der Fragestellungen, nicht zuletzt in der Suche nach der Identität eines übersetzten Textes, dessen Status zunächst die Alterität gegenüber der Identität seines Originals aufweist. Es kann aber auch sein, dass die Übersetzung als solche kein durchkomponiertes Werk ist, sondern sich mit mehr oder weniger Erfolg damit zufrieden gibt, die im Original anstehenden Probleme translatologisch zu lösen.

Der zur Verfügung stehende Raum erlaubt nur diesem Forschungsdesiderat exemplarisch nachzugehen. Dies soll am Beispiel der Literaturnobelpreisträgerin Herta Müller und ihres 2009 erschienenen Romans *Atemschaukel* dargestellt werden. Sowohl die Autorin selbst – Banat Deutsche, aus

Rumänien in die Bundesrepublik emigriert, letztlich eine Schriftstellerin auf der Suche nach ihrer Identität – als auch ihr sehr persönlicher, aber schillernder Stil, in dem sich diese innere Spannung reflektiert, bieten eine solche Pluridimensionalität der zu übersetzenden Texte, die es rechtfertigt, nach der Identität der translatorischen Alterität differenzierter zu fragen.

2 Atemschaukel – *Todo lo que tengo lo llevo conmigo*

Der Roman *Atemschaukel* handelt von der bedrückenden Lage deutschstämmiger Rumänen in einem Arbeitslager der Sowjetunion, wohin sie nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg und der Kapitulation Deutschlands im Rahmen von „Reparationsleistungen“ für fünf Jahren deportiert worden sind. Der Hunger ist, wie in (1a und b) dargestellt wird, ihr ständiger Begleiter. Die spanische Übersetzung von Rosa Pilar Blanco ist 2011 erschienen. Im Unterschied zu der französischen und italienischen Ausgabe trägt sie als Titel, in Anlehnung an die englische Übersetzung, den ersten Satz des Romans *Todo lo que tengo lo llevo conmigo* (engl. *Everything I Possess I Carry With Me*). „Atemschaukel“ wird dann im spanischen Text (76) wörtlich mit „El columpio del alienato“ wiedergegeben, wie es schon in den französischen und italienischen Titeln heißt: *La balançoire du soufle* bzw. *L’altalena del respiro*.

Im Folgenden soll exemplarisch ein Textausschnitt vorgestellt werden, der einerseits das Grundproblem des Hungers thematisiert und andererseits in gebündelter Form stilistische Charakteristika der Prosa Herta Müllers sowie translatorische Phänomene aufdeckt, die für die vorliegende Fragestellung relevant sind und in den darauffolgenden Abschnitten detaillierter besprochen werden sollen:

- (1a) *Was kann man sagen über den chronischen Hunger. Kann man sagen, es gibt einen Hunger, der dich krankhungrig macht. Der immer noch hungriger dazukommt, zu dem Hunger, den man schon hat. Der immer neue Hunger, der unersättlich wächst und in den ewig alten, mühsam gezähmten Hunger hineinspringt. Wie läuft man auf der Welt herum, wenn man nichts mehr über sich zu sagen weiß, als dass man Hunger hat. Wenn man an nichts mehr denken kann. Der Gaumen ist größer als der Kopf, eine Kuppel, hoch und hellhörig bis hinauf in den Schädel. Wenn man den Hunger nicht mehr aushält, zieht es im Gaumen, als wäre einem eine frische Hasenhaut zum Trocknen hinters Gesicht gespannt. Die Wangen verdorren und bedecken sich mit blassem Flaum. (24f.)*

(1b) *Qué decir del hambre crónica... Se puede afirmar que existe un hambre que te hace enfermar de hambre. Que añada más hambre a la que ya padeces. El hambre siempre renovada que crece insaciable y salta al interior del hambre eternamente vieja, reprimida con esfuerzo. Cómo vas a correr mundo cuando lo único que sabes decir de ti mismo es que tienes hambre. Cuando no puedes pensar en nada más. El paladar es más grande que la cabeza, una cúpula alta y permeable al ruido que llega hasta el cráneo. Cuando el hambre se te antoja insoportable, sientes tirones en el paladar, como si te hubieran tensado una piel de conejo fresca para secarla detrás de tu cara. Las mejillas se marchitan y se cubren de una pelusilla pálida. (27f.)*

Auf den Punkt gebracht lassen sich zwei sprachliche Grundphänomene herauskristallisieren, die im ganzen Roman immer wieder vorkommen und die zur Identität des Stils von Herta Müller gezählt werden könnten:

- a) Visualisierungseffekte (die *perspicuitas* der klassischen Rhetorik)
- b) Informationsstrukturelle Effekte, die mittels einer teilweise fragmentarischen Prosa erzielt werden und in denen das Dokumentarische und Poetische in eigenartiger Weise ineinanderfließen.

Es seien im Einzelnen diese Grundphänomene wie folgt veranschaulicht:

zu a) Visualisierungseffekte

Vier Verfahren lassen sich in diesem kurzen Textabschnitt erkennen:

- a1) kreative Wortkompositionen und originelle Wortrelationen: *krankungrig; noch hungriger* auf den Hunger selbst bezogen, wobei hier ‚kreativ‘ im Sinne von ‚nicht lexikalisiert und letztlich nur beim Sender zu finden‘ gemeint ist
- a2) Personifikationen: *Der immer neue Hunger, der unersättlich wächst und in den ewig alten, mühsam gezähmten Hunger hineinspringt*
- a3) Metaphern: *Der Gaumen ist größer als der Kopf, eine Kuppel, hoch und hellhörig bis hinauf in den Schädel*
- a4) Vergleiche: *Wenn man den Hunger nicht mehr aushält, zieht es im Gaumen, als wäre einem eine frische Hasenhaut zum Trocknen hinters Gesicht gespannt*

zu b) Informationsstrukturelle Effekte

b1) Die rhetorische Figur der Wiederholung wird mit homonymischen Begriffen verwendet. Wiederholt wird das Wort *Hunger*, aber es handelt sich nicht immer um denselben Hunger. Wir können unterscheiden:

- Hunger₁: der die anderen Hunger-Bezeichnungen am Anfang und am Ende einrahmt: *den chronischen Hunger* und *dass man Hunger hat*
- Hunger₂: der täglich immer wieder zusätzlich empfunden wird: *einen Hunger, der dich krankhungrig macht. Der immer noch hungriger dazukommt // Der immer neue Hunger*
- Hunger₃: der alte Hunger, der nicht weggeht: *dem Hunger, den man schon hat // den ewig alten, mühsam gezähmten Hunger*

Liest man diesen Abschnitt in einem Atemzug, empfindet man subtil, aber eindringlich, die obsessive Kraft des Hungers als Dauerthema der Gefangenschaft, auch im informationsstrukturellen Sinne.

b2) Dokumentarische Informationsvermittlung

Neben dem Vergleich mit der *Hasenhaut* schließt diese Kurzbetrachtung über den Hunger der nüchterne, ja beinahe fachsprachliche Satz: *Die Wangen verdorren und bedecken sich mit blassem Flaum*. Man hat geradezu den Eindruck eines Stilbruchs, einer Art Erwachen aus einem Traum des Bildes in die Wirklichkeit, die brutale Wirklichkeit eines abgemagerten Menschen.

Ob diese zwei Typen von Eigenschaften, die hier in einem kurzen Textabschnitt verdichtet vorkommen, zur Identität des Stils Herta Müllers gehören, soll im Folgenden näher beleuchtet werden, nicht zuletzt auf der Basis der bereits geleisteten Forschung. Im Hinblick auf die Übersetzung jedoch stellt sich die Frage nach den translatologischen Erkenntnissen, die aus der spanischen Fassung gewonnen werden können. Zwei translatologisch relevante Fragen stellen sich im vorliegenden Textabschnitt:

a) Mit Bezug auf die Visualisierungseffekte ist nach den Kreativitätsstufen der Übersetzung zu fragen.

b) Im Hinblick auf die subtilen Phänomene der Informationsgewichtung spielen Erkennen und Wiedergeben von Wortstellungsvariationen und das Spielen mit konventionellen sprachlichen Ausdrucksformen eine wichtige Rolle.

zu a) Es lässt sich feststellen, dass sich die spanische Übersetzerin dort, wo Herta Müller kreativ wird, auch erfolgreich um eine kreative

Sprachverwendung bemüht. Bei den o.a. Visualisierungseffekten finden sich dementsprechend ebenfalls kreative Lösungen auf Spanisch:

a1) Für die kreativen Wortkompositionen und originelle Wortrelationen: *krankhungrig*; *noch hungriger* wird im kompositionsarmen Spanisch geschickt der Relativsatz verwendet: *un hambre que te hace enfermar de hambre. Que añade más hambre a la que ya padeces.*

a2) Die Personifikationen: *Der immer neue Hunger, der unersättlich wächst und in den ewig alten, mühsam gezähmten Hunger hineinspringt* sind in der Übersetzung problemlos realisierbar: *El hambre siempre renovada que crece insaciable y salta al interior del hambre eternamente vieja, reprimida con esfuerzo.*

a3) Die deutschen kreativen Metaphern: *Der Gaumen ist größer als der Kopf, eine Kuppel, hoch und hellhörig bis hinauf in den Schädel* lassen sich im Spanischen ebenfalls kreativ wiedergeben: *El paladar es más grande que la cabeza, una cúpula alta y permeable al ruido que llega hasta el cráneo.*

a4) Ebenso sind die kreativen Vergleiche: *Wenn man den Hunger nicht mehr aushält, zieht es im Gaumen, als wäre einem eine frische Hasenhaut zum Trocknen hinters Gesicht gespannt* kreativ zu reproduzieren: *Cuando el hambre se te antoja insoportable, sientes tirones en el paladar, como si te hubieran tensado una piel de conejo fresca para secarla detrás de tu cara.*

zu b) Die informationsstrukturelle Fokussierung der unterschiedlichen Hunger-Homonyma ist in der Übersetzung weitgehend eingehalten:

- für Hunger₁ (*den chronischen Hunger und dass man Hunger hat*) steht folgerichtig auf Spanisch *el hambre crónica* und *es que tienes hambre*
- für Hunger₂: (*einen Hunger, der dich krankhungrig macht. Der immer noch hungriger dazukommt // Der immer neue Hunger*) lesen wir: *un hambre que te hace enfermar de hambre. Que añade más hambre und El hambre siempre renovada*
- für Hunger₃: (*dem Hunger, den man schon hat // den ewig alten, mühsam gezähmten Hunger*) findet sich nur eine explizite Entsprechung für das zweite Beispiel (*hambre eternamente vieja, reprimida con esfuerzo*). Im ersten Fall wird eine Proform gewählt: *a la que ya padeces*. Der Grund ist nicht schwer auszumachen: Da *hungriger* nicht etwa durch „más hambrienta“ (also auch adjektivisch), sondern substantivisch mit dem Relativsatz *Que añade más hambre* wiedergegeben worden ist, scheint im spanischen Stil die unmittelbare

Wiederholung kakophonisch, etwa „Que añade más hambre al hambre que ya padeces“. Dieser subtile Unterschied ist semantisch und textuell zwar harmlos, erweckt allerdings den Eindruck, als würde das Wortspiel der Homonyma unbemerkt geblieben und die Obsessivität des Hungers dem besseren spanischen Stil teilweise zum Opfer gefallen sein.

Könnte es sein, dass dort, wo der Übersetzer mit besonderen kreativen Leistungen des Originals herausgefordert wird, dieser auch mit guten kreativen Leistungen des Translats reagiert, während gerade bei den scheinbar weniger anspruchsvollen Stellen die Gefahren einer nicht mehr adäquaten Übersetzung lauern? Eine Verstärkung dieser Vermutung findet sich bei der irrtümlichen Interpretation der Wendung *Wie läuft man auf der Welt herum* durch *Cómo vas a correr mundo*, die eher im Sinne des Weltenbummlers zu verstehen ist, während durch den Ausdruck Herta Müllers eher die Unmöglichkeit unterstrichen wird, aufgrund des Hungers mit anderen Menschen menschliche Beziehungen zu pflegen, da der Insasse durch den Hunger auf sich zurückgeworfen wird. Deswegen „weiß er nichts mehr über sich zu sagen“. Die Untersuchung weiterer Translats dieser Art soll auf diese Frage eine Antwort zu finden versuchen.

Im Folgenden gilt es daher, zunächst die Sprache Herta Müllers im Kontext ihrer persönlichen Erlebnisse und literarischen Absichten näher zu beleuchten, um anschließend nicht die translatologische Perspektive von der Warte der klassischen Folie einer verfremdenden oder einbürgernden Übersetzung einzunehmen, sondern vielmehr der Frage nachzugehen, ob das Translat eigene Ziele als literarisches Werk verfolgt oder ob es sich um die bestmögliche Form handelt, mit der die Übersetzerin versucht, die translatorischen Probleme zu lösen.

3 Zur Sprache Herta Müllers, einer Schriftstellerin mit Übersetzerhintergrund

Die Nobelvorlesung, die Herta Müller am 7. Dezember 2009 an der Schwedischen Akademie gehalten hat, enthält wichtige Hinweise auf ihr schriftstellerisches Tun, sowohl theoretisch als auch in der konkreten Ausführung ihrer Sprachverwendung (Müller 2009). Dort erfährt der Leser, dass sie zwanzigjährig in einer Fabrik für Maschinenbau als Übersetzerin gearbeitet hat. Nicht verwunderlich, dass sie eine besondere Affinität zu Bedeutungsnuancen, Wortspielen und -assoziationen zeigt. So erzählt sie, dass sie nach

ihrer Weigerung zur Zusammenarbeit mit der *Securitate* ihr Büro verlassen musste und nur noch auf der Treppe mit ihren Wörterbüchern auf dem Schoß arbeiten konnte. Sie war also ein „Treppenwitz“, wobei sie die eigentliche Bedeutung des Kompositums um einen persönlichen situationsbezogenen Sinn verändert – und so beginnt sie aus der Fachterminologie Poesie zu machen:

- (2) *In der Zeit, als ich ein Treppenwitz war, habe ich im Lexikon nachgeblättert, was es mit dem Wort TREPPE auf sich hat: Die erste Stufe der Treppe heißt ANTRITT, die letzte Stufe AUSTRITT. Die waagerechten Stufen zum Drauftreten sind seitlich in die TREPPENWANGEN eingepasst. Und die Freiräume zwischen den einzelnen Stufen heißen sogar TREPPENAUGEN. Von den Bauteilen der hydraulischen, ölverschmierten Maschinen kannte ich die schönen Wörter: SCHWALBENSCHWANZ, SCHWANENHALS, der Halt der Schrauben hieß SCHRAUBENMUTTER. Und genauso verblüfften mich die poetischen Namen der Treppenteile, die Schönheit der technischen Sprache. TREPPENWANGEN, TREPPENAUGEN – also hat die Treppe ein Gesicht.*

Diese semantischen Assoziationen und Sprünge sind in ihrer Prosa so typisch wie ihre kreativen Metaphern, welche nicht unbedingt die schöne Seite des Lebens als vielmehr seine Dunkelheit und Härte veranschaulichen. So beschreibt sie die Verlogenheit des Geheimdienstes, der sie gegenüber ihren Arbeitskollegen als Spitzel brandmarkt, gerade weil sie sich geweigert hatte, eine informelle Mitarbeiterin zu sein. Diese Perfidie, mit der sie nicht fertig werden konnte, veranschaulicht sie mit *Verleumdung stopft einen aus mit Dreck, man erstickt, weil man sich nicht wehren kann*. In diesem Zusammenhang wird auch ihre Neigung zu den Antithesen sichtbar, wenn sie die veränderte Beziehung zu ihren Kollegen bedenkt: *Im Grunde bestrafen sie mich, weil ich sie schonte*. Die Bedeutung dieser Zeit auf der Treppe für ihr schriftstellerisches Schaffen thematisiert Herta Müller in derselben Rede: Es gibt Dinge im Leben, die man nicht in der freien Rede artikulieren kann und es der reflektierten Schriftlichkeit bedarf:

- (3) *Aber das Schreiben hat im Schweigen begonnen, dort auf der Fabriktrappe, wo ich mit mir selbst mehr ausmachen musste, als man sagen konnte. Das Geschehen war im Reden nicht mehr zu artikulieren.*

Wir erhalten kurz danach einen weiteren Hinweis auf eine wichtige Charakteristik ihrer Prosa: die in Angst artikuliert Sprache: *Ich reagierte auf die*

Todesangst mit Lebenshunger. Der war ein Worthunger. Nur der Wortwirbel konnte meinen Zustand fassen. Die Wortassoziationen und -klaubereien erwachsen nicht der Spiellust, sie sind vielmehr eine Art Refugium vor der Bedrohung. Und darin entdeckt sie neue semantische Dimensionen. In der Nobelvorlesung berichtet sie über eine Begebenheit, die ihr Oskar Pastior während seiner Zeit im Arbeitslager erzählt hatte und die sie dann in *Atemschaukel* literarisiert: Eine russische Mutter hatte ihm ein Taschentuch aus weißem Batist geschenkt, da er ihrem Sohn ähnelte, der weit weg in einem Strafbataillon diente. Herta Müller reflektiert über die Metonymie „Batist“ im Rumänischen, nicht sprachwissenschaftlich, sondern poetisch:

- (4) *Obwohl ich seit Jahrzehnten rumänisch spreche, fiel mir im Gespräch mit Oskar Pastior zum ersten Mal auf: Taschentuch heißt auf Rumänisch BATISTA. Wieder mal das sinnliche Rumänisch, das seine Wörter zwingend einfach ins Herz der Dinge jagt. Das Material macht keinen Umweg, bezeichnet sich als fertiges Taschentuch, als BATISTA. Als wäre jedes Taschentuch jederzeit und überall aus Batist.*

Diese Flucht ins Poetische angesichts einer Bedrohung versinnbildlicht Herta Müller bei der Beschreibung ihrer Reaktion, als sie sich weigert, mit der *Securitate* zu kollaborieren und der Geheimdienstmitarbeiter vor Wut kochte: Sie schrieb, was er ihr diktierte, bis sie es nicht mehr tun konnte:

- (5) *... jetzt kam das schreckliche Wort: colaborez, daß ich kollaboriere. Dieses Wort schrieb ich nicht mehr. Ich legte den Stift hin und ging zum Fenster, sah auf die staubige Straße hinaus. Sie war nicht asphaltiert, Schlaglöcher und bucklige Häuser. Diese ruinierte Gasse hieß auch noch Strada Gloriei, Straße des Ruhms. Auf der Straße des Ruhms saß eine Katze im nackten Maulbeerbaum. Es war die Fabrikkatze mit dem zerrissenen Ohr.*

Es kommt zu einer bedrohlichen Szene, und der Beamte verlässt das Büro, nachdem er ihr Angst eingejagt hat. Wiederum ist die Reaktion der Schriftstellerin beängstigt-poetisch: *Da stand hier die Bürotür schon offen und er war weg. Und draußen auf der Strada Gloriei war die Fabrikkatze vom Baum aufs Hausdach gesprungen. Ein Ast federte wie ein Trampolin.*

Informationsstrukturell ist diese „beiläufige“ Straßenbeschreibung durchkomponiert: Nach der Einführung des Themas „Straße“ (*sah auf die staubige Straße hinaus*) wird dieser trostlose Anblick dadurch beibehalten, dass eine Struktur mit durchlaufendem Thema und drei unterschiedlichen Rhemata konstruiert wird: “Sie – Diese – Auf der Straße”. Erst dann wird die Aufmerksamkeit auf die „Katze“ mit dem Strukturwechsel zur thematischen

Progression gelenkt: „Katze – die Fabrikskatze“. Auch die zweite Stelle ist geschickt komponiert, indem Herta Müller den *context boundnis* metonymisch herstellt: „vom Baum gesprungen – Ein Ast federte“.

Dieser eher fachsprachlich strukturierte Text entfacht seine poetische Kraft durch seine Einbettung in eine Situation, in der die Sprache verschlügt und man nur vor Angst zu zittern vermag. Der Text flüchtet und begibt sich in eine sachliche dokumentarische Sprache, die aber gleichzeitig noch den Blick für die Details und ihre Empfindung hat.

Diese Erkenntnisse über die Sprache Herta Müllers, die in enger Verbindung mit ihren persönlichen Erlebnissen stehen, sind oft Gegenstand der Forschung sowie der sprachlichen Reflexionen von Herta Müller selbst gewesen. Der eingeschränkte Rahmen erlaubt nur, auf die Aussagen einzugehen, die in enger Beziehung zu unserer Fragestellung stehen.

In einer lesenswerten Studie zum Werk Herta Müllers geht Bozzi (2005, 145) auf diese semantischen Kombinationen ein, die sie „lakonisches Assoziieren“ nennt. Dieser Phänotyp geht mit der intensiven Beobachtung „kleinster Nebensächlichkeiten“ (ebd. 139) einher. Treffend bemerkt Bozzi (ebd. 143f.) dazu, dass es sich nicht um ein objektives Blicken handelt, sondern eher um die Befreiung von gesellschaftlicher Blicklenkung. Es ist im Grunde ein in Angst geschärfter Sinn für das Detail (ebd. 141). Der Leser setzt sich hierbei schneller in Bewegung, er schaut mit. Bozzi (ebd. 169) spricht daher von einer „Performanz des Sehens“. Deutlicher formuliert es Brodbeck (2002, 180), wenn sie über die Angst in Herta Müller spricht. Sie mache Angst im Wortsinn sichtbar, indem sie dieses Gefühl auf Bilder überträgt. Ihre Texte, in denen die Erzählhandlung oftmals fragmentiert erscheint, seien Ausdruck ihrer eigenen, zutiefst traumatisierten Wahrnehmung der Welt. Die Verbindung der Angst mit dieser besonderen Wahrnehmung thematisiert ebenfalls Predoiu (2001, 12), wenn sie mit Bezug auf Herta Müllers eigene Reflexionen sagt, wenn die Angst verschwinde, gehe etwas von der Wahrnehmung verloren. Gemeint ist die „erfundene Wahrnehmung“, die hilfreich ist, um ihre Texte besser zu verstehen. Die Autorin selbst hat sie in einem Vortrag an der Universität Paderborn erläutert (Müller 1991, bes. 33-55). Es handelt sich um tiefere Schichten der Wahrnehmung, es ist ein vielfacher Boden unter den Gedanken, der anders als der Boden unter den Füßen haltlos macht. Wir haben sie vorhin ein sich Flüchten in eine andere Realität genannt.

Bozzi (2005, 155 – 157) thematisiert darüber hinaus aus literaturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive eine Charakteristik des Stils Herta Müllers, die man Sinnlichkeit der Texte nennen könnte. Es handelt sich um eine besondere Beziehung zur Natur der Dinge: an die Stelle der Mimesis trete die Poiesis. Die Sprache Herta Müllers sei ein Impuls, damit die Dinge selbst reden, was

in der Textualität als „jene Verbindung von poetologischem Diskurs mit körperbetonendem Erzählen verstanden (wird), die für die Texte Herta Müllers so charakteristisch ist“ (ebd. 157). Textlinguistisch lässt sich dieses Phänomen – wie oben dargestellt – durch die Aufdeckung besonderer Muster der Informationsstrukturierung erklären.

4 *Atemschaukel*: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen translatorischer Kreativität

In einer der jüngeren Arbeiten zu *Atemschaukel* findet sich eine Definition des Romans, die Inhalt und Form treffend auf den Punkt bringt:

Atemschaukel ist kein Dokumentarroman, kein historischer Roman, keine Autobiographie und kein Werk kollektiver Autorschaft, sondern ein Roman, der den ästhetischen Umgang mit der Erinnerung an Deportation und Lagererfahrung thematisiert. (Braun 2011, 48)

Das im Roman beschriebene Lagerleben ist mit den Worten der ersten Rezensentin, Ruth Klüger, „eine menschliche Grenzerfahrung“ (ebd. 35). Herta Müller will die Brutalitäten der stalinistischen Diktatur nicht der Vergessenheit anheim geben, sondern aus einer moralischen Verpflichtung heraus die Erinnerung daran wach halten und diese Taten öffentlich anprangern.

Stilistisch zählt Steinecke (2011, 25) treffend verschiedene Formen der sprachlichen Verarbeitung der im Lager empfundenen Grausamkeiten auf: Aufzählungsketten, Vergleiche, Metaphern des Ungewohnten und Unerwarteten. Auch die Verbindung zwischen fachsprachlicher Deskription und poetischer Empfindung wird thematisiert (ebd. 26). Veranschaulicht wird das am Beispiel von *Meldekraut*, dessen Beschreibung aus einem Botanikbuch stammen könnte. Dieses Unkraut konnte gekocht und gesalzen teilweise den Hunger stillen, aber wenn seine Schönheit saisonal wächst, wird es bitterer und schließlich ungenießbar. So endet diese Beschreibung (*Atemschaukel* 24) mit einem Ausdruck der Empfindung: *Die Zeit des Meldekrautessens ist vorbei. Aber nicht der Hunger, der immer größer ist als man selbst.*

Wie im 2. Abschnitt ebenfalls festgestellt, unterstreicht die Forschung allgemein und auch speziell in *Atemschaukel* die Fähigkeiten Herta Müllers, kreativ mit der Sprache umzugehen und zu beschreiben, was letztlich unaussprechbar ist. Dies geschieht sowohl auf der Ebene einzelner Metaphern, Wortkompositionen und Vergleiche, als auch durch eine subtile Prosa, der es gelingt, distanzierte, ja fachsprachliche Denotationen poetisch zu konnotieren. Ein solch hohes Niveau der Literatur könnte zu ebenbürtigen

Nachbildungen in einer anderen Sprache herausfordern, es kann aber auch sein, dass der Übersetzer, in unserem Falle die Übersetzerin, ihr Translat als gelungen betrachtet, wenn die größten translatorischen Probleme (derer es nicht wenige gibt) angemessen gelöst worden sind. Im Folgenden soll also – translatologisch betrachtet – dieses Spektrum übersetzerischer Kreativitätsstufen näher beleuchtet werden, wobei der gegebene Rahmen nur eine exemplarische Vorgehensweise erlaubt.

Auf der Ebene der Visualisierung durch Sprache ist weitgehend erkennbar, dass die Übersetzerin die Herausforderung annimmt, den offensichtlich kreativen Leistungen der Originalautorin ebenbürtige spanische Pendanten gegenüber zu stellen. So werden originelle Vergleiche des Ausgangstextes in ihrer Originalität übernommen, wie es in (6) beim Vergleich des Mondes mit einem Röntgenbild der Fall ist:

- (6) *Und hinter ihm die gefrorene Welt mit dem Mond wie ein Röntgenbild* (22).
(6a) *Y detrás de él, el mundo helado con la luna como una radiografía* (25).

Was die Metaphern betrifft, wird besonders deutlich, dass die Ungewöhnlichkeit der deutschen Bilder ins Spanische übernommen wird, da es sowieso um das Ungewöhnliche geht. Dies wird an manchen Kapitelüberschriften deutlich, die auch im Deutschen Spannung erzeugen, denn das eigentlich Gemeinte erschließt sich im Laufe des jeweiligen Kapitels. Folgende Beispiele seien angeführt:

- (7) *Von der Herzschaufel* (82), *Vom Eigenbrot zum Wangenbrot* (120), *Blechkuss* (227)
(7a) *Sobre la pala del corazón* (76), *Del pan propio al pan de mejilla* (108), *El beso de hojalata* (204)

Als Beispiel für diese Bedeutungsspannung der Titel einzelner Kapitel sei der erwähnte „Blechkuss“ bzw. „beso de hojalata“, der besonders kryptisch anmutet, näher erläutert. Es handelt sich nämlich, wie man am Ende des Kapitels erfährt, um die Art, wie die Häftlinge ihre einzige Mahlzeit, die Abendsuppe auslöffeln:

- (8) *Rundherum an allen Tischen scheidete das Blech. Jeder Löffel Suppe ist ein Blechkuss, dachte ich. Und der eigene Hunger ist für jeden eine fremde Macht. Wie gut ich das in dem Moment wusste, wie schnell ich es wieder vergaß.* (229)

- (8a) *A mi alrededor, la hojalata tintineaba en todas las mesas. Cada cucharada de sopa es un beso de hojalata, pensé. Y la propia hambre ejerce sobre todos un poder desconocido. Qué bien lo supe en ese momento y qué deprisa lo olvidé. (206)*

Während der offensichtlich kreative „Blechkuss“ zu einer kreativen Leistung führt, nämlich zur Übersetzung „beso de hojalata“, hat die subtile rhetorische Leistung dieser Erzählung kein adäquates Pendant im Spanischen gefunden. Im ersten Satz wird das Thema („Blech“) in Endposition mit den vorangestellten Adverbialen fokussiert eingeführt. Im Spanischen übernimmt die „hojalata“ eine eher logisch komponierte Erstposition nach der Hintergrundinformation des ersten Adverbials, was ihre Fokusposition verändert. Entsprechend übersieht die Übersetzerin die konstruierte Parallelstruktur „Substantiv – ist – Metapher“ in ihrer antithetischen Wirkung:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| (8c) | <i>Löffel Suppe</i> | <i>ist</i> | <i>Blechkuss</i> |
| | <i>eigene(r) Hunger</i> | <i>ist</i> | <i>fremde Macht</i> |

Diese rhetorische Meisterleistung könnte problemlos auf Spanisch heißen:

- | | | | |
|------|---|---------------|------------------------------|
| (8d) | <i>cucharada de sopa</i> | <i>es</i> | <i>beso de hojalata</i> |
| | <i>propia hambre</i> | <i>es</i> | <i>fuerza extranjera</i> |
| | <i>(statt: propia hambre</i> | <i>ejerce</i> | <i>un poder desconocido,</i> |
| | <i>was übrigens auch den Sinn verfehlt)</i> | | |

Dieses Beispiel scheint die bereits geäußerte Vermutung zu bestätigen, dass es am Subtilen liegt, wenn von einer Übersetzung als Kunstwerk gesprochen werden kann.

Andere Beispiele bestätigen diesen Eindruck, wie die Bildung von „Komposita-Monstern“, um bestimmte Effekte zu versinnbildlichen. Nach der Entlassung erinnert sich hin und wieder der Protagonist an einzelne Gegenstände, die er im Lager besaß und die sich in der *Atmschaukel* des Hunger zu Gedanken- und Wortungeheuern entwickeln:

- (9) *Die Atmschaukel überschlägt sich, ich muss hecheln. So eine Zahnkammnadelscherenspielgelbürste ist ein Ungeheuer, so wie der Hunger ein Ungeheuer ist. (34)*

Die spanische Entsprechung ist ebenbürtig:

- (9b) *El columpio del aliento hace una pirueta, obligándome a jadear. Semejante cepillodedientespeineagujatijeraespejo es un monstruo, y el hambre es otro monstruo. (35)*

Auch die deutlichen Wortspiele sind gekonnt übersetzt, wie es bei der Assoziation der Fall ist, die der Protagonist mit dem Namen des Autors „Hemingway“ und dem Begriff „Heimweh“ entfaltet:

(10) *Sieben Jahre nach meiner Heimkehr war ich seit sieben Jahren ohne Heimweh. Als ich auf dem Großen Ring im Schaufenster der Buchhandlung Fiesta von Hemingway sah, las ich aber Fiesta von Heimweh. Darum kaufte ich das Buch und machte mich auf den Heimweg, auf den Heimweg. (232)*

Die Übersetzerin spielt kreativ mit „magia“ und „nostalgia“, und auch wenn das letzte Wortpaar „Heimweh“ – „Heimweg“ nicht mit *figura etymologica* wiedergegeben wird, ist in diesem Kontext „nostalgia“ und „regreso“ mehr als akzeptabel:

(10b) *Siete años después de mi regreso llevaba siete años sin nostalgia. Pero cuando vi en el escaparate de la librería de Grosser Ring un libro titulado Magia y lei Nostalgia. Por eso compré un ejemplar y emprendí el camino de la nostalgia, del regreso (209).*

Übersetzungsgrenzen werden beim Spielen mit dem Gewöhnlichen sichtbar. So spricht Herta Müller von der *Hautundknochenzeit* (157), die ins Spanische wörtlich mit „época de pielyhuesos“ übersetzt worden ist. Die semantische Kraft des deutschen Ausdrucks liegt allerdings möglicherweise in der Verbindung zweier Redewendungen: a) „aus Haut und Knochen bestehen“ und b) für die „Zeit“ in der Parallele zum volkstümlichen „Sauregurkenzeit“, einer Wendung die der Übersetzerin vielleicht unbekannt ist. Hier wäre sicherlich die Verwendung des spanisch üblichen „quedarse en los huesos“ oder des aus dem Alten Testament entnommenen Ausdrucks „el tiempo de las vacas flacas“ treffender. Auch ein Spiel mit Normalität ist der Ausdruck *Weil jeder nichts dafür konnte, konnte keiner was dafür* (230), der im Spanischen durch *Como nadie tuvo la culpa, nadie pudo evitarlo* (207) nur im ersten Teil umgangssprachlich ist. Durch ein stärkeres Gespür für das Alltägliche hätte ohne große Mühe *Como nadie tuvo la culpa, la culpa no era de nadie* als Pendant gebildet werden können. Dieser Übersetzungsvorschlag erhält sogar die chiasmatische Stellung aufrecht.

Die vorliegende Frage nach kreativen Leistungsstufen lässt sich methodisch zusätzlich mittels Rückübersetzung bewusster machen, wie man dem folgenden Beispiel entnehmen kann. Auf S. 184 lautet die veröffentlichte Übersetzung:

- (11) *En lugar de entretenerme con estas ocurrencias, podría leer algo. Pero hace tiempo que vendí como papel de fumar, para calmar un poco el hambre, el terrible Zarathustra, el grueso Fausto y el Weinheber impreso en papel biblia.*

Folgende stilistische Einzelheiten lassen sich in dieser spanischen Fassung erkennen:

1. „leer“ ist als Rhema in Endstellung fokussiert
2. „tiempo“ ist durch Spaltsatz und Satzbeginn stark fokussiert: „hace tiempo que“
3. Die Tauschware („papel de fumar“) und der Zweck des Bücherverkaufs („para calmar un poco el hambre₂) erscheinen in Mittelstellung und als Einschub wie eine Erklärung
4. Die als Zigarettenpapier verloren gegangenen Bücher sind zusammen mit der Art des Papiers ihrer Ausgaben („Papel biblia“) in Endposition rhematisch

Wenn man den spanischen Text unter Beachtung dieser Charakteristika (die durch Fettdruck und Nummerierung markiert werden) zurück ins Deutsche übersetzt, lässt sich folgendes Translat erstellen:

- (11b) *Statt mich bei diesen Gedanken aufzuhalten, könnte ich etwas **lesen** (1). Aber es ist schon eine Weile her, dass (2) ich als Zigarettenpapier, um den Hunger etwas zu stillen (3), den schrecklichen Zarathustra, den dicken Faust und den auf dünnem Papier gedruckten Weinheber (4) verkauft habe.*

Im Gegensatz dazu lautet das Original von Herta Müller:

- (11c) *Statt auf solche Gedanken zu kommen, könnte ich etwas lesen. Aber den schrecklichen Zarathustra, den dicken Faust und den dünngedruckten Weinheber habe ich für ein bisschen Hungerstille längst als Zigarettenpapier verkauft (205).*

Die stilistischen Einzelheiten des deutschen Originals stimmen mit der spanischen Übersetzung in drei Charakteristiken überein:

1. „lesen“ ist als Rhema in Endstellung fokussiert
2. „längst“ ist durch die Position nach „für ein bisschen Hungerstille“ hervorgehoben
3. „für ein bisschen Hungerstille“ ist ebenfalls durch Voranstellung keine wichtige Information, sondern eine Erklärung

Anders als im Spanischen und informationsstrukturell kunstvoll erarbeitet, erweist sich die vorangestellte thematische Position der verlorenen Bücher mit der rhematischen Information des aus der Entfernung gesehen ungewöhnlichen Tausches der Bücherseiten als „Zigarettenpapier“, um den Hunger etwas zu stillen: Die jeweils mit einem charakterisierenden Adjektiv versehenen Büchertitel tragen den determinierenden Akkusativ, da sie bereits bekannt sind (vgl. Kap. 1, S. 13, wo man erfährt, welche Bücher der Protagonist auf den Kofferboden gelegt hat). Ihre Anfangsposition ist darüber hinaus nachvollziehbar als *context boundnis* mit „lesen“. Die rhematisch fokussierende Endstellung von „als Zigarettenpapier“ ist informationsstrukturell und stilistisch relevant, denn dadurch wird die Härte und Absurdität mancher Prozesse im Arbeitslager subtil, aber sehr wirksam, vermittelt.

Auf die Frage, ob diese Nuancen übersetzt werden könnten, lässt sich eine erneute Übersetzung, diesmal von mir, anführen, in der versucht wird, vor allem diesen Unterschied der Textkomposition auszugleichen:

(11d) *En lugar de entretenerme con estas ocurrencias, podría leer algo.
Pero el terrible Zaratustra, el grueso Fausto y el Weinheber impreso
en papel biblia hace ya tiempo que, para calmar un poco el hambre,
los vendí como papel de fumar.*

Ohne große Kraftakte erlaubt es die spanische Sprache die informatorischen Gewichtungen des Originals nachzuahmen. Da allerdings viele exzellente Übersetzungsleistungen in diesem Roman festzustellen sind, kann man davon ausgehen, dass es sich nicht um Kompetenzmangel der Übersetzerin, sondern eher um eine translatorische Akzentsetzung handelt, die sich vor allem auf die Lösung der schwierigeren Probleme ausrichtet.

5 Fazit und Perspektiven

Zusammenfassend kann man feststellen, dass die im Grunde akkurate Übersetzung von Rosa Pilar Blanco nicht primär bezweckt, ein eigenes literarisches Werk zu sein, sondern sich darauf beschränkt, die offensichtlichen originellen und kreativen sprachlichen Leistungen Herta Müllers im Spanischen nachzubilden. Ihre Identität ist also eher die eines Problemlöseverfahrens als die eines poetischen Gegenstücks zu *Atemschaukel*. Theoretisch kann daher festgehalten werden, dass die Identität einer Übersetzung vor allem in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Fragen entstehen kann, die das Lexikalisierte, kulturell fest Etablierte und informationsstrukturell Subtile aufwerfen. Und hier stoßen wir auf weiterführende Fragen, in denen meine

Seelenverwandtschaft mit dem Jubilar deutlicher zum Tragen kommt: In wie fern kann man bei Übersetzungen von einem eigenen Genre sprechen? Perspektivisch ausgedrückt: Die klassische Betrachtung eines Translats unter der dichotomischen Perspektive einbürgernd – verfremdend bedarf der Erweiterung. Es gibt so etwas wie ein Kontinuum unterschiedlicher Kreativitätsgrade bzw. unterschiedlicher rhetorischer Schwerpunkte einer Übersetzung, die in ihrer eigenen Vielfalt Gegenstand translatorischer Fragestellungen sein können. Ein klassisches Beispiel hierfür ist die Notwendigkeit einer neuen Optik bei der Beurteilung der translatorischen Leistung Rainer Maria Rilkes aus dem Französischen, dem seit dem bekannten Vortrag Hugo Friedrichs vor der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften aus dem Jahre 1965 (Friedrich 1965) wegen seiner eigenen poetischen Umformung der Status eines Übersetzers abgesprochen wird. Gibt es hier etwa nicht wie in der Musik die Möglichkeit von verschiedenen Interpretationen desselben Stücks zu reden? Wo liegen die Grenzen dieses Vergleichs? Aber das ist eine andere Arbeit, die sich z. Zt. im *statu nascendi* befindet und sich schöner begleitender Diskussionen mit dem Jubilar erfreuen wird.

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Verbal and nominal expressions in an English-Norwegian translation perspective

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Abstract

This study explores verbal and nominal expressions in English and Norwegian on the basis of some pairs of verbs and nouns in which the noun is derived from the verb and expresses a nominalized process. The material comes from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus. By studying the translation of partly synonymous verbs and nouns in both directions of translation, we get a better picture of verbal and nominal expressions of processes in both languages. Since explicitation is said to be a feature of translation, it was expected that some of the nominalizations would be translated by verbal expressions, but that the opposite would not happen much. This hypothesis was only partly supported. As Norwegian is often claimed to be a verb-preferring language, fewer nominalizations were expected in Norwegian; however the results suggest that the languages are more similar in this respect than has been assumed.

1 Introduction¹

Processes are typically expressed by verbs, but can sometimes be expressed by nouns instead. This paper looks into some pairs of derivationally related verbs and nouns in English and Norwegian and their translations, and thus involves two broad areas frequently addressed by Erich Steiner: grammatical metaphor and translated texts. The type of grammatical metaphor in question is nominalization, which, simply put, occurs when a noun refers to a process, as in (1) and (2).

(1) *There is always the feeling that, at any moment, something may happen that will lead to a new discovery. (DM1)*

¹ I am grateful to Signe Oksefjell Ebeling for comments on a draft of this paper.

- (2) *...and what goal could be more enticing than the discovery of life there?* (JL1)

When translating a nominalized process, a translator may keep a noun in the translation, as in (3), or de-metaphorize it using a verbal expression instead, as in (4).²

- (3) *Man har alltid følelsen av at det når som helst kan hende noe som fører til en ny oppgivelse.* (DMIT) [Lit: ‘One has always the feeling that there at any time can happen something that leads to a new discovery’]
- (4) *Og ingen målsetting kunne vel være mer besnærende enn å finne ut om det var liv på planeten?* (JLIT) [Lit: ‘and no goal could be more enticing than to find out if there was life on the planet’]

I will investigate which of the strategies is favoured by translators, and whether the direction of translation makes any difference. In contrast to most previous studies of nominalization, the present one also considers whether corresponding verbs, such as *discover*, are at all nominalized in translation. I assume that nominal expressions of processes (with associated participants realized as noun modifiers) represent a higher degree of information density than a verbal expression with associated participants as arguments (i.e. *the discovery of life* vs. *to discover life*), and that a verbal expression is usually more explicit (Steiner 2001: 11). However, while explicitation is often claimed to be a property of translation, along with a reduction of information density, there are also conflicting tendencies at work, such as normalization and re-metaphorization (Hansen-Schirra & Steiner 2012). Thus, as early as 2005, Steiner cautiously remarks that “Whereas our initial hypothesis is that translated texts may be more explicit and/or dense and/or direct than registerially parallel texts in their target language, it is a hypothesis and may well be disconfirmed” (2005: 5).

² All examples are from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus. The identification tags show which text they come from; a tag ending in ‘T’ identifies a translation. Underlining has been used for highlighting. Examples in Norwegian are followed by a literal English rendering, marked [Lit.].

2 Theoretical preliminaries

The main theoretical framework for this study is systemic-functional grammar (SFL), in which nominalization is regarded as a type of *grammatical metaphor* (e.g. Halliday 1993, Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 227 ff). Grammatical metaphor “involves the reconstrual of one domain in terms of another domain (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 233). More simply put, it involves “a substitution of one grammatical class, or one grammatical structure, for another” (Halliday 1993: 79). Thus, in the normal, non-metaphorical case, participants are realized by nouns and processes by verbs (e.g. *Tom arrived*). If a process is realized by another word class, such as the noun *arrival*, we have grammatical metaphor.

Languages may use grammatical metaphor to varying extents. Steiner (2001: 3) claims that “the German clause is characterized by a constrained and relatively direct mapping of Participant Roles and Grammatical Functions relative to English, so that for German translations, we can often expect grammatically ‘less metaphorized’ versions than in English”. However, “de-metaphorization” (Hansen-Schirra & Steiner 2012: 261) may also be an effect of the translation process, as it often involves explicitation and a less dense information structure (ibid: 262).

Norwegian is often claimed to be a verb-preferring language. A widely published list of ten guidelines for good usage (e.g. Vinje 1998), says “BLI IKKE SMITTET AV SUBSTANTIVSJUKEN. Skriv ikke: Kari foretar innhøsting av epler - når du like gjerne kan skrive: Kari høster (inn) epler.”³ In a more descriptive vein, Solfjeld (1996) studies Norwegian translations of German non-fiction texts and concludes that Norwegian is more clausal, while German is more nominal. If Norwegian is less nominal than German (Solfjeld 1996), which in turn is less nominal than English (Steiner 2001), then we would certainly expect Norwegian to be more verbal/clausal than English.

The most comprehensive study of nominalization in English and Norwegian is Nordrum (2007), which looks at the translations of lexical nominalizations in a selection of popular science texts from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus. Nordrum found that “lexical nominalizations were used more extensively in the English source texts than in their Norwegian and Swedish translations: approximately 1/5 of the source lexical nominalizations were

³ DO NOT CATCH THE NOUN DISEASE. Do not write: Kari is undertaking the harvesting of apples – when you can just as well write: Kari is harvesting apples. (my translation; capitals in the original)

turned into clauses” (2007: 216). Reasons for clausal translations were related to syntax and semantics as well as differences in genre conventions.

However, the observations on cross-linguistic differences in verbal and nominal style may be skewed by the fact that Steiner (2001), Solfjeld (1996) and Nordrum (2007) all report on translations in one direction only. Properties of translation may thus be responsible for the apparent cross-linguistic differences. Indeed, Hansen-Schirra & Steiner (2012: 264) find that German original texts have a higher number of nominal expressions per clause than English original texts, but translations tend to be more verbal than originals (ibid: 266). This is linked to the translation property *explicitation*, a phenomenon that is present “if a translation [...] realizes meanings [...] more explicitly than its source text” (Steiner 2012: 59). Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that Norwegian will prefer verbal expressions to a greater extent than English and that translations will be less nominal than originals, i.e. that the translation process will involve more noun-to-verb changes than vice versa.

3 The corpus, the selection of examples, and the classification scheme

The investigation is based on the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC). This is a bidirectional translation corpus consisting of original texts in both English and Norwegian with translations into the other language, aligned at sentence level. The present paper uses only the non-fiction part of the corpus, which comprises approx. 252,000 words of English original text and 220,100 words of Norwegian original text. It is rather heterogeneous as to genre, spanning from legal texts to biography. For further information, see <http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/services/omc/enpc/>.

A small set of verb-noun pairs were selected for analysis. The selection was relatively random, but it was required that similar verb-noun pairs should exist in both languages, their members should be frequent enough to yield viable results (but not so frequent as to skew the sample; *development/utvikling* was discarded for this reason), and the noun should express a nominalized process in most of its uses. The verb-noun pairs and their frequencies are listed in Table 1. The Norwegian words mean roughly the same as the English ones to their left, although they are not always translation equivalents. However, they share the same core meaning, and importantly, this is the case for both the verb and the noun in all the pairs.

Table 1: The verb-noun pairs investigated (raw frequencies of lemmas)

English		Norwegian		Notes
Lemma	Freq.	Lemma	Freq.	
<i>assume</i>	29	<i>anta</i>	20	
<i>assumption</i>	8	<i>antakelse</i>	2	Alternative spelling: <i>antagelse</i>
<i>change</i> (v.)	69	<i>endre</i>	25	The two Norwegian verbs are synonyms, but <i>endre</i> is more frequent in formal contexts.
		<i>forandre</i>	13	
<i>change</i> (n.)	74	<i>endring</i>	64	<i>endring</i> is more frequent in formal contexts
		<i>forandring</i>	19	
<i>discover</i>	39	<i>oppdage</i>	24	
<i>discovery</i>	16	<i>oppdagelse</i>	8	
<i>examine</i>	29	<i>undersøke</i>	15	
<i>examination</i>	14	<i>undersøkelse</i>	18	
<i>explain</i>	45	<i>forklare</i>	16	
<i>explanation</i>	25	<i>forklaring</i>	30	
<i>grow</i>	66	<i>vokse</i>	40	Copular <i>grow</i> and phrasal <i>grow up</i> were excluded.
<i>growth</i>	60	<i>vekst</i>	41	Instances of <i>vekst</i> meaning ‘plant’ were excluded.
	474		335	

Corpus searches were made for the lemma of each word so as to include inflected forms. Search hits occurring in sentences or clauses that had no rendering in the corresponding translation were discarded. The following types of hits were also excluded: adjectival uses of participles (as in *growing dismay*);⁴ instances of transcategorization (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 242), i.e. nouns derived from verbs but referring to things rather than processes (e.g. *change* meaning ‘money’, and the Norwegian *vekst* meaning ‘plant’); meanings/uses of verbs that cannot alternate with the corresponding noun (such as copular *grow* and phrasal *grow up*); some invariant phrases such as *liten av vekst* (Lit: ‘small of growth’ = ‘short’). It may be noted that Norwegian makes frequent use of compound nouns written as one word (e.g. *befolkningsvekst* ‘population growth’); such compounds are not captured in the corpus searches in original Norwegian texts, but they do turn up in translations from English.

⁴ The adjectival use of participles is not irrelevant in a study of grammatical metaphor, as they typically occur in clusters – or syndromes – of grammatical metaphor (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 233); cf. the following corpus example, in which all metaphorical uses have been underlined: *Yet the repeated failure of Allied assaults caused growing dismay and apprehension at the summit of the Grand Alliance. (MH1). However, space limitations preclude a broader study of metaphor at present.*

Vinay & Darbelnet (1995: 15 f) distinguish between *servitudes* and *options* in translation. An option is the result of a translator's choice, while a servitude is an obligatory feature. In the present context, the members of the verb-noun pairs investigated are similar enough in both languages for word class change in the translation to be optional in most cases. Compare a deverbal noun such as English *failure*, which lacks a corresponding noun in Norwegian that would work well in the frequent pattern *failure to* INF., shown in (5); in this context a word class change may thus be more or less obligatory.

- (5) a. ...the failure to get the scholarship to Cornell... (RF1)
 b. ... at han ikke vant stipendiet fra Cornell... (RFIT) [Lit: 'that he not won the scholarship from Cornell']

The translations were classified according to the framework developed by Johansson (2007: 23 ff), i.e. into *congruent*, *divergent* and *zero* (Ø) correspondences. A congruent translation belongs to the same form class as the original (e.g. noun translated by noun), as in (1) vs. (3); a divergent translation is one that belongs to a different form class, as in (2) vs. (4), where a noun is translated by a verb.⁵ Zero correspondence occurs when the translation does not contain any overt expression of the source item. Johansson's framework is supplemented with that of Vinay & Darbelnet (1995: 30 ff), whose main "methods of translation" are *literal* and *oblique*. Literal translations are based on parallel categories, and oblique ones on parallel concepts (ibid: 31), roughly mirroring Johansson's (2007) congruent and divergent correspondences. One subtype of oblique translation is termed *transposition* (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995: 36), i.e. "replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message." Another interesting subtype is that of *modulation*, i.e. "variation of the form of the message, obtained by a change of the point of view" (ibid.). This can be illustrated by (6), in which *grew* may be said to correspond to *utviklet* ('developed'); however there is a change of perspective, including a change of grammatical subject. Similarly, the voice change in the translation in (7b) is a type of modulation. Cases of modulation have been classified as divergent.

⁵ This use of the term *congruent* should not be confused with the same term in contrast with *metaphorical* (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 227). For this reason I avoid the term in the sense of 'non-metaphorical': in this paper a 'congruent translation' is one that preserves the form of the original.

- (6) a. ... and as his anti-intellectualism grew he might even have wished himself capable of them; but as a young man it made him wince. (RF1)
- b. ... og etterhvert som han utviklet en anti-intellektuell holdning kunne han nok selv ha ønsket at han var i stand til å begå dem; men som ung mann fikk det ham til å krympe seg. (RFIT) [Lit: ‘as he developed an anti-intellectual attitude’]
- (7) a. Daisyworld is assumed to have a constant amount of carbon dioxide, ... (JL1)
- b. På Daisyworld forutsetter vi at mengden av karbondioksyd er konstant ... (JLIT) [Lit: ‘at Daisyworld assume we that the amount of carbon dioxide is constant’]

4 Corpus investigation

Contrary to expectation, the selected verb-noun pairs showed a much higher proportion of nouns in Norwegian than in English originals, although the number of nouns was similar in both languages, as shown in Table 2.⁶ The significantly lower frequency of verbal expressions in Norwegian may simply mean that Norwegian uses different verbs than those investigated,⁷ as the tag frequency lists for the corpus⁸ indicate that the overall ratio of nouns to verbs is similar between the two languages.

Table 2: Distribution of word classes in the verb-noun pairs

	Verb	Noun	
English original (EO)	277 (58.5%)	197 (41.5%)	474 (100%)
Norwegian original (NO)	153 (45.5%)	182 (54.5%)	335 (100%)
	(LL = 21.46)	(LL = 0.30)	

While we can expect a high degree of congruent correspondence in translation between closely related languages such as English and Norwegian,

⁶ A log likelihood test (<http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>) shows that the verbs are significantly more frequent in English (relative to corpus size; $p < 0.0001$) while the number of nouns is similar.

⁷ For example, English *grow* has both transitive and intransitive uses, and is thus more frequent than the Norwegian *vokse*, which is only intransitive (transitive = *dyrke*).

⁸ Available at www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/services/omc/enpc/frequencies.html (August 2013).

divergent correspondences “can be taken to indicate to what extent the repertoire of forms used for particular purposes differs across languages” (Johansson 2007: 25). The emphasis will thus be on divergent correspondences.

4.1 The translation of nouns

Table 3 shows that the percentage of congruent correspondences of nouns is very high, about 90%, in both directions of translation. This indicates a great deal of similarity between the languages and possibly some degree of shining through in the translation (Hansen-Schirra & Steiner 2012: 270).

Table 3: The translation of nouns

	Congruent	Divergent	Zero	N.A	Total
English orig → Norwegian	174 (89%)	16 (8%)	6	1	197
Norwegian orig → English	166 (91%)	10 (5.5%)	3	3	182

The divergent noun correspondences are all transpositions, and most entail the use of a verb in the translation, as already shown in examples (2) and (4). The use of an adjective, as in (8), indicates a shorter step on the way to demetaphorization (Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 264).

- (8) a. *Since his poem's fiction of duration is not temporal but final, all three modes of light must be portrayed by him as though they were beyond change. (HB1)*
- b. *Siden diktets fiksjon om varighet ikke er knyttet til tid, men er endegyldig, må han beskrive alle tre former for lys som uforanderlige. (HB1T) [Lit: 'unchangeable']*
- (9) a. *In these gloomy surroundings I stumbled through my explanation. (CSA1)*
- b. *I disse dystre omgivelsene fikk jeg stammende forklart ham situasjonen. (CSAIT) [Lit: 'managed I stutteringly to explain (to) him the situation']*

Sometimes the divergence is caused by the context of the noun: although 24 of the 26 examples of *explanation* in the corpus are translated by *forklaring*, a different solution is chosen in (9) as a more direct translation of *stumbled through* would be unidiomatic. A similar example is *leap to the assumption...*, which also lacks an equivalent idiom in Norwegian and is translated by a verbal expression (*gå ut fra*). Interestingly, most of the English nouns

that have been de-metaphorized in the translation have modifiers or determiners that give rise to an argument structure. For example, *my* in (9a) corresponds to the subject *jeg* ('I') in (9b), and the English noun phrase in (10a) provides material for a finite clause in (10b) with subject, object and adverbials.

- (10)a. ...*Ist Airborne's belated discovery on the battlefield that it possessed no effective radio communications...* (MH1)
 b. ...*da 1. flybårne divisjon for sent oppdaget på slagmarken at den ikke hadde effektivt radiosamband...* (MHIT)
 [Lit: 'when 1st Airborne division too late discovered on the battlefield that it had not effective radio communications']
- (11)a. *Samebefolkningen var tydeligvis i rask vekst gjennom 1700 og 1800-årene.* (BAA1) [Lit: 'the Samipopulation was apparently in rapid growth through the 1700 and 1800 years']
 b. *The Sami population increased noticeably in the 1700's and 1800's.* (BAAIT)
- (12)a. *Men de foretok nå en manøver som sagaen ikke gir noen forklaring på:* (KPI1) [Lit: '... that the saga does not give any explanation for']
 b. *But at this point they made a choice that the saga does not explain.* (KPIT)

Of the ten divergent noun correspondences going from Norwegian to English, five concern *vekst* ('growth'), as in example (11), which is typical in that *vekst* has a premodifier (*rask* 'rapid'), a construction that seems difficult to transfer to English. Example (12) also shows a construction that cannot easily get a congruent translation.

In conclusion, the analysis suggests that de-metaphorized translations of nominalizations are often the result of obstacles to the literal rendering of the phrase in which the noun occurs. The chosen verbalizations result in explicitation, but that may be a consequence of the lack of a nominal equivalent in a particular context, not just the translator's inclination to produce a more explicit text.

4.2 The translation of verbs

Table 4 shows the translations of the verbs in the material. As with the nouns, the proportion of congruent correspondences is very high. Of the 33 divergent Norwegian translations from EO, 17 are nouns representing nominalization, as illustrated in (13). This would be the opposite of explicitation; viz. *implicitation* of some verbal features.

Table 4: The translations of verbs

	Congruent	Divergent	Zero	N.A	Total
English → Norwegian	237 (86%)	33 (12%)	2	5	277
Norwegian → English	134 (88%)	14 (9%)	2	3	153

- (13)a. An old man explained why this was so. (PMI)
 b. En gammel mann hadde en kynisk forklaring på det. (PMIT) [Lit: 'An old man had a cynical explanation for it']
- (14)a. She is forever changing... (JL1)
 b. Hun er hele tiden i forandring... (JLIT) [Lit: 'She is the whole time in transformation']

The change made in (14) again reflects the fact that the translation unit tends to be larger than a word: in this case the verb in the EO is part of a progressive verb phrase, a verb form that does not exist in Norwegian. However, the meaning of the progressive is nicely captured in the translated clause.

The non-nominalized translations that have been considered divergent are cases of modulation (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995: 36), as exemplified by (7) above, where the choice of lexical verb entails a shift in perspective. Modulation also occurs in (15), where the meaning of the EO *grow* has been translated by a copula and a predicative.

- (15)a. As Gaia theory developed, this intuition grew: ... (JL1)
 b. Og etterhvert som Gaia-teorien vokste frem, ble denne intuisjonen stadig sterkere. (JLIT) [Lit: 'became this intuition ever stronger']

Eight of the 14 divergent translations from NO to ET consist in nominalizations, and two are halfway to nominal status, being realized by adjectives. The rest can be characterized as modulations. The modulations seem to a great extent to be *options*, in the sense of Vinay & Darbelnet (1995), while many of the nominalizations in translations come closer to *servitudes* due to the translation unit in which they occur. Some of the divergent translations

from NO to ET, are related to lexical differences, as in (16), where the reflexive form of the Norwegian *forklare* (*seg*) can be a legal term, but not the corresponding *explain*. Finally, in (17), the Norwegian original has a preposition followed by *at* ('that'), which is ungrammatical in English, so that a syntactic change needs to be made in the translation.

- (16)a. *Å være tilstede mens den annen forklarer seg er jo en klar fordel ... (LSPLI)* [Lit: 'to be present while the other explains REFL is an obvious advantage]
- b. *Being present during the other party's testimony is an obvious advantage — (LSPLIT)*
- (17)a. *En rekke begivenheter i februar-mars 1948 bidro til at USA endret kurs... (GLI)* [Lit: 'a series (of) events in February-March 1948 contributed to that USA changed course']
- b. *A number of events during February-March 1948 contributed to a change of course by the United States... (GLIT)*

5 Concluding remarks

The contribution of the present investigation is above all that it studies nominalizations in conjunction with the verbs from which they are derived and that it concerns two directions of translation. Both of these features should reduce the influence of the translation process on the results. However, the selection of the material adds another type of bias: the fact that similar verb-noun pairs were selected from the two languages may have enlarged the percentage of congruent translations, since there is usually a lexical item available. Thus, broader investigations including more verb-noun pairs are obviously needed, including verb-noun pairs that are less similar across the languages than those selected for this exploratory study.

The hypothesis that Norwegian is more clausal than English is not supported by the present analysis. Contrary to expectation, the proportion of nouns to verbs was greater in Norwegian than in English, a fact which should probably be ascribed to the small selection of lexical items. The predominance of congruent translations of both the nouns and the verbs investigated suggest that English and Norwegian have much the same syntactic and semantic repertoire.

The proportion of divergent correspondences was similar in both directions of translation: it was expected that de-metaphorization of nominalizations would occur more often in EO→NT than in NO→ET, due to the supposedly ‘more clausal’ nature of Norwegian. Similarly, it was expected that ‘metaphorization’ of verbal expressions was unlikely to occur much in translation because of the translation property of explicitation. As the examples show, this also proved not to be the case. However, there were more noun-to-verb changes than vice versa, since many divergent correspondences of verbs consisted in modulation rather than transposition.

An important finding of the present study is that changes involving either transposition or modulation are frequently due to contextual features; i.e. they are evidence that the translation unit is frequently larger than a single word or phrase, so that both metaphorization and de-metaphorization in translation may be due to both lexical and constructional (phraseological) features of the translation unit, e.g. the lack of an equivalent idiom in the target language.

Congruent translations of the selected verbs and nouns deserve more attention than they have been given in this paper (for reasons of space), since congruence need not imply equivalence. Another topic that needs further exploration to complete the picture is the adjectival use of participles of the selected verbs, as suggested in note 3. In sum, the final word on grammatical metaphor in translation has not been said – much remains to be done in this area of contrastive analysis.

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Examining mini-corpora in literary translation analysis: The case of paratexts

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Abstract

In discussions of the relative merits of qualitative versus quantitative models of textual analysis, literary texts occupy a special position. Their high degree of structuration and contextualization would seem to undermine the efficacy of analytical models that favour lexicogrammatical feature-based procedures and are not responsive to the crucial relationship between linguistic form and literary function. The same applies to the analysis of literary texts in translation. A useful illustration of the need to integrate the two models in any meaningful discussion of literary discourse is provided by paratext translation. A consideration of the way in which titles and subchapter headings are handled in the process of intercultural transfer aptly demonstrates the need to relate instantiations of (apparently peripheral) paratextual material to the concerns of the superordinate text if any significant statements on the relation of form and function are to be made.

1 Introductory

The arguments over the relative efficacy of quantitative and qualitative models in the analysis of literary texts have been going on for some years now, and they do not seem to be about to disappear. How could they? They are grounded in positions which are on occasion argued with quasi-theological conviction. Thus, in a pair of articles published in the *New York Times* in early 2012, the literary scholar Stanley Fish presented a scathing critique of computer-assisted literary study, and indeed of the very intellectual foundations of the enterprise known as 'digital humanities' (Fish 2012a, 2012b). His position is hardly surprising: Fish was, after all, the author of a widely quoted essay deriding the role of linguistics in literary study ("stylistics") as long ago as 1975 - described by one commentator at the time as "saturation bombing" - under the somewhat improbable title "What is stylistics, and why are they saying such terrible things about it?" (Fish 1975). By contrast, in an elegant

and concise exposition published in 2011 (among other places), Douglas Biber outlined what he sees as the legitimate contribution of corpus linguistics to literary study, seeking to resolve the potential tensions between interpretive and empirical approaches to textual analysis (Biber 2011). But are the quantitative and qualitative paradigms really as mutually exclusive as one might gather from some of the literature? Certainly: example-based, “traditional” literary stylistics has focused very much on the qualitative dimension of detailed textual study, consistently stressing the centrality of literary analysis and interpretation in handling its objects of enquiry. Empirically-grounded quantitative linguistic analyses (“corpus stylistics”), on the other hand, have been based on large volumes of data extracted automatically from texts, and lay claim to greater objectivity and reliability. Scepticism has frequently been voiced concerning the contribution of corpus stylistics to the interpretive enterprise (“all methodology and no results”, Peter Stockwell), but its contribution is increasingly being acknowledged, and the usefulness of the insights it generates has been exploited to great effect in a large number of recent analyses (e.g. Baker 2009, Mahlberg 2012). Surely, where corpus-based procedures are allied with other analytical tools, providing comprehensive quantitative data on which qualitative statements might be reliably based, they are of enormous value. Interpretation must be based on data if it is to be replicable, and retrieved data sets require interpretation if they are to make any meaningful contribution to textual understanding.

By extension, the underlying tension between empirical and non-empirical models is evident, too, in positions taken on the role of corpus linguistics in translation studies. There - as work by Erich Steiner and his colleagues in recent years has amply demonstrated - the use of corpora can yield significant insights into texts, can identify salient characteristics (recurrences, deviations, norms), and allow objectively reinforced statements on the constitution of source texts, translations, and the relations between the two. As Mahlberg stresses, however, corpus-based studies are not a discovery procedure in themselves: the efficacy of the output of a corpus analysis depends on the corpus architecture, on the quality of the input, on the sophistication of annotation, etc. (Mahlberg 2007: 200). Once it has been generated, the data requires further processing in terms of its significance. Munday points out that such work often shows how useful computer-assisted methods can be in elucidating the translation process, but adds that it also reveals “the crucial need for qualitative analysis of individual examples to assess their relevance and importance” (Munday 2007: 33). And he goes a step further, stressing the need for “close critical analysis of the texts in their sociocultural environment” based on an “interdisciplinary methodology” (Munday 2012: 286). The

notion that insights derived through automated analysis require careful evaluation via other models of enquiry might be deemed to be especially true of literary texts, with their high degree of structuration and contextualization. This view is reinforced by recent discussion in the discipline: Ji, for example, argues the necessity of “new analytical frameworks” that can “integrate quantitative and qualitative analysis of textual and contextual events and phenomena of translation” (2012: 53). And House arrives at the same conclusion, insisting on the need “to link our quantitative results to the type of richly contextualized translation analysis and comparison of [...] case studies” (2011: 205).

In the following I would like to (re-)argue the case for the usefulness of restricted, manually processed “mini-corpora” in the study of literary translation. My contention is - and it is essentially in line with the qualitative direction outlined above - that a large amount of explicatory power can be generated from a relatively limited volume of text: Fish’s “criticism that generalizes from a text as small as half a line” (2012b: no page number). In other words, my exposition is driven by the conviction that a small base of data interrogated in accordance with certain analytical principles might reveal more about the interaction between linguistic form and literary function than a corpus that provides access to large volumes of data but has a narrow investigative focus (I am well aware that by no means all research in the field proceeds in this manner). I would stress that I consider my comments to be appropriate above all in their application to literary texts. First, because the interdependence of form and function in literary products is considered to be especially intense, due to their semanticization of form and the importance of second-order meanings, which implies that a grasp of the relations obtaining between parts (text) and whole (context) might be considered crucial. And second, because I shall argue that meaningful statements on some aspects of literary translation - i.e. the motivation and impact of certain translation solutions - cannot be made purely on the basis of the text itself, but really are only possible with the aid of an “interdisciplinary methodology” which offers a broader analytical instrumentarium and allows reference to both the (interpreted) intratextual context and the extratextual environment of production. These latter factors might be particularly marked in the case of highly institutionalized creative literary output.

2 Paratexts

I have chosen a particular textual phenomenon as the basis for my discussion: the paratext. The latter comprises, in the most widely accepted definition, all framework matter (“Beiwerk”) that accompanies a published text, including such phenomena as titles, subtitles, contents lists, dedications, prefaces, annotations, cover notes, chapter headings, postscripts, acknowledgements, etc. I believe that this relatively clearly demarcated instantiation of text is especially interesting, since it allows an exploration of the central issues at hand on the basis of limited textual corpus (often just a few hundred words), and appears to be a self-enclosed entity which is amenable to various modes of analysis. As apparently “free-standing” illocutions, paratexts would even seem to invite investigation in their own right. In addition, they have been subjected to particular scrutiny in literary studies in recent years, spawning a “paratext theory” in the wake of Genette's pioneering work (Genette 1997). The importance of paratextual material in the construction of literary meaning potential is, though, only just beginning to be explored in any detail (Gianca 2008, Cave 2012, Zipper 2012). As a text beside the text, the paratext enjoys a very special - and sometimes complex - relation to the superordinate text to which it is attached, and can steer the reader's reception of that text in various ways (for especially useful summaries of the field see Moeninghoff 2000, 2002).

In translation studies, paratext translation remains a somewhat neglected field (Viezzi 2011: 193). As I have argued in greater detail elsewhere (Horton 2013), however, the literary title is one paratextual phenomenon that plays an especially significant role in the constitution (more precisely perhaps: “suggestion”) of textual meaning, and is thus potentially of great interest in translation analysis. On closer examination it becomes clear that any meaningful comment on the translation of the paratext, despite its status as a locationally separate entity, is only possible if the interdependence of paratext and co-text is given due consideration. This observation might be illustrated by reference to some recent quantitatively based work in the field which asserts the value of statistical analysis in generating insights into the modalities of translation: work, I should add, that is not in the modern corpus-linguistics tradition. In two articles published in a leading handbook of translation studies (2004) - one on titles in general, the other on literary titles in particular - Christiane Nord derives observations from a corpus of 12,500 titles, which had earlier formed the basis for her book on functional translation studies (1993). In a study published some years later, Viezzi (2011) covers much the same ground, basing his comments on a corpus containing some 40,000 textual

examples. In both cases, the corpora were manually compiled and processed. The question at issue here is whether a survey of source- and target-language title pairs which deals almost exclusively and largely mechanically with the surface characteristics of decontextualized titles can have any real heuristic value. Greiner may well be right to complain: “der Erkenntnisgewinn [...] von Studien, die Hunderte von übersetzten Titeln untersuchen und typologisieren, ohne auf die derart betitelten Texte interpretierend Bezug zu nehmen, ist mir unerfindlich” (2004: 10). Such comparative studies can, of course, produce interesting information on the kind of transformations titles undergo in translation, on the relative frequency of “free” and “literal” translation options, on translation strategies adopted to compensate for linguacultural incompatibilities and asymmetries, and might even suggest the motivation behind specific translatorial selections in relatively clear cases. Nord, in particular, is keen to show how title translation might serve as a useful illustration of a “funktionalistisch ausgerichteten, handlungstheoretisch begründeten Translationswissenschaft” (2004 b 911). But crucially, such quantitative approaches can say little of substance about the key question of the link between title and text.

3 Paratexts 1: Titles

In the field of the literary title, paratext theory teaches us, the link between titular matter and the body of the text can take many forms. In referential terms, the value of the title can vary from the purely descriptive and definitional, through the associative and symbolic (with widely diverging degrees of obscurity), to the opaque or downright misleading. Such values can, of course, only be determined when the relations obtaining between title and context are examined. It may be possible to say something about certain of the functions typically displayed by titles (they are often classified in the literature in accordance with Jakobson's language functions, such as the phatic, the poetic, the conative). But titles are never decontextualized instances of language. They stand in a potentially complex semantic relationship to the main text, and can contribute to literary meaning through a process of hermeneutic inferencing. Furthermore, titles have a dual relationship to the texts they accompany, combining a prospective thrust for the initially uninformed reader with a retrospective thrust that operates on the basis of information accumulated as the text is read sequentially. Most critically of all, surface-feature analysis cannot explain the frequently wide disparity between an original title and its translated version(s) where that disparity is not the result of linguacultural incompatibility. In such cases, where it is frequently impossible to

recover the original title from the translated version, the translator may have opted for a process of substitution, motivated by intratextual features, or significant reduction (to take just two examples from contemporary literature: Hilary Mantel's *A Place of Greater Safety* becomes in German *Brüder*, Peter Handke's *Der Chinese des Schmerzes* becomes *Across* in English). Quantitative approaches can, then, be most valuable in identifying general trends and frequencies. But where they are conducted “unter Ausklammerung des Einflusses der Titelübersetzung auf die zielkulturelle Textrezeption” (Nord 2004a 574) or reduce the “Verhältnis von Titel und Text” to a question of “Funktionsgerechtigkeit und Loyalität” (Nord 2004b 912), they are problematic in as far as they neglect to enquire into the interpretive potential triggered by the shifts in question. In other words, it is not sufficient to make comparisons merely between titles on a ST-TT level: the TT title must be seen in its relation to the ST title, but it must - perhaps more importantly - also be seen in relation to the TT as a whole and thus, by extension, to the ST of which the TT is a representation. Those issues which are of interest in literary terms are, quite simply, beyond the reach of decontextualized methodologies.

In a recent study I have examined in some detail the titles of Thomas Mann's fictional texts as an illustration of the issues involved in literary translation (Horton 2013: Chapter 5). The limited corpus - Mann's oeuvre comprises 43 fictional prose texts (including 11 novels), some of which have been translated a number of times - provides instances of most of the macrostructural, syntactic and microstructural characteristics of titles, and illustrates virtually all of the phenomena that are observable in the intercultural transfer of paratextual material. Thus, an examination of Mann's text titles reveals a large number of instances confirming the longstanding assumption that literal transfer is the default option. Systemic asymmetries do, of course, motivate transformations in the form of expansions, reductions or transpositions, and these are relatively mechanical in nature. Thus, such phenomena as human adjectival nouns, systems of nominal determination, and noun countability invite various forms of expansion or transposition, while in the case of telling names associative information is typically lost. Other questions are raised by the presence of symbolic (*Der Zauberberg*), connotative (*Doktor Faustus*), lexical (*Der Bajazzo*), intertextual (*Wälsungenblut*), or semantically opaque (*Schwere Stunde*) characteristics.

But the most interesting cases of title translation in the Mann corpus are, not surprisingly, precisely those in which modifications to the original (undertaken for whatever reason) are so sweeping that the original formulation is no longer retrievable. Here, mere linguistic comparison of the formulations has little explicatory power: it can only establish the bare fact of divergence. Such

instances require intratextual analysis to reveal their motivation, and they trigger significant functional changes in terms of reader reception. It is at this point that the interpretive power of the paratext is at its clearest. In a number of such instances, the problem of finding an acceptable solution for the Thomas Mann translations even prompted intervention by the author and the publisher (Alfred A. Knopf), with whom the original translator (Helen Tracy Lowe-Porter) collaborated closely, and thus gave rise to extensive metatextual discussion. In the case of the Gregorius novel *Der Erwählte*, for example, it was the publisher who ultimately determined the choice of an English title (*The Holy Sinner*). Interestingly, the English title in this case changes the function in terms of steering reader expectations, leaning in the direction of 'seduction' (Genette): *The Holy Sinner* is a provocative and oxymoronic combination of two words which arouses reader interest, fulfils a mnemonic function, and contains more informational value about the text than does the original. This title was not the translator's choice (which appears to have been the more literal "The Chosen One"), nor was it the author's original preference ("Gregory, Son of Sin"). In a letter to his translator dated 10 December 1950, Mann suggests (and comments on) no fewer than eight alternative, widely varying titles, urging that the matter should ultimately be left to Knopf: "He knows best what is attractive". To Mann, the referential - indeed even the "literary" - quality of the title appears to be only secondary. His diaries and correspondence from the period show a sustained process of consultation and negotiation on the matter, in which economy, distinctiveness, mnemonic impact and phonetic quality appear to be the main criteria, alongside marketability and reader attractiveness. Knopf selected a striking title which is certainly thematically motivated: the quasi-antonymic pair of words appears in close juxtaposition on a number of occasions in the English version of the novel.

The same process of deliberation and consultation between translator, author and publisher is evident - for different reasons - in the case of the novel *Lotte in Weimar*. Here, clearly, the cultural reference(s) contained in the German title - to the visit of Charlotte Buff to Goethe in Weimar 44 years after their celebrated love affair - are not generally accessible to an English-speaking readership. Mann speaks of its "allzuviel kultur-deutsche Voraussetzungen" (Letter to Agnell, 18 November 1939). Once again, the author suggested a number of formulations, himself ultimately favouring the retention of the cultural references, but he was overruled by the publisher for commercial reasons (saleability). The final choice, *The Beloved Returns*, which was first mooted by the translator, constitutes a significant functional shift vis-à-vis the original, and is interesting in literary-interpretive terms. The purely referential

has become expressive and reader-oriented, apparently suggesting a romantic novel (which Mann's text certainly is not), and the English title contains a pronounced element of suspense, sentimentality and cliché. The title arouses reader expectations that are neither triggered by the original German title nor fulfilled in the novel itself. Mann accepted it, but never liked it: he was concerned that it gave an inaccurate impression of the book, and considered it “a stylistic depreciation”.

