Covert Translation, Language Contact, Variation and Change

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Abstract

The paper reports on a project which applies the model of translation evaluation designed by the present author to the question of whether the English language in its role as a global lingua franca changes textual norms in other European languages over time and above all the well-known lexical import from English into other languages. Following a description of the project’s background, design and multilingual corpus, the qualitative analytical procedure on the basis of the House model of translation quality assessment is outlined, a number of synchronic and diachronic qualitative comparative analyses of originals and translations English-German in two genres (popular science and economic texts) as well as a set of validating qualitative analyses examining translations from English into other languages (French, Spanish) are presented and discussed. The qualitative analyses are then supplemented by quantitative diachronic analyses of a number of linguistic elements expressing “subjectivity” and “addressee orientation”, as these were found to be primarily affected by the influence of the English language. The paper closes with a brief outlook on the present project phase, where a new cycle of qualitative analyses is conducted, in which those “vulnerable” linguistic forms found to have markedly changed in frequency in the corpus over time (such as personal pronouns, markers of modality or coordinate conjunctions) are re-contextualized and investigated in terms of the translation relation and the co-occurrences holding for each individual form in the English and German texts.

In this paper I will report on a project which examines the influence of English as a lingua franca on texts in other European languages. This project is currently carried out at Hamburg University’s Research Centre “Multilingualism” funded by the German Science Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). The paper is structured as follows: First, I describe the project’s background, its research questions, (working) hypotheses as well as its corpus. Secondly, I briefly sketch the analytical procedure used. Thirdly, I present some preliminary results and attempt to interpret them.

1. Background and Design of the Project

Globalised and internationalised communication in many areas of contemporary life is leading to an ever increasing demand for texts that are simultaneously meant for members of different linguistic and cultural communities. Such texts are either produced simultaneously in these different communities as what has been variously called “parallel texts” or “comparable texts, or they are translated “covertly” (House 1977, 1997) mostly from English, the dominant global lingua franca. In the project “Covert Translation – Verdecktes Übersetzen” we¹ are trying to find out whether and how English as lingua franca influences German and other European languages in multilingual parallel text production and covert translation. Parallel texts are texts on comparable topics which, despite being produced in differing environments, belong to the same genre and fulfil the same function. Covert translations are translations in which the function the original text has in its discourse world is

¹ The project team currently consists of Nicole Baumgarten and Demet Özcedin as research associates and myself as principal investigator. From 1999 until 2005 Claudia Böttger and Julia Probst belonged to the project team as research associates.
maintained through the use of a “cultural filter” with which culture-specific source language norms are adapted to the norms holding in the “receiving” language community. In view of the impact “Global English” has been having on other languages in many influential domains of contemporary life, this process of adaptation or cultural filtering may now be in a process of change. We therefore ask in this project whether maintenance of target culture norms in multilingual text production and covert translation is currently no longer operative such that source and target norms are in a process of convergence.

The general hypothesis underlying this project is therefore that German (later also French, Spanish, Persian, Chinese) textual norms are adapted to Anglophone ones. More concretely, and initially for German only, we assume that these adaptations can be located along a limited set of dimensions of culturally determined and empirically established communicative preferences such as preferred foci on the interpersonal or the ideational function, and on informational vagueness or specificity. These (and other) dimensions have emerged from a series of German-English contrastive pragmatic discourse analyses conducted by the present author (cf. for a recent summary House 2003), and from analyses of translation texts in different genres (House 1977; 1997). But changes along these dimensions may also entail lexico-grammatical “Anglicisation” in terms of, for instance, information structure, perspective, and word order. On the basis of existing contrastive work (cf. e.g. Clyne 1987; Fabricius-Hansen 1996; Doherty 1999; von Stutterheim 1997, House 1996; 2003) we have set up the following hypotheses:

1. A shift from a conventionally strong emphasis in German discourse on the ideational function of language to an Anglophone interpersonal orientation focusing on addressee involvement.
2. A shift from a conventionally strong emphasis on informational explicitness in German texts to Anglophone inference-inducing implicitness and propositional opaqueness.
3. A shift in information structure from packing lexical information densely and integratively in German texts to presenting information in a more loosely linearised, “sentential” way.
4. A shift in word order such that the German Satzklammer with its two discontinuous left and right parts gives way to more continuous, juxtaposed positions of the two parts.