Two final examples might be mentioned here. In what is perhaps the most dramatic cross-linguistic transformation of a title in the body of Mann's work, the novella *Die Betrogene* becomes in English *The Black Swan*. One can only begin to understand such an instance of modification, of course, if the interaction of title and co-text is examined. The German participial noun (perhaps difficult to translate literally and idiomatically) refers to the female protagonist of the text, who is “deceived” not by her younger lover, but by the physiological processes of her body. What appears to be a late flowering of passion and energy turns out to be a symptom of a fatal disease. In other words, the German title, which points to the outcome of the plot, arouses reader expectations that are thwarted as the novel progresses, and is deliberately misleading: the deception to which the heroine falls prey is a twist in the action, and readers of the novel are themselves “betrogen”. The German title *Die Betrogene* invites the question: “how?” The English title, on the other hand, is symbolic rather than referential in thrust, containing a strong visual image. It invites the reader to pose the question “what?” (what is the link between title and text?). The title is derived from a central symbol in the latter part of the text - the swans that the protagonist feeds shortly before her death - which has been interpreted by scholars in various ways. Like the German title, it is polyvalent and requires retrospective interpretive effort if it is to be linked with the meaning of the text. But it does so in a different dimension in terms of reader orientation, favouring the phatic. Mann approved of the English version, “da nun einmal “Die Betrogene” unmöglich ins Englische übersetzt werden konnte”.

A further instance of major divergence between original and translation titles might be cited here, showing the operation of non-linguistic factors in the choice of translation solutions with complete disregard for intratextual parameters. The first English translation of Mann's Moses story *Das Gesetz* bore the title *Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods Before Me*. The English title was imposed by the publication context of the translation, which appeared in a volume of ten texts by various authors, each illustrating one of the Ten Commandments (Horton 2010). Mann's story opens the collection (hence the title): but his text itself has nothing to do with this Commandment. Rather, it

deals with the promulgation of the Decalogue as a whole. In this case, then, there is no discernible link between title and text. Later translations appeared under a different title: *The Tables of the Law*, which shows the techniques of expansion and explicitation.

4 Paratexts 2: Subchapter headings

As the above examples suggest, an analysis of translated titles which seeks to explore their motivation, status and implications (surely the interesting questions in literary terms?) cannot limit itself to linguistic features alone - such as might be read off from compiled lists or corpora - but requires a broader interpretive framework which relates the paratextual to the textual and even refers to the context of production. Only in this way can the processes of intralingual transformation inherent in all translation be understood. By the same token, other paratextual phenomena can reveal much about the strategies pursued by translators, and the way these are handled in intercultural transfer can prove to be a useful and highly concise indicator of the translator's distinctive fingerprint. In his monumental novel *Der Zauberberg*, Mann divides his seven chapters into a series of 51 sub-chapters to structure the text both episodically and thematically. In doing so, he exploits the paratextual device of sub-chapter headings. Broadly speaking, titles given to chapters within a text fulfil the same functions as those used to characterize texts as a whole (Wieckenberg 1969, Schnitzler 1983). They lack the initial designatory (identifying) function of book titles, but assume an additional structural function in terms of textual segmentation. Otherwise, their functions can be defined in accordance with a similar analytical scheme (referential, emotional, conative, etc.).

Mann's headings in *Der Zauberberg* are, in most cases, relatively short and syntactically simple. Of the 51 subchapter titles, 41 are nominal in structure. Only three are clausal, while three consist of prepositional groups and one is an adjective group. 37 of the headings refer to persons, places, events, objects and concepts appearing in the chapter in question. In other words, the formulations have a high degree of intratextual coherence, are referential in status, and have a characterizing/summarizing thrust ("Ankunft", "Frühstück", "Notwendiger Einkauf"). In a number of cases, they actually quote direct discourse from the text ("Mein Gott, ich sehe!", "Natürlich, ein Frauenzimmer"). Typically, they encapsulate in a highly concise form a key locational ("Im Restaurant", "Nr. 34"), personal ("Hippe", "Herr Albin") or thematic ("Forschungen", "Analyse") focus of the chapter concerned. Some

of them have a coordinated structure, indicating sequentially the plot progression of the chapter (“Neckerei. Viatikum. Unterbrochene Heiterkeit”, “Ewigkeitssuppe und plötzliche Klarheit”). Others, however, are symbolic in character (“Totentanz”, “Walpurgisnacht”, “Der Donnerschlag”), or are even referentially misleading (“Strandspaziergang”): in such cases, the relationship between paratext and co-text requires interpretation, and is only accessible retrospectively. The same is true in cases where the heading is semantically opaque prior to reading (“Ehrbare Verfinsterung”, “Der große Stumpfsinn”), playing with reader expectations: in none of these instances is the reference of the heading clear a priori. In one case the heading is intertextual (“Als Soldat und brav”). Two of the headings are synoptic (“Satana macht ehrwürdige Vorschläge”, “Er versucht sich in französischer Konversation”).

The treatment of these chapter headings by the two translators who have, to date, produced versions of Mann's novel (Lowe-Porter and Woods) reveals interesting microlevel divergences which also characterize their versions on a macrolevel. In other words, the limited corpus of text has considerable explicatory power, and the chapter headings of the two translations might be seen as a useful and succinct indicator of the overall strategies adopted by the translators. Above all, the headings illustrate in condensed form many of the features which characterize the original translator's (Lowe-Porter) version: historicization, lexical elevation, poeticization, reformulation, dilution of lexical recurrences, reduction through omission, and even apparent error. Indeed, a comparison of the solutions selected by the two English translators serves as a clear index of one of the initial norms (Toury) operative in the versions: their historical orientation. Various time planes are at work here. Mann's novel was written in 1923/24 (published 1924), and its action is set in a sanatorium in German-speaking Switzerland in the years 1907-14. Lowe-Porter's version appeared a few years after Mann's original in 1928, while Woods' retranslation appeared in 1995. Lowe-Porter's version has frequently been criticized on account of its archaic tone (Harmann 1995), and it is indeed true that the translator cultivates an English prose style which was historically coloured even at the time of writing. This is evident even on the paratextual level. Woods, meanwhile, undertakes a modernization of the text, generally bringing it into line with the norms of modern American English, and occasionally including anachronisms in his version. As an illustration of this contrast: Lowe-Porter replicates Mann's archaizing use of the preposition “von” in four of the 51 title headings (e.g. “Von der Taufschale und vom Großvater in zwiefacher Gestalt”, which she translates as “Of the christening basin, and of grandfather in his twofold guise”). This formal device of the title as “Summarium” can be traced back to the early German prose novel

(Wieckenberg 1969: 56). Woods avoids it completely - arguably effacing the historical marking of Mann's original at this point - and seeks to keep his chapter headings as syntactically compressed as possible, deleting the preposition and replacing the coordinating elements seen in Mann's text with the more modern device of the oblique stroke ("The Baptismal Bowl/Grandfather in His Two Forms").

In lexical terms, too, Lowe-Porter favours historicizing formulations in her chapter headings. The example quoted above aptly illustrates the divergence in the two English versions on this level. Where Lowe-Porter favours for Mann's "zwiefache Gestalt" the precious "twofold guise", Woods modernizes to "two forms". Other examples in which Lowe-Porter opts for archaic or more elevated renditions are "Mental gymnastic" for "Gedankenschärfe" (Woods has "Clarity of Mind"), "Choler, and worse" for "Jähzorn. Und noch etwas ganz Peinliches" (where Woods has "An Outburst of Temper/Something very Embarrassing": the kind of reformulation typical of Lowe-Porter's version is also evident in the second element of this latter example), and "Whims of Mercurius" where Woods has "Mercury's Moods". As a further illustration of this tendency, Lowe-Porter has the postmodified and quasi-religious "Soup-everlasting" ("Ewigkeitssuppe"), where Woods has "Eternal Soup" (denoting in Mann's novel the obfuscation of perceptions of time). Lowe-Porter abbreviates this heading (another of the techniques that can be observed in her text as a whole) by omitting the second element ("plötzliche Klarheit"). In the case of the synoptic heading "Satana macht ehrwürdige Vorschläge", Lowe-Porter undertakes an interesting rhetorical change, introducing the reader-inclusive "we" into the formulation ("Satana makes suggestions that touch our honour": Woods has "Satana makes shameful suggestions"). Lowe-Porter's use of the personal pronoun at this point is not merely an archaism: its insertion - undertaken no doubt mechanically to allow her to render the adjective "ehrwürdig" as "to touch (one's) honour" - also echoes a fundamental narrative pose in the novel as a whole. On frequent occasions, the narrator aligns himself with the reader via the adoption of pronouns of solidarity/unity, creating a marked narrative perspective ("Am Dienstag war unser Held nun also seit einer Woche bei denen hier oben"; "Da ist unser Bekannter, da ist Hans Castorp"). Once again, a paratextual feature stands in a clear interrelationship with the co-text, and gains significance only when seen in relation to that co-text.

The treatment of chapter headings indicates a further tendency in Lowe-Porter's version as a whole: her predilection for sweeping transformations of Mann's structures, moving away from literal renditions towards a heightened or poetic idiom. Thus, she translates the heading "Der große Stumpfsinn",

which refers to the malaise which sets in at the Davos clinic following Mynheer Peepkorn's death, with the rather obscure "The great god Dumps", exploiting Mann's reference to "Stumpfsinn" as a "Dämon". Woods opts for the literal "The Great Stupor". The motivation for Lowe-Porter's more innovative choice of heading here is intratextual: on two occasions in the body of her text she uses the concept of "Dumps" to render the German noun "Stumpfsinn". The expression she uses is not attested in corpora of English, and is presumably a lexical innovation derived from the idiomatic phrase "down in the dumps": it might, then, also serve as an indication of Lowe-Porter's lexical creativity. Meanwhile, she translates the chapter heading "Die große Gereiztheit" via a reference to the hysterical disease cited in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, "Hysterica passio", where Woods also favours a literal version: "The Great Petulance". Always attentive to internal consistency, Woods draws this term from the body of his text, where it occurs on three occasions, and echoes it where it recurs in combination with "Stumpfsinn" near the end of the novel ("accumulated stupor and petulance"). Lowe-Porter's text lacks intratextual coherence here, and she fails to pick up this almost leitmotivic echo, translating the pair at the end of the novel as "passion and spleen", while elsewhere in the text she renders Mann's "Stumpfsinn" as "idiocy". This loosening of textual recurrences in Lowe-Porter's version is characteristic of her text as a whole, which has been criticized on precisely these grounds (Newmark 2000). In the example "Mein Gott, ich sehe!", for example, she removes Mann's intratextual reference and amends both the discourse status and the narrative mode, replacing the quoted clause (mimetic mode) with a paraphrastic adjective-noun combination (diegetic mode), "Sudden enlightenment". A more limited illustration of Lowe-Porter's avoidance of literal formulations is her rendition of the conversational, reader-oriented heading "Und noch jemand" (Woods: "Someone else") with a single noun ("A New-comer"). A more complex instance, on the other hand, is her treatment of the "Strandspaziergang" chapter title, which heads the celebrated and complex excursus on the dualism of narrative time ("Erzählzeit") and narrated time ("erzählte Zeit"). Woods has the literal "Stroll by the shore". Lowe-Porter, on the other hand, resolves the provocatively paradoxical character of the heading in terms of reader manipulation (can the reader expect a stroll on the beach in a novel set in the Alps?) and both explicates and clarifies the reference of Mann's heading. Her heading cannot immediately be aligned with the original on the surface level, but indicates the content of the chapter: "By the ocean of time". Lowe-Porter clearly anticipates the subject matter of Mann's chapter by deleting the "Spaziergang" and introducing a metaphorical definition of the sea in question ("ocean of time") which serves

to identify it as an abstract concept. Once again, the thematic link between the original title and Lowe-Porter's rendition is only explicable with reference to the text itself, and the heading points the reader in a certain interpretive direction.

As a final example of the intertextual and intratextual values that can be carried by paratexts such as chapter headings, attention may be drawn to the final section of the sixth chapter of Mann's novel, which is headed "Als Soldat und brav". Woods simplifies and normalizes the formulation to "A Good Soldier". In so doing, he obscures what many readers will identify as a quotation from Goethe's *Faust* (one of many in Mann's novel) which has, in its position as a chapter title, a clear anticipatory function. The quote picks up the dying words of Gretchen's brother Valentin, and anticipates in Mann's text the death of Hans Castorp's cousin, the soldier Joachim Ziemssen, in the very chapter to which it is attached. Lowe-Porter seeks to capture the marked character of the discourse at this point by suggesting something of the literary quality of the German: "A soldier, and brave". The rendition of the German "brav" as "brave" might appear - on the surface level - to be a mistranslation, but Lowe-Porter's formulation retains a certain intertextual resonance since, in many English versions of Goethe's play, Valentin's line is commonly translated via a lexical expansion: the postmodifying "as a soldier, good and brave", or "as a soldier, true and brave". The echo is also intratextually significant: in a later chapter, "Fülle des Wohllauts", Castorp listens to a recording of Gounod's operatic version of this very scene and symbolically identifies Ziemssen with Valentin, triggering multiple associations which colour our reading of the text at this point (this motif is analysed in detail in Meyer 1969, 223-227).

5 Concluding remarks

Paratextual matter in translation, then, might serve as an effective demonstration of the need to consistently relate linguistic form to textual function in the analysis of literary texts, even where the ancillary status of that matter seems susceptible of decontextualized analysis. Paratexts are peripheral, but they are not detached. In their exposed, highly condensed form they can offer important pointers to the meanings of the texts they accompany. As we have seen, the relations between ancillary matter and the main text can assume diverse forms: but in all cases - even where they appear semantically unrelated - paratexts have interpretive relevance and operate on various levels. In this sense, the observation that "bei den Übersetzungen aus dem Englischen,

Französischen und Spanischen ins Deutsche durchschnittlich 7,5 Prozent Entlehnungen, 69,1 Prozent wörtliche Übersetzungen, 5,1 Prozent Expansionen, 1,2 Prozent Reduktionen [...] vorlagen” (Nord 2004b: 911) is of interest only as a statistical trend. It says little about the ramifications of the translation solutions chosen, and thus little about their overall textual significance. To do the latter, the analytical-nomological line of enquiry clearly requires supplementation by the explorative-interpretative (House 2011: 206). Surely, Gürçaglar is right when she concludes in a recent essay on the subject: “caution needs to be observed in studies which focus solely on paratexts of translations and not on translations themselves [...] Examinations of paratexts [...] may provide the researcher with information pertaining to translation strategies and the concept of translation operational in the specific work, yet it cannot be a substitute for textual translation analysis” (2012: 115).

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Klapt! Corpus

Design and Compilation

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Abstract

This article aims at introducing the design and compilation of Klapt! (Cópus de Língua Portuguesa em Tradução), a register controlled combined corpus initially developed within the scope of PROBRAL, a conjoint project carried out between researchers from the Laboratory for Experimentation in Translation (LETRA) at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) and from the Chair of English Linguistics and Translation Science at Saarland University (UdS). It presents the corpus design and compilation, its usability and explains the multidimensional annotation implemented for linguistic analyses. Klapt! is modeled upon the former CroCo Project developed at UdS and constitutes a resource for different fields of research, such as the properties of translation, register analyses, process and product research, systemic-functional translation studies and translator training. It also includes the use of software for corpus managing, linguistic annotation and statistical data. Keywords: translation studies, corpus design, register controlled combined corpus, multidimensional annotation.

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1 Introduction

Klapt! is the first attempt to have a register controlled combined corpus with- in the language pair English-Brazilian Portuguese, i.e. it follows criteria to have a balanced number of texts belonging to eight different registers (educa- tional website, fiction, academic paper, popularization of science, political speech, tourism, instruction manual and review) with originals and transla- tions in the two languages.

Its creation was motivated by the development of the PROBRAL Project (Programa Brasil-Alemanha, Capes-DAAD, 292/08), which was concerned with product-process research within the joint work of two translation re- search groups, one at Saarland University (CroCo Project, Germany) and another at Federal University of Minas Gerais (LETRA, Laboratory for Ex- perimentation in Translation, Brazil). The project was supported by CAPES Foundation of the Ministry of Education of Brazil.

Apart from this first introductory section, this paper is divided into four other sections. The second section presents the corpus design and introduces the CroCo Project that served as a model for compiling Klapt!. It does not draw a comparison between the two corpora because it aims at presenting Klapt!, but the reader will find a complete description of the CroCo Corpus in the work of Hansen-Schirra, Neumann and Steiner (2012) and in the deliver- ables launched by the Project at their website³ where its theoretical basis, its design criteria, a graphical illustration of the corpus and the research team are also presented.

The corpus usability is presented in the third section, which shows how it is meant to be a resource in a wide range of investigations. The fourth section presents and discusses the multidimensional annotation, an approach that works with several layers of linguistic and extra-linguistic information with the use of computational resources for automatic analyses. Most of the tools are developed for English analyses and the work is not yet completely auto- matic. Instead it still requires manual work by the researchers. Although there are not many tools for analyses of Portuguese, several research groups are working on developing more effective ones. Last but not least, some final remarks focusing on the development of the corpus are given in the fifth sec- tion.

³ Croco website. Available at <http://fr46.uni-saarland.de/croco/index_en.html>, accessed 02 May 2013.

2 The design

In the scope of the projects developed at LETRA, the CORDIALL (Corpus of Discourse for the Analysis of Language and Literature) corpus has been built, of which many subcorpora were used for several dissertations, theses and monographs (cf. Pagano et al., 2004). Although CORDIALL comprises a wide range of texts and registers, its design was not meant to be a register controlled combined corpus.

A register controlled combined⁴ corpus has the following characteristics: it has a similar number of words (and maybe also the same number of texts) of a number of registers where each register has original texts in language A and their translations into language B and original texts in language B and their translations into language A. A combined corpus has several subcorpora: two parallel corpora, two monolingually comparable corpora and two bilingually comparable corpora. Moreover, two reference corpora composed of non-translated texts (one corpus in language A and one in language B) are also part of the design of this type of corpus. CroCo is the first register controlled combined corpus and Klapt! has been modelled upon its design.

2.1 CroCo – German-English register controlled combined corpus

CroCo (Cross-linguistic Corpora) aims at investigating the specificities of translated texts in relation to non-translated texts in the language pair English-German and in both directions.

The corpus compiled in this project has been used mainly to investigate the nature of explicitation and other translation properties such as normalisation, levelling out, simplification and shining through (Neumann 2005, 2). It comprises an English-German register controlled combined corpus ranging across 8 different registers: science popularization, fiction, tourism leaflet, prepared speech, instruction manual, shareholder communication, website and political essay (cf. Neumann 2008). It is also constituted by a reference subcorpus initially containing 2000-word texts belonging to 17 different registers (cf. Neumann 2005).

⁴ See Vela & Hansen-Schirra (2006), Neumann (2008) and Jesus (2008) for a detailed description of what is called a combined corpus here.

2.2 Klapt! – Brazilian Portuguese-English register controlled combined corpus

The PROBRAL project developed as a collaboration of researchers at UdS and LETRA was based on the expertise of the German team on corpus linguistics and multidimensional annotation on the one hand, and on the expertise of the Brazilian team on process analysis using tools such as EyeTracking and Translog software on the other hand. Thus, the German team started to deal with experiments on process investigation and the Brazilian team to work with register controlled combined corpora. The goal was to run an experiment for process and product analysis with German and Brazilian translators and also use the corpora (CroCo and Klapt!) as a database for contrastive and complementary analysis. The Brazilian corpus was then baptized Klapt!, an acronym partially standing for (K) “Corpus” and built upon the phonological intertextuality of the German word “klappt” (that means success!).

The design is partially based on previous work on register analysis, predominantly Biber’s methodology for multidimensional analyses (Biber, 1988, 1990, 1993, 1995). Although the concept of register is a rather complex issue, it has been used in many studies based on the definitions given by Halliday (1985), Halliday & Hasan (1989), Biber (1988, 1995) and recently developed in the scope of systemic functional linguistics (Matthiessen, 1993).

Klapt! is composed of four subcorpora:

- i) English originals in eight registers (EO)
- ii) Brazilian Portuguese originals in eight registers (PO)
- iii) English translations (the translations of the texts in PO) in eight registers (ET)
- iv) Brazilian Portuguese translations (the translations of the texts in EO) in eight registers (PT)

The main concern in the design of a corpus is to establish criteria in order to focus and guide the scope of the studies it can be used for. The next subsection presents the criteria set up for Klapt! and discusses the drawbacks to fulfill them.

2.2.1 Corpus compilation criteria

Klapt! is meant to follow specific criteria in relation to the registers used, the subregisters, the sources, authors and translators, the date, the type of translation (direct or indirect and parallel texts), the mode and the size of texts. These points are presented in the next subsections.

2.2.1.1 Registers

Klapt! was initially meant to have the same eight registers as CroCo - essay, fiction, manual, popularization of science, shareholder communication, speech, tourism leaflet and web – but in the process of searching texts for these registers, some changes had to be made due to the fact that for some registers it was not possible to find translations in both directions (English into Brazilian Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese into English). Thus, essay, web and share gave way to academic paper, educational website and review.

Therefore, the registers compiled for Klapt! are the following: academic paper, political speech, popularization of science, fiction, instruction manual, tourism leaflet, review and educational website.

Academic paper contains articles that have been taken from a variety of online journals mainly from the biological sciences and the humanities. Political speech comprises manuscripts read by chiefs of state and ministers of foreign affairs. Popularization of science contains articles belonging to magazines from renowned publishing companies and funding agencies for scientific research. Fiction has a wide range of novels within the scope of Brazilian and worldwide contemporary literature. Instruction corresponds to manuals which range from domestic appliances to industrial machinery. Tourism includes information on many destinations taken from travel agencies and ministries of tourism. Review presents description and evaluation on books and academic articles. Lastly, educational website comprises general information on universities, colleges and schools.

2.2.1.2 Authors, translators and source

The authors, translators and sources of the texts in Klapt! are as varied as possible. It means that repeating the same author, translator or website was avoided.

2.2.1.3 Time dimension

All Klapt! texts were produced from the 1990s onwards. It is meant to deal with modern texts, since the texts produced by the translators who have participated in the experiment have been written in the 21st century.

2.2.1.4 Direct and indirect translation

These terms are used here in the sense that direct translations are the ones done by native speakers and indirect translations are the ones done by non-native speakers.

This point is not directly relevant to the corpus design, considering that it is mostly not possible to know who the translators are. However, it is important for the analyses to consider that most translations from English into other languages are probably done by native speakers (i.e. translations of English original texts into Brazilian Portuguese are done by Brazilian Portuguese speakers, native speakers of the target language) while most translations from other languages (and here we can consider German and Portuguese) into English are usually done by non-native speakers of English (i.e. translations of Brazilian Portuguese original texts into English are a priori done by Brazilian Portuguese speakers, non-native speakers of the target language).

It was also noted that translations into English done by native speakers are usually signed, such as in political speech and fiction, and not signed in registers like tourism or popularization of science. This factor may have some impact on the register and therefore be relevant for translator training.

2.2.1.5 Mode

Klapt! texts are all written texts from written sources and all of them, except fiction, are from websites, i.e., electronic texts. Fiction texts were taken from written books that were scanned for samples. Visual information is not considered and has been removed from texts.

2.2.1.6 Brazilian Portuguese and (no specific variety of) English

Since Klapt! is mainly meant to inform studies within the Brazilian academic community for translation studies, texts were selected among Brazilian websites, authors and translators. English texts, on the other hand, were mostly downloaded from the web not focusing on specific varieties.

2.2.1.7 Text samples

Like CroCo, Klapt! was meant to have around 3,125 words for each text, in each register and in each subcorpus, what would make up a total of

approximately 1,000,000 words. However, again for practical and methodological reasons, this aspect had to be changed. One of the reasons is that it was not possible to find exactly 10 texts of 3,125 words for each register, since some registers, like fiction, have more than 3,125 words and could be taken as an extract, while other registers, such as educational website, usually have less than 3,125 words and more than 10 texts would be needed in order to achieve the desirable number of words per register.

Klapt! has at least 10 texts of each register with the number of words of each text varying according to the characteristics of the register and/or the text, within a maximum of 5,000 words. According to Biber (1995), 10 texts for each register and samples of 1,000 words for each text are representative of the linguistic features of the register.

This choice was made considering that it is easier to find a minimum of 10 texts of each register and then use Biber's strategy of normalization (Biber et al 1998, 263). This strategy intends to conform the number of occurrences of one linguistic feature to 1,000 words, irrespective of the size of the text. Since it is not possible to directly compare raw totals, Biber (1988, 76) states that "by normalizing the total counts to a text length of 1,000 words - that is, computing how many adjectives would occur if the text had been 1,000 words long - the frequencies can be compared directly". The formula for normalizing is "number of occurrences divided by the length of the text (in number of words) multiplied by 1,000".

We have to consider that for some registers it was rather difficult even to find 10 texts (notice here that it is necessary to find texts in both languages, with the translations of the specific registers and with more than 1,000 words) and it was also difficult, for some registers, to find texts with 3,000 words. For such cases, the number of texts was thus increased so that samples altogether reached around 30,000 words for each register. Since the subcorpora of translated texts are longer than the subcorpora of original texts, Klapt! altogether amounts to around 980,000 words.

Klapt! has complete texts, except for fiction, academic paper, instruction manual and educational website, for which random sampling was carried out to select around 3,000 words. In the process of doing the random sampling (using the function `randbetween` in Microsoft Excel software to choose the number of the page to start the selection) attention has to be paid to not delete cohesive units of the text, such as paragraphs or parts of chapters.

2.2.1.8 Storage system

The texts belonging to Klapt! are stored in plain text format (.txt files), each of which is labelled according to its corresponding subcorpus and register. Each file name has three parts: the subcorpus name_the register_the letter K (standing for the name of the corpus) and the number of the text. Originals and translations have the same text number. For instance, PO_INSTR_K001 and ET_INSTR_K001 are the labels used to respectively identify both the first original and translated text from the instruction register. Files are kept in 8 folders, one for each register. Two subfolders within each one of the 8 folders indicate the translation direction (EO-PT and PO-ET). Each one of the 16 subfolders has at least 20 texts (originals and translations), amounting to 426 texts in total.

2.2.1.9 Reference corpora

The CroCo project entailed the compilation of two reference corpora, one for English and one for German, with the purpose of “detecting contrastive restrictions of the respective language systems which force the translator to explicitate a source language structure. The reference corpora also allow identifying specific features of the register-controlled corpora” (Neumann 2005, 2). Neumann also states that the reference corpora “serve as a basis of comparison and are annotated with the same features as the register-controlled corpora”.

In order to make real profit of a reference corpus, it is necessary to improve the methodology of multidimensional annotation, so that one is able to analyze the reference corpus and make it available for comparisons. Considering that the process of annotation is complex and is still under development for the register controlled corpus, we have decided that the compilation of the reference corpora (BPR for Brazilian Portuguese reference corpus and ER for English reference corpus) is going to be developed at a later stage. It is designed to have at least 10 texts of several registers (excluding the ones which already comprise the four subcorpora), keeping the size of approximately 30,000 words for each register. The possible registers for the reference corpus are: press: reportage, press: editorial, religion, skills-trades-hobbies, popular lore, biographies, science, general fiction, mystery-detective stories, prepared speech, cooking recipe, romance-love story, call for tender, travel guide book, court decision, and so on.

2.2.1.10 Copyright

There is an open debate about copyright for texts used for academic investigations. Researchers working with Klapt! have no authorization for publishing the texts, making them available or investigating them. However, it should be kept in mind that the texts are not meant to be published or reproduced, but used solely for academic purposes. There is also no intention of judging the texts, but on developing our knowledge on language patterns and language relations.

2.2.1.11 Size and structure

As previously stated, Klapt! has at least 10 texts for each register, i.e. 196 texts for the EO-PT subcorpus and 230 texts for the PO-ET subcorpus, thus totaling 426 texts. Figure 1 shows a graphical representation of the corpus (see Nunes, 2013).

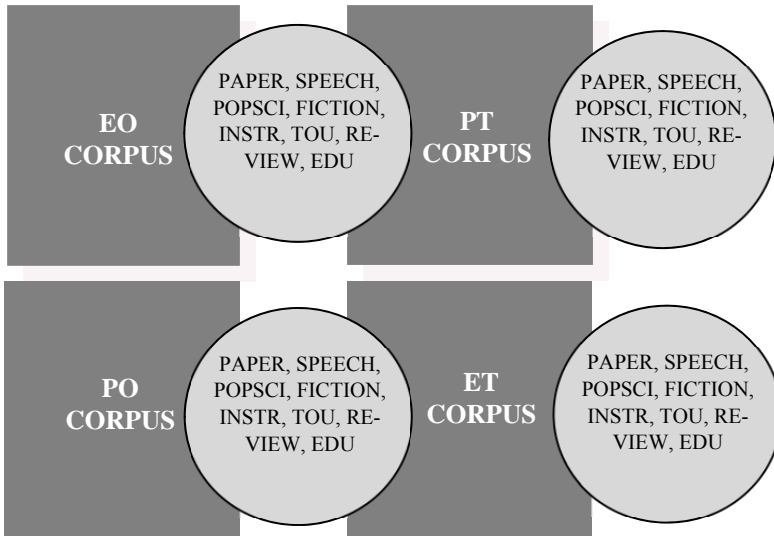


Figure 1 – Klapt! structure

2.2.1.12 Klapt! team

LETRA has a laboratory team with professors, visiting scholars, recently graduated PhD students, PhD students, Master students and undergraduate students who are being initiated into the research field. During the early stage of the corpus compilation the team had about 30 researchers working together. The students who work or have worked with Klapt! are Alyne Vieira, Amanda Pavani, Jamila Viegas, Kicila Ferregueti and Leonardo Nunes.

Thus, Klapt! has been carefully designed to fulfil research criteria in order to serve as a controlled combined corpus for a number of research questions, as discussed in section 3.

3 Klapt! Usability – what for?

A corpus such as Klapt! is a resource for many sorts of investigations using different combinations of the subcorpora. A combined corpus builds up into six main subcorpora:

- i) Two parallel corpora – EO and PT; PO and ET
- ii) Two monolingually comparable corpora – EO and ET; PO and PT
- iii) Two bilingually comparable corpus – EO and PO; ET and PT

Steiner (2008) presents four types of contrasts (and some subtypes which are not mentioned here) that can be investigated using a combined corpus (illustrated with the subcorpora of Klapt!):

- i) C1 – cross-linguistic contrast, comparing original texts in both languages, what in Klapt! would be EO and PO, the bilingually comparable corpus⁵
- ii) C2 – intralingual register controlled contrast, comparing the different registers within each one of the subcorpora (EO, PO, ET, PT)
- iii) C3 – translation vs. original intralingual contrast, using the monolingual comparable corpora (EO and ET; PO and PT)
- iv) C4 – translation vs. original cross-linguistic contrast, using the parallel corpora (EO and PT; PO and ET)

⁵ Cross-linguistic comparison of translated texts (ET and PT subcorpora) is also a possible combination for corpus investigation.

Steiner also comments on studies using the CroCo corpus concerning the properties of explicitation and explicitness. Within the scope of LETRA, Klapt! is a resource for different areas of research within translation studies:

- i) The investigation of the properties of translation (systemic-functional translation studies)
- ii) Process and product research
- iii) Multidimensional annotation (methodology)
- iv) Register analysis
- v) Language description
- vi) Translator training

All these areas present challenges for researchers, since for many of them methodological pathways are still being built. Since multidimensional annotation is directly connected to Klapt! design, it is discussed in section 4.

4 Multidimensional annotation

The aim of multidimensional annotation is to have a “linguistically enriched corpus” (Neumann & Hansen-Schirra, 2006) using computational tools for (semi)automatic analyses. According to Neumann and Hansen-Schirra (2006), “the guiding principle in the process of enriching the CroCo corpus with linguistic information is the clear distinction between lexicogrammatical categories and interpretation of indicators”. The authors explain that “the annotation of the CroCo Corpus covers the following layers: parts of speech and morphology on the word level as well as phrasal categories and grammatical functions on the phrase level”.

There are many small operations that are necessary in order to prepare the corpus for automatic linguistic analyses. At the present moment, many tools have been developed, especially for English, to allow researchers to process the corpus automatically, a procedure which is indispensable if large number of texts are analysed. However, most tools are not really completely automatic and need manual intervention during some phases of the process. Another point is that the kind of information automatic tools are able to produce has to be interpreted under the scope of a linguistic theory that allows researchers to claim something about texts and languages.

Although the term annotation is mainly used to refer to the linguistic enrichment of the corpus, we use it here to refer to the whole process of analyzing the corpus, i.e., multidimensional annotation includes all the phases of the

process before data interpretation: pre-alignment, metadata, tagging and statistics.

4.1 Procedures for compilation and annotation

4.1.1 Download and cleaning

Files from the internet were downloaded or copied/pasted in a .txt file and saved as such. “Noisy” elements were deleted, such as repeated titles and page numbers. Word division and paragraphs continuing from one page to another have also been edited. A header with metadata about the text - such as title, website, author, translator, date – was created and placed before each text.

4.1.2 Pre-alignment and cleaning

Prior to the actual alignment of the texts, a comparison between two .txt files has been made in order to check whether the texts are really parallel, i.e. if the translation corresponds to the original. The software WinAlign from Trados Translator’s Workbench was used for this purpose. Some portions of the translated texts in which structure and information greatly differed from the originals needed to be excluded from the corpus. It was also important to ensure that there were no visible repetitions of some stretches of texts, as they could occur due to technical problems. Other problems could be detected in this phase, such as notes in fiction or academic papers. Notes needed specific care because they appear at the end of the page or the end of the text and in plain files the connection could be lost. These were either excluded or inserted in the appropriate place in the text.

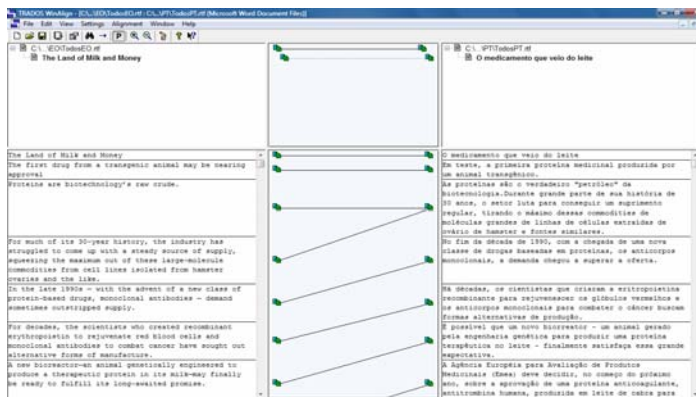


Figure 2 – Text alignment with WinAlign

4.1.3 Metadata

It is important to organize the corpus metadata which includes many categories with information about each text. Metadata is crucial because it keeps track of what kind of text is in the corpus, its characteristics and the way the corpus is organized. For Klapt! we have used simple Microsoft Excel spreadsheets, although JabRef⁶ reference manager may be used later.

Each spreadsheet contains several entry types with information on texts from each register, such as file name, name of author, title, name of translator, place and date of publication, among others.

4.1.4 Tagging and statistics

TreeTagger was the software used for part-of-speech tagging, although other resources (such as MPRO⁷) were tested. TreeTagger has parameter files to tag and lemmatize texts in several languages, with additional material for using it with Portuguese developed by Pablo Gamallo. It is available online⁸.

⁶ JabRef reference manager. Available at <<http://jabref.sourceforge.net/>>, accessed 2 May 2013.

⁷ MPRO offers more information besides the tagger, such as morphological and semantic analysis. However, it is still under development for languages other than German and therefore has not yet been used for Klapt! annotation.

⁸ TreeTagger is a language independent part-of-speech tagger. Available at <<http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/corplex/TreeTagger/>>. For Portuguese, visit PabloGamallo Otero's website. Available at <<http://gramatica.usc.es/~gamallo/>>, accessed 2 May 2013.

The output is a plain text file with three columns: one for the tokens of the text, one for the tags showing the word class (POS or part of speech) and one for the corresponding lemma of the word, as shown in Figure 3.

Token	Tag	Lemma
Faz	V	fazer
uma	DET	uma
breve	ADJ	breve
explicação	NOM	explicação
das	PRP+DET	de
normas	NOM	norma
que	PR	que
regem	V	regem
a	DET	a
pesquisa	NOM	pesquisa
biomédica	ADJ	biomédico
internacional	ADJ	internacional
e	CONJ	e
uma	DET	uma
exposição	NOM	exposição
do	PRP+DET	de
debate	NOM	debate
sobre	PRP	sobre
os	DET	o
padrões	NOM	padrão
de	PRP	de
cuidado	NOM	cuidado
a	PRP	a
serem	V	ser
oferecidos	V	oferecer
pela	PRP+DET	por

Figure 3 – *TreeTagger* output: *txt*.file with tagging

Since *TreeTagger* has no tool for counting the tags and retrieving data for statistical analyses, the open source statistical package R⁹ has been used for this purpose. The software is a very efficient resource for the analysis of numerical and categorical data and is able to process them from a wide variety of statistical models. A script to run the tagged files from *Klapt!* has been created and the output within R is shown in Figure 4 (see Nunes, 2013).

⁹ The R Project for statistical computing. Available at <<http://www.r-project.org/>>, accessed 2 May 2013.

```

> ## Some Analysis ##
> table(dados$tags,dados$subcorpora) ## Essa linha te dá a frequencia de tags por subcorpora
      IO      IT      PO      PT
adjetivo  19974 20658 24108 24687
advérbio  11577 10185  9036 10244
conjuncao 9885  9522 11480 12307
determinante 24551 29424 20950 22210
interjeicao   94    72    27    98
numero      4389  5102  5097  4321
preposicao  35389 39580 46838 48757
pronome    13082 12178  8484 11180
substantivo 78172 80402 79757 78072
verbo     40164 38088 35303 40061

>
> conj=dados[dados$tags=="conjuncao",] ## so conjuncoes
> conj=as.data.frame(lapply(conj,function(x){drop=TRUE})) ## delete unused levels
> table(conj$registro,conj$subcorpora) # frequencia de conjunção por registro E subcorpora
      IO      IT      PO      PT
artigo_academico  1165 1153 1476 1548
discursao_politico 1469 1303 1809 1832
divulgacao_cientifica  980 1001 1211 1233
ficcão           1109 1090 1390 1811
manual_de_instrução  996 1081 1259 1481
propaganda_turistica 1456 1132 1369 1521
revista         1488 1433 1797 1837
webedu         1242 1359 1525 1404

>
> x=c(1165,1469,990,1109,996,1486,1488,1242,239073,239073,239073,239073,239073,239073,239073,239073)
> tabelamarcia=c(1,2,3,4,5,6,7)
> chisq.test(tabela) # qui quadrado

      Pearson's Chi-squared test

data:  tabela
X-squared = 234.5227, df = 7, p-value < 2.2e-16

> chisq.test(tabela)$stdres #resnet
      [1,]      1.51      1.21      1.91      1.41      1.51      1.61      1.71      1.81
[2,] -2.142626  7.076311 -7.484116 -3.841942 -7.271953  6.482284  6.742905  0.1932786
[3,]  2.142626 -7.076311  7.484116  3.841942  7.271953 -6.482284 -6.742905 -0.1932786
>

```

Figure 4 – Script output in R interface

The script run in R is able to automatically combine the tagsets in English and Portuguese and classify them in ten different word classes common to both languages. Based on such combination, it can also count the number of tokens from each word class across the four subcorpora and across the eight registers. Once such data is retrieved, it is therefore possible to summarise findings within descriptive statistics and run several significance tests as part of inferential statistics, such as chi-square and Z tests.

5 Final remarks

The conjoint project which resulted in the design and compilation of Klapt! Has been a rather fruitful one and has undoubtedly contributed to corpora investigations within translation studies carried out at LETRA. Although methodology applied for annotating the corpus has produced interesting results for several ongoing studies within the laboratory, it is by no means exhaustive. Multidimensional annotation is a work in progress and more computational tools are required to deal with other levels of automatic scrutiny of texts in Portuguese. Therefore, close collaboration with linguistic groups which work or have worked with the support of computational linguists and statisticians is still needed, thus posing a challenge to linguists and inviting us to work thoroughly in a multidisciplinary approach.

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Action research on advanced bilingual enhancement in translator education

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with one of the most fundamental challenges in the field of translator education: how to help students enhance their linguistic competence, something which is “essential and fundamental” among the sub-competences of overall translation competence (Schaffner and Adab 2000: ix). In spite of the strong and long-existing need to address this issue, “relatively little has been written about language teaching for translators” (Malmkjær 2004:4) and “little experimental or classroom-based research has been undertaken in this area to date” (Kim 2012:107). Against this background, an action research project has been conducted inspired by innovative ideas and approaches to advanced language learning (Byrnes 2006), and involving two stages so far: preparing and developing a new course entitled Advanced Bilingual Enhancement in 2010; and running the course in 2011 and 2012. The first developmental stage has been already discussed elsewhere (Kim 2010). This paper reports on the second stage of running the one-semester-long course with a large number of students whose B language varies across nine different languages and describes how the course has evolved over the two years. This example of action research was initiated in view of a particular need in translator education but its findings may be found relevant and interesting to anyone who is interested in advanced language learning as a teacher or student.

1 Introduction

How to address the imbalance in students' linguistic competence in their working languages is one of the issues that have a long history of debate in translator education (cf. Malmkjær 1998). There are a number of reasons why students often start to study translation with language skills not sufficiently developed for the needs of professional training. They may have learned their

B language as a foreign language in an educational setting without much chance to use it in a natural environment, or may have acquired it as a second language mostly in a domestic setting without much need or opportunity to develop literacy skills in the language. In either case, translation students often suffer from limitations in using their B language in a professional context like translation. There is also a distinct group of students who choose to study translation not primarily to gain a professional skill but in order to improve their B language. For instance, a survey conducted with those enrolled in the MA programs in Interpreting and Translation at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in 2010 found that when asked to identify their primary motivation for studying translation and interpreting, 59% of those surveyed chose “to be an interpreter and translator” while 23% chose “to improve my B language skills”. When asked to identify their secondary motivation, 62% chose “to improve my B language skills”. This survey has been repeated in following years with similar results, suggesting that a strong desire to enhance their language skills is a significant motivation for students in this field.

Despite this, translation teachers commonly find the time allocated for translation classes far too short to address language issues as well as translation issues, given that there are a number of sub-competences other than the linguistic that translators-to-be need to develop. This is why some translation scholars have argued that “translation programs must provide effective, tailor-made language courses for translation students” (Li 2001:343) and have called for research to “mold language teaching in such a way that the needs of prospective translators are catered for directly” (Malmkjær 2004b:4). Responding to this need, a number of translation and interpreting programs in many countries (e.g. Australia and Korea) include one or two language enhancement courses in their curriculum aimed at addressing language problems separately, but there has been little experimental or classroom-based research that suggests a model for such courses. That is why “a recurrent theme” at a recent translator and interpreter conference (Chmiel and Szarkowska 2010: 144) was:

the inadequate linguistic competence of translators-to-be and how it hampers the translator training process, as it makes trainers focus on foreign language teaching instead of translation-related issues. The question of proficiency in foreign languages seems to be particularly salient in the case of languages of limited diffusion.

This issue is more challenging for training programs that are offered in a number of different languages, including language streams in which only a few students are enrolled, because it is hard to justify the financial cost to run

a course for a few students, and it may be hard to find a teacher who can teach the language.

With the need to address this issue being acutely felt in the MA programs in Interpreting and Translation at UNSW, I have conducted classroom-based action research into a new course specifically designed to allow students to enhance their language skills. Following the definition by Burns in the context of literacy education, this kind of action research is understood as “a form of systematic, naturalistic enquiry conducted within teachers’ own classrooms with the objective of monitoring classroom practice, reflecting on this practice and bringing about any necessary changes highlighted in this process” (Burns 1998: 2). The action research project has involved two stages so far: an initial stage of preparation in 2010 for the development of a new course entitled *Advanced Bilingual Enhancement*; and a second stage of running the course in 2011 and 2012. This research has led to the development of a “sustainable” approach to address the issue of the lack of students’ language proficiency in translator education. The primary proposition of the approach is that translators-to-be need to learn skills and tools needed for life-long learning and become autonomous learners as they cannot expect to master their language skills over a short period of time but must make a continual effort to keep them polished and updated just as professional translators do. This paper aims to report on the process of how the sustainable approach came into being through the action research project focusing on the second stage of running the one-semester-long course with a large number of students whose B language varies across nine different languages, and shows how the course has evolved over the two years. The first developmental stage has been already discussed elsewhere (Kim 2010). Thus, it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss what this approach entails such as course content, lesson plans and assessment tasks. Detailed discussion of these topics can be found elsewhere (Kim, in preparation).

2 Action Research on Advanced Bilingual Enhancement: Stage 2

2.1 Institutional background

UNSW offers two MA programs in Interpreting and Translation Studies (MAITS). The first is a one-year long program with a greater focus on translation, while the second is a one-and-a-half-year long program with a balanced focus on translation and interpreting. Both programs are offered

between English and eight other languages: Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Russian and Spanish. Chinese is the largest stream, followed by Korean and Spanish. As relatively new programs, previous to 2011 their curricula had not provided any course specifically designed to help students improve their language skills. Each semester, students are admitted into the programs on the basis of their undergraduate academic performance and B language proficiency. Those who have a language other than English as a B language are required to pass an aptitude test provided by MAITS to prove advanced proficiency in their B language. Those who have English as B language are required to achieve an IELTS¹ score of 6.5 or above, which is supposed to indicate a high level of English proficiency. However, neither the scores in the internally administered aptitude test² nor the IELTS scores necessarily provide an accurate benchmark of the students' mastery of English for specific or professional purposes (see e.g. Dooley & Oliver, 2002; Rochecoste, Oliver, Mulligan & Davies, 2010). Consequently, upon beginning translation and interpreting studies, many students report feeling that they lack sufficient mastery of B languages to enable them to be effective communicators in the increasingly diverse range of contexts required. Therefore, the need to enhance their language skills is an ongoing battle for them.

2.2 Advanced Bilingual Enhancement in 2011

A review of relevant literature in this area revealed that not much work is being done in the field of advanced language learning, despite many calls for attention to the field (e.g. Byrnes 2006b). In view of the scarcity of research work specifically related to translation training, the current study has adopted an approach to advanced language learning put forward by Byrnes (2006a) drawing on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (SCT) (Byrnes 2006a). Byrnes' framework appears relevant and applicable to address the language competence issue in translator education for a number of reasons. Firstly, in relation to models of language, Byrnes identifies as one source of problems in language pedagogy and second language acquisition research the dominant influence of structuralist or

¹ International English Language Testing System (IELTS) is the standard accepted measure of English proficiency in Australia.

² It could be argued that the minimum score of IELTS 6.5 might be too low. However, even other universities that require a minimum score of IELTS 7 or above, or administer their own admission examinations, are not spared the issue of specifically translation- or interpreting-based competence, although the specific degree might vary.

formalist linguistic frameworks “separating language from content, or form from meaning, or separating syntax from discourse from semantics from pragmatics” (Byrnes 2006b: 5). Making connections between the source and target language forms and their meanings in context is of course the very challenge faced by translation students in order to handle translation tasks successfully. Byrnes suggests as a more appropriate alternative Halliday’s functional view of language as a meaning-making resource which sees *use in context* as an essential condition of learning a language, whereby “language learning is not a skill that can be enhanced through decontextualized and content-less learning strategies” (ibid: 5). Such an approach has the potential to provide the “missing piece” to the puzzle of what students need to know about their B languages in order to use them appropriately in translation, and what they need to know about the phenomenon of language which is at the centre of the translation process. The importance of having a comprehensive conception of the phenomenon being taught is well stressed by Matthiessen:

Our approach to the teaching of any phenomenon depends critically on our conception of this phenomenon. Unless we can base language teaching and learning on a rightly revealing comprehensive account of what kind of phenomenon language is, we are not in a position to answer the many questions that arise in educational contexts. Similarly, the value and success of any approach designed to support second or foreign language teaching (...) will depend critically on the conception of language that informs it. (Matthiessen 2006: 31)

In relation to the model of social context, Byrnes explains that “SCT with a strong Vygotskian orientation has gained recognition within applied linguistics research and in the educational practice of teacher training and pedagogy”; this orientation has been strongly advocated in translator education as well (Kiraly 2000). Personally, it did not take long to see the compatibility and applicability of the two theories as I have been using both in my translation course design and research: SFL to explain translation choices in my research (Kim 2007, 2009) and SCT to design my translation courses (Kim 2005).

Based on these two underlying theories and a students’ needs analysis carried out during the development process (see Kim 2010 for details), a new course entitled Advanced Bilingual Enhancement was offered as an elective course in the second semester of 2011. The course consisted of two types of face-to-face classes: a one-hour lecture and a two-hour tutorial per week; and required students to complete four assessment tasks including a personal project portfolio (PPP), an oral presentation, online group discussions, and a

test. In the lecture, students were introduced to the basic concepts of SFL, including the key notion of “metafunction” which posits four abstract functions of language – experiential, logical, interpersonal and textual – which have been shown to be highly relevant for understanding language use in context and specifically in evaluating translation choices (Kim 2009). The lectures were also used to show the use of corpora for language learners, and to introduce efficient presentation skills. In the tutorial students were engaged in a number of group activities. For the first half of the semester, these activities were designed to help each student to identify his or her individual needs and develop personal projects, while in the second half, the activities were designed to aid the development of specific language skills including academic writing, critical listening and critical reading.

The course was run over 12 weeks with an enrolment of 95 students, the majority of whom were native speakers of Chinese, French, Japanese, Korean and Spanish who wanted to improve their English skills. There were also a handful of students who wanted to improve their skills in Chinese, Korean or Spanish because either they were English native speakers or they had grown up in English-speaking countries. When an overview of the course was given in the first week, it was explained to students that the course was an experimental one which had not been taught anywhere before, and it represented a kind of “journey” on which teachers and students would jointly embark to find the missing pieces to their own puzzle of language learning. Even though the majority of students were uncertain as to what such a course involved and the course was only offered as an elective, just a few students dropped out of the course.

Toward the end of the semester, 20 out of 95 students participated in a CATEI survey, a standard university course evaluation in which all students enrolled at UNSW are invited to participate online at the end of each semester. This participation ratio of 21% was not very encouraging but not particularly surprising, given widespread low participation in such surveys conducted outside a classroom setting. The survey contained 10 compulsorily included set questions to which students responded by choosing one option from a Likert-type scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”, and 2 open-ended questions. The reactions across the range of set questions were more or less similar to those of the final question stating, “overall, I was satisfied with the quality of this course”: roughly half of those surveyed were satisfied and the other half not. Figure 1 below shows the overall satisfaction

ratios across the six possible answers³; a comparative table with the detailed results for all 10 questions in 2011 and 2012 can be found in Appendix 1:

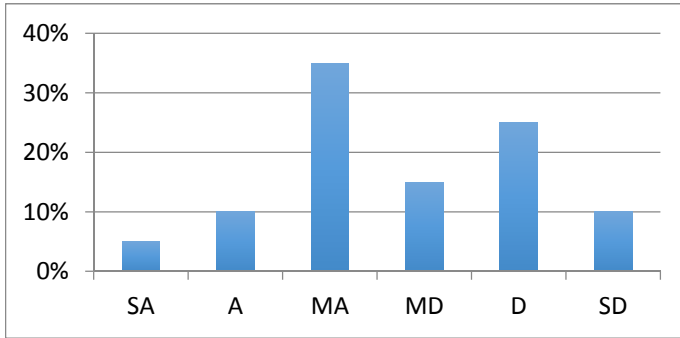


Figure 1: Overall Course Satisfaction Ratios in 2011 (CATEI Q10)

Students also provided feedback on two open-ended questions about the best features and aspects to improve about the course, respectively. For the first question, the greatest amount of feedback concerned the empowerment given to them to decide what they wanted to learn and focus on (Category A). They also seemed to enjoy tutorial activities designed to facilitate interactions among students (Category B), and appreciated the introduction of tools and resources for them to use for their personal project portfolio (Category C). Other comments showed that some students at least welcomed the new approach (Category D). A sample of responses is provided in Table 2 below:

	Category	Examples
A	Autonomous learning (7) ⁴	A chance to improve skills that I want to focus on; we would work on our own areas of weakness; you get to design your own PPP; decide what we want to learn; encouraging students (to) be creative
B	Tutorial activities (3)	Tutorial is fantastic (with) good activities, group discussion
C	Tools and resources (2)	I was introduced by our lecturer and tutors (to) the tools to study; the resources that have been introduced (various corpora)
D	Others	Rich contents, various forms and unique characteristics

Table 2: Students' feedback on best aspects of the course in 2011

³ SA (strongly agree) A (agree) MA (modestly agree) MD (modestly disagree) D (disagree) SD (strongly disagree).

⁴ Number of similar comments.

For the second question that says, “This course could be improved by,” students suggested the course be more organized (Category A) and have a clearer goal/aim (Category B). Some students wanted the course to focus on more specific English skills (Category C) while some expressed their overall dissatisfaction (Category D) about the course. A sample of responses is given in Table 3 below:

	Category	Examples
A	Get more organized (5)	I feel this course is a little bit disorganized. Hope it could be more organized, which means students should understand why they are doing this and why they are doing that; more instruction; establishing a system that can be (en)able students to develop his/her own area of interest more; tutorial activities should be more organized
B	Clearer goal/aim (5)	Setting up a clear goal of offering this course; this course is aimless; have a clearer goal and outline; narrowing down the aim; focus on less topics
C	More lecture on specific skills (2)	More help and guidance from the tutor/tutor on our areas of weakness; a little bit more specific on the English skills
D	Others (5)	This course need(s) to be more interesting; teaching methods; providing useful learning materials; arranging better method; everything

Table 3: Students' feedback on ways in which the course could be improved

The above quantitative and qualitative data provided insight into how students coped with the first outing of the course and suggested a few very useful and constructive ways in which the course could be revised for the following year. Firstly, it was clear that students appreciated the opportunity given to them to control their own learning, but at the same time they needed more guidance. Such feedback makes good sense considering that it was likely students had received little opportunity to control and be responsible for their own learning in their previous education, although such opportunities no doubt varied among students. While they welcomed the idea of “autonomous learning”, they did not know exactly how to put it into practice. Secondly, students enjoyed the tutorial activities that involved group discussion and group activities but did not exactly understand how different tutorial activities were “connected with each other”. Of course the connections were clear to the teachers involved but should have been explained more clearly and more frequently, considering again that this was a new approach students were unlikely to be familiar with. Thirdly, while a small group of students understood the aim of the course early on and participated positively throughout the

semester, another small group of students seemed bored through lack of understanding of the overall aims of the course, continually waiting for “specific skills” to be taught as revealed in feedback at the end of semester. These seem to be only natural reactions observed in any classroom where a new approach is attempted: students differ in their ability to get their heads around new concepts and approaches and understand how these are relevant to their own learning needs. Fourthly, students did not comment on the usefulness or uselessness of the lectures introducing the basic concepts of systemic functional linguistics. However, teachers involved in the course also did not feel that students had made good use of the linguistic concepts introduced in the lectures when they developed their personal projects and agreed that one hour lecture for six weeks was not sufficient to introduce the concepts in a meaningful way so that students can apply to improve their practical language skills.

On the basis of my interpretation of the feedback, a number of changes were introduced to the course for 2012. First of all, it was decided not to give lectures on systemic functional linguistics in this course but to introduce the theory in a separate course entitled *Text Analysis for Translation*, where students would learn how to analyse texts for the purpose of translation and interpreting using an SFL framework. However, the conception of language as a meaning-making resource embodied in SFL remained as a guiding principle of the *Advanced Bilingual Enhancement* course. Secondly, following students’ suggestions to focus on a smaller number of topics in the course, it was decided not to cover academic writing skills, but rather to include them as explicit skills students are required to learn in another existing course covering theories of translation and interpreting. However, the development of oral presentation skills remained as a common aim for every student regardless of their B languages. Thirdly, as it had become very clear that it takes more time for students to adapt themselves to a new approach and that more scaffolding was needed, the lecture content was changed to include topics on autonomous learning, how to work in groups, and how to prepare a portfolio as a tool for professional development, among others. Lastly but perhaps most importantly, the one-semester-long experience of working with students taught us that advanced language learning is more than just a question of improving specific language skills: it also requires a high level of thinking skills that enable students to reflect on their own practice, to analyse their learning needs and problems, and to solve them. Therefore, the development of such thinking skills became a core learning outcome for the course in the following year.

2.3 Advanced Bilingual Enhancement in 2012

Reflecting on the experience of offering the course in 2011, particularly in relation to students' learning, the course design was revised to become more tightly structured, with fewer but clearer goals. The revised course outline introduces the course as follows:

Advanced bilingual speakers have different strengths and weaknesses depending on how they acquired their two languages. Therefore it is not possible to design a syllabus that addresses individually different needs. Against this backdrop, this course is designed to encourage autonomous learning, through which learners find their own weaknesses and develop strategies and implement them to improve their bilingual proficiency. It also provides students opportunities to learn a number of graduate attributes by participating in various group activities including group presentation. The underlying educational philosophy is that learners construct their own learning through meaningful interactions.

All the activities and assessment tasks were designed in accordance with five fundamental principles: learner-centred, research-supported, autonomous, scaffolded and teamwork-based:

- **Learner-centred:** Students decide what language skills they want to enhance;
- **Research-supported:** They draw on findings from research to analyse their own needs and find a method and material that suit their needs;
- **Autonomous:** They implement their personal projects by themselves, monitor their own progress and present their portfolios;
- **Scaffolded:** Teachers work with students to provide guidance and introduce resources as needed;
- **Team-based:** Students learn through interactive group activities.

Learner-centred, autonomous, scaffolded and team-based principles proved efficient in the previous semester and they have been underlying principles in other educational settings where socio-cultural theory has been applied (cf. Kiraly 2005). The research-supported principle was added on top of the four principles because it was felt necessary for students to do a literature review on their topic so that they can make informed decisions on the basis of research findings from the relevant field.

Three assessment tasks were designed in accordance with these principles. The first assignment was a group literature review (GLR), which was worth 30%. When developing personal projects in 2011, both students and teachers felt that a comprehensive literature review in language education, second language research, or other relevant fields would help students to identify their needs and make informed decisions in choosing their own methods and materials for enhancement of their B language. For the group literature review task, students were split into groups according to their needs and/or interests and identified a common topic among the group members. After the members of each group conducted a coordinated segment of their literature review individually, they were required to have a number of meetings outside class in order to jointly produce a coherent literature review. They also had to consult subject librarians to learn about different ways to find references, as well as access resources on academic writing provided by the university's Learning Centre to become familiar with the specific academic writing style needed for a literature review. Teachers were available in class or for consultation to discuss any issues students were struggling with.

Once they had completed their GLRs, with the aim of identifying their own needs and ways to improve them, students developed an individual personal project to address a specific area of their B language competence and implemented a learning program of their own for four weeks, building up a personal project portfolio (PPP) as they did so. Topics and methods chosen for PPPs, which was worth 40%, were highly diverse and creative. Students were allowed to present their PPPs in any format that suited their own needs: e.g. folder, CD, website blog, or a combination of folder and CD. No matter which format they chose, they were required to include: a) reflective essay, b) work log, c) samples of actual materials used. Each PPP was evaluated by three parties with results in the form of numerical scores incorporated into their final grade. Students themselves evaluated their own progress and commitment [10%], in each group a student peer evaluated how well the documents and materials provided by the student conformed to the requirements [10%], and the teachers evaluated the reflective essays [20%].

The final task was a group oral presentation (GOP), which was worth 30%. Each group was required to identify the most valuable lesson they had learned through the process of putting together the GLR and the PPP, and to give a 15-minute-long presentation consisting of a 10 minutes PowerPoint presentation followed by a 5 minute question and answer session. Students were given explicit training on effective oral presentation skills by a guest lecturer from the Learning Centre who had trained students in presentation skills for many years, and each group was assigned a consultation time with

the lecturer to discuss anything they wanted to discuss about GOP. The GOPs were evaluated by the teachers and a peer group randomly chosen on the presentation day. As demonstrated graphically in Figure 2 below, the principles mentioned above and assessment tasks were closely linked either directly or indirectly:

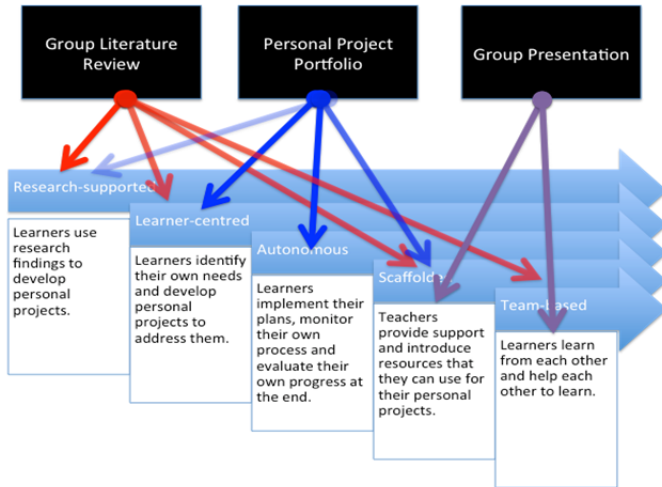


Figure 2: Interconnection between the principles and assessment tasks

There is much to discuss in regard to each assessment task: a detailed discussion is beyond the scope of the present paper but can be found in Kim (in preparation).

The 2012 CATEI survey, in which nearly 50% of students (50 out of 103 enrolled students) participated, showed substantial improvement in the level of student satisfaction, as shown in Figure 3:

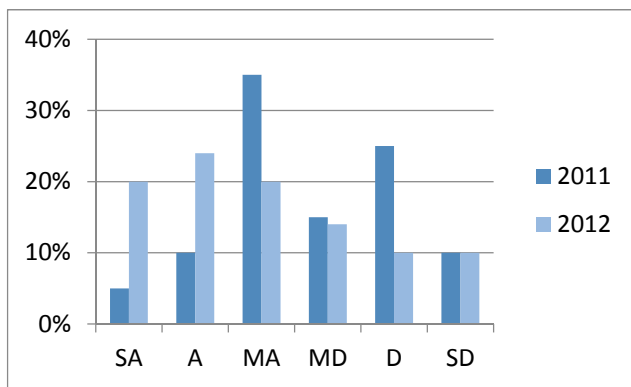


Figure 3: Overall Course Satisfaction Ratios in 2011 and 2012 (CATEI Q10)

Compared to the CATEI results in the previous year, the proportion of students who indicated that they were “satisfied” with the quality of the course increased from 50% to 64%, while those “not satisfied” decreased from 50% to 34%. It is also worth noting that the number of students who “strongly agreed” and “agreed” increased from 5% to 20% and from 10% to 24% respectively, while those who “disagreed” decreased from 25% to 10%.

When it comes to the open-ended comments on the best aspects of the course (see Table 4 below), as in the previous year the majority of students mentioned “autonomous learning” (Category A) and “group work” (Category B). This feedback confirms that students enjoy a learning environment that empowers them to control their own learning and creates opportunities to work as collaborators with peers and teaching staff in spite of the fact that the majority (80-90%) of students of the course are Asian students, who are often stereotyped as being “too teacher-dependent, too uncritical of material they have been taught, prone to rote memorization” (Harris 1997 cited in Biggs 1999:123). Working with students from different cultural backgrounds in this course confirms that openness to autonomous learning is much related to personal learning style rather than to nationality or ethnic background. Some students were never able to spell out what aspects of language they needed to enhance further but insisted that all they needed was more vocabulary and grammar in their B language. This is an example of “non-autonomous” learning style, one not restricted to a particular ethnic group. Also the requirement for each group to be ethnically mixed and their support of peers within the group may have had positive impact on students’ willingness and ability to undertake autonomous learning. Other positive aspects of the course

mentioned by students include its practical focus (Category D), the tools and resources introduced (Category C), the structure of the class and the guidance this provided (Category E), and the training in presentation skills (Category F). A sample of comments under these categories is given in Table 4:

	Category	Examples
A	Autonomous learning (10)	The chance to try some independent learning; students were encouraged (to undertake) autonomous learning; teach us how to learn by self; autonomous learning is really helpful to improve self-learning ability; developing second language skills by oneself; PPP - it was a great project to improve my skill; the possibility of designing and implementing your own learning project
B	Group work (4)	I enjoyed the teamwork; opportunities to learn through groupwork; helping me learn how to work in a culturally diverse group
C	Tools and resources (2)	Corpora; introduce some tools to students for future use
D	Practicality (2)	We were able to spend time practicing our B language; offered us sufficient opportunities to help us practice
E	Structure/guidance (2)	The class structure is very great and helpful; guides to improve our language learning
F	Presentation (2)	Learn about presentation skills; group presentation
G	Others (3)	Experience of peer evaluation; help us with our own future career; the consultation is really useful; good

Table 4: Students' feedback on best aspects of the course in 2012

With regard to open-ended comments on ways to improve the course (see Table 5 below), the largest number of students suggested that it provide more specific guidance (Category A) to the aims and methods of the course. These written comments are confirmed by informal feedback in class or via consultations during the semester, where students indicated that they did not fully understand the relationships between the assessment tasks. This feedback again suggests that just a one-hour lecture is simply not sufficient to communicate to students the underlying principles of the course and their relationships with assessment tasks. Again on this second offering of the course it was suggested that a “clearer goal/aim” was necessary (Category B). One student commented that what the course was trying to achieve was “too ideal”. Comments in Categories A and B showed the need to revise lecture and tutorial content in a more coherent and focused way. Interestingly some students mentioned that the group activities were over-emphasised (Category C), one example being their experience of jointly writing the group literature

review, with too many meetings outside class needed to negotiate content and revise the GLR given students' busy and often conflicting schedules. The need for the introduction of "specific knowledge" was again suggested (Category D), but this is something that cannot be successfully incorporated simply because students have different needs and is hence a misunderstanding of the nature of "autonomous learning". "Peer evaluation" was noted as something that did not work well (Category E), and this judgment was shared as well by all the teaching staff. There were three comments that reveal their disagreement or dissatisfaction with the content and delivery of the course.

	Category	Examples
A	More specific guides (7)	More specific guidelines; give more detailed information about what it is and what should the students do; providing a much more thorough assessment of language skills to decide what to work on and finding a way to relate it to the program
B	Clearer goal/aim (4)	Focusing on the key things; reducing the scope of "autonomous learning"; this course is hard to achieve its original goals, which is too ideal
C	Group activities (3)	Group literature was not a good way to work together; too much group activities, people who does not have time other than classes are very difficult to fit the schedule
D	Specific knowledge (2)	Specific knowledge, not general knowledge, too broad; more strategies of improving English should be taught
E	Less peer evaluation (2)	Work of PPP would be better to be examined by tutors; a little less emphasis on peer evaluations
F	Others (4)	Pronunciation skills; being cancelled; I would not suggest this course need to be included in this Master course; changing tutor also the assessments, structure and aim of the course

Table 5: Students' feedback on ways in which the course could be improved in 2012

Feedback from the students and teachers involved clearly indicated that the course could be improved in three main ways: a) providing more scaffolding for the GLR; b) making the content of lecture and tutorials more coherent and focused; and c) finding better methods of peer evaluation. These suggestions have been incorporated in the third offering of the course that is taking place at the time of writing. For example, students have been given a set of initial readings on different topics; they then working on the GLRs with their team members during the tutorial, receiving help and feedback from the tutor as they write the reviews (see Kim in preparation for details).

3 Concluding remarks

The journey to find ways of enhancing language skills in a translation and interpreting context has not ended, with the course at the time of writing being offered for the third time with new features and contents. This journey has never been easy but has offered a number of opportunities for teaching staff and students to learn from each other. Most of all, I have appreciated the students' willingness to go on this uncertain journey with me, and the enthusiasm and commitment they have shown along the way, without which the journey could not have been undertaken. I also appreciate the institutional support that allowed me to design the course as it is and to develop another course to separately teach systemic functional linguistics as a tool to analyse texts for translation. There seems to be synergy between the two courses to a certain extent particularly because those who took Text Analysis for Translation have been introduced to an alternative view on language as a meaning-making resource, which enables them to analyse their linguistic needs in relation to the context where they use the language.

It is difficult to measure how much specific improvement individual students have made in their language skills. However, this is of secondary concern with this approach. The primary concern is whether or not students have learned the thinking skills and attitudes to enable them to become autonomous learners, and whether or not they now have the resources and tools needed for autonomous learning. In that sense, I would call this a "sustainable" learning approach. This action research project is intended to be an ongoing one, with the next stage being to provide a full description of this sustainable learning approach for bilingual enhancement in translator education (Kim, in preparation), and to extend this "experiment" in collaboration with a number of institutions in different countries.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix

Q No	Questions		SA	A	M A	M D	D	SD	Mean Rating
		Year	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1	The aims of this course were clear to me	2011	5	30	20	10	20	10	3.45
		2012	30	28	12	12	4	14	4.26
2	I was given helpful feedback on how I was	2011	5	40	20	20	5	10	3.9

	going in the course	2012	16	30	20	14	10	8	4.04
3	The course was challenging and interesting	2011	0	15	35	25	10	15	3.25
		2012	20	26	16	18	8	10	4.02
4	The course provided effective opportunities for active student participation in learning activities	2011	5	30	45	0	10	10	3.9
		2012	24	30	20	12	4	6	4.42
5	The course was effective for developing my thinking skills (e.g. critical analysis, problem solving)	2011	5	20	30	20	10	15	3.45
		2012	28	26	20	8	8	8	4.35
6	I was provided with clear information about the assessment requirements for this course	2011	5	25	40	20	5	5	3.9
		2012	22	26	22	14	6	8	4.2
7	The assessment methods and tasks in this course were appropriate given the course aims	2011	5	15	45	15	5	15	3.55
		2012	22	22	20	16	10	6	4.13
8	The information/course materials provided for this course were helpful in understanding its content	2011	10	15	40	15	10	10	3.7
		2012	28	18	22	10	8	8	4.26
9	The aims of the course were met	2011	5	10	40	15	20	10	3.35
		2012	22	18	28	14	4	12	4.04
10	Overall, I was satisfied with the quality of this course	2011	5	10	35	15	25	10	3.25
		2012	20	24	20	14	10	10	4

Cohesion in ERICH - a corpus-based approach

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Abstract

This paper sets out to explore how cohesion is created in Erich Steiner's texts. We approach this research question by comparing a corpus of English written and spoken academic texts, produced by Erich Steiner with the English part of the GECCo corpus. Statistical methods are combined with in-depth corpus analyses in order to identify general properties as well as individual features of cohesion.

1 Introduction

The idea to analyse the cohesiveness of Erich's texts is a logical consequence of the research which has been going on during the last couple of years in his research team, both in terms of the research objective as well as in terms of the methodologies applied.

The group around Erich Steiner started complementing theoretical observations about linguistic and translational phenomena via corpus-based methods quite a long time ago. Building corpora and developing annotation and extraction procedures to obtain empirical evidence about textual instantiations became an integral part of several projects such as CroCo (see Hansen-Schirra et al. 2012) and others. During these projects, there was growing awareness that comprehensive knowledge about language contrast and properties of translation could only be gained by complementing studies on lexicogrammatical phenomena with analyses on higher linguistic levels. That was when first thoughts on the analysis of cohesion began to take shape, resulting in the DFG project GECCo (see e.g. Kunz and Steiner 2012, Lapshinova et al., 2012), whose second phase started in July 2013. During all of this time,

Erich has never ceased to remind us that empirical data is not an end in itself and that no empirical analysis should be done without regarding qualitative aspects (see e.g. Steiner 2012). More recently, Erich Steiner has pointed out that empirical data have to be evaluated by several statistical methods.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned cornerstones of Erich's research, we aim at exploring the texture of Erich's texts. We hereby pose the following research questions:

Do instantiations of cohesion found in Erich's texts mainly reflect:

- Features of cohesion in English? Then Erich's texts would resemble the English original subcorpora contained in GECCo.
- English register features¹? Then Erich's texts would be similar to the academic registers of GECCo.
- Features of mode? Then Erich's spoken texts would resemble the spoken registers in GECCo and his written texts would exhibit commonalities with the GECCo written registers.
- Features of interference of native language? Then Erich's texts would be more similar to the English translations than the English originals in GECCo.
- Individuality? Then Erich's text would somehow differ from the English translations and the English originals.

We will apply a set of different methods to address these questions and to identify the cohesive devices which function as main indicators for these aspects.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: We start by providing a short clarification of the term "cohesion", before we discuss the three cohesive types focused on in this study. After these theoretical considerations we will provide some information as to the corpora investigated and the corpuslinguistic methods applied. We then turn to describing and interpreting the data obtained from our corpus-based analyses.

2 Cohesion in English

One communicative goal pursued by producers of a given text is to help recipients in their cognitive interpretation as to how different textual elements hang together. They do this by employing lexico-grammatical devices which signal links across grammatical domains to other linguistic elements in the

¹ For register variation in English and German (see Neumann, 2013).

text. These relations on the level of the text, which are explicitly signaled by linguistic elements are called cohesion. We mainly distinguish five different semantic types of cohesion (see also Halliday & Hasan 1976): (co)-reference, substitution, cohesive ellipsis, cohesive conjunction and lexical cohesion. While these types of cohesion refer to relations, the devices employed are termed cohesive devices. The textual elements linked to the cohesive devices are called antecedents. These cohesive relationships all involve lexicogrammatical realization as linguistic forms, and they also involve some kind of semantic relationship between two or more discourse units. Hence, cohesion refers to discourse relations which are explicitly established on the text surface, yet these linguistic relations have to be interpreted cognitively by interlocutors as a relation of coherence (see De Beaugrande & Dressler 1981). Where they are different is in the type of semantic relationship they preferentially express as well as in their lexicogrammatical realizations (see Kunz & Steiner 2012, 2013). This study will focus on three main types of cohesion and as their subtypes. We will explore the realizations of the cohesive devices in our corpus, since these can be tracked by semi-automatic extraction procedures.

2.1 Commonalities of reference, substitution and conjunction

In this section we describe reference, substitution and conjunction as those types of cohesion which are at the center of our study.

Let us start by looking at some examples taken from Erichs texts in order to discuss the features shared by all three cohesive types under investigation:

- (1) ... *[the project] didn't really exist at that time. So it was still much based on individual efforts. [ES_SPOKEN_002]*
- (2) *This is a question of the value that is being placed on value itself. And this constitutes one further variable for the translator [ES_SPOKEN_001]*
- (3) *They [lead to different explanations] and where they do so they address different translation properties [ES_WRITTEN_002]*

Examples (1) to (3) nicely illustrate what reference, substitution and conjunction have in common: First, there are some lexicogrammatical elements that function as explicit linguistic triggers for signaling particular conceptual relations to linguistic elements in other clauses, sentences or paragraphs of the same text/ discourse. Second, the interpretation of these cohesive devices is

dependent on the elements they tie up with (see Halliday & Hasan, 1976, Kunz & Lapshinova, forthcoming). In (1) the referential pronoun *it* refers to an entity whose semantic nature can only be interpreted by looking at the antecedent *the project*. The conjunction *And* in (2) only tells us that there is an additive relation between two entities and in (3) the substitutional form *do + so* indicates similarity to an event but again, does not provide any information as to the type of event. Let us now shortly discuss the distinguishing properties of the three cohesive types.

2.2 Reference

The conceptual relation created by (co-)reference is that of “identity” between referents which are realised by several linguistic expressions in the same text. The relation is signaled by referential devices which trigger a search to a referring expression in another (mostly) preceding textual part (to the antecedent) on the basis of which the referent is cognitively identified (see Kunz and Steiner, 2012 for a more detailed clarification of the concept of reference).

Halliday & Hasan (1976) distinguish the following three subtypes:

- Personal reference: expressed by personal pronouns and possessive pronouns and modifiers.
- Demonstrative reference: realised by the article *the*, demonstrative pronouns and modifiers and local and temporal adverbs (e.g. *here* or *there*)
- Comparative reference: adjectives and adverbs such as *similar* or *such* (see Kunz & Steiner 2013 for a more detailed discussion of semantic and functional differences).

Note that reference is combined with lexical cohesion whenever the referential device is a modifier (e.g. *these* or *such ideas*).