To test these hypotheses we have put together a corpus which holds at present about 550 texts reflecting a sphere of text production and reception that is of pervasive socio-cultural influence and is therefore especially relevant for anything to do with language policy, but at the same time this sphere is difficult to access beyond the level of its general, public text output.2

To get an overview of textual norms and language conventions operative in genres especially influenced by English as a lingua franca, we investigated internationally operating business companies and supranational organisations, introduced our design and asked for texts and cooperation. Evaluating the returns, our corpus criteria were deduced and applied to the further sampling process. The practicalities of sampling made us decide in favour of a dynamically growing corpus, instead of a closed, static collection. The corpus is intended to accommodate the most recent developments in text output in the genres we handle.

2 For other and somewhat different approaches to translation studies and corpus use see e.g. Baker 1995; 1999; Doherty 1996; Fabricius-Hansen 1998; Schmied and Schäffler 1996; Steiner and Yallop (eds.) 2001.
The genre “popular science” comprises (synchronically/diachronically) articles on topics of general socio-political relevance taken from publications by official organisations (e.g. UNESCO Courier), and from publications by private publishers (e.g. National Geographic).

The genre “(external) business communication” comprises (synchronically/diachronically) letters to shareholders, annual reports, “Corporate Principles”, “Vision” texts, “Mission” statements and product presentations.

The genre “computer instructions” comprises (synchronically/diachronically) the following soft-/hardware documentation: manuals, books, commercial publications, overtly independent of the soft-/hardware producer, books that come with soft-/hardware packages, manuals on CD-ROM, online manuals as pre-installations on the computer, manuals as internet downloads.

We also take account of current developments in multilingual journalism. In 1999, when our project work started, a number of newspaper cooperations were established, producing foreign language parallel editions and parallel coverage or exchanging translations in English and German respectively. Cooperative publications are among others the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and The International Herald Tribune, the Financial Times and the Financial Times Deutschland. In order to account for this new turn in high profile newspaper journalism that also includes different media platforms (print and internet editions), we opened up a separate sub-corpus, in which we compile texts that are similar in topic orientation to the texts in the three major genres. Analyses of these newspaper texts should add another perspective on genre and medium, specific text norms and translation relations, on the textualisation of similar topics in different communication contexts, and in comparison with the findings in the other genres, they should yield useful results for aspects of “genre mixing”.

The balanced diversity of a corpus depends on a clear definition of text criteria, which permits classifying and categorising the texts. The main categories within the structure of our corpus are the genres computer instructions, (external) business communication, popular science magazine articles. There are also subcategories, which specify the various types of text within each particular genre. To make the categories as explicit as possible, several criteria for text classification have been established; they ensure the necessary degree of homogeneity and diversity within the textual material in each category. How the criteria are realised determines to which genre category and subcategory each text sample belong. The text criteria are the realisations of the following aspects: Is the text published? What is the text’s topic? Who is the author? Who is the translator? Are there several authors/translators, identifiably different parts by different authors/translators? Are we dealing with a cooperative production, or one by a collective (written by an institutionalised collective (e.g. “the board of executives”)), or a mixture of the above (e.g. author = translator)? Is the authorhood not known/not knowable? What do we know about the text constitution: Does the text exist on its own or is it part of a larger whole (e.g. article in a magazine; paragraph in a report; chapter in a book)? What do we know about the medium of publication: print on paper (e.g. book, magazine, newspaper, brochure etc.) or electronic text (e.g. hypertexts from CD-ROM, internet, online)?

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3 The corpus exists (almost) exclusively of published texts, because we assume that it is likely that every text that is edited and published complies to specific, universally acknowledged standards of text production (with regard to register, vocabulary, style, topic etc.) in the genre.
The texts are checked for their realisation of the criteria, classified and grouped according to grouping parameters (s. below) within the corresponding part of the corpus.

The corpus consists of three parts: the Primary Corpus, the Parallel Corpus, and the Validation Corpus. The number of texts totals at present approx. 550 comprising about 800,000 words. The grouping parameters are the following: original text or translation, synchronic or diachronic, language of the text, language of the original text, which language versions, full text or truncated version, core or monitor corpus.

The texts are scanned, transcribed, formatted and segmented according to orthographic utterance units (sentences, paragraphs, titles and subtitles need to be recognisable). This kind of preparation takes account of our mode of analysis which is at the moment predominantly a qualitative, in-depth case study approach. The corpus is at present largely unencoded. Accordingly, the corpus is not a computer corpus in the usual sense. We work primarily on standardised printed versions of texts and all texts must be continuously available in their original form(at), so that we are able to include significant layout (illustrations, tables etc.) in the analyses.

In the current investigations the newspaper texts have only a separate but comparable relation to the other three genres and therefore form a subcorpus partitioned from the rest of the corpus.

In order to guarantee comparability across genres, we have generalised from text-external and text-internal characteristics a textual stretch functioning as an introduction (a kind of “scene setter”) for what follows in the body of the text. In all three genres we have found all kinds of “introductory remarks”, “prefaces”, “opening paragraphs”, “editorials” and “letters to shareholders”, “visions”, and “mission statements” for the business texts in particular.

The corpus is used to identify language specific, typologically-based text norms and conventions for the genres that may be idiosyncratic for the different cultures involved. Furthermore, the analyses of parallel texts will help answer the question of whether Anglo-American text norms and conventions are found in texts that are not translated. This would mean that certain non-Anglo-American text types are for some reason, from their inception, realised along Anglo-American models of text production. The Validation Corpus holds translations from the same three genres into the ‘opposite direction’.

Additionally, we have collated an extensive collection of background documents for all three parts of the corpus (e.g. text documents pertaining to text production, language policy, etc.) and we have conducted some twenty narrative interviews with translators, editors, writers and other persons involved in the text production.

In the course of our research, qualitative case studies, which we have initially conducted, are complemented by quantitative diachronic analyses.

2. Brief Sketch of our qualitative analytic procedure

The project’s analytic procedure follows House’s (1977/1981; 1997) translation model in which translation is considered as a cross-linguistic cultural practice involving recon-textualisation. The model is primarily based on the Hallidayan systemic-functional theory
(Halliday 1994), but it also relates to Prague functional stylistics, speech act theory and discourse analysis.

Following Halliday, but dismissing his textual function as belonging to a different level of analysis, House distinguishes two basic functional components which are co-present in every text: the ideational and the interpersonal functional components. These two components are to be kept equivalent in translation, or rather in one particular type of translation (s. below). An application of House’s translation model allows one to determine these two components. By means of the different dimensions of the model a text can be analysed in terms of Language, Register and Genre (House 1977; 1997) which are interrelated as follows:

The relationship between these levels can be seen in terms of semiotic planes which relate to one another in a Hjelmslevian content-expression way, with Genre being the content-plane of Register and Register being the expression plane of Genre. Register in turn is the content plane of Language, and Language is the expression plane of Register.

In her model, the present author implements the trinity of the Hallidayan dimensions Field, Tenor and Mode, such that they serve as superordinated features. Field is taken to refer to the nature of the social action in the text; it captures the field of activity, the content of the text and its degree of generality and specificity. Tenor refers to the participants, i.e., the author and his personal stance vis-à-vis the content as well as the relationship between author and addressees in terms of social power, distance and affect. Mode captures the degrees of “spokenness” and “writtenness” (orality and literality), and the text’s texture or the ‘make-up’ of the text. With the characteristics drawn from the three contextual parameters Genre can be defined. It is a socially established category characterised in terms of occurrence of use, source and a communicative purpose or any combination of these. Genre links a single text to a class of texts united by a common communicative purpose. It reflects language users’ shared knowledge about the nature of texts of the same kind; taking account of both text producer and recipients: “When a speaker employs a genre, expectations are created both in the speaker and in the audience” (Gill and Whedbee 1997).