2.3 Substitution

While both reference and substitution use semantically weak parts of speech, i.e. proforms, they differ in terms of the semantic type of relation. In contrast to (co-)reference the tie of substitution between the cohesive device and its antecedent does not trigger identity between instantiated referents but could rather be regarded as similarity of referents, and more precisely as relations between instantiated referents belonging to the same class (also called type

reference or co-denotation, see Kunz & Steiner, 2012). Substitution can additionally be differentiated from reference because of its syntactic constraints: The device signaling the substitution relation takes on the same syntactic function as the constituent it replaces, and hence, exhibits most similarities to cohesive ellipsis. It is mainly for this reason that the formal options available in English (and also German) for establishing substitutions are very limited. Three main subtypes of substitution are generally distinguished at least in the English literature:

- nominal substitution (signaled in English by *the same* and *one(s)*)
- verbal substitution created by *do (so)*
- clausal substitution, by *so*.

2.4 Conjunction

The most obvious differences of cohesive conjunctions to the two types introduced above can be summarized as follows (see also Kunz and Lapshinova, forthcoming):

- 1) More variation in forms: Devices of reference and substitution both belong to a closed class while the list of forms available for cohesive conjunction is much longer. This especially holds for conjunctive adverbials, which may consist of single or multiword constructions (e.g. *therefore, for this reason* or *that's why*).
- 2) More syntactic and positional restrictions: In contrast to coreference and substitution devices, coordinating conjunctions (linking main clauses) and subordinating conjunctions (linking a subordinate clause to a main clause) do not serve as fully-fledged syntactic constituents, and conjunctive adverbials only take on the function of a syntactic adverbial. The most common position of conjunctive devices is between the first and the second textual element they link, although there is more variation for conjunctive adverbials (see Kunz & Lapshinova, forthcoming).
- 3) Specific semantic properties: Conjunctive devices link semantically complex entities like states, processes and events, while coreference and substitution also tie less complex referents such as animate and inanimate objects. Moreover the semantic relation differs from reference and substitution in that conjunctive devices are not referential themselves but explicate logico-semantic relations between referring expressions. These can be mainly grouped into additive, adversative, causal and

temporal relations. Table 1 shows examples of conjunctive devices creating these subcategories, both for English and German:

	English	German
additive	<i>and, furthermore, moreover</i>	<i>und, weiterhin, darüberhinaus</i>
adversative	<i>though, although, however</i>	<i>aber, allerdings, dagegen</i>
causal	<i>thus, hence, therefore, that is why</i>	<i>aufgrund dessen, denn, aus diesem Grund</i>
temporal	<i>then, after that, at the same time</i>	<i>danach, endlich, inzwischen</i>
modal	<i>anyway, surely, as far as we know</i>	<i>sicherlich, klar, angeblich, anscheinend</i>

Table 1: Examples of semantic types of conjunctive relations

3 Methods and Resources

Before we present the findings we have obtained from a multitude of analyses we will now provide a description of the corpora investigated and the extraction procedures employed to investigate the corpora in terms of the three cohesive types discussed above.

3.1 Corpus description

For our contrastive analysis, we use two corpora: written and spoken subcorpora from GECCo (cf. Lapshinova et al., 2013), which represent original and translated English, as well as the E60 corpus, which we have compiled for this particular study. This corpus contains ten texts produced by Erich Steiner: eight published articles from books and journals, and two manually transcribed speeches from the CroCo colloquium in February 2013.

The texts in E60 represent academic discourse and belong to two registers: spoken and written. Text size varies from ca. 2.000 to ca. 13.000 words, as shown in Table 2.

	Text ID	Source	Year	Register	Size
ERICH_ WRITTEN	ES_WRITTEN_004	Leuven paper	2004	WRITTEN	13.147
	ES_WRITTEN_006	Languages in Contrasts	2001	WRITTEN	12.564
	ES_WRITTEN_007	Journal Target	1998	WRITTEN	11.586
	ES_WRITTEN_008	Book Chapter Translated	2004	WRITTEN	10.179
	ES_WRITTEN_005	Languages in Contrasts	2005	WRITTEN	8.070
	ES_WRITTEN_002	Festschrift Halliday	2004	WRITTEN	7.500
	ES_WRITTEN_003	ISW	2000	WRITTEN	6.885
	ES_WRITTEN_001	Festschrift Erdmann	2006	WRITTEN	5.889
ERICH_ SPOKEN	ES_SPOKEN_001	Croco Colloquium: about CroCo	2013	SPOKEN	4.223
	ES_SPOKEN_002	Croco Colloquium: about GECCo	2013	SPOKEN	1.910
TOTAL					81.953

Table 2: sources, size and meta information in E60

For the comparison of Erich's texts with the reference English corpus, we decide for a subset, a cross-selection of texts extracted from GECCo: EO_GECCo – English written originals (ca. 26003 words), EO_GECCO_SPOKEN – English spoken originals (ca. 15202 words) and Etrans_GECCo – English translations from German texts (ca. 28136 words). The written and the translated parts include eight registers – political essays and speeches, fictional texts, instruction manuals, popular-scientific articles, tourism texts, letters to share-holders and texts from websites, consequently no academic texts. The spoken part, however, contains academic lectures, and interviews and talkshows.

Both corpora are annotated with token, lemma and part-of-speech information. Moreover, we include sentence and text boundaries, as well as meta-information on text register (WRITTEN vs. SPOKEN), the source (e.g. journal 'Languages in Contrasts' or talk at the CroCo colloquium) and the year of publication. The corpora are encoded in CWB (IMS Corpus Workbench) and can be queried with Corpus Query Processor (CQP; Evert, 2005).

3.2 Corpus querying

As already mentioned, the corpus can be queried with CQP, which allows extraction of patterns in form of regular expressions that may include lexical, grammatical and structural constraints. For the extraction of the categories under analysis, we develop a set of queries to automatically identify these categories in our corpora.

For example, to extract **personal reference** with either head or modifier function, we just use the part-of-speech information available ([pos="PP"] vs. [pos="PP\$"]), and can classify between personal heads and modifiers, as show in examples (4) and (5).

- (4) *After that then, quite soon after, Silvia Hansen-Schirra joined us and a little later Stella Neumann. **They** were then PhDs in 2003 and, as far as the CroCo enterprise is concerned, especially Silvia was very influential [ERICH_SPOKEN]*
- (5) *Then I think, again, I think much of the original groundwork was actually done by Elke Teich and that could be seen in **her** Habilitationsschrift which she, which in fact was approved in our university in 2001. [ERICH_SPOKEN]*

Note that the categories **persmod** (personal modifier) and **pershead** (personal head) do not include the neuter form of the third person singular pronoun *it*, which forms a category on its own (**itendo**), for several reasons that are discussed elsewhere. In addition, we also trace exophoric instances of *it* (**itexo**), due to its multifunctional character.

For the extraction of **demonstrative reference**, and classification of the candidates into heads (**demmod**) and modifiers (**demhead**), we need to include additional constraint, e.g. define an element following the pronoun, in case of demonstrative modifiers (query 1 in table 3), or 'forbid' a certain element to follow the pronoun (query 2 in table 3).

query	explanation	extraction example
1 [lemma="this these those that"] [pos="J.* N.* CD V.* G"]	demonstrative pronoun, followed by an adjective, noun, etc.	<i>...so after they had left we thought we have to do something else. And we in that case which was mainly Kerstin Kunz and myself but now it is also others who will talk later in the day then started a project that looks at cohesion in English and German...</i>
2 [lemma="this these those"] [pos!="J.* N.* CD V.* G"]	demonstrative pronoun NOT followed by an adjective, noun, etc.	<i>So that was a phase which overlapped with the end of the CroCo project and which allowed us to begin to look at process oriented studies as well with all of the added questions that that brings. So that, those were happy days and interesting days...</i>

Table 3: Queries to extract referring expressions

In case of **substitution**, we also use lexical and grammatical constraints, e.g. part-of-speech and lemma information. This allows us to classify substitution into the three classes under analysis (1 – **nominal**, 2 – **verbal** and 3 – **clausal**), as shown in table 4.

query	explanation	extraction example
1 [pos="JJ.*"] @[lemma="one"& pos!="PP"] [pos!="N.*"&word!="of"]	an adjective substitution by 'one' not followed by a noun or the preposition 'of'	<i>As I said we assumed then in our corpus we can find relevant differences both between the two languages, English and German, within and across the two languages between the registers that we have in the corpus, eight we had in this case, and between originals and translations and then in particular one of our core assumptions was that translations are more explicit than you would expect otherwise. I mean we are in no way the first ones who came up with this assumption.</i>
2 @[lemma="do"] [word="so not"] [pos!="V.* RB"]	verb substitution by 'do', followed by 'so' or 'not', not followed by a verb or an adverb	<i>English always needs one experiential element in its overall Theme, whereas German does not.</i>
3 ([word="(Ii)F"] [word="so not"]) ([word="(S)sO"] [lemma="do"])	word 'if', followed by 'so' or 'not', or word 'so', followed by 'do'	<i>Now, whereas the German term is quite possibly an original in a basically trilingual Swiss environment, and may thus be motivated through the situation, it is not clear why then, in the first case, an English term was chosen at all, and if so, why it was changed relative to the English original.</i>

Table 4: Queries to extract substitution

Our extraction of conjunctive devices is restricted to those which occur in the first sentence position, as only in this case we get a 100% extraction precision for the current corpus structure. Therefore, we include a structural constraint – sentence boundary to exclude all other cases of conjunctions occurring in our data, as in cases shown below.

<p>979: <So that 's a bit of biography there and I would like to mention three other people> 1032: <And Mihaela Vela who is not yet here, but will be during the day, both computational linguists who did essential, the essential work probably on corpus build-up and query technology and the more technical aspects and research as well> 1175: <And towards the end of this we did, or we began to look into a complimentary aspect of the corpus based work, which is more process oriented studies> 1287: <And Adriana Pagano and a couple of others></p>
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Table 5: Sentence-initial conjunctions

The classification of relations into **additive**, **adversative**, **causal**, **temporal** and **modal** is realised with the help of lexical lists of the known candidates, e.g. *and*, *alternatively*, *furthermore*, *moreover*, etc. for additive; *yet*, *though*, *but*, *however*, etc. for adversative, *so*, *thus*, *hence*, *therefore*, etc. for causal and so on. The number of types in the list varies from ca. 50 for additive to ca. 90 for modal conjunctive relations (see Lapshinova & Kunz, to appear 2014, for details). Note that the syntactic forms included in our analysis comprise devices functioning as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions and also, conjunctive adverbials (see above).²

As a result of these extraction procedures, we obtain lists of textual instances of a particular pattern (with their frequencies), which can then be used for quantitative analysis and validation, e.g. in the R environment (cf. Venables & Smith, 2010).

4 Analyses

The following section presents the results of our quantitative analysis based on the frequencies extracted with procedures described above. We start with the analysis of the overall frequency distribution of cohesive devices in Erich's texts, and compare it with the distributions in English originals and translations in GECCO, applying significance test (section 4.1). We go on with cluster analysis in section 4.2, and correspondence analysis in section 4.3 and finish with a summary in 4.4.

4.1 Frequency distribution

Let us start by analysing the texts contained in the **E60 corpus**. If we have a look at the overall distribution of cohesive devices in Erich's texts, presented in figure 1, we see that reference is the means that is most commonly used for expressing cohesion (over 80%). The most frequent type of reference is personal head, followed by demonstrative modifier and *it* in its endophoric use, and personal modifier and demonstrative head. The predominance of personal heads is expectable as this reference type is most frequently used in English.

² For a more detailed description of syntactic features of cohesive conjunctions see Kunz & Lapshinova (forthcoming).

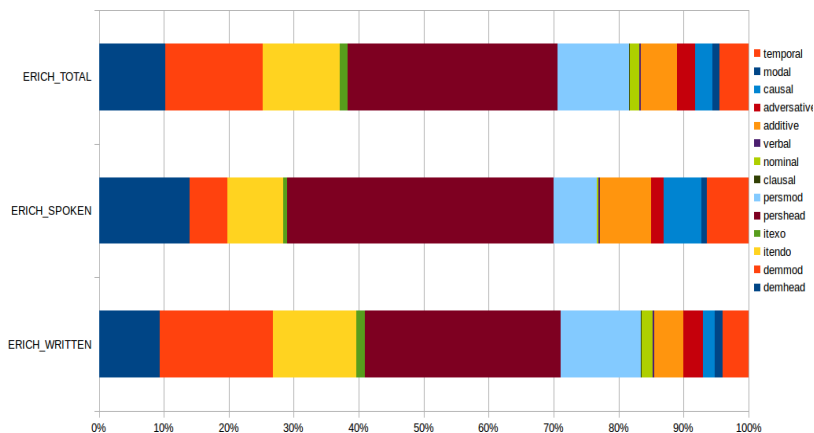


Figure 1: Occurrence frequencies of cohesive devices (normalised per 1000)

The comparison of Erich's texts in terms of mode reveals differences in the distribution of cohesive strategies: although reference also predominates in the spoken texts, it is less prevalent than in the written ones. However, the category of personal head plays a much greater role here. We assume that this strongly interacts with the special character of colloquium talk, which differs from other academic texts in experiential domain and goal orientation. Looking into Erich's spoken texts (see (6) below) reveals that quite often, the referents which are most accessible at a certain point in the text and which are expressed in coreference chains are researchers and thus animate agents that do the research, whereas frequent reference to research objects would be more common for written and spoken academic texts.

- (6) *In my memory, which is imperfect, I think, well, certainly for me it started when I heard a talk by Mona Baker, I think it was in 1993 in Dublin, where **she** reported on her then ongoing work.*

In the spoken part, heads (both personal and demonstrative) are more frequent than modifiers, hence Erich tends to use shorter elements in co-reference chains. We explain this by short term memory constraints, which are characteristic for spoken language context. This goes along with a higher distribution of conjunctive relations, which can be interpreted as a more explicit realization of logical relationships between propositions, events and ideas. The type of relations prevailing in ERICH_SPOKEN (additive, causal and temporal) may also be due to spoken mode but can again be interpreted as a reflection of experiential domain and goal orientation. If we compare (7) and

(8), we notice that there are many narrative and argumentative passages, which build up the structure of the talks in ERICH_SPOKEN, while ERICH_WRITTEN tends toward a more descriptive and contrastive style.

- (7) *And towards the end of this we did, or we began to look into a complimentary aspect of the corpus based work, which is more process oriented studies. That happened within a project which we called Probral, because that was the umbrella funding term by the German Academic Exchange Service, which funded people from Belo Horizonte in Brazil and us for three years to go more in, or to try and relate process and product oriented studies, people like Fabio Alves in particular, Igor da Silva who is just entering the room now. This is almost as prearranged but it wasn't. And Adriana Pagano and a couple of others. So that was a phase which overlapped with the end of the CroCo project and which allowed us to begin to look at process oriented studies as well with all of the added questions that that brings...[ERICH_SPOKEN]*
- (8) *And, again, a Theme semantics for both languages needs to systematically cover both possibilities. In this paper, we arrived at our theme semantics through argumentation from one language, German in this case, more specifically through inter-level-argumentation (lexicogrammar-to-semantics) and abstraction. It is also possible to compare semantic or grammatical components intra-level but inter-lingually, which is what we have foregrounded in the concluding remarks made here. It will be interesting to see in the future, how compatible the results of the two strategies are. Both of them, though, transcend the universalist-particularist opposition: The potential of "language" will always be that of a particular set of languages (which is a weakly anti-universalist position) ...[ERICH_WRITTEN]*

Quite interestingly, more instances of substitution can be found in ERICH_WRITTEN than ERICH_SPOKEN. This goes against our expectations as substitution is regarded as a typical feature of oral communication (see Kunz & Steiner 2013). Hence, the feature observed could be an indicator of the fact that Erich uses the full range of cohesive options available in English more consciously in his writings than in spoken language.

Comparing Erich's texts with EO and ETRANS in GECCo presented in table 6, we see that the distribution of cohesive devices varies according to their types and functions. The figures for demonstrative modifiers,

it-exophoric, clausal substitution, causal and temporal conjunctive relations are very similar for all three subcorpora. Yet in terms of it-endophoric, personal heads, additive and modal relations Erich's texts are more similar to English translations, and in terms of demonstrative heads – to English originals.

Cohesive devices		E60	EO	ETRANS
Reference	dem head	4,60	3,59	2,13
	dem mod	6,70	6,53	6,11
	it-endo	5,32	10,14	5,69
	it-exo	0,54	0,63	0,50
	pers head	14,43	39,39	19,67
	pers mod	4,97	8,88	12,58
Substitution	clausal	0,05	0,05	0,04
	nominal	0,63	0,10	0,00
	verbal	0,11	0,07	0,28
Conjunction	additive	2,48	4,59	2,52
	adversative	1,24	2,14	2,77
	causal	1,21	1,72	1,42
	modal	0,49	0,97	0,46
	temporal	2,01	2,06	1,67

Table 6: Occurrence frequencies of cohesive devices (normalised per 1000)

The most remarkable differences are the following:

- Very low distributions for **pershead** and **persmod** in E60 may be interpreted as a reflection of individual preferences for a more neutral style which often resorts to passivation in order to avoid expressing animate agents. It may conform to German register conventions, but would require proof by an analysis of the German original subcorpora contained in the GECCo corpus.
- A rather high distribution of **demhead** in E60 may again point to a personal tendency towards stressing the importance of particular referents and towards summarizing complex considerations which have been discussed in larger previous stretches of text.

- The figures for **demhead** may also interact with the low distribution found for **itendo** in E60 and ETRANS as compared to EO and may reflect German conventions for establishing co-reference via more explicit means, and extended reference, in particular. Yet as we will see below, it still is the most frequent device of reference in Erich's texts.

4.2 Frequency ranking

In order to obtain an insight into the most frequent forms employed in the subcorpora, we calculate frequencies of lemma per cohesive types.

The table below presents a ranking for reference and conjunction for E60, EO (EO_WRITTEN + EO_SPOKEN) and ETRANS:

	E60		EO_GECCO		ETTRANS_GECCO	
	Reference	Conjunction	Reference	Conjunction	Reference	Conjunction
1	It	And	it	and	this	and
2	this	Or	they	to	it	but
3	that	But	this	but	they	when
4	they	Then	that	when	he	to

Table 7: Frequency ranking for devices of reference and conjunction

For substitution (not included in the table), the ranking remains the same for all three subcorpora: 1. *one*, 2. *do* and 3. *so*, hence Erich's text generally exhibit no distinct properties with respect to the preference for individual forms of substitution. By contrast, differences can be observed for the other two cohesive types. For reference, more commonalities can be found between E60 and EO-GECCO than between E60 and ETRANS_GECCO, which may tell us that language interference does not play a crucial role here. Both in E60 and EO-GECCO, the neuter personal pronoun singular is ranked in first position. However the individual instances of *it* show that this is the main function found for EO-GECCO, while in E60, the high value is rather due to frequent reference to abstract objects as can be see below, where endophoric *it* serves to take up the highly accessible referent *an explanation of ...* in a long coreference chain:

- (9) ... [*an explanation of the perpetration of the Holocaust*] must account for the specific identities of both the perpetrators and the

victims. **It** must also account for the varied persons, institutions, and settings of the perpetration. **It** must identify features common to the perpetrators that would explain both why such relatively uniform action and why these particular discrete actions would emerge in varied settings among a large number of heterogeneous individuals. **It** must explain the smoothness of the overall operation. **It** must also achieve the following. **It** needs to integrate the various levels of analysis, namely the remarkable convergence of the overall policy...

By contrast, the highest distribution for the demonstrative form *this* in ETRANS may reflect target source language conventions of German and may be an indicator of ‘explication’ (cf. Steiner 2005) and ‘shining through’ (Teich 2003). The fact that the third person pronoun singular *they* is ranked lower than *this* and *that* in E60 than in EO-GECCO is in line with the general distributions found for personal heads in E60 (see above). It may signal an individual preference for extended/ textual reference (which can be realised by *it*, *this* and *that* in English) but mainly hints at a tendency towards neutral style and content orientation (see above). The latter may, before all, stem from the academic texts contained in E60 and hence be a question of register.

Let us turn to the ranking of conjunctive devices. In all corpora, the additive coordinating conjunction *and* occurs with the highest frequency and supports assumptions in theoretical works and corpus-based analyses on the distribution of conjunctions in English (see e.g. Biber et al. 1999). Apart from that, the distributions across the three corpora are very heterogeneous: First of all, two adversative conjunctions – *or* and *but* – are among the four most common conjunctive devices in E60, while only *but* is traced for the other two subcorpora. This feature may again be an indicator of register. Yet, the general distributions for adversative conjunctions in E60 are rather low on the one hand, and the distributions for *or* in the oral academic texts in EO_GECCO are also very low, on the other hand. Therefore, we rather consider the high occurrence of *or* as an indicator for Erich’s tendency towards providing alternative options and for explicitly combining them with an adversative conjunction, as illustrated below:

(10) *So we have to test inter-annotator agreement and we have to test, we have to evaluate the quality of our automatic reference annotation and combine that **or** contrast it with our human coreference annotators.*

Second, we find the subordinator *when* to be the most frequent temporal conjunction both in EO_GECCO and ETRANS_GECCO, while the adverbial

conjunction *then* is the most frequent temporal conjunction in E60. This indeed remarkable, as it points to a more vertical organization of structures in Erich's texts, at least for temporal relations, than in the other English texts, although our previous corpus analysis have attested a more vertical ordering for English and a more horizontal ordering in German. This may again point to Erich's individual style. Moreover Erich seems to favour expressing events that occur in a temporal succession (expressed by *then*) over events that happen at the same time (which would be expressed by *when*).

If we look at the occurrences in Erich's text we see that Erich uses "then" for a variety of slightly differing meanings.

(11) *That already was quite an early instantiation, I think, of the architecture and also some working methodology. After that **then**, quite soon after,*

(12) *We will first mention the huge initial motivating interest which the phenomenon of translation had for Malinowski, We shall **then** turn to the work of Catford,*

(13) *The types of social role in general can be glossed as, roughly, 'high authority vs. low authority', but **then** subclassified in terms of expertise, education, social power*

(14) *If the semantic type of the clause in terms of Theme is simple point of departure, part of event, phenomenon, event, **then** the grammatical realization is Theme rank*

(15) *So far, **then**, it seems that translated texts are longer and less marked in terms of affect than original texts*

For instance, Erich employs *then* to express a temporal sequence as in (11), a linear textual succession as in (12), an order from top to bottom in a conceptual hierarchy in the sense of *further* in (13), and furthermore to express a logical combination of conditions as in (14) and to mark a conclusion as in (15).

4.3 P-value

To identify similarities and differences in main cohesive types between Erich's written and spoken texts and GECCo written and spoken, we calculate the p-value applying Pearson's chi-square test (significance analysis) for

different pairs of subcorpora. If the p-value is lower than 0.05, the difference between the subcorpora under analysis is significant.

	Reference	Substitution	Conjunction	TOTAL
ERICH_SPOKEN vs. ERICH_WRITTEN	< 2.2e-16	0.0923	5.824e-05	< 2.2e-16
GECCO_SPOKEN vs. GECCO_WRITTEN	< 2.2e-16	0.06005	0.003865	< 2.2e-16
ERICH_WRITTEN vs. GECCO_WRITTEN	< 2.2e-16	0.001608	0.8169	< 2.2e-16
ERICH_SPOKEN vs. GECCO_SPOKEN	< 2.2e-16	0.546	1.447e-05	< 2.2e-16
ERICH_WRITTEN vs. ETRANS_GECCO	< 2.2e-16	3.853e-07	0.00517	< 2.2e-16
ERICIH_SPOKEN vs. ETRANS_GECCO	< 2.2e-16	0.06428	8.401e-07	< 2.2e-16

Table 8: Significance analysis

The results of the significance analysis show that differences between written and spoken texts produced by Erich are greater than between written and spoken texts in GECCo. This may be explained by the influence of Erich's mother tongue (German), as the difference between written and spoken English is said to be less prominent than the one between written and spoken German. Yet, as noted above it may also indicate a more conscious use of English cohesion in Erich's written texts.

Looking at the figures for the different cohesive types, we observe most commonalities for the category of substitution, for Erich written vs. spoken, for spoken and written GECCo, ERICH_SPOEKN vs. GECCO_SPOKEN, as well as Erich spoken vs. Etrans. In terms of conjunctive relations, Erich's written texts are similar to written registers in GECCo.

In the next step, we perform statistical hierarchical cluster analysis, with the help of which we hope to identify which subcorpora are more similar to each other.

4.4 Cluster Analysis

In hierarchical cluster analysis, a set of dissimilarities (calculated by the Euclidean distance, i.e. distance between data sets, in our case between

subcorpora under analysis) for n objects being clustered is used. Initially, each object (subcorpus) is assigned to its own cluster and then the algorithm proceeds iteratively, at each stage joining the two most similar clusters, continuing until there is just a single cluster, as shown in figure 2. The statistics behind hierarchical cluster analysis quantifies how far apart (or similar) two (sets of) subcorpora are. Thus, the subcorpora which are similar to each other have a common node on the tree. We link subcorpora together and aggregate larger clusters of increasingly dissimilar elements. Finally, on the top node, all clusters are joined together. So, analysing the tree represented on figure 2, we start with the lowest nodes and join them up to the top. On the left side, we have ERICH_SPOKEN and EO_GECCO_SPOKEN, which are members of the same cluster, whereas ERICH_WRITTEN is linked with the cluster of EO_GECCO_WRITTEN with ETRANS_GECCO on the right side. This means that in terms of cohesive devices, the written subcorpora of GECCo are more similar between each other than Erich's written texts. However, the spoken part of GECCo has more similarities with Erich's speeches. According to the linkage distance, which is denoted by axis, we have a ranking of similarity:

EO_GECCO_WRITTEN and ETRANS_GECCO_WRITTEN \rightarrow ERICH_SPOKEN and EO_GECCO_SPOKEN \rightarrow ERICH_WRITTEN and GECCO_WRITTEN \rightarrow SPOKEN and WRITTEN.

On the one hand, this means that distributions of cohesive devices reveal more differences between written vs. spoken dimensions than between Erich's texts and those from GECCo. On the other hand, the fact that spoken texts cluster together can be explained by the registers they belong to. Both EO_GECCO_SPOKEN and ERICH_SPOKEN contain academic speeches, whereas EO_GECCO_WRITTEN and ETRANS_GECCO_WRITTEN consist of registers that differ from Erich's academic writings. We assume that the popular scientific texts in GECCo may exhibit most commonalities to "purely" written scientific texts in general. To prove these assumptions, we need a more detailed analysis of the texts contained in the subcorpora, which we perform in the next step.

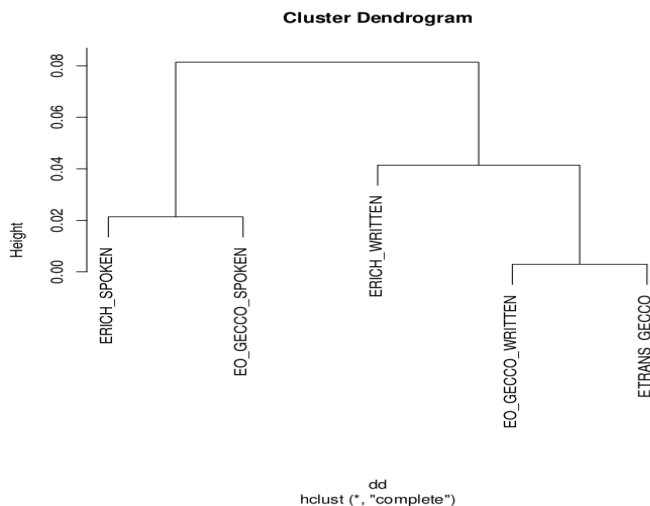


Figure 2: Hierarchical cluster analysis for subcorpora

Figure 3 demonstrates a more detailed clustering analysis. Here we compare the distribution of cohesive devices across all texts under analysis. If we analyse different texts produced by Erich, we see that both colloquium speeches cluster together and merge to a bigger cluster which also includes both fictional texts (original and translation), as well as political essays and translated political speeches. The similarity with the fictional texts and political speeches is clear – these registers are on the border between written and spoken dimensions. Political essays belong to written registers, however, we expect them to have similar means of argumentation, or discourse construction.

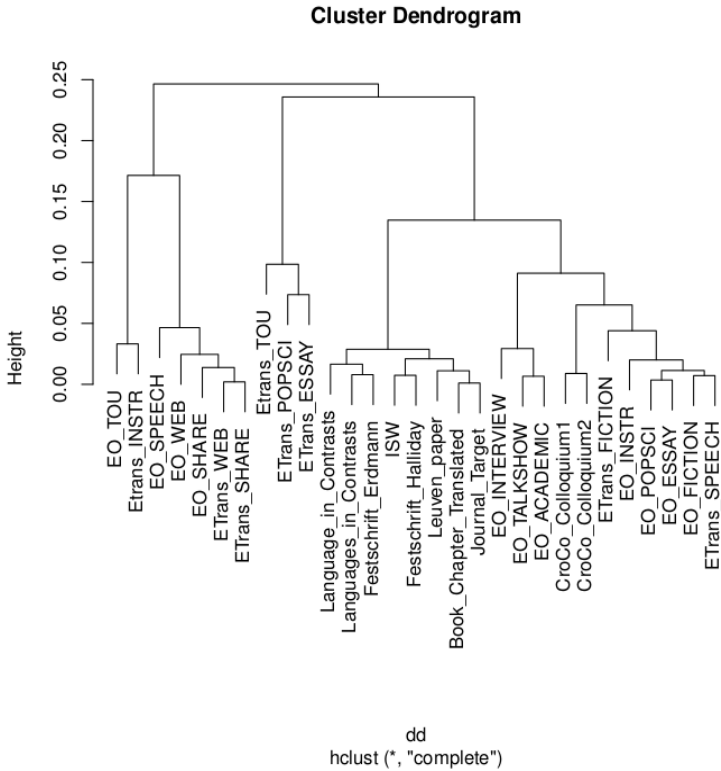


Figure 3: Hierarchical cluster analysis for source texts

The cluster then merges up with the three registers of GECCO_SPOKEN. Hence Erich's spoken texts seem to exhibit slightly more similarities to fictional texts and political speeches and essays than with GECCO_SPOKEN and spoken academic texts, in particular. This seems to corroborate our earlier observations and may again be a manifestation of experiential domain and goal orientation (see section 4.1). However, to prove this, we need a more detailed analysis of cohesive relations. Moving up the tree, this cluster joins with another one which is set up of texts from the spoken part of GECCO. The next node joins this cluster with the one containing Erich's written texts. Hence the latter seem to differ somehow from the written texts in GECCO and also to the popular scientific texts, in particular. These contrasts may either be due to the specific register properties of academic writing, or be a reflection

of Erich's individual style. As Erich's texts do not cluster with translations we can exclude language interference as explanatory background.

4.5 Correspondence analysis

As cluster analysis does not allow tracing which features contribute to the grouping of subcorpora and texts under analysis, we apply correspondence analysis, cf. Baayen (2008), which provides a low-dimensional map of the data. First, distances (differences) between rows (subcorpora), and distances between columns (cohesive devices) are calculated. In the second step, these distances are represented in a low-dimensional map. The larger the differences between subcorpora, the further these subcorpora are on the map. Likewise, dissimilar cohesive devices are far apart. Proximity between columns and rows (subcorpora and cohesive devices) in the merged map is as good an approximation as possible of the correlation between them.

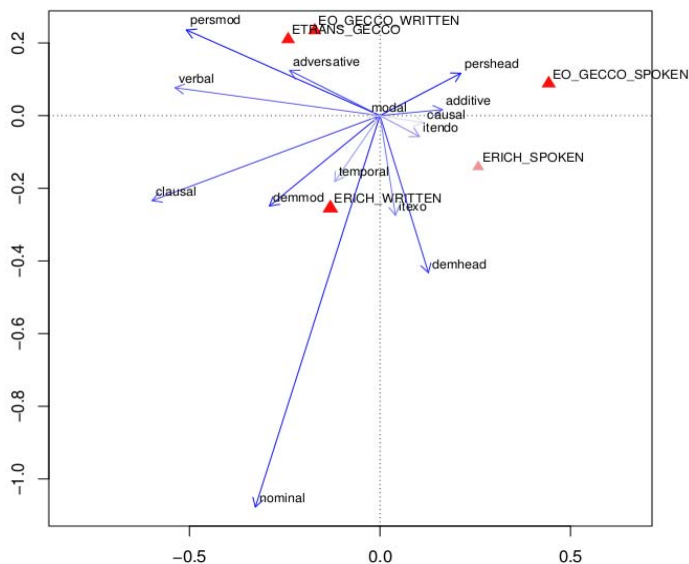


Figure 4: Correspondence analysis: 1 and 2

We use the *ca* package (cf. Nenadic and Greenacre, 2007) to perform correspondence analysis in the R environment. The output of the correspondence analysis is plotted into a two dimensional graph with arrows representing the observed frequencies of cohesive devices and triangles representing the subcorpora. The triangle position to the arrows and their length allow us to interpret their correlation. The length of the arrows indicates how pronounced a cohesive device is, see Jensen and McGillivray (2012) for details. The position of the triangles in relation to the arrows indicates the relative importance of a cohesive device for a subcorpus. The arrows pointing in the direction of an axis indicate a high contribution to the respective dimension. Figure 4 shows the graph for ERICH_WRITTEN, ERICH_SPOKEN and GECCO_WRITTEN and GECCO_SPOKEN.

Concerning the *x*-axis, we see the clear distinction between written and spoken subcorpora, which we already observed in 4.2. The features, which contribute to this division, include additive and causal conjunctive relations, personal reference with a head function, as well as verbal and clausal substitution. Hence, for Erich's subcorpora largely correspond to English conventions of realizing cohesion in terms of mode.

However, we note a separation between Erich's texts and those from the subcorpora of GECCO with respect to the *y*-axis. Most prominent cohesive devices here are nominal substitution and demonstrative reference with a head function. Other relevant devices are *it*_{exophoric} and demonstrative modifier, especially for ERICH_WRITTEN. We again assume that this may mainly reside from Erich's individual style rather than language interference, particularly because ERICH_WRITTEN and ETRANS_WRITTEN seem to diverge with respect to the frequency of several cohesive devices.

5 Conclusions and outlook

In the corpus-based analysis described above we attempted a comparison of texts produced by Erich Steiner with the English subcorpora contained in GECCO. We applied a combination of methodologies in order to approach the research questions raised in the introduction: Do instantiations of cohesion found in Erich's texts mainly reflect a) features of cohesion in English, b) English register features, c) features of mode, d) Features of interference of native language or e) individuality?

The central observation we would like to highlight as a conclusion is that Erich's texts are special in many respects. We assume that this individuality becomes even more evident if our research is expanded. Yet, we have come

to realise that our study into the nature of Erich's texts may never be complete, as is the case with all research. The endeavor to grasp the cohesiveness of Erich's texts in all its complexity could go on forever. In order to provide a comprehensive picture, we would have to include all types of cohesion and expand our research to ellipsis and lexical cohesion. And more intention would have to be paid to the investigation of the cohesive relations signaled by cohesive devices. Furthermore, we would have to analyse all texts that Erich has produced so far and will produce in the future. The German part of GECCo would have to be included in order to really identify German language conventions in Erich's texts. In addition, a comparison of Erich's text with SASCITEX would provide an insight into commonalities and contrasts in terms of academic texts of various research disciplines. And finally, but this may then turn out not to be the final point in the end, more qualitative and quantitative analysis are required to tap into other contrastive aspects such as one-word vs. multi-word constructions, breadth of variation, chain size, distance in chains, syntactic function and position of antecedents and anaphors, etc.

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The comparative linguistics of absence

A fraction of the story of a discourse particle

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Abstract

What happens to comparative linguistics when one of the languages of the comparison possesses a feature that the other language seems not to possess? Compilers of bilingual dictionaries and grammars are prone in such circumstances to rely on introspection (their own and others') to provide some sort of best fit equivalent for the problematic feature. However, translational data is arguably superior to introspection in these cases, because a translator, who is forced to deal with the problematic category somehow, has available a wealth of evidence not available to the introspector, in the form, often, of numerous examples of the problematic category in use in living language – data, moreover, which has been produced without having in mind any kind of foregrounding of the problematic category, such as outright questioning might produce, other than that which its problematic nature as such may engender. I illustrate my claim with reference to the Danish discourse particle, jo, which I have previously written about (Malmkjær 1999). Here, I summarise the earlier research and seek to add further evidence in support of the hypotheses formed there.

1 Comparative linguistics and translation

Comparative linguistics happens when descriptive linguistics (“the description and analysis of the ways in which a language operates and is used by a given set of speakers at a given time” (Robins 1964/1989, 4)) of two or more languages are compared; and according to Comrie (1981/1989, 229):

Work on linguistics, of whatever branch or whatever theoretical persuasion, requires reliable descriptions of languages, indeed reliable descriptions of a wide range of languages, if any progress is to be made

by linguistics as the unified study of language as a general phenomenon.

Some translation scholars place translational activities among the kinds of work on language that require comparative descriptions of language; in fact, at least one has gone so far as to claim that since “The theory of translation is concerned with a certain type of relation between languages” it is “a branch of Comparative Linguistics” (Catford 1965, 20). More cautiously, Toury (1980, 29) has suggested that “an exhaustive contrastive description of the languages involved is a precondition for any systematic study of translations” (Toury 1980, 29), because the description enables the theorist to foresee possible relationships between terms/texts/text-parts in the two languages. It is necessary to make such predictions both to justify relating certain Target Text parts to certain Source Text parts rather than to others, and to explain the significance of the actual relationships between the (parts of) the Target Text and its Source Text, which rather often are not in fact the predicted relationships.

However, it has also been claimed, on the borderline between linguistics and translation studies, that it is impossible to do comparative linguistics without examining the mutual translatability of the languages concerned (Jakobson 1959, 233-4):

No linguistic specimen may be interpreted by the science of language without a translation of its signs into other signs of the same system or into signs of another system. Any comparison of two languages implies an examination of their mutual translatability.

The juxtaposition of these two declarations, Toury’s and Jakobson’s, can seem to raise a worrying spectre: if translation studies presupposes comparative linguistics, and if the science of language requires examination of the mutual translatability of languages, how can either project get under way? In practice, desk-based providers of descriptions of languages tend to use introspection or, these days, corpora (which of course display the intuitions of the creators of the texts in them), while field linguists still tend to follow Sapir’s practice (1921, Ch. 5) of using informants to provide translations of stretches of language.

The use of translation corpora has been questioned by for example Lauridsen (1996), according to whom (1996, 67)

One should refrain from using translation corpora unless the purpose of the linguistic analysis is either to evaluate the translation process or

to criticise the translation product on the basis of a given translation theory.

Lauridsen argues this on the grounds that translations often display interference from the source language and/or source text. She gives the example of the appearance in a text translated into Danish from English of the expression “Men så igen”, deriving from the English “but then again”, which, as Lauridsen rightly points out, is completely unnatural in this sense in Danish.

In favour of translation corpora, though, one might argue that such a corpus can produce insights into the meanings and functions of terms which it would be more difficult (I hesitate to say “impossible”) to obtain from introspection or from a monolingual corpus, and which the examination of a monolingual corpus would be less likely to lead the investigator towards. After all, a translator has to manage expressions in the source text somehow, and those expressions are live, so to speak, appearing in naturally occurring discourse, rather than as isolated sample sentences in grammars and dictionaries. In Malmkjær (1999) I undertook a study of the representation in a translation into English of the Danish discourse particle, *jo*, which has something, at least, in common with German *ja*, and which is not to be confused with the Danish word of the same shape which is used to contradict a negative utterance and which is more akin to the German *doch* – see example (1)

- (1) “Der findes ingen dronter” (there are no dodos).
 “**Jo**, der gør, og her er et billede af en.” (yes, there are, and here is a picture of one)

This article represents an attempt to test the methodology I employed then by examining a second translation by the same translator of a second text by the same author. My results are not conclusive, but they do, I think, bring to the fore, once again, interesting questions about the use of translation corpora which have not been raised recently as far as I am aware.

2 Discourse particles

According to Davidsen-Nielsen (1992, 32)

Unlike the German particles, the Danish discourse particles have not attracted a great deal of attention, and they have rightly been characterized as the stepchildren of Danish linguistics. As they are a very characteristic feature of the grammar of Danish and are extensively used in interactive language, not only spoken but also written, this is to

be regretted. The fact that they constitute a well-known stumbling block to foreign learners of Danish is an additional reason why they deserve attention, and so is the fact that they are notoriously difficult to translate.

In spite of the translation difficulty Davidsen-Nielsen alludes to, it is of course common practice, in grammars and dictionaries, to provide some sort of guidance, and for the discourse particle *jo*, Allan *et al* (1995, 366-7) suggest “(as) you know” as a possible translation equivalent. The sentence “Tom er *jo* en flink fyr” is given in English as “Tom’s a nice chap, you know”, and “Han er *jo* i London” as “He’s in London, you know”. Both Axelsen’s Danish-English dictionary (1984, 239) and Routledge’s *Danish Dictionary* (1991, 477) concur, although the Routledge dictionary also provides an example where *jo* is translated with a tag question:

Du kan ~ ikke lide ham you don’t like him, do you

The “(as) you know” equivalent is probably so popular because *jo* is considered to be hearer-oriented (Davidsen-Nielsen 1992, 8), giving “you”; and to express the speaker’s presupposition that the information conveyed is shared by the hearer (Davidsen-Nielsen, 1993, 9), giving “know”. However, of the 50 occurrences of *jo* in Høeg (1993) only 1 is translated as “you know” by Haveland (1994). 21 occurrences (42%) do not have an overt equivalent in the Target Text at all. The remainder are translated as follows: “after all” (8 occurrences); “well” (7 occurrences); “of course” (5 occurrences); 1 occurrence each of the intensifiers “certainly” + emphatic “did”, emphatic “did” on its own; “just”, “has to”, “was bound to”; “but then”, a tag question, and “you see”. In other words, the applied linguistics literature’s preferred translation equivalent accounts for 2% of the data (1 instance in 50).

There are at least two possible reasons for these findings. It is possible that the translator has got all of the other examples wrong, although it is unlikely, since Barbara Haveland works closely with the author who might be expected to object if the translation did not reflect his intentions (as he did in the case of another translator’s translation of an earlier novel; Guido Waldman, personal communication); besides, the text reads rather well in English. A second possible reason is that the grammar and dictionaries do not tell the whole story about (i) the meaning and function of *jo* and/or about (ii) its potential translation equivalents, and that the translator is nearer the mark. To support this hypothesis, I suggested (Malmkjær 1999, 44-63) that the translator is consistent in her provision of equivalents, and that she relates

these systematically to the context and co-text for the occurrences of *jo*, as I will show in the following section.

3 *Jo* and its translations

3.1 The earlier novel

The findings reported in Malmkjær (1999) include the following, for the occurrences of *jo* in Høeg (1993 the original) and Haveland (1994 the translation):

Jo is translated with “after all”, as in example (2) (numbers after the text are page numbers) when the text that follows “after all” (here *he had been hitting children regularly for forty years*) is evidence for the conclusion expressed in the text that precedes “after all” (here *He certainly did have experience*):

- (2) *Han havde jo erfaringen, han havde jo slået børn jævnlgt gennem 40 år* (11)
He certainly did have experience, after all he had been hitting children regularly for forty years (6)

In the translation into English, evidentiality is explicitly signalled by “after all”. In the Danish original, it is apparently signalled more subtly by the use of *jo* within the evidential clause. The signal appears more subtle because *jo* is monosyllabic and unstressed, but of course native speakers’ ears and minds are fine tuned to notice this small indicator of evidentiality.

The occurrence of *jo* in the first Danish clause in this example has been translated with the emphatic “certainly did”. Notice, that if it is correct, as Davidsen-Nielsen claims, that *jo* is hearer oriented, then it would be rather odd to translate it with “certainly did”, which suggests certainty on the part of the speaker, rather than a sharing of understanding with the audience (which of course it does not preclude; it just does not signal it). But it is not at all clear that *jo* has any audience-orientation in the source text fragment in question; it is, rather, a subtle way of indicating that the speaker/writer has evidence for their own claim, so its orientation is towards the speaking/writing self. This is a suggestion which my additional data will be shown to support. But this hypothesis aside, it is obvious that the published translation is vastly preferable to “He had the experience, you know. He had been hitting children regularly for forty years, you know”, which a slavish adherence to the grammar and dictionaries might result in.

Jo is translated with “well”, as in example (3) when the text following “well” is a cause of the consequence presented in the text preceding “well”:

- (3) *Hendes stemme var hæs af søvn, jeg havde jo vækket hende* (81)
Her voice was husky with sleep. Well, I had woken her up (69)

Cause

I had woken her up

Consequence

Her voice was husky with sleep

In this instance, reader orientation is indeed an element of the meaning and function of *jo* along with the argument-signalling function, since it is two pages since the waking of the girl (Katarina) was narrated, so that a reminder is apposite; but even so, it is perfectly possible to suggest that the narrator is also reminding himself of the reason for Katarina’s huskiness of voice.

Jo is translated with “of course”, as in example (4) when the clause carrying “of course” rescinds a concession, so that a line of argument initially established is re-established:

- (4) *Men man så ingen udvej. Indtil jeg traf Katarina. Men derefter brød alt jo sammen* (226)
But you saw no way out. Until I met Katarina. But then, of course, everything fell apart (204)

Main (1)

I saw no way out

Concession

I met Katarina

Main (2)

But then everything fell apart

In this example, too, both reader and narrator may be being reminded of the facts or the story, in addition to having the return to the main line of narration signalled by means of *jo* in Danish and “of course” in English.

There were 21 instances in which *jo* seemed not to have been translated at all, as in example (5)

- (5) *Det tænker man jo ikke normalt over, at der er liv i et menneske* (24)
It isn’t something you normally think about, that there is life in a person (18)

To the extent that it is correct that *jo* is a hearer-oriented particle which expresses the speaker’s presupposition that the information conveyed is shared by the hearer (Davidsen-Nielsen 1992, 8), we can suppose that in Danish, where the use of this common ground marker is very common, it would seem stark, abrupt, or even insulting to simply state information which is shared without using the marker, because that would suggest that the speaker assumed that the information was *new* to the interlocutor, and this would

threaten their face. But in English, which does not have the discourse particles, it is quite acceptable to state certain types of information, which can be assumed shared, without marking it explicitly as shared; in fact, marking it as such would suggest that the hearer needs reminding of the obvious fact that the information is already in their domain, and *that* would threaten their face.

I therefore argued (Malmkjær 1999, 58) that when *jo* actually has *only* the function which Davidsen-Nielsen outlines for it as predominant, and which the grammar and dictionaries echo in their examples with ‘you know’, then it need not be translated and translating it can give the misleading impression that the speaker/writer is adopting an overbearing or even insulting attitude towards the hearer/reader. But when *jo* has the additional function of signalling an argument structure, it is safe to translate it into English and an element may be lost if it is not translated. Further, we ought to interpret the linguistics literature’s preferred “equivalent” not as a recommendation for a surface realisation in English of what *jo* conveys, but rather as the English expression which, in isolation, most accurately encapsulates the basic meaning and function of *jo*.

I will not discuss the remaining translations of *jo* dealt with in Malmkjær (1999) since there were only a few examples of each. The instances discussed above account for 41 of the 50 examples, and in the remainder of this article, I would like to test out my earlier hypotheses by examining the same translator’s treatment of *jo* in her translation (Haveland 1997) of another, rather different novel by the same author (Høeg 1996). Aside from differences in subject matter (Høeg 1993 deals with the Danish state’s method of dealing with potentially failing, troubled children; Høeg (1996) deals with relations between humans and other animals) the two novels differ in that Høeg (1993) has a first person narrator, who is one of the characters in the novel. Some of his uses of *jo* are found in the narration and others in the reported dialogue between characters, whereas Høeg (1996) is narrated by an omniscient narrator, and all of the instances of *jo* are found in character dialogue; none occurs in the narration. Partly for this reason, perhaps, there are fewer instances of *jo* in the later than in the earlier novel.

3.2 The later novel

There are 19 instances of *jo* in Høeg (1996). Of these, two (examples 6 and 7 below) clearly fulfil the function of indicating that the speaker believes that the hearer shares the information being conveyed, although in both examples, there is also a clear self-orientation:

- (6) *Her hos Jer er der, sagde den, —jo ingenting der er helt gratis (200)*
“But then,” it said, “With you people nothing’s for free.” (202)
- (7) *Vi har jo ikke haft lejlighed til at tale om Deres livsførelse (207)*
Now I know we’ve had no chance to talk about your life (209)

One example, (8) below, is translated with “of course”:

- (8) *Deres intelligens er jo indiskutabel (218)*
Their intelligence is, of course, not in dispute (222).

The context for example (8), however, does not correspond to the patterns identified in the earlier novel, where “of course” was used to signal a rescinding of a concession; here, we are rather dealing with a justification of a preceding statement (that there may have been up to 1000 apes in the government).

There is one example, (9) below, translated with “well”:

- (9) *Til sidst, når der manglede en snes brikker, altid af himlen – der var jo 3000 brikker blå himmel, praktisk taget ens – (218)*
Eventually, when there were only a couple of dozen pieces left, always of the sky – well, there were three thousand pieces of blue sky, all virtually identical (221)

Example (9) fully corresponds to the translations with “well” in the earlier novel: *jo* introduces a reminder of a cause for the situation mentioned in the clause preceding the clause with *jo*.

Haveland (1997) provides no obvious equivalent for the following seven examples of *jo*:

- (10) *Og alt dette tilsammen, disse mere end 20 millioner levende væsner er jo kun omtrent halvdelen (69)*
And all of this, all of these twenty million-plus living creatures are not even the half of it (67)
- (11) *Oprindeligt var vi jo bare en fire-fem mand (101)*
There used to be just four or five of us (101)
- (12) *Vi skulle aldrig have forladt det. Selv om der jo også er problemer. For at nå en dybereliggende lokalitet skal nålen jo bakses ned gennem det overliggende væv (108-9)*
We should never have dropped that system, even though it too has its drawbacks. In order to get at a spot farther in the needle has to be worked through the overlying tissue (108)

- (13) *Ja. Men man håber jo (108)*
I know, but it doesn't stop you hoping (107)
- (14) *Og sponsorerne ville jo se resultater (108)*
And the sponsors were looking for results (107)
- (15) *Til daglig flyver tankerne jo (113)*
Most of the time your thoughts flit about all over the place (112)

The instances of *jo* in examples (10), (11) and (12) above can only be self-addressed by the speaker to the speaker, because the speaker has the information in question and is conveying it to someone who has definitely not got it. There is no question that the addressees know the information, and nor is it likely, in the context of the story, that the speakers would like to make the listeners feel comfortable by pretending that they have the information already. In example (10), the translator adds “unnecessary verbiage” in the sense that “*kun omtrent halvdelen*” could be rendered as “only about half”, whereas it is rendered as “not even the half of it”. The more elaborate and somewhat colloquial “not even the half of it” captures some of the amazement that the self-referring *jo* expresses here. This brings example (10) close to those from the earlier study where *jo* was translated with emphatic expressions. In example (11), too, colloquialisation is used, as “*Oprindeligt*”, which means “originally” is translated into “There used to”; but example (11) in fact fits into a larger stretch of discourse (see examples 16), where it is preceded by a sentence with *jo* which is translated as “well of course”, using two of the translations identified in the earlier study at once:

- (16) *Hvordan går det hos Veterinærpolitiet, spurgte hun. ...*
–Det er jo blevet et større sted, sagde han. – Oprindeligt var vi jo bare en fire-fem mand. Nu har vi også væddeløbssporten, alle doping-sagerne. (101)
“So how’s everything down at the veterinary police headquarters?” she asked ...
“Well of course it’s a big place now. There used to be just four or five of us. Now we have the race meet, all the doping cases... (100-101)

Example 16 is interesting in terms of the narrative. The addressee, Smailes, feels challenged and surprised by the question, posed by a character called Madelene. Smailes is surprised that Madelene has realised that he is a member of the veterinary police, but he is playing along with the idea that she knows this. It is arguable, therefore, that, here, Smailes’s *jo* indicates a

pretence that Madelene shares his more detailed knowledge about the place too. However, Smailes is also well aware that Madelene is not in the least interested in information about his place of work, and that this preliminary exchange between them is merely a prologue to a more serious enquiry; he pauses before he responds, and his response is simply an invitation for her to get to the real point of their conversation. There are no similar situations in the earlier novel, and no instance in its translation of “well of course”. In example (12), the translator renders an expression which could be conveyed as “there are [*jo*] also problems” as “it too has its drawbacks”. This example, in the original, closely resembles example (3) above, which was from the earlier study, where the clause carrying “of course” rescinded a concession. But in example (12), the return to the main line of argument never happens because in the narrative here, the speaker becomes distracted.

The remaining three examples (13, 14 and 15) without an overt translation could be understood as cases where the information is too obvious for it to be appropriate to remind the English reader that they know it already, as I argued for the examples from the earlier study (see example 5 above). However, they, as well as the first three examples from the novel discussed just above (6, 7 and 8) differ from the examples from the earlier novel insofar as they derive from within extensive stretches of reported speech, with clusters of expressions containing *jo*:

- (17) *Der skulle nok mere til end magnetisk skanning, sagde hun.*
 — *Ja. Men man håber jo. Det er vel menneskeligt? Vi håber til det sidste. Men til sidst var det jo umuligt. Det man måler er jo iltforbruget. Og der er ingen model for sammenhængen mellem iltforbruget og hjerneaktivitet. ... Så vi gik tilbage til de gamle metoder. Bare i udstyr havde vi jo for over 80 millioner dollars. Og sponsorerne ville jo se resultater. Så vi gik tilbage til nålene (108)*
“I think it would take more than magnetic scanning to do that,” She said.
“I know, but it doesn't stop you hoping. It's only human, isn't it? Right to the last we keep hoping. But in the end it just couldn't be done. Because what is measured is the oxygen consumption. And there is no formula for the relationship between oxygen and cerebral activity....So we reverted to the old methods. Well, we had over eight million dollars invested in equipment alone. And the sponsors were looking for results. So back we went to the needles.” (107)

There were no such clusters in the earlier novel, so it is difficult to compare the examples precisely.

This leaves the following examples (18 to) from Høeg (1996) and Haveland (1996):

- (18) *Mrs Clapham havde ellers bagt, sagde hun. – Kræmmerhuse med flødeskum. Men dem kan jeg jo spise med bavianen. Når den vågner* (20).
“But Mrs Clapham baked some pastries,” she said. “Cream horns. Oh, well, I can always eat them with the baboon. When it wakes up.” (19)

In example (18), it is difficult to pinpoint the translation equivalent for *jo*, although “always” is the best candidate in my view, while “Oh, well” stands in for “*men*” (but). “Always” was not an equivalent for *jo* at any point in the earlier novel.

- (19) *Madelene, der jo heller ikke er noget* (27).
 “Madelene, who is nothing really.” (25)

The instance of *jo* in example (19) is arguably the most problematic for a translator in the entire novel. The example reports an expression habitually used by Madelene’s father, who respects no one who has not made their own way in the world, to refer to her in company. “*Heller ikke*” means “not either”, so, strictly speaking, the translation should read “who isn’t anything either”, but this would presuppose a previous expression of similarly disapproving reference to someone else, which the original does not contain explicitly. The translator has opted for an “improvement” compared to the original, by eschewing the potential illogicality (which, however, could just as well be seen as an implication that most people are nothing); she softens it with “really”, but there is no softening in the original – quite the opposite, if we assume that Madelene’s father expresses, by his use of *jo*, that he assumes that everyone already knows that Madelene is nothing.

- (20) *Således ser jeg imidlertid ikke på den. Slagterierne er jo kun en mindre del af fenomenet* (69)
 That, however, is not how I see it. **Because** the slaughterhouses are only one small part of the story (67)

“Because” was not used as a translation equivalent for *jo* in the translation of the earlier novel, where, as discussed above, causality was signalled for *jo* by means of the translation equivalent, “well”. The original in example (20) could also be read as an instance where the clause with *jo* contains the evidence for the view expressed in the preceding utterance, but the expression

for this case used by the translator in the earlier novels was “after all”. The same is true for examples (21) and (22):

- (21) *Hvad der var hårdt var at være alene. Man hørte jo ingenting* (112)
The hard bit was being alone. **Because** there wasn’t a sound to be heard (112).
- (22) *Det man måler er jo iltforbruget* (108)
Because what is measured is the oxygen consumption (107)

Example (23) is the example par excellence of translating *jo* as an indication of audience orientation: “when you think”, where the audience may well include the speaker, given the deep ambiguity of referent for “you” in English. Had the habits of translating from the earlier novel been observed, I would have expected “after all” here except that *Og* (and) could be understood to signal the introduction of new information. It could, however, just as well be understood to remind the listener of information already available to them.

- (23) *Med den kan man se alt hvad der foregår i hjernen med et millisekunds nøjagtighed. Det er fabelagtigt. Og det her er jo bevægeligt udstyr* (106)
That way you can see everything that’s going on in the brain, down to the last millisecond. It’s fantastic. And when you think that this is a piece of mobile equipment (105)

4 Conclusions?

The hypotheses I reported from my earlier study are only fairly weakly supported by this later study, in part because of the low number of occurrences of the term of interest, *jo*, in the later novel, and in part, perhaps, because of the tendency for the term to occur in several utterances in close succession in the later novel. However, it is the case that there is at least as much self-reference as hearer-orientation implied in the uses of *jo* in both studies – although clearly this is difficult to measure with any degree of precision. It is also true that the examples where *jo* is translated with “well” have the same function in both sets of text. It is difficult to say exactly what implications arise from this. I do not doubt the findings from the earlier study; the translator was consistent in her renderings of *jo* in the various kinds of context outlined there and summarised here. But what is more doubtful is whether the translator’s choices in the earlier study show anything generalizable about the meanings

of *jo*, considering that the translator does not replicate her uses in the second translation. The later novel (Høeg 1996) was translated a mere three years after the earlier one (Høeg 1993). Does this follow-up study, in conjunction with the original study cast doubt on the notion of translator style? Do the differences between the two novels have any role to play? Should we re-think the uses to which translation corpora can be put?

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„Le Déjeuner sur l’herbe“ Lost in Translation

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Abstract

Among specialists it is generally known that machine translation is still far from attaining the quality of human translation and must be controlled by a human translator in order to avoid serious mistakes. The easy accessibility of machine translation programmes in the internet, however, has led to the uncontrolled use of such programmes and to the publication of “translations” that can only be understood by “retranslating” them into the original language. This development gave rise to the impression that translations get worse all the time, whereas in reality the programmes are constantly being improved. The article analyses an example of such a “translation”. It traces the genesis of the “translation” and discusses the linguistic aspects involved.

1 Einleitung

Für die Zeichen der menschlichen Sprache als des wahrscheinlich elaboriertesten Zeichensystems gilt, wie für alle Zeichen, die alte Definition „aliquid stat pro aliquo”.² Zur besseren Differenzierung sei dies indexiert geschrieben als „aliquid(1) stat pro aliquo(2)”, wobei „aliquid(1)”, das sprachliche Zeichen, sprachspezifisch ist, „aliquid(2)” dagegen, seine Bedeutung, wenn man nicht der starken Form der Sapir-Whorf’schen Theorie (der sprachlichen

¹ Ich danke den zahlreichen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die sich bemüht haben, das hier beschriebene Übersetzungsprodukt mit ihrem linguistischen Sachverstand zu enträtseln, zu meiner Freude durchwegs ohne Erfolg. Des Weiteren danke ich den unbekanntem Programmierern von *Babel Fish*, die das Entstehen dieses Übersetzungsprodukts überhaupt erst ermöglicht haben. Als *caveat* ist dem Beitrag, wenngleich aus ganz anderen Gründen als im zitierten Text, folgende Bemerkung vorzuschicken: „The following contribution may legitimately be considered somewhat unusual for a Festschrift” (Steiner 1996: 53).

² Für diesen Beitrag kann die außersprachliche Komponente des Zeichenmodells, die in der ebenfalls traditionellen Definition „voces significant res mediantibus conceptibus” zum Ausdruck kommt, vernachlässigt werden; vgl. dazu Harras/Herrmann/Grabowski (1996).

Relativitätstheorie) anhängt, mehr oder weniger „sprachneutral“ gedacht wird.³ In einer zunehmend globalisierten und damit vielsprachigen Welt, die zwangsläufig immer mehr mit Übersetzungen konfrontiert ist,⁴ wäre es wünschenswert, ein sprachspezifisches „aliquid(1a)“ auf seine sprachneutrale Entsprechung „aliquid(2)“ zurückzuführen (wofür es steht), um diese von dort wieder in ein beliebiges anderes sprachspezifisches „aliquid(1b)“ zu übersetzen. Dies würde die Arbeit in mehrsprachigen Umgebungen erheblich erleichtern.⁵ In der EU mit gegenwärtig 24 offiziellen und Arbeitssprachen müssen unter der idealisierenden Annahme unidirektionaler Sprachpaare 24 x 23, d.h. 552 mögliche Kombinationen berücksichtigt werden;⁶ bei Nutzung einer sprachneutralen Ebene würde sich die Zahl der Kombinationen auf 2 x 24, d.h. 48 reduzieren.

Die Suche nach einer sprachneutralen Ebene ist aber auch wissenschafts-immanent begründet. Die Sprachwissenschaft ist die einzige Wissenschaft, die das Objekt der Analyse gleichzeitig als Mittel nutzen muss: man spricht mittels Sprache über Sprache. Die Differenzierung zwischen Meta- und Objektsprache, die sich in der Linguistik eingebürgert hat, löst das Problem nur unvollkommen, da man sich sehr gerne in der Ebene vergreift. Etwas besser, aber bei Weitem noch keine ideale Lösung ist das Verfahren, die analysierte Sprache mit Hilfe einer anderen Sprache zu beschreiben.

Die Suche nach einer sprachneutralen Ebene ist bis jetzt erfolglos geblieben. Historisch wurde sie lange Zeit hauptsächlich von philosophischer Seite betrieben, und zwar meist mit dem Ziel, eine apriorische (d.h. nicht auf bestehenden Sprachen aufbauende) Hilfssprache zu schaffen.⁷ Im 20.

³ In letzter Zeit hat die Konzeption des „linguistischen Determinismus“ allerdings wieder an Einfluss gewonnen, und zwar vor allem aufgrund psycholinguistischer Forschungen, vgl. dazu den Übersichtsartikel Wolff/Holmes (2011).

⁴ Nur scheinbar funktioniert in dieser Welt Englisch als *lingua franca*. Selbst die Realität des akademischen Lebens zeigt nur allzu oft das Illusorische dieser Vorstellung, von anderen Bereichen (etwa der Politik) ganz zu schweigen.

⁵ Aus einer ganz anderen Perspektive nähert sich der Jubilar diesem Problem: „Gibt es, mit anderen Worten, ein Supersystem, das Information, die in einzelsprachlichen Systemen repräsentiert ist, generalisiert, oder aus ihnen eine gemeinsame Semantik abstrahiert?“ (Steiner 1999: 493).

⁶ Das hat in der EU zur starken Ausbreitung des sogenannten Relais-Dolmetschens geführt, was natürlich die Qualität des Dolmetschprodukts nicht gerade verbessert (es sei hier an das bekannte Kinderspiel der „stillen Post“ erinnert).

⁷ Vgl. die chronologische Übersicht von Duličenko über „internationale Hilfssprachen“ (Duličenko 1990), die deutlich macht, dass ab dem 19. Jahrhundert fast nur noch aposteriori-sche und kaum mehr apriorische Projekte entwickelt wurden. Übrigens hatte die Sprachwissenschaft zu diesem Gebiet, das sie heute bestenfalls mit Herablassung betrachtet, früher ein

Jahrhundert machte sich dann die Sprachwissenschaft erneut auf die Suche nach diesem linguistischen Gral. Die generative Linguistik hatte zumindest theoretisch den Anspruch, sprachneutrale Beschreibungen zu entwickeln, und zwar sowohl in der (Morpho-)Syntax als auch in der Semantik. Die Wirklichkeit sah allerdings anders aus: die generative Syntax Chomskyscher Prägung ging erkennbar von den Gegebenheiten des Englischen aus,⁸ und selbst in einem wesentlich „sprachabstrakteren“ Projekt wie I. A. Mel'čuks «Smysl <=> Tekst»-Modell (Mel'čuk 1974) schimmerte das Russische als Bezugspunkt durch. Ähnliches galt für die generative Semantik.

Das Scheitern des Ansatzes ist wohl nirgends so deutlich geworden wie auf dem Gebiet der maschinellen Übersetzung. Theoretisch wird zwar immer wieder eine sprachneutrale „Interlingua“ postuliert, die aber bestenfalls knapp unterhalb der sprachspezifischen Oberfläche verharrt und von Sprachneutralität weit entfernt ist. Außerdem wird in letzter Zeit wieder vermehrt sprachübergreifend gedacht, so etwa im Konzept von „shared grammar“, doch ist auch hier die „Interlingua“ immer noch sehr sprachnah. Und die Realität der maschinellen Übersetzung ist jedenfalls sprachpaarbezogen. Verstärkt wird die Tendenz noch dadurch, dass heute vermehrt statistische Verfahren eingesetzt werden, in denen Sprachenpaarübergreifendes oder gar Sprachneutrales keinen Platz haben kann.

Die Ergebnisse jahrzehntelanger und intensiver Bemühungen auf dem Gebiet der maschinellen Übersetzung, die im deutschsprachigen Raum schon sehr früh gerade auch an der Universität des Saarlandes unternommen wurden, sind einigermaßen ernüchternd. Sie finden sich z.B. in den weitgehend sinnfreien „Übersetzungen“ von Gebrauchsanweisungen, die Billigprodukten beigegeben werden. Leider nehmen diese Phänomene in letzter Zeit zu, und zwar dadurch, dass maschinelle „Übersetzung“ heute kostenlos im Internet verfügbar ist. Damit wird praktisch jedermann in die Lage versetzt, beliebige

durchaus entkrampfteres Verhältnis: bekannte Linguisten wie J. Baudouin de Courtenay, O. Jespersen, N. Trubetzkoy beschäftigten sich damit (vgl. die Aufsatzsammlung Hauptenthal 1976). Und auch an der Universität des Saarlandes gab es eine entsprechende Tradition (M. Mangold, R. Hauptenthal).

⁸ Der (meist ohnehin nur deklaratorische) Bezug auf cartesianisches Gedankengut und auf die *Grammaire de Port-Royal* oder andere Beispiele von „grammaire générale“ (vgl. v.a. Chomsky 1966) hilft dabei nicht weiter, denn auch die *Grammaire de Port-Royal* saß dem Trugschluss auf, die jeweils eigene (sprachspezifische) oder aber die lateinische Grammatik als „grammaire générale“ anzusehen. Immerhin versuchte sie, einen gemeinsamen Nenner für die Grammatiken der klassischen Sprachen (hebräisch, griechisch, lateinisch) und diejenigen der „Vulgärsprachen“ (hauptsächlich die romanischen Sprachen) zu finden; im Allgemeinen dominieren aber Konzepte der französischen oder der lateinischen Sprache (v.a. im Bereich der Morphologie und Syntax, vgl. *Grammaire générale* 1660).

Texte „übersetzen“ zu lassen. Im Unterschied zu „Interactive Machine Translation (IMT)“, wo das maschinelle Ergebnis durch menschliche Übersetzungskompetenz permanent nachjustiert wird, geschieht das bei rein maschineller Übersetzung nicht, und das maschinelle Ergebnis wird ungeprüft übernommen und eingesetzt. Das hängt damit zusammen, dass bei den Endnutzern kein Problembewusstsein existiert, ebenso wenig die Möglichkeit, die Qualität des Übersetzungsprodukts einzuschätzen (sonst wäre wahrscheinlich gar kein Übersetzungsprogramm benutzt worden).⁹ Und weil es scheinbar so einfach ist, beliebige Texte übersetzen zu lassen, bevölkern zunehmend „Übersetzungen“ unsere sprachliche Welt, die zwar aus Morphemen der Zielsprache bestehen, aber nur dann verständlich sind, wenn man die Texte gedanklich in die Ausgangssprache rückübersetzt. Damit führen sie sich natürlich selbst *ad absurdum*. Der unkontrollierte Einsatz von Übersetzungsprogrammen mag der Grund sein, warum trotz ihrer eigentlich immer besser werdenden Qualität der Eindruck entsteht, man begegne immer häufiger schlechten oder sogar falschen Übersetzungen.

Meistens entlocken einem solche „Übersetzungsblüten“ ein Lächeln, besonders dann, wenn sie (unfreiwillig) komisch sind, und so kann man ihnen durchaus etwas Positives abgewinnen. Für die Sprachwissenschaft und speziell für die Übersetzungswissenschaft können sie außerdem einen zusätzlichen Nebeneffekt haben: fast täglich begegnen einem Beispiele, deren Analyse deutlich macht, was bei der maschinellen „Übersetzung“ schiefgegangen ist. Öfters führt das dazu, dass Unterschiede zwischen Ausgangs- und Zielsprache, die bisher keine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich zogen, bewusst werden, und das wiederum kann zu vertiefter sprachwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis führen. Im Folgenden soll ein konkretes Beispiel aus dem Sprachenpaar Französisch-Englisch behandelt werden (und da dies auf Deutsch geschieht, ist auch das Problem der Metasprache gelöst).

⁹ Es fehlt also „die Fähigkeit zu einem souveränen Umgang mit und zur kompetent kritischen Bewertung von Sprachtechnologien“, die bei Fachleuten vorausgesetzt wird (Steiner 1999: 498). Vielleicht wäre es sinnvoll, in Analogie zur Arzneimittelwerbung auf Risiken und Nebenwirkungen schlechter bzw. falscher Übersetzungen zu verweisen und die Konsultation von Fachleuten zu empfehlen. Für rein maschinell erstellte Übersetzungen könnte ein solcher Zusatz sogar verpflichtend gemacht werden.

2 Das Beispiel

An der Autobahnstrecke von Paris nach Strasbourg (A 4) findet man kurz vor Strasbourg die Raststätte Brumath. Sie war früher nach gut französischem Brauch ausschließlich französisch ausgeschildert. Im Rahmen einer Renovierung und möglicherweise auch eines Besitzerwechsels besann sich der Betreiber *Carrefour* auf die Vielsprachigkeit Europas und beschloss, die neue Beschilderung zweisprachig zu gestalten, d.h. französisch und englisch. Also wurden entsprechende Übersetzungen besorgt. Eine davon war zu schön, um wahr zu sein, und ich benutze sie seither als Testfrage für alle linguistisch Interessierten in meinem Bekanntenkreis¹⁰ und als abschreckendes Beispiel für den unreflektierten Einsatz maschineller Übersetzungen.

Die Testfrage lautet:

„Bei einem maschinell aus dem Französischen übersetzten Text auf einer Hinweistafel einer Autobahnraststätte lautete die englische Entsprechung „Spade screws”. Was stand in der französischen Vorlage?”

Bis heute habe ich auf diese Frage nie die richtige Antwort bekommen. Der Grund liegt wohl darin, dass alle Befragten mögliche Lösungen deswegen verwarfen, weil sie nicht mit dem mitgelieferten Kontext (Hinweistafel in einer Autobahnraststätte) kompatibel waren. Kontextfrei wäre durchaus eine mehr oder weniger sinnvolle Interpretation und damit Rekonstruktion der französischen Vorlage möglich, nämlich „Spatenschrauben”,¹¹ also französisch etwa „vis de bêche”.¹²

Das stand aber nicht auf der Hinweistafel.¹³ Dort hieß es (und der Titel dieses Beitrags weist auf die richtige Lösung hin) „Pique nique”.¹⁴

¹⁰ Ich fürchte, dass ich auch den Jubilar schon einmal damit belästigt habe. Immerhin hege ich die Hoffnung, dass er aufgrund der beruflich bedingten Informationsüberflutung die Angelegenheit vergessen hat. Wenn nicht, kann er vielleicht wenigstens der linguistischen Analyse, die bei der Testfrage notwendigerweise zu kurz kommen muss, etwas abgewinnen.

¹¹ Es sei dahingestellt, was man sich unter Spatenschrauben vorzustellen hat, d.h. ob es spatenförmige Schrauben (?) sein sollen oder Schrauben für Spaten, d.h. zur Befestigung des Spatenstiels am Spatenblatt.

¹² Eine andere kontextfreie Lesart eines englischen Muttersprachlers hing damit zusammen, dass er von einer homophonen, aber nicht homographen Variante des ersten Wortes ausging, nämlich „spayed” (übrigens ein schönes Beispiel für die Unsicherheit englischer Muttersprachler hinsichtlich der Rechtschreibung: der Kollege war wohl nie Sieger eines „spelling bee”-Wettbewerbs). Auch hier ist das Problem, dass es schwerfällt, ein entsprechendes Objekt zu finden.

¹³ Mindestens eine Aufnahme der Hinweistafel findet sich auch heute noch im Internet (<http://www.flickr.com/photos/dohorn/3487105950/>, gesehen 5III2013).

3 Analyse I

Bevor die maschinell hergestellte Übersetzung daraufhin untersucht wird, wie der (bzw. die) Fehler entstehen konnte(n), soll zur Entlastung der von mir befragten erfolglosen und verständlicherweise frustrierten Fachleute der Ausdruck, der in der Testfrage zitiert wurde, hinsichtlich seiner linguistischen Interpretierbarkeit analysiert werden.

Das Hauptproblem bei der Analyse kurzer englischsprachiger Ausdrücke wie „spade screws“ liegt in der starken Reduzierung der grammatischen Morpheme des Englischen, die zudem, wie im vorliegenden Fall, noch mehrdeutig sein können. Damit wird eine Bestimmung der Wortarten außerordentlich erschwert. Dazu kommt, dass im Englischen die „grammatische Wortbildung“ (d.h. der Wechsel der Wortart) häufig ohne Derivationsmorpheme auskommt, vgl. etwa „*up* the hill“, „an *up* feeling“, „the *up* and down“, „to *up* the ante“ usw.

Der Ausdruck „spade screws“ enthält auf den ersten Blick nur ein grammatisches Morphem, nämlich {s}.¹⁵ Dieses Morphem ist doppeldeutig, da es einerseits im verbalen Bereich die dritte Person Singular des einfachen Präsens anzeigt, andererseits im nominalen Bereich den Plural bei Substantiven.¹⁶ Die genauere Analyse ergibt allerdings, dass in dem Ausdruck noch ein zweites grammatisches Morphem vorkommt, nämlich das Nullmorphem bei „spade“. Da „spade“ sowohl Substantiv als auch Verb sein kann, alterniert {Ø} im nominalen Bereich mit {s} und im verbalen Bereich mit {s}, {ing} und {ed}.¹⁷ Berücksichtigt man die syntaktischen Beschränkungen des Englischen, sind theoretisch folgende grammatikalischen Interpretationen möglich:

¹⁴ Robert (1985: VII 420) verweist unter „pique-nique“ auf „**Déjeuner** (sur l’herbe)“.

¹⁵ Bei der homophonen Lesart des ersten Wortes (siehe oben) käme noch ein weiteres dazu, nämlich {ed}, aber hier wird die orthographisch korrekte Form des Ausdruckes zugrunde gelegt.

¹⁶ Theoretisch gibt es hier noch eine weitere Lesart, und zwar diejenige als „Saxon genitive“ mit dem Morphem {s}, graphisch <’s> (z.B. „the president’s speech“), doch müsste dann ebenfalls ein orthographischer Fehler angenommen werden. Der Verzicht auf die Berücksichtigung orthographisch falscher Formen enthebt uns der Notwendigkeit, den Status dieses Morphems und insbesondere auch seiner Pluralform bei Wörtern mit regulärer Pluralbildung ({Ø} bzw. graphisch <’>) zu erörtern. Im Übrigen verhindern auch syntaktische Gründe die Interpretation als „Saxon genitive“, da dieser grundsätzlich nicht postponiert vorkommt.

¹⁷ In den beiden letzten Fällen wird das lexikalische Morphem aus orthographischen Gründen verkürzt zu {spad-}.

1. Verb im Imperativ + Objekt im Plural
2. Subjekt im Singular + Verb im Präsens
3. *modifier* (Substantiv im Singular) + Substantiv im Plural

Keine dieser drei möglichen Varianten ergibt ein befriedigendes Ergebnis.