The parameters Field, Tenor and Mode are used to “open up” the “frozen” text such that its textual profile which characterises its function can be revealed. The application of the model allows one to reveal similarities and differences of the original text and its translation, i.e., the claim is that in-depth analysis and comparison of linguistic realisations in specific contexts provide a better understanding of certain phenomena that appear in concrete cases of textualisation.

In the House model a crucial distinction is made between two types of translation: overt and covert translation. For this project it is only covert translation which is relevant. It is a translation that is made to appear as a second original. The translation is covert because it is not marked pragmatically as a translation at all, but may, conceivably, have been created in its own right. The translator creates an equivalent speech event, i.e., she reproduces the function the original has within its cultural and linguistic context. The original is not particularly tied to the target culture; it is thus not culture-specific but rather of potentially equal concern for members of different cultures. An original and its covert translation are “universal” in the sense that they differ only ‘accidentally’ in their respective languages.

To achieve functional equivalence, changes on the level of Language/Text and Register must be undertaken. By means of a so-called “cultural filter” – a construct designed to capture
cultural differences in *habitus* – the text is adapted to the target language and culture. Source culture specific expectation norms, textual conventions and communicative preferences evident in the source text are “filtered” with a view to make them compatible with target textual norms, in order to create a new discourse world in the medium of the target language. If he wants to use the cultural filter adequately, the translator must view the source text ‘with the eyes’ of the target text reader, taking cultural presuppositions in the two language communities into account, and these presuppositions are linked most frequently to the interpersonal functional component for which values along the dimensions of Tenor and Mode are particularly important.

If the interpersonal functional component in the source text is strongly marked, an application of the cultural filter becomes even more significant. Cultural filtering requires reliable information about language – that is, culture-specific textual communicative preferences within the respective language community. This kind of information can be drawn from contrastive pragmatic discourse analyses as provided for the language pair German-English by Clyne (1987) and House. 4 The results of these contrastive discourse analyses point to different communicative preferences which can, according to House (1996) be displayed along the following dimensions: English speakers were found to give preference to an interpersonal orientation, to implicitness, indirectness and the use of verbal routines whereas German speakers show a tendency towards a more pronounced content-orientation, explicitness, directness and the use of ad-hoc formulations. Referring to the Hallidayan metafunctions of language – the ideational and the interpersonal function – there seems to be a tendency in German speakers to emphasise the ideational function of language in discourse whereas English speakers give equal weight to the interpersonal function in discourse. These communicative preferences observed in English and German speakers should, of course, not be considered as in any way stable or fixed end points of a clear-cut dichotomy, rather, they should be seen as tendencies on a broad continuum – always subject to changes in time.

Initially we have followed a case study approach which involves in-depth analysis and comparison of textual exemplars, i.e. English source texts and German translations as well as pairs of parallel texts. In our analysis we start from House’s translation model (House 1977; 1997) which is based on Hallidayan systemic-functional theory (Halliday 1994), register linguistics (e.g. Biber 1988; Biber and Finegan 1993), and discourse analysis (e.g. Edmondson and House 1981), but, as our analytic work progresses, we have come to realise the advantage of handling the categorical scheme provided in this model in a more flexible, “open” manner integrating new insights and descriptive tools.

The analyses by means of House’s model proceed in two steps: First, the English original is analysed along the dimensions Field, Tenor and Mode as described above. On the basis of findings on the lexical, the syntactic and the textual level, a text-profile is set up which reflects the individual textual function. Secondly, the translated text is analysed along the same dimensions and at the same level of delicacy. Thirdly, a comparison of source and translation texts is undertaken, and it is established exactly how the two texts are similar and/or different, given differing linguistic and cultural constraints.

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3. Qualitative analyses of English-German translations in two genres

In the following description of our analyses, only the analyses of popular science and economic texts will be described.

3.1 Popular science texts

The English original popular science texts were mostly taken from the popular scientific magazine *Scientific American* on the topic of AIDS. This topic was chosen because it lent itself to cooperation with other project work on the nature of community interpreting in hospitals inside the Research Centre on Multilingualism at the University of Hamburg. All the texts analysed can be characterised by the use of scientific everyday language. (“Alltägliche Wissenschaftssprache”). Addressees are interested lay readers. Specialised lexis is absent or, if present at all, it is made accessible to the reader by definitions, explanations and comments.

As opposed to the English popular science originals, the German translations of these texts, which appeared in the German satellite publication *Spektrum der Wissenschaft* are characterised by a generally higher level of technical, specialised language, i.e., more medical terminology is used, more loan words from English and more calques are to be found in these texts. While many of the terms when used in the environment of an English text, are part and parcel of everyday colloquial registers, they definitely belong to a language for specific purposes, a specialised scientific jargon in the environment of a German text: they are “foreign” terms, which “lift” the text up into a more formal register.

As opposed to the English original texts, the German translations are generally more explicit, in the sense that they either simply explain certain terms or give its etymological derivation ((1) below), or “unpack” informational content, elaborate on it, give more precise temporal, local or circumstantial details ((2) below), or even provide, on the basis of the information given, interpretations for the reader ((3) below). (Backtranslations (BT) have been added to make the German translations also accessible to readers who do not understand German).


Most vaccines activate what is called the humoral arm of the immune system.

> Die meisten Vakzine aktivieren den sogenannten humoralen Arm des Immunsystems (nach lateinisch *humor*, Flüssigkeit) (BT: Most vaccines activate the so-called humoral arm of the immune system (after Latin humor, liquid.)


Groundbreaking work that began more than a quarter of a century ago has led to ongoing insights about brain organisation and consciousness.

> Jahrzehntelange Studien an Patienten mit chirurgisch getrennten Großhirnhälften haben das Verständnis für den funktionellen Aufbau des Gehirns und das Wesen des Bewußtseins vertieft. (BT: Decade-long studies on patients with surgically separated brain hemispheres have deepened the understanding of the functional organisation of the brain and the essence of consciousness.)

Treatment may reduce the chance of contracting HIV infection after a risky encounter. Eine sofortige Behandlung nach Kontakt mit einer Ansteckungsquelle verringert unter Umständen die Gefahr, dass sich das Human-Immunschwäche-Virus im Körper festsetzt. Gewähr gibt es keine, zudem erwachsen eigene Risiken. (BT: An immediate treatment after contact reduces under certain circumstances the danger that the human immuno-deficiency-virus establishes itself in the body. There is no guarantee for this, moreover new risks arise.)

Through such explicitations and additionally given information as in the data above, especially in the sublines of the German texts, a certain “didactic tenor” is achieved in the German texts, i.e., the text producer may have assumed a lack of knowledge on the part of the reader, a situation in need of being remedied by the text producer. The result of these didactic interventions is of course that readers are spared inferencing processes.

Another striking feature of difference in the English and German texts is the following: In the English texts, the addressees are frequently personally involved; they are "invited" to identify with the persons depicted inside and outside the discourse world created by the text. In the initial paragraphs in the English texts, the addressees are "drawn into text", as it were. Compare (4):


I
1 Suppose you are a doctor in an emergency room
2 and a patient tells you she was raped two hours earlier.
3 She is afraid she may have been exposed to HIV, the virus that causes AIDS
4 but has heard that there is a "morning-after pill" to prevent HIV infection.

II
1 Can you in fact do anything to block the virus
2 from replicating and establishing infection?

I In der Notfallaufnahme eines Krankenhauses berichtet eine Patientin
2 sie sei vor zwei Stunden vergewaltigt worden
3 und nun in Sorge, dem AIDS-Erreger ausgesetzt zu sein,
4 sie habe aber gehört, es gebe eine "Pille danach",
5 die eine HIV-Infektion verhüte.
6 Kann der Arzt überhaupt irgendetwas tun,
7 was eventuell vorhandene Viren hindern würde,
8 sich zu vermehren und sich dauerhaft im Körper einzunisten?