Die Interpretation als Aufforderungssatz ist bei Hinweistafeln zumindest nicht *a priori* auszuschließen (vgl. Beispiele wie „mind your step”). Dagegen spricht, dass auf der Tafel Richtungspfeile zu sehen sind, Aufforderungen aber üblicherweise die Richtung verbalisieren („turn right” usw.). Außerdem sind Verb und Objekt semantisch inkompatibel, und zwar jeweils in allen Bedeutungen von „to spade” und „screw” (vgl. OED XVI: 95-96 und XIV: 727-731).¹⁸

Die Interpretation von {s} als verbales Morphem und damit die Analyse des gesamten Ausdruckes als eines wohlgeformten Satzes mit NP „spade” und VP „screws” stößt ebenfalls auf Schwierigkeiten. Sie wäre eigentlich nur dann möglich, wenn man „spade” als Eigennamen versteht; sonst müsste, jedenfalls im Singular, das Substantiv mit Artikel stehen: „The spade” oder „A spade”.¹⁹ (Dies gilt auch für die Fälle, wo „spade” Personen bezeichnet.)²⁰ Hier einen Eigennamen anzusetzen, wäre denkbar, da „to screw” sowohl in eigentlicher als auch in übertragenen Bedeutungen ein belebtes Agens zulässt bzw. sogar stark bevorzugt.²¹ Dennoch wurde diese Analyse (wenn sie denn überhaupt in Betracht gezogen wurde) von den Befragten zu Recht verworfen, weil die Aussage im Kontext keinen Sinn ergibt und außerdem im Falle

¹⁸ Die einzigen halbwegs sinnhaften Interpretationen („Schrauben mit einem Spaten (weg)schaufeln” oder „Schrauben mit einem spatenähnlichen Instrument behandeln”) sind aufgrund des (außersprachlichen) Kontexts abzulehnen.

¹⁹ Ein befragter Kollege verwies indirekt auf diesen Sachverhalt mit der Bemerkung, zur Bezeichnung der Kartenfarbe würde er üblicherweise den Plural verwenden. Dann wird aber hier kein Artikel verwendet („the five of spades”, „spades are trumps”), wohl aber im Singular.

²⁰ Bekannt ist heute fast nur noch die Bedeutung „a black person, a Negro, esp[ecially] a male” (OED XVI: 96). Die zweite auf eine Person bezogene Bedeutung („Eunuch”) ist veraltet, und sie wäre außerdem semantisch mit einer der übertragenen Bedeutungen von „screw” nicht kompatibel.

²¹ Das wäre auch bei einer der übertragenen Bedeutungen umso eher möglich, als „spade” als präsumptiver Eigenname intuitiv eher dem männlichen Geschlecht zugeordnet würde. Allerdings wäre offenbar heute auch die Interpretation mit einem weiblichen Agens unproblematisch, vgl. die Ausführung zur entsprechenden Bedeutung bei Collins (2003: 1453) in den sogenannten „language notes”: „Although a classic example of the anatomical metaphor for the sex act seen from the male point of view, it can be used as a transitive verb by women, which suggests that the metaphor is all but dead.” OED (XIV: 732) ist in der Beurteilung etwas zurückhaltender (und verzichtet ganz auf sprachwissenschaftliche Exkurse): „Usu[ally] of a man: to copulate with”.

der übertragenen Bedeutungen nicht dem Sprachgebrauch entspricht, der üblicherweise auf einer Hinweistafel angebracht scheint.

Damit bleibt lediglich die Alternative übrig, {s} als Pluralmorphem und damit „screws“ als Nomen zu sehen. Gemäß den Regeln des Englischen kann dann „spade“ nur noch als *modifier* zu „screws“ interpretiert werden. Der sich daraus ergebende Ausdruck ist aber schon semantisch nicht unproblematisch und im Kontext ganz unverständlich (siehe oben). Insofern ist verständlich, dass die Befragten keine befriedigende Lösung, d.h. keine Rückübersetzung anbieten konnten.

4 Analyse II

Aber was ist bei der ursprünglichen Übersetzung geschehen, dass es zu dieser Panne kommen konnte? Zunächst einmal ist die Vermutung zu begründen, dass es sich hier tatsächlich um ein Produkt maschineller Übersetzung handelt. Dafür spricht eigentlich alles. Zunächst einmal ist es die Übersetzung selbst: auch jemand mit lediglich elementaren Kenntnissen des Französischen und/oder des Englischen würde die vorliegende Übersetzung nicht als sinnvoll akzeptieren können. Die Annahme, es seien ohne irgendwelche Kenntnisse der beiden Sprachen Informationen aus Wörterbüchern und Grammatiken gleichsam mechanisch zusammengestellt worden, ist ebenfalls höchst unwahrscheinlich, da bei derartigem Vorgehen üblicherweise die erstgenannte Bedeutung im Wörterbuch genommen wird, und das ist im vorliegenden Fall, jedenfalls bei „pique“, gerade nicht so.²² Und schließlich spricht auch das Scheitern der Fachleute (siehe oben) dafür, dass hier eben nicht von Menschen übersetzt wurde, sondern von Maschinen.

Es geht jetzt im Folgenden darum, die maschinelle Analyse zu rekonstruieren. Dabei ergibt sich die Komplikation, dass nur Ausgangstext und Übersetzung zur Verfügung stehen, also die klassische *black-box*-Situation vorliegt. Wir müssen also mit Annahmen hinsichtlich des verwendeten Programms arbeiten, wobei davon auszugehen ist, dass die Übersetzung ein Produkt primär linguistischer und nicht statistischer Verfahren ist und auch nicht als fertige Verbindung aus einem Übersetzungsspeicher (*translation memory*) stammt.

²² Die Verwendung von „pique“ zur Bezeichnung einer Kartenfarbe ist natürlich nicht primär und kann schon deshalb gemäß traditionellen lexikographischen Regeln nicht die Position als ersten Eintrag in Anspruch nehmen, im Grunde genommen auch nicht diejenige eines selbständigen Lemmas (vgl. etwa Robert 1985: 420).

Für ein klassisches, d.h. linguistisch orientiertes Übersetzungsprogramm ist die grammatikalische Analyse (*parsing*) des Ausgangstextes zentral. Das Programm hat offenbar den aus zwei Wörtern bestehenden Text als abgeschlossene vollständige Aussage, d.h. als Phrase oder Satz interpretiert (was nicht zwingend ist) und gemäß den Linearisierungsregeln des Französischen das erste Wort als NP (Subjekt), das zweite als VP (Verb) bestimmt. Dieser Analyse steht nichts im Wege, da die Abfolge NP-VP (bzw. S-V) den Normalfall darstellt und die dann anzunehmende Kongruenz nicht verletzt wird: „Pique“ wäre dann ein Nomen im Singular und „nique“ ein Verb mit der Endung der 3. Person Singular im Präsens. Damit war die grammatische Analyse abgeschlossen, und die Lexeme der Ausgangssprache konnten unter Rückgriff auf das im Programm vorhandene sprachpaarbezogene Wörterbuch durch die Entsprechungen in der Zielsprache ersetzt werden. Im letzten Schritt wurden die lexikalischen Morpheme im englischen Text grammatikalisch angepasst: „Spade“ blieb unverändert, während dem Lexem „screw“ das grammatische Morphem {s} angefügt wurde.

Der erste Fehler, den das Programm beging, ist also die falsche Prämisse, es handle sich beim vorliegenden Text um einen ganzen Satz. Das war schon deshalb fragwürdig, weil Artikellosigkeit des Nomens im Französischen (ähnlich wie im Englischen) außer bei Namen höchst unüblich ist.²³ Und als Namen scheint das Programm „pique“ nicht interpretiert zu haben, sonst wäre das Wort nicht übersetzt worden. Die grammatikalische Analyse, die sich an die falsche Prämisse anschließt, ist dann an und für sich untadelig.

Problematisch ist dagegen offenbar die Behandlung der lexikalischen Seite im Programm. Hier hätte bei der Berücksichtigung zusätzlicher Informationen einiges schon im Vorfeld verhindert werden können. So wäre etwa mit dem Hinweis beim Eintrag für „niquer“, dass das Agens in aller Regel belebt sein muss, die Inkompatibilität mit „pique“ zutage getreten, und das Programm hätte möglicherweise das Wortpaar unübersetzt gelassen. Das hätte zwar zu einer orthographisch seltsamen Form geführt, wäre aber für die des Englischen Mächtigen durchaus verständlich gewesen.

Für den englischen Teil gilt ein ähnlicher Vorwurf nur hinsichtlich der Artikellosigkeit, da einerseits „to screw“ auch ein unbelebtes Agens zulässt („a power drill screwing a screw into metal“), andererseits „spade“ sich in einer

²³ Im Vergleich zum Englischen (und auch zum Deutschen) ist das Französische viel artikelhaltiger. So wird auch im onomastischen Bereich, insbesondere bei der Toponomastik, der Artikel recht häufig verwendet. Artikellosigkeit ist im Wesentlichen auf bestimmte feststehende Ausdrücke wie *perdre courage* und die Position nach Präpositionen, insbesondere *de*, beschränkt.

seiner aktuellen Bedeutungen (s.o.) auf Personen bezieht (und übrigens in dieser Bedeutung, was die Stilebene angeht, durchaus zu „to screw“ passen würde).

Auch die Wahl der konkreten englischen Entsprechungen zu den französischen Lexemen ist nicht unproblematisch. Im Französischen liegt in beiden Fällen Polysemie vor, und da stellt sich natürlich die Frage, welche der Bedeutungen ausgewählt und dann mit dem entsprechenden englischen Lexem wiedergegeben wird. In der Verbindung waren die beiden Lexeme dem Programm offenbar unbekannt, sonst wären sie nicht einzeln übersetzt worden. Lexikographische Prinzipien scheinen auch keine Rolle gespielt zu haben, da es, zumindest bei „pique“, nicht die primäre Bedeutung war („Pike“), die für die Übersetzung gewählt wurde. Das hätte nämlich im Englischen „pike“ ergeben. Und auf der Seite der Zielsprache war es, zumindest bei der Entsprechung für „nique“, genauso: unter den zahlreich vorhandenen Synonymen wurde nicht das heute eher neutrale „F-word“ gewählt, sondern ein weniger häufiger vorkommendes und erst noch polysemes Wort in einer seiner Spezialbedeutungen. Der Grund dafür ist nicht ersichtlich.

Eine Möglichkeit, die Richtigkeit bzw. Adäquatheit einer Übersetzung zu prüfen, stellt die Rückübersetzung dar, allerdings nicht im Sinne der naiven Annahme, bei einer gelungenen Rückübersetzung müsse sich zwangsläufig wieder der Ausgangstext ergeben. Genau das ist aber in diesem Beispiel bemerkenswerterweise der Fall: das weitgehend sinnfreie „spade screws“ wird, ohne die „Bedeutung“ zu hinterfragen, zumindest in einem Fall mit „pique nique“ übersetzt.²⁴ Es ist nicht klar, wie das zu interpretieren ist.

5 Sprachhistorisches

Es ist zwar in der modernen Linguistik immer noch weitgehend verpönt, Historisches in die Analyse einzubeziehen, aber im vorliegenden Fall bietet es

²⁴ Vgl. dazu <http://translate.google.com/#en/fr/spade%20screws> (gesehen 07VI2013). Ein nicht uninteressantes Detail: bei der Eingabe des englischen Textes wird „spade“ zunächst mit „bêche“ wiedergegeben, und das bleibt bis und mit „spade scre“ so. Erst bei „spade screw“ wechselt die Übersetzung zu „pique nique“. Der Nachfolger von *Babel Fish* dagegen, *Bing Translator*, „übersetzt“ mit „vis de bride“ (<http://www.bing.com/translator>, gesehen 11VI2013), d.h. Zaum- oder Flanschschaube bzw. -niete, die ihrerseits wieder zum englischen „bridle screw“ führt (vgl. etwa <http://www.frankonia.de/images/multimedia/pdf/129456.pdf>, gesehen 04VII2013).

sich an (und die Textsorte Festschrift erlaubt es auch).²⁵ Obwohl die Etymologie von „pique-nique" nicht ganz zweifelsfrei geklärt ist, scheint es so zu sein, dass es sich um eine Zusammensetzung aus dem Verb „piquer" und dem Substantiv „nique" handelt. Die Verhältnisse sind also genau umgekehrt, als vom maschinellen *parsing* angenommen: syntaktisch liegt nicht eine S-V-Verbindung vor, sondern V-O, d.h. „[chacun(e)] pique [une] nique". Dabei hatte „nique" die Bedeutung ‚Kleinigkeit‘ (FEW 7: 140-142, s.v. *nīk-*). Das entspricht auch der älteren Bedeutung der Zusammensetzung. Früher wurde damit nämlich ein zwangloses Essen bezeichnet, zu dem alle Beteiligten ihren Teil beitrugen, und zwar in Form von Geld oder Naturalien. In dieser Bedeutung wurde das Wort ins Englische entlehnt, zunächst, ab Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts, zur Bezeichnung des damals in England offenbar noch unbekanntem kontinentalen Brauchs, seit etwa 1800 auch für entsprechende Veranstaltungen in England selbst. Dort kam es dann wohl auch zur Bedeutungsentwicklung hin zum „déjeuner sur l'herbe". Diese neue Bedeutung existierte zunächst neben der alten (Belege gibt es ab dem zweiten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts) und verdrängte Letztere allmählich. Die neue Bedeutung wurde dann auf den Kontinent (rück)entlehnt (vielleicht sogar auf dem Umweg über das Deutsche) und gelangte so ins Französische.²⁶

Im Übrigen ist noch darauf hinzuweisen, dass das in der Zusammensetzung vorkommende Substantiv „nique" nichts mit dem Verb „niquer" zu tun hat. Ersteres geht auf die Wurzel „nik-" zurück (zur Bedeutung siehe oben), während Letzteres eine jüngere Entlehnung aus dem in den französischen Kolonien in Nordafrika von den Soldaten verwendeten „Sabir" darstellt und auf arabisches „nāka" (als *verbum mediae yā'* mit Imperfekt klassisch arabisch „yanīk(u)", umgangssprachlich „inīk(u)") zurückgeht.²⁷

²⁵ Außerdem hat der Jubilar selbst den traditionellen, philologischen Zugang zu Sprache als „an important third type" neben „Chomsky-Theory" und „Mead-Theory" bezeichnet (Steiner 1996a: 172-173).

²⁶ Vgl. zur Wortgeschichte im Französischen FEW (8:462, 472-473, s.v. **pīkkare*), für das Englische OED (XI: 779-780).

²⁷ TLF 12: 151 (auch elektronisch: <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/niquer>). Die Bedeutung des arabischen Ausgangswortes und der französischen Entlehnung wurde früher in Wörterbüchern vornehm mit ‚futuere‘ wiedergegeben. (Für Auskunft zum arabistischen Aspekt bin ich G.-R. Puin zu Dank verpflichtet.)

6 Extralinguistisches

Im Abschnitt 4 wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass das Übersetzungsprogramm eine *black box* darstelle. Dies ist nur partiell richtig, denn das Programm selbst lässt (bzw. ließ) sich identifizieren. Ich habe, nachdem ich „spade screws“ in Brumath entdeckt hatte, die im Netz kostenlos verfügbaren Programme überprüft. Nur eines davon lieferte für „pique nique“ die Entsprechung „spade screws“, und zwar *Babel Fish*. Alle anderen von mir damals benutzten Programme schlugen korrektes „pic(k)nic(k)“ vor (die Schreibung variierte). Heute lässt sich das leider nicht mehr nachvollziehen, da *Babel Fish* 2012 von *Bing Translator* abgelöst wurde, und dieses Programm hat den Fehler seines Vorgängers nicht übernommen. Insofern könnte man davon ausgehen, dass „spade screws“ keine weitere Karriere machen wird, sich der angerichtete Schaden somit in überschaubarem Rahmen halten dürfte.

Bei den Recherchen zu diesem Thema hat sich allerdings ergeben, dass *Carrefour* offenbar nicht die einzige Firma gewesen ist, die sich auf die Dienste von *Babel Fish* verlassen hat. Der Zeltplatz *Domaine de Reneville* in Fécamp (zwischen Dieppe und Le Havre gelegen) bietet etwa „Grande Terrace for your spade-screw in front of the sea“ an.²⁸ Und eine Firma namens CPAPHIL, spezialisiert auf alte Postkarten, hat fünf Exemplare aus dem frühen 20. Jahrhundert mit „spade screws“ im Angebot, allesamt Abbildungen ländlicher Lustbarkeiten im Grünen,²⁹ wobei zwei davon sich auf eine „noce de campagne“ beziehen.³⁰ Das ist aber nur die Spitze des Eisbergs: die Abfrage „pique nique spade screws“ bei Google bringt über 50 000 Ergebnisse, die aber, wie üblich, nur zu einem geringen Teil hier einschlägig sein dürften.³¹ Immerhin wird daran deutlich, dass „spade screws“ als abschreckendes Beispiel einer maschinellen Übersetzung zumindest virtuell noch durchaus lebendig ist und es wohl auch bleiben wird.

²⁸ Siehe <http://campingdereneville.free.fr/anglais/camping.htm> (gesehen 07VI2013). Dieser Eintrag hat sogar eine Diskussion im Netz provoziert, die aber linguistisch wenig ertragreich ist, vgl. <http://www.motorhomefacts.com/forum-printtopic-1-97567-0-0-asc-viewresult-1.html> (gesehen 07VI2013). Immerhin findet sich da ein Hinweis auf die Rückübersetzung bei Google (vgl. die vorhergehende Anmerkung).

²⁹ <http://www.bidstart.com/shop.php?keywords=spade+screws&category=0&userid=133569&advsrc=&submitsearch=#id> (gesehen 07VI2013).

³⁰ Dabei wird in einem Fall die Bildunterschrift „Pique-Nique à une Noce de Campagne“ auf dem Original mit „Spade Screws has a wedding of countrys“ übersetzt, was auch wieder nach einer Fehleranalyse ruft.

³¹ http://www.google.de/search?q=pique+nique+spade+screws&client=safari&rls=en&prmd=ivnsf_d&ei=bee0UZ_GDIImBhQf_5oD4CQ&start=50&sa=N&redir_esc=&ei=M-i0UazgA8K6hAf1xIGwAQ (gesehen 07VI2013).

7 Linguistische Schlussbemerkung

Im vorhergehenden Text habe ich mich bemüht zu analysieren, wie aus französischem „pique nique" englisches „spade screw" werden konnte. Das ist das, was man als Fehleranalyse bezeichnet. Allerdings hätte die Fehleranalyse bereits eine Stufe früher ansetzen sollen, nämlich beim Ausgangstext. Überprüft man nämlich den Ausgangstext auf seine sprachliche Richtigkeit, zeigt sich, dass er zumindest orthographisch nicht einwandfrei ist: nach den heute noch allgemein angewandten Rechtschreiberegeln des Französischen müsste er „pique-nique" geschrieben werden, d.h. mit Bindestrich.³² Die seinerzeitige Eingabe von orthographisch korrektem „pique-nique" in *Babel Fish* ergab denn auch die vom Sinn her korrekte englische Entsprechung „picnic". *Carrefour* hätte also das Geld für die Herstellung neuer Hinweistafeln sparen können, wenn die für den Text auf solchen Tafeln Verantwortlichen mit der französischen Orthographie, die zugegebenermaßen ihre Tücken hat, besser vertraut gewesen wären. Sie scheinen aber diesen eigentlichen Grund für die Übersetzungspanne nicht erkannt zu haben: auf der neuen Tafel steht immer noch orthographisch falsch „Pique nique" und als englische Entsprechung semantisch richtig, aber orthographisch ebenfalls falsch „Pic nic".

Damit wäre bereits ein weiteres Problem angesprochen, wo die Digitalisierung unserer sprachlichen Welt auch Schattenseiten hat: die Überprüfung auf sprachliche Korrektheit wird zunehmend Korrekturprogrammen überlassen. Dabei fehlt auch hier das Bewusstsein, dass solche Programme größere Bereiche der Rechtschreibung nicht oder nur unvollkommen überprüfen können. Man geht einfach davon aus, ein durch das entsprechende Programm überprüfter Text sei zumindest orthographisch, wenn nicht sogar sprachlich allgemein einwandfrei.

Das ist aber ein ganz anderes Thema, das vielleicht in der nächsten Festschrift abgehandelt werden könnte. Für diesmal habe ich mich damit begnügt, der Frage nachzugehen, wie ein *déjeuner sur l'herbe* schon in der

³² Nach den Reformvorschlägen von 1990 sollte „pique-nique" (gemeinsam mit zahlreichen andern durch Bindestrich verbundenen Wörtern) inskünftig „piquenique" geschrieben werden. Der Erfolg dieser Rechtschreibereform ist allerdings bisher recht gering. Im Übrigen ist bei der Begründung der Reform in diesem Fall den Hütern der französischen Sprache m.E. ein Fehler unterlaufen. Sie schreiben: „Les mots [...] sont en général des mots anciens dont les composants ne correspondent plus au lexique ou à la syntaxe actuels (**chausstrappe**); y figurent aussi des radicaux onomatopéiques ou de formation expressive (**piquenique**, **passépasse**) [...]" (Conseil 1990: 14). Tatsächlich gehört „pique(-)nique" weder zu den Onomatopoeitika, noch zu expressiven Wortbildungen, sondern zur ersten Gruppe, da zumindest der zweite Bestandteil heute eine andere Bedeutung hat (siehe Abschnitt 5).

Ausgangssprache aufgrund orthographischer Nachlässigkeit eine durchaus anstößige zweite Bedeutung bekommen konnte. Da nur diese in der Zielsprache ankam, war die ursprüngliche Bedeutung buchstäblich „Lost in Translation“.

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Choice in translation: metafunctional considerations¹

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1 Introduction

In this publication, we are celebrating the extraordinary contributions Erich Steiner has made to linguistic scholarship, enriching our collective understanding of language — and of particular languages — across many areas of research, and also our collective insights into linguistics, and thus into scholarship in general. In my own work, I have been fortunate enough to learn both from his publications and also from innumerable encounters around the world over a period of over a quarter of a century. This probably started with his “metalinguistic” contribution in the form of Steiner (1983), which filled in various gaps for me that I had struggled with when I wrote *Hallidayan Linguistics* in the late 1970s (Matthiessen, 1979). His scholarship is very rich, and it is difficult to remember the details of when I learned what from him — although I can remember gaining insights from some early contributions such as Steiner (1985) when I was struggling with the development of the “Nigel grammar” component of our Penman text generation system at the USC/Information Sciences Institute (ISI) in Los Angeles under the direction of Bill Mann. And I can clearly remember the sharing of ideas relating to the computational modelling of systemic functional accounts when Erich came to visit us at ISI around 1987: at that time, he was working on the EUROTRA machine translation project (e.g. Steiner, 1986, 1992), so we had a shared sense of the fundamental importance of explicitness and modelling in systemic functional linguistics — concerns that have, unfortunately, tended to be

¹ In preparing this paper, I have benefitted greatly from discussions of translation in general and of particular translation examples with a group of expert collaborators covering a range of different languages in translation, only some of which I have been able to include here — in rough chronological order: Wu Canzhong (Chinese), Kazuhiro Teruya (Japanese), Mira Kim (Korean), Adriana Pagano (Portuguese), Mohamed Ali Bardi (Arabic, French), Elaine Espindola (Portuguese), Constance Wang (Chinese) and Russell Zhang (Chinese). I have learned a great deal from Erich Steiner and his group — in particular, Elke Teich, Stella Neumann and Silvia Hansen-Schirra.

backgrounded in all the exciting work based on manual discourse analysis. For us, these concerns also resonated with the work at Cardiff University by Robin Fawcett, Gordon Tucker and other members of their team — a research group that Erich had spent a very productive and formative time with in the 1980s.

In my own work, I have drawn on different strands of Steiner's scholarship, including his contribution to multimodal studies through his analysis of a folk song in Steiner (1988) and to the systemic functional modelling of social action in Steiner (1991), where he draws on the work by Russian scholars (in particular, A.N. Leont'ev) on activity theory. His model of social action is needed as an integral part of holistic discourse analysis, as outlined in Matthiessen (2013). However, here I would like make a contribution to translation studies — a field of research that Erich Steiner has played a major role in, early on in the context of the EUROTRA machine translation project and more recently by shedding light on translation and register variation (e.g. Steiner, 2004) and by extending the paradigm of translation research based on multilingual corpora together with a brilliant team of researchers (e.g. Hansen-Schirra, Neumann & Steiner, 2012; see also e.g. Teich, 2003). He has also illuminated the development of systemic functional tradition in translation studies, drawing attention to the background Malinowski provided by insisting on context in translation (Steiner, 2005). In the area of translation studies, I owe Erich a very special debt: it was Erich together with Colin Yallop who got me more systematically involved in in this field when they invited me to take part in a colloquium they had organized for ISFC 1998 at Cardiff University and included my write-up in the important volume they produced, Steiner & Yallop (2001).

2 Translation as recreation of meaning through choice

There are many ways of characterizing translation; different characterizations complement one another, bringing out different aspects that are part of a comprehensive picture of this very complex process. For present purposes, let me characterize translation as the **recreation of meaning in context through choice** — choice in the interpretation of the original text and choice in the creation of the translated text. Choice is thus choice by the translator — an ongoing process of choosing options within the systems of the source language and of the target language. Choice means that there are always alternatives, both in interpretation and generation; and these alternatives or options in meaning are embodied in the **meaning potentials** of the language of the

original text and the language of the translated text². One consequence of this is that the greater the number of translations of one source text that we examine, the more we will begin to see of the meaning potential of the “target language” simply because different translators are bound to make different selections from the meaning potential, sometimes subtly different selections sometimes selections that are further apart. Of course, these selections in the meaning potential of the “target language” are also likely to reflect different choices in the translators’ interpretation of the original text.

Let me give one simple introductory example based on different translations from French into English of Baudelaire’s poem *L’Albatros*³: see Figure 1. Like highly valued texts in general, Baudelaire’s poem has been translated multiple times; I have represented seven of these translations in the figure. The translations differ in several ways, e.g. in the rendering in English of the adverb *souvent* serving as interpersonal Adjunct; this expression of modality of the usuality kind is translated into English in terms of choices of different degrees or values of usuality, lower (*sometimes*) or higher (*often*). But let me focus on the translation of the lexical verb *prennent* serving as Process within the transitivity structure of the clause: *souvent* ... [Actor:] *les homes d’équipage* [Process:] *prennent* [Goal:] *des albatros*. Different translators choose *trap*, *catch*, *snare* or *take*, with *take* being the default dictionary equivalent of *prenez*; these represent different choices in experiential meaning; for example, *trap* (‘catch [an animal] in a trap’) and *snare* (‘catch [a bird or mammal] in a snare’) specify the means of catching albatrosses, thus adding experiential features not present in the original text.

² The choices made by translators may or may not be made consciously — choices are typically below the level of consciousness (cf. Halliday, 1973, in press), certainly in the case of lexicogrammar (to keep to the content plane of language). Translators are probably more likely to be aware of *certain* semantic choices than of lexicogrammatical ones.

³ The different translations are used as an illustration by David Crystal in his encyclopedia of language and linguistics.

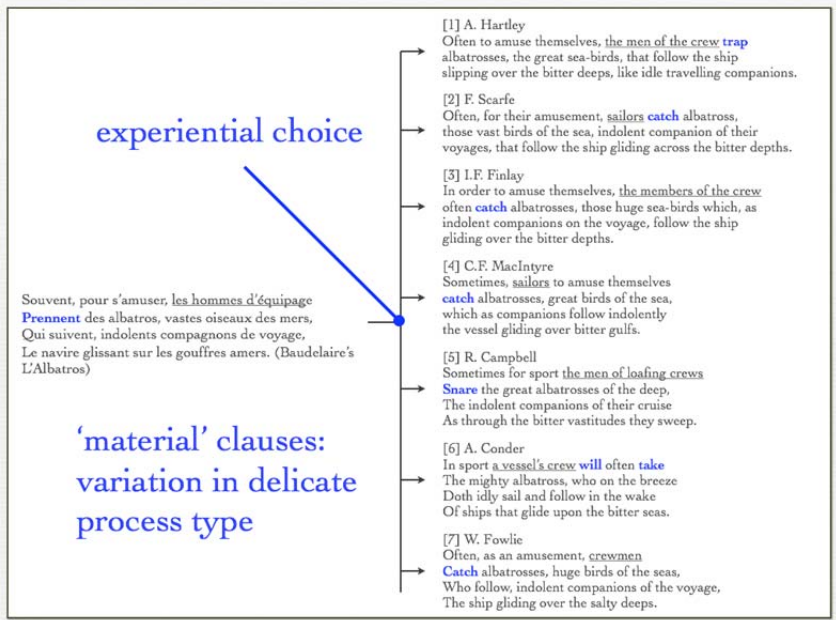


Figure 1: Seven different translations of an extract from Baudelaire’s poem
L’Albatros

These different translations are related paradigmatically; the lexical verbs represent different options within the system of PROCESS TYPE in English: see Figure 2. This figure shows the first steps in delicacy in this system systematically, up to the current frontier of systemic description⁴, and then it shows further steps in delicacy taxonomically but non-systemically, representing “verb classes” described by Levin (1993) that I have categorized in terms of process types (see Matthiessen, in press). According to this account, *snare* and *trap* belong to one verb class, *take* to another, and *catch* to yet another. When we view these verbs according to their lexical senses in WordNet, we see that *snare* and *trap* belong to the same group and *catch* to another (together with *capture*): see Figure 3; the relevant sense of the verb *take* is not included (at least not in this view of WordNet).

⁴ See e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen (2013). However, certain areas have been explored in systemic descriptions extending the delicacy of the account (see e.g. Tucker, 1998, 2007), one pioneering example and model being Hasan’s (1987) description of one systemic strand within the lexicogrammar of ‘material’ clauses.

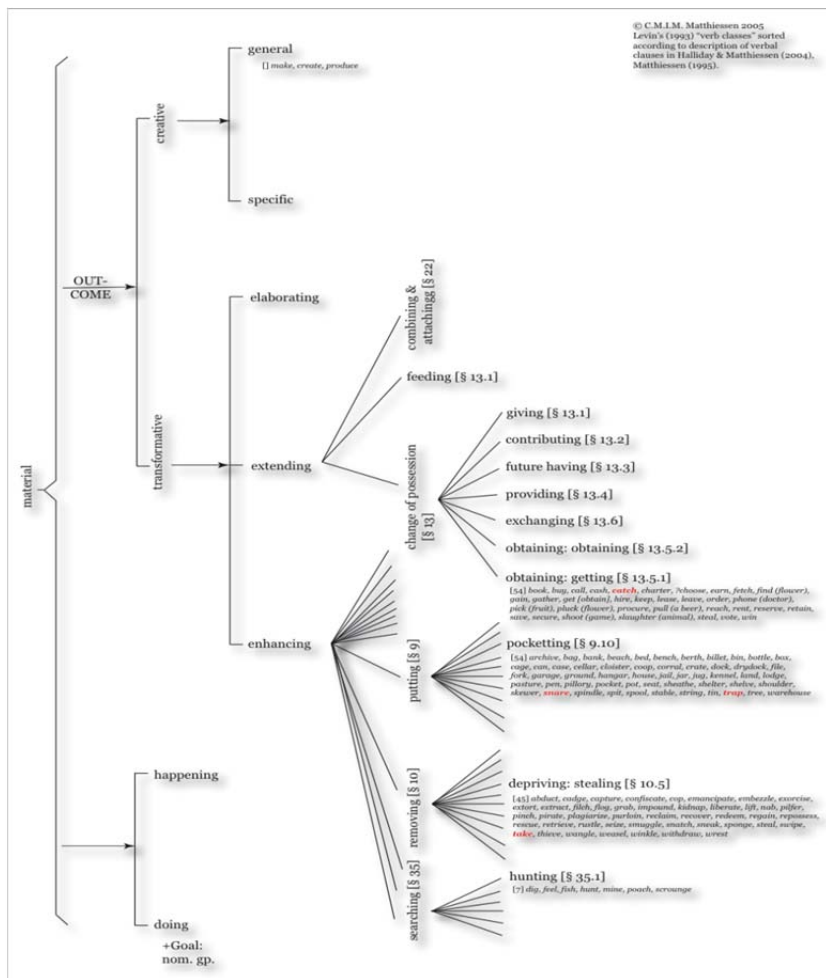


Figure 2: The system of PROCESS TYPE in English — ‘material’ clauses and the subtypes from which translators have selected translations of French *prenez*

The choices of *snare* and *trap* thus represent **translation shifts**, i.e. shifts in the recreation of meaning as part of the translation process. All choices in translation arguably constitute shifts in meaning; but it is useful to recognize that such shifts are a matter of degree. Here the shifts are fairly small or local, involving one feature within the system of TRANSITIVITY — the

circumstantial feature of ‘means’, which is “incorporated” lexically in both *snare* and *trap* but not in *catch* or *take*; and the shifts remain within the system of PROCESS TYPE, and more broadly within the realm of experiential meaning.

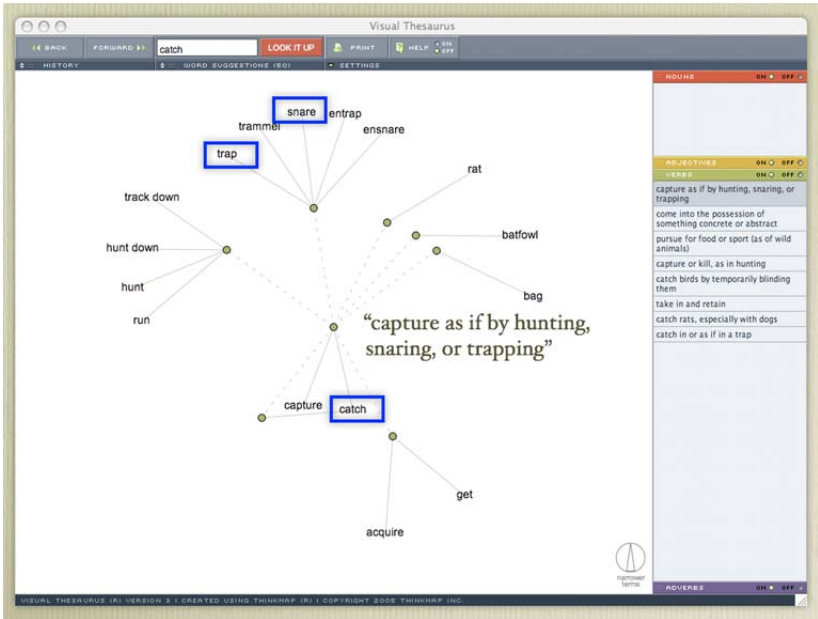


Figure 3: Three of the four translations of *prenez* located in the Visual Thesaurus graph of lexical relations in WordNet

3 Choice in terms of metafunction

Focussing on choices in meaning in the course of translation, let me now take a systematic look at different kinds of meaning — different **modes of meaning**. If we consider the flow of text in translation, it may seem that there is just one kind of meaning, the “content” to be translated. However, once we view the text in terms of Halliday’s (e.g. 1978) theory of the **metafunctional organization** of language, we can see that text is composed of different strands of meaning, each strand constituting a distinct mode of meaning (see Figure 4):

- In terms of **logical** meaning, translators choose how to interpret logico-semantic relations used in forming “coherent” source texts, and they choose among the options in the target language to **reconstruct** them in the translation they are producing.
- In terms of **experiential** meaning, translators choose how to interpret events as configurations of elements (processes, participants and circumstances) and larger “chunks” of experience made up of events such as episodes and procedures, and they choose among the options in the target language to **reconstruct** the experiential meanings in the translation they are producing.
- In terms of **interpersonal** meaning, translators choose how to interpret propositions, proposals and the assessments associated with them in the exchange of meaning embodied in the source text, and they choose among the options in the target language to **re-enact** the interpersonal meanings in the translation they are producing.
- In terms of **textual** meaning, translators choose how to interpret messages and the sequences of messages that create the flow of information in the source text, and they choose among the options in the target language to **re-present** the textual meanings in the translation they are producing.

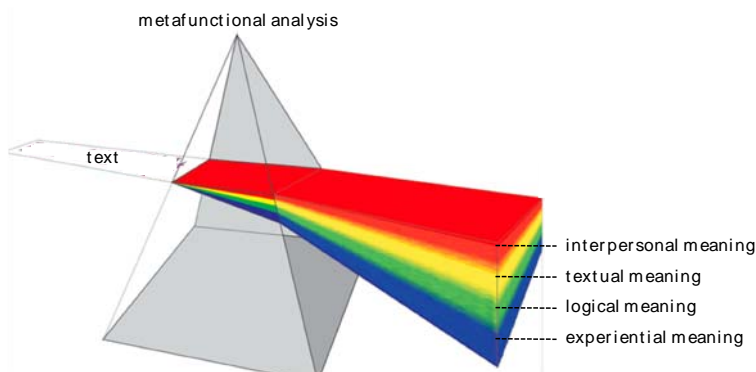


Figure 4: Modes of meaning in text revealed by the metafunctional part of discourse analysis

Translation is thus a process of simultaneous choices among options in logical, experiential, interpersonal and textual systems; and a translated text is the

product of all these choices. The logical and experiential modes of meaning are both concerned with the construal of our experience of the world as meaning, and together they make up the **ideational** metafunction, providing complementary ways of modelling experience. This turns out to be important in translation since translators may switch between these two ideational modes when they translate.

The units of translation in a given text represent particular combinations of logical, experiential, interpersonal and textual choices, as shown in Figure 5; but one or more of these choices could always have been different, and an actual translation that appears in the translated text must be understood against the background of other possible translations — the **shadow translations** defined by the meaning potential of the target language. As translators revise their translations — either in real time (as has now been investigated by the combination of keystroke logging and the tracking of eye movement) or after they have produced their first drafts, they access this potential, and may opt for one of the shadow translations.

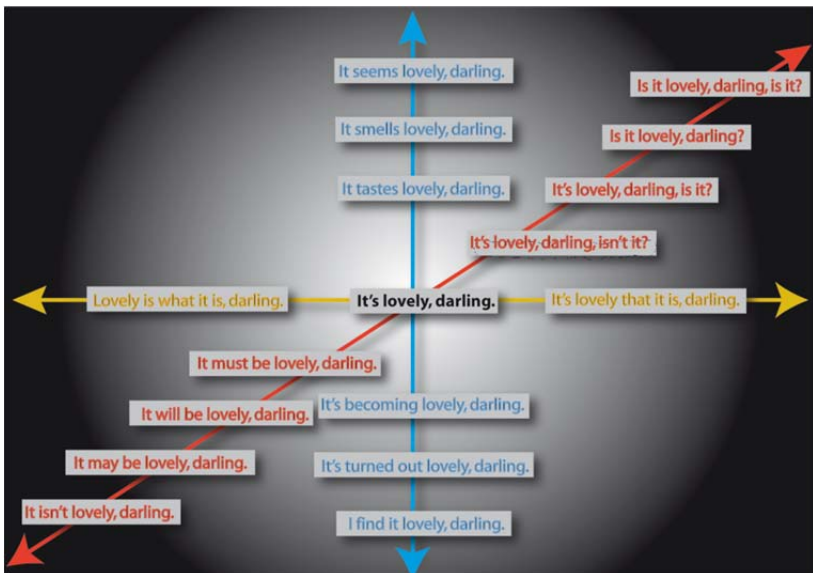


Figure 5: Metafunctional dimensions of choice in clause — experiential, interpersonal and textual patterns of agnation

In the course of translation, logical, experiential, interpersonal and textual choices are, of course, always made in the environment of other linguistic

choices, and also in the environment of the **context** in which the source text operates and in which the text being translated will operate. This is essential to keep in mind because what may appear to be the same systemic contrast in the source language and in the target language may turn out differ from one **register** to another according to the nature of the context, as has now been demonstrated in a series of systemic functional studies, e.g. Teich (1999), Lavid (2000), Murcia-Bielsa (2000), Steiner (2004).

In the last decade or two, choices in the systems of the textual metafunction have been given special attention for different translation pairs (e.g. Baker, 1992; Ventola, 1995; Hasselgård, 1998, 2004; Munday, 2000; Ghadessy & Gao, 2000; Kim, 2007a,b; Kim & Huang, 2012; for a recent review, see Kim & Matthiessen, 2013), but interpersonal choices have now also been explored in research — Munday’s (2012) study of choices in appraisal in translation, adding to the earlier based on comparable texts in contrastive studies (mentioned above: Teich, 1999; Lavid, 2000; Murcia-Bielsa, 2000; cf. also Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu, 2008).

When we examine the choices translators make in terms of the metafunctional modes of meaning, we will of course find various **degrees of translation shifts**. We can locate such shifts on a cline extending between “translation equivalence” and “translation shift”: see Figure 6. The cline applies to systems of choice in all the metafunction. Choices in one metafunction may be closer to the translation equivalence pole of the cline, while choices in another may be closer to the shift pole of the cline. Translation often involves **trade-offs in choices** across the metafunctional spectrum. Towards the end of my discussion, I will return briefly to the question of how to reason about degrees of translation in terms of systems of choice represented in system networks such as the one for ‘material’ clauses in Figure 2 above.

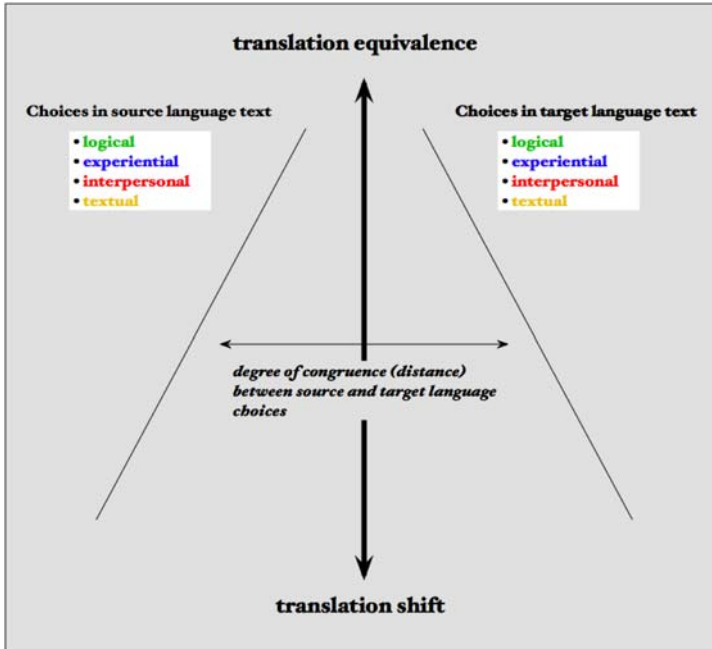


Figure 6: The cline from “translation equivalence” to “translation shift” as degree of congruence between source and target texts in terms of all four metafunctional modes of meaning

4 Choice and shift relative to metafunction

It makes sense to assume that shifts involve choices within the *same* metafunctions in the source and target languages. Thus a translator will produce a major translation shift within the textual metafunction in the choice of Theme when the result is that the Theme of a clause in the source text is re-presented in the translated text as the Culminative element of the clause — the point of New information; but this is still a shift within the textual metafunction. Let me illustrate this with a short extract from a translation of H.C. Andersen’s fairy tale *Holger Danske* in Danish into English: see Table 1. The first column shows the Danish original, the second column shows my translation — which I have made as “literal” as possible to reflect the original, and the third column shows the published translation.

Table 1: Examples from H.C. Andersen's *Holger Danske* in Danish and the published translation⁵ together with a more literal translation

	Danish original	English translation (more literal, CMIMM)	English translation (published)
[1]	... for Danmark er endnu ikke i nogen ordentlig fare!	for Denmark is not yet in any real danger!	... for no real peril threatens Denmark!
[2]	Men kommer det i én,	But if it falls into danger,	But should real danger come,
[3]	ja, så vil den den gamle Holger Danske rejse sig	well, then old Holger the Dane will rise	old Holger the Dane will rise in his fury,
[4]	så bordet revner	so that the table will crack,	and the table itself will burst
[5]	når han trækker skægget til sig!	when he pulls his beard towards himself!	as he wrenches his beard from it,
[6]	Så kommer han frem	Then he will step forward	
[7]	og [ø: han] slår	and [ø: he] strike a blow	and the mighty blows [[he strikes for Denmark]] will be heard throughout the world.
[8]	så det høres i alle verdens lande.	so that it will be heard in all the countries of the world.	
[9]	Alt dette om Holger Danske sad en gammel bedstefar og fortalte sin lille sønneson,	All this about Holger the Dane an old grandfather sat telling his little grandson,	An old grandfather was telling his little grandson all this about Holger the Dane,
[10]	og den lille dreng vidste,	and the little boy knew	and the little boy knew
[11]	at [[hvad bedstefader sagde]], det var sandt.	that [[what his grandfather said]] was true.	that [[what his grandfather said]] was true.

In two of the clauses / clause complexes, [1] and [9], the translator has chosen essentially to reverse the textual statuses of Theme and New in the original, thus producing shifts within the textual metafunction towards the “translation shift” pole of the cline in Figure 6 above. In Clause [1] in the original, *for Danmark er endnu ikke i nogen ordentlig fare*, the information flow is from ‘Denmark’ to ‘peril’ (with a ‘negative’ polarity along the way), but in the translation, the flow is the other way around, from ‘peril’ to ‘Denmark’⁶.

⁵ Sterum, Rikke. 2002. *Holger the Dane*. “Special edition to Kronborg Castle.” Forlaget Sesam.

⁶ The choices in the experiential system of TRANSITIVITY also represent a significant shift (from a ‘circumstantial relational’ clause to a ‘material’ one), and one can argue that this experiential shift serves to accommodate the textual shift.

Similarly, in Clause Complex [9] in the original, ‘all this’ is Theme and ‘grandfather’ is New (within the first clause of the complex), but in the English translation ‘grandfather’ is Theme and ‘all this’ is New⁷.

The shift in [1] would seem to be unmotivated — there is nothing about the textual system in English that makes it necessary to produce this shift (for Danish, see Andersen, Petersen & Smedegaard, 2001); but it is easier to see that the shift in [9] is unmotivated because we can examine it in relation to the preceding text — the discourse history against the background of which such choices are made. Here we can see that *all this about Holger the Dane* includes an extended text reference (*this*) that serves to distil what we have been told before. It is thus an excellent candidate for thematic status — as the point of departure in relation to which a new character is introduced into the story, *an old grandfather*. So when we examine the shift in the textual translation of [9], it seems clear that it is unmotivated, and actually not only unmotivated but counterproductive in terms of the flow of information in the text.

Thus when we examine choices made in translation, we need to examine them in the **environments** that contain the information that can — and should — inform the choices (cf. Matthiessen, 2001). The exact nature of the environment depends on the metafunction. In the case of the textual metafunction, we have to examine the method of development and the thematic progression leading up to the point where the choice is made in the unfolding text (cf. Fries, 1981, for an early account that has led to extensive text-based research in the description of different languages).

As I have just illustrated, the fact that a shift occurs within a metafunction does not mean that it is a minor one; the effects of the shift can be quite significant. However, let me now present a general framework for examining shifts resulting from choices in translation in terms of metafunction. As I said above, it makes sense that choices in the target language are made within the same metafunction as in the source language; for example, logical choices in the source language text would be recreated by logical choices in the target language: see Figure 7. However, it turns out that logical choices may be recreated within the textual metafunction by textual choices and the other way around, as I will illustrate below.

⁷ The English translation also “compresses” the clause complex into a single clause by leaving out the representation of the old grandfather’s posture (even though combinations of clauses of saying and clauses of posture are very common in English).

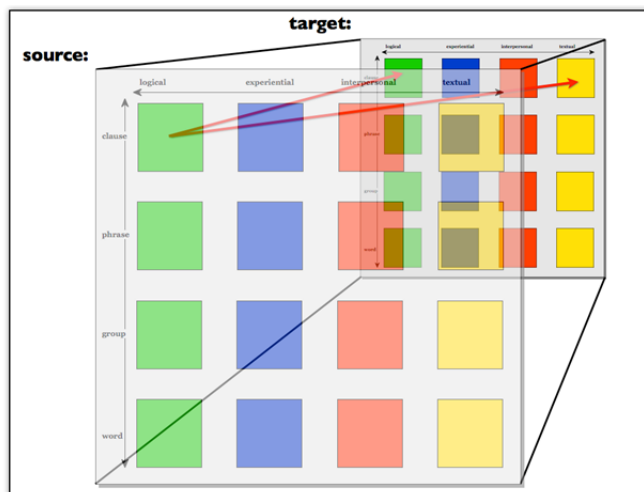


Figure 7: Translation of logical choices as either logical or textual ones

By intersecting the metafunctions of the source language with the metafunctions of the target language in a matrix, we can produce an overview of translation shifts in relation to metafunction: see Figure 8. The metafunctional selections in the source language text are represented by the columns — from left to right: textual, ideational: logical, ideational: experiential, interpersonal. The metafunctional selections in the target language text are represented by the rows — from top to bottom: textual, ideational: logical, ideational: experiential, interpersonal. Translation shifts that remain within one and the same metafunction are represented in the diagonal of cells extending from the north-west corner to the south-east one.

The **metafunctional translation matrix** provides a simple way of *probing translation shifts*, sorting them into very general classes of choice *according to metafunction*⁸. In principle, any combinations could occur; and the question of whether any given metafunctional shift occurs is an empirical one that can only be answered by extensive manual and automated analysis of texts in multilingual text archives and corpora. (We cannot yet rely only automated analysis because many of the choices we need to focus on are too “high-level” and cannot yet be identified and analysed automatically.)

⁸ This metafunctional view of translation shifts is complementary to work in translation and machine translation studies such as Dorr’s (1994) influential proposal.

In the next four sections, I will explore possible translation shifts in terms of metafunctional choices, organizing the discussion in terms of the metafunctional nature of the choice in the source language text (that is, the column headings in Figure 8).

		From [source text]:			
		textual	ideational: logical	ideational: experiential	interpersonal
To [target text]:	textual	textual > textual: e.g. theme shift	logical > textual: e.g. complex to cohesive sequence		
	ideational: logical	textual > logical: e.g. cohesive sequence to complex	logical > logical: e.g. tactic shift		
	ideational: experiential		logical > experiential: e.g. clause + phrase	experiential > experiential: e.g. process type shift	
	interpersonal				interpersonal > interpersonal: e.g. mood type shift

Figure 8: Matrix of metafunctional translation shifts

5 Textual choices in source text

Textual choices are concerned with the “flow of information” in text — providing speakers (writers) with resources enabling them to *guide* their listeners (readers) in their process of interpreting texts, while at the same time helping compose texts. The guidance relates to the development of text in terms of **textual transitions** and **textual statuses** (see e.g. Matthiessen, 1992; Bateman & Matthiessen, 1993). Textual transitions are the concern of the system of CONJUNCTION, one of the systems of COHESION presented first by Halliday & Hasan (1976). Textual statuses are the concern of other systems of COHESION, viz. REFERENCE and SUBSTITUTION/ ELLIPSIS, but also of systems that generate textual structures in the clause (and other domains of grammatical structure), in particular THEME and INFORMATION (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013: Chapters 3 and 9). Complementing one another, these two systems deal with different aspects of the process of interpreting an unfolding

text; for example, by attending to choices in the system of THEME listeners and readers can develop their interpretations relative to “growth points” in their existing networks of meanings (cf. Matthiessen, 1995a).

Textual meanings are, because of their enabling nature, subtle, and can be hard to focus on for translators; various investigations suggest that even professional translators may not pay enough attention to textual choices in the source text to recreate them effectively in their translations (cf. Kim, 2011). One prerequisite for such investigations is the existence of descriptions of all the textual systems in the languages involved in translation studies, and the development of such descriptions is certainly a challenge in its own right — see Steiner & Ramm (1995) for the case of German.

Like lexicogrammatical systems in general belonging to any of the metafunctions, textual systems must be viewed “from above” in the context of translation and translation studies (“from above”, in the sense of Halliday’s, e.g. 1996, trinocular vision); they must be viewed from the vantage point of semantics (cf. Martin, 1983), where potentially the whole text can be brought into focus to guide more local choices. We thus need to ask semantic questions about how textual tasks such as identifying growth points for readers, instructing them to create new files on discourse referents, and so on instead of lexicogrammatical ones such as the choice of ‘active’ vs. ‘passive’ voice since such lexicogrammatical systems of choice may vary significantly from one language to another — something Steiner has emphasized in the context of translation and Mathesius drew our attention to a long time ago for certain “European” languages.

In probing the metafunctional translation matrix in Figure 8, I will consider the translation of textual choices in the source text, starting with choices in the recreation of these in the target language that remain within the textual metafunction, and then moving on to choices within another metafunction, more specifically the logical one.

5.1 Textual to textual

In terms of translations choices remaining within the textual metafunction, I have already given an example in Table 1 above of what are arguably unmotivated choices in the re-presentation of textual meanings in the target text. They are unmotivated both (i) systemically and (ii) instantially. (i) Systemically they are unmotivated because the relevant systems in English would allow for choices that are closer to those made in the Danish source text; there is nothing about the system of THEME in English that would force, or even

invite, translators to diverge from the source text. (ii) Instantially they are unmotivated because they fail to recreate to the “information flow” of the source text.

Let me now turn to examples of a translation where the textual choices in the translated text diverge from those of the source text for good reasons. I'll confine myself to choices that affect the organization of the clause as a message, the system of THEME and the complementary system of INFORMATION (a system of spoken language in the first instance, with the information unit as its domain — reflected in written language as choices in the CULMINATION of the clause).

This first example is a clause from an Argentine short story by Jorge Luis Borges, *Emma Zunz*. I have represented the translation of the original Spanish clause into English diagrammatically in Figure 9. In both languages, the clause is ‘declarative’ in mood, so in English the ‘unmarked’ Theme would be the Subject, *the stamp and the envelope*, and this is indeed the choice the translator made. While this is the first mention of ‘the stamp and the envelope’, this mention can be “bridged” anaphorically from a prior mention of *a letter*:

On the fourteenth of January, 1922, <<when she returned home from the Tarbuch and Loewenthal textile mills,>> Emma Zunz discovered in the rear of the entrance hall **a letter**, posted in Brazil, which informed her that her father had died. The stamp and the envelope deceived her at first; then the unfamiliar handwriting made her uneasy.

However, in the Spanish original, the Subject, *el sello y el sobre*, was given a different textual status — not as Theme, but as Culminative (or Afterthought). This kind of textual delay of the Subject is a regular option in Spanish, as is illustrated by another example in Table 2. This choice could be translated into English by representing the Subject pronominally as (unmarked) Theme, and giving *the stamp and the envelope* the status of a textual Afterthought:

They deceived her at first, the stamp and the envelope.

However, while this would appear to be closer to the construction of the message in the clause of the Spanish original, it would be quite marked in (written) English. So given the text environment leading up to the clause, i.e. ... *a letter* ... *the stamp and the envelope*, the translator's choice seems quite well motivated in English even though *the stamp and the envelope* are not introduced as new information that readers should pay special attention to and process accordingly. Such trade-offs are typical of choices in translation.

	"her"	"deceived" [Subject: 3p plural]	"at first view"	"the stamp and the envelope"
Spanish (original)	La	engañaron,	a primera vista,	el sello y el sobre
English (translation)	The stamp and the envelop	deceived	her	at first.

Figure 9: Textual selections in Jorge Luis Borges' short story *Emma Zunz* in Spanish, and the English translation by Donald A. Yates

Table 2: Textual selections in a Mexican folk tale, *Atzimba, the Princess*, and the English translation (*Themes underlined*)⁹

Spanish (original)	English (translation)
<u>Un día</u> <<cuando ella estaba descansando en la playa>>,	<u>One day</u> , <<when she was resting on the beach,>>
pasó <u>un grupo de soldados españoles a caballo</u> cerca de [[donde estaba ella]].	<u>a group of Spanish soldiers on horseback</u> passed near [[where she was]].

The second example, or rather pair of examples, of motivated choices leading to shifts within the textual metafunction come from the beginning of Heinrich Böll's short story *Die blasse Anna*: see Table 3. In the translation of the very first clause, the translator has chosen one of the thematic 'highlighting' options available in English, 'theme predication' (see e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013: 106). This option is not all that common in English, but it does occur often enough, even (for special narrative effect) at the very beginning of stories. In contrast, in German, this option is much more restricted systematically and quite marked. I have discussed this option elsewhere (Matthiessen, 2001), so let me just note that it quite a possible choice in English to convey the sense of *erst* in the German original — even though this strategy would

⁹ From Genevieve Barlow & William N. Stivers (1995), *Legends from Mexico / Leyendas de México*. Bilingual edition / Edición bilingüe. Lincolnwood, Ill.: National Textbook Company.

lie outside the German system of THEME, or at least would lie on its periphery.

Let me move down to the last clause of the extract in Table. The English translation is *I didn't want to work*, which creates a motivated flow of information from Theme *I* to Culminative to *work*. It does not, however, re-present the thematization in the German original of *arbeiten zu gehen*; to achieve this textual effect, we would probably have to resort to a more “literal” translation along the lines of *to go to work, I had no inclination*. This is **possible** in English, but would be much more **highly marked** than in German. Thus we are again reminded that when translators make choices, they are (subconsciously) aware of **systemic probabilities**, in the overall general system or in the registerial subsystem they are translating within — or at least, they should be aware of systemic probabilities (cf. e.g. Catford, 1965; Jesus & Pagano, 2006; and — referring to Halliday's theory of systemic probabilities, Toury, 2004). In this case, the translator arguably was: the re-presentation of the German message as a wave moving from ‘work’ (*arbeiten*) to ‘inclination’ (*Lust*) would have come at too high a probabilistic price¹⁰. Choices in translation always involve — or at least imply — trade-offs, optimizations in terms of different systems and systemic considerations.

Table 3: Extract from the beginning of a German short story Heinrich Böll's *Die blasse Anna* translated into English as *Pale Anna* Christopher Middleton

German (original)	English (translation)
Erst im Frühjahr 1950 kehrte ich aus dem Krieg heim,	It wasn't until spring 1950 that I came back from the war,
und ich fand niemanden mehr in der Stadt, [[den ich kannte]].	and found there was nobody [[I knew]] left in the town.
Zum Glück hatten meine Eltern mir Geld hinterlassen.	Luckily my parents had left me some money.
Ich mietete ein Zimmer in der Stadt,	I rented a room in the town,
dort lag ich auf dem Bett,	lay there on the bed,
rauchte	smoked
und wartete	and waited
und wußte nicht	and didn't know
worauf ich wartete.	what I was waiting for.
<u>Arbeiten zu gehen</u> , hatte ich keine Lust.	I didn't want to <u>work</u> .

¹⁰ It is tempting to couch this in terms of “optimality theory” — reminding those generative linguists who have proposed and promoted this theory that it resonates with earlier European structuralist explorations, perhaps in particular with André Martinet's work.

On many occasions, we find examples where the translator has chosen a textual option that creates a shift but only further research can tell us whether this shift is motivated or not in terms of the principles of the target language system¹¹. Two examples of translations from Spanish into English can serve to illustrate this point: see Table 4. In (1), the translator has chosen to thematized the conjunction group *two days later*, giving it the status of textual Theme, even though does not have this status in the Spanish original, coming after the thematic Subject (*el capitán*). The translator could have chosen to stay “closer” to the Spanish original, producing *the captain, two days later, returned*, with the conjunctive expression coming as the transition from Theme to Rheme, which is a possible position. Thus we come back to the question of systemic probability — the issue being whether the systemic probabilities for the thematization of conjunction groups are different in Spanish and in English, an issue that can only be addressed through extensive analysis of volumes of comparable texts in Spanish and English to determine relative frequencies. The translation pair in (2) is quite similar, except that the element whose textual status is changed in the course of translation is a circumstantial one, a circumstance of Time.

Table 4: Textual selections in (1) a Mexican folk tale, Atzimba, the Princess, and the English translation; and (2) in an Argentine short story, Emma Zunz by Jorge Luis Borges, and the English translation (Themes underlined, Conjunctive in bold, circumstances of Time in italics)

	Spanish (original)	English (translation)
(1)	<u>El capitán</u> , después de dos días , regresó	Two days later , the Captain returned
	y pasó por la ventana de la casa de la princesa.	and passed by the window of the princess' house.
(2)	<u>Emma</u> , <i>desde 1916</i> , guardaba el secreto.	<i>Since 1916</i> Emma had guarded the secret.

Such variation is interesting, and we can expect to find more of it when the number of texts in different languages increases, as illustrated by the examples from the English, German, French and Spanish versions of a CD blurb in Table 5. In the first clause of the biographical extract in the table, all four languages have a circumstance of Time as Theme. In the next two clauses, references to the “protagonist” of the biography, the guitarist Miguel Espinoza, are given the status of Theme. But in the clause that follows them, the languages diverge. In the English, German and Spanish versions, the

¹¹ Of course, in relation to the examples I present, this kind of empirical research may already have been undertaken — and I need work harder to find it!

reference to Miguel is Theme, but in the French version the circumstance of Time is given the status of Theme.

Table 5: Textual selections regarding the status of a circumstance of Time in the English, German, French and Spanish versions of a text accompanying a CD, Flamenco Passion, Curandero, in a passage about the guitarist, Miguel Espinoza (Theme underlined, circumstance of Time in bold)

English	German	French	Spanish
<u>At the age of nine</u> he performed his first guitar recital on PBS television.	<u>Mit neun Jahren</u> gab er bereits sein erstes Gitarrenkonzert im Fernsehen.	<u>A neuf ans</u> il donna son premier récital à la guitare sur PBS (réseau public télévisuel américain).	<u>A los nueve años de edad</u> presentó su primer recital en la televisión PBS (una cadena de televisión pública en los Estados Unidos).
<u>He</u> has studied with noted masters of Flamenco in Spain,	<u>Er</u> studierte bei namhaften Flamencomeistern in Spanien	<u>Il</u> a étudié avec les plus grands maîtres du flamenco	Ha estudiado con maestros notables del flamenco en España,
<u>and</u> has toured with many Flamenco troupes in Europe and the U.S., such as Maria Benitez.	<u>und</u> hat mit vielen Flamenctruppen, wie z.B. mit Maria Benitez, Europa und die U.S.A. bereist.	<u>et</u> a effectué des tournées avec de nombreuses troupes de flamenco en Europe et aux Etats-Unis comme Maria Benitez.	<u>y</u> ha viajado con muchas compañías de flamenco en Europa y en los Estados Unidos, tales como Maria Benitez.
<u>Miguel</u> was recognized with the Colorado Council of the Arts and Humanities Co-Vision Recognition Artist Award in 1994 .	<u>Miguel</u> wurde 1994 mit dem Humanitäts-Co-Vision Künstlerpreis des Colorado Kunstauschusses ausgezeichnet.	<u>En 1994</u> , Miguel a été reconnu par le Colorado Council of the Arts et lors de Humanities Co-Vision Artist Award.	<u>Miguel</u> fue reconocido con el premio del Consejo de Artes y Humanidades de Colorado y "Co-Vision Recognition Artist Award" en 1994 .

5.2 Textual to logical

Textual transitions (rhetorical relations, coherence relations) are part of the development of text, and occur at all "levels" in the organization of text, locally between "messages" and less locally between groups of messages forming message complexes and even rhetorical paragraphs. Such transitions may

be made **explicit**; they may be marked by cohesive conjunctions such as *for example, in addition, alternatively, therefore, soon*. They may, alternatively, be left **implicit**, in which case the nature of the transition has to be **inferred** by the listeners or readers. Translators are of course likely to translate explicit cohesive conjunctions, as in Table 6, but they may also choose to “translate” implicit transitions, i.e. choose to make implicit transitions explicit by adding a cohesive conjunction (or, as we shall see, by switching to the logical mode) — the second being a case of **explicitation**. Both choices are illustrated in the extract from a German short story presented together with the English translation in Table 6¹². In (1), the transition explicitly marked by *dann* in the German original was translated as *then*; but in (2) the implicit transition was made explicit by means of *but*, used as a cohesive conjunction.

Table 6: Textual selections in the system of CONJUNCTION in a Mexican folk tale, Atzimba, the Princess, and the English translation

	Spanish (original)	English (translation)
(1)	En toda la región no había princesa más bella que Atzimba.	In all the region, there was not a more beautiful princess than Atzimba.
	Todo el mundo hablaba de su pelo negro y de su tez morena.	Everyone talked about her black hair and dark skin.
	Además , era graciosa	In addition to this , she was charming
	y siempre ayudaba a los enfermos y los pobres.	and always helped the sick and the poor.
	Pero desafortunadamente ella se enfermó.	But , unfortunately, she became ill.
	Y era una enfermedad grave.	And it was a serious illness.
(2)	Ella pasó mucho tiempo allí,	She spent a long time there,
	pero no mejoraba.	but she did not get any better.
	Al contrario , estaba más pálida y más débil.	On the contrary , she became more pale and weaker.

¹² The reverse may also happen; that is, an explicit cohesive conjunction in the original text may be left implicit in the translation, e.g.: “... ¡Corramos!” *Y los bandidos corrieron a toda prisa, abandonando su mal adquirido Tesoro.* — “... Let’s run!” *The bandits ran at full speed, leaving behind their ill-acquired treasure.* (From Genevieve Barlow (1995), *Stories from Latin America / Historias de Latinoamérica*. Lincolnwood, Ill.: Passport Books.)

Table 7: Textual choices in the marking of textual transitions in the original text and in the translated text¹³

	German (original)	English (translation)
	Gut, sagte der alte Mann, über eine Kreuzung, und wie weiter.	Fine, said the old man, so across a traffic junction and then?
(1)	Dann gehen Sie an der Tankstelle vorbei,	Then you walk past a petrol station,
	sagte der Mann auf der Bank,	said the old man on the bench,
	es ist en zeitgemäßer, ganz Selbstbedienung eingerichteter Laden,	it is a completely self-service modern place,
	der übrigens allwöchentlich überfallen wird,	which is robbed every week by the by,
	zwei Pächter wurden bereits erschossen.	two tenants have already been shot.
(2)	Obwohl das allerdings gegen Mitternacht geschehen ist,	But although that had happened at about midnight,
	tut man gut daran,	one is well advised
	beim Passieren auf der Hut zu sein.	to be on one's guard
		when going past.

In (2) in Table 6, the implicit transition is, as we have just seen, made explicit by the choice of a cohesive conjunction. Alternatively, translators may choose to make implicit transitions explicit by **logical** means, relating two or more clauses that are related cohesively in the original text through **tactic structure** within a clause complex in the translated text, as illustrated in Table 8. In the Spanish original, readers would have to infer the nature of the relation between (1) and (2) based on various considerations such as the thematic and referential continuity — *él ... él*, and the semantic interpretation of the sequence of figures, one of ‘sensing’ followed by one of ‘doing-&-happening’; lexicogrammatically, the two clauses form a cohesive sequence but not a structural one, and in Martin’s (1992) terms, we could analyse the sequence semantically as involving an implicit conjunctive relation. Since readers of the Spanish original have to infer the nature of the relation, there is naturally some degree of indeterminacy; but it seems likely that the relation is a causal one. The translator has chosen to make the implicit relation that can be inferred in the source text explicit in the English translation, by integrating the clauses into a tactic structure, $1 \wedge \times 2$, marking the tactic relation by the structural conjunction *so*. The same change has been applied to (4) and (5).

¹³ From a short story by Siegfried Lenz, *Die ZuhörerIn oder Eine absichtsvolle Wegbeschreibung*, translated by Ernst Zillekens as *The Listener, or a Description of a Route with a Hidden Motive*. New Penguin Parallel Texts: Short Stories in German. Edited and translated by Ernst Zillekens. Penguin Books (2003).

Table 8: Realizations of rhetorical relations in a Mexican folk tale, *Atzimba, the Princess*, and in the English translation (structural conjunctions shown in bold italics)

	tactic structure	Spanish (original)	tactic structure	English (translation)
(1)		Él no pudo resistir la tentación.	1	He could not resist the temptation,
(2)		Él entró en la casa.	×2	<i>so</i> he entered the house.
(3)		No había nadie.		No one was there.
(4)		Él se acercó a la cama.	1	He approached the bed
(5)		Atzimba no se movió.	×2	<i>but</i> Atzimba did not move.
(6)	1	Él la besó	1	He kissed her
(7)	×2	y ella abrió los ojos	×2	<i>and</i> she opened her eyes
(8)	×31	y dijo:	×31	<i>and</i> said,
(9)	×3”2	— ¿Quién eres tú?	×3”2	“Who are you?”

In the examples just given, the tactic structure in the translation involves an explicit marker, a structural conjunction (*so*, *but*). However, the translator may choose to translate a sequence of cohesively related clauses by a sequence of tactically related ones, without introducing an explicit conjunctive marker, as illustrated in Table 9. This is probably particularly likely if the sequence is one of elaboration, as in this case, since elaborating relations are often without an explicit conjunctive marker within clause complexes — being signalled by tone sequences instead in spoken language.

Table 9: Translation of cohesive sequence in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* by paratactic complex

English (original)	German (translation)
‘I wish I hadn’t cried to much!’ said Alice, as she swam about, trying to find her way out. ‘I shall be punished for it now, I suppose , by being drowned in my own tears! ...’	„Ich wünschte, ich hätte nicht so sehr geweint!” sagte Alice, als sie umherschwamm und sich herauszuhelfen suchte; „jetzt werde ich wohl dafür bestraft werden und in meinen eigenen Thränen ertrinken! ...”

6 Ideational: experiential choices in source text

The ideational metafunction provides the resources in languages for construing the experience of the world as meaning — modelling experience as meaning (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006); but there are two modes of modelling it, the **logical mode** and the **experiential mode**. They complement one

another, and languages have evolved different complementarities of the two modes: experience that is modelled experientially in one language may be modelled logically in another, and the other way around. For example, as I will illustrate below, in one language, our experience of motion through space may be construed experientially in the first instance, but in another the construal or our experience of motion may involve both the logical and the experiential modes. Not surprisingly, we find quite a range of translation shifts between the two ideational modes of construing experience. In this section, I will focus on experiential choices in the source language text, and explore how they are recreated in the target language, being reconstrued either experientially or logically; and in the next section, I will examine logical choices in the source language text.

6.1 Remaining within experiential

Experientially, the clause provides the resources for construing our experience of the world — more specifically, our experience of a quantum of change in the flow of events. The key resource here is the system of TRANSITIVITY. This system models a quantum of change in the flow of events as a configuration of a process, participants directly involved in it and attendant circumstances. It determines what constitutes a “quantum of change” in a given language, and the TRANSITIVITY systems of languages around the world vary considerably with respect to how much experience can be “compressed” into the clausal model of a quantum of change (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006: Ch. 7; Matthiessen, 2004). The main issue here is the division of labour between the logical and the experiential models of experience in general and of the flow of events in particular and this may come up in translation — an issue I will return to in the next subsection. Here I will focus on choices in translation leading to shifts within the experiential system of TRANSITIVITY itself.

Since the system of TRANSITIVITY in any given language is quite extensive, covering both nuclear transitivity and circumstantial transitivity and ranging from very general distinctions to very delicate ones that are subject to considerable lexical variation across languages, I can only illustrate experiential choices in translation, not giving anything approaching a comprehensive account.

One general issue translators have to deal with is whether an element involved in the process in the transitivity configuration of process + participants + circumstances should be represented as a participant or as a circumstance in

the target language text. Languages vary with respect to the nature of their participant roles — how broadly or narrowly conceived they are; thus languages vary in their conceptions of “actor-hood”, “senser-hood”, “sayer-hood”, and so on. English has evolved rather extended conceptions of certain participant roles (further extended through grammatical metaphor), and as has been shown by Steiner & Teich (2004) and by Teruya (2007) in their systemic functional descriptions, it contrasts in this respect with both German (see also Teich, 2003) and Japanese, respectively. For example, in an overview of machine translation in Japan, Nagao, Tsujii & Nakamura (1987: 170) show that the English clause *the earthquake destroyed the building* would have to be translated into Japanese as *the building collapsed due to the earthquake*, shifting the role of ‘the earthquake’ from (in our terms) the participant role of Agent/ Actor to the circumstantial role of Cause because (in our terms) the Actor role is more constrained in Japanese than in English (see Teruya, 2004, 2007, and for general typological observations, Matthiessen, 2004: 588-589). Thus the representation of cause (and the related notion of means) as participant or circumstance is one variable in translation.

Moving from the ‘material’ realm of Actor to the ‘semiotic’ realm of Sayer in ‘verbal’ clauses, we find a similar pattern of variation (cf. Matthiessen, 2004: 600-601). Tracking this in UN documents, I have found examples such as the one tabulated in Table 9, taken from a cover letter by Kofi Annan accompanying a report submitted to the General Assembly. Here the Sayer of the ‘verbal’ clause in English is *the report*, i.e. a nominal group denoting a semiotic artefact; it falls within the category of phenomena that can be construed as Sayer in English — anything that is a “signal source” in Halliday’s (e.g. 1985: Ch. 5) generalization. In other words, in English sayer-hood extends considerably beyond human speakers; but in many other languages, it seems to be restricted essentially to human speakers (thus being analogous to the Senser of ‘mental’ clauses in English). In the example in Table 9, French is like English; the nominal group serving as Sayer is *le rapport*. Interestingly, in Spanish, the report is construed not as Sayer but as a circumstance of abstract Place, *en el informe*. The ‘verbal’ clause is an impersonal one, with a “pseudo-reflexive” verb.¹⁴

¹⁴ As always, it is difficult to know how common such examples are. I have eyeballed about half of the results of a search of *en el informe* in “uncorpora” (<http://www.uncorpora.org>), comparing the Spanish version with the English version; and in all these examples (totaling a little of 50 K words of parallel English and Spanish examples extracted from the corpus), there do not appear to be any analogous examples to the example in Table 9: in English versions, the function of *report* seems to be very similar to that of *el informe* in *en el informe*: a location in abstract space. In their account of ‘verbal’ clauses, Lavid, Arús & Zamorano-Mansilla (2009:

Table 10: Construal of “symbol source” in ‘verbal’ clauses in English, French and Spanish (Process in bold, participants in italics, circumstances underlined)

English	French	Spanish
<i>The report again underscores the Commission’s methodological and standard-based approach to the implementation of its mandate,</i>	<i>Le rapport présente aussi l’approche systématique et la méthode de la Commission dans l’accomplissement de son mandat</i>	<u>En el informe se subraya una vez más el criterio metodológico de la Comisión, basado en normas, para la ejecución de su mandato, de conformidad con lo dispuesto en las resoluciones mencionadas.</u>
as set out in the above-mentioned resolutions.	tel qu’il est défini dans les résolutions susmentionnées.	

The examples I have just discussed involve shifts between nuclear TRANSITIVITY and circumstantial TRANSITIVITY; but we also find choices in translation that involve shifts within nuclear TRANSITIVITY, including changes in PROCESS TYPE and/ or AGENCY. One of the relevant areas that has received a good deal of attention in “multilingual studies” — both in studies involving the typology of large numbers of languages and in studies of translation — is the construal of motion through space (and to a lesser extent, static location in space). An early contribution to language typology that stimulated a good deal of this research was Talmy’s (e.g. 1985) well-known study of the patterns of lexicalization of motion in different languages; for a recent review, see Beavers, Levin & Thao (2010) and for a systemic functional overview, see Matthiessen (forthc.). This has been extended to the study of translation by e.g. Slobin (1996, 2004). Slobin investigated translations of J.R.R. Tolkien’s *The Hobbit* into various languages — a natural choice since the story is centrally concerned with a journey and it has been translated into many languages. For similar reasons, at the time unaware of Slobin’s work, a group of us chose Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* as one source of material for a long-term study of the translation of representations of motion and location from English into a range of other languages. Here I have selected just a few examples from the translation into Spanish: see Table 10.

136) include examples of non-speaker Sayers in Spanish, e.g. *el otro periódico dice que votemos cuanto antes* “the other newspaper says we should vote as soon as possible”.