(BT: In the emergency room of a hospital a patient reports that she had been raped two hours ago and was now worrying that she had been exposed to the AIDS-Virus. She said she had heard that there was an "After-Pill", which might prevent an HIV-infection. Can the doctor in fact do anything which might prevent potentially existing viruses from replicating and establishing themselves permanently in the body?).

Many of the English texts we have investigated feature “mental processes” (in the Hallidayan sense) such as can be seen in the initial paragraph in (4), and through the presence of these mental processes a concrete and personal relationship with the reader is established. But it is not only through such processes set up in the verb phrase to characterise the actions, states and/or events depicted in the text that the theme of the text – its Field – is brought “close” to the addressees in a simple and comprehensible fashion. Addressee involvement is also achieved by the use of other linguistic mechanisms such as mood switches to simulate...
interactions between text producer and addressees. Here the reader is provided with an insight into the actions undertaken by persons involved in institutionalised research – often identical with the text producers themselves – and their various institutionally determined actions. Further, potentially neutral, predominantly information-giving reports are often dramatised in the English texts through parenthetical commentaries and expansions of individual statements which simulate self-reflection on the part of the author as well as questions put to readers designed to elicit (internal) agreement and/or criticism. As opposed to the English originals, the German texts lack equivalent “mental processes”. They only feature relational and material processes in different distributions. Due to the lack of mental processes, the addressees are not drawn into the text in the same way that the addressees of the English originals are. There is thus no offer of identification made to the German addressees. First and second person pronouns are substituted by third person pronouns with the result that one does not find the sort of attempt to simulate a dialogue between author and addressees in the German texts, which seemed to be one of the main characteristics of the English popular science texts examined.

Further, the English popular science texts in our corpus are micro- and macro-structurally strongly cohesive. This cohesion is achieved through massive lexical repetition, structural parallelism and condensed, hierarchically organised presentation of information in the form of grammatical metaphors. Frequently, linguistic routines and metaphorical (figurative) phrases are employed.

The German popular science texts examined tend to be syntactically more complex than the equivalent English ones. This complexity seems to result from the presence of often highly complex left branching pre-nominal modification. On the textual level, it is noticeable that rhetorical mechanisms such as structural and lexical parallelism are almost totally absent in the German texts, which means that cohesion in the German texts is less globally, less macro-structurally organised, i.e., ranging less widely across the text, pulling stretches of text less forcefully together. Rather, the German texts tend to be more narrowly “micro-organised”, which is an outcome of the fact that it is frequently the case that longer English sentences are often split up into several shorter ones, which are then linked together through prepositions, adverbs or conjunctions.

Taken together, phenomena found to characterise those German texts analysed so far seem to reflect (and produce) a reduced emotional engagement on the part of the text producer, a less persuasive attitude and a reduced conviction on the part of the text producer that the AIDS Research will be successful. The lexis used is generally more “neutral”, connotations being less “emotive”, there are fewer intensifiers, and many lexical items can be said to carry negative connotations. Since the participants (depicted) in the text are by and large “suppressed” as far as possible, orientation towards persons is reduced in favour of orientation towards institutions, things, concepts, abstract phenomena. Active clauses are often passivised, and thus made more static, more de-personalised, more de-agentised. Readers are never directly and rarely indirectly involved in the discourse world set up by the text.

3.2 Economic texts
The English original economic texts analysed comprise “missions” and “visions”, i.e., self-presentations and philosophies presented by multinational firms as well as letters to shareholders emanating from multinational companies such as Unilever, Johnson and
Johnson, Procter and Gamble, Archer Daniel Midland (In the data reproduced below all names are anonymised). The economic texts were all found to exhibit a simple colloquial style with very few specialised economic terminology consistently used. This might be taken as an indication of the fact that specialist expert knowledge in the area of economics and business administration is not presupposed. Some of the texts we examined can further be characterised by a preponderance of routinised lexical phrases reminiscent of advertisements. Lexical items often carry positive connotations, they frequently appear in comparative and superlative forms and there is also a multitude of intensifying adjectives and adverbs. The text producer’s stance in all English texts examined is reflected in an optimistic, consistently positive, often enthusiastic self-presentation as well as a quasi “religious” missionising and openly persuasive attitude, which in its emotiveness is reminiscent of advertisements, public relations statements as well as sermons. Addressee orientation and the intended identification of the addressees with “their” company are realised through involvement via a heavy use of personal deixis (e.g. inclusive we-pronouns). Consider example (5):