Table 11: Experiential selections in the construal of movement through space in an English original narrative and a Spanish translation (J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*)¹⁵

		English (original)		Spanish (translation)
(1)		In terror they stumbled on .		Avanzaron tropezando , aterrorizados.
(2)	×β	As they flitted across	1	Echaron a correr ,
	α1	they glanced back	×2	y al volver la cabeza vieron la gran forma negra encaramada en la muralla
	α+2	and saw the great black shape upon the battlement;		
	×2	then they plunged down between high rock-walls in a cutting [[[that fell steeply to join the Morgul-road]]].	×3	y se internaron en una garganta [[[que descendía en rápida pendiente al camino de Morgul]]].
(3)		With a desperate spurt, Frodo and Sam dashed along the bridge		En una carrera desesperada, Frodo y Sam llegaron al puente,
		[...]		[...]
(4)		Sam scrambled to his feet.		Sam se levantó a duras penas.

The English original includes some clauses construing a path of motion where the Process is realized by a lexical verb incorporating the manner of motion — *stumble on*, *flit*, *plunge*, *dash*, *scramble*. In the Spanish translation, this specification of the manner of motion is not included in the lexical verb serving as Process; it is either left out of the translation (*echaron a correr*, ... *Frodo y Sam llegaron al puente*, y *se internaron* ...) or else reconstrued circumstantially (*tropezando* in (1), *a duras penas* in (4)). Differences of this kind are similar to what Slobin (1996, 2004) found in the analysis of translations of English narratives into Spanish; around half of the specifications of manner of motion were left untranslated. The reason would appear to be systemic — as already indicated by Talmy's (1985) typology of patterns in the lexicalization of motion. However, research by Lantolf suggests that there is more to the picture: in spoken face-to-face accounts of motion, Spanish speakers will use the resources of gesture to represent aspects of the manner of motion that are not specified lexicogrammatically, whereas for English speakers, the complementarity of lexicogrammar and gesture is different.

¹⁵ Spanish translation by Matilde Horne & Luis Domènech (1980), *El Señor de los Anillos*. Barcelona: Minotauro.

6.2 Experiential to logical

As I have just illustrated, the translation of ‘material’ clauses of motion in English into Spanish may involve choices in Spanish that deal with the systemic principle that in Spanish a verb representing manner of motion cannot normally serve as Process in a clause representing the path of motion. Thus in the English clause *as they flitted across*, the verb *flit* represents manner of motion but the clause as a whole also represent the path of motion — across some spatial domain; and in the translation into Spanish, the translators chose simply to leave the manner of motion unspecified. They could have been specified is, as it is, in a later clause, circumstantially by *a duras penas* in *Sam se levantó a duras penas*, where the verb itself conveys only direction, not manner; but too many such “augmentations” may depart from the Spanish narrative norm (cf. Slobin, 1996, 2004).

Another strategy Spanish translators use is to split an English clause of motion into two as they reconstrue the experience it represents in Spanish. In other words, instead of relying only on the experiential mode of construing the experience of the “flow of motion” — where it is compacted into a single configuration, probably involving a fairly delicately specified verb of motion such as *flit* or *scramble*, the translator divides the labour of representing motion between the experiential mode and the logical mode, shifting from a single clause to a nexus of two or more clauses linked by a logico-semantic relation such as temporal sequence, as illustrated by the examples in Table 12, again from the Spanish translation of *The Lord of the Rings*.

Table 12: Representing motion in a journey — experiential selections in the English original, from J.R.R. Tolkien’s The Lord of the Rings, and experiential and logical selections in the Spanish translation

	English (original)		Spanish (translation)
(1)	Down the road from the gate they fled .	1	Huyeron camino abajo
		+2	y se alejaron de la puerta.
(2)	Slowly and painfully they clambered down		Lenta y penosamente bajaron
			gateando en las sombras, a tientas
	groping		
	stumbling		tropezando
	scrambling among rock and briar and dead wood in the blind shadows down and down		arrastrándose entre peñascos y matorrales y ramas secas,
			bajando y bajando
	until they could go no further.		hasta que ya no podieron continuar .

In (1), one English clause has been translated into two Spanish ones, thus separating the fleeing down the road from the moving away from the gate. (2) is more complex: the English original is a clause complex consisting of 5 clauses, and the Spanish translation is a clause complex consisting of 6 clauses. But the basic principle is the same: by involving the logical mode of construal, translators can deconstruct experiential configurations in English into logically related component parts and serialize them in Spanish. Thus the first clause in the English original involves both manner and direction, with a verb of manner of motion, *clamber*, extended by a directional specification, *down*. In the Spanish translation, this is chunked into two clauses, one concerned with the direction (plus a circumstantial specification of the manner, *lenta y penosamente*), *lenta y penosamente bajaron*, and another with the manner, *gateando en las sombras, a tientas*. The second clause also picks up the non-finite clause *groping* from the English original, reconstruing it circumstantialy as *a tientas*.

Motion is an example of a domain of experience that will be challenging to translators if the languages involved operate with different models of motion through space. English and Spanish are by no means maximally distant from one another; an example of a more distant pair of languages in the construal of our experience of the flow of events is Kalam, illuminated by Pawley (e.g. 1987, 2005). Somewhere in between English and Kalam, there are many languages characterized by “serial verb” or “verb compounding” constructions, including languages in West Africa and South-East and East Asia. Such languages tend to construe process of motions logically as series of motion events, as illustrated for Korean in Figure 10. Experientially specific verbs in English such as *crawl* construed in a configuration representing the path of motion, as in *the child crawled into the room*, would be translated by series verbs representing manner, direction and deixis, as in the Korean example.

Korean						
<i>ai</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>pang</i>	<i>ey</i>	<i>ki-e</i>	<i>tul-e</i>	<i>w-ass-ta.</i>
child	NM	room	to	crawl-INF	enter-INF	come-PST-DC
'The child crawled into the room.'						
English						

Figure 10: Translation of a logical series of verbs serving as Process within a Korean clause representing motion into English as a single experientially specific verb of manner of motion serving as Process (example from Choi & Bowerman, 1991)

There are various other such challenging domains of human experience including pain (cf. Halliday, 1998) and emotion, where languages are likely to provide different models of experience, thus forcing translators to make choices that will result in “systemic” translation shifts. At the same time, there are other domains that are perhaps not so much experientially difficult to come to terms with as experientially somewhat indeterminate — reflected in different alignments in languages; these are domains such as existence, possession and ambient conditions (like precipitation and temperature). For an illustration, see the brief discussion of the German equivalent of English ‘existential’ clauses in guide books in Matthiessen (2001).

However, in translation, there is a very general source of shifts between the experiential mode of construal and a combination of the experiential and logical modes: this is the domain of circumstantiation. From an experiential point of view, the nucleus of a clause is the configuration of process + participants directly involved in the process. This configuration may be “augmented” *experientially* by circumstances within the clause as part of the experiential configuration, but it may alternatively be augmented *logically* by other clauses linked tactically in a clause nexus by means of logico-semantic relations. This potential is a very common source of ideational translation shifts.

For example, the English clause in Table 13, taken from a letter by Kofi Annan to the UN General Assembly, contains a circumstance of Purpose, *for his continued leadership* [[*in advancing the investigation of the attack*]]. In the Spanish translation, this is re-construed as a hypotactically dependent clause of purpose (as shown by the tactic structure in the leftmost column of the table), *por continuar dirigiendo la tarea de avanzar en la investigación del atentado*. In the translation, a circumstantial phrase has thus been “up-ranked” to a hypotactically dependent clause. The seed of such upranking often lies in the original; as in this case, the original may involve grammatical metaphor: *continued leadership* can be reconstrued in English more congruently as *continue to lead*, and it is this congruent “shadow” version that has been translated into Spanish (in “controlled languages” such considerations may be taken into account).

Table 13: Translation of a circumstantial prepositional phrase in English in a clause as a hypotactically dependent clause in Spanish in a clause nexus, taken from UN document by Kofi Annan

English (original)	Tactic structure (Spanish)	Spanish (translation)
I also wish to thank Mr. Brammertz	α	También deseo dar las gracias al Sr. Brammertz

[Purpose:] <i>for his continued leadership</i> [[in advancing the investigation of the attack]].		
	×β	<i>por continuar dirigiendo</i> la tarea de avanzar en la investigación del atentado.

In examples involving metaphorical phrases such as the one in Table 12, the phrase includes some version of the verb serving as the Process of the related congruent clause of the translation, here *continued leadership* ~ *continuar dirigiendo*; but in cases where the phrase is congruent rather than incongruent, the shift to a clausal variant in the translation involves the addition of a verb serving as Process, as illustrated in Figure 11. Here the French circumstantial phrase in the original, *avec la main*, is “upgraded” to a clause in the English translation, and this involves the addition of a verb serving as the Process of this clause, *gesturing*: *avec la main* ~ *gesturing with his hand*. In this respect, the translation is more explicit. (The reverse is true of the translation of the original clause in [1.2], *sans rien dire*, which is downranked to an adverbial group serving as a circumstance of Manner in clause [1.2] in the translation.)

French (original)	English (translation)
[1.1] Et puis, <u>avec la main</u> , lui disait	[1.1] And then, <u>gesturing with his hand</u> ,
[1.2] de venir	[1.2] he was <u>silently</u> telling him
[1.3] <u>sans rien dire</u>	[1.3] to come over,
[1.4] rapprochant sa main plusieurs fois de suite de sa figure.	[1.4] raising his hand up to his face several times.

Figure 11: Translations of circumstantial phrase in French original as hypotactically dependent clause in English (in clause [1.1]), and of hypotactically dependent clause in French original [1.3] as circumstantial adverbial group in English [1.2]

Underlying many shifts from the experiential mode to the logical mode of construing experience is the principle of **fractal types** within the ideational

metafunction (e.g. Matthiessen, 1995b; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006, 2013). These types are **projection** and **expansion**, and their various subtypes (including ‘purpose’ which was illustrated in the example in Table 13, and will be discussed in some more detail in Section 7.1). They are fractal in the sense that they are manifested throughout the content systems of many languages within different domains such as the domains of the clause nexus, the clause, the verbal group nexus, and the verbal group; and the patterns of manifestation are extended through grammatical metaphor, particularly into the domain of the nominal group. These manifestations obviously vary in a number of ways, but they are variations on fractal themes. When we trace translation shifts within the ideational metafunction, we will often find that while the domain of manifestation has changed, the fractal type has been retained.

7 Ideational: logical choices in source text

7.1 From the Logical to experiential mode within the ideational metafunction

In Section 6.2, I gave examples of parts of clauses being upgraded to clauses in their own right in a logically formed clause nexus in the translated text, as in Table 13. Not surprisingly, the reverse also occurs; that is, translators may choose to “downgrade” a clause that is logically related to another clause in a clause nexus to serve as a circumstance in the clause that it is related to in the original text. To illustrate this, let me first return to Baudelaire’s *L’albatros*: see Figure 11. Here I have represented four of the various translations of the poem into English. Two of the translators have preserved the clausal status of the purpose, translating *pour s’amuser* as *to amuse themselves*; but the other two translators have downgraded the clause in the original into phrases in their translations, *for their amusement* and *for sport*.

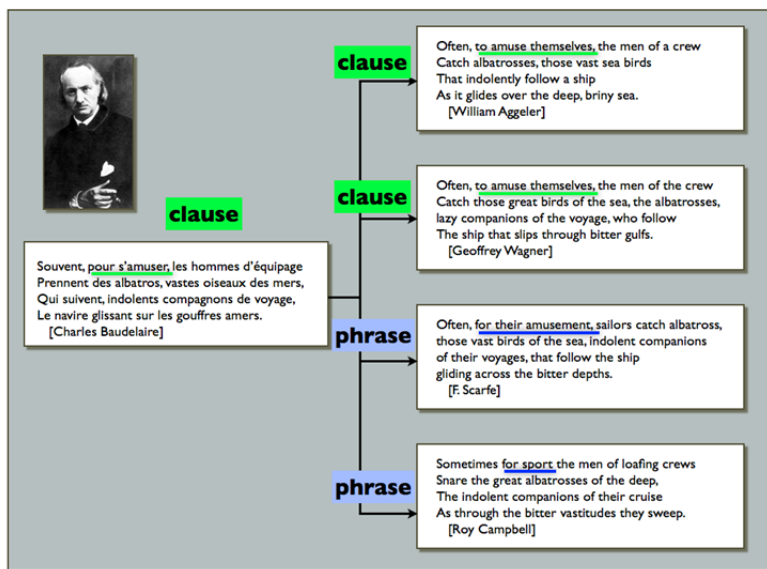


Figure 12: Translations of hypotactically dependent purpose clause in French original into English

Including a few more alternative translations of *pour s'amuser*, I have represented the logical and experiential alternatives diagrammatically in Figure 12. Interestingly, two of the translators have chosen to change the circumstance type from purpose to other types, Manner: *in sport* and Role: *as an amusement*, thus increasing the systemic separation from and distance to the original clause, *pour s'amuser*.

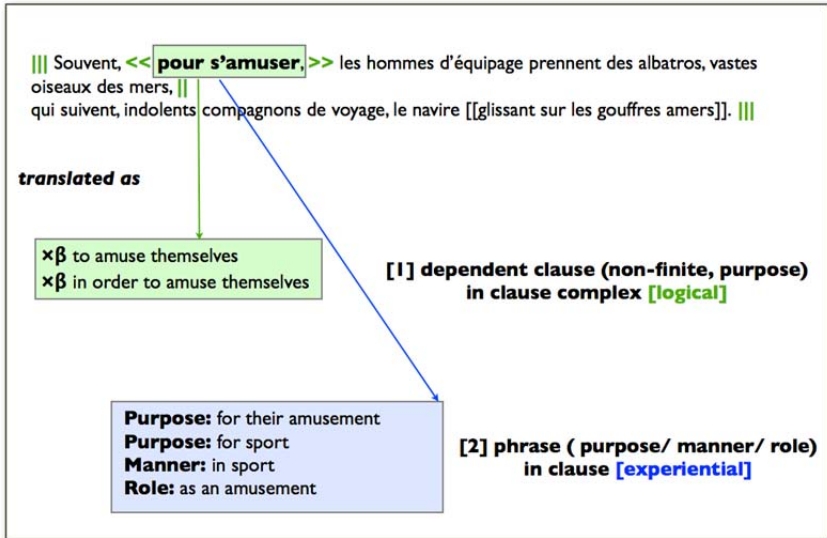


Figure 13: Translations of hypotactically dependent purpose clause in French original into English as (1) hypotactically dependent clause or (2) circumstantial phrase

When a translator “compresses” a clause in a clause nexus in the original text into a phrase serving as a related circumstance in the translated text, he or she will often use a nominalized form of the translation equivalent of the verb of the original clause, e.g. *amusement*. Such examples are grammatical metaphors; in other words, the move from the original to the translation is a move from a more congruent representation of experience to a more incongruent one. In the course of this translational metaphorization, the translator will reconstrue elements of the structure of the clause as Modifiers in the structure of the nominal group, as shown diagrammatically in Figure 14 below.

However, translators may alternatively choose a representation involving a non-metaphorical nominal representation of some form of activity, as with *sport* instead of *amusement* from *amuse oneself* in *for sport* and *in sport* in Figure 13 above.

As always, we can think of translation partly as a question of agnation — how many degrees of systemic separation are involved in the recreation of

meaning in the target language. There is a sense in which we can order the translations in Figure 13 in terms of degrees of agnation to the original as follows: *pour s'amuser* → *to amuse themselves* — *for their amusement* — *for sport* — *in sport*. Agnation is, of course, always a matter of more than one systemic variable; so while *as an amusement* retains the sense of process (although now reified) it shifts from purpose to role, and while *for sport* retains the sense of purpose, it attenuates the link to process.

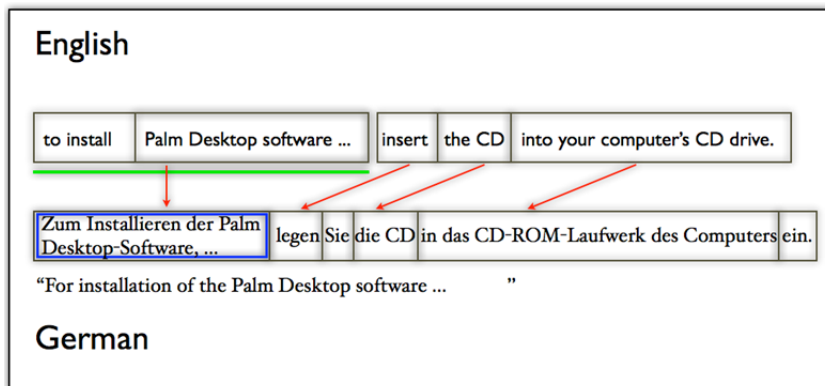


Figure 14: Translations of hypotactically dependent purpose clause in English original into German as circumstantial phrase of purpose

In the examples given so far, the clause in the original text that is tactically related to another clause is related by a logical-semantic relation of ‘enhancement’, one of the three subtypes of ‘expansion’ that Halliday has identified in his typology of logico-semantic relations (e.g. Halliday, 1985; see further Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006, 2013) — the other two types being ‘extension’ and ‘elaboration’. Enhancing clauses seem often to be translated by circumstances, but extending and elaborating clauses may be translated in other ways. I will just give one example here, an example of the translation of an ‘elaborating’ clause in Spanish downgraded by the translator in the English translation: see Figure 15. Here the ‘elaborating’ clause in Spanish, *que tenía diez años* ‘who was ten years old’, has been “compressed” into a sub-modified adjective, *ten-year-old*, serving as Epithet in a nominal group.

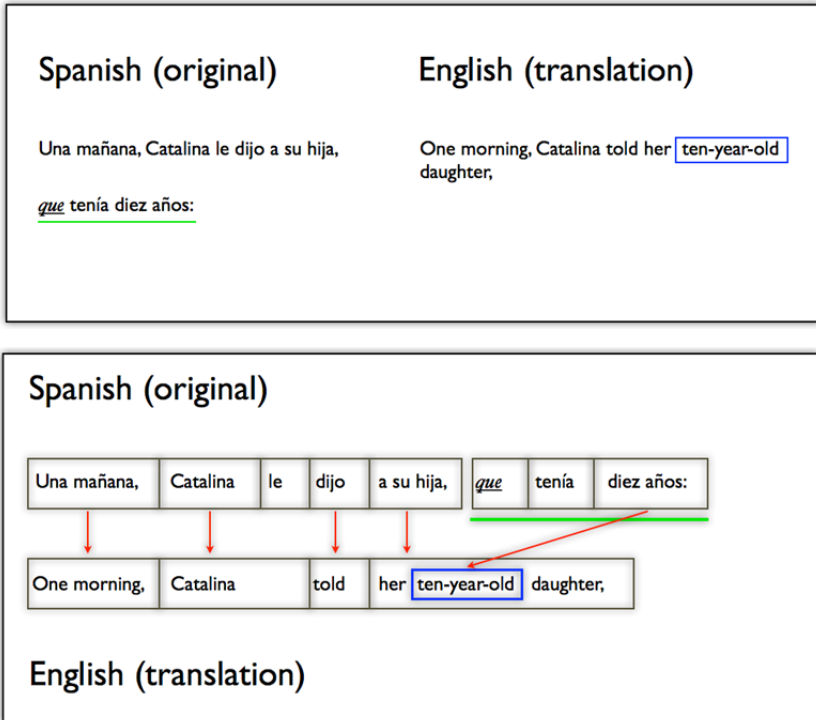


Figure 15: Translations of hypotactically dependent elaborating clause (“non-defining relative clause”) in Spanish original into English as adjective serving as Epithet in the nominal group whose referent is elaborated in the original

7.2 Logical to textual

As we have seen (Section 5.2), cohesive sequences of clauses that are structurally unrelated — i.e. that are not related tactically within the domain of a clause complex, may be translated by clauses that are related tactically, thus creating a shift from textual patterns to logical ones. Not surprisingly, translators also move in the other direction, from logical to textual, breaking tactic relations between clauses in clause complexes in the original text and translating them as cohesive sequences of clauses that are not structurally related, as illustrated by two examples from the translation of the German original of Kafka’s *Metamorphosis* into English in Table 14 and one example of the

translation of the English original of *Alice in Wonderland* into German in Table 15.

Table 14: Translation of German clause nexus in *Die Verwandlung* by Franz Kafka by cohesive sequence in the English translation, *Metamorphosis*¹⁶

		German (original)		English (translation)
(1)	1	Gregors Blick richtete sich dann zum Fenster,		Gregor's glance then turned to the window.
	+2	und das trübe Wetter — << man hörte Regentropfen auf das Fensterbleck aufschlagen >> — machte ihn ganze melancholisch.		The dreary weather — << the rain drops were falling audibly down on the metal window ledge >> — made him quite melancholy.
(2)	1	Nun, die Hoffnung ist noch nicht gänzlich aufgegeben,		Anyway, I haven't completely given up that hope yet.
	=211 α	habe ich einmal das Geld beisammen,	$\times\beta$	Once I've got together the money
	=211 $\times\beta$	um die Schuld der Eltern an ihn abzuzahlen —	$\times\gamma 1$	to pay off my parents' debt to him —
	=21=2	es dürfte noch fünf bis sechs Jahre dauern —,	$\times\gamma=2$	that should take another five to six years —
	=2 $\times 2$	mache ich die Sache unbedingt.	α	I'll do it for sure.

Table 15: Translations of an intricate clause complex in Lewis Carroll's (1865) *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* by a cohesive sequence in Zimmermann's (1869) German translation, *Alices Abenteuer im Wunderland*

tactic structure	English (original)	tactic structure	German (translation)
1"1	'Oh, I've had such a curious dream'	1"1	„O, und ich habe einen so merkwürdigen Traum gehabt!“
12	said Alice	12	sagte Alice
$\times 2$	and she told her sister, as well [[as she could remember]], all these strange Adventures of hers [[that you have just been reading about]];	$\times 2$	und sie erzählte ihrer Schwester, so gut [[sie sich erinnern konnte]], alle die seltsamen Abenteuer, [[welche ihr eben gelesen habt]].
$\times 3 \times \beta$	and when she had finished,	1 $\times\beta$	Als sie fertig war,
$\times 3 \alpha$	her sister kissed her,	1 $\alpha 1$	gab ihre Schwester ihr einen Kuß

¹⁶ From Franz Kafka, *Die Verwandlung*, translated as *The Metamorphosis* by Ian Johnston. Doppeltext.

tactic structure	English (original)	tactic structure	German (translation)
×41	and said,	×21	und sagte:
×4"21	'It was a curious dream, dear, certainly:	×2"211	„Es war ein sonderbarer Traum,
		×2"21=2	das ist gewiß;
×4"2×21	but now run in to your tea;	×2"2×21	aber nun lauf hinein zum Thee,
×4"2×2=2	it's getting late.'	×2"2×2=2	es wird spät."

In both cases (Table 14 and Table 15), the translations are less explicit than the original passages, not only because the tactic relation itself — in both cases, ‘parataxis’ rather than ‘hypotaxis’ — is not translated but also because the logico-semantic relation marked by *und* and *and*, respectively, is not translated. It could have been translated by means of a cohesive conjunction since the semantic fractal patterns of expansion are manifested in the cohesive system of CONJUNCTION, but translator has left it implicit in each case, quite possibly because it can reasonably be assumed to be inferable.

7.3 Remaining within the logical mode of the ideational metafunction

Most of the time, translators choose to stay within the logical mode of the ideational metafunction when they translate clause complexes in languages that are fairly similar in terms of their logical resources for combining clauses into complexes. However, there is still the potential for a shift — typically one in taxis, as illustrated by the examples in Table 16. In (1), the clause *schloß die Augen* in the German original is ‘free’, and is related paratactically to the preceding clause; but the translator has chosen to translate the clause as ‘bound’, *closing his eyes*, and related it hypotactically to the preceding clause. Similarly, in (2), the translator has chosen ‘hypotaxis’ — marked explicitly by *if*, rather than ‘parataxis’.

Table 16: Translation of German paratactic clause nexus in *Die Verwandlung* by Franz Kafka by hypotactic clause nexus in the English translation, *Metamorphosis*

	tactic structure	German (original)	tactic structure	English (translation)
(1)	1	Er versuchte es wohl hundertmal,	1 α	He must have tried it a hundred times,
	×2 α	schloß die Augen,	1× β	closing his eyes
	×2× β	um die zappelnden Beine nicht sehen zu müssen,	1× γ	so that he would not have to see the wriggling legs,

	$\times 3\alpha$	und ließ erst ab,	$\times 2 \alpha$	and gave up only
	$\times 3 \times \beta$	als er in der Seite einen noch nie gefühlten, leichten, dumpfen Schmerz zu fühlen begann.	$\times 2 \times \beta$	when he began to feel a light, dull pain in his side [[which he had never felt before]].
(2)	1	Das sollte ich bei meinem Chef versuchen;	$\times \beta$	If I were to try that with my boss,
	$\times 2$	ich würde auf der Stelle hinausfliegen.	α	I'd be thrown out on the spot.

8 Interpersonal choices in source text

The interpersonal metafunction provides the resources for enacting roles, relations and values as meaning; interpersonal choice are made in reference to tenor within context — the tenor of the relations between speaker and addressee. Interpersonal choices in the systems of MOOD (and related semantic system of SPEECH FUNCTION; see Halliday, 1984) in different languages have been illuminated in systemic functional linguistics in a number of comparative studies based on comparable texts in pairs or sets of languages, and I have already referred to them in another context above; they include text-based comparative studies — Teich (1999), Lavid (2000) and Murcia-Bielsa (2000). Such studies are complemented by Munday's (2012) recent account of "evaluation" in translation. He surveys translation studies concerned with "attitude", and uses the description of the system of APPRAISAL (see Martin & White, 2005) to explore translation issues in different kinds of text, shedding light on questions of axiology, heteroglossia and reading position.

8.1 Remaining within the interpersonal metafunction

The text-based comparative studies just mentioned and similar studies also discussed in Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu (2008), e.g. those undertaken under the heading of the "speech-act realization project", give many examples of choices in the system of MOOD that lead to translation shifts in this system while at the same time usually retaining the higher-level choice in SPEECH FUNCTION. This is what is to be expected: unless translation is "literal", like interlinear glossing (as in the glossing of the Korean example in Figure 10 above) in descriptive and typological linguistics, translators have the task of recreating meanings in the first instance, which means recreating through semantic choices in context, letting lexicogrammatical choices follow, as it were. Thus in the translation of the offer in Table 14, the translator has

retained the speech-functional nature of the ‘offer’, but made a different choice in the modal realization of it, going from the original ‘imperative’ to ‘interrogative’. Choices in translation can, of course, change the category of speech function, as illustrated in Table 15, where a suggestion — which we can interpret as intermediate between offer and command, involving both — is translated as a command (realized by ‘jussive’ imperative, i.e. one excluding the speaker) rather than as a suggestion (which in German would be realized by what Steiner & Teich, 2004: 147, call “speaker-inclusive”); but we can still see that original and translated versions are fairly closely agnate in terms of SPEECH FUNCTION.

Table 17: Translation of ‘offer’ from English into German, with change in realization by MOOD TYPE from ‘imperative’ to ‘interrogative’¹⁷

English (original)	MOOD TYPE	German (translation)	MOOD TYPE
‘Have some wine,’ the March Hare said in an encouraging tone.	imperative: jussive [address-see Subject]	„Ist dir etwas Wein gefällig?“ nöthigte sie der Faselhase.	interrogative: polar & non-interactant (subject)

Table 18: Translation of ‘suggestion’ in English original by ‘command’ in German

English (original)	MOOD TYPE	German (translation)	MOOD TYPE
‘Let us get to the shore, and then I’ll tell you my history, and you’ll understand why it is I hate cats and dogs.’	imperative: suggestive	„Komm mit mir an’s Ufer, da will ich dir meine Geschichte erzählen; dann wirst du begreifen, warum ich Katzen und Hunde nicht leiden kann.“	imperative: jussive

To explore interpersonal choices in translation a bit further, let me turn from the well-studied system of MOOD (and its semantic correlate, SPEECH FUNCTION) to another interpersonal system, the system of MODALITY, which has begun to be investigated in systemic functional terms in translation by e.g. Wang (2004). This system is quite variable across languages, in part because I think around the languages of the world there is a complementarity in the assessment of information between MODALITY and EVIDENTIALITY — assessing information in terms of belief in it (probability) and the nature of its source, respectively, a complementarity that is a kind of interpersonal ana-

¹⁷ From *Alice in Wonderland*, written by Lewis Carroll in 1865, and translated into German by Antonie Zimmermann in 1869.

logue to the complementarity within the ideational metafunction of TENSE and ASPECT as models of process time.

Here I will focus on one region within the English system of MODALITY in the assessment of information (as opposed to the assessment of actions in the exchange of goods-&-services): explicitly subjective assessments of probability. This region can be located within Halliday’s (e.g. 1985) overall description of the system of MODALITY: see Figure 16. Modalities of this type are expansions of the “core” system — metaphorical expansions where the resources of the ideational grammar of clause nexuses of projection have been “co-opted” to make the subjective orientation explicit. Paradigms of examples are set out in Figure 17, where the ‘explicit’ and ‘implicit’ manifestations of the orientation (‘subjective’ vs. ‘objective’) are contrasted.

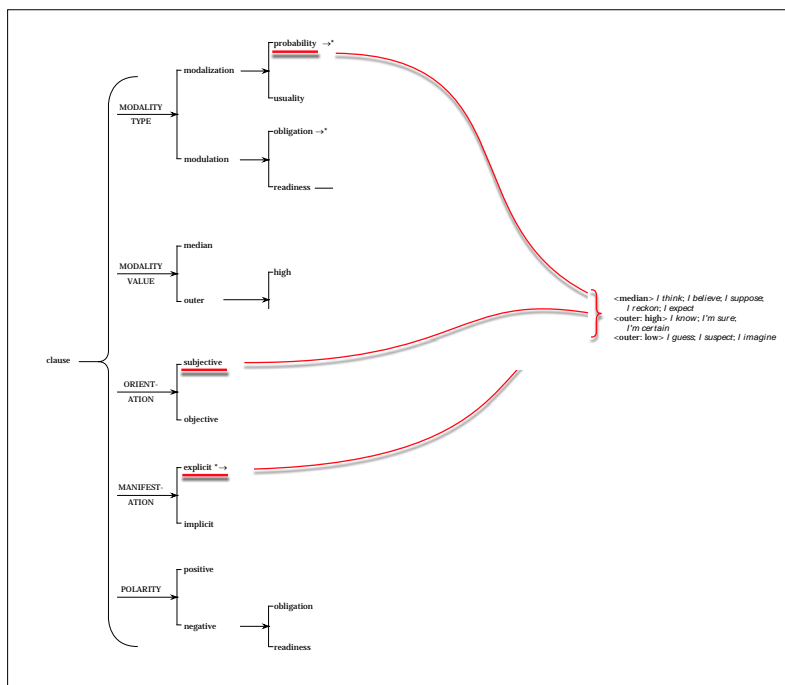


Figure 16: The system of MODALITY in English, focus on explicitly subjective assessments of probability — realized by metaphorical ‘cognitive mental’ clauses with Subject = ‘speaker’ [‘declarative’] or ‘addressee’ [‘interrogative’]

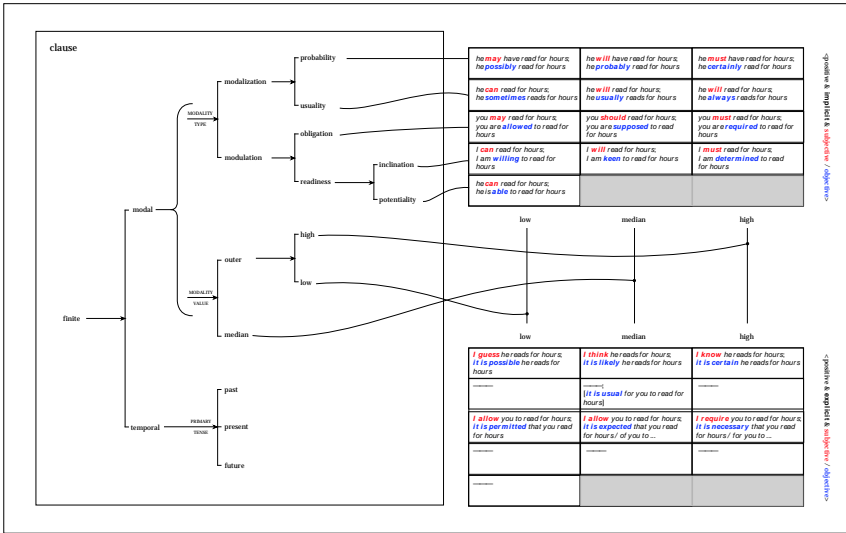


Figure 17: The system of MODALITY in English: paradigm of examples — ‘implicit’ in orientation in the top table and ‘explicit’ in orientation in the bottom table

We can use the description of the English system of MODALITY to probe original texts in English, identifying instances of explicitly subjective assessments of probability to find out how they are translated into other languages. (To give a systematic picture of what choices translators make in the target language, we would — of course — need comparable descriptions of the relevant interpersonal systems in that language.) As an illustration, I will draw on an exploratory investigation of the translation of explicitly subjective modalities of probability in the German translation of *Alice in Wonderland* by Antonie Zimmermann that appeared in 1869, just a few years after Lewis Carroll published the original in 1865¹⁸. In Table 19, I have listed instances in English of ‘high’ value realizations *I’m sure*, *I’m certain*; and ‘median’ value ones *I suppose*, *I think*, *I believe* aligned with the translations into German — there appear not to be any ‘low’ value ones.

¹⁸ Both the original and this translation are available from Project Gutenberg. Translation: <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/19778> There have of course been many translations since Zimmermann’s in 1869; see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_im_Wunderland#.C3.9Cbersetzungen_ins_Deutsche.

Table 19: Translations of explicitly subjective modalities of probability in Lewis Carroll's (1865) *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in Zimmermann's (1869) German translation, *Alices Abenteuer im Wunderland*¹⁹

VALUE	English (original)	German (translation)
high	'I'm sure I'm not Ada,' she said, 'for her hair goes in such long ringlets, and mine doesn't go in ringlets at all; and I'm sure I can't be Mabel, for I know all sorts of things, and she, oh! she knows such a very little! ...'	„Ich bin <i>sicherlich</i> nicht Ida," sagte sie, „denn die trägt lange Locken, und mein Haar ist gar nicht lockig; und <i>bestimmt</i> kann ich nicht Clara sein, denn ich weiß eine ganze Menge, und sie, oh! sie weiß so sehr wenig! ..."
	'... I'm sure I don't want to say here any longer.'	„... Ich bliebe <i>wahrlich</i> nicht gern länger hier!"
	'Nobody seems to like her, down here, and I'm sure she's the best cat in the world! ...'	„Niemand scheint sie gern zu haben, hier unten, und dabei ist sie <i>doch</i> die beste Katze von der Welt! ..."
	'... — no, that's all wrong, I'm certain! I must have been changed for Mabel! ...'	„... nein, <i>ich wette</i> , das ist Alles falsch! Ich muß in Clara verwandelt sein! ..."
median	'And that's the jury-box,' thought Alice, 'and those twelve creatures,' (she was obliged to say 'creatures', you see, because some of them were animals, and some were birds), 'I suppose they are the jurors.'	„Und jene zwölf kleinen Thiere da sind <i>vermuthlich</i> die Geschwornen," dachte Alice.
	'I shall be punished for it now, I suppose, by being drowned in my own tears! ...'	„jetzt werde ich <i>wohl</i> dafür bestraft werden und in meinen eigenen Thränen ertrinken! ..."
	'... and as it can't possibly make me larger; it <i>must</i> make me smaller, I suppose.'	„... und da ich unmöglich noch mehr wachsen kann, so wird es mich <i>wohl</i> kleiner machen, <i>vermuthe</i> ich."
	'To begin with,' said the Cat, 'a dog's not mad. You grant that?' — 'I suppose so,' said Alice.	„Zu allererst," sagte die Katze, „ein Hund ist nicht toll. Das giebst du zu?" — „Zugestanden!" sagte Alice.
	'... I suppose I ought to eat or drink something or other; but the great question is, what?'	„... <i>Ich dünkte</i> , ich sollte irgend etwas essen oder trinken; aber die Frage ist, was?"
	'... I suppose you'll be telling me next that you never tasted an egg!'	„... Du wirst am Ende noch behaupten, daß du nie ein Ei gegessen hast?"
	'... this fireplace is narrow, to be sure; but I think I can kick a little!'	„... der Kamin ist freilich eng, aber etwas werde ich doch <i>wohl</i> mit dem Fuße ausschlagen können!"
	'... I think that will be the best plan.'	„... Ja, das wird der beste Plan sein."

¹⁹ I've retained the spellings of the 1869 translation, including the old spelling of aspirated /tʰ/ in German by "th", as in *Thränen*.

VALUE	English (original)	German (translation)
	‘Twenty-four hours, I think ; or is it twelve? I —‘	„Vier und zwanzig Stunden, glaube ich ; oder sind es zwölf? Ich —,“
	‘If it had grown up,’ she said to herself, ‘it would have made a dreadfully ugly child: but it makes rather a handsome pig, I think .’	„Das wäre in einigen Jahren ein furchtbar häßliches Kind geworden; aber als Ferkel mach es sich recht nett, finde ich .“
	Alice sighed wearily. ‘ I think you might do something better with the time,’ she said, ‘than waste it in asking riddles that have no answers.’	Alice seufzte verstimmt. „ Ich dünkte , ihr könntet die Zeit besser anwenden,“ sagte sie, „als mit Räthseln, die keine Auflösung haben.“
	‘... I believe I can guess that,’ she added aloud.	„... Ich glaube , das kann ich rathen,“ fuhr sie laut fort.
	‘ I believe so,’ Alice replied thoughtfully.	„Ja, ich glaube ,“ sagte Alice nachdenklich, ...“

Interestingly, the translations of explicitly subjective modalities of probability into German are *quite varied*, as can be seen from the summary of Table 19 in Table 20. Modalities in the English original that are ‘high’ value and are realized by *I’m sure*, *I’m certain*, tend to be translated by modal adverbs (rather than modal verbs); there is only one clausal translation, *ich wette*, ‘I bet’, which can be interpreted as a ‘verbal’ clause — showing the connection between modal assessments and speech function. Contemporary German has equivalents of *I’m sure*, *I’m certain*, as in

Und **ich bin sicher**, dass wir auch eine Bankenunion bekommen werden.²⁰

but, as just noted, such explicitly subjective assessments of high probability do not occur in Zimmermann’s translation; instead, he opts for modal adverbs: *sicherlich*, *bestimmt*, *wahrlich*. In the English system of MODALITY, modal adverbs express implicitly objective assessments (the explicit version being relational clauses such as *it is certain* ...) — the features ‘implicit’ and ‘objective’ in the system network in Figure 16 above. In the case of ‘median’, as opposed to ‘high’, modalities in the English original, we find more analogous clausal translations in Zimmermann’s text, including *ich dünkte*, where the subjunctive mode contributes to the assessment of probability. In contrast with Zimmerman’s 1869 translation of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, the 1984 translation of Conan Doyle’s *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*, *Die Wiederkehr von Sherlock Holmes* by Alice and Karl Heinz Berger, includes

²⁰ Source: <http://www.zeit.de/2013/32/jean-claude-trichet/seite-3>.

many instances of translations of both ‘high’ and ‘median’ explicitly subjective modalities of probability by similar wordings in English, as illustrated by two examples (in clauses within the same clause complex) in Table 21.

Table 20: German translations of explicitly subjective modalities of probability in *Alice in Wonderland* — summary of examples in Table 16

VALUE	English (original)	German (translation)		
	clause	clause: cognitive mental / verbal	adverb: modal	not translated
high	<i>I'm sure</i>		<i>sicherlich, bestimmt, wahrlich, (doch)</i>	(√)
	<i>I'm certain</i>	<i>ich wette</i>		
median	<i>I suppose</i>	<i>ich vermute; ich dünkte</i> <subjunctive>	<i>vermutlich, wohl</i>	
	<i>I suppose so</i>	<i>(zugestanden)</i>		
	<i>I think</i>	<i>ich glaube; ich finde; ich dünkte</i> <subjunctive>	<i>wohl</i>	√
	<i>I believe</i>	<i>ich glaube</i>		

Table 21: Translations of explicitly subjective modalities of probability in *Conan Doyle's The Return of Sherlock Holmes in Alice & Karl Heinz Berger's 1984 translation Die Wiederkehr von Sherlock Holmes*²¹

VALUE	English (original)	German (translation)
high	Of the fate of Carruthers, I have no record, but I am sure that his assault was not viewed very gravely by the court, since Woodley had the reputation of being a most dangerous ruffian,	„Über Carruthers Geschick besitze ich keine Aufzeichnung; aber ich bin sicher , daß seine Gewalttat vom Gericht als nicht so schwerwiegend angesehen wurde; denn nur Woodley stand im dem Ruf eines höchst gefährlichen Verbrechers,“
median	and I think that a few months were sufficient to satisfy the demands of justice.	und so glaube ich , daß man ein paar Monate für ausreichend gehalten hat, um dem Recht Genüge zu tun.

²¹ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Return of Sherlock Holmes / Die Wiederkehr von Sherlock Holmes*. Zweisprachige Ausgabe, übersetzt von Alice und Karl Heinz Berger. Doppeltext.

8.2 Interpersonal to ideational

In Zimmermann's translation of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, there is at least one instance of a cognitive mental clause used as a translation of an implicitly objective assessment of probability in the English original: see Table 22. This can be interpreted as a shift from interpersonal to logical in the sense that the translation introduces a logical structure, a clause nexus of projection; and this is of course one of the strategies languages have evolved for expanding the options in interpersonal meaning as part of **interpersonal metaphor**.

Table 22: Translation of implicitly objective assessment of probability in English by means of a cognitive mental clause in German

VALUE	English (original)	German (translation)
low	' <i>Perhaps</i> not,' Alice cautiously replied: 'but I know I have to beat time when I learn music.'	„ Ich glaube kaum,“ erwiderte Alice vorsichtig; „aber Mama sagte gestern, ich sollte zu meiner kleinen Schwester gehen und ihr die Zeit vertreiben.“

It seems likely that shifts of this kind occur fairly often precisely because clause nexuses of projection serve as a realizational resource for extending the interpersonal meaning potential. However, in parallel texts involving English and German and English and Spanish that I have examined, projection nexuses occur in both languages, as in Table 23.

Table 23: Polite commands in the English and German versions of *The Return of Sherlock Holmes*: analogous interpersonal metaphors of MOOD in English original and German translation involving clause nexus of projection

tactic structure	English (original)	tactic structure	German (translation)
α	Might I ask you, Watson	α	Dürfte ich Sie bitten, Watson,
“ β 1	to open the window	“ β 1	das Fenster zu öffnen
“ $\beta \times 2$	and then put a match to the edge of the straw?	“ $\beta \times 2$	und dann das Stroh hier am Rand anzuzünden?

There are some exceptions, e.g. involving the calibration of the speech function ‘command’ in relation to tenor values, as in Table 24. In origin, English *pray* was of course a verb, but it has become an adverb serving as an interpersonal Adjunct of ‘entreaty’ alongside other alternatives such as *please* and *kindly*. In contrast, the Spanish translation is a full-fledged clause nexus of projection.

Table 24: Polite commands in English and Spanish

tactic structure	English (original)	tactic structure	Spanish (translation)
"1	"Pray take a seat,"	"1 α	"Le ruego
2	said Homes.	"1" β	que tome asiento,"
		2	dijo Holmes.

9 Choice represented systemically

In the exploratory investigation of the translation of modal choices in *Alice in Wonderland*, I introduced and used the system network Halliday has developed as part of his description of the meaning potential of modality in English (see Figure 17 above). By using such system networks in our study of choices in translation, we can locate the ones under investigation within the overall system of a language, and we can show explicitly which parts of the overall meaning potential are being deployed — we can **profile** the choices made in the original text, and in the translation into the target text, against the meaning potentials of the source and target languages, showing clearly which options are selected and which ones are not. If we assume for the sake of illustration, that the most general systems of MODALITY in English and German are the same²², we can also use system networks to show how selections in the source language tend to be recreated through selections in the target language: see Figure 18. This figure shows that certain selections are retained in the target language: ‘probability’, ‘high’ (shown by solid lines) whereas other selections are shifted): ‘subjective’ is replaced by ‘objective’, and ‘explicit’ by ‘implicit’ — in Antonie Zimmerman’s translation of *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*. That is, it is possible to suggest systemic generalizations about tendencies in translation — generalizations that lie behind different grammatical or lexical items.

²² The English and German systems are, of course, interestingly different various ways. Seen “from below” they differ in that modal verbs in German have full paradigms and are not morphologically anomalous as in English, and German has retained the subjunctive mode of the verb whereas in English it is vestigial; seen “from roundabout” they differ for example in that evidentiality is “spliced into” the German system of modality — *sollen* has both modal and evidential senses; and this extends to the subjunctive mode. In translation, priority must be given to the view “from above” — the view of modality from the vantage point of semantics in context, and this view invites the representation of modality in the lexicogrammar as a system network with realization statements that can include a range of “form classes”, not only modal verbs but also modal adverbs, modal adjectives, modal nouns, and both ‘mental’ and ‘relational’ clauses.

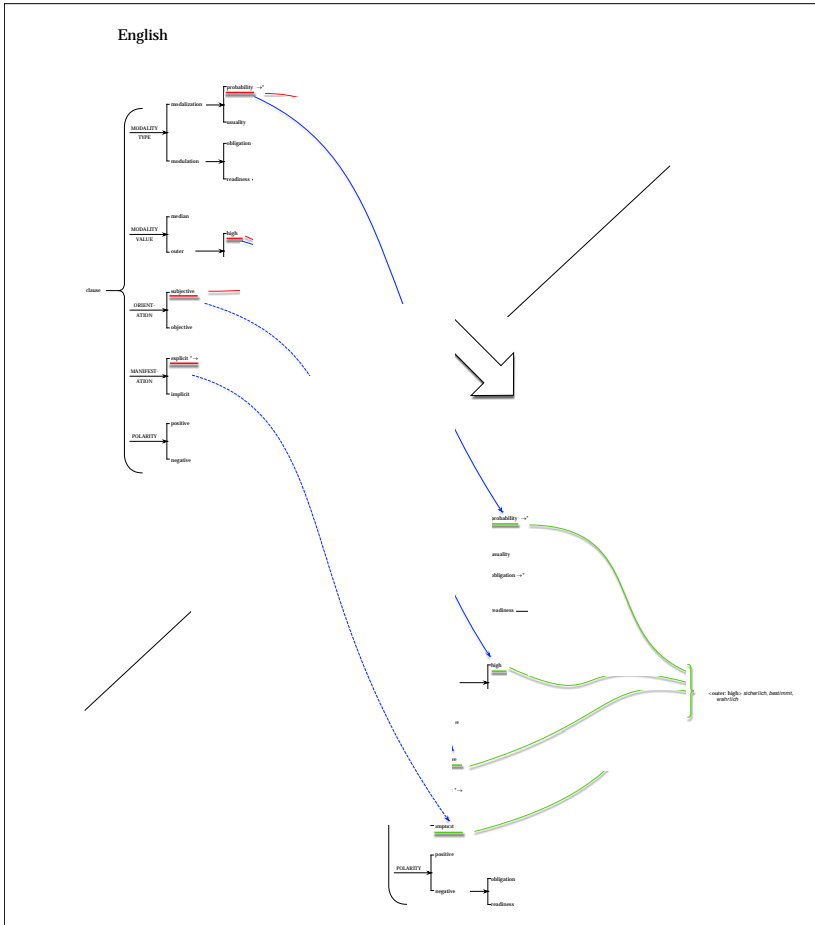


Figure 18: Systemic tendency in the translation of high-value explicitly subjective modalities of probability from English into German in Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland

This way of using systemic descriptions of languages to profile selections in texts against the background of the overall meaning potential can be compared with Gibbons & Markwick-Smith’s (1992) use of Halliday’s systemic description of MODALITY to identify and diagnose problems in written texts produced by learners of English. For example, we can identify areas of the meaning potential that appear to be under-used, like the combination of

‘explicit’ and ‘subjective’ with modalities of high probability in Zimmermann’s translation of *Alice in Wonderland* into German; and we compare the choice in the translated text with choices in translators by other translators (cf. Table 21 above) but also with choices in comparable original texts in the target language.

In the example of modality just given, differences in choices between the original text and the translated text are located within the “same” systems — the shift from ‘subjective’ to ‘objective’ in the system of ORIENTATION, and the shift from ‘explicit’ to ‘implicit’ in the system of MANIFESTATION. Similarly, we can reason systemically about the choices made by different translators in the translation of the modal adverb *souvent* in the extract from *L’albatros* shown above in Figure 1: the English translators have translated it as a modality of ‘usuality’ in the system of MODALITY TYPE in Figure 16, but in the system of MODALITY VALUE they chosen either ‘median’ (*often*) or ‘low’ (*sometimes*). However, system networks will, of course, also help us capture other kinds of paradigmatic shift — shifts that are not confined to particular systems such as ORIENTATION, MANIFESTATION, or MODALITY VALUE.

With the help of system networks, we can reason about systemic shifts beyond the same system in the source and target languages in terms of **degree of systemic separation** with respect to (i) delicacy when systems are ordered in delicacy, and (ii) simultaneity when systems are not ordered in delicacy, i.e. not on the same path of delicacy, as in change across subsystems with *snare, trap* vs. *catch* vs. *take* sketched in Figure 2 above: see Figure 19 below.

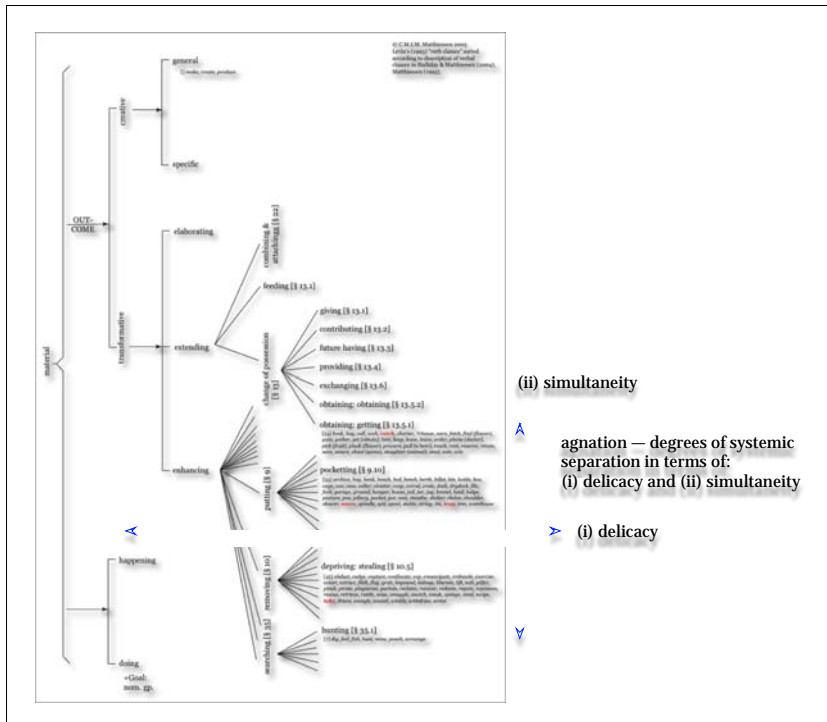


Figure 19: Degrees of systemic separation among alternative translations of French *prenez* in English translations of clause from Baudelaire's *L'albatros*

Variation in delicacy in translation is certainly an area where more systemic functional studies will be very welcome precisely because systemic investigations can be based on system networks; but it is also possible to interpret certain studies in other frameworks in broadly systemic terms and such interpretations can feed into further systemic functional research involving explicit statements in terms of system networks. For example, Rojo & Valenzuela (2001) investigated the translation of verbs of 'saying' in the Spanish translations of four English novels, paying special attention to the degree of generality / specificity in the senses of such verbs — i.e. to delicacy, in our terms. They distinguished general verbs — *say*, *speak*, *talk* and *tell* in English, and *contar* 'tell', *decir* 'say, tell', *hablar* 'speak, talk' and *charlar* 'chat' in Spanish — from the rest, which they characterized as specific — verbs lexicalizing features of 'saying' such as manner of speaking. Based on this general

distinction in delicacy (in our terms), they then investigated the tendencies in the translation of the four novels; I have summarized their findings in Table 19 (recasting and generalizing their Table 5). The most common choice is to retain low delicacy in the specification of verbs of ‘saying’; in 55% of all the cases, general verbs of ‘saying’ in English are translated by general ones in Spanish, but in a good number of cases (just over 20%), translators have increased the delicacy in the specification of the verb of ‘saying’. High delicacy specifications are typically translated by high delicacy ones — in just over 22% of all the cases. Interestingly, instances where the delicacy is reduced in the translation are rare, at only 2% of all the cases (thus contrasting with Slobin’s, 1996, 2004, findings in the study of the translation of verbs of motion). In a systemic functional study, the translation of verbs of saying would be analysed as part of the transitivity patterns of the clauses where they function as Process, also taking other relevant elements into account such as circumstances of Manner and noting whether the clauses project quotes or reportss.

Table 25: Translation of general and specific verbs of ‘saying’ from English into Spanish in Rojo & Valenzuela (2001)

	<i>source:</i>	English	
<i>target:</i>		general	specific
Spanish	general	220 (55%)	8 (2%)
	specific	83 (20.75%)	89 (22.25%)

Variation in delicacy in translation is, of course, to be expected in the translation of experiential meaning since the experiential mode of construal centrally involves construing taxonomies of phenomena (see e.g. Wignell, Martin & Eggins, 1993; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2006), and such taxonomies vary considerably across languages (and even across the registers of a single language, as has been noted in comparison of folk taxonomies, scientific taxonomies and intermediate expert taxonomies). However, we also find such variation in the translation of meanings within the other metafunctions, probably best illuminated in the literature with respect to interpersonal meaning: see Matthiessen, Teruya & Wu (2008); Teruya et al. (2007). For example, in the translation of *Sherlock Holmes* into German referred to above, the translator had to make a choice in the translation of ‘imperative’ clauses addressed by Holmes to Watson or by Watson to Holmes concerning the “interpersonal distance” between them (cf. Steiner & Teich, 2004: 147-148): in German, it is necessary to take this further step in delicacy in ‘imperative’ clause; a ‘jussive’ imperative clause (i.e. addressee-oriented, with ‘you’ as Subject) is

either ‘polite’ (‘Sie’) or ‘non-polite’ (‘du’ [singular] / ‘ihr’ [plural]), and in the case of Holmes and Watson it turns out that their relationships in the negotiation of commands is enacted through ‘polite’ imperative clauses.

10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored translation as **choice in meaning**, covering all four modes of meaning identified by M.A.K. Halliday in his theory of metafunctional modes of meaning — choices in textual meaning, in logical meaning, in experiential meaning, and in interpersonal meaning. For each kind of metafunctional choice, I have presented examples where translators have remained within the same metafunctional mode of meaning and also examples of where they have crossed over from one metafunction to another. Reflecting the exploratory nature of the study, my choice of examples has been opportunistic: I have selected from examples I have collected over the years and I have investigated texts that are easy to access such as published parallel texts. Building on this exploration, the next step should certainly be a much more systematic investigation based on a principled sample of texts from a good range of different registers forming a multilingual corpus — the kind of research project that needs serious funding so that a team of researchers covering different language pairs can be involved.

I hope that what I have sketched here can serve as input to the formulation of future research projects — research projects that can systematically address research questions that I have only been able to explore informally here:

- what degree of systemic separation do choices produce in translation — minimal “equivalence” or maximal “shift”; and what are common shifts in terms of delicacy — more or less constant delicacy, increase in delicacy, decrease in delicacy?
- to what extent are choices made within the same metafunction and to what extent do they entail a shift from one metafunction to another; and what are common shifts in metafunctional modes of meaning — are there favoured directions of shift such as the experientialization of meaning (as in grammatical metaphor)?
- how far up do we have to ascend in terms of rank and in terms of stratification to locate the systems where meanings are located through choices in the target language?

All these questions can be explored — and hopefully answered — by developing descriptions of a **multilingual meaning potential** for each set of languages involved in translations (cf. Bateman, Matthiessen & Zeng, 1999). A description of a multilingual meaning potential will include meaning potentials of the source language and of the target language or languages; but these descriptions have to be integrated in such a way that they show how the multilingual meaning potential supports multilingual processes such as translating and interpreting but also the multilingual processes of code switching and code mixing. The general framework is in place — and it is part of the KPML system developed and maintained by John Bateman. However, there are many empirical questions that need to be addressed through extensive manual and automated text-based research. In terms of translation, the key issue is that of **multilingual agnation** in the multilingual meaning potential since the choices that translators make in the recreation of meaning in the target language will be based on patterns of multilingual agnation. The account will be tested in particular in areas where there is a high degree of systemic separation, i.e. where we have to take a number of descriptive steps to specify multilingual agnation. There are many possible test cases here; a particularly interesting one would be the translation of choices in a tense system (as in English, German or Spanish) by choices in an aspect system (as in Chinese) or by choices in a mixed tense-aspect system (as in Russian and Modern Standard Arabic). This is a challenging test case because tense and aspects are quite different but complementary models of time in the process.

I started this paper with an example of multiple translations of a text, the extract from Baudelaire's *L'albatros*, saying that as we examine multiple translations, we are likely to find more of the meaning potential of the target language revealed — which is part of the multilingual meaning potential translators operate with. Let me round off the discussion with another example of multiple translations, this time a verse of the German original *Die Moritat von Mackie Messer*: see Table 26.

Table 26: Multiple translations of Kurt Weill & Bertolt Brecht's *Die Moritat von Mackie Messer*, "The Ballad of Mack the Knife", from their *Die Dreigroschenoper*

German (original)	English translation: "literal"	English translation: Bitzstein 1954	Manheim-Willet 1976	Donmar Warehouse production 1994
<i>Und der Hai-fisch, der hat Zähne,</i>	And the shark, he has teeth,	Oh the shark has pretty teeth, dear	<i>See the shark with teeth like razors,</i>	<i>Though the shark's teeth may be lethal,</i>
Und die trägt er im Gesicht.	And he wears them in his face.	And he shows them pearly white.	You can read his open face.	Still you see them white and red.
Und Macheath, der hat ein Messer,	And Macheath, he has a knife,	Just a jack-knife has Macheath dear,	And Macheath, he's got a knife, but	But you won't see Mackie's flick knife,
Doch das Messer sieht man nicht.	But the knife one does not see.	And he keeps it out of sight.	Not in such an obvious place.	Cause he's slashed you and you're dead.

There is a great deal to be said about even the extract shown in Table 26, but I will confine myself to just a few brief comments on the first line, the clause *Und der Hai-fisch, der hat Zähne*. Textually, this clause has a 'focussed' Theme which is picked up anaphorically: *der Hai-fisch* — *der*; and this is echoed in the third line, *And Macheath, he has a knife*, helping to create the conditions for the analogy between the shark and Macheath. Experientially, the clause is 'relational', of the 'possessive' subtype — with possession in the generalized grammatical sense that includes both body parts and belongings; and again this is echoed in the third line, supporting the analogy between the shark and Macheath: *Und Macheath, der hat ein Messer*. Interpersonally, the clause is 'declarative'; and it is arguably negative in connotation, given the human view of sharks — and this negative connotation is given prominence, being presented in the 'focussed' Theme, so that the 'focussed' Theme of the third clause, *Macheath*, is set up to "inherit" the negative connotation — which is then reinforced by the New element within the Rheme, *ein Messer*.

The three published translations illustrate the challenge for translators — the metafunctional and stratal tensions embodied in translations of poetry and songs, since they have to try to translate patterns within the expression plane as well as within the content plane, in particular the rhyming pair in the second and fourth lines, *Gesicht* — *nicht*. In the translation of the clause of the first line, the translators have made choices ensuring that the ideational meanings are recreated: while the grammatical domains vary between clause, as in

the original (the Bitzstein translation), and nominal group (Manheim-Willett and Donmar Warehouse production translations), they have all recreated the sense of ‘shark’ + ‘have’ + ‘teeth’. Actually, this sense can be — needs to be — stated a bit more abstractly to bring out the fact that it embodies a fractal type, viz. the ‘extending’ subtype of the ‘expansion’ fractal: ‘shark’ + ‘extending relation’ + ‘teeth’. This fractal type is manifested within the PROCESS TYPE system of the clause as the ‘possessive’ type of ‘relational’ clause (original: *Und der Haiſisch, der hat Zähne*; the Blitzstein translation: *Oh the shark has pretty teeth, dear*); but it is also manifested within the domain of the nominal group, either as a Deictic of possession (the “genitive”; the Donmar Warehouse production translation: *the shark’s teeth*) or as a Qualifier of accompaniment (the Mannheim-Willett translation: *the shark with teeth like razors*).

See	the shark [with teeth [like razors]]			
Und	der Haiſisch,	der	hat	Zähne
And	the shark,	he	has	teeth
Though	[the shark' s]	teeth	may be	lethal

Figure 20: Extract from Table 26 — comparison of German original with two published translations, the Manheim-Willett translation (top row) and the Donmar Warehouse production translation (bottom row)

While the translators have recreated the ideational choices of the original²³ thanks to the existence of fractal patterns that are manifested in different grammatical domains (predictably with some variation across the different

²³ However, they have, of course, introduced ideational meanings not present in the original: by reconstruing the ‘possessive’ clause of the original as a nominal group, they have been able to give this nominal group a participant role in a new clause.

domains — which is, after all, precisely the nature of fractals), the translators textual and interpersonal choices are considerably more varied. I have shown this diagrammatically for two of the translations with respect to textual meaning in Figure 20. Textually, the original presents a message where there is a “flow” from Theme: ‘shark’ to New: ‘teeth’. This is re-presented in the Blitzstein translation, but not in the other two translations. In the Manheim-Willett translation, the nominal group manifestation of the ideational fractal of ‘shark’ + ‘extending relation’ + ‘teeth’ is given the status of New information; that is, the textual tension between ‘shark’ as Theme and ‘teeth’ as New is completely lost, the two having been given the same textual status. In contrast, in the Donmar Warehouse production translation, this ideational “package” is given the status of Theme, again without a distinction in textual status between ‘shark’ and ‘teeth’.

This final example of translations will, I think, serve as a reminder that the more translations we consider, the more we are likely to see of the meaning potential of the target language — in this particular case, the meaning potential of ‘extending’ relations; and at the same time, I hope the example serves to illustrate the importance of fractal types in translation. Since fractal types are manifested in different domains throughout lexicogrammatical systems, they provide us with an interesting and important challenge in the description of multilingual meaning potentials — a challenge which is surely a central one in the long-term research programme concerned with the development of accounts of translation as metafunctional choices in multilingual meaning potentials.

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***On the other hand you have different fingers*¹** **Cohesive ties and adversative relations: a contrastive study of the English “on the one hand” - “on the other (hand)”**

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Abstract

The focus of this paper is on signals of adversative relations in Erich Steiner’s English academic talks and writing compared to the written English subcorpora in GECCo². In Steiner’s publications, the relative frequency of ‘on the one hand - on the other (hand)’ is higher than in English originals and English translations in the GECCo corpus, while at the same time these phrases are more frequently used in English translations compared to English originals in GECCo.

1 Introduction

This paper grew out of an observation in the GECCo corpus, a resource for the contrastive analysis of English and German: there are no occurrences of *on the one hand* or of *on the other []* (followed by ellipsis of the noun *hand*) in written English originals, whereas in English translations of German written texts both phrases occur a number of times. Another observation that served as an inspiration for this paper is that English native speakers sometimes wonder ‘how many hands are required’ (Curzan 2013) when they use the phrase *on the other hand*. Curzan, a professor of English at the University of Michigan, states that she objects to the use of *on the other hand* when it does not follow *on the one hand*. For most of her editing life, including nine years as the co-editor of the Journal of English Linguistics, she has scanned

¹ Quote from Stephen Wright (American actor and writer).

² DFG-funded project “German-English Contrasts in Cohesion – Towards an Empirically-based Comparison – GECCo”: <http://www.gecco.uni-saarland.de/GECCo/Korpus.html>.

backward whenever she has come across *on the other hand* and replaced it with *in contrast*, or something similar, if there was no *on the one hand*.

Nevertheless, in genres where clarifying propositional connections and convincing the interlocutors are important, the usually contrastive *on the other hand* is frequently used as an alternative to *however*, i.e. as a ‘proper’ adversative connective³ not dependent on having a first hand. This is particularly the case in academic writing, despite the stylistic preferences of editors like Anne Curzan who systematically rid texts of all solitary *on the other hands* that are effectively doing their rhetorical job.

2 The use of adversative connectives in Erich Steiner’s academic written and spoken English

Erich Steiner sometimes uses the phrase *on the other hand* in his English publications to express contrasting ideas without explicitly mentioning *on the one hand* and thereby signposting to the reader in advance that he is going to refer to an opposing view later. In “The heterogeneity of individual languages as a translation problem” (Steiner 2004), *on the one hand* is not used, but we find the following sentence:

- (1) On the other hand, *the notion of translation has to be constrained, so as to make it a manageable notion relative to multilingual text-production and text-production within one language [...]. (Steiner 2004: 35 [emphasis added in this and following citations])*

Similarly the following use of the phrase does not refer back to *on the one hand* and also has [*o*]n *the other hand* in sentence-initial position.

- (2) *Assuming that it is a frequent translational strategy to resort to a superordinate term as a lexical equivalent in cases of lexical gaps or simply lack of knowledge, one might hypothesize greater generality in translations over originals. On the other hand, if contrastive registers of originals show different degrees of implicitness, possibly realized as higher generality in English of lexically realized concepts, as a register feature, as is sometimes hypothesized in comparisons of English and German texts, this might interfere with translational effects. (Steiner 2012: 13)*

³ Halliday/Hasan divide conjunctions of logical relations into Additive, Causal, Temporal and Adversative and within the group of adversative relations they distinguish between Adversative ‘proper’, Contrastive, Correction and Dismissal, cf. Halliday/Hasan 1976: 242-234.

In the British National Corpus (BNC), *On|on the other hand* appears approximately five times more often than *On|on the one hand*. The alternative phrase *On|on one hand*, without the definite article, should not be used according to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English⁴, while the OED entry reads as follows: “*on (the) one hand (also †on one hand)*”⁵ and the American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms explicitly allows both options (Ammer 1997: 329). There are no examples of this alternative construction in Steiner’s texts or in GECCo, but there are some in the BNC, e.g.:

- (3) *BNC 60 HH3: Faced with mutual incomprehension on one hand and linguistic imperialism on the other, there have been many attempts to introduce a standard world language.*⁶

On the one hand... on the other [] is a typical logical connective in Erich Steiner’s writing. As examples (1) and (2) have demonstrated, Steiner does not always use *on the one hand* or explicit parallel constructions when contrasting binary relations, but interestingly, when he does refer back to *on the one hand*, he has the tendency to use *on the other []* at the end of a sentence - *other* followed by a nominal ellipsis functioning as a cohesive device (for more details on the types and functions of ellipsis, cf. Halliday/Hasan 1976).

In Steiner 2012, we find four occurrences of *on the one hand – on the other []* that demonstrate this favoured use of ellipsis at the end of a sentence, all of which occur in the first two pages of the paper:

- (4) *At the same time, explanatory background for empirical results is increasingly sought in more sophisticated models of language contact in typologically based contrastive linguistics on the one hand, and in language processing in situations of multilinguality, including translation, on the other. (Steiner 2012: 3 (from the abstract of the paper))*
- (5) *At the same time, explanatory background for empirical results is increasingly sought in more sophisticated models of language contact in typologically based contrastive linguistics (e.g. Thomason 2001, Teich 2003, Doherty 2006, Fabricius-Hansen and Ramm eds. 2008, Siemund and Kintana. eds. 2008, Steiner 2008, Miestamo et*

⁴ <http://www.ldoceonline.com> [last checked 19/09/2013].

⁵ <http://www.oed.com> [last checked 19/09/2013].

⁶ This example has been extracted from the British National Corpus Online service, managed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. All rights in the texts cited are reserved. (<http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/>).

al. eds. 2008, Dunn et al 2011) on the one hand, and in language processing in situations of multilinguality, including translation, on the other (Alves et al 2010, Carl et al 2008). (Steiner 2012: 3)

- (6) *The result of these developments is a conceptual and methodological gap between the necessarily high level of abstraction of models on the one hand, and the data provided through shallow (and cheap), or else deeper (and more expensive), analysis and annotation of electronic corpora on the other. (Steiner 2012: 4)*
- (7) *The gap to be closed exists between the notions of explicitness/explicitation and contact through cohesion on the one hand, and the level of the available data on the other. (Steiner 2012: 4)*

In order to compare Erich Steiner's spoken and written academic language and to see, among other things, whether this particular structure is also typical of his academic talks, a transcription was made of his two talks at a symposium in Saarbrücken⁷. However, there are no occurrences at all of *on the one hand / on the other (hand)* in the approximately one-hour sample of Erich Steiner's spoken language. Nevertheless, contrasts and the word *other* appear relatively often, for example: *other possibilities, other people, other areas of research, other applications, other types, other things*, etc. and also in the plural: *a couple of others, others who...*, *developed by others*, or as a contrast between *some* and *others* (8):

- (8) *And in some context it may be important to speculate about some of them being designated as congruent and others otherwise, but that's not a necessary part of the model. (Transcription 1)*

3 A closer look at the distribution of adversative connectives in translated vs. original English texts in GECCo

In the GECCo corpus, *on the one hand / on one hand* is never used in English originals, but *on the other hand* occurs four times in English originals. The

⁷ Colloquium "Empirical Research into Translation and Contrastive Linguistics: Objectives, Methodologies, Types of Data", February 2013, Saarland University
 Transcription 1: E. Steiner: "The CroCo-experience and Future Directions" (presented with S. Hansen-Schirra & S. Neumann) / Transcription 2: E. Steiner: "German-English Contrasts in Cohesion (GECCo) – Objectives, Corpus Architecture, Evaluation" (presented with M. Amoia, K. Kunz, E. Lapshinova-Koltunski & K. Menzel) – Transcriptions of E. Steiner's talks available upon request, with the consent of the speaker.

corpus is annotated with various levels of linguistic information and can be queried with CQP (Evert 2005). The written part of GECCo is a translation corpus and consists of various genres (popular-scientific texts - POPSCI, fictional texts – FICTION, tourism leaflets - TOU, prepared political speeches - SPEECH, political essays - ESSAY, corporal communication - SHARE, instruction manuals - INSTR, websites - WEB) of English and German original texts (henceforth referred to as EO/GO). The subcorpora are balanced in terms of size (Table 1).

	Number of tokens	Number of texts
EO	286,211	110
GTRANS	284,561	110
GO	288,490	121
ETRANS	322,223	121

Table 1: Overall size of the written subcorpora in GECCo

Texts are aligned with their translations (GTRANS/ETRANS), which allows a direct comparison of translations and originals. The spoken part of the corpus does not include translations; this paper therefore focuses on the written corpus.

In written English originals in the GECCo corpus, there are no cases of *on the other* + nominal ellipsis of *hand* - the construction that Steiner uses about once per 2200 words in his 2012 publication (ca. 8800 words in total) - whereas in English translations of German written texts, there are 3.10 cases per 100.000 words (Table 2). It is probable that *On|on the other []* was not used in EO because it is generally rare in English, particularly in certain registers of which the corpus is comprised (INSTR, SHARE and WEB for example, where it is less typical or necessary to mention another opinion that should be considered in addition to the one given). In any case, you would not expect the phrase with a nominal ellipsis at the beginning of a sentence, but rather after NPs /PPs, as in the above example (3) from the BNC. In ETRANS, however, *on the other* followed by nominal ellipsis of *hand* was used ten times altogether, two of which in sentence-initial position. The full phrase *on the other hand* is used in EO, but in ETRANS it occurs about twice as often. It is noteworthy that in EO it is most characteristic for POPSCI, but also in ESSAY and WEB, while in ETRANS it is by far most emblematic of ESSAY, but also occurs more often in POPSCI and SPEECH than in other registers. Reference back to *On|on the one hand* was not used at all in English originals in GECCo, which might be a coincidence, but in all probability this phrase is indeed rarely used in original English texts of the registers the corpus contains.

		Absolute frequencies ⁸	Normalised per 100,000 words
On on one hand	EO	0	0
	ETRAN	0	0
On on the one hand	EO	0	0
	ETRANS	ESSAY 16 [6 10] 9 (4 in sentence-initial position) SPEECH 3 POPSCI 2 TOU 2 (both sentence-initial position)	4.96 (compared to 0 in EO)
On on the other hand	EO	POPSCI 10 [6 4] 4 ESSAY 2 WEB 2 FICTION 1 SPEECH 1	3.49
	ETRANS	ESSAY 22 [12 10] 8 (6 in sentence-initial position) POPSCI 6 (3 in sentence-initial position) FICTION 3 (2 in sentence-initial position) SPEECH 2 (1 in sentence-initial position) TOU 2 SHARE 1	6.83 (= ca. 2*EO)
On on the other []	EO	0	0
	ETRANS	ESSAY 10 [2 8] 8 (2 in sentence-initial position) POPSCI 1 SPEECH 1	3.10 (compared to 0 in EO)

Table 2: The frequency of “On|on the one hand” vs. “On|on (the) other (hand)” in subcorpora of written English in GECCo originals and translations⁹

⁸ The first number in square brackets refers to occurrences in sentence initial position, the second to other sentence positions.

⁹ Queried with CQP: [word='On|on'] [word='the'] [word='one'] [word='hand']; [word='On|on'] [word='the'] [word='other'] [word='hand'];

It would be interesting to know exactly why translators use these phrases more often than usual. Of course, there are other connectives in English and German that introduce contrast or an opposite view, such as *however, although, nevertheless, in contrast, though, alternatively, anyway, yet, in fact, whereas, yet while - at the same time, not only - but also / zum einen – zum anderen, auf der einen Seite - auf der anderen (Seite), einerseits – andererseits*, etc. that are not looked at closely here, but examples (9) and (10) from GECCo seem to indicate that the translators reflected carefully on the process of text creation, what the reader can be expected to know and what needs to be spelt out. Sometimes markers are added to structure the discourse and more connectives are used to maintain surface logicity. In (9), the translator added “*auf der einen Seite – auf der anderen Seite*” in a translation from English into German, indicating clear lines of thought and facilitating the comprehension of a temporarily ambiguous relative clause.

(9) a. *eo-gecco (essay_012-s36): [...] a few rich hedge fund managers and the overworked masses unable to access adequate schooling, hospitals or public transport.*

b. *gtrans-gecco: [...] auf der einen Seite wenige reiche Hedge-Fonds-Manager, auf der anderen die schuftenden Massen, die sich gute Schulen, Krankenhausbehandlungen und U-Bahnfahrten nicht leisten können.*

In (10), the German sentence contains two nominal ellipses in a long NP after adjectives with five and nine syllables without a head noun. Elliptical NPs consisting only of determiners and long adjectives are less common in English, especially when a sharp contrast is expressed, because they cannot be inflected for gender, case or number. Additionally, zero derivation can lead to word class ambiguity (e.g. *European*: noun / adj.).

(10)a. *go-gecco (speech_014-s19):[...] eine Verbindung zwischen den beiden Ufern des Mittelmeers, dem europäischen und dem nordafrikanisch-arabischen.*

b. *etrans-gecco: [...] a link between the two shores of the Mediterranean, the European shore on the one hand and the North African and Arab on the other.*

[word='On|on'] [word='the'] [word='other'] [pos!='nn.*']; (for this query, all hits in ETRANS were relevant cases while in EO no case of *on the other [hand]* was found and one irrelevant example had to be sorted out manually: *On one side of the road ... while <on the other I> could...).*

The translator added *shore* as a head noun after *the European* and split up the second adjective by using an additive conjunction, giving *North African and Arab*. As this would sound rather clumsy in sentence-final position, adding *on the one hand – on the other []* in close succession helps to achieve rhythm and to mark the contrast between precisely two items. *The other []* receives stress at the end of the sentence to emphasise this binary contrast.

Example (11) is the introductory sentence of an essay where the translator moved *away from the source text* by almost completely transforming the sentence. The contrast between the positively-connoted German NPs *wirtschaftlicher Wohlstand* and *soziale Gerechtigkeit* is not apparent and is suggested only implicitly through the verb *verbinden*. Contrast in the English translation is indicated by the preposition *between*, but also very explicitly by the addition of the contrastive connective and the use of the negatively-connoted *planned economy* and *turbocapitalism*, referred to as *dangerous extremes*.