(5) Multisyn Vision 2000

1 Connected Creativity
   1 I want to be part of a company where I am challenged to:
   2 -Have fun creating new ideas that improve our performance in the market
   3 -Obsessively search for new ideas, by observing, listening and learning from everyone

Connected Creativity
   1 Ich will Teil eines Unternehmens sein, das mich herausfordert:
   2 -Mit Spaß neue Ideen zu kreieren, die unsere Performance am Markt verbessern
   3 -Intensive neue Ideen zu suchen durch beobachten, zuhören und lernen von jedem
   (BT: I want to be part of a company which challenges me:
   -with fun to create new ideas, which improve our performance in the market
   -to look for intensive new ideas through observing, listening and learning from everyone.)

II

Single-minded passion for winning
   1 I want to be part of a company where I am challenged to:
   2 -Have unrelentingly high expectations of myself and others
   3 -Say “No” to anything that is not clearly aligned with the winning strategy

Single Minded Passion for Winning
   1 Ich will Teil eines Unternehmens sein, das mich herausfordert:
   2 -Hohe Erwartungen an mich und andere zu stellen
   3 -”Nein” zu sagen, zu allem, was nicht klar mit der Gewinnenwollen-Strategie verbunden ist
   (BT: I want to be part of a company which challenges me to
   -put high expectations onto me and others
   -say “No” to everything that is not clearly connected with the Want-to-win Strategy.)

Interestingly, the paragraph headings in the German translation are not translated, as though the translator resisted translating clauses such as these. In general, the German text is more “toned-down” in its choice of adjectives and adverbs such as “obsessively” (I,3) and “unrelentingly” (II, 2) are “filtered” into “Intensive” (intensive) or left untranslated in the German text. There is also a difference in forcefulness between “Winning strategy” (II,3) and “Gewinnenwollen-Strategie” (Want-to-Win-Strategie), and in I,2 “Have fun creating new ideas” is much stronger in terms of enjoyment and pleasure than “mit Spass neue Ideen kreieren” (with fun create new ideas). Consider also the skilful avoidance in the English original of the agency of the company in I,1 “where I am challenged”, which avoids the connotation of influencing or even manipulating individuals. In the German text, the company is agentively involved in doing the challenging: “das mich herausfordert” (which challenges
To summarize the findings of our qualitative studies so far, we can say that none of our hypotheses has been confirmed. However, analyses of most recent popular science and economic texts do in fact point to a shift in the use of those linguistic means which realise the interpersonal functional component, in particular linguistic means of expressing “stance” (Biber et al. 1999), “subjectivity” and “point of view” (Smith 2002a,b) as well as addressee orientation (Nuyts 2001). In other words it may well be that we are at a stage of transition, since there are some few first signs of adaptation processes of German textual norms to Anglo-American norms in these two genres. For instance, in the most recent letters to shareholders we discovered a tendency towards imitating the Anglo-American originals in terms of integrating narrative elements into the German texts instead of simply reporting, as used to be the case in this genre. We may therefore be faced with a new type of “genre-mixing” in these newest translations (cf. Böttger and Probst 2001). And in the most recent popular science texts, too, we discovered a move away from the usual strict “scientificness” of the German texts, towards more “info-tainment”, and “edu-tainment” textual profiles. The German popular science texts may thus be in a process of becoming altogether more person-oriented, i.e., more similar to comparable English texts in terms of stance and addressee involvement. Genre-mixing now also creeps into the most recent German popular science texts, i.e., they show linguistic elements of journalistic texts and advertisements, for instance, by the consistent presence of personal deixis, the simulation of an interaction between author and reader, mood switches, and particular ways of framing the text. In the individual texts this greater rapprochement to Anglophone textual norms is thus expressed in a stronger presence of the interpersonal functional component, which we try to capture via the phenomena “subjectivity” and “addressee orientation”. In the model of analysis, subjectivity and addressee orientation are examined under the dimension Tenor and its subcategories Stance (cognitive and affective attitude of the writer towards the propositional content he describes) and Social Role Relationship, Social Attitude und Participation respectively. In order to come to grips with and be able to operationalize the fuzzy concepts subjectivity and addressee orientation, these concepts need to be clarified.