(11)a. *go-gecco (essay_001-s2): Das deutsche Modell der sozialen Marktwirtschaft ist eine ökonomische Erfolgsgeschichte: Sie verbindet wirtschaftlichen Wohlstand und soziale Gerechtigkeit auf eine Weise, die ihresgleichen sucht.*

b. *etrans-gecco: German regulatory policy is a middle course between the dangerous extremes of the planned economy on the one hand and turbocapitalism on the other - and it has been proved to work.*

One possible explanation for the higher-than-usual frequency of these phrases in English translations in GECCo could be the assumption that translators generally have a tendency to make translations more explicit (Blum-Kulka 1986: 21). Several researchers have observed an increased frequency of connectives in translations (Castagnoli 2008, Beikian et al. 2013) which they interpret as a language pair-independent type of explicitation and as evidence underpinning the explicitation hypothesis. Englund Dimitrova (2005: 221) specifically found a correlation between the experience of translators and the explicitation of contrastive relations with an adversative connective. However, some corpus-based studies seem to lead to the conclusion that connective additions are due to language-pair specific contrasts. Musacchio and Palumbo (2009) claim that in translations from English into Italian, the insertion of connectives without counterparts in the source language is not as widespread as often suspected. Becher (2011) analysed data from an English-German parallel corpus and suggested that the majority of identified connective

additions are due to differences in the syntax, lexis and communicative norms of the source and target language.

Frequency differences of certain connectives in GECCo could be explained by a general underuse of explicit logical connectives in English native-speaker writing. The frequency of logical connectives depends on genres and individual authors, and heaviest use of English connectives is believed to be made in spoken language and academic writing (Jones 2010: 207). This general underuse of connectives in some registers is important for the interpretive role of the reader, as the absence of auxiliary vocabulary such as connectives may be an advantage for information processing and memorisation (Vivanco 2005). Written English probably has the tendency to represent logical relation in a more metaphorical way by means of verbal constructions, prepositions, nouns or adjectives ('logical metaphor', cf. Martin and Rose 2003: 140), where readers have to unpack the connections between sentences more actively. It is possible that written German generally has more surface logicity where writers explicitly state their views and indicate discourse organisation to guide the reading process. The higher frequency of conjunctions and logical connectives in translations can be attributed to interference from the source language, as German original texts in GECCo may have signalled intended connections more explicitly through more logical connectives. In sum, the phenomenon seems to arise due to the combined influences of the source language, explication as a translation universal, sentence stress and rhythm and stylistic conventions of the text genre.

Interference from the source language could also explain why there are more nominal ellipses after *other* in ETRANS. In (12), the beginnings of the English sentences correspond to the German structure in the source text: *auf der einen Seite – auf der anderen []*. In another example in ETRANS, *on the one hand - on the other []* was used to translate *zum einen - zum anderen*.

(12) a. *go-gecco (essay_020-s8-10): Von außen betrachtet zeigen die neuen Bundesländer ein ambivalentes Bild: Auf der einen Seite hohe Arbeitslosigkeit, immer noch notwendige Transferzahlungen aus dem Westen. Auf der anderen hohe Wachstumsraten in der Industrie [...]*

b. *etrans-gecco: Viewed from outside, eastern Germany presents a rather contradictory picture. On the one hand, it has high unemployment and continues to need funds from the west. On the other, it is enjoying high levels of industrial growth [...]*

There were no cases of the unusual construction *on the one hand – on the other one* in GECCo nor the BNC, but this additional *one* as a nominal substitute is sometimes used in texts by (and in this case also about) L2/FL writers:

- (13) “[...]that make the comparability of the findings of composing research more difficult, on the one hand, and raise some questions about the validity of some schemes, or at least some parts of them, on the other one. (Abdel Latif 2009: 1)

The higher frequency of nominal ellipses after *other* is due to the ‘fingerprints’ (Gellerstam 2005) of German, as the source language, on English translations. Due to stronger morphological marking, German allows nominal ellipses in a wider range of contexts. English translations from German show a ‘shining-through’ effect with regard to the use of nominal ellipsis from the source language into the target language (Teich 2003). They have empirically identifiable traces of source language interference in terms of proportional frequencies of constructions with the potential to spread from translated to non-translated target language texts, or, as Steiner (2012: 13) phrases it (using a nominal ellipsis after *other*):

- (14) *For translations from one of these languages into the respective other, we would then predict an interference-like “shining-through” effect (cf. Teich 2003) of source registers onto their target corpora. (Steiner 2012: 13)*

One observation in GECCo was that ellipses after *the other* regularly occur in pairs or clusters of nominal ellipses either in the same sentence, the same paragraph or the same text (cf. example (10), (15) and (16)) although the use of nominal ellipsis as a cohesive device is generally rare in the whole corpus, particularly in some registers and in some individual texts. However, querying a small number of certain triggers like determiner + *one*¹⁰, *other*, *next* or *last* could facilitate the detection of more cases of nominal ellipsis after numerals, quantifiers and adjectives in a larger corpus.

- (15) *eo-gecco (fiction002-s14 et seqq.): There was not one way but many, all athwart each other like the cracks on a crazy jug, and he followed first one and then the other, choosing the straightest and stoniest and finding himself always under the hot-sun at another crossing just like the one he had just left. [...] For it was himself, surely, she offered*

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the difference between *one* as a nominal substitute and *one* followed by nominal ellipsis, cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 100-101.

him, as the other offered the sunlit earth, and he turned from the gold lady and would have taken the silver, but caution, or curiosity, restrained him, for he thought he would still see what the dim last might offer, compared to her two sweet sisters.

- (16) *We shall discuss three test cases [...]: one of them investigates a key notion of translation (explicitation) using product-data, the other an under-researched area of language contact (borrowing and interference phenomena on the level of cohesion), again using product-data from a corpus, and the third investigates key aspects of language processing during translation, thus focussing on process-data. (Steiner 2012: 4)*

4 Main differences in the use of adversative connectives in written English texts in GECCo vs. Steiner's academic writing

Although the 'corpus' of two publications by Steiner (2004/2012) is rather small with approximately 15,000 tokens, it nevertheless shows some typical features of written academic English in general and Erich Steiner's writing style in particular. In the papers analysed, Steiner does not use *on the one hand* or *on the other* [] at the beginnings of sentences, but only within or at the ends of sentences to contrast NPs / PPs rather than clauses. *On the other hand* is only used in sentence-initial position in Steiner 2004/2012 and is not preceded by *on the one hand*.

		Absolute frequencies	Normalised per 100,000 tokens
On on the one hand	EO	0	0
	ETRANS	16 [6 10]	4.96
	Steiner2004/2012	4 [0 4]	26.67
On on the other hand	EO	10 [6 4]	3.49
	ETRANS	22 [12 10]	6.83
	Steiner2004/2012	2 [2 0]	13.33

On on the other []	EO	0	0
	ETRANS	10 [2 8]	3.10
	Steiner2004/2012	4 [0 4]	26.67

Table 3: The frequency of On|on the one hand vs. On|on the other (hand) in subcorpora of written English in GECCo vs. Steiner2004/2012

In Steiner's academic writing, the phrases *on the one hand / on the other (hand)* occur considerably more often than in EO/ETRANS GECCo, which might be explained by academic writing style in general and the assumption that Germans make cohesive relations more explicit by connectives, whereas English has a tendency to use less congruent ways to express logico-semantic relations.

5 Conclusion

There is an old joke that is often told about economists and attributed to U.S. President Harry Truman, who wanted to hire a one-armed economist. Why a one-armed economist? An article in *The Economist* magazine (Krugman 2013) explains that President Truman was frustrated because his economists kept telling him: "*on the one hand...on the other*".¹¹ However, Truman was wrong because one-armed economists (and this probably applies to researchers in general) come in two dogmatic varieties, those with only a right arm and those with only a left - "and then you need a two-armed eclectic to adjudicate between them" (Samuelson 1986: 826). On few research questions is all the plausible evidence on one side. That is why we need researchers like Erich Steiner who explore and weigh up all sides of an argument and say *on the other hand*, and sometimes even on a third or a fourth hand.

¹¹ Interestingly, in Krugman's article, *on the other* is followed by an ellipsis of the noun *hand*, a structure that was not used in GECCO-EO. People also often use the full NP when talking about Truman's famous (alleged) quote (e.g. Rhoads 1985: 1).

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“It just so happened”: Markers of focus in narrative and their translation

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Abstract

“It just so happened” and “lo and behold” are formulas for focusing attention in narrative. They convey that the action to come was unexpected, positioning the teller epistemically regarding the coming events and aligning her/him with the recipient regarding relevant expectations about the events. These two formulas differ from various other literal focusing phrases like “the point is” and “here’s what happened,” which guide recipients, but do not align them with the teller. Their idiomatic character and special force in epistemically positioning the teller and their consequent discourse function renders these formulas difficult to translate adequately. Translations generally fail to express the unexpectedness of the events to be described from the perspective of the narrator, and this supports the contention that translations tend toward normalization, explicitation, and de-metaphorization.

1 Introduction

This article investigates the narrative focusing formula “it just so happened” and its implications for translation. Narrators focus the attention and interest of story recipients in various ways. They may use forceful language such as swearwords and interjections and they may deploy explicit expressions like “here’s the point” and “what I’m saying is,” but there are also grammatical constructions for establishing focus in subtler ways, for instance “it just so happened,” and “lo and behold.” These constructions typically focus and foreshadow actions, while the semantically explicit expressions tend to focus evaluations. Such formulas instantiate an important means of establishing focus and indicating stance in storytelling, playing an interesting role in narratives of all types, spoken and written, conversational and literary. As formulas with primarily textual as opposed to ideational meaning, “it just so happened” and its kin resist translation.

Consider the function of “it so happened” in the passage below from Jane Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility*.¹

I come now to the relation of a misfortune, which about this time befell Mrs. John Dashwood. *It so happened* that while her two sisters with Mrs. Jennings were first calling on her in Harley Street, another of her acquaintance had dropt in—a circumstance in itself not apparently likely to produce evil to her. But while the imaginations of other people will carry them away to form wrong judgments of our conduct, and to decide on it by slight appearances, one’s happiness must in some measure be always at the mercy of chance.

Here “it so happened” prepares the reader for “a circumstance ... likely to produce evil” in the following text. The little word *so* transforms the fairly neutral construction “it happened (that)” into a unit which highlights the action next described and suggests something unexpected about it. Even coming just after a sentence with the ominous “misfortune” and “befell,” the phrase “it so happened” suggests not just misfortune but unexpectedness. *So* before a verb in English has special effects: it recalls constructions with *so ... that* such as “For God so loved the world that ...” (Matthew 7,3), and related affective constructions like “We’re SO looking forward to your visit” as well as children’s argument structure: “She does NOT care - She does SO care.” Recently speakers of (American) English are heard using constructions like: “I’m SO crushing on you” and even “She’s SO not leaving.” *So* definitely signals stress and marks focal points.

“It (just) so happened” is a formulaic phrase storytellers deploy to focus central events or salient details shortly to come in their narratives and to guide recipients to their main point or evaluation. It presumably groups with emphasis markers in the terminology of Fraser (1996). The formula highlights the teller’s attitude, perspective or assessment of the actions reported, serving to position the teller epistemically: compare Mithun (1986) and Chafe (1986) on similar phrases relating to expectations like “sure enough” and “of course.” This positioning aligns the narrator with the recipient in the sense of Du Bois (2007). Whatever else these units mean/do in narrative, they

¹ This passage from Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* is remarkable for being cast in the first person in a novel otherwise written in the third person of the omniscient narrator. Research on *Sense and Sensibility* seems to agree that the abrupt use of first person here represents an unintended remnant of an earlier epistolary version of the novel. In any case, the use of the colloquial “it so happened” construction fits the more colloquial style of a personal letter than a third person novel.

introduce central actions and establish focal points—although their ideational meaning is vague, their textual focusing function is clear.

2 Focus markers in translations

Formulas marking narrative focus present special problems for translators. Translations tend to concentrate on the ideational function of original texts, and concern themselves with interpersonal and textual matters only in the output text, so that formulas with predominantly textual meaning like “it just so happened” lack any standard translation into other languages. As Erich Steiner (2001, 2002, 2004) and others (e.g. Baker 1995, 1996; Teich 2003, 20 ff.) have persuasively argued, translations differ from original texts in various ways. Specifically, translations as compared with their originals, tend toward normalization, explicitation, and de-metaphorization, as discussed in Steiner (2004, 136-144). This would predict a comparative paucity of idiomatic phrases in translations, and a tendency to literalize and explicitize phrases like the specifically English formula “it just so happened.”

One standard German translation of the passage from Austen’s *Sense and Sensibility* above finds a suitable solution in the phrase “es traf sich,” which not only precedes and brackets the description to come, but also highlights the importance of the action.

Ich komme nun zu dem Bericht über ein Unglück, das etwa zu dieser Zeit Mrs. John Dashwood widerfuhr. **Es traf sich**, daß, während ihre beiden Schwägerinnen...

Still this German translation lacks the idiomatic feel of the English expression “it so happened”: “es traf sich” would also work as a translation of “it happened” without the focusing force of the *so*, and it fails to suggest that the events to come are unexpected.

Let’s consider another example of translation for the phrase “it so happened” into German, again from Austen, this time from the novel *Emma*.

Now, **it so happened** that in spite of Emma’s resolution of never marrying, there was something in the name, in the idea of Mr. Frank Churchill, which always interested her. She had frequently thought—especially since his father’s marriage with Miss Taylor—that if she *were* to marry, he was the very person to suit her in age, character and condition. ...

The initial “now” is a discourse marker, which, according to Schifffrin (1987, 232-247), already serves to preface a specific subtopic to be interpreted in

relation to a larger discourse unit in progress, in this case a subordinate unit in a narrative. “It so happened” serves to further focus the importance of the following passage for the narrative action to come, and to suggest that it was unexpected. In Schiffrin’s example, “now” prefaces a story coda, but “it so happened” can occur at any point in a developing narrative.

The translation below preserves the initial English “now” in the equivalent German form “nun,” though it deviates from the original with the formulation “kam es Emma plötzlich in den Sinn.”

Nun **kam es Emma plötzlich in den Sinn**, dass trotz des Entschlusses, nie zu heiraten, etwas an dem Namen und dem Gedanken an Mr. Frank Churchill sie lebhaft interessierte.

In this translation, the focusing function of “it so happened” fails to carry over. The German formula “in den Sinn kommen” places the focus in Emma’s perception rather than reflecting the narrator’s stance. The formula “it so happened” foreshadows events unanticipated by the author and seemingly beyond her control, while “Nun kam es Emma plötzlich in den Sinn” stresses Emma’s perspective. Instead of focusing actions, as “it just so happened” does, the construction “Nun kam es Emma plötzlich in den Sinn” focuses on the perception of a character in the story. By contrast, “it so happened” conveys the narrators’s/teller’s stance in an unobtrusive, apparently objective way. The formula “it so happened” positions the narrator epistemically and aligns her with the reader, whereas “es kam Emma plötzlich in den Sinn” positions Emma without conveying any alignment with the reader.

3 Related constructions

Consider, by contrast, the phrase “sure enough”, which introduces events in accord with expectations, in accordance with comments in Mithun (1986, 90), as in the excerpt:

Ollie: so I thought well this'll help y'know.
 help them shed and.
Paul: yeah.
Ollie: and **sure enough** boy the fur just came off like crazy,
 once I got them in the tub so.

Generally, the narrator will have already suggested the fact or event introduced with “sure enough”, perhaps the teller or a character in the story in progress will have explicitly expressed this expectation, as in this example,

where Ollie says explicitly that he thought a bath would help the dogs shed. Thus, “sure enough” focuses the point of the story, supported by the interjection *boy*. Marking fulfilled expectations stresses the narrator’s perspective on the events reported, it looks backward to an explicit prediction or something foreshadowed in the preceding action. By contrast, “it just so happened” is forward looking, signaling some unexpected turn of events.

The construction “it turned out” can also establish focus in narrative, but it tends to herald results, facts and evaluations rather than ongoing action. It also lacks the sense of unexpectedness conveyed by “it just so happened”, so that it guides listeners rather than epistemically aligning with them. In the fairly typical excerpt below, “it turned out” focuses on an outcome.

we got on on to the phone to Eaton Road Police Station,
and within possibly two, three minutes,
there was four, five police officers round there.
and it turned out,
chap had been locked out,
and he forced one of his windows himself to get in.
but they they surrounded the flat.
coz they thought that it was a bur-
a burglary was in process.

Notice the past perfect tense (and passive mood) of “had been locked out” to relate circumstances preceding the action described so far and consequential for the action to come.

The formula “it just so happened” further differs from apparently similar constructions like: “what happened is, here’s what happened, the thing is” and so on, which maintain a more or less literal meaning and appear primarily in story prefaces to justify telling, as in the passage below.

B: so tell me a little bit about the day she was born.
when did you first see her?

A: um **what happened is,**
we went to the hospital,
she was induced.

B: mhm.

A: so we get a phone call and th-,
she was supposed to

B: right finally.

A: um the birth mom was supposed to go in at um

Here “what happened is” conveys none of the unexpectedness associated with “it so happened”. And while “it so happened” can also mark story beginnings and may be put off till the end of a narrative (final Coda) to provide an ironic twist to a story, it more typically appears within narratives to mark the unexpected, reportable, tellable elements of the action at stake.

In the long story in his famous speech in Manassas on November 3, 2008, the night before the election, Barack Obama deploys both “here’s the thing” and “here’s my point” in fairly rapid succession to drive his point home.

I'm standing there and I'm thinking I'm being outflanked by this woman. She's stealing my thunder. I look at my staff and they shrugged their shoulders, they don't know how long this is going to go on.

But here's the thing, Virginia. After a minute or so I am feeling kind of fired up. I'm feeling like I'm ready to go. . . . I'd see my staff and I would say “Are you fired up?” and they would say “We are fired up, boss, are you ready to go?” And I'd say “I'm ready to go.”

Here's my point, Virginia. That's how this thing started. It shows you what one voice can do.

In this extract, “here’s the thing” focuses on action, then “here’s my point” focuses on evaluation, in both cases further stressed by the addition of “Virginia,” directly addressing the people of the state of Virginia as his audience, but neither conveys the sense of unexpectedness characteristic for “it just so happened”.

Other literal constructions like “let me be clear” and “this is important” can hold up a narrative in progress to explicitly focus attention, as in the passage from a monological speech to a large audience by a professional motivational speaker (Victor Antonio).

now **let me be clear**.

this is important.

when your girl calls you a sissy,
it's time to ma:n up.

These constructions are admirably explicit: they focus listener attention by literally highlighting importance and requesting listener action respectively. By contrast, “it so happened” in the excerpt above has little ideational meaning: it functions in the system of textual meaning to foreshadow the (surprising) importance of actions to be related. It positions the teller epistemically, and aligns readers with her.

4 The formulas “it just so happened” and “lo and behold”

Returning to “it just so happened”, this formula highlights actions rather than dialogue, as in the passage below from the London-Lund Corpus, where Betty is explaining why she has so far failed to finish up a piece of work. The formula “it just so happened” provides a perfect means of focusing on factors which explain—and, she seems to hope, potentially excuse—her tardiness.

Betty: um put it my usual folder.
and of course as I haven't been back to work there.
I haven't had it in my bag since you see.
it just so happened that I went on holiday,
and then this this school has come up you see.

Ian: yes of course.

Betty: but I uh,
obviously y'know will will index it,
and put it in the appropriate box.

In as much as “it just so happened” suggests some unexpected turn of events, it allows Betty to suggest that the events related were beyond her control. Betty positions herself as surprised by the events and the formula helps align Ian with her in viewing the circumstances as unpredictable. In fact, Ian agrees and explicitly acknowledges his alignment with Betty, responding with “yes, of course.”

Consider finally the formula “lo and behold”, which functions in the passage below just the way “it just so happened” would to focus on unexpected events to be described.

Carl: and I was going to dig them up for a friend.
and for some starters for me.
and **lo and behold**,
about five days ago we had a freeze.
down to about oh twenty three degrees or something.

Phil: um-hum.

Carl: so the hibiscus hibiscus plants no longer exist.
and I really feel bad about it.

Like “it just so happened,” the formula “lo and behold” focuses attention by conveying that the action to come was unexpected. It enlists the recipient on the side of the teller in the presupposition that the events to be described would not have been predicted based upon shared knowledge of the circumstances. These two formulas differ from the other focusing phrases considered

in positioning the teller epistemically and thereby aligning the teller with the recipient with regard to the relevant expectations. This special discourse function underlies the difficulty of translating these formulas adequately.

5 Conclusions

“It just so happened” and “lo and behold” are formulas for focusing attention in narrative by conveying that the action to come was unexpected. They position the teller epistemically regarding the coming events and they align her/him with the recipient regarding relevant expectations about the events. These two formulas differ from various other literal focusing phrases, which guide recipients, but do not align them with the teller. Their special force in epistemically positioning the teller and their consequent discourse function renders these formulas difficult to translate adequately. Translations generally fail to express the unexpectedness of the events to be described from the perspective of the narrator, and this supports the contention that translations tend toward normalization, explicitation, and de-metaphorization.

Potential directions for future research include investigation of various other type of narrative focusing devices and their translations into a wide range of languages as well as comparison of focusing formulas in other discourse types and across languages. The whole matter of focusing recipient attention in narrative and elsewhere along with alignment between tellers and recipients awaits detailed consideration.

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Linguistique et traductologie - Deux disciplines (distinctes)?

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Titre original:
**Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft –
(getrennte) Disziplinen?¹**

de Erich Steiner

Thomas Kuhn (1790,13) écrivait au sujet des écoles préscientifiques dans les domaines de la physique et d'une façon générale dans celui des sciences exactes:

“At various times all these schools made significant contributions to the body of concepts, phenomena, and techniques from which Newton drew the first nearly uniformly accepted paradigm for physical optics. Any definition of the scientist that excludes at least the more creative members of these various schools will exclude their modern successors as well. Those men were scientists. Yet anyone examining a survey of physical optics before Newton may well conclude that, though the field's practitioners were scientists, the net result of their activity was something less than science. Being able to take no common body of belief for granted, each writer on physical optics felt forced to build his field anew from its foundations. In doing so, his choice of supporting observation and experiment was relatively free, for there was no standard set of methods or of phenomena that every optical writer felt forced to employ and explain. Under these circumstances, the dialogue of the resulting books was often directed as much to the members of

¹ Erich Steiner, „Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft – (getrennte) Disziplinen), in Gil, Alberto; Haller, Johann; Steiner, Erich; Gerzymisch-Arbogast, Heidrun: *Modelle der Translation: Grundlagen für Methodik, Bewertung, Computermodellierung*. Frankfurt am Main u. a.: Lang, 1999. In: Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Sprach- und Translationswissenschaft, 477-506.

other schools as it was to nature. That pattern is not unfamiliar in a number of creative fields today, nor is it incompatible with significant discovery and invention. It is not, however, the pattern of development that physical optics acquired after Newton and that other natural sciences make familiar today.”

1 Introduction

L’interrogation contenue dans le titre de cet article relève de la controverse suscitée depuis plusieurs années par une question récurrente : celle de savoir si et dans quelle mesure la linguistique et la traductologie sont à traiter comme des disciplines indépendantes. Les débats qu’elle engendre surviennent à une époque où l’on demande d’une façon générale aux disciplines scientifiques une ouverture interdisciplinaire, voire même transdisciplinaire. C’est dans le contexte de cette discussion que nous situerons notre propos (cf. Steiner 1983, 1996a, 1996b).

Nous examinerons tout d’abord (Point 2.) une série d’arguments à la lumière desquels le statut de discipline spécifique exactement délimitée, revendiqué par la traductologie, se trouve relativisé. L’application de ces mêmes arguments à la linguistique (Point 3.) nous conduira également à conclure que sa délimitation rigoureuse par rapport aux disciplines connexes n’est pas exempte de difficultés méthodologiques. Notre raisonnement se fonde jusqu’ici sur l’interprétation très étroite que le “modernisme” a donnée des concepts de science et de discipline. Sous le point suivant (4.) nous avancerons en revanche un argument d’un autre ordre : l’existence, indépendamment des décisions de principe relatives au traçage des frontières entre la traduction et les autres phénomènes linguistiques centraux, d’une quantité de projets et de sujets de recherche pour lesquels une concentration sur des questions d’ordre traductologique est manifestement indiquée et s’avère particulièrement rentable. Dans la mesure où la science se constitue à partir de tels sujets et projets phares, la question de la séparation des disciplines passe au second plan et risque même de devenir un handicap. Enfin nous montrerons (Point 5.), au moins sommairement, que la concentration sur ce type de recherche est non seulement prometteuse de progrès sur la voie de la connaissance du phénomène de la langue, mais fournit de surcroît une base indispensable pour l’amélioration qualitative de la formation dispensée aux futurs traducteurs et interprètes.

La suite de l’introduction donnera un bref aperçu du contexte scientifique de nos propres réflexions. Depuis l’antiquité classique, puis dans une grande

partie du Moyen Age, nous retrouvons l'idée largement acceptée selon laquelle les sept disciplines qui constituent le *trivium* et *quadrivium* se partagent l'ensemble du savoir humain: la grammaire, la rhétorique et la dialectique, qui sont directement en relation avec la langue; la musique, l'astronomie, la géométrie et l'arithmétique, qui recouvrent les domaines restants de la connaissance (cf. Robins 1967). Durant le Moyen Age chrétien, toutes les sept étaient rattachées à la théologie. C'est à partir de ce scénario que les disciplines scientifiques de l'époque moderne se développent, grosso modo, au cours des trois derniers siècles (si l'on considère que le travail de Newton constitue une charnière). Viennent en premier la physique, la biologie, la chimie et les autres sciences de la nature, suivies par l'économie, la sociologie, les études linguistiques et littéraires, la psychologie et les autres sciences sociales et humaines. Contrairement à l'histoire comparée des langues, la linguistique moderne se développe au cours du XX^{ème} siècle et constitue une évolution relativement récente, caractéristique à fortiori applicable à la traductologie, si tant est qu'elle se considère comme une discipline autonome. Tous ces domaines de la connaissance ont vu, à cette même époque, des écoles se créer à l'intérieur de leurs limites et atteindre un degré de spécificité tel qu'il remet en question leur appartenance commune à une discipline mère. Ceci s'applique en particulier à la relation actuelle entre linguistique et traductologie. Au cours des dernières décennies on assiste par ailleurs à une recrudescence de la demande de coopération interdisciplinaire et de la volonté de classer – souvent en relation avec une acception post-moderne de la notion de science - le concept de discipline scientifique dans la mouvance du modernisme et d'en relativiser la validité. Il est censé céder la place à la "transdisciplinarité", concept qui ne va pas dans le sens d'une coopération entre disciplines déjà existantes mais vise de façon beaucoup plus radicale à la suppression du précédent. La "transdisciplinarité" suppose la coopération d'agents scientifiques de formation hétérogène sur des thèmes et des projets communs (pour une analyse notoire de la conception moderniste dans les sciences exactes nous renvoyons à Kuhn (1970), pour le domaine des sciences humaines voir Foucault (1966), qui laisse déjà transparaître une conception post-moderne).

Pour des raisons de place nous renoncerons à examiner plus avant s'il s'agit ici d'une évolution positive ou d'un phénomène de désintégration problématique. Nous souhaitons toutefois rappeler que les débats concernant l'autonomie des disciplines ne sauraient faire l'économie d'un questionnement critique du concept de discipline scientifique. Il existe suffisamment de points négatifs qui semblent justifier, lors d'une controverse ayant pour objet l'autonomie de disciplines telles que la traductologie et la linguistique, la

prise en compte du fait que les évolutions dans ce domaine ne se situent pas dans le cadre du concept de discipline d'un modernisme finissant, mais relèvent vraisemblablement d'un processus qui conduit à l'abandon (partiel) de ce même concept.

Les aspects positifs d'une approche scientifique de la traduction telle qu'elle se développe déjà depuis un certain temps au-delà du concept traditionnel de discipline seront évoqués sous le point (4.).

Penchons-nous tout d'abord sur quelques réflexions qui nous permettront d'aborder la question de la revendication par la traductologie d'un champ de recherche thématique et méthodologique propre et rigoureusement délimité.

2 La traductologie: statut et limites

Lorsqu'il s'agit de décider si certaines formes de recherche et d'enseignement organisés constituent ou non une discipline spécifique, un certain nombre de questions se posent. Celles que nous avons sélectionnées restent dans le cadre de la notion traditionnelle de discipline définie par la mouvance moderniste. Nous l'abandonnerons aux points (4.) et (5.) au profit d'une conception de l'activité scientifique comme un domaine structuré par des thèmes et des projets phares.

L'une de ces questions concerne le rapport existant entre connaissance spécifique et connaissance quotidienne dans la discipline concernée (cf. Antos 1992 pour le domaine de la linguistique). Dans tous les cas où il n'est pas possible de discerner clairement la limite qui les sépare, l'appartenance à une discipline établie est sujette à caution. En d'autres termes, l'on exige donc de la connaissance scientifique un degré de spécialisation plus élevé, un contenu méthodologique explicite et un degré d'approfondissement, de systématisation, de généralisabilité et d'abstraction supérieur à celui de la connaissance quotidienne, qui, elle, ne dépasse guère le niveau de l'observation empirique. Qu'en est-il alors de la traductologie ? Dans la part non négligeable de la population qui maîtrise plusieurs langues, on trouve un certain nombre de "profanes" capables jusqu'à un certain point de traduire, d'interpréter et même, éventuellement, de produire des théories "de tous les jours" ponctuelles sur les processus correspondants, sans être pour autant titulaires d'aucun diplôme dans le domaine de la traduction. Il leur arrive de se montrer presque aussi performants que certains de leurs collègues qui, bien qu'issus des universités, ne disposent pas de bases théoriques et méthodologiques suffisantes. D'autre part, même si l'on peut se réjouir que cette tendance régresse (cf. entre autres Erdmann 1998), l'utilité de ces connaissances

pour la pratique ne fait pas l'unanimité. En bref, un "profane" doué, motivé, expérimenté, disposant d'une bonne formation - ou expert dans un domaine voisin - peut s'avérer dans certains cas aussi bon traducteur ou interprète qu'un diplômé issu d'une filière spécialisée, et considérer de surcroît qu'une compétence théorique et méthodologique plus large, si tant est qu'elle existe, n'apporte rien à la traduction. Il ressort de cette opinion que la traduction ne s'enseigne pas par la transmission de connaissances théoriques et méthodologiques raisonnées, mais s'acquiert par la pratique et l'exemple de professionnels expérimentés. Or, si le savoir-faire fondé sur l'expérience, dont la présence dans les cas évoqués ne fait aucun doute, est souvent utile, applicable et même indispensable, il ne s'agit pas encore là de connaissance au sens des disciplines modernes. En d'autres termes, pour ce qui est de la compétence traductionnelle, la frontière entre "profanes" expérimentés et "experts" disposant d'une formation scientifique est parfois fluctuante. Il faut cependant noter que la première catégorie englobe d'une façon générale soit des personnes ayant accédé à l'interculturalité par une autre voie, soit des spécialistes du domaine spécifique dont relèvent les textes à traduire ou à interpréter.

La deuxième question fondamentale qui se pose au sujet du statut et des limites de la traductologie est celle du rapport entre la théorie et son application pratique. Force est de reconnaître que le rapport entre ces deux pôles varie dans les disciplines scientifiques en fonction de leur arrière-plan épistémologique. Quels que soient les points de vue, on a pu distinguer deux positions extrêmes: selon la première, la théorie n'entretiendrait aucune relation avec son application et se nourrirait exclusivement du discours intrascientifique alors que, selon la seconde, la source directe et exclusive de la formation de la théorie scientifique est la volonté de satisfaire aux exigences de son application (dans l'industrie, la pratique professionnelle, la traduction et la didactique de la traduction). Comme c'est souvent le cas, ces deux positions extrêmes ne s'excluent pas, mais peuvent être toutes deux soutenues dans le cadre d'une même discussion. L'une et l'autre peuvent cependant être fatales au développement d'une discipline scientifique. La traductologie semble quelquefois ne pas avoir encore suffisamment pris conscience du danger que ces deux positions extrêmes représentent. En ce qui concerne la première - heureusement peu représentée - l'on peut dire que l'élaboration de théories et de modèles joue un rôle de plus en plus considérable dans la pratique professionnelle et l'enseignement de la traduction, mais n'ont pas encore de modèles originaux satisfaisants à proposer pour certains domaines fondamentaux comme la traduction automatique et le traitement de la parole dans le cadre de l'interprétation. Il arrive aussi que des modèles absolument

intéressants ne soient pas suffisamment reconnus dans la pratique, comme c'est par exemple le cas dans le domaine central de l'évaluation de la traduction ou de la modélisation de structures informationnelles qui divergent entre les langues pour des raisons typologiques). En ce qui concerne la deuxième position, l'on peut encore constater qu'une partie des traducteurs de métier, dont certains sont les représentants d'associations professionnelles, du secteur industriel et des institutions continuent à ne voir dans la théorie scientifique qu'une source de recettes pour l'industrie de la traduction – une opinion qui doit être combattue avec la plus grande détermination. Même dans certains domaines partiels ou certaines orientations de la traductologie, il arrive encore que l'utilisation didactique de listes d'observations ponctuelles soit confondue avec la théorisation ou la modélisation basées sur une méthode. En résumé, on constate que le rapport entre théorie et application n'est pas encore suffisamment clair dans tous les domaines de la traductologie. Si le lien entre ces deux pôles venait à se rompre ou si l'une des deux directions scientifiques devenait une voie à sens unique, c'est la discipline elle-même qui se trouverait remise en question sur le plan intellectuel et sur le plan de la politique scientifique.

La troisième question fondamentale est celle de la définition d'un objet de recherche et de méthodes spécifiques. Les disciplines scientifiques se constituent entre autres en concentrant leur intérêt sur certains objets de recherche autour desquels elles développent leur propre méthode. L'objet de la traductologie serait donc la traduction envisagée comme la mise en relation de deux textes et comme processus. Or d'autres disciplines s'intéressent à la traduction en tant que phénomène sémiotique et culturel. C'est notamment le cas de la linguistique, des philologies et des sciences de la culture connexes telle que la philosophie. Le champ de la traductologie est, du moins en partie, traité à un niveau d'abstraction scientifique comparable par d'autres disciplines (sur ce point l'approche intégrative de George Steiner (1975) a suscité un vif intérêt). Pour ce qui est de la spécificité des méthodes, celles de la traductologie sont en grande partie directement empruntées aux disciplines connexes. Là où des approches méthodiques délibérément novatrices apparaissent, comme c'est entre autres le cas pour la grande variété de celles que présentent les travaux de Baker (1995), Bell (1991), Catford (1965), Doherty (1991, 1993), Gerzymisch-Arbogast (1994), Hatim et Mason (1990, 1997), Koller (1992, 1995), Neubert (1986), Newmark (1998), Nord (1991), Reiß et Vermeer (1984), Toury (1985), Wilss (1977), leurs bases linguistiques et littéraires sont évidentes et déterminantes. Nous en retiendrons en réponse à la troisième question que la présence d'un objet d'étude clairement délimité et

de méthodes spécifiques n'est pas encore incontestable, du moins à l'heure actuelle.

La quatrième question que nous souhaitons soulever porte sur la présence d'une éventuelle corrélation entre la prolifération, dans une discipline encore aussi jeune, que la traductologie d'écoles de pensée déclarées nouvelles et l'absence de consensus sur le plan de l'objet et de la méthode. La constitution d'écoles de pensée diverses à laquelle on assiste aujourd'hui dans toutes les disciplines scientifiques et que l'on considère comme l'expression légitime de la multiplicité des points de vue et des problématiques ne doit pas être considérée comme une évolution inquiétante. Ce qui l'est, en revanche, c'est la tendance actuelle à se saisir de tout phénomène nouvellement observé et de toute nouveauté méthodologique isolée pour en faire le postulat de base d'une école. L'élaboration de nouvelles approches devrait être précédée d'une confrontation minutieuse avec les axes de recherche déjà existants tout comme elle devrait justifier d'un élargissement thématique et d'un approfondissement méthodologique suffisants avant de se constituer en écoles à l'intérieur d'une discipline, ce qui ne nous paraît pas toujours être le cas. Si par ailleurs ces "écoles" se ferment à tout échange avec d'autres approches scientifiques ou communiquent essentiellement avec elles sur un mode polémique, ceci nous paraît problématique. De tels développements ne seront pas considérés comme les signes extérieurs d'assurance et de maturité scientifique dont dépend la perception positive par le monde environnant que l'on attend généralement d'une discipline scientifique.

Tournons-nous à présent vers la cinquième question, celle des limites qui séparent la linguistique et la traductologie. Notons qu'une question analogue pourrait être formulée à l'encontre des sciences de la littérature et certainement aussi à une linguistique du texte élargie. Une partie considérable de la traductologie contemporaine est issue de diverses orientations textuelles des sciences du langage. Si l'on essayait d'exclure du champ de ses préoccupations tout ce qui est d'ordre purement linguistique – en particulier la typologie des langues, les études comparatives, la linguistique du texte, la linguistique fonctionnelle, la psycholinguistique, l'histoire de la langue et l'histoire des textes, il ne subsisterait de l'objet et de la méthodologie qu'une parcelle si infime qu'il deviendrait impossible de confirmer l'existence d'une discipline à part entière. Quelle contribution pourrait-on alors encore espérer d'une matière à ce point «surspécialisée» pour l'intercompréhension et pour la traduction?

Notre sixième question concerne le démarquage de la traductologie d'avec la philologie, la philosophie et les sciences de la culture. Ce que nous avons dit sous le point précédant s'y applique également, quoique dans une

perspective plus générale. S'il l'on procédait à leur séparation stricte, le champ d'investigation et le champ méthodologique constitutifs de la traductologie encore disponibles seraient extrêmement réduits du fait, une fois de plus, des relations étroites qu'elle entretient avec les disciplines adjacentes.

Notre septième et dernière question portera sur la nature de la translation: S'agit-il d'une activité par nature indissociable d'une méthodologie et d'un savoir, ou se rapproche-t-elle plutôt de la pratique d'un art, comme par exemple la musique? Si l'on penche pour cette dernière hypothèse, il faudra bien admettre qu'il s'agit plutôt d'une activité acquise par l'imitation d'un modèle, comme c'est le cas pour l'interprétation d'un morceau de musique. Une telle activité, tout en accordant une place à la clarification scientifique, y voit tout au plus une aide pour la didactique, mais pas une nécessité fondamentale. Ceci ne signifierait pas que l'on renonce à la formulation de théorie scientifique mais en relativiserait l'importance pour la discipline et très certainement pour l'exercice pratique de la traduction.

Nous avons ainsi parcouru une série de questions qui, participant du débat mené autour de l'autonomie d'une discipline au sens que le modernisme donne à ce terme, participent à notre avis également de celui qui s'est instauré autour de l'autonomie de la traductologie. Les considérations critiques qui en découlent ne constituent pas un refus systématique de lui accorder ce statut, mais plaident en faveur de la nécessité de l'acquérir et de le consolider et montrent qu'il s'agit davantage d'une évolution en cours que d'une évolution achevée. Notre objectif est surtout de montrer, en utilisant les mêmes arguments dans la partie qui suit, qu'il est possible et souhaitable d'examiner la linguistique sous un jour aussi critique et que le statut de cette discipline autonome et rigoureusement délimitée peut à son tour être mis en doute.

3 La traductologie : statut et limites

Notre discussion portera ici sur la linguistique moderne telle qu'elle s'est développée aux Etats Unis et en Europe à partir des travaux de Saussure, Bloomfield, Firth, et, plus tard, de Chomsky. Par rapport aux philologies traditionnelles et à la linguistique historique comparative, elle constitue une variante plus fortement spécialisée. De plus, comme les variantes de la traductologie présentées plus haut, elle apparaît au XX^{ème} siècle, même si l'histoire de la linguistique moderne a débuté quelques décennies plus tôt. La constitution d'une discipline linguistique autonome n'est pas achevée depuis longtemps, si tant est qu'elle le soit. A la lumière de la brève discussion qui suit, nous verrons qu'elle connaît, du moins dans une certaine mesure, les

mêmes problèmes que la traductologie, même si elle dispose d'une meilleure assise institutionnelle.

Concernant l'objet de notre première question, le rapport entre connaissance spécifique et connaissance quotidienne, on constate ici aussi jusqu'à un certain point la présence, dans divers secteurs où s'exerce la compétence linguistique, de "profanes" ou de spécialistes en provenance de domaines extralinguistiques disposant d'une compétence pratique remarquable sans avoir bénéficié d'une formation universitaire correspondante. Que l'on songe seulement à la production et à l'analyse textuelle, aux secteurs informels de l'enseignement des langues, à la rhétorique, ou au phénomène répandu des guides pratiques (cf. Antos 1992). On trouve des spécialistes issus de domaines non linguistiques dans les secteurs de l'orthophonie, les applications informatiques à visée linguistique, les langues de spécialité, etc. La corrélation systématique entre une formation théorique et méthodologique "pointue" en linguistique et une application efficace dans la pratique n'est guère généralisable. Comme dans le cas de la traductologie, on observe ici un double phénomène: il arrive d'une part que certaines compétences linguistiques très appréciées n'aient pas été acquises dans le cadre d'une formation scientifique, tout comme il peut arriver que dans des secteurs où les connaissances spécifiques paraissent indispensables, les linguistes se retrouvent en situation de concurrence avec des spécialistes d'autres disciplines (informatique, médecine, psychologie). Bien que le champ de la linguistique soit plus vaste, on y retrouve une problématique comparable à celle qui se pose à la translato-logie.

Comment le rapport entre théorie et application s'y présente-t-il? La présence de dangers susceptibles d'être provoqués par l'accord d'une priorité unilatérale à l'un des deux pôles est indéniable. Il existe des formes répandues de linguistique théorique qui bannissent de leurs préoccupations les problèmes relatifs à l'application pratique. De semblables positions comportent le risque de laisser des développements théoriques ultérieurs en soi souhaitables suivre leur cours dans l'ignorance des problèmes qui peuvent être engendrés par leur application, si bien que leur intérêt se trouve mis en doute hors de la communauté scientifique ou, du moins, qu'il n'est pas reconnu. Il en résulte une rupture du dialogue entre la théorie et son application. Il suffit de penser aux plaintes émanant parfois des rangs de la didactique des langues, étrangères ou maternelles, de la pratique médicale, de la traduction et de l'interprétation, mais également du traitement automatique des langues, tous s'accordant à déplorer la faible utilité de la théorie linguistique. Une séparation réellement délibérée de cette dernière et de son application avec, pour conséquence, une perte d'intérêt de sa part pour les domaines d'application

énumérés, condamnerait à long terme une telle théorie à sombrer dans l'insignifiance, entraînant avec elle l'ensemble de la discipline scientifique. Une attitude complémentaire à celle-ci consistant à confondre élaboration de théories et recettes destinées à remédier à divers problèmes d'application se maintient toutefois, et ce justement dans les mêmes domaines. Là où les positions extrêmes prennent le dessus, le risque de rupture entre théorie et pratique s'accroît et avec lui la menace de conséquences désastreuses pour l'autonomie et la reconnaissance générale revendiquées par la linguistique.

La troisième question de principe est celle du développement d'un objet d'investigation et de méthodes spécifiques. Au même titre que les sciences de la traduction, la linguistique se doit de se doter de façon convaincante d'un objet d'investigation propre et de méthodes de questionnement et d'explication adéquates qui lui permettent de se créer un accès spécifique aux phénomènes que cet objet recouvre. L'objet d'investigation de la linguistique est le langage humain. Ce dernier présente néanmoins la particularité d'être aussi, partiellement, l'objet d'investigation d'autres disciplines comme l'anthropologie, la sociologie, les philologies, la psychologie, l'informatique et la philosophie. Or, s'il est possible qu'aucune de ces disciplines n'aient fait du langage humain son objet de recherche principal, la formation de concepts théoriques se pratique déjà depuis longtemps dans les domaines partiels, en particulier dans les philologies. La linguistique ne peut tout simplement revendiquer le monopole exclusif de son objet, ni d'ailleurs de ses méthodes. C'est ainsi qu'une partie des méthodes de la sociolinguistique provient de la sociologie, que l'analyse conversationnelle utilise des méthodes ethnographiques, que l'analyse du discours contemporaine et la linguistique du texte ont, dans une certaine mesure, recours à des méthodes plutôt littéraires, que les écoles linguistiques plus formelles empruntent largement à la théorie des langages formels ou à celle de la logique des prédicats, et que certaines parties de la théorie des actes de parole se nourrissent du fonds méthodologique de la philosophie du tournant linguistique. Si l'on recherche des méthodes purement linguistiques on ne parviendra que dans certains cas à un résultat tout fait positif, comme dans l'analyse tagmémique (Pike), la linguistique systémique fonctionnelle (Halliday), la grammaire stratificationnelle (Lamb) ou certaines parties de la nouvelle linguistique chomskyenne. En résumé l'on peut dire que la linguistique partage son objet avec une série d'autres disciplines, et que son outil méthodologique n'est pas non plus intrinsèquement linguistique, du moins dans certains domaines partiels.

Comme dans le cas de la traductologie, nous nous demanderons en quatrième position si la prolifération d'écoles traductologiques dont la linguistique moderne est témoin traduit plus l'absence de maturité métho-

ologique qu'elle ne constitue une réaction nécessaire et positive à la multiplicité des accès possibles au phénomène de la langue. La linguistique moderne apparaît environ dans la première moitié du XX^{ème} siècle et se présente dès le début sous la forme d'approches méthodologiques très différentes les unes des autres. Ces différences sont pour la plupart imputables à des environnements culturels spécifiques et existent encore aujourd'hui. Les écoles traductologiques plus récentes, entre autres celle de Chomsky, ont souvent manifesté dans leur justification théorique et méthodologique la tendance à dénier toute scientificité aux écoles qui les ont précédées, si bien que certains secteurs de la recherche traductologique renvoient moins l'image d'une critique constructive qui s'appuie sur ses acquis que celle de véritables ruptures survenant à intervalles rapprochés. Aucun discours linguistique dépassant la diversité des écoles ne s'est encore développé de façon satisfaisante. Dans la mesure où l'on partagera notre critique – avouons-le quelque peu acerbe par endroits – il sera difficile d'admettre sans restriction l'existence d'une discipline linguistique dotée de cohérence interne et de contours nets.

Nous réunirons ici la cinquième et la sixième question pour aborder le thème des limites qui séparent la linguistique de ses disciplines connexes. Il convient ici aussi de s'interroger sur ce qui reste si l'on exclut de l'objet et de la méthode ce dont d'autres disciplines pertinentes se chargent, du moins en partie. Si le domaine de recherche résiduel et ce qui reste exploitable sur le plan de la méthode se trouvent par trop rétrécis et, de ce fait, exagérément spécialisés, il paraîtra peu rentable de délimiter le champ de la linguistique de façon aussi rigoureuse. Parmi les disciplines attenantes nous rangerons les sciences de la littérature, les domaines de la sociologie traitant de questions linguistiques, l'anthropologie, l'ethnologie, la philosophie, la psychologie et l'informatique. Imaginons donc une linguistique qui exclurait les phénomènes suivants de son champ de recherche: les genres littéraires et l'interprétation de textes, l'histoire et l'étude diachronique de la langue, le rôle joué par la langue et sa fonction dans la constitution de formations sociales, la communication quotidienne, langue – signification – actes de parole, le traitement de la parole et les troubles du langage, les théories formelles de la langue et la traduction automatique. Les méthodes suivantes seraient de même expressément bannies de son instrumentarium méthodologique: la représentation de macrostructures textuelles et leur interprétation évaluative, les nomenclatures des modifications diachroniques du système de la langue, les exégèses historico-critiques de textes, les méthodes ethnométhodologiques, les méthodes du discours philosophique sur la langue, les méthodes de la psychologie expérimentale, les méthodes d'application des logiques des prédicats, la représentation des informations linguistiques, etc... De telles représentations

surspécialisées de la discipline linguistique ont été présentées au cours des dernières années. Il semble de plus en plus clair – mais c’est encore loin d’être le cas partout – qu’une linguistique à ce point spécialisée est par nature un objet de controverse et une entreprise incertaine du point de vue de l’acquisition de connaissance. Si l’on adjoint à ce scénario l’opinion selon laquelle la traduction relève exclusivement de la performance et est extérieure au champ de la linguistique, soit du fait de l’existence d’une science de la traduction strictement autonome, soit parce qu’elle se trouve classée de façon erronée et simplificatrice sous l’étiquette du traitement automatisé de la langue, l’objet de la linguistique se trouve considérablement réduit.

Notre septième question concerne une fois de plus la nature de l’activité. Selon la thèse qui la sous-tend les activités telles que l’écriture artistique, la peinture ou la créativité musicale tirent moins profit de la pénétration par le savoir scientifique que d’une imitation créative et transformatrice basée sur la compréhension. Il est naturellement possible d’aborder ces activités artistiques par le biais de la science, cependant la pénétration scientifique et la maîtrise pratique ne se rejoignent que de façon très limitée et leur influence directe sur l’exercice de la pratique n’est pas un facteur déterminant de la constitution des disciplines scientifiques. Dans leur ensemble, les activités linguistiques ne peuvent certainement être considérées que dans une moindre mesure comme des activités artistiques, néanmoins les processus de production de langue quotidienne eux-mêmes possèdent souvent une part de créativité. De plus, un certain nombre de processus de traitement de la parole, en particulier la génération de texte, comportent dans leurs productions différentes formes d’évaluation. C’est à cet endroit et en fonction de leur importance que la modélisation scientifique de ces processus et de leurs productions – donc des textes et des discours – sera dans une large mesure une modélisation de la signification. La linguistique ne sera par ailleurs guère en mesure de fournir des apports pertinents aux processus d’évaluation de textes. Néanmoins, si c’est le cas, elle doit le faire en relation étroite avec les disciplines connexes pour lesquelles la formation du sens constitue un phénomène central. (...) ² En bref, l’existence d’une linguistique formelle indépendante du sens serait dépourvue de pertinence pour le producteur de texte créatif, catégorie de laquelle relève plus ou moins un nombre important de traducteurs.

La présentation, dans ce cadre, de nos considérations critiques relatives à la volonté de la translatoologie et de la linguistique d’être considérées comme des disciplines autonomes et rigoureusement délimitées est terminée. Nous avons confronté l’une et l’autre au questionnement critique auquel la

² Pour des raisons de place quelques brefs segments du texte original ont été supprimés /(...)/.

littérature spécialisée a fréquemment recours lorsqu'il s'agit de savoir sur quoi repose la spécificité des disciplines scientifiques. Il est évident que ce catalogue de questions n'est pas exhaustif. De plus, dans un premier temps, nous avons utilisé le terme de "discipline scientifique" dans l'acception particulière qui a pu être lui être donnée par ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le «modernisme». Cette notion pourra paraître étriquée et désuète à un certain nombre d'épistémologistes des dernières décennies, nous y reviendrons plus loin dans nos considérations sur la transdisciplinarité. Pour notre part nous considérons que, sur l'arrière-plan de cette première acception du concept, qui reste à notre sens très important pour les débats actuels, l'exigence formulée par ces deux disciplines devrait pour le moins faire l'objet d'un questionnement sérieux.

4 Thèmes conducteurs pour une approche scientifique de la traduction

Dans la quatrième partie nous nous efforcerons d'isoler quelques thèmes conducteurs susceptibles de motiver et d'organiser une approche scientifique de la traduction et de faire apparaître l'intérêt qui peut être le sien pour une large communauté de chercheurs et de non chercheurs. Ces motifs et la réponse aux questions qu'ils comportent peuvent contribuer à la constitution d'un domaine d'étude spécifique consacré à la traduction et au traitement plurilingue des savoirs ainsi qu'à l'élaboration et à l'intégration d'un contingent de méthodes dont l'apport est considérable pour la compréhension du phénomène de la langue, indépendamment des considérations de délimitation exacte des disciplines.

Le premier d'entre eux est le rôle de la traduction pour l'interférence linguistique. C'est surtout par la traduction, quelle que soit sa forme, que s'est effectué et s'effectue encore le contact de langues. Si l'on considère à quel point elle s'est développée dans et hors des institutions interculturelles jusqu'à devenir un phénomène de masse, il est vraisemblable que son rôle pour l'évolution de la langue et de la culture continuera à s'accroître. Il en ira probablement de même pour le rapport qu'elle entretient avec la variation linguistique, d'une part du fait de l'existence d'indices permettant de considérer les textes traduits eux-mêmes comme des variantes importantes (cf. Baker 1995), d'autre part parce que c'est de plus en plus souvent par le biais de la traduction que le contact des variantes fonctionnelles (langues de spécialité, registres spécifiques etc.) des différentes langues s'établit.

Considérant qu'une des caractéristiques marquantes de l'époque actuelle et du passé récent réside dans le fait que la variabilité fonctionnelle connaît une croissance supérieure à celle de la variabilité régionale – donc que l'espace abstrait constitué et structuré par l'action gagne en importance par rapport à l'espace physique pour l'évolution de la langue et de la culture –, il faut bien admettre que la traduction occupe une place centrale dans ce processus. Sur ce point la recherche traductologique a commencé à prendre et à défendre ses marques, entre autres en ce qui concerne les questions de domination linguistique et culturelle (cf. Venuti 1995, 148 et sq., Hatim et Mason 1997, 14 et sq.). Les corpus de textes volumineux produits par la traduction assistée par ordinateur ont de plus permis, peut-être pour la première fois, de ne plus aborder les conséquences de la traduction et des processus voisins sur l'évolution de la langue uniquement à partir d'exemples isolés. Dans le cadre de cette approche, la traductologie peut, dans un premier temps, utiliser les procédés d'investigation de la linguistique des corpus, mais elle devra également développer ses propres méthodes, par exemple pour établir des rapports rigoureux entre les catégories grammatico-structurelles de celle-ci et les catégories à tendance nécessairement sémantique de l'analyse de texte. Dans cette perspective il va de soi que la traduction ne peut être considérée comme étant absolument indépendante du contact linguistique, de la variabilité et de l'évolution de la langue, processus voisins relevant comme elle des sciences du langage, mais qu'elle y participe et en constitue peut-être le support. L'étude de ces questions, pour être fructueuse, suppose un degré de spécialisation suffisant dans le domaine de la traduction et donc un développement renforcé de méthodes spécifiques, mais également la capacité à coopérer avec les spécialistes de ces domaines. L'exigence qui en résulte vis-à-vis de la traductologie ne relève pas de l'imposition de limites ni de l'exclusion, mais constitue au contraire un élargissement de la capacité au dialogue et au travail scientifique sur des thèmes spécifiques dans le cadre d'un projet commun. La localisation des frontières exactes entre les disciplines en présence passe au second plan et la déperdition d'énergie occasionnée par les frictions peut être investie dans le travail de recherche. Il va de soi que le réseau des chercheurs travaillant sur ces questions comprendra aussi bien des traductologues et des linguistes que des représentants d'autres sciences sociales et culturelles.

Le second thème clé pourrait être l'évaluation de textes, notamment à partir de la notion de variation fonctionnelle ou de «registre». La notion de registre provient de la linguistique britannique (Halliday et al. 1964, Quirk et al. 1985, chapitre 1). Elle est reprise et développée par la linguistique systémique fonctionnelle (cf. Halliday et Hasan 1989), mais aussi par la linguistique variationnelle, et ce aussi bien dans le domaine de l'analyse de texte

appliquée à la traduction (Hatim et Mason 1990, Bell 1991, Steiner 1997, Taylor-Torsello 1993, Taylor 1998) que dans celui de l'évaluation de la traduction (House 1977/97, Steiner 1998). Ce projet trouve sa justification dans deux sources complémentaires: le système de la langue en sa qualité d'ensemble de subgrammaires et de sublexiques et l'instance de parole, donc le type de texte. La traductologie lui porte un intérêt manifeste, mais il faut reconnaître que la perspective traductologique présente aussi des avantages sérieux pour son développement : d'une part un certain nombre de choses portent à croire que la traduction elle-même constitue un registre et même un registre considérable, car il recouvre une grande variété typologique et offre un accès intéressant à la question de la compréhension de nombreux autres textes; d'autre part l'évaluation de textes suscite un grand intérêt de la part de la traductologie du point de vue de la constitution du sens – une question primordiale et centrale - et de l'adéquation de l'instance au contexte culturel et situationnel. C'est donc un vaste champ qui s'ouvre ici pour une contribution spécifique à la méthodologie. La linguistique a conçu plusieurs procédés d'analyse des registres de langue et de classification de textes, leur prolongement dans des méthodes d'évaluation serait à la fois une véritable innovation et un véritable progrès. C'est ici que se pose la question, fondamentale pour toute science du texte, qui est celle de l'évaluation. L'étude de la traduction pourrait y apporter des contributions importantes et l'a déjà fait dans un certain nombre de cas (cf. House 1997, Toury 1995, Reiß 1971).

Le processus de traduction humaine sera notre troisième thème conducteur. Bien qu'il existe déjà une approche pragmatique dans ce domaine (cf. Krings 1995) et qu'il nous paraisse souhaitable que cette tradition se poursuive, elle ne peut en constituer la seule option méthodologique. Il est avant tout nécessaire de développer des procédés permettant de mettre en rapport des catégories théoriques telles que la méthode et la procédure de traduction, le niveau de langue, les critères d'évaluation, la métaphore grammaticale, avec certains processus psychologiques, indépendamment de la conscience qu'en a le sujet, comme c'est le cas pour les étapes du traitement de la parole qui ne lui sont pas directement accessibles. Cela ne pourra se faire sans une coopération avec la linguistique et la psychologie. L'apport à escompter d'une telle approche serait de faire porter le questionnement sur le processus de traduction lui-même, l'un des plus complexes du traitement de la parole et, dans un certain sens, un élément essentiel sinon une variante centrale du processus de la compréhension. Elle permettrait en outre à la traductologie d'en présenter un modèle suffisamment explicite et structuré pour servir de générateur d'hypothèses et d'instance d'évaluation à la psychologie expérimentale.

Occupons-nous à présent d'un quatrième thème conducteur éventuellement envisageable, dont nous formulerons ainsi le contenu: «Composantes linguistiques multifonctionnelles et multilingues du système et notions de généralisation et d'abstraction dans le système linguistique». Il s'agit là d'un domaine de recherche en linguistique et linguistique informatique nouvellement constitué (cf. Bateman et al.1991, Teich 1999, Steiner 1994, Zajac 1990). Il se consacre essentiellement aux possibilités et aux moyens d'extraction et de généralisation à partir de fragments unilingues du système, de façon à ce que les fragments multilingues qui en résultent soient productivement utilisables dans le traitement de la parole, comme par exemple dans la traduction automatique. La notion de grammaire de la traduction est en substance une notion proche, mais demeure encore au stade programmatique. Elle pourrait être le point de départ d'un champ de recherche considérable au point de rencontre de la linguistique comparée, de la typologie des langues, de la traductologie et de la linguistique computationnelle. La traductologie pourrait y apporter une contribution sous la forme d'une perspective non seulement comparative, mais également génératrice de modèles rendant compte des types d'information contenus dans les systèmes linguistiques lorsque ceux-ci sont considérés comme plurilingues. En d'autres termes, existe-t-il un méta-système capable de généraliser l'information contenue dans les systèmes unilingues ou d'en abstraire une sémantique commune? Et surtout existe-t-il des procédés qui nous permettraient de reconnaître systématiquement lesquels de ces assemblages d'information et de leurs réalisations textuelles et dans quelles conditions relatives au registre et à la culture sont à considérer comme équivalents? Elle met d'autre part en évidence l'impossibilité, dans le cadre de la traduction et de la production de texte, de travailler avec des modèles qui négligent les dimensions interpersonnelles - comme la dimension affective - et textuelle, ce qui devrait motiver, particulièrement la traductologie, à souligner aussi souvent qu'il le faut l'absolue nécessité d'approches multifonctionnelles. Enfin en s'engageant dans cette direction la science traductologique pourrait apporter une contribution significative au débat sur les universaux linguistiques, qui présente pour elle un grand intérêt.

Nous intitulerons le cinquième thème conducteur «Traitement de texte, génération automatique de texte, et traduction automatique ou assistée par ordinateur». Ces domaines technologiques n'ont jusqu'ici guère mis à profit la perspective traductologique. Les modèles du processus de traduction humaine de la science traductologique de l'avenir pourraient y trouver leur place. Ils devraient tout d'abord servir à développer des contraintes générales applicables aux différents types de systèmes et susceptibles de s'intégrer à ces

processus et non à les fragmenter. La traductologie serait alors en mesure de fournir à l'architecture de système des contributions substantielles, ce qui n'a jamais été le cas faute de modélisation explicite. Ceci permettrait d'entrer dans le débat sur l'évaluation de certains types d'architectures ou de fonctionnalités telles que la traduction automatique (cf. Haller 1999) ou l'hypertexte (cf. Gil 1999). Pour les technologies de la langue appliquées à la traduction les spécifications de fonctionnalité doivent provenir de la traductologie et de la pratique. Il en est de même pour l'évaluation des performances réalisées.

Le sixième et dernier thème conducteur pourrait s'intituler «Métaphore grammaticale et traduction». Cette notion a son origine dans une conception fonctionnelle de la langue (Halliday 1985), mais son objet de recherche se rapproche de ce que Doherty qualifie de perspective paramétrisée (Doherty 1993) dans le contexte d'une traductologie translinguistique. Dans une perspective intralinguale cette notion recouvre tout d'abord ce que Vinay et Darbelnet appelaient des "procédés de traduction" dans leur stylistique comparée de l'anglais et du français (Vinay et Darbelnet 1958). Le terme de métaphore grammaticale désigne le phénomène par lequel, dans les langues, certains types de constructions lexicogrammaticales peuvent être utilisés dans un sens qui n'est pas le leur, et par lequel des significations relevant de la logique expérientielle et demeurant relativement invariables puissent apparaître dans différents types de constructions grammaticales. Pour des raisons typologiques, l'anglais est particulièrement accueillant pour de tels phénomènes. C'est ainsi que la notion «antériorité» peut être exprimée par la cohésion parataxique (*before A, B happened*), par une conjonction hypotaxique (*before x happened, y...*), par un verbe (*a preceeds b*), une préposition (*first..., then...*), une conjonction hypotaxique (*before x happened, y...*), une phrase nominale (*the preceeding A*), une phrase adjectivale (*the preceeding A*), et naturellement par le temps verbal. Or le problème du choix d'une de ces variantes en fonction des circonstances et la déperdition ou le gain d'information correspondant à chaque choix (sur le plan de la logique expérientielle, sur plan personnel et sur le plan textuel) se manifestent déjà dans le cadre d'une seule langue. Il existe un certain nombre de voies de recherche portant sur la comparaison typologique des langues (Hawkins 1986), ses conséquences pour la traduction (Doherty 1991, Munday 1997), son impact sur la question des langues de spécialité en anglais (Halliday et Martin 1993). Il y a là un potentiel traductologique important : premièrement l'occasion de libérer les taxonomies de procédés de traduction de leurs formulations structurelles de surface et de les transférer dans des catégories fonctionnelles de nature sémantique ; deuxièmement l'occasion de contrôler s'il est possible de

formuler des stratégies capables de livrer des solutions préférentielles dans le cas bien connu où deux ou plusieurs langues sont impliquées dans un processus de traduction ; troisièmement l'occasion de vérifier l'hypothèse selon laquelle les textes traduits ont tendance à être plus longs que les textes en langue originale parce qu'ils sont le produit de processus de compréhension et parce que la compréhension inclut une démétaphorisation. Une modélisation explicite de ce domaine permettrait enfin à la traductologie de contribuer de façon déterminante à une théorie de la compréhension.

A l'issue de notre tour d'horizon sommaire dont l'objectif était de dépasser une discussion plutôt formaliste sur le degré d'interdépendance ou d'autonomie de la traductologie et de la linguistique, nous constatons que, posée en ces termes, la question s'avère peu féconde et susceptible de conduire pour les deux disciplines à des réponses sceptiques. Il nous paraît plus utile de nous pencher sur un certain nombre d'objets de recherche et de méthodes constitutifs de ce que «l'étude scientifique de la traduction» est censée recouvrir et sans aucun doute plus rentables et prometteurs pour les disciplines concernées comme pour un large public, qu'il soit ou non scientifique. Un tel programme de recherche prolongé par un enseignement conçu sur ses bases satisfèrait-il aux exigences théoriques traditionnellement formulées à l'égard d'une discipline pour être considérée comme scientifique? La question reste ouverte, d'autant plus que rien n'est moins assuré pour l'avenir que la persistance du rôle certainement important qui a été le sien pour l'organisation des savoirs par le passé. Nous signalerons néanmoins l'absolue nécessité, dans tous les domaines cités, de la coopération et des apports fournis par les différents courants de recherche. Ceci implique la constitution de réseaux flexibles inter- voire transdisciplinaires d'acteurs scientifiques provenant de tous les domaines impliqués et suppose la compréhension et l'aptitude à acquérir une certaine compétence du domaine du partenaire, l'une et l'autre ne pouvant être transmises que par une formation étendue axée sur la capacité de compréhension. Les tendances positives que nous avons évoquées contribueront à faire avancer ce que l'anglais désigne avec justesse par le terme de *Translation Studies*, et qui entretient des relations étroites avec les autres *Language Studies* et *Cultural Studies*.

5 L'apport de la recherche fondamentale pour la pratique professionnelle

Nous montrerons ici à partir de quelques exemples dans quelle mesure un tel programme pourrait avoir des répercussions directes et indirectes sur la

pratique professionnelle et dans quelle mesure elle pourrait contribuer à l'amélioration de la formation, des technologies et des méthodes de traduction. Nous examinerons dans ce qui suit cinq champs d'application et les compétences clés qu'ils requièrent. Toutes jouent un rôle important dans la pratique quotidienne de la traduction et dans la formation des traducteurs et toutes tireraient un profit considérable d'une recherche fondamentale telle que celle dont nous avons tracé les grandes lignes.

Le premier champ d'application est celui de l'analyse de texte appliquée à la traduction, envisagée aussi bien en tant qu'analyse du texte source qu'en tant que moyen de spécifier les caractéristiques du texte cible projeté. Ce type d'analyse prévoit une étape préliminaire au cours de laquelle des sets de critères sont appliqués au texte de départ pour déterminer les particularités à respecter lors de sa traduction dans un contexte donné. Le contexte d'arrivée est informel, c.à.d. qu'il n'est pas techniquement déterminé par la commande de traduction mais doit être spécifié grâce à la compétence professionnelle du traducteur et «traduit» dans des termes scientifiques. Ces analyses déterminent le choix des stratégies et des procédures traductionnelles ainsi que des sources d'information et autres types d'outil. L'un des choix globaux à opérer dans ce contexte est celui d'opter pour une traduction ou pour une production textuelle plurilingue au sens large du terme. Le traducteur relève aussi la présence éventuelle de champs problématiques relatifs au texte tels que le domaine sur lequel il porte, l'objectif poursuivi, la structure d'objectif, le marquage du texte dans la culture source et/ ou cible, la présence de constellations interpersonnelles particulières (spécialisation, autorité, variantes régionales et sociales, affectivité particulière), modalités inhabituelles (configurations langue-image, ton, problèmes liés au canal de communication, problèmes liés à l'utilisation de la langue écrite ou de la langue parlée). L'importance de l'analyse de texte appliquée à la traduction s'accroît avec la spécification des champs d'activité de celle-ci et avec la rapidité à laquelle ils évoluent. La possibilité de pratiquer une forme de traduction ou d'interprétation spontanée sans analyse préalable devient de plus en plus rare. C'est en effet la capacité à pratiquer ce type d'analyse qui distingue le professionnel du profane doué pour les langues. Depuis quelques années, ce type d'analyse a vu son rôle s'accroître dans le champ didactique et la tendance continue à s'accroître.

La littérature spécialisée des sciences et de la didactique de la traduction a proposé un certain nombre de modèles. Certains d'entre eux ressemblent plus à des listes mal articulées de problèmes qu'ils ne renvoient à des modèles relativement structurés de la langue et de la traduction. Une étude de la traduction qui se veut scientifique est dans l'obligation de dépasser ce stade. Les

modèles d'analyse de texte appliquée à la traduction doivent s'appuyer sur des recherches telles que nous les avons esquissées plus haut et ne peuvent faire à moins que de définir et de justifier leurs catégories sur la base de théories et de modèles traductologiques. Il est évident que les théories et les modèles varient en fonction de leurs prémisses et produisent à leur tour des procédés d'analyse de texte différents. Cela ne pose aucun problème tant que ces procédés reposent sur des bases scientifiques et apportent dans la pratique une amélioration du produit «traduction». Pour atteindre cet objectif, il faut que les enseignants acceptent et soient en mesure d'opérer un retour positif sur les questions d'ordre pratique. (...) ²

La troisième qualification qui distingue les traducteurs et traductrices disposant d'une formation scientifique des profanes doués pour les langues est leur maîtrise des technologies du langage et leur compétence critique vis-à-vis d'elles. Les champs d'application correspondants sont non seulement l'utilisation de ces technologies, mais encore et surtout la recherche technologique et le développement de nouveaux outils. Ces deux activités supposent une certaine connaissance de l'architecture et des nouvelles fonctionnalités, laquelle ne peut en aucun cas se passer ni de modèles linguistiques et traductologiques structurés ni de la capacité de les construire et de les comprendre. L'élaboration de composantes du système qui s'ensuit fait généralement appel à la collaboration d'informaticiens et de spécialistes de la linguistique computationnelle. On ne pourra non plus se passer d'une compétence fondamentale en matière d'évaluation des choix technologiques, ce qui implique une formation dépassant largement une conception purement instrumentale de l'évaluation des technologies. Nous retrouvons ici la relation étroite entre quelques uns des thèmes directeurs de la recherche traductologique et des exigences de la pratique professionnelle. Les technologies de la langue, dont l'importance s'accroît actuellement dans la pratique de la traduction, n'ont pour la plupart pas fait appel à la coopération des traducteurs, ce s'explique au vu de leurs défaillances fonctionnelles. Mais il faut bien admettre que cet état de faits se maintiendra tant qu'une partie de la corporation des traducteurs se complaira dans ses efforts d'élever des frontières face aux domaines de recherche qui élaborent et mettent à leur disposition un savoir fondamental nécessaire à la compréhension des technologies de la langue. D'autre part, indépendamment des querelles autour des questions de frontières entre les disciplines et les écoles, les connaissances de base concernant la généralisation grammaticale et l'abstraction sémantique ainsi que l'architecture de systèmes font partie de la qualification de base des traducteurs. Les recherches pratiquées dans les domaines cités plus haut y occuperont une position centrale et contribueront – il faut l'espérer – à ce que les

traducteurs et les interprètes ne soient plus des utilisateurs mais des créateurs actifs dans le secteur des technologies de la traduction.

La quatrième compétence clé à laquelle la recherche fondamentale axée sur des thèmes et des projets spécifiques devra apporter une contribution importante est un langage commun à la pratique. Il doit pouvoir servir de vecteur au discours interne de la profession et d'interface avec la recherche et l'évolution du champ. Il doit éviter d'être sans raison un jargon impénétrable pour les autres acteurs impliqués dans l'activité de traduction, en particulier pour les commanditaires, les auteurs et les professionnels des médias. Son rôle essentiel est tout d'abord d'assurer une compréhension scientifiquement fondée entre les traducteurs professionnels. Il arrive trop souvent que l'on choisisse encore comme variante linguistique du discours sur la traduction un registre qui est tout au plus celui de profanes expérimentés et doués. Que l'on ne puisse alors s'entretenir de questions complexes en matière de traduction ni avec des interlocuteurs extérieurs au champ ni même entre traducteurs relève de l'évidence. La langue de spécialité que l'on attend ne sera pas issue d'un jargon artificiel, mais de la recherche scientifique, d'une didactisation solide de ses résultats et d'un investissement créatif de la formation qui en résulte. La recherche fondamentale axée sur un thème ou sur un projet spécifique dont nous venons d'esquisser les contours ne peut fournir une telle contribution que dans la mesure où elle parvient à persuader les scientifiques des domaines connexes et les étudiants de la consistance de sa recherche, faute de quoi les mesures tactiques et politiques prises en vue de la construction d'une identité linguistique basée sur un langage technique propre à la traduction resteront lettre morte. Dans notre discussion des thèmes conducteurs de la recherche nous avons à maintes reprises insisté sur le fait que l'approche scientifique des objets de recherche impliqués ici suppose la capacité à élaborer des théories et des modèles ou du moins à comprendre ces formes d'organisation du savoir. C'est justement sur ces capacités que repose la cohérence d'un discours scientifique spécialisé et, ici, la cohérence du registre de la translation. Et c'est cette cohérence qui caractérise la langue d'une profession, sachant néanmoins que le registre d'un traducteur professionnel ne peut être une simple copie du discours scientifique mais doit réduire son degré de spécificité, prendre en compte d'autres disciplines et aménager la possibilité de communiquer avec la langue quotidienne.

Tournons-nous enfin vers la dernière compétence clé soutenue par la recherche fondamentale et dont le champ d'application ne couvre pas tout le spectre de la profession, mais produit des effets sur toutes ses activités: la compétence que donne une culture étendue et substantielle. Les différentes disciplines ont une conception très différente du rapport entre formation et

culture. Tandis que certaines disciplines limitent essentiellement leur fonction éducative à la transmission de savoirs d'experts hautement spécialisés et des compétences correspondantes dans les domaines technologiques, d'autres se considèrent comme les gardiens du savoir dominant des élites traditionnelles et d'autres encore axent leur recherche et leur enseignement sur l'objectif qu'elles se sont impérativement fixé et qui est de contribuer à une meilleure connaissance de l'homme dans son essence sociale, culturelle et historique. Il est par conséquent tout à fait possible que certaines formes d'étude linguistique de la traduction aient différentes représentations du sens de l'éducation et de la formation.

Il nous paraît clair que les personnes qui travaillent dans le domaine de la traduction exercent leur activité à la frontière entre sociétés et cultures, qu'elles agissent au cœur de la communication interculturelle et qu'une conception purement technocratique de leur activité est insuffisante, étriquée, et source d'obstacles. Aussi, dans le cadre d'une activité scientifique en rapport avec les études universitaires, il ne faut jamais perdre de vue que la formation doit aussi être une éducation. C'est dans ce cas seulement qu'à l'avenir les études de traduction seront plus qu'une formation et apporteront aussi à ceux qui les poursuivent des connaissances sur l'homme en tant qu'être culturel et social. Mais même si l'on ne veut pas faire sienne une image aussi émancipatrice et humaniste de l'éducation, il devrait être évident que le secteur professionnel de la traduction exige déjà et exigera plus encore à l'avenir une telle capacité à s'investir dans de nouveaux domaines et qu'un concept de formation trop pointu et trop ciblé sera dépassé avant d'être appliqué. Le choix qui s'imposera d'un concept éducatif large en remplacement de la stricte «formation» constituera un tournant décisif en particulier pour la pratique professionnelle, et l'activité de recherche et de traduction décrites plus haut pourraient en fournir les bases.

Pour conclure nous proposerons quelques éléments de synthèse et quelques perspectives d'avenir. Nous avons posé la question de savoir si la traductologie et la linguistique sont des disciplines distinctes et, de façon plus radicale encore, s'il s'agit bien de disciplines scientifiques consolidées. Dans le cas de la traductologie, nous avons conclu que l'on peut formuler à l'encontre des deux questions des réponses absolument sceptiques si l'on part de l'une des acceptions du concept de «discipline scientifique» qui a été celle du modernisme (ou qui l'est encore si l'on considère que cette époque perdure). Nous avons appliqué le même questionnement à la linguistique du XX^{ème} siècle et sommes parvenu aux mêmes conclusions critiques, même si, grâce à une meilleure assise institutionnelle, cette précarité est moins ressentie, du moins dans quelques secteurs du monde de la science. Dans la

troisième partie nous avons utilisé un autre concept d'activité scientifique, selon lequel cette dernière est axée sur les thèmes et les méthodes et se réalise dans des réseaux d'agents scientifiques. Ces réseaux sont flexibles, dans la mesure où leurs limites sont plutôt fluctuantes que rigoureusement définies, que leurs participants varient en fonction des sujets et qu'ils sont soit interdisciplinaires soit transdisciplinaires. Les contributions à ces réseaux ne sont plus classifiables en fonction de leur appartenance à une discipline ou à une autre, mais leurs objets d'étude et leurs méthodes dépassent les frontières des disciplines classiques. Du fait de sa transdisciplinarité, le travail scientifique ne revêt plus la forme d'une coopération de disciplines rigoureusement délimitées mais présuppose l'existence des disciplines traditionnelles sur le plan historique sans les faire intervenir en tant que telles dans le travail en cours. A ce point de nos réflexions, nous avons conclu qu'au-delà des questions d'identification d'une discipline scientifique, il est possible d'isoler un certain nombre d'objets de recherche et de méthodes à la lumière desquels une intensification de l'étude des phénomènes de traduction apparaît comme extrêmement rentable et nécessaire. Dans le cadre de ce processus - d'ailleurs déjà en cours -, une activité intéressante d'enseignement de la traduction sur des bases scientifiques peut apparaître et se développer. La question de la constitution d'une discipline rigoureusement délimitée par rapport à la linguistique reste ouverte – elle perd d'ailleurs tout son sens si le concept de science moderniste est remis en question comme c'est entre autres le cas depuis quelques temps dans les sciences de la traduction. Ce qui en revanche paraît sûr, c'est qu'un approfondissement de l'étude scientifique de la traduction peut d'une part exercer une influence positive décisive sur la pratique professionnelle et d'autre part contribuer de façon importante à notre connaissance de l'homme, de la culture et de la société. Ce dernier facteur suffirait lui-même à motiver un intérêt accru pour l'étude scientifique des la traduction.

Michel Foucault (1966,398) écrivait au sujet de l'avenir des sciences humaines:

“Une chose en tout cas est certaine: c'est que l'homme n'est pas le plus vieux problème ni le plus constant qui se soit posé au savoir humain. En prenant une chronologie relativement courte et un découpage géographique restreint - la culture européenne depuis le XVI^e siècle – on peut être sûr que l'homme y est une invention récente. Ce n'est pas autour de lui et de ses secrets que, longtemps, obscurément, le savoir a rôdé. En fait, parmi toutes les mutations qui ont affecté le savoir des choses et de leur ordre, le savoir des identités, des différences, des

équivalences, des caractères, des mots, - bref au milieu de tous les épisodes de cette profonde histoire du *Même* – un seul, celui qui a commencé il y a un siècle et demi et qui peut-être est en train de se clore, a laissé apparaître la figure de l'homme. Et ce n'était point la libération d'une vieille inquiétude, passage à la conscience lumineuse d'un souci millénaire, accès à l'objectivité de ce qui longtemps était resté pris dans des croyances ou dans des philosophies: c'était l'effet d'un changement dans les dispositions fondamentales du savoir. L'homme est une invention dont l'archéologie de notre pensée montre aisément la date récente. Et peut-être la fin prochaine.

Si ces dispositions venaient à disparaître comme elles sont apparues, si par quelque événement dont nous pouvons tout au plus pressentir la possibilité, mais dont ne nous connaissons pour l'instant ni la forme ni la promesse, elles basculaient, comme le fit au tournant du XVIII^e siècle le sol de la pensée classique, - alors on peut bien parier que l'homme s'effacerait, comme à la limite de la mer un visage de sable."

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THE ADLAB PROJECT: and some ideas on audio description

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1 Introduction

The acronym ADLAB stands for ‘Audio Description: lifelong access for the blind’ and is a European Erasmus Multilateral Lifelong Learning project which began in 2011 and is scheduled to end in October 2014. The project is coordinated by the University of Trieste in Italy and includes seven other partners:

- Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB)
- Polytechnic University of Leiria
- Artesis, Antwerp University
- University of Poznan (UAM)
- Bayerischer Rundfunk (BR)
- Vlaamse Radio en Televisie (VRT)
- Senza Barriere ONLUS

All the partners are particularly suited to participate at European level. The partners from Higher Education Institutes (HEI) form a well-oiled team who has worked actively together harmoniously and profitably for many years. From a common background in audiovisual translation in general, all have turned in more recent years to the question of access to audiovisual products, first for the deaf and hard of hearing, and then for the visually impaired. Their expertise and dynamism can be measured by the number of publications in indexed journals and the number of conferences, seminars and workshops organized and attended. They have all introduced this discipline in their teaching, whether in undergraduate or postgraduate study programmes, also bringing a number of Ph.D students into the field.

2 Aims and Objectives

The basic aims and objectives of the project are firstly to create authoritative guidelines and proposals for the audio description (AD) profession and industry over all Europe, and secondly to develop curricula for higher education institutions in Europe so that the theoretical and practical input can be provided to train audio describers and indeed audio describer trainers, both for general use by the blind population, but also for didactic purposes with blind children or other target groups (people with learning difficulties, newly arrived immigrants, etc.). Another aim which must work in parallel with the above is the sensitizing and influencing of decision-makers and service providers at a local, national and European level. This also presupposes the establishing of concrete links with the audiovisual industry in general and, in particular, those with a current or potential interest in audio description. In this sense the project already includes members from academia and from service providers. BR have been providing audio described programmes for German television for many years, and VRT, the Belgian state television service, is now working on AD. 'Senza Barriera' is a non-profit making organization based in northern Italy providing audio described products to the Italian blind and sight-impaired community. Finally, and crucially, the aim of ADLAB is to create a form of social inclusion that will improve the lives of the blind and partially-sighted population.

3 Work Package 1

As with European projects in general, the work is divided into a series of 'work packages' which should logically follow on from one another in the development of the project. In the case of ADLAB, Work Package 1, termed 'User Needs Analysis', was designed to provide a 'photograph', as accurate as possible, of the current situation regarding the blind and visually impaired population in Europe in terms of numbers and trends. It also had the task of ascertaining the amount of audio described material already available and in what form, the degree of existing legislation governing audio description, and the role of the blind associations in each country in lobbying for or promoting the practice. As regards the availability of AD, results show a somewhat comparable situation in all the countries involved in the research in that public television typically offers AD services to some extent while the private market is less interested in making its audio-visual productions accessible. Considering other sectors, some DVDs including AD tracks exist in all

countries under consideration but are often very limited, cf. 5 or 6 in Italy, though some organisations cater for the needs of the target group by providing CD ROM versions of films, e.g. Italy (Senza Barriere Onlus) and Spain (O.N.C.E.). The situation in museums seems consistently positive, and in expansion, while in the case of theatre, opera and ballet, most audio description is provided on an occasional one-off basis. Almost no cinemas offer a regular AD service. Special screenings with audio description are all linked to single initiatives. The most instructive element that emerges from this survey is that **television is the key market** and that most energy is concentrated in this sector.

As regards the legal situation, the survey demonstrates that various government jurisdictions have formulated different and complex definitions of legal blindness and other forms of visual impairment. As for the specific laws and regulations pertaining to AD, here too there is much variation between countries that have no regulations, countries where very precise guidelines exist for some sectors (e.g. public television in Flanders), and countries that are known to have full legislation (e.g. the UK). However, in spite of this heterogeneous situation, each country appears to have made AD-specific arrangements at least with national broadcasters, which shows that a minimal degree of awareness of the need for accessible media products already exists.

As for the roles of the national and local blind associations, their position regarding audio description, especially in terms of their lobbying power in promoting the practice, is also very varied. The report includes a list of organizations for each chartered country with very varied and detailed answers provided by each, and the trend seems to confirm the great importance ascribed to AD by each and every organization, even though their involvement and lobbying power often leaves much to be desired and more cooperation and awareness raising is called for. The final report was a joint venture based on the initial survey work coordinated by the team from BR. However, to be sure that we were progressing in the right direction, we asked an advisory group made up of experts from academia but also, and crucially, from the AD industry, to comment on the report. In the request, we invited suggestions, comments and even ‘harsh criticism’. And harsh criticism there was. Comments such as “I think this needs a bit of thought in terms of order and structure”, “It reads a bit like a “data dump” at the moment” and “I find the first section to be somewhat lacking in structure and accessibility” set us on a remedial track which generated revised versions which eventually resulted in comments including “this is a VAST improvement”, “a much improved and streamlined document” and “I look forward to citing it when it is published”. So mission accomplished in reporting terms but in terms of AD, the general, rather

unpromising, conclusion reached is that AD is still a media access practice lacking critical mass in terminology, practice, and training. Until there is a solid research background to turn to for data, and results, all activities related to AD should be considered as anecdotal. Raising awareness at all levels is the first recommendation made by the ITU Audiovisual Media Focus Group, and ADLAB will be looking to take forward this recommendation leading to its work on creating guidelines and curricula, and on promoting the practice of audio description whenever and wherever possible.

4 Work Package 2

And so to the second work package, entitled ‘Text Analysis and Development’, and coordinated by the team from the Autonomous University of Barcelona, which was charged with producing a report on the extensive analysis carried out by all partners on Quentin Tarantino’s 2009 film ‘Inglourious Basterds’. This film was chosen because of the myriad facets represented in terms of intertextuality, movie techniques, cultural references, etc. and because of the fact that it is a very difficult text to audio describe. The resulting in-depth analyses resulted in the creation of a master matrix containing all the critical elements providing a challenge to the audio describer, with suggestions on how to deal with them. The so-constructed matrix was not referential only to the Tarantino film, but is to be considered a template or blueprint that can be applied to all other filmic texts. As a major extension of this work an entire book has been written (see below) dealing, chapter by chapter, with the various aspects of AD production unearthed by the analyses. The rationale for the package, as outlined by group leader Pilar Orero is that most studies on audiovisual translation in general (Perego 2005, Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007, Franco, Matamala & Orero 2010, Romero-Fresco 2011) have been drafted from a top-down approach. While this is the most common and time effective procedure, it tends to yield the information expected from the onset of the experiment and the hypothesis drafted. With the ADLAB project a unique and interesting opportunity presented itself in having several countries and experts in the field embarking on a new and challenging research approach: bottom up, that is following a user-centric approach, and avoiding a pre-determined outcome.

The master matrix, which emerged as the first product of this research can be seen in Fig. 1. This contains all the ‘critical AD points’ identified by the partners for the audio description of this film. The detailed nature of this

work means it can be used as a basis for audio describing most other audio-visual film and television products. The various aspects listed below

- Text on screen
- Music and sounds
- Intertextual relations
- Cultural references
- Secondary elements (content prioritisation)
- Gestures and facial expressions
- Cinema tools/camera techniques
- Spatio-temporal characteristics
- Characters (describing, naming, placing)
- Audio description wording, language, style

have also formed the chapter headings for the book based on this research.

5 Work Package 3

Work Package 3 is focussing on testing. All partners are first engaged in providing alternative versions of audio descriptions of the film vehicle ‘Inglourious Bastards’, some with a more narrative approach and some with a more descriptive approach. These are being sent to the Poznan team from Adam Mickiewicz University to be prepared for testing purposes and then will be tested on blind audiences in all the member countries to ascertain preferences.

The project is still little more than half completed and therefore the fourth Work Package is still in the embryonic stage. It has the aim of producing coherent and harmonious guidelines for audio description in the form of a manual to be used at pan-European level. The coordinators are the team from Artesis and Antwerp University, who will take on board the results of the WP2 analyses and the testing outcomes in order to produce a document that will (a) hopefully fill the gap that exists among the few sets of guidelines that have already been produced but which have never been rationalized into a single body and which can serve all European countries equally well, and (b) provide a basis for the development of the translation of audio descriptions from one European language to another.

Turning to the question of research and training in audio description, our surveys show that in most countries research and educational training are closely linked, as both are typically carried out in universities even if there are no specific professorships or chairs for AD experts. Generally speaking, it

is safe to say that AD is only very rarely part of the curriculum at higher education level. Sometimes training is offered in seminars taught by professionals, or is available in-house within companies. Where university classes and training sessions are taught, teaching methods are not uniform across providers, and several practitioners self-teach the skills that are required by their work, especially as far as accessibility services are concerned (Díaz-Cintas et al, 2007). Similarly, as mentioned above, the guidelines that have been adopted are rarely based on empirical research, in most cases being the result of experience, common sense and personal preferences. Again ADLAB hopes to fill the gap.

Inglourious Basterds – Bottom-up Analysis

Gestures and facial expressions

- The "bravo" gesture Landa makes
- Lands shaking the hand of LaPaditte
- Lands kissing the hand of one of LaPaditte's daughters
- Lands touching the hand of LaPaditte's wife to stop her
- LaPaditte extending his arm to show where he is hiding the Jews
- Lands pointing with his finger on the areas beneath the floor where the Jews are
- The "table" gesture
- Lands shaking his head to say "more or less"
- The Nazi to be killed in the woods puffing his hand on the heart as if to swear something
- The "viel Hitler" gesture
- Hugo Stiglitz's nodding with the head
- The Italian annoyance gesture (with the fingers)
- Hico's and Stiglitz's exchange of unhappy facial expressions and gestures with the fingers as if they were smelling something
- The face of LaPaditte as the Nazis are approaching his house
- The face of LaPaditte's daughter as Landa is kissing her hand
- The face of LaPaditte as he has to say whether he is sheltering Jews in his house or not
- Shoshanna's surprising look on her face as she learns how many Jews Zoller killed
- Shoshanna's face as she realizes who Landa is
- Shoshanna crying after Landa leaves the restaurant
- No clear emotion on the face of the Nazi soldier as the Basterds are about to kill him in the woods
- The long exchange of glances between Shoshanna and Landa in the restaurant
- Landa's face as he is examining the shoe left after the shoofar at the restaurant
- Stiglitz's angry face as he is remembering the tortures he experienced from the Nazis
- Bridget's face when she realizes that her shoe is in Landa's pocket
- Landa saying "bravo" and smiling like a child
- Shoshanna's "forced smile" when she is hearing Goebbels joking with Zoller at the restaurant
- Goebbels "adylite" handshake with Shoshanna
- The concern on the face of the Jewish girl hiding beneath the floor at LaPaditte's house
- Lands opening the door of LaPaditte's house and inviting his soldiers to come in
- Shoshanna standing by the window in the cinema waiting for the premiere
- Shostanna's face as she is with Zoller in the cafeteria
- Lands putting his finger to his mouth in a "fish" gesture
- Landa looking at LaPaditte's daughters; the looks on their faces as he is examining the house

Characters

- Character/speaker identification
- Characters in a dialogue: how to announce the exchange of looks/speech sequences?
- Naming of characters
- A character identified so far by his/her appearance is now called his/her name
- The same character in different settings at once
- Anticipation
- Off-screen/obscured characters
- Complex scenes with a lot of characters

Spatio-temporal characteristics

- Sudden scene changes
- Off-screen characters to be placed in the filmic space (e.g., the scene at the bar when the Nazi soldier is talking to Aldo who is still upstairs)
- Times of the day/evenings
- Ambienlation

Music and sounds

- Music in Inglourious Basterds
- Describing silences
- LaPaditte cutting wood with an axe
- The SS car approaching LaPaditte's house
- LaPaditte washing his face
- Pouring milk into the glass
- LaPaditte smoking his pipe
- Inhaling the pipe
- Peeling the skulls
- The baseball bat hitting on the walls
- Sniffing tobacco
- Text-on-screen accompanying sounds (e.g. Hugo Stiglitz's caption)
- Various manners of killing by Stiglitz
- Letters falling down as Shoshanna is changing the cinema posters
- The sound accompanying Shoshanna's name caption
- The sound accompanying Goebbels's name caption
- Zoller knocking on the window as Shoshanna is reading in the cafe
- Goebbels and Francesca's sex scene
- Lighting the cigarette
- Goebbels hitting Zoller with the napkin
- Shoshanna's steps as she is escaping LaPaditte's house/her hard breathing and crying
- The sounds of eating, smoking and drinking
- Stiglitz sharpening the blade
- Aldo putting his finger into the wound in Bridget's leg
- The ringing of the bell at the cinema to announce the change of roll
- Sounds of explosions/shooting
- The Nazis slashing Stiglitz with a whip
- The trigger of the gun being pulled
- Aldo hitting Landa on the forehead with his head
- Helistrom hitting Stiglitz on the arm as if to "wake him up"
- Landa placing his hands on the table in a definitive gesture to end the war
- Killing a Nazi in the same jail Stiglitz is as the Basterds come to pick him up (more of a background sound)
- Musical theme used when Zoller is leaving Shoshanna as they met for the first time

Intertextual relations/cultural references

- Characters with historical background (e.g., Churchill)
- Aldo's accent
- One of the Nazi soldier's belly dance (Mata Hari) during the card game
- Shoshanna painting her face red like a warrior and the lyrics of the song playing in the background saying "See these eyes go red"
- Cinderella's intertextual relation (as Landa puts the shoe on Hanna's foot and it fits)
- When Donny is killing the Nazi with the bat and shouting victory afterwards
- The "3" gesture
- The swastika symbol reappearing along the film

Text on screen

- Logos: "Universal Picture", "The Weinstein Company"
- Opening credits
- Closing credits
- Title
- Inserts/Intertitles
- The "Inglourious Basterds" inscription on the rifle
- Names captioned
- Maps
- Newspaper clippings
- Cinema lettering
- Shoshanna's passport
- The cards used in the card game
- The napkin Bridget von Hammersmark signed and kissed
- An arrow pointing at Martin Bormann together with the caption of his name
- An arrow pointing at Hermann Goering together with the caption of his name
- Subtitles

Secondary elements/content prioritisation issues

- The person painting Hitler in the background
- Landa drinking LaPaditte's milk as if it was wine
- The size of Landa's pipe compared to the one LaPaditte has
- Aldo's scar on the neck
- Close ups of the strudel and the whipped cream
- The gun hidden in the Basterd's glove
- Scene at the bar with the bartender eavesdropping the conversation between the soldiers
- Francesca's dog sitting at the restaurant table
- The bartender reaching for his rifle behind the bar while he pretends to read a poetry book
- Von Hammersmark's shoes revealed under the table as she is talking to the Basterds in the restaurant
- The vet's funny sleeping hat and his pyjama
- Shoshanna entering the room where Marcel is in a sexy cinema-like style
- Landa's notebook and writing utensils

Cinema tools/Camera techniques

- Fade outs
- Slow motion
- Dissolutions
- Close ups
- Film within film (the projection of Zoller's film at the cinema)
- Screen divided into two parts (one in colour, the other in black and white)
- The camera zooming in
- Lighting
- Camera moving around in a circle
- Subjective plans
- Colour (e.g., Shoshanna's red dress at the final screening)
- Flashbacks
- Camera looking from upstairs/bird's eye perspective
- Sharp scene cuts
- Shoshanna's face going down in flames on the cinema screen like a ghost
- Flashbacks
- Camera going down to reveal the Jews beneath the floor in LaPaditte's house
- Camera going down to reveal the dynamite hidden in the parts of the two Basterds
- Wide shots
- Very brightly lit objects
- Parallel shots
- Shots "from behind the back"
- Camera viewpoint to reveal the eyes of the Jews in LaPaditte's house peering through the floor
- Fast camera focus point changes
- Changes in camera focus
- Filming from below
- Off-screen narrator
- Camera viewpoint corresponding to the character's viewpoint

Audio description wording, language and style

- Dialogue-description coherence
- Image-AD coherence
- Appraisals
- Anaphoric references
- Subtitles
- Language changes
- The bad Italian accent revealing the cover of the Basterds
- Leaving out parts of dialogue in the original language
- Names of bars, restaurants, cinemas, films
- Comparisons
- Violence, brutality, love scenes

6 ADLAB and SFL

Following this overview of the ADLAB project, the discussion now moves towards sharing a few ideas on audio description connected to the project and on the relevance of systemic-functional linguistics to these ideas all of which will hopefully find its way into the project outcomes. Going back to the preliminary conclusions reached on the state of the art, a plea was made for “a solid research background to turn to for data”. But research into what exactly? There are both practical and theoretical considerations and this paper will concentrate more on the theoretical side, more precisely on linguistic and cultural aspects... and translation. So to begin, the perennial questions regarding AD are

What should be described?

What should not be described?

Adopting the tenets of SFL (systemic functional linguistics), we can begin with the question posed years ago by Michael Halliday about «what was said ... and what might have been said but wasn't» referring to the choices speakers make from a potentially enormous paradigm of possibilities. And by extension, the choices audio describers make (and later how these might be translated).

A further consideration is that audio description is a new and distinct text type, distinguishable from all other genres. Comparing two text types of the same length, the audio described version of the film ‘The English Patient’ and a short story by Wilkie Collins ‘The Traveller’s Story’, it can be seen that the AD text differs in a number of important ways. Audio description involves a particular use of language: verbs are almost exclusively in the present tense (very occasionally in the present perfect), and are solely declarative; particular theme choices and theme progression are evident; single noun phrases stand alone, such as ‘A Red Cross troop train’ and ‘The desert’. As all clauses are declarative, the subject is often theme, often a pronoun, and predominantly, if not exclusively, third person. The following extract from the film ‘The English Patient’ shows all these characteristics including the tight anaphoric reference which is also omnipresent:

- 01:04:04 A Red Cross troop train.
- A young French-Canadian nurse, Hana, adjusts the belt of her uniform.
- She walks into a carriage where wounded soldiers lie one above the other on bunks.

- (Passing between them) she stops beside a young man.
- 01:04:39 She bends over him.
- 01:04:45 She moves on between the bunks.
- 01:04:58 She joins her colleagues.

A particular stylistic feature, particularly evident in this film, is the use of non-finite phrases in theme position. A selection of examples follows:

- Passing between them,...
- Swathed in blankets,...
- Seated behind the pilot,...
- Standing behind a railing,...
- Forcing open a door,...
- Wearing a simple skirt,...
- Finishing his photography,...

While we ‘do’ and we ‘are’ while we speak, and this is true also for characters in films, the blind are unable to see those characters ‘doing’ or ‘being’. Non-finite phrases provide that input succinctly, paying homage to the guidelines of the Royal National Institute for the Blind in Britain who advise the use of “clear, vivid and succinct vocabulary”.

Comparing the theme choice in the two text types, we find that nouns and noun groups account for 302 of the themes in the audio description, while in the short story only 152 nouns are chosen. Pronouns are found as theme 239 times in the AD and always third person. In the short story there are 41 third person pronouns in theme position and 149 first person pronouns. These results tally with the previous breakdown of the characteristics of AD. However, the most remarkable difference between the two genres lies in the use of non-finite phrases as theme. The audio description numbers 77 uses while in the short story there are only 6 examples. Of course, in AD the theme development is also contextualised by the dialogue, which does not appear in the text, but the lack of non-finite clauses, existentials, minor clauses, interpersonals, vocatives, continuatives, exclamatives, etc. is striking, and reinforces the hypothesis that AD is a particular kind of text.

Returning to the concept of ‘what was said’, the (professional and experienced) English audio describer has opted for one series of grammatical structures instead of others, suggesting indeed that these choices point to a self-standing genre. As usual, more research is required, but for example a comparison between a screenplay and an audio description, as two different if connected genres, (see Lakritz & Salway, 2002) suggests that “it is possible to identify and extract 80% of the important information from screenplays

that should feature in AD”, but not necessarily in the same linguistic form, ... and then there’s the 20%.

But what goes on in the describer’s mind in the case of audio description? Describing a static or dynamic text off-line (without seeing it, and from memory) we retell using a certain format. “When we make meaning we always simultaneously construct a *presentation* of some state of affairs, *orient* to the presentation and orient to others, and in doing so create an *organised* structure of related elements.” This presentation, orientation and organization, in terms of ideational meaning, interpersonal meaning and textual meaning take us into familiar territory. Such off-line descriptions are characterized by a lack of time constraints, the use of natural expression, the freedom to insert metacomments and judgements, the possibility of error, etc. On the other hand an on-line description of a dynamic text is characterized by frequently stringent time constraints, the need to use unnatural expression, a limited attention to detail, the need to pinpoint spatial and temporal orientation, and so on. An audio description, even if not directly on-line, shares this latter list of characteristics, plus a recommendation from some experts to avoid any temptation to offer judgement or appraisal.

This brings us to the controversial question of whether or not (or to what extent) an audio describer can allow him or herself to offer personal interpretations of actions or events if he or she deems it helpful, and not condescending towards the blind audience. On-line and audio describing must at times entail validity judgements, epistemic expressions, attitudinal meaning, etc. It is difficult to avoid interpreting from our own experience and expertise, and knowledge of the audience. But in various quarters, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon AD world, this has been frowned upon. The ITC ‘Guidance on standards for audio description’ states:

“the best audiodescribers objectively recount the visual aspects of an image. Subjective or qualitative judgements or comment get in the way.”

But in the case of the image in Fig. 2, is it better to describe the girl in the following objective way - “the eyelids droop as the inner corners of the brows rise, the corners of the lips pull down, and the lower lip pushes up in a pout” – or simply say that she is sad, or ‘looks sad’ or ‘has a sad look on her face’?



Fig. 2

Do we want to reproduce the same experience as the seeing audience perceives, and therefor leave everything to intuition from verbal and visual clues, or do we want sometimes to use our better judgement, based on our knowledge of the film and our (and the audience's) knowledge of the world. Is it a question of "what you see", "what we think" or "what they want"? The latter consideration should be paramount, and the blind audience certainly does not want to be patronized, but the possibility of providing useful assistance through a judiciously subjective approach is gaining ground among scholars and exponents of AD.

7 Audio Description Translation

The translation of audio description and the use of audio subtitles, the 'speaking' of subtitles in foreign language productions, takes us a step further along the theory trail. But in AD translation what considerations come into play? One consideration is not to translate and start from scratch. Another is to use the original AD as a template for all other translations, and yet another is to consider that different nationalities/cultures /languages may need different adaptations.

So, to translate or not to translate?

This Shakespearian dilemma is well illustrated by the different approaches adopted in the audio description in Italian of the British film 'The King's Speech'. In 'Il discorso del Re' various strategies are employed already in the

opening minutes of the film. The movie begins with the usual credits, logos and acknowledgements including the following:

The UK Film Council awarding funds by the National Lottery.

There follows a caption shown on screen:

In 1925 King George V reigns over a quarter of the world's people. He asks his second son, the Duke of York, to give the closing speech at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley, London.

Then the scene switches to an office obviously connected to the broadcasting of the king's speech.

A large grey, oval microphone stands on a desk in an empty wood-pannelled art deco room.

The Italian version of these three excerpts is as follows with a back translation into English in brackets:

Su fondo nero a centro schermi compare una luce blu che si espande formando la scritta UK Film Council che diventa di colore bianco.

(A blue light appears on a black background in the middle of the screen and expands to form the words UK Film Council which then turns white)

1925 Re Giorgio V regna su un quarto della popolazione mondiale. Ha chiesto al suo secondo figlio, il duca di York, di tenere il discorso di chiusura all'Empire Exhibition a Wembley, Londra.

(In 1925 King George V reigns over a quarter of the world's people. He asks his second son, the Duke of York, to give the closing speech at the Empire Exhibition in Wembley, London)

In primo piano un tecnologico microfono degli anni '20 è poggiato su un tavolo nello studio della BBC Broadcasting House.

(In the foreground a 1920s technological microphone stands on a table in a studio at BBC Broadcasting House)

As Mossop says

The translator becomes the 'motivator' behind the ideas expressed in the translation, but he/she may be either 'loyal' (adding or subtracting in the spirit of the source as they see it) or 'disloyal' (engaging in his/her own writing project).

In fact in the Italian version of the opening credits, etc. much is included that is not in the original version, whereas the caption is an exact translation. The AD that immediately follows places a different emphasis and provides information (at BBC Broadcasting House) that is not available even to the sighted viewer. To speak of translation here is to use a relative and partial term, though the film remains the same both to the normal and to the blind audience.

While the number of audio described products in some countries remains limited, it is difficult to draw useful conclusions from the few comparative studies made, but it is hoped that the work begun by ADLAB will lead to a broadening of interest in this whole sector and to constant improvements in the provision of access to audiovisual products on the part of the sensorially disabled.

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Process types and their classification

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Abstract

For many text linguists using a systemic functional approach, the classification according to Process type of Processes in the system of TRANSITIVITY, indicated by a lexical verb, is often a central concern and a problem area. This chapter takes a critical look at Process types and their associated Participant Roles within an SFG framework, highlighting some of the difficulties inherent in their classification, offering some evaluation of their description, and of the criteria provided for their identification, in terms of both strengths and weaknesses. It then briefly reviews some available online resources, namely corpora and lexical databases, that may be enlisted to assist the SFL analyst in Process type identification. The article concludes that, despite the presence such foundational accounts as that offered, for example, in Halliday's 'Introduction to Functional Grammar' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004), much more work is needed on this aspect of the lexicogrammar, in order to provide text analysts with more comprehensive and reliable accounts of Process types to inform and validate the claims that are based, to some extent, upon their analysis.

1 Introduction

Any analysis of texts for the purpose of interpreting and revealing the (social) meanings that are construed by them must necessarily be based on sound linguistic theory and description, which itself must be up to the task of relating social meaning to linguistic form and function. If claims are to be made on the basis of the presence or absence of given linguistic features in a text, then valid and consistent application of linguistic categories is essential. Inconsistency in analysis substantially weakens, and may ultimately invalidate the claims that are based upon it.

Amongst the range of functional approaches to language, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) is arguably the most useful and appropriate for the task of analysing text with social meaning in mind. Many, or perhaps most, of those who adopt SFL in their linguistic research do so in order to investigate and analyse texts rather than to develop the theory itself. And in so doing, they rely on the validity of the descriptions that the theory generates and on their own ability to apply the categories set up by the theory.

In the analysis of texts there is clearly a need to posit linguistic organisation both at the grammatical (clause) level and above it. And although such an investigation may be seen as ‘discourse analysis’, as Halliday (1994: xvi) makes clear ‘a discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on the text’.

In a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), at the level of the clause, candidate lexicogrammatical features concern the broad, primary systems of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME, in which options reflect the three basic metafunctions, or strands of meaning, the ideational, interpersonal and textual, respectively. Whilst the structural correlates of options available in MOOD and THEME are reasonably easily identifiable, identification of options in the system of TRANSITIVITY would seem to be more problematic. If queries and requests for help on SFL online forums are anything to go by, the most common, recurrent problem encountered by analysts is classifying Processes (centred on the lexical verb in the clause in question) according to the Process types set up in lexicogrammatical descriptions.

The relative difficulty experienced in identifying Process type can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, verbs constitute a major lexical class, with a membership of many tens of thousands of senses in English. As a consequence, when focusing initially on the lexical verb form, the analyst will inevitably come across verbs which seem not to correspond easily to any of the Process types set up in the description. And given the large number of verbs in the language, accounts of verb classification, including dedicated databases such as VerbNet (Kipper et al. 2008) and Neale’s PTDB (Neale 2006), are far from exhaustive in terms of coverage. Secondly, the criteria set up for membership of a given Process type tend to be based on prototypical cases. And, as we have learnt from Rosch’s work on Prototype Theory (Rosch 1978) there are good and bad examples of category members. Thirdly, and related to the second point, categories are fuzzy, and arguably blend into each other at the edges. This is captured graphically by the well-known cover of the second edition of Halliday’s *Introduction to Functional Grammar* (Halliday 1994), henceforth here IFG, which shows the six Process types that he recognises merging into each other at their boundaries. Indeed, Halliday

sets up three secondary Process types, verbal, existential and behavioural, which appear to be intermediate between the primary types of relational, mental and material (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 248-259). Fourthly, without substantial investigation, the kinds of lexicogrammatical behaviour associated with any given verb sense is not necessarily readily available in order to inform judgements of classification. Finally, because the core of the clause in terms of transitivity and Process type is lexical, i.e. the lexical verb, responses to classification may be influenced strongly by semantic or conceptual considerations, as shown by O'Donnell and co-researchers in their survey of Process type classification over difficult cases (O'Donnell et al. 2008).

2 What exactly are Process types?

According to Halliday, the system of TRANSITIVITY is set up to construe our experience of the flow of events, which is chunked into quanta of change by the grammar of the clause, with each quantum of change modelled as a figure – ‘a figure of happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:170). The central elements of the figure consist of the Process, unfolding through time, and the participants directly involved in the Process. Additionally, there may be circumstances (of time, space, manner etc.) attendant on the process.

The three primary Process types concern the world of ‘outer’ experience (material Processes) ‘inner’ experience (mental Processes), and the world of generalising about experience, relating one fragment of experience to another (relational Processes). But what is key in positing such general types of Process, for Halliday, is the observation that the ‘grammar sets up a discontinuity’ between them (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:170). I take it as fundamental in SFG that the different categories recognised are recognised because there is evidence in the (lexico)grammar to warrant the distinction. In other words, these are not arbitrary or notional differences which the theorist or describer comes up with; they arise from observable grammatical behaviour. In terms of Process types, the lexicogrammatical reactances associated with a given Process are those distinguishing patterns at the level of clause. The system network sets out the options, as features in a system, that are available to speakers of the language, and each feature, in contrast with any other in the same system, must be motivated by some reflex in the lexicogrammar (see Martin 1987 and Fawcett 1988 for discussions of system network feature motivation).

2.1 The nature of difference: evidence for Process type differentiation

The two key aspects of a Process are the lexicogrammatical configurations that it exhibits and the nature of the participants that are inherently involved in it. The notion of participant relates to the underlying roles (Participant Roles, Semantic Roles, Thematic Relations etc. in other approaches and theories), such as Agent, Goal etc., that capture the relationship between the Process itself, signalled by the predicate, the lexical verb, and the (typically) nominal expressions that constitute the predicate's arguments. Each Process type is associated with its own set of Participant Roles, for example *Senser* and *Phenomenon* with mental Processes, *Actor* and *Goal* with material Processes.

We thus have two routes into the differentiation of Process types: their respective lexicogrammatical characteristics and the Participant Roles inherently associated with each of them. In a sister model to Halliday's IFG, the Cardiff Grammar (CaG) (Fawcett 2008), Participant Role identification is given primacy over lexicogrammatical criteria in the analysis of Process types. It is not that Fawcett denies the existence of lexicogrammatical criteria, but points to the formidable task of 'learning the criteria' (Fawcett forthcoming). Instead, in establishing tests for the identification of the 17 Participant Roles recognised in CaG, Fawcett claims to provide a reliable heuristic for the identification of the Process type in question.

Let us now consider both the kinds of lexicogrammatical criteria and Participant Role tests that are given in SFG literature.

2.1.1 Lexicogrammatical criteria

The kind of lexicogrammatical criteria that IFG sets out is exemplified in a table, given here as Table 1, showing the properties differentiating material and mental clauses.

Table 1: Properties differentiating material and mental clauses (from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:201)

	material	mental
participant: central	Actor: ± conscious; prototypically a potent thing	Senser: +conscious
participant: second	Goal: things Scope: things – typically either places or events	Phenomenon: things, macro-things (acts) or meta-things (facts)
ability to project	-	can project ideas
Process, tense: reporting present time	present-in-present unmarked	simple present unmarked
Process substitute	substitute verb do	-

The kind of indicators given are not directly associated with formal lexicogrammatical structure, although they usually imply it. For example, the indicator for mental Processes, ‘can project ideas’, points structurally to the projection of ideas through a finite or non-finite dependent clause, e.g. *I wonder if she’s happy*. In respect of indicators of Participant Roles, such as Actor, Senser etc., what is typically specified is the semantic nature of the ‘Thing’ realised as a nominal group, such as [± conscious]. Such indications appeal to a large extent to the lexis involved, e.g. *waiter* versus *table*, although there may be grammatical correlates such as pronominal difference, e.g. *he* versus *it*. Whilst there is only one further comparative table in *IFG*, such as Table 1 above, in respect of differences between the Process types, the main differences are often discussed in the coverage of a given type.

The first question that arises is whether or not there is comprehensive coverage of all the lexicogrammatical differences between the six Process types recognised in Halliday’s grammar. It is overwhelmingly *IFG* that provides what evidence there is for Process type identification, and yet, as the varied responses to posted Process type queries on *sysfling/sys-func*, and as O’Donnell et al. show, there is by no means ‘inter-coder’ consistency in the

solutions proposed for some difficult cases¹. This suggests that either the criteria provided are not comprehensive enough or that analysts are not applying them fully or consistently. A second question is whether analysts use exclusively lexicogrammatical criteria or whether conceptual/semantic criteria are taken into consideration.

Arguably, the main problem is that the thrust of Process type classification is on the treatment of prototypical cases. Thus we find a set of Processes discussed that exhibit the same range of lexicogrammatical criteria. One of the first pair of examples used to illustrate material clauses in *IFG* are *the lion sprang* and *the lion caught the tourist* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:180). Naturally, there is coverage of the range of each Process type, particularly when there is a need to introduce Participant Roles other than those centrally associated with the Process type, but again such examples stray little from the general identification criteria. *IFG* does provide corpus-based examples, and even larger texts, to illustrate the discussion, but it would be naive not to believe that such examples are not usually selected because of their usefulness.

A further aid to Process type identification are the lists of examples of lexical verbs provided, as shown in Table 2.

*Table 2: Examples of verbs serving as Process in verbal clauses
(from Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:255)*

TYPE		EXAMPLE OF VERBS
semiosis	(neutral quoting)	say, tell; go, be like
	indicating	tell (sb that), report, announce, notify, explain, argue, convince (that), persuade (sb that), promise (that)
		ask (sb whether), question, enquire (whether)
	imperating	tell (sb to do), ask (sb to do) order, command, require, promise, threaten, persuade (sb to do), convince (sb to do), entreat, implore, beg

Such lists are useful, both in providing Processes that are considered by the author(s) to be examples of the type in question, and at the same time providing ‘yardsticks’ against which other verbs, not appearing in the list, might be

¹ ‘sysfling’ and ‘sys-func’ are the two main SFL online discussion groups/forums.

classified. Unfortunately, as was pointed out earlier, given the fact that in lexical terms verbs constitute an open class and that most verbs will also be polysemous, such lists as are provided constitute a minute sample of the tens of thousands of verb senses found in a language like English. The Process queries posted on the SFL forums concern verbs that are not found in such lists, which leads to doubt in the mind of the analyst.

2.2 Participant Role criteria

If it is argued that each Process type is associated with its individual set of Participant Roles (PRs), then identification of each PR recognised should contribute substantially to identification of the various Process types. So how can one identify a given PR?

The general answer to this within SFG is by means of a probe. IFG provides some probes, but not exhaustively for all the PRs (referred to in IFG as ‘participants’). For example, in discussing material Processes and the PRs of Actor and Goal, they write, in respect of the Actor: ‘So we can ask about such processes, or ‘probe’ them in this way: What did the lion do?, What did the lion do to the tourist?’ and later, in respect of the Goal, ‘we can also say What happened to the tourist?’ (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:181). Elsewhere, however, the discussion revolves around the properties of the PR is question, as we find with their description of the Senser in mental Processes, which states that: ‘the significant feature of the Senser is that of being, ‘endowed with consciousness’ (2004:201). For IFG then, probes that assist in identifying PRs are only part of the overall heuristic framework in respect of the identification of Process types.

Fawcett, on the other hand, as was noted earlier, in his discussion of the system of TRANSITIVITY within CaG, proposes probes or ‘re-expression tests’ for each of the 17 PRs recognised in the description. These PR re-expression tests, it is claimed, serve as the most reliable way of identifying the Process type in question (Fawcett forthcoming). In other words, for Fawcett, a Process type can be determined by the set of PRs that are inherently associated with it, and those PRs can be ascertained through the use of the re-expression tests. An example of a CaG re-expression test, taken from Fawcett (2011:27), is given below.

T2 for Affected (Af) (in many Process types)
If X is the Affected, the clause can be re-expressed as
‘What happened to X was that’
PLUS failure in the Agent test.

Occasionally the test has to be ‘What was happening to X was ...’

Examples: change ‘Ike washed the dog’ to ‘What happened to the dog was that Ike washed it.’

‘The snow melted’ to ‘What happened to the snow was that it melted’.

‘The eggs were frying’ to ‘What was happening to the eggs was that they were frying.’

The key element of the test is the clause used in the re-expression, here, ‘*What happened to X was that*’. Another aspect of the tests is that they are often ordered. As Fawcett points out, for example, in the case of the PR of Phenomenon in mental Processes ‘it is necessary to apply the tests for the Emoter, Perceiver or Cognizant before the test for the Phenomenon’ (Fawcett 2011:32).

2.3 Drawbacks with re-expression tests

There are two potential problems with CaG re-expression tests or PR probes in general. Firstly, it is not always easy to find a precise re-expression clause that leaves little doubt as to the PR in question. The clause used for the Carrier, for example, found predominantly with relational Processes, is ‘*The thing about X is that...*’. And although the failure to pass other PR tests is specified, the formulation used seems so general that any nominal expression might pass it. It is at best a last resort test, if the application of other PR tests yield no results.

Secondly, each test depends fully on the similarity of the candidate Process to that expressed by the Main Verb (lexical verb) in the re-expression clause. The kind of re-expression verbs used are *do* (Agent), *happen* (Affected), *bring about* (Created), *physically perceived* (Perceiver) etc. Essentially, these are prototypical Processes, so we are faced with the same dilemma that is found in applying lexicogrammatical criteria in establishing Process types. The prototypicality of grammatical labels is defended by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:199), where they state that ‘[they] are very rarely appropriate for all instances of a category [...] they are chosen to reflect its central or ‘core’ signification (what has been called, ‘prototypes’ in the work by Eleanor Rosch, e.g. Rosch, 1978’). So whilst describing Process types in terms of prototypical features may be defended, wherever the features of a candidate Process (lexicogrammatical behaviour or PRs) appear not to correspond

with those outlined for the prototypical case, doubt inevitably arises in respect of ‘pigeon-holing’ the Process.

3 Online resources in Process type identification, other than original source texts

3.1 Neale’s Database of Process types (PTDB)

As a significant part of her doctoral thesis on the system of TRANSITIVITY within the CaG framework, Amy Neale produced her PTDB (Process Type Data Base), containing ‘over 5,400 frequently occurring verb senses’ (Neale 2006). An example of the Microsoft Excel database is given below in Table 2, with some columns removed from the original to save space. As can be seen, the various fields provide the lexical verb form, the meanings(s) or senses covered, with COBUILD corpus-based examples (Sinclair 1987), the CaG Process type, Levin’s (1993) verb class, and the PR configurations exhibited by the Process. It is appropriate here to mention, as a further resource, albeit in book form, Levin’s seminal work, which gives substantial coverage of over 3000 English verbs in terms of shared meaning and grammatical behaviour.

FORM	MEANING	CARDIFF GRAMMAR FEATURE	LEVIN FEATURE	PARTICIPANT ROLE CONFIGURATION
anger	to make angry (his hostile attitude angered her)	emotion, phenomenon oriented	psych-verb - amuse verb/ psych-verb - marvel verb	Ph + Em
announce	declare (Mr Heath announced his decision)	cognition, plus 3 p Ag		Ag ((+ Af-Cog)) + Ph
	signal (meals were announced by the ringing of a bell)	cognition, plus 3 p Ag		Ag ((+ Af-Cog)) + Ph
annoy	irritate (she didn't want to annoy him)	emotion, phenomenon oriented	psych-verb - amuse verb	Ph + Em

With its over 5,400 verb senses, and consequently Processes, PTDB offers the SFG analysis an extremely useful resource for the identification of Process types. The Process Types and PR categories are those recognised in CaG, and analysts using an IFG framework would need to map them onto IFG categories. Beyond the corpus examples for each sense, PTDB does not offer any

other motivation for the categorisation given. The database is arguably best consulted alongside the CaG re-expression tests and the full system network for TRANSITIVITY (Fawcett forthcoming).

3.2 Electronic corpora

The current wide availability of large electronic corpora and corpus search engines offers what might now be considered an essential resource in investigating the lexicogrammatical patterns associated with Processes and Process types. Individual corpora are far too numerous to list, but lists are available, for example the Linguist List at <http://linguistlist.org/sp/GetWRListings.cfm?WRAbbrev=texts>.

Of the better known large general English corpora are the British National Corpus (BNC) (Aston and Burnard 1998), the COBUILD Bank of English (Sinclair 1987) and the International Corpus of English (ICE) (Greenbaum 1996). Most of these large corpora must either be obtained by one-off purchase or by annual subscription. One useful and free resource, which uses the World Wide Web as corpus, is *WebCorp* (Renouf et al. 2007) which can be accessed at www.webcorp.org.uk.

The interpretation of corpus searches will depend upon to a large extent on the descriptions and lexicogrammatical criteria adopted. Clearly the analyst has to know what particular lexicogrammatical features to look out for in order that the corpus evidence for a given Process can contribute to Process type identification. In Table 3 a small sample is given of the concordance for the lemma *prescribe* as found in the 100 million word BNC, accessed using the *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al. 2004). This particular Process was the subject of a sysfling query in 2013 (see Section 4).

Table 3: a small sample of the concordance for *prescribe* taken from the BNC

</p><p> Although marriage is likely to be	prescribed	at some stage of life as a remedy for
supplement, which your doctor can	prescribe	</p><p> I
the vet. The vet arrived very quickly and	prescribed	some tablets. Both the vet and the
and consultation were at least those	prescribed	by the SE employee Directive.
with unacceptable side effects. All were	prescribed	as painkillers, with both Zomax and
drugs often have been inappropriately	prescribed	and also have been used in the over
its use for others; or it may be expressly	prescribed	that the evidence is not to be admitted
TMA 1970	prescribes	that the place of the appeal shall be t
power. </p><p> Then again a statute might	prescribe	that the power should be exercised by

Even in a small illustrative sample as that in Table 3 – the full concordance contains 1,261 citations – we can begin to observe the significant characteristics of the verb lemma's behaviour, including, importantly, the fact that in one sense of *prescribe*, the verb can be complemented by a *that*-clause. In addition to a straightforward KWIC (keyword in context) concordance, some search-engine resources, such as the *Sketch Engine*, provide quantitative information in terms of collocation, colligation, most frequent expressions at Subject, Object etc., which again may contribute to a fuller understanding of the verb's clausal characteristics. A corpus investigation of a particular Process to be classified is not an easy option for the analyst, but large corpora do have the advantage of providing evidence for most Processes, unlike databases which are limited in coverage as we shall see.

3.3 Lexical databases

Readily available electronic lexical databases, searchable online or downloadable, such as WordNet (Fellbaum 2005), VerbNet (Kipper et al. 2008) and FrameNet (Baker et al. 2003) also constitute potentially useful resources in the task of classifying Processes. The categorial information contained in such databases reflects linguistic theories other than SFG, and again the systemic analyst will need to translate it into the relevant SFG categories. VerbNet and especially FrameNet, also provide information for verb entries in terms of Thematic roles and Frame Elements (semantic roles) respectively, which with care can be mapped onto SFG Participant Roles. FrameNet, based on Fillmore's theory of Frame Semantics (e.g. Fillmore 1985), is of considerable potential use to SFL analysts. It is based on the description of semantic **Frames**, reflecting events, whose **Frame Elements (FE)** are the relations, entities and participants involved in each event. Corresponding to individual frames and their elements are **Lexical Units (LU)**, which specify the ways in which the frame elements are realised lexicographically. In order for an LU to be included in a frame, it must share those FEs specified for that frame. There is often, therefore, a useful mapping between FEs in FrameNet and Participant and Circumstantial Roles associated with a given SFG Process type, together with a specification of the lexicogrammatical behaviour of verbs belonging to the frame. Below is a partial description of the **Attempt_Suasion** frame (FrameNet 2000-2012).

The **Speaker** expresses through language his wish to get the **Addressee** to act in some way that will help to bring about events or states

described in the **Content**. There is no implication that the Addressee forms an intention to act, let alone acts.

(1) *Mr Smithers (Speaker) always ENCOURAGES the employees (Addressee) to stay late and work harder (Content).*

(2) *Dennis Rodman (Speaker) ADVISES moderation in all things (Content).*

This frame is exemplified by clauses involving the verbs *encourage* and *advise*, as shown in (1) and (2), which have been adapted from those given in the FrameNet entry.

Some of the other LUs, given in FrameNet, that share this frame and its FEs are: *admonish, beg, coax, discourage, recommend* and *urge*. Once again, SFG equivalents, in terms of PRs and lexicogrammatical description, will need to be carefully ascertained. Finally, FrameNet, like any complex lexical database, requires a considerable amount of manual input, limiting the number of entries currently available, which means that there is no guarantee that the SFG Process to be analysed has an equivalent FrameNet entry.

4 Towards full coverage of Processes and Process type classification

As reported in 3.3, the verb *prescribe* was the subject of a sysfling query posted in 2013. The particular issue centred on whether the Process was a behavioural Process, as claimed in Martin et al. (2010), or a verbal Process. As the author of the post pointed out, the BNC gives examples of *prescribe* followed by a *that*-clause (see the concordance in Table 3), which in *IFG* terms constitutes projection, a phenomenon associated with mental and verbal Processes, but not with behavioural Processes. Unfortunately, *prescribe* is not covered or listed in *IFG* or in Neale's PTDB, and there is no FrameNet entry for it either. VerbNet does provide an entry with two senses (the 'legal' sense and the 'medical' sense), but contains no real grammatical or semantic role information. Although we can rule out the projection subtype, which belongs, it would appear, exclusively to the legal sense, thus arguably weakening the verbal Process argument, the presence of what clearly corresponds to the *IFG* PR of **Verbiage** – namely, the medicine or treatment prescribed, militates strongly against the behavioural interpretation. And yet, according to *IFG*, verbal Processes are also associated with the PR of **Receiver**, 'the one to whom the saying is directed' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:255), and with

medical *prescribe* it is difficult, if not impossible, to find examples where a Receiver is realised. Indeed, it is not clear who the Receiver might refer to. There appears, however, to be a **Beneficiary** PR, as shown for example in (3), which is not discussed in respect of verbal Processes.

(3) *Hopefully, if the doctor prescribes me more antibiotics tomorrow*
(BNC) (my emphasis)

The issues with *prescribe* are not fully resolved either within the CaG framework. In CaG, Halliday's verbal Processes are classified as mental Processes with a 'third-party Agent' whose agency causes an **Affected-Cognizant** to come to know something (the Phenomenon). And whilst the Agent can map onto *the doctor* in (3) and the Phenomenon onto *more antibiotics*, there remains unresolved the PR assignment for *me*.

Comparing *prescribe* to closely related Processes such as *recommend*, *suggest*, *order* etc. which are covered in IFG and CaG, takes one so far, but an exact overlap of lexicogrammatical behaviour and PRs is not found, so the Process type classification remains unresolved.

The Process *prescribe* is but one single example, yet the reasonably constant posting of Process type related queries on sysfling and sys-func, bears witness to the difficulty of classifying Processes that appear not to be covered by descriptive accounts or to correspond readily by analogy to Processes that are so covered.

The solution to this classificatory dilemma, I fear, is not nigh! Some of the main factors for this were spelled out in 1.1, factors such as the nature of categories in line with Prototype Theory, and the vast number of members of the open-class lexical category of verbs. Beyond the inevitable consequences of such factors, there is also the question of the validity of SFG accounts and descriptions. The important expansion in SFL, as testified by increasing amounts of research, has tended to move outwards from the lexicogrammar, to cover fresh territory in language use and function. And whilst researchers engaged in the wider organisation of language ground much of their work in lexicogrammatical description, very few in the overall SFL community - if any, it sometimes seems - are taking forward such lexicogrammatical description. The community sometimes places too great a burden of responsibility on those such as Michael Halliday and Christian Matthiessen with the assumption that 'they have done the grammar, so we can get on with other things'. If extant SFG accounts do not resolve all Process type problems, these accounts are not yet comprehensive enough; they need improving, refining, modifying and developing, crucial processes in the development of any theory, linguistic or otherwise. Without 'willing hands', however, this will

not happen, and for the time being, systemicists run the risk of making claims about texts, based to some degree on Process type analysis, that are not fully validated by the analysis itself.

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Explicit Holmes

A diachronic investigation of explicitness and explicitation in Chinese translations of detective stories

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Abstract

The explicitation hypothesis posits that cohesive explicitness is observable in translations because translators' interpretations of the metatext are often more redundant than the prototext. Following previous work on generating explicitation hypotheses and examining explicitation phenomena for translation studies, we diachronically investigate examples and shallow statistics of explicitness/explicitation in two Chinese translations of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes short stories. Our preliminary findings provide additional evidence that translated text are more explicit than the source text and diachronically, earlier translations are more explicit whereas later translations are still explicit but to a lesser extent. Quantitatively, through shallow statistics, we also show that explicitation in the later translations is observable as epiphenomena of lexico-grammatical patterns.

1 Introduction

Drawing upon two illuminating articles written by Erich Steiner which are included in Hansen-Schirra, Neumann & Steiner (2012), i.e., “*Generating hypotheses and operationalizations: the example of explicitness/explicitation*” (pp 55-70), and “*A characterization of the resource based on shallow statistics*” (pp 71-89), we examine the explicitation hypothesis and explicitation

phenomenon in the context of the Chinese translations of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes short stories.

In the following sections, we present evidence of the explicitation hypothesis based on a pilot Sherlock Holmes short story, *A Scandal in Bohemia*. And to study explicitation, we gather shallow statistics, in terms of lexical density (LD) and type token ratio (TTR), from a corpus of six short detective stories.

2 The Explicitation Hypothesis

The explicitation hypothesis was proposed by Blum-Kulka (1986), and he states that “*the process of interpretations performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a [meta]text which is more redundant than the [proto]text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the [meta]text*”. This argument may be stated as the **explicitation hypothesis**, which postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from [proto]text to [meta]texts regardless of the differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved. It follows that explicitation is viewed here as inherent in the process of translation (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19). The explicitation hypothesis is echoed and further developed by Steiner. Steiner (2001:9-11) believes that the meta-text is grammatically more congruent, and in that sense more explicit and more redundant as well. Lately, Steiner (2012: 59) reinforces his statement of explicitation:

“We assume explicitation if a translation (or language-internally one text in a pair of register-related texts) realizes meanings (not only ideational, but including interpersonal and textual) more explicitly than its source text—more precisely, meanings not realized in the less explicit source variant but implicitly present in a theoretically motivated sense. The resulting text is more explicit than its counterpart.”

Steiner (2012: 58) also mentions that his project is undertaken to empirically test the following claims:

“whereas our initial assumption is that translated texts may be more explicit and/or dense and/or direct than registerially parallel texts in their target language, it is an assumption only and may well be disconfirmed. Ultimately, and on a general level, our assumption is that translated texts may indeed be somewhat different from their register-parallel original texts in their target language, though in ways which do not make

them inferior, but interestingly different texts, and thus potential catalysts in situations of language contact and language change”.

Through comparing two Chinese translations of the register of literary text, this paper attempts to identify (i) which translation is more explicit? or are they equally explicit? and (ii) to what extent increased explicitness is demonstrated in the translations.

3 Detective stories and Chinese translations

3.1 Introduction of detective stories

Detective stories, a form of western popular literature, has long been laid in the margin of literary study, as critics in defense of mainstream literature regard popular fiction merely a way of entertainment, or what Cawelti (1976: 8) describes as “*escape and relaxation*”. But Irwin (1994: 1) argues that detective stories belongs to high art, because in an 1856 journal entry Poe’s stories was described as “*a new literary world*” bearing “*signs of the literature of the twentieth century—love giving place to deductions... the interest of the story moved from the heart to the head... from the drama to the solution.*” Dove (1997: 10) aptly explains the concept in detail:

“Detective story refers to the kind of narrative organized by Poe in the Dupin stories, further developed and enriched by Doyle in the Sherlock Holmes series, and later modified in the novels of Hammett and Chandler... There are four identifiable qualities of detective story: the main character is a detective; the main plot of the story is the account of the investigation and resolution; the mystery is no ordinary problem but a complex secret that appears impossible of solution; and the mystery is solved.”

Since Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930) created the unforgettable detective Sherlock Holmes, we have always connected the two. Conan Doyle was immediately successful in his literary career after creating Holmes in his writing. According to Hung (1999: 155), since the late 19th century and early 20th century marked the zenith of the classical English detective story (Cawelti, 1976: 80; Symons, 1991: 74), it would have been surprising if Chinese translators did not draw on this genre with proven contemporary appeal in the West and also with an impressive record in Japanese translation (Nakamura 1980 *passim*). Sherlock Holmes has also been very successful in other countries through the channel of translation. What this paper will be concerned

with is the Chinese translation, which reflects the popularity of Sherlock Holmes in China since the late 19th century.

3.2 Chinese translation of detective stories

The Chinese translations of detective stories can be found in two major periods: late 19th century and late 20th century. Zhang (2002) mentions that there are four flourishing translation periods in Chinese history: the first period is from East Han Dynasty to Tang-Song Dynasty; the second covers Ming and Qing dynasties; the third ranges from Opium War to “May-Fourth” Movement; and the last period starts from “Reform and Opening up”. The translation booms of detective stories appeared in the latter two periods, which are elaborated below.

The attitudes of Chinese writers towards foreign novels in the period of late Qing and early Republican went through a process of ignoring them, receiving passively, accepting actively, imitating them, and creating independently by getting rid of their models, which formulates a relatively complete circle of acceptance of foreign novels (Chen, 2005: 25). Chen (1989: 99) believes that translation of detective stories and the works with the element of detective stories took up around one third of the total 1100 novels or so in Late Qing period. According to Chen’s statistics (1989: 43-44), among translated novels published in the twenty years from 1896 to 1916, Arthur Conan Doyle’s (1859-1930) novels ranked top one, with 32 titles of Sherlock Holmes stories being translated. Chen (1989: 55) writes that two characters discussed in Late Qing period were Camille Mark and Detective Holmes, who represented the features of foreign novels. A few important literary figures contributed to the translation of Sherlock Holmes, including Lin Shu, Liu Bannong and Zhou Shoujuan. Starting from the year 1896, the stories of Sherlock Holmes were translated in a scattered way and the first complete translation collection came in the year of 1916, including 44 short stories and 4 medium-length ones. Published by Shanghai China Publishing House, this collection of *The Complete Sherlock Holmes Collection* was translated by renowned translators in that period.

Against the background of the international information age and China’s policy of “reform and opening up”, the first three translation booms cannot be compared to the last translation boom in various aspects including the translated fields and scope, the translators involved, and the translation quantity (Zhang, 2002: 50). Under this circumstance, Qunzhong Publishing House produced a series of *Complete Collection of Sherlock Holmes Detective*

Stories in the year of 1981, which was translated by Ding Zhonghua etc. Its first print was 150,000 copies and it had 27 impressions by 2011 because of the quality of the translation, which has been recognized as the only translation of Sherlock Holmes for a long time. Even among various translations coming up in the 1990s and even in the 21st century, this version still enjoys wide popularity. This is the most important reason why we have chosen this version for analysis and comparison.

4 Comparisons between two Chinese translations

This paper attempts to investigate similarities and differences of explicitation in the two translations, and demonstrates explicitation phenomena in the translation process by analyzing a few examples from two Chinese translations (early translation, TT1 and late translation, TT2) of *A Scandal in Bohemia* (ST). *A Scandal in Bohemia* is a short detective story depicting Sherlock Holmes' solution to an assignment posed by the King of Bohemia. Holmes' assignment was to acquire a photo of his lover, Adler. During the assignment, Holmes, Watson (his aide) and the King engaged in a number of interesting dialogues, particularly when Holmes was "thinking out loud" while talking to Watson. These were usually long, complicated clauses to explicate logical reasoning.

A few examples are selected for comparison between two Chinese translations.

- (1) **ST:** "Wedlock suits you," he remarked.

TT1: 時福已顧予笑曰，華生醫生，久不見君矣，
吾聞閨房之中，實有鎖鑰，人而得妻，
即如猿猴之被桎梏，君其一也。

[Pinyin] shífúyǐgùyǎxiàoyuē, huáshēngyīshēng, jiǔbújiàn
jun1 yǐ, wúwénguīfángzhīzhōng, shíyōusuōjiàn, rénérdeqī,
jírúyuánáo zhībèizhìgù, jun1 qíyīyě.

[Literal translation] Doctor Watson, long time no see you, I
heard in gynaeceae there is a lock, person gets a wife, like
ape being shackled, you are one of them.

TT2: "结婚对你很合适,"他说。

[Pinyin] "jié hūn duì nǐ hěn hé shì", tā shuō.

[Literal translation]”Marriage for you very suitable,” he said.

ST is a simple statement made by Holmes to Watson, and TT2 follows closely to ST without adding new information. But by contrast, TT1 makes a big difference, which includes much new information such as Holmes’ expressing his happiness of seeing Watson again, and more importantly, his opinions of marriage by making analogy to shackled apes. Through reading other short stories, we have a basic understanding of Holmes’ idea towards marriage, which is not apparently stated though. And judging from his status as a bachelor, we assume that he may be afraid of marriage, or at least he is not fond of marriage. Therefore, the translator translates his own understanding in this dialogue, and adds what he thinks interesting to attract the readers’ attention. That is to say, the translator makes what is hidden in the source text explicit by adding new information which is not there in the source text.

(2) **ST:** [Holmes] “my eyes tell me that on the inside of your left shoe, just where the firelight strikes it, the leather is scored by six almost parallel cuts.”

TT1: 福乃莞尔笑曰，孺子听之。上帝既付吾人以目，即宜观察并用，但能观而不能察者，实违帝旨。今吾目告予曰，华生左靴之上沾有宿泥，今已化为平行之线，数凡六七足。

[Pinyin] fú nǎi wǎn ěr xiào yuē, rú zǐ tīng zhī. shàng dì jì fù wú rén yǐ mù, jí yì guān chá bìng yòng, dàn néng guān ér bù néng chá zhě, shí wéi dì zhī. jīn wú mù gāo yǔ yuē, huá shēng zuǒ xuē zhī shàng zhān yǒu xiǔ ní, jīn yǐ huà wéi píng háng zhī xiàn, shù fān liù qī zú.

[Literal translation] Holmes then smiled and said, “You listen”. The God gives us eyes, then suits for looking and observing use, but be able to look but cannot observe, actually breach God’s will. Now my eyes tell me, Watson’s left shoe’s yesterday’s mud, now has turn to parallel cuts, counting as six or seven.

TT2: [福乃莞尔] “我的眼睛告诉我，在你左脚那只鞋的里侧，也就是炉火刚好照到的地方，其面上有六道几乎平行的裂痕。”

[Pinyin] “wǒ de yǎn jīng gào sù wǒ, zài nǐ zuǒ jiǎo nà zhī xié de lǐ cè, yě jiù shì lú huǒ gāng hǎo zhào dào de dì fāng, qí miàn shàng yǒu liù dào jǐ hū píng háng de liè hén.”

[Literal translation] My eyes tell me, on your left foot that shoe's inside, that is, firelight just shines' place, its surface has six almost parallel cuts.

In example (2), TT2 is the literal translation of the ST, whereas TT1 adds new information on *how God has guided Holmes' eyes to the necessary observation about the inside of the left shoe* (underlined above). Before stating the reasoning process, the translator adds new information of justifying the use of eyes. It seems that the translator believes the reasoning process made by Holmes is more comprehensible in this way. In contrast to example (1), the added information here is not hidden or concealed in the source text. The translator makes his own comments prominent or explicit, so as to help the readers to better understand the text.

(3) **ST:** “And good-night, Watson,” he added, as the wheels of the royal brougham rolled down the street.

TT1: 福乃向予曰，华生，明日有暇，请于午后过我，此事予当有劳汝之处也。

[Pinyin] fú nǎi xiàng yǔ yuē, huá shēng, míng rì yǒu xiá, qǐng yú wǔ hòu guò wǒ, cǐ shì yǔ dāng yǒu láo rǔ zhī chù yě.

[Literal translation] Holmes to me said, Watson, tomorrow you have time, please in the afternoon come to me, I have something to ask for your help with this issue.

TT2: “华生，再见，”他接着对我说，这时皇家四轮马车正向街心驶去。

[Pinyin] huá shēng, zài jiàn, “tā jiē zhe duì wǒ shuō, zhè shí huáng jiā sì lún mǎ chē zhèng xiàng jiē xīn shǐ qù.

[Literal translation] “Watson, bye-bye”, he then said to me, then royal brougham rolled to the street.

In example (3), what is quoted is very simple, which is “good night”; but in TT1, the translator believes it would be much easier for the readers to follow the plot if more information is provided in the dialogue. Therefore, the translator once again makes his ideas explicit by adding what he thinks might help the readers to understand.

5 Observing Explicitation through Shallow Statistics

To explore the nature of explicitness/explicitation in translations, Neumann and Hansen-Schirra (2005) initiated the CroCo project, compiling and annotating a translations corpus of English and German texts from various registers. Steiner (2012) presented a profile of the CroCo corpus in terms of explicitness encoding in shallow statistical variables, viz. lexical density (LD), type-token ratios (TTR) and part-of-speech proportionality.

In the same light, we foreground the global properties of the Sherlock Holmes text by comparing the LD and TTR between the English source text and the Chinese translation of TT2. To evade the fallacy of making generalizations without sufficient evidence, we extended our investigation of LD and TTR with six Sherlock Holmes short stories, i.e. *A Case of Identity*, *A Scandal in Bohemia*, *Silver Blaze*, *The adventure of the Dancing Man*, *The adventure of the Empty House*, *The adventure of Norwood Builder* and *The Stockbroker's Clerk*.

To prepare the corpus for LD and TTR calculations, the English source text was tokenized and lemmatized with NLTK's word tokenizer and wordnet lemmatizer (Bird, Loper and Klein, 2009) and POS tagged with Stanford POS tagger¹ and the Chinese translation of TT2 was segmented and POS tagged with Stanford segmenter² and POS tagger³ (Chang et al. 2008; Toutanova et al. 2003).

Short Stories	Lexical Density		Type-Token Ratio	
	ST	TT2	ST	TT2
A Case of Identity	47.32	58.67	21.72	25.23
A Scandal in Bohemia	44.95	55.98	21.47	25.23
Silver Blaze	43.11	59.13	19.58	21.74
The Adv. Of Dancing Man	44.87	55.98	19.10	20.67
The Adv. Of Empty House	45.15	57.57	22.76	26.72
The Adv. Of Norwood Builder	43.45	56.76	19.42	21.66
The Stockbroker's Clerk	45.22	57.96	21.52	24.79
Average	43.44	57.44	20.80	23.72

Table 1: Lexical Density and Type-Token Ratio of Sherlock Holmes Short Stories

¹ English-bidirectional-distsim model.

² Chinese treebank model.

³ Chinese-distsim model.

In general, the numerical results in Table 1 present the general inclination for the TT2 translation to be more explicit than the source text in the usage of lexically dense words (ST 43.44 < TT2 57.44).

The differences of lexical densities between English-Chinese are much higher than the English-German figures reported in the Steiner (2012) by a magnitude; Steiner reported differences of less than 2% in LD values between English-German from various registers whereas we are consistently achieving >10% in LD differences between ST and TT2.

Although we could account the huge lexical difference to translating lexical gaps between two largely diverse languages, we observed that the huge LD differences stems from the translator's desire to explicitation instead of using tighter translation that are more literal to the source text. For instance, in example (4)⁴, the translator could have used the lexical type 瞪 *deng4* 'stare' which is apt in translating the ST sentence but the translator chose to convey the concept of staring as 睁大眼睛注视 *zhen1da1 yan3jing1 zhu4shi4* 'watching with enlarged eyes'.

(4) *ST:* *The King stared at him in amazement.*

TT2: 国王惊异地睁大眼睛注视着他。

Gloss: *kingshockingly PARTICLE enlargeeyes watch at him.*

Tight: 国王惊异地瞪着他。

Gloss: *kingshockingly PARTICLE stare at him.*

From Table 1, the difference in type-token ratios between the source and translation is ST 23.72 > TT2 20.79. The difference is expected given the morphologically richer English characters as compared to syllabic Chinese characters. Without the richness and density of experiential meaning through variable lexical words, Chinese inherently had the tendency to explicate when conveying the same amount of semantic information.

Steiner (2012) reported a large difference between English and German reference texts in the CroCo corpus (Eng 15.64 < Deu 21.71) and more specifically for the FICTION register, he reported a larger difference, 6.48 (Eng 12.66 < Deu 19.14). Comparatively, our investigation on the Sherlock Holmes short stories reflected a TTR difference of 2.92. Though a lesser degree, the TT2 translation has consistently been more explicit in terms of TTR as compared to the ST.

⁴ **Underlined and bolded** words represent lexical items, *underlined, bolded and italic words* represent the focal semantic concept/information.

Overall, the higher TTR and LD of the TT2 translation characterize the explicitness in translation from English to Chinese for Sherlock Holmes short stories. Although the LD and TTR values provide evidence of explicitness, the global textual patterns displayed here should be interpreted as epiphenomena of lexico-grammatical patterns, but not in themselves the phenomena.

6 Conclusion

Berman (2000: 289) believes that every translation comprises some degree of explicitation to some extent, and there are two kinds of explicitation: 1) the explicitation can be the manifestation of something that is not apparent, but concealed or repressed, in the original; 2) explicitation aims to render “clear” what is hidden. But through the above analysis, besides the established two kinds of explicitation, the early translators of TT1 seem to contribute a third kind of explicitation, that is, make their translation choices explicit and explicitate what is not in the original to cater for the readers’ interest, as demonstrated in example 2 and 3. The early translators try to clarify what is implied in the source text for the readers, and help readers to understand more thoroughly the source information. The additional information in the translated texts is added by the translators according to their own understandings, which may be unnecessary, or redundant, but it shows the translators want to intervene with the source information and present to their readers a less hidden text (compared to the source text).

Our analysis provided more evidence to validating Steiner’s assumption that “*translated texts may be more explicit and/or dense and/or direct than registerially parallel texts in their target language*”; the translated text (especially the early translation, TT1) of detective stories is more explicit to some extent, although omission happens occasionally in the translation. Quantitatively, we further confirmed that even the later translation (i.e. TT2) provided indication of explicitness by measure of lexical density and type-token ratio. Additionally by comparing translations diachronically, we can conclude that the context and the culture behind are closely related to the translation and also influence the explicitation choices made by translators in different periods.

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Kohäsion, Korpora und der Erwerb von Translationskompetenz

Text- und korpuslinguistische Analysen anhand des KOPTE-Korpus

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Abstract

Kohäsion und Korpora gehören zu Erich Steiners Forschungsinteressen und Arbeitsmethoden. Der vorliegende Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit beidem, jedoch nicht kontrastiv Englisch-Deutsch, sondern Französisch-Deutsch in Übersetzungen von Lernern kurz vor dem Abschluss ihres Studiums. Die qualitative Studie nutzt das Mehrfach-Übersetzerlerner-Korpus KOPTE zur Analyse der Variation in den Zieltexten und des Umgangs der einzelnen Übersetzerlerner mit kohäsiven Phänomenen wie Konnektoren, Pronominaladverbien (im Vergleich Französisch-Deutsch unikale Elemente im Sinne Tirkkonen-Condits) und sinnarme Wiederaufnahme/Substitution bei Koreferenz.

Das Ergebnis der Untersuchung zeigt bei einer Mehrheit der Lerner eine gute Beherrschung kohäsiver Mittel im kontrastiven Vergleich Französisch-Deutsch, meist auch unter Beachtung weiterer Faktoren des Übersetzungsauftrags. Die versuchte Einordnung der Lerner-Diagnosen in modulare Translationskompetenzmodelle zeigt auf, dass in den Modellen der Detaillierungsgrad bisher noch zu grob ist, um in der Didaktik wirkungsvoll eingesetzt werden zu können. Der vorliegende Beitrag weist Wege aus, wie diese Modelle in Zukunft verfeinert werden könnten.

Erich Steiner, Korpora und „cohesion“ sind zumindest in den letzten Jahren nahezu eins. Schon im Projekt CroCo¹ lag ein Schwerpunkt auf den inneren

¹ CroCo – Linguistic properties of translations (http://fr46.uni-saarland.de/croco/index_en.html)

Zusammenhängen in Texten, und mit GECCo² läuft am Lehrstuhl Steiner ein DFG-Projekt, das sich ganz der kontrastiven Erforschung von Kohäsion im Englischen und Deutschen widmet. Beide Projekte sind explizit korpusbasiert. Als Dozentin in der Französischen Abteilung der FR 4.6 kann ich direkt zu diesem Thema nicht viel beisteuern, aber kohäsive Phänomene kommen schließlich auch in französischen Texten vor und werden von meinen Studenten ins Deutsche übersetzt. Gerade was solche „Gliederungssignale“ angeht, wie sie in meinem Textanalyseschema zusammengefasst werden, wird im Unterricht immer wieder betont, dass nicht so sehr die lexikalische Oberfläche übersetzt werden darf, sondern dass die kohäsive Funktion des jeweiligen Textelements im Vordergrund steht. Diese wird entsprechend im Unterricht analysiert und es werden verschiedene Lösungen gegeneinander abgewogen.

Im Projekt KOPTE werden studentische Übersetzungen aus meinen Kursen gesammelt und in ein elektronisches Korpus überführt. Bisher handelt es sich v.a. um Übungsklausuren zur Vorbereitung auf die Diplomprüfung aus den Semestern SS 2009 bis WS 2011/12, mit einer Textlänge bis zu 2400 Zeichen, zu bearbeiten unter kontrollierten Bedingungen in 45-50 Minuten, soweit die einzelnen Übersetzer kamen. Im KOPTE-Korpus kann der Umgang von angehenden Übersetzern mit Kohäsion auch auf breiterer Basis untersucht werden (zu KOPTE s. Wurm 2013)³. Ein limitierendes Element hierbei ist die noch nicht vorhandene Alinierung, so dass ich mich im Folgenden auf die Diskussion einzelner Beispiele beschränken werde, die aber nur mit Hilfe eines Abfragetools (CQPweb; Hardie 2012) leicht aufgefunden und mit dem UAM Corpus Tool (O'Donnell 2008) annotiert werden konnten.

Es handelt sich um Stellen, an denen in den deutschen Zieltexten Pronominaladverbien verwendet wurden, die in dieser Form im Französischen nicht existieren und damit unikale Elemente („unique items“) im Sinne Tirkkonen-Condits darstellen (vgl. hierzu Kolehmainen 2013 und die dort referierte Literatur). Gewählt wurden für die genauere Abfrage ‚hiermit‘ und ‚deswegen‘, da beide im Gegensatz zu bspw. ‚darüber‘, ‚dazu‘ etc. nicht auf konkrete Objekte referieren können und nicht als Präpositionalobjekt/Korrelat einer Verbalphrase in Frage kommen. Dies war jedoch nur ein Weg in das Korpus,

² GECCo – German-English contrasts in cohesion (<http://www.gecco.uni-saarland.de/GECCo/Home.html>)

³ Die hier analysierten Zieltexte wurden nicht im Unterricht vorbereitet, sondern von Diplomkandidaten unter Klausurbedingungen geschrieben. Allerdings handelte es sich nicht um die eigentliche Prüfung – vielmehr gab es in einem Vorbereitungskurs die Möglichkeit, mehrere Übungsklausuren zu schreiben, die Prüfungstextlänge hatten, für die aber weniger Zeit zur Verfügung stand. Dieser Zeitdruck hat entsprechende Auswirkungen auf die Qualität der Übersetzungen, was jeweils mit berücksichtigt wird.

denn bei näherer Betrachtung der extrahierten Textstellen zu ‚hiermit‘ und ‚deswegen‘ im Ausgangstext (AT) und allen vorliegenden Zieltexten (ZT) stellte sich heraus, dass die Übersetzungsprobleme jeweils recht komplex gelagert sind und sich eine intensivere Diskussion nicht nur im Hinblick auf die Verwendung von Pronominaladverbien jedenfalls lohnen würde. Da im Folgenden eher punktuelle Analysen vorgestellt werden sollen, wird jeweils bei den Beispielen auf evtl. notwendige Grundlagen bzw. Interpretationsrahmen verwiesen.

1 ‚Mise en relief‘ und Koreferenz als Übersetzungshilfe

(1) a. AT033UE000: *Si M. Weber s'est permis de parler tout haut, explique l'économiste, "c'est qu'il juge cette décision incompatible avec le mandat de la BCE", celui - primordial outre-Rhin - de la lutte contre l'inflation.*

b. AT033UE004: *Wenn Bundesbankpräsident Weber es sich erlaubt hat, offen zu sprechen, dann weil er diese Entscheidung für unvereinbar mit dem Mandat der EZB erachtet: in den Augen der Deutschen zu allererst Geldwertstabilität, erklärte der Chefvolkswirt weiter.*

Dies ist ein Auszug aus einem Zeitungsartikel über die Politik der Europäischen Zentralbank vom Juni 2010, nachdem Bundesbankpräsident Axel Weber öffentlich Kritik an der EZB-Entscheidung geäußert hatte, massiv Staatsanleihen verschuldeter Euroländer aufzukaufen. Weber wurde seinerseits kritisiert, weil er entgegen der EZB-Devise, Meinungsverschiedenheiten unter der Decke zu halten, gehandelt hatte. Thorsten Polleit, Chefvolkswirt von Barclays Capital, verteidigt ihn hier, indem er herausstellt, dass Weber gewichtige Gründe für seine Äußerung hatte.

Die Textstelle wird als Betrachtungsobjekt für den Translationsdidaktiker interessant durch die Verwendung von ‚c'est que‘. Diese Formel ist nach dem Lexikon *Petit Robert* eine Form der sogenannten ‚Mise en relief‘ (Satzspaltung zur Fokussierung: c'est X qui Y) und dient der Angabe eines Grundes. Sie lässt sich nicht wörtlich ins Deutsche übersetzen. Manche Studenten versuchen dies trotzdem, wie UE029, der es als „so ist das, weil“ wiedergibt. Alle anderen Lerner in dieser Gruppe erkannten jedoch die kohäsive Struktur dahinter und gaben diese im Deutschen adäquat wieder⁴ (s. Tab. 1):

⁴ Alle Übersetzer beginnen ihren Satz mit „Wenn Weber ...“ oder einer leicht abweichenden Formulierung, die aber französisch ‚si‘ mit deutsch ‚wenn‘ wiedergibt.

AT033UE029	so ist das, weil
AT033UE033	dann weil
AT033UE004	dann weil
AT033UE026	dann, weil
AT033UE042	dann deshalb, weil
AT033UE015	dann nur deswegen, weil
AT033UE008	dann tue er dies aus dem Grund, dass
AT033UE028	dann ist der Grund dafür, dass
AT033UE003	dann liegt das nur daran, dass

Tab. 1: Wiedergabe von AT033UE000 „Si [...] c'est qu'il”

Unter den neun Übersetzerlern lässt sich eine Gruppe von vier Studenten ausmachen, die rein die kausale Relation ausdrückten (44%): ‚Wenn Weber das sagte, dann weil X.‘ Dies kann in der Tat als die Standardlösung betrachtet werden, mit der der Konnexion Genüge getan ist (zu Konnexion siehe auch Fabricius-Hansen 2000). Aufschlussreicher ist die andere Hälfte der Übersetzer, die offensichtlich das Bedürfnis verspürt hat, der reinen Kausalität noch etwas hinzuzufügen. Schließlich handelt es sich um die Ehrenrettung einer einflussreichen Persönlichkeit, deren Gründe für eine umstrittene Handlung erläutert werden sollen und für die um Verständnis geworben wird. Dies wird auch im französischen AT durch die fokussierende ‚mise en relief‘ in der festgefügtten Wendung ‚c'est que‘ deutlich.

UE045 verstärkt (und betont damit) den genannten Grund durch ‚deshalb‘, was von UE015 durch die Einfügung eines ‚nur‘ (allerdings in Verbindung mit ‚deswegen‘) wiederum gesteigert wird. Drei Übersetzer (33%) heben die Nennung von Webers Beweggründen dadurch hervor, dass statt einem Doppelkonnekter ein ganzer Satz formuliert wird: UE008 ‚dann tue er dies aus dem Grund, dass‘, UE028 ‚dann ist der Grund dafür, dass‘ und UE003 ‚dann liegt das nur daran, dass‘. Dieser Rangstufenwechsel erscheint an der analysierten Stelle durchaus angebracht, um die Bedeutung der Ehrenrettung herauszustellen. Bei diesen Übersetzerlern kann also konstatiert werden, dass ihre translatorische Kompetenz sowohl bei der Übersetzung von Konnexion als auch hinsichtlich der notwendigen Fokussierung von Inhalten gut ausgeprägt ist, verwenden sie doch unikale Elemente, die nicht durch den AT induziert sind, sondern der Logik der Zielsprache entspringen. Beides lässt sich in modularen Translationskompetenzmodellen (TK-Modellen) der bilingualen Subkompetenz (PACTE 2007) bzw. der ‚kommunikative[n] Kompetenz in 2 Sprachen‘ (Göpferich 2008, 155) zuordnen. Es kann hier allerdings festgestellt werden, dass diese Grobkategorisierung deutlich detaillierter aufgliedert werden müsste, um solche Einzeldiagnosen stellen und

für die Didaktik modellieren zu können. Dies bleibt bisher für die bilinguale Subkompetenz der kontrastiven Linguistik überlassen, in der jedoch oft der Bezug zur Translation(skompetenz) zu schwach ausgeprägt ist, um dies leisten zu können.

Die zitierte Textstelle ist aber auch in anderer Hinsicht noch bemerkenswert. Polleit, von dem das Zitat stammt, wird im Satz davor eingeführt: „défend Thorsten Polleit, économiste en chef de Barclays Capital à Francfort.” (wörtlich: verteidigt T.P., Chefvolkswirt von Barclays Capital in Frankfurt). Die Koreferenz und mit ihr die Substitution im untersuchten Satz („explique l'économiste”; siehe hierzu Kunz/Steiner 2012, 2013⁵) wird nun von den Übersetzerlern auf völlig unterschiedliche Weise realisiert (s. Tab. 2; in eckigen Klammern die jeweils in den ZT gewählte Bezeichnung):

AT033UE003	[Chefökonom] -
AT033UE008	[Chefökonom] Er erklärte weiterhin
AT033UE042	[Chefökonom] Er erklärt
AT033UE015	[Chefökonom] so der Ökonom
AT033UE028	[Chef-Ökonom] so der Ökonom weiter
AT033UE033	[Chefökonom] erklärt der Ökonom
AT033UE029	[Chefwirtschaftler] erklärt der Wirtschaftler [sic]
AT033UE004	[Chefvolkswirt] erklärte der Chefvolkswirt weiter
AT033UE026	[Wirtschaftschef] erläutert Polleit

Tab. 2: Wiedergabe von AT033UE000 „explique l'économiste”

Es lassen sich hier drei grundsätzliche Übersetzungsstrategien unterscheiden: Ellipse/Proform, partielle Rekurrenz, Substitution durch Name. Im Hinblick auf die Translationskompetenz im Umgang mit Kohäsionsphänomenen erscheinen die erste und die dritte Strategie am souveränsten entwickelt, denn Strategie 2, die partielle Rekurrenz der im Satz davor genannten Berufsbezeichnung des Redners, ist identisch mit der AT-Struktur. Durch eine Weglassung (der Redner bleibt der gerade schon genannte, so dass die Zuordnung klar ist) oder eine Wiederaufnahme mit dem Personalpronomen wird keine oder kaum semantische Information geliefert. Doch die Kohärenz hinter der Textoberfläche bleibt gleich – referiert wird auf die Person Thorsten Polleit. Ebenso bei der Wiederaufnahme mit dem Nachnamen. Interessant hierbei ist die Tatsache, dass die Übersetzerlerner sich nicht für den Automatismus wörtliche Übersetzung entschieden, was sowohl von der Zielsprache als auch vom Register (vgl. Steiner 1983, 1991) her absolut passend wäre. Vielmehr

⁵ Substitution hier im Sinn der deutschen Textlinguistik.

suchten sie nach anderen Möglichkeiten, die Kohärenz im Deutschen zu realisieren, was ihnen allen gut gelungen ist.

Kausale Erklärungen hierfür sind ohne Prozessdaten nicht zu erhalten (Steiner 2012b). Eine Hypothese wäre jedoch, dass diese Studenten mit „Ökonom“ als oberflächennaher Entsprechung zu „économiste“ nicht zufrieden (Interferenzangst) oder zumindest unsicher in seiner Verwendung im Deutschen waren. Eine Recherchemöglichkeit gab es nicht, denn die Klausurbedingungen sahen nur ein einsprachiges Wörterbuch vor. Der einzige Übersetzer, der souverän „Chefvolkswirt“ schrieb, hat vor dem Übersetzerstudium ein BWL-Studium absolviert, wie aus den Metadaten der Studenten hervorgeht. Die diskutierte Textstelle macht demzufolge für die Translationskompetenzforschung zweierlei deutlich: (1) Vorwissen auf dem Sachgebiet des Textes führt zu einem souveränen Umgang mit der geforderten Lexik (eine altbekannte Tatsache). Aber auch (2) Wissen um Kohäsion in Texten kann dabei helfen, mangelndes Vor-Wissen auszugleichen, indem auf Kohäsionsphänomene und das Text-Wissen zurückgegriffen wird. Dies greift nicht unbedingt bei der expliziten Nennung (vgl. UE026 und UE029: Chefwirtschafter bzw. Wirtschaftschef), kann aber den Rest des Textes von falscher Terminologie freihalten.

2 Kausalrelation und Abstraktionsgrad in der Wiederaufnahme

(2) a. AT040UE000: *Jeudi, l'Agence européenne de la sécurité aérienne (EASA) a recommandé des "inspections répétées" des moteurs Rolls-Royce de l'Airbus A380. "L'analyse des premiers éléments issus de l'enquête sur l'incident montre qu'un feu d'huile dans la structure (...) pourrait avoir causé la panne du disque de la turbine", précise l'agence. L'EASA recommande en conséquence "des inspections répétées" des différents "étages" du réacteur afin que "si une quelconque anomalie est détectée, soit interdite toute nouvelle utilisation du moteur".*

b. AT040UE004: *Vor einer Woche hatte die europäische Agentur für Flugsicherheit (EASA) „wiederholte Inspektionen“ an den Rolls-Royce Turbinen des A380 gefordert. Die Analyse erster Untersuchungsergebnisse hat gezeigt, dass vermutlich ein Ölbrand im Triebwerk zum Versagen der Turbinenscheibe geführt hat“, so die Agentur. Daher forderte die EASA wiederholte Inspektionen der verschiedenen Turbinenstufen, damit eine Wiederinbetriebnahme*

dieses Turbinentyps im Falle von entdeckten Unregelmäßigkeiten welcher Art auch immer verboten werden kann.

In Beispiel 2 steht zunächst der Konnektor „en conséquence“ im Vordergrund. Er verbindet die beiden Sätze, in denen die EASA zitiert wird. Auch hier handelt es sich um einen Zeitungsartikel, er berichtete im November 2010 über die Probleme von Qantas mit Triebwerken des A380, nachdem eines dieser Flugzeuge wegen eines Triebwerksschadens notlanden musste. Bei dieser Übersetzung war die freie Recherche im Internet möglich, da die Übungsklausur im Computerraum geschrieben wurde. Es galt aber die gleiche Textlänge und der gleiche Zeitdruck. Wie die Studenten mit dem hier interessierenden Konnektor umgingen, kann Tabelle 3 entnommen werden. Zusätzlich wurde hier festgehalten, wie häufig Pronominaladverbien (PAV, Frequenz pro 1000 Tokens) im ZT des jeweiligen Übersetzers vorkommen und in wie viel Prozent der abgegebenen ZT Pronominaladverbien vorkommen. Eine Interpretation dieser Daten im Hinblick auf die Übersetzung des Konnektors „en conséquence“ an dieser Textstelle wäre sicherlich interessant, soll hier aber nicht im Detail versucht werden. Das Bild ist keineswegs homogen – die Übersetzer, die an dieser Stelle ohne Impuls aus dem AT ein Pronominaladverb, einen „unique item“ der Zielsprache, verwendet haben, lassen sich nicht eindeutig einer Gruppe zuordnen, die mehr Pronominaladverbien gebraucht als andere Studenten.

ATxxxUExxx	ZT-Stelle	f PAV pro 1000 Tokens	PAV in # ZT in % (# total)
AT040UE029	Als Folge daraus	27	63 (41)
AT040UE038	Aus diesem Grund	37	50 (12)
AT040UE047	Infolgedessen	78	100 (06)
AT040UE050	Als Konsequenz	0	0 (01)
AT040UE035	Die EASA empfiehlt folglich	27	63 (24)
AT040UE044	Entsprechend	50	77 (30)
AT040UE051	Sie empfiehlt deswegen	69	88 (08)
AT040UE036	Deshalb	53	75 (24)
AT040UE004	Daher	55	82 (55)
AT040UE028	Sie hat daher	39	66 (35)
AT040UE034	Die EASA empfiehlt daher	45	82 (17)
AT040UE052	Die EASA empfiehlt daher	70	86 (14)
AT040UE048	Die EASA fordert daher	27	62 (13)

Tab. 3: Wiedergabe von AT040UE000 „en conséquence“

Sieben Übersetzerlerner (54 %) verwenden an dieser Stelle ein rein kausales Pronominaladverb, wenn auch nicht alle das gleiche (1x deswegen, 1x deshalb, 5x daher). Es scheint sich also um eine Relation zu handeln, bei der deutsche Muttersprachler, wenn sie sich von der wörtlichen Bedeutung des Konnektors lösen können, in erster Linie an ein kausales Pronominaladverb denken. Die Kausalität drückt auch UE038 mit „Aus diesem Grund“ explizit aus. Drei Übersetzer (23%) betonen hingegen auch den temporalen Zusammenhang („Folge“) und lassen die Kausalität mehr oder weniger dahinter zurücktreten (UE029 „Als Folge daraus“, UE047 „Infolgedessen“, UE035 „folglich“). UE050 verbindet mit „Als Konsequenz“ recht gleichwertig Temporalität und Kausalität, reproduziert aber auch mehr als alle anderen die lexikalische Struktur des französischen Konnektors. Völlig anders gelagert ist die Lösung von UE044: „Entsprechend“. Dieser Konnektor zeigt nur an, dass eine Verbindung besteht, aber nicht, welcher Art diese ist.

Es ist schwierig, hier eine Evaluation anzulegen, die klar unterscheidet, ob die eine Lösung akzeptabel ist, die andere nicht. Das Deutsche und die Kohärenz des Textes bieten alle Möglichkeiten. Mein persönliches Sprachgefühl würde mich aber wohl ebenfalls ein kausales Pronominaladverb wählen lassen.

Auch in Beispiel 2 kann ein weiteres Kohäsionsphänomen untersucht werden. Im Französischen ist, wie im Englischen, eine Wiederaufnahme mit ‚general nouns‘, d.h. sinnarmen, sehr allgemeinen Lexemen üblich (kontrastiv Englisch-Deutsch vgl. hierzu Kunz/Steiner 2013). Hier sind dies ‚incident‘ und ‚structure‘. Letzteres hängt mit einer Koreferenzkette zusammen, die im zitierten Ausschnitt aus ‚moteurs Rolls Royce de l’Airbus A380‘, ‚structure‘, ‚turbine‘, ‚réacteur‘ und ‚moteur‘ besteht. Mit ‚turbine‘ wird nur auf einen Bestandteil eines Tokens verwiesen, während ‚moteurs Rolls Royce de l’Airbus A380‘, ‚réacteur‘ und ‚moteur‘ auf den Type referieren (vgl. zu type-reference Kunz/Steiner 2013, 207). Das ‚structure‘ ist ein Fall von ‚lexical cohesion through general words‘ (ebd.). Die ZT-Stellen der Studenten zeigt Tabelle 4.

AT040UE000	L'analyse des premiers éléments issus de l'enquête sur l' incident montre qu'un feu d'huile dans la <i>structure</i>
AT040UE029	Die Analyse der ersten Untersuchungen des Triebwerkschadens hat ergeben, dass ausgelaufenes und in der Hitze des <i>Triebwerkes</i> entzündetes Öl
AT040UE038	Die Inspektion der ersten Bauteile, die aus der Ermittlung des Vorfalls hervorgehen, zeigen, dass möglicherweise ein Ölfeuer im <i>Triebwerk</i>
AT040UE047	Eine Analyse der ersten Elemente, die aus der Untersuchung des Vorfalls hervorgehen, zeigt, dass brennendes Öl der Auslöser für die defekte Turbinenscheibe

AT040UE050	Eine Analyse der zunächst bekannten Umstände des Vorfalls ergab, dass ein Ölbrand im <i>Getriebe</i> den Ausfall eines der Rotorenblätter der Turbine
AT040UE035	Die Analyse der ersten Untersuchungen nach dem Zwischenfall zeigt, dass entzündetes Öl Ursache des Versagens der Mitteldruckturbine
AT040UE044	Die Auswertung der ersten Ergebnisse der Untersuchung des Vorfalls hat ergeben, dass möglicherweise Öl das Feuer an der <i>Turbine</i> (...) im Triebwerk
AT040UE051	Die Untersuchung der ersten Elemente, die aus der Befragung über den Hergang des Zwischenfalls entnommen werden konnten, zeigt, dass ein Ölbrand im <i>System</i>
AT040UE036	Die Analyse der Erkenntnisse, die aus der ersten Untersuchung des Vorfalls hervorgegangen sind, zeigt, dass ein Ölbrand im <i>Triebwerk</i>
AT040UE004	Die Analyse erster Untersuchungsergebnisse hat gezeigt, dass vermutlich ein Ölbrand im <i>Triebwerk</i>
AT040UE028	Eine erste im Rahmen der Ursachenforschung zum Zwischenfall durchgeführte Untersuchung der betroffenen Bauteile hat aufgezeigt, dass eine Entzündung des ausgelaufenen Öls im <i>Triebwerk</i>
AT040UE034	Die Analyse der ersten Teile aus der Untersuchung des Unfalls zeigt, dass ein Ölfeuer in der <i>Struktur</i>
AT040UE052	Die Auswertung der ersten Untersuchung zur Klärung des Zwischenfalls hat ergeben, dass ein Ölbrand im <i>Triebwerk</i>
AT040UE048	Die Analyse der ersten im Zuge der Untersuchung des Vorfalls entnommenen Teile zeigt, dass ein durch Öl bedingtes Feuer im <i>Inneren des Flugzeugs</i>

Tab. 4: Wiedergabe von AT040UE000 „incident“ (*fett*) und „structure“ (*kursiv*)

Die Auswertung dieser AT-ZT-Stelle zeigt, dass sechs Studenten (46 %) „incident“ mit dem im Deutschen gleichfalls sehr allgemeinen „Vorfall“ übersetzten, vier Lerner (31 %) wählten das im openthesaurus⁶ auf der gleichen Abstraktionsstufe stehende „Zwischenfall“. Einmal tritt „Unfall“ auf, das im openthesaurus zwei Abstraktionsstufen konkreter eingeordnet ist, aber trotzdem noch allgemein bleibt. UE048 verlagert mit „im Inneren des Flugzeugs“ das Geschehen aus den Triebwerken unter den Tragflächen in den Fluggast- oder Gepäckraum, was eine nicht akzeptable Sinnverfälschung darstellt. Nur je ein Übersetzer realisierte den AT-Ausdruck gar nicht oder präziserte aus dem Kontext zu „Triebwerkschaden“. Über den Vorfall wurde bei Erscheinen des Artikels schon seit Tagen in den Medien berichtet und im vorangehenden Text war schon von einer „grave avarie moteur“ (schwerwiegender Motorschaden) die Rede gewesen. In dieser Situation ist es in deutschen Zeitungsartikeln durchaus üblich, zu einem abstrakten Oberbegriff zu

⁶ www.openthesaurus.de, Abruf 07.09.13

greifen, wenn auch generell im Deutschen eher eine Präzisierung des französischen sinnarmen Nomens erfolgen würde. Nun handelt es sich bei dem untersuchten Textausschnitt jedoch um eine Stellungnahme der EASA, was bei der Formulierung eventuell berücksichtigt werden müsste. Die Behörde würde in einer Presseverlautbarung wohl ebenfalls ganz allgemein von einem Vorfall sprechen, und vermutlich nicht einmal „Unfall“ in Betracht ziehen.

Gestützt wird diese Einschätzung u.a. von einer Pressemeldung von Rolls Royce (auch wenn es sich hier nicht um eine Behörde handelt): „Rolls-Royce stützt die Schlussfolgerungen des Berichtes des Australian Transport Safety Bureau (ATSB) zum *Versagen eines Trent 900 Triebwerkes eines Qantas Airways Airbus A380* am 4. November 2010. Heute früh hat das ATSB seinen endgültigen Bericht zu dem *Vorfall* veröffentlicht, der sich auf einem Flug von Singapur nach Sydney ereignete.“⁷

Die Konkretisierung von UE029 zu „Triebwerkschaden“ erscheint daher zwar angebracht, wenn nur der französisch-deutsche kontrastive Hintergrund in Erwägung gezogen wird, aber nicht mehr, wenn der Produzent des in Frage kommenden Textes und die dafür geltenden Register Eigenschaften ebenfalls eine Rolle spielen sollen. Diesbezüglich scheint die überwältigende Mehrheit der Übersetzerlerner (77 %) die notwendige translatorische Kompetenz erworben zu haben. Wenn sie nicht einfach ohne großes Nachdenken die lexikalische Oberfläche reproduziert haben...

Da sich jedoch beim zweiten AT-Ausdruck „structure“ ein anderes Bild bietet, kann recht gut unterschieden werden, ob die Lösungen auf einer soliden Strategie basieren oder als reine AT-Reproduktion anzusehen sind. Hier konkretisierten sechs Übersetzer (46 %) zu „Triebwerk“. Zwei Studenten formulierten ohne Verbalisierung des Konzepts, je einer verwendete „Getriebe“, „Turbine“, „System“, „Struktur“ bzw. „im Inneren des Flugzeugs“. Die Wahl von „Turbine“ scheint gerechtfertigt, da sich bei dem Brand im Triebwerk eine Turbinenscheibe löste, das Feuer also vermutlich in der Turbine und nicht (nur) in anderen Teilen des Triebwerks Schäden anrichtete. Von einem „Getriebe“ zu sprechen, ist technisch schlicht falsch. Die translatorische Strategie dahinter, nämlich das sinnarme, sehr allgemeine französische Lexem durch ein deutlich konkreteres deutsches zu ersetzen, jedoch sehr wohl angebracht. UE051 und UE034 gingen das Risiko, inhaltlich falsch zu liegen, gar nicht erst ein, und schrieben „System“ bzw. „Struktur“, was im Deutschen an dieser Stelle nicht verwendet würde. Im openthesaurus wird Struktur als „Aufbau oder Aussehen einer Sache, die einen irgendwie

⁷ http://www.rolls-royce.com/deutschland/de/nachrichten/2013/270613_schlussfolgerungen_des.jsp, 07.09.13; kursiv AW

geformten Eindruck macht; *Ausdruck mit sehr unpräziser Bedeutung*“ (kursiv AW) definiert. „System“ wird hier als Synonym angegeben. Da es hier um die konkrete Beschreibung des Vorfalles geht, wird im Deutschen normalerweise genau bezeichnet, was wo vorgefallen ist. Als Stützung dieser Behauptung soll hier nur ein Artikel vom 19.10.10 zitiert werden, in dem die Verlautbarung der EASA auf Deutsch zitiert wird: „Das Unternehmen bestätigte damit die ersten Untersuchungen der Europäischen Agentur für Luftsicherheit (EASA): Sie hatte bereits zwei Tage zuvor erklärt, dass ein Ölfeuert im *Triebwerk* für den Zwischenfall verantwortlich sein dürfte.“⁸

Insgesamt haben neun Übersetzer (69 %) sowohl für „incident“ als auch für „structure“ die im Deutschen akzeptabelste Lösung gewählt. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass dem eine solide translatorische Strategie zugrunde liegt, ist recht hoch. UE034 hingegen konkretisierte, wo Abstraktheit angesagt wäre, und behielt den hohen Abstraktionsgrad bei, wo im Deutschen genauer bezeichnet wird. Hier scheint im Bereich der nominalen Substitution mangelnde bilinguale Kompetenz vorzuliegen. Das bedeutet jedoch nicht, dass es UE034 generell an bilingualer Kompetenz mangelt. Dies macht wiederum deutlich, dass die Subkompetenzen in TK-Modellen detaillierter modelliert werden müssten, um der Didaktik Genüge zu tun.

3 Fazit

Im vorliegenden Beitrag wurden zwei Stellen aus den französischen AT des Übersetzerlernerkorpus KOPTE und ihre ZT-Entsprechungen untersucht, die im Hinblick auf enthaltene kohäsive Phänomene ausgewählt wurden. Es wurde die Variation aufgezeigt, die in neun bzw. dreizehn ZT auftrat. Die Lösungen wurden mit Bezug auf die Realisierung der zugrundeliegenden Kohärenz beschrieben. Insgesamt stellte sich heraus, dass die Übersetzerlerner mehrheitlich die kohäsiven Phänomene erkennen und teils recht souverän mit ihren Realisierungsmöglichkeiten in der Zielsprache Deutsch spielen, bspw. indem sie unikale Elemente der Zielsprache einsetzen (Pronominaladverbien). Daneben besteht ein kleinerer Prozentsatz an Studenten, die trotz ausführlicher Behandlung dieses Übersetzungsproblems im Unterricht Konnektoren eher lexikalisch als funktional übersetzen. Diese lexikalischen Übersetzungen sind jedoch in einigen Fällen ebenfalls als akzeptabel zu betrachten.

⁸ <http://orf.at/stories/2025023/2025025/>, 07.09.13; kursiv AW, NB die Verwendung von „Zwischenfall“

Ein weiterer Aspekt der vorgelegten Analyse ist die große Bedeutung, die der virtuos beherrschten Kohäsion in den Arbeitssprachen beim Erwerb von Translationskompetenz zukommt. Bei der Rezeption des AT ist die Analyse von Koreferenz, Substitution und Konnexion essentiell für die Konstitution der vollständigen Textbedeutung. Für die Produktion des ZT erleichtert der vom AT losgelöste Einsatz von kohäsiven Mitteln die Re-Verbalisierung des verstandenen Sinns und die Beachtung von sprach- und registerspezifischen Merkmalen. Erich Steiner und sein Team leisten demzufolge mit ihrer Forschung und Lehre zu Korpora und Kohäsion bereits einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Ausbildung von Übersetzern und Dolmetschern in Saarbrücken.

Was die Weiterentwicklung von Translationskompetenzmodellen angeht, konnte in der vorliegenden Studie ein Desideratum angedeutet werden: So hilfreich schon die Untergliederung von Translationskompetenz in mehrere Subkompetenzen ist, reicht sie dennoch nicht aus, um ein Modell zu erlangen, das in der Didaktik für die Unterrichtsplanung und die Diagnose sowie Therapie von individuellen Schwächen eingesetzt werden könnte. Ein solches detailliertes TK-Modell (auch wenn zunächst nur Ausschnitte daraus realisiert sind, wie bspw. „Beherrschung kohäsiver Phänomene kontrastiv in den Arbeitssprachen“) wäre jedoch vielen meiner Kollegen „an der Front“ des täglichen Unterrichtsbetriebs ausgesprochen hilfreich. Es könnte auch von diesen Praktikern des Translationskompetenzerwerbs mit entwickelt werden, denn diese Personengruppe verfügt über ein oft sehr umfangreiches Erfahrungswissen. Erich Steiner legt mit seiner Forschung dafür empirisch basierte Grundlagen und veranstaltet außerdem seit einigen Jahren u.a. auch „didaktische“ Kolloquien, die sich mit Einzelproblemen der neuen BA/MA-Studiengänge befassen und speziell an die Lehrkräfte am Institut richten. Hierin liegt ein Potential für solche didaktisch-theoretischen Projekte zur Weiterentwicklung von Translationskompetenzmodellen.

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Zum jubelnden Wiegenfest

Christoph Rösener

Stets ein Hans-Dampf in aller Welt
Grundsätzlich das bei Erich zählt
Gereimt hat's einer, der ihn kennt
Und persifliert das ungehemmt
Bedient sich kühn des Dichters Freiheit
Wird's zu persönlich tut das sehr leid

Zunächst muss mal ein Anfang sein
Der Erich trat ins Leben ein
In Heidelberg bei Eltern, Bruder
Und Hündchen „Brutus“ - Handstandluder

Nach Wechsel Rheinland-Pfalz zur Saar
Dureheilt die Schulzeit er ganz klar
In einem Rutsch zum Abitur
Doch dann ist die Musik Kultur

Großmutter's Wunsch, der Griff zur Geige
Entpuppte sich als Fehlanzeige
Was machte ihm mehr Lust und Spaß?
Piano, Guitar, Kontrabass
Orchestermusik wohlbedacht
Mit Saarfunk wird Vertrag gemacht

Und als Hochschul-Musikstudent
Wird er im Saarland „Dirigent“
Der Band, die „Notenschleuder“ heißt
Mit Song sich up-to-date erweist
Und für sein Lied - das von der Katz' -
Find't sich auch wissenschaftlich Platz

An Freiburgs Uni: Deutsch, Geschichte
Ohn', dass man auf Musik verzichte

Doch dann hat sich das Blatt gewendet
 Linguistik, Englisch formvollendet
 Echt britisch schon mal vorprobiert
 An Uni Saarland wird's forciert
 - Orchestermusik persistiert -

Bei Wissenschaft für Stadt und Land
 Ist Peggy seine rechte Hand
 Die praktisch mehr als er versiert
 Drum Vortragstechnik funktioniert

Dass das nicht immer gleich gelingt
 War schon mal Umstände bedingt
 VW-Bus - Anlasser verreckt
 Am Lenkrad Peggy fast perfekt
 Konnt' sie den Zündungsknopf nicht finden
 So musst' sich Erich schiebend schinden

Erfolge in Sprachwissenschaft
 Zeitigt sein Streben beispielhaft
 Land auf - Land ab kongresspräsent
 E.U. - Projekte exzellent
 Was Koryphäen-Beifall findet
 Wird explizit weltweit verkündet

Nun hat ein solches Großgenie
 Natürlich mancherlei Manie
 Ich möchte das Marotten nennen
 Lernt' ich doch viele davon kennen

Man sammelt Professoren-Titel
 Und praktiziert im Street-Band-Kittel
 Mit Menschen, die den Rhythmus lieben
 Geräusch und Klang selbst aufgeschrieben

In Wohngemeinschaften zu Hause
Gefällt sich als Milieu-Banause
Im Outfit wie im Habitus
Und Nascherei verspricht Genuss

Die Band, Freund, Freundin sind ihm lieb
Wenn es doch immer nur so blieb
Mit Musik Unbill sich entzieh'n
Geht nicht, das Leben heischt nach ihm

Und das kann bunter gar nicht sein
Den Kaffee trinkt er wie den Wein
Nicht nur in Vaters Lederstuhl
Das „Bingert“ wird geliebt - ist cool

Der Weiblichkeit abhold? - Mitnichten
Vertraulich davon zu berichten
Beschränkt sich auf die Sydney-Zeit
Da wurd' die „Müllerin“ gefreit

Die Flugangst hat das nicht verhindert
Meint man, die Eh'frau hätt's vermindert
Was ihm bisher war lieb und teuer
Wird er als Ehemann ein Neuer?

Was die Marotten anbelangt
Schlicht abgelehnt, auch nicht bedankt
So ist und bleibt er wie er war
Liebt Bagger und wird Autonarr
Wenn Fahrrad-Schönwetter ihm fehlt
Und Joggen ihn doch ziemlich quält

Drischt vorm Theaterabend Skat
Diniert dann später delikat
Bevorzugt Fisch auf Sauerkraut
Hat's als Gourmand mit Lust verdaut
Sardinen fangfrisch aus dem Meer
Vor Ort gegrillt liebt er zu sehr

In Frankreich Halsbruch - Oberschenkel
Tai-Chi bewahrt vor Krankgeplänkel
In Lila-Pink herumspaziert
Beim Jogging hat es nicht geniert
Am 1. Mai wird demonstriert
Im Hemd gelb-blau krass kostümiert

Vergaß ich das? - Er raucht nicht mehr
Doch glaub' ich Vieles ist lang' her
Schlussendlich nach geschönten Zeilen
Will ich die Summary erteilen:

Sprachwissenschaft, Musik genial
Der Freunde Kreis instrumental
Scurriles bei ihm selbst gefällt
Bleibt er Hans-Dampf in aller Welt

Und dieser Typ, der Sechzig jetzt
Ist Steiners Erich - hochgeschätzt!
Dem es zu gratulieren gilt
Dass alle Wünsche sei'n erfüllt

Instead of a Festschrift

in Honor of
Erich H. Steiner



A tiny foreword

Not quite old enough really for a real Festschrift (he turned only 50!), nevertheless we, his disciples, would like to pay a tribute to his scientific scholarship, academic leadership and personal integrity.

So here it comes....

ANALYZE THIS!

by

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and

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Acknowledgment

References

1 Introduction: Goal and motivation

To understand academic articles in linguistics requires long years of study of the field of linguistics. However, the acquisition of *ideational* knowledge alone may often not be sufficient to arrive at a deep enough understanding of most works in linguistics. In particular, studying the works of one particular author, one needs to appreciate her/his personal style of writing, which is foremostly reflected in the *interpersonal* and *textual* domains.

The goal of the present booklet is to present some analyses of selected articles by Erich H. Steiner, shedding light on his style of construing (linguistic) experience. The ultimate goal is to help readers to arrive at a better understanding of his truly scholarly work.

We start with a brief exposition of the methods adopted (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 presents the actual analyses. We conclude with a summary and issues for future work (Chapter 4). The material analyzed is included in a CD-Rom appendix (this also includes an electronic version of the present text).

Enjoy!

2 Method

It goes without saying that we adopt a data-driven approach, while at the same time rooting the analysis firmly in linguistic theory (cf. Teich 2003, Hansen 2003, Neumann 2003).

2.1 Corpus compilation

In the present context the most practicable thing to do seemed to compile a corpus *opportunistically* (“Grab all the files you can find!”). We are aware of the potential pitfalls of proceeding in this way, but *some* data is surely better than making everything up!

2.2 Categories of analysis

The analyses focus on theme and co-reference (textual organization; see Sections 3.1 and 3.2), mood and modality (interpersonal organization; see Section 3.3) as well as the register features of academic prose (Section 3.4) and some generally interesting features such as word frequencies and collocations (Section 3.5).

We then proceed the canonical way: data-to-hypothesis-to-analysis-to-interpretation, which means we typically start with some observations made in the data, then formulate hypotheses, and finally seek verification through the corpus analysis.

3 Corpus analysis

3.1 Theme

3.1.1 Observations, hypothesis

Looking at some sample texts from the corpus, the following observation can be made:

Themes are rather complex; there are many non-subject-only themes.

Provided we can find evidence of these features in a larger text sample, we will call this one of the features of Steiner’s personal style.

3.1.2 Presumed functions

The functions of putting a lot of material in the Theme are presumably the following:

1. *Textual function*: Make sure you root your sentences firmly in the discourse, so that the reader does not get lost (because the sentences are rather long on the average; cf. Section 3.4).
2. *Interpersonal function*: Make sure you address the reader as often as you can, treating them as peers (see also Section 3.3)

3. *Logical function*: Make sure that there are enough expressions of logico-semantic relations, so that your argument can be followed (again, as a way of compensating for sentence length; cf. Section 3.4).

3.1.3 Corpus analysis

The present analysis has been carried out on approx. 17.000 tokens from the entire corpus taken from Steiner (2002).

The material has been analyzed semi-automatically, using the Coder tool (O'Donnell 1995). The coding scheme is given in Figure 3.1 below. The numerical results together with some simple statistics can be found in Figure 3.2.

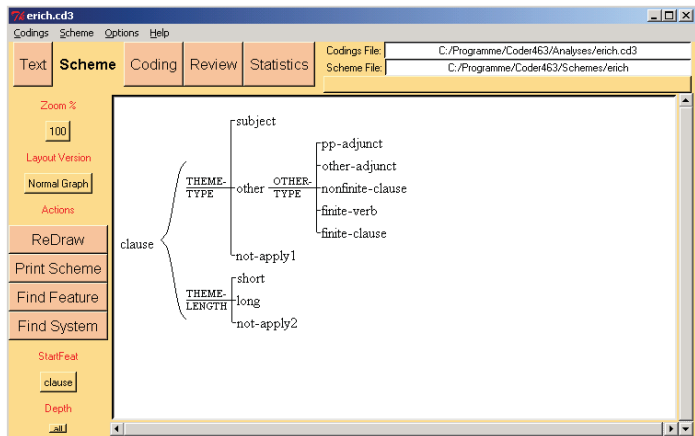


Figure 3.1: Coding scheme for Theme

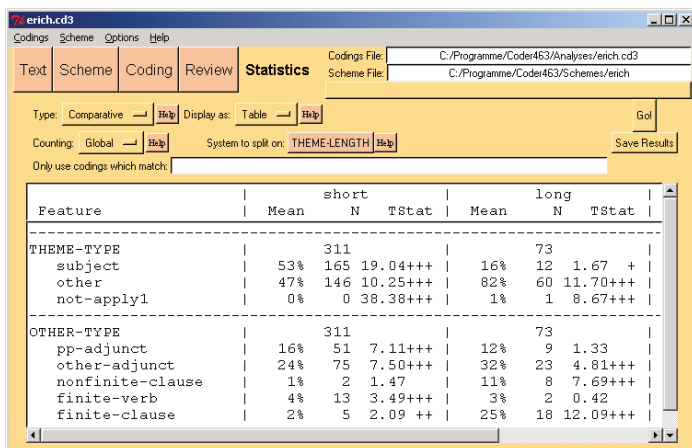


Figure 3.2: Results for Theme

3.1.4 Interpretation

The analysis supports the hypothesis formulated in Section 3.1.1. First, almost half of the themes are indeed nonsubject-themes, which is rather unusual when compared to a comparable corpus of English native speaker texts. Of the nonsubject-themes, 40 % are filled by adjuncts. Looking at these more closely, one can observe that they serve to root the discourse locally (examples 1-3) and to mark interpersonally what follows (examples 1-2) or place it again ideationally (ex. 3), e.g.,

- (1) *Now, very importantly, it is not...*
- (2) *Now, probably the most advanced research tradition is ...*
- (3) *Finally, in terms of affective meaning, English has...*

Apart from metaphor of time (*now, finally*; cf. examples 1-3 above), we also find expressions of movement in space (see ex. 4 below).

- (4) *Moving to...*

The text is construed as a journey through a *Galaxy* of time and space; thus, it seems indeed advisable to put a signpost every now and then for the traveller not to lose orientation (or for the author himself?).

Most remarkable, however, is the use of complex themes that combine logico-semantic orientation with spatio-temporal orientation (ex. 5) or interpersonal stance with ideational circumstantiation (examples 6 and 7).

- (5) *On the other hand, and as we shall see below, we ...*

(6) *Ideally and in some strongly inflecting languages, there is...*

(7) *However, considering Biber's features for involved vs. informational production as*

such, it...

Note also that concerning the subject part of the theme, there are remarkably many instances of the 1st person plural pronoun *we*, both in complex themes as well as in the form of simple themes:

(8) *We shall in this section...*

(9) *We shall then...*

Again on the interpersonal plane, there is a high frequency of the inclusive imperative (often functioning as a marker of topic shift):

(10) *For these two more extended passages, let us at least illustrate...*

(11) *Let us move to...*

(12) *Let us turn to...*

Finally, there is one type of clausal theme that occurs quite frequently (see examples 13 and 14).

(13) *As far as work comparing translations and original texts within one language is concerned (cf. Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998) we ...*

(14) *As far as number of words per clause is concerned, we...*

Finally, there also seem to be interferences from German; cf. Hawkins (1986) who notes the semantic versatility of English Subjects compared to German.¹ Consider the following examples from the corpus:

(15) *In 4.1, we have given an overview of what are, to our knowledge, state-of-the-art tools ...*

rather than the more common:

(15') *Section 4.1 has presented an overview...*

Or:

(16) *In this paper, our focus will be on...*

rather than:

(16') *This paper focuses on ...*

Part of the complexity of the themes in Steiner's texts is due to this interference.

¹ Steiner knows this book well, but apparently he does not succeed in putting these particular features into practice on his own writing.

3.1.5 Conclusions on theme

We have seen that the syndrome of features we find in the analysis of theme position in Erich Steiner's texts allows some interpretations concerning the position taken towards the reader (cf. also Section 3.3). The syndrome of features we have found suggests the following discourse strategy (used consciously or unconsciously by the writer – that is for him to say...):

*The text is construed as a space, through which the reader and the writer travel together.
The writer acts as your guide – trust him!*

3.2 Coreference

3.2.1 Observations, hypothesis

In our exemplary examination of Erich Steiner's texts we will now move on to the investigation of one particular linguistic phenomenon, called nominal coreference. Coreferential relations are essential to the creation of coherent texts as they help to combine sentences in a meaningful way. Looking at three of Steiner's texts, we will see which coreference relations between noun phrases Erich Steiner uses to produce textual coherence. On the one hand we will consider direct anaphoric relations, where two expressions point to the same extra-linguistic entity. On the other hand we will also include indirect anaphoric relations, which are not linked by referential identity but some other semantic or conceptual relation. In order to provide a basis of comparison, three texts which have about the same size have been chosen: an English introduction (from Steiner 2000), a German introduction (from Steiner 1999) and one paragraph of a longer paper in English (from Steiner 2001).

3.2.2 Presumed functions

For a start I would like to point out that even the analysis of a very small part of Steiner's papers brought up a new aspect within my study of nominal coreference in general. The economic newspaper articles I have been investigating until now treat current issues which concern events taking place in real world and individuals playing an important part in these real world events. Naturally, the noun phrases in these texts refer to real world events and individuals. In comparison, Erich Steiner's scientific texts exhibit one distinctive feature: they deal with linguistic phenomena as generic types in general and individual instances of these phenomena realized in specific texts. On the text surface, terminological terms are often applied as a means of pointing to these linguistic phenomena and their instances. Therefore, examining Erich Steiner's papers, I had to introduce a new category in my annotation scheme. This way, relations between terminological and other expressions could be marked up, which point to generic types and particular instances of these types.

3.2.3 *Corpus analysis*

We will now proceed to discuss some differences concerning coreferential links discovered in Erich Steiner's texts. Examining the German and English introduction one main point has to be noted here: although both introductions have about the same size, the English introduction contains much more direct anaphors than the German text. This is mostly due to Steiner's extensive usage of one particular *anaphoric* chain in the English text: with the pronoun *we*, Erich Steiner refers to his research group. On the contrary, in the German text the pronoun *wir* is only employed twice to point to the research group. In the first paragraph of the longer English paper a chain consisting of first person pronouns could be identified as anaphoric, too. Like in the English introduction, pronominal anaphors occur more frequently than in the German text. Yet, in contrast to both introductions, here, the singular form *I* was chosen, pointing to the writer himself.

Furthermore, the three texts differ considerably in the distribution of direct and indirect anaphors. In the two English texts, more direct anaphors than indirect ones could be assigned to an antecedent whereas in the German introduction it is the other way around. One reason for this resides in the great number of pronominal anaphors in the English texts, as mentioned above. Apart from that, more indirect anaphors of the category of generic could be assigned to noun phrases in the German introduction. These relations, as described above, consist of terminological terms which often refer to Steiner's main issue, namely translation as a scientific object of investigation.

Considering some commonalities, it can be stated that all texts contain numerous recurrences. One more time, part of the reason for this is Erich Steiner's treatment of one particular field of linguistic research, named by certain terminological expressions. Concerning the indirect relations, anaphors of the generic type could be annotated much more often than semantic ones. Presumably, expressions which refer to part-whole relations between real world objects are employed more frequently in other types of texts, e.g., newspaper articles.

3.2.4 *Conclusions*

For a conclusion, the fundamental criteria for the distribution of coreference relations and the variety of anaphoric categories applied in Erich Steiner's texts seem to reside in the specific properties of academic texts. However, it remains to be seen whether the coreference diversities and commonalities described above can be found in all of Steiner's texts. In addition, it has to be investigated in a more empirical way whether these particularities are due to German-English differences of register or reside in typological differences between the German and English language systems or if these are characteristic features of Erich Steiner's way of writing German and English introductions and longer papers.

3.3 Modality

3.3.1 *Observations, hypothesis*

Let us now turn to the interpersonal metafunction in texts written by our cherished ex-dean and travel guide. We shall see that the writer makes prolific use of features of modality. We shall claim that this extraordinary frequency of modality markers signifies a clear deviation from what was coined a language average as represented by a reference corpus. We may come to the following hypothesis:

The writer's fraternisation with the reader is characteristic of Steiner's personal style.

While we shall focus on the subject's use of modality in this chapter we will nevertheless make out a characteristic choice of mood person (cf. Matthiessen 1995) which further corroborates the writer's typical style of guiding the reader through textual space (cf. Section 3.1).

3.3.2 *Presumed functions*

Functions of modality markers are well described as means of reflecting the writer's assessment of the probability or inclination of a proposition. In academic writing like the one analyzed here modality is probably used to tone down the author's certainty of his or her presented analyses. It may well be the case that the writer wishes to leave the final judgement on the presented linguistic evidence to the reader. Possibly this reflects a cooperative attitude towards academic research as typical of the *Critical Intellectual*. In linguistic terms this feature of academic writing has been described as 'academic hedging'.

3.3.3 *Corpus and analysis*

The corpus for the present analysis has been compiled from the writings by Erich Steiner in a very unprincipled way.² We did not make use of the following empirical methods:

- random selection
- significance tests
- the like

In order to detect commonalities and differences to texts from other authors and registers we compared the texts written by Steiner with a reference corpus consisting of text samples taken from 15 English registers from the FLOB Corpus. The overall corpus thus consists of the register-controlled corpus (henceforth: ERICH) and the English reference corpus (henceforth: ER). Figure X illustrates this corpus design.

[Insert figure at closest point³]

² I know who broke into Peggy Daut's computer to get a hold of the texts ;-)

³ I refrain from inserting it since you know the figure by heart... And even more, I wanted to have this "insert figure at closest point" in my bit, because this piece of text seems to be an essential element of good academic writing (at least on first circulation on the first floor of building 4).

The corpus displays the following statistics (Table 3.1):

	ERICH	ER
Tokens	75,576	15,692
Type-Token-Ratio	39.32	48.75
Word length	5.11	4.73
Sentence length	18.22	22.56

Table 3.1: Basic statistics of ERICH

We will not discuss the general statistics. The reader is welcome to make his or her own judgements on why Steiner's words are longer and why his sentences are shorter (see also Sections 3.4 and 3.5)

The scheme for the analysis of modality should look like Figure 3.3.

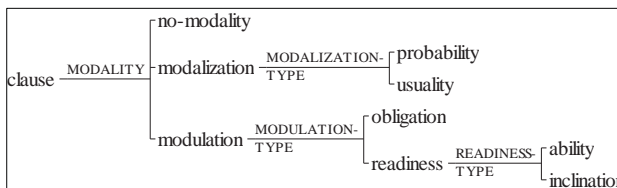


Figure 3.3: Analysis scheme for modality

But as the analysis of the abundant register-controlled corpus would have taken up all my spare time I made do with the string-based approach. The corpus was thus queried for the following words (and combinations of them) using the WordSmith tools (Scott 1994):

can, could, have to, may, may be, must, shall, should, will, would, certainly, likely, maybe, possibly, probably.

3.3.4 Interpretation

We were able to yield the following frequencies (all results are given as normed frequencies; Figure 3.4):

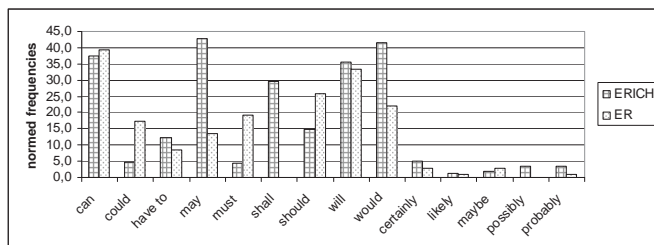


Figure 3.4: Frequencies of expressions of modality

We find that more use of modality devices is made than the language average would suggest. In the ERICH corpus we find 238.2 instances of features of modality while the ER corpus only contains 186.6 instances. When looking at each of the features, it becomes apparent that Erich Steiner has an idiosyncratic liking for the modal verbs *may*, *would* and particularly *shall* (we shall come back to this later). He does not seem to like *must*⁴, *could* and *should*.

When we look at the co-occurrences of modal verbs with personal pronouns we get the following frequencies:

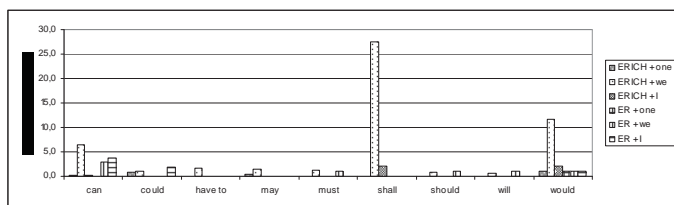


Figure 3.5: Frequencies of modal verbs+personal pronouns

Steiner's preference of the personal pronoun *we* is substantiated by the fact that this word is the most frequent personal pronoun in the frequency list of the ERICH corpus. With 688 instances (not normed) *we* takes the 11th place in the list. Therefore it is not surprising that co-occurrences of modals in the ERICH corpus mainly contain this personal pronoun.

The modality markers are not always used as a means to express certainty or probability of the writer's assessment but sometimes express obligation and in this sense have an appellative character. Cases in point are the co-occurrences of *we + have to* (examples 15-17).

(15) *Acknowledging this, we have to be aware that the multidimensional evaluation task we are thus faced with is inherently complex.*

(16) *With respect to the second question, we have to be aware that much of the debate about Goldhagen's English version in the USA,...*

(17) *Because of this, we cannot pretend that we can retreat into a narrow specialist's area where we restrict ourselves to a small and deeply specialist set of methods and goals; instead, we have to act as human beings, taking part and accepting responsibility.*

The appellative character also becomes apparent in sentences with *we + would*:

(18) *Before moving on to a discussion of some examples of applications, we would like to warn against jumping to rash conclusions when it comes to postulating specific characteristics of the schools of linguistics involved here.*

⁴ Quite suitably so for a Critical Intellectual, I would suggest.

(19) *More importantly, we would like to help towards an increased understanding of what this particular approach to language is aiming at, and why, therefore, it foregrounds certain issues and gives less space to others.*

The following *we + would*'s display academic hedging:

(20) *...we would say that while information structure has to be directly annotated or parsed in a corpus of running text, for informational density and for grammatical metaphoricality we assume that...*

(21) *Focussing on agentivity only at the moment, we would say that the German (27A) is ergative (middle) in some of the same ways as the English version (27B) is, ...*

(22) *Being methodologically careful, we would not want to load the attribute "different" with any stronger meaning in this first sense, and for many investigations, this seems to be all that is needed.*

We can see a lot in Steiner's texts:

(23) *As we can see, what we obtain in (1De) is a lexicogrammatically correct text, but one which violates certain register- and genre constraints of its target language.*

(24) *Thus, we can see that we have here a highly interesting, but at the same time challenging interaction between issues of grammatical metaphor, lexical metaphor, thematic progression and the resulting rhetorical force...*

(25) *Applying this general claim to the area of language and natural language technologies, we can see that our interacting agents include at least industry and institutions, political and academic funding agencies, and researchers themselves.*

In the following examples, we shall see a special case which is on the border between the modal and auxiliary usage of shall. Steiner is particularly partial to the combination of *we + shall*.

me ideational semantics across languages? We shall come back to this question below. pwards" on the rank scale in the process, as we shall demonstrate in the list of correspon semantic categories across languages. As we shall see in the examples in this section, nslator and serious attention by the scholar. We shall not review this entire hermeneutica rs a discursive space to critical intellectuals. We shall come back to that question in the e Universität des Saarlandes Saarbrücken. We shall start with an account of textual profited in the study of natural language which we shall label 'technologically-oriented' type , only the strong survive, and, to ensure this. We shall add some remarks about the final typological differences between languages. We shall give a quick overview of these for lysis of the entire text cf. Steiner 1998a). As we shall see below, the claim that this is a tr ith the English text). In examples 4D) – 6D), we shall give a word-for-word gloss in English nslated original texts in the target language. We shall start with a review of some major s , explicit, compact...' texts. In a second step, we shall look top-down at an example of a te sing the concept of "grammatical metaphor". We shall then attempt to express certain rele terial variants within the German set of texts. We shall now attempt to theorise our notion f our hypotheses. On the other hand, and as we shall see below, we would modify several f the translation process", which, however, we shall not be able to address beyond the f tanding in the relationship of translation. But we shall attempt to go a bit further than this closing of the gap identified before. Finally, we shall take up the question of norms, this t l metaphor using the categories of Figure 2. We shall, for reasons of space, only discus er than on their interaction with visual codes, we shall not reproduce the original formatin

Figure 3.6: Extract of concordance for *we+shall*

It may be open to discussion whether this combination really belongs to modality, but these instances need to be mentioned somewhere. Figure 3.6 displays lines 101–121 (of 139!) of the concordance for illustration.

Here are some examples for your entertainment.

(26) *But we shall attempt to go a bit further than this obvious statement.*

(27) *Note that there would be a small set of alternatives within the set of semantically-based translations of such a passage, and we shall point to one or two of them in our subsequent discussion.*

(28) *We shall come back to these observations below, where we shall also suggest explanations for some of them.*

(29) *and we shall adopt that usage here,*

(And we shall probably also overcome...).

As already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, there is an abundant use of *we*. It is by far the most frequently used personal pronoun in the ERICH corpus. This can either be interpreted as a *pluralis majestatis*, but the author's characteristic modesty rather suggests an inclusive use of this personal pronoun embracing the reader and thus treating him or her as a peer. (cf. also Section 3.1).

In this usage of the personal pronoun *we*, we find a striking similarity to the use of the inclusive *wir* in hiking tours in German travel guides as the below example illustrates. A sentence taken from a German travel guide is followed by one taken from the ERICH corpus:

(30) *Nachdem wir unseren Eintrittsobulus entrichtet haben, dürfen wir uns in die Enge der Klamm zwingen.*

(31) *As translation specialists, we have to make a contribution here, and until we have a better grasp of many of the processes referred to above, we can do this only very imperfectly.*

This finding further proves the writer's function as a travel guide mentioned before.

3.3.5 Conclusions on modality

When analyzing the interpersonal metafunction in writings by Erich Steiner, we can see that the author seems to avoid building up any kind of hierarchy between the knowable expert and the ignorant reader. He rather tries to maintain an equal social role relationship with the reader. In order to reach this aim, Steiner makes abundant use of modality markers. Therefore, *we shall be happy* to read and analyze many more of Steiner's probably modal writings...

3.4 Register features of academic prose

3.4.1 Observations

The empirical investigation of lexico-grammatical features which occur significantly frequently or significantly infrequently in a given register can serve as the basis for a corpus-based register analysis and thus for the corpus-based description of registers. For the present study it is assumed that Erich Steiner's personal style reflects the register features of academic prose. For English academic prose, Biber (1995) identifies the following dimensions as relevant:

- Dimension 1 – involved vs. informational production
- Dimension 5 – abstract vs. non-abstract style

The positive features in Dimension 1 can be interpreted as features of involved production and interaction. For example, the co-occurrence of private verbs and the verb *be*, together with present tense, is a strong indicator of the speaker's involvement in the communicative situation. These features are characteristic of the expression of comments, attitudes and feelings, making the situation more interactive. In contrast to that, the negative features are characteristic of informational production. A high frequency of nouns co-occurring with a high frequency of attributive adjectives results in a high information density. Additionally, prepositional phrases which occur as post-modifications in nominal phrases suggest that the information in the text is presented in a very dense fashion. Academic prose can be categorized along the negative features of Dimension 1, i.e. the features of informational production.

In Dimension 5, solely negative features, such as agentless passives, *by*-passives and past participials as adverbial and postnominal clauses, can be found. Since the past participial constructions are used to express passive meaning, all of these features draw attention away from the agent and focus on the patient or the action itself. This focus results in a rather abstract representation of the contents, which is also typical of academic prose.

3.4.2 Presumed features, hypothesis

According to Biber (1995), the features of making academic prose informational are the following:

- high frequency of nouns and nominalizations
- long words and sentences
- high frequency of prepositions
- low type-token ratio
- high frequency of attributive adjectives

Features which are used to make academic prose more abstract are the following:

- high frequency of passives
- high frequency of past participial clauses

For the analysis, a corpus of Steiner's academic prose is contrasted to a corpus of popular-scientific texts as well as to a register-neutral reference corpus. The hypothesis is that the highest frequency of the above described register features can be found in the Steiner corpus (since it consists of academic prose only), followed by the popular-scientific texts (since they represent a weaker form of academic prose), followed by the reference corpus (which should behave neutrally concerning the register features for academic prose).

3.4.3 Corpus and analysis

The present analysis has been carried out on approx. 45.000 tokens. The corpus design is as displayed in Figure 3.7.

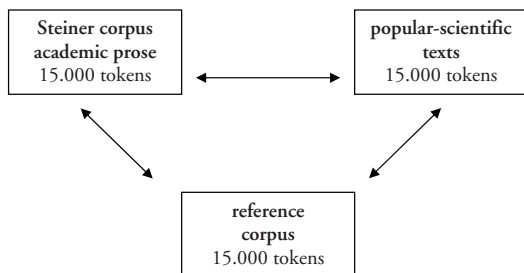


Figure 3.7: Corpus design

Each of the three sub-corpora comprises approx. 15.000 tokens, all texts are written in English. The reference corpus is taken from Neumann (2003), the popular-scientific texts from Teich (2003). The Steiner corpus is composed of sections 2 to 4 of Steiner (1998), section 2 to 3 of Steiner (2004), section 2 and 5 of Steiner (2001), section 5 of Steiner (in press) and section 3 of Steiner (2003).

Since the corpus under investigation is quite large and the features to be analyzed are rather shallow, linguistic annotation should and can be carried out automatically. Part-of-speech tagging is a fairly reliable method of annotation, either using a rule-based or a statistical approach. Recently, however, statistical approaches have become more popular. For this reason, the tagger which has been employed, the TnT tagger, is a statistical part-of-speech tagger that analyzes trigrams, incorporating several methods of smoothing and of handling unknown words (cf. Brants 2000). The system can be trained to deal with different languages and comes with the Susanne tagset for English (cf. Sampson 1995). It includes a tool for tokenization, which is a preparatory step in the tagging process. In basic mode, not only does the tagger provide each token with a part-of-speech tag, but it omits alternative tags and also performs probability calculations. It analyzes between 30,000 and 60,000 tokens per second and has an accuracy of about 97 %. A sample output of TnT in tab separated vector (TSV) format is shown in Figure 3.8.

He	PPHS1	and	CC
omitted	VVD	that	DD1
to	TO	,	YC
mention	VV0	as	CSA
that	CST	Romulus	NP1
one	MC1	had	VHD
person	NN1	quietly	RR
had	VHD	informed	VVN
been	VBN	him	PPHO1
killed	VVN	,	YC
and	CC	both	DB2
another	DD1	were	VBDR
badly	RR	past	II
wounded	VVN	saving	VVG
,	YC	,	VF

Figure 3.8: Sample output of the TnT tagger

In order to find particular kinds of linguistic information in the corpus annotated in the way described above, tools for querying the corpus for the features annotated are needed. For this purpose, the IMS Corpus Workbench (cf. Christ 1994) can be used. This concordance tool, with which it is possible to query for words and/or part-of-speech tags on the basis of regular expressions, consists of two modules: the corpus query processor (CQP) and the user interface (XKwic). Importing TnT output to the workbench is a straightforward step since the preparatory steps were all carried out by the part-of-speech tagger TnT. These steps include character set normalization, tokenization and sentence boundary detection, such that the input format of the tagged corpus is TSV. The corpus is then encoded in such a way that it can be queried by the system. After the encoding of the corpus, all attributes (words, part-of-speech tags etc.) are declared in a registry file, which is a crucial element for all operations of the corpus maintenance. The required information can then be queried using CQP, which implements a query language on the basis of the following regular expressions: concatenation, disjunction, negation, Kleene star, the plus and the interval operator. The results of the query are displayed using XKwic. Figure 3.9 shows XKwic with a query for passive.

The query is based on the part-of-speech tags VB.* (forms of the verb “be”) followed by VVN.* (past participle) and zero to one words in between. The results are displayed in the KWIC (keyword in context) list indicating the number of matches. XKwic offers the usual functionalities of a concordance program: concordances can, for example, be saved (all at once or in different sub-corpora), deleted, sorted and printed. The query history can be viewed, saved and loaded, and sub-corpora can be saved as well. Furthermore, an extended view on the KWIC concordances, a window for messages and an alignment window for parallel concordances can be displayed, too. XKwic also calculates a frequency distribution for the first word or part-of-speech tag of the matches. As to the query of instances of complex syntactic constructions, typically several different queries need to be made to obtain all (satisfactory recall) and only the relevant matches (satisfactory precision). In some cases irrelevant matches have to be removed from the list manually.

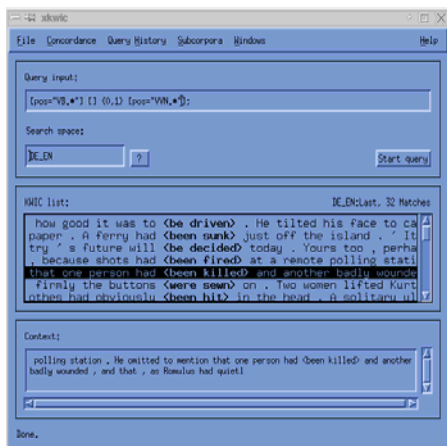


Figure 3.9: Sample query in XKwic

Table 3.2 shows the results for the register features of academic prose in the three different sub-corpora.

	Steiner corpus	popular-scientific texts	reference corpus
nouns	2423	2594	2280
nominalizations	569	331	329
word length	5,03	4,73	4,73
sentence length	28,79	23,40	26,94
prepositions	2272	2039	1986
type-token ratio	40,19	41,45	48,75
attributive adjectives	1005	860	707
passives	462	453	454
<i>by-passives</i>	60	125	70
past participial clauses	48	47	33

Table 3.2: Results for the register analysis of academic prose

3.4.4 Interpretation

The first seven features displayed in Table 3.2 are used to make academic prose more informational than other registers. The results show that this holds true for the high frequency of nouns in the Steiner corpus compared to the reference corpus. The authors of the popular-scientific texts, however, also use this register feature rather extensively to present the scientific contents of their texts. Concerning nominalizations, the Steiner corpus reveals the highest frequency, whereas the popular-scientific texts are comparable to the reference corpus. The same is true for the average word length (here calculated in letters per word), where the Steiner corpus contains the

longest words and the results for the other sub-corpora are the same. Regarding the mean sentence length of the corpora (here measured in words per sentence) the Steiner corpus is again in the lead, followed by the reference corpus. The authors of the popular-scientific texts use shorter sentences than the authors of the reference corpus and Steiner. A possible explanation for this phenomenon could be that they try to make the scientific contents easier, i.e., more understandable, for their (lay) readers. The high number of prepositions, which occur as nominal post-modifications, show that the text in the Steiner corpus is presented in a very dense fashion. This tendency is also confirmed through the high number of attributive adjectives. The low type-token ratio in the Steiner corpus clearly reveals that a lot of register-specific vocabulary is repetitively used. A similar observation can be made for the popular-scientific texts. The reference corpus displays the highest type-token ratio since its vocabulary is not register-specific and thus rather broad.

Concerning the abstract features of academic prose, the analysis supports the hypothesis formulated in Section 3.4.2: The frequencies for passive and past participial clauses are higher in the Steiner corpus than in the other two corpora. This shows that Steiner tries to draw attention away from the agent in order to focus on the action itself. The possible focus on the agent through the use of *by*-passives is stronger in the popular-scientific texts and even in the reference corpus. This means for the Steiner corpus, that the contents are represented in a rather abstract way. The following examples from the Steiner corpus illustrate the conclusions drawn in this section:

(32) *One conclusion of our consideration of the goals of the text, its dominant text type, would thus seem to be that while there are extensive passages of the text which are narrative, those features are subservient to the dominant text type persuasion/ persuasive for the text as a whole.*

This is one of the best examples to show how Steiner uses long sentence (with complicated embeddings) in order to represent the contents of his texts in a very dense way. This is supported through the extensive use of nominalizations, prepositions and (attributive as well as predicative) adjectives.

(33) *This may conceivably have been the product of a decision by the advertising agency, based on the assessment that 'reliability' has an even higher social value in German - speaking countries than in English - speaking ones.*

Example (33) again shows how long sentences, nominalizations and prepositions can be used for extremely efficient information packaging. Additionally, the past participial clause starting with *based on* strengthens this effect.

(34) *In both cultures, though, it can be safely assumed that the basic mechanisms of image advertising are similar and will be understood.*

Example (34) illustrates how the use of the passive constructions *can be safely assumed* and *will be understood* draws away the attention from the agent to the action itself, making the text rather abstract.

3.4.5 Conclusions

The results presented in Section 3.4.4 show that the highest frequency of the register features for academic prose can be found in the Steiner corpus. This makes Steiner's text and thus is personal style more informational and abstract than the popular-scientific texts or the texts of the reference corpus. The intended recipients of Steiner's texts are supposed to be experts in the field of linguistics able to cope with a high degree of information density and abstractness. It is thus not recommended to expose these texts to the lay public ;-)

3.5 Word frequency and collocations

3.5.1 Observations, hypothesis

Texts can be described in a number of ways. One way of characterising a text is by looking at surface features such as word counts or co-occurrence patterns. Frequent words may be interpreted as indications of what a text is about and frequent words can tell us something about the style of a particular author.

3.5.2 Corpus analysis

In Table 3.3 below you find the top 50 words of a frequency list for Erich Steiner's recent book *Translated Texts: Properties, Variants, Evaluations*. The book has nine chapters and contains 65.260 words.

Rank	Word form	Frequency
1	THE	3.804
2	OF	3.171
3	IN	2.042
4	AND	1.589
5	A	1.400
6	TO	1.312
7	IS	893
8	AS	783
9	WE	735
10	THAT	660
11	BE	613
12	TEXT	554
13	TRANSLATION	528
14	FOR	522
15	ARE	500
16	THIS	458
17	ON	425
18	WHICH	407
19	GERMAN	357
20	TEXTS	356
21	HAVE	347
22	IT	332
23	AN	313
24	ENGLISH	306
25	OR	303
26	WITH	296
27	OUR	295
28	ONE	292
29	NOT	287
30	FROM	254
31	BETWEEN	227
32	MORE	225
33	LANGUAGE	224
34	HERE	223
35	AT	216
36	I	212

37	BY	212
38	THAN	209
39	WOULD	207
40	BUT	206
41	HAS	187
42	SOME	182
43	2	176
44	CF	176
45	REGISTER	169
46	THESE	169
47	SUCH	163
48	MAY	162
49	OTHER	159
50	WHAT	152

Table 3.3: Most frequent words

As we may have expected, the most frequent words in the text are function words: *the, of, in, and, a, to*.⁵ Among the most frequent 'content' words we find *text, texts, translation, German, English, language*, and *register*. Again, this is no surprise looking at the title of the book and its first sentence: "In this book, we discuss the nature of translations as texts." The frequency list suggests that the focus is on German-English translations and the relatively high frequency of *register* seems to the mirror the linguistic world view that we find in Erich Steiner's work.

In addition to mere frequency information a more detailed characterisation of the book is possible by looking at the distribution of words across chapters. Take the most frequent noun, for instance. The noun *text* is found in all nine chapters, but most frequently it occurs in chapter 4. Table 3.4 shows the overall number of words and the number of occurrences of *text* in each chapter. As the chapters vary in length it is useful to describe not only the absolute frequency of *text* but also its relative frequency which is shown in the last column.

N	File	Words	Hits	Per 1,000
1	1chapter.txt	4.175	52	12,46
2	2chapter.txt	6.033	72	11,93
3	3chapter.txt	6.981	82	11,75
4	4chapter.txt	8.881	157	17,68
5	5chapter.txt	5.856	41	7,00
6	6chapter.txt	6.092	36	5,91
7	7chapter.txt	9.633	58	6,02
8	8chapter.txt	16.438	51	3,10
9	9chapter.txt	840	5	5,91

Table 3.4: Occurrences of the word *text* according to chapter

The chapter with the highest relative frequency of *text* is the chapter with the title "A register-based translation evaluation". Although within the chapter the word form *text* is relatively frequent, it does not occur in the title. In chapters 1 to 3 the form *text* is relatively frequent, too. The titles of the chapters are:

"1 Introduction and overview"

"2 Linguistic variation in texts, translation, and the notion of register"

"3 An extended register analysis as a form of text analysis for translation"

⁵ Note that the pronoun *we* closely follows in terms of frequency (cf. Section 3.3 on instantiation of mood person).

In the title of chapter 2 we find the plural form *texts* and in the title of chapter 3 there is the compound form *text analysis*, thus we have a more obvious surface relationship between the occurrences of *text* throughout the chapter and the title of the chapter. What may seem surprising is that in the title of chapter 5 we find the form *text* two times, but within the chapter the relative frequency is lower than in chapters 1 to 4. The title of chapter 5 is:

How much variation can a text tolerate before it becomes a different text? An exercise making meaningful choices

This brief observation already indicates that we cannot expect a straightforward relation between surface features and the content and topic of a text.

Let us return to the first sentence of the book:

In this book, we discuss the nature of translations as texts.

Looking at this sentence alone we may expect that the word *nature* comes up quite often throughout the book. However, we only find 27 occurrences of the word, all of which are given below. From the concordance (Figure 3.10) we further discover that some occurrences of *nature* are due to the fact that the word occurs in one of the example texts which form the basis for a linguistic analysis (cf. lines 10, 12, 14, 15).

1 In this book, we discuss the nature of translations as text
 2 arch debate about the precise nature of translation vis-a-vi
 3 orpus-based research into the nature of translated texts as
 4 the insights offered into the nature of language, by the het
 5 ising). A requirement of that nature may be due to constrain
 6 built - in assumption of that nature in a model of translati
 7 ation. It is in cases of this nature that the fundamental no
 8 nd forms of language, and the nature of human communication,
 9 se', we are interested in the nature of social activity real
 10 g a desire to set Man against nature at its very worst. We d
 11 creating meanings, social in nature and shared by individua
 12 g a desire to set Man against nature at its very worst. We d
 13 u cannot, because of the very nature of textual variation, c
 14 g a desire to set Man against nature at its very worst. They d
 15 g a desire to set Man against nature at its very worst. We d
 16 derations of a methodological nature. This need, however, ar
 17 f a thematic and a rhetorical nature in particular, may, or
 18 ecause of the multifunctional nature of lexicogrammar, chang
 19 t does this tell us about the nature of translation? Obvious
 20 ose properties are due to its nature as translation. Startin
 21 rocess, can shed light on the nature and type(s) of levels i
 22 s. This methodology, being by nature empirical, has as one o
 23 ider the consequences for the nature of the reality we are o
 24 orking with a corpus of this nature, we would have to take
 25 mena which are not due to the nature or process of translati
 26 ld be explicit, but of such a nature that they admit the cre
 27 -based studies, by their very nature, focus on texts, i.e. t

Figure 3.10: Concordance of the word *nature*

A first glance at the patterns in the concordance shows that it is not so much the noun *nature* that should be taken as a characterisation of what the text is about, but more the words that follow the right collocate *of nature*. The text deals with *the nature of translations, translated texts, human communication, social activity* etc.

3.5.3 Conclusions

This brief little observation shows that automatically retrieved surface features can reflect what we may expect on the basis of our knowledge of a text, but it is also clear that there are many features of a text and meanings in a text that only become visible by looking at a text in more detail. However refined the technical procedures may be if you really want to find out what it is all about there is only one way: Read the book!

3.6 Structural condensation and expansion in interpreted texts. An example from the ERIC-corpus

The present paper attempts to analyse one aspect of information structure in a cross-linguistic perspective. Based on assumptions made in the literature on special properties of translations we now intend to expand the investigation to the other mode of language mediation, i.e. interpretations. In doing so, emphasis will be laid on investigating condensation and expansion in a short passage of a sample text taken from the so-called ERIC-corpus (ELECTRONIC-INTERPRETATION-CORPUS)⁶. This approach was especially inspired by Steiner's diverse works (2001a, 2001b, 2002). In order to overcome systemic typological differences, the following sample analysis will focus on communicative units of meaning (cf. Steiner 1987, Steiner 1988a, Steiner 1989) rather than on items of form.

Sample text:

<p>Wir wollen hier anhand einiger Fragestellungen aus der Übersetzungsevaluierung des oben genannten Werkes argumentieren, dass der theoretische Hintergrund einer anspruchsvollen Übersetzungsevaluierung nicht zu eng sein darf, da die Fülle der zu berücksichtigenden Fragestellungen und der anzuwendenden Methoden beträchtlich ist.</p>	<p>In this paper, an attempt will be made to illustrate the need to go beyond the limits of narrowly defined academic "disciplines", using issues arising from a discussion of some detailed points from a translation evaluation and criticism of a passage from Goldhagen's 1996 <i>Hitler's Willing Executioners</i>, translated into German as <i>Hitlers willige Vollstrecker</i> (cf. Goldhagen 1996a, Goldhagen 1996b).</p> <p>The need of overcoming narrow notions of a discipline will be illustrated with the help of considerations of a methodological nature.</p>
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Source: ERIC-Corpus (Erich Steiner: Einige methodologische Fragen der Übersetzungsevaluierung am Beispiel der Übersetzung von Goldhagens „Hitler's Willing Executioners“ abstract)

Source: ERIC-Corpus (Erich Steiner: Translation Evaluation - some methodological questions arising from the German translation of Goldhagen's "Hitler's Willing Executioners")

We would like to draw attention to the fact that in this example the interpreter had to change the register of the original talk from an abstract into a paper, which is a rather common procedure in interpreting nowadays. So not only are we presented with an

⁶ We are deeply grateful to the Center for Translation Corpora - which is located at Ilseplatz, Saarbrücken - which put the ERIC-Corpus at our disposal. The person responsible for minding the texts at the centre disguises himself as Steiner (perhaps in order to resemble the famous Saarbrücken University professor). In fact, his name is Müller, as his doormat reveals.

interlingual change here, but also with an intraregister change; a fact, we have to take into account in the analysis, as has been pointed out in the literature several times (Steiner 1991, Steiner 1997, Steiner 1998a, Steiner 1998b, to cite only a few authors).

As can be seen above, the target text contains more communicative units (which are separated by an extra line) than the original text. So in this short passage expansion can be observed. This is partly due to constrained changes in register, but it also reflects general special properties of a translated text (cf. Steiner 2001).

Naturally, intonation can play a major role in segmentation (Steiner 1984, Steiner 1988b), but, unfortunately, we could not obtain the audio version of the corpus (Müller at Ilseplatz said he would have to ask the leader, called Steiner, of the Centre, for permission).

4 Summary and conclusions

In this booklet we have analyzed selected features of the writings of Erich H. Steiner. The goal has been to shed light on his individual way of construing (linguistic) experience.

Investigating a randomly compiled corpus of Steiner's writings in terms of some randomly selected features – theme (Section 3.1), coreference (Section 3.2), modality (Section 3.3), register features of academic prose (Section 3.4), word frequency and collocations (Section 3.5) – we have found that Steiner's personal style is *ideationally* demanding and *interpersonally* soothing (or perhaps appeasing?). The strongest motif, however, is probably a *textual* one and can be briefly summarized as follows (and this is the GIST of it ALL, really):

The world (of linguistics) is a discourse which you can use as a vehicle to travel through a complex web of thoughts. There is no ultimate path, and there is no ultimate answer.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Erich Steiner for always generously sharing his web of thoughts with us. We will try hard to aspire to the level of eruditeness he has reached, to live the academic modesty he incarnates and to achieve the intellectual rigidity he embodies.

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This book celebrates Erich Steiner's scholarly work. In 25 contributions, colleagues and friends take up issues closely related to his research interests in linguistics and translation studies. The result is a colourful kaleidoscope reflecting the many strands of research questions that Erich Steiner helped advance in the past decades and the cheerful, inspiring atmosphere he continues to create.