The concept “subjectivity” goes back to Benveniste (1958). He defines it as a speaker’s ability to represent and constitute himself in and through language as a “subject”. Following Benveniste, a host of attempts to further delineate the concept of subjectivity followed such as e.g. most prominently by Lyons (1977) and Conrad & Biber (2001). Conrad und Biber relate subjectivity to Stance and distinguish two main categories of “stance”: “epistemic” and “attitudinal stance”, with “epistemic stance” relating to the speaker’s assessment of the truth of the proposition as well as limitations and modifications of the meaning and validity of the proposition, and “attitudinal stance” referring to the author’s personal attitude, his value judgements and expectations. Hunston & Thompson (2001) examine subjectivity under the superordinate category of “evaluation” subsuming under it “stance” and “viewpoint” vis-à-vis the proposition. According to Smith (2002a,b, 2003) subjectivity can be subdivided into two classes (1) “point of view” (linguistic units expressing a way of looking at things) and (2) “perspective” (‘perspectivising’ utterances that present a situation or state of affairs from a certain standpoint). A concept related to subjectivity is “emotivity” – originally used by Marty (1908/1976) and taken up later by Janney (1996) and Bublitz (2003) as “emotive prosody”. Subjectivity can be said to relate to the function which certain linguistic means have when it comes to convince or influence hearers (Bublitz 1978; Smith 2003; Nuyts 2001).
Similar labels that are common in the literature are Stance (Biber 2004), Epistemic Modality (Salkie 2002; Facchinetti et al. 2003), Emotive Prosody (Bublitz 2003), Evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols 1986), Evaluation (Hunston & Thompson 2001), Metadiscourse (Le 2004, Hyland 1998, Hyland & Tse 2004), as well as “politeness in text” (House 1998, 2005).

Over and above the fact that “stance”, “point of view”, “perspective” und “emotivity” express an author’s subjectivity in a text, all these notions have at the same time an intersubjective and interactive function: apart from those linguistic means with which the addressees are obviously directly involved (hearer deixis, interrogative and imperative moods as well as metacommunicative frames), speakers also use these linguistic means associated with these categories to orient and guide the hearer’s interpretation of the proposition. (s. already House 1977 following Halliday where the Bühlerian functions of Ausdruck and Appell are conflated for analytical purposes in the so-called interpersonal functional component of language).

4. Diachronic qualitative analyses

For the genre popular science we conducted contrastive analyses of introductory paragraphs comparing English originals, German translations and German original texts from the two time frames 1978-1982 and 1999-2002. Differences were found in the following areas:

1. Description of Content: As opposed to the newer German translations, the older ones in the time frame 1978-1982 are more explicitly structured due to the use of temporal adverbials, conditional and causal conjunctions, advance organizers (lists) and specialist terminology with fine granularity.

2. Personalising Science: Older English texts as opposed to their German translations employ more sentence adverbials and complement constructions, with which a speaker comments the truth condition of the ensuing proposition. They feature more evaluative and persuasive lexical items (e.g. superlatives) and more process-oriented verbs (as opposed to nominalisations which in the German translations account for an impression of reification, termination and staticness) expressing human agents in the surface structure, particular though using personal deixis, thus creating a connection between research and the persons doing research (as opposed to the content-orientedness through lack of deictic markers and an orientation towards institutions instead of persons in German). Further, older English texts contain lexical and syntactic parallelism through repetitions which makes for a more implicit presentation of information as opposed to the explicitising commentaries in German.

These differences between the older English texts and their German translations were found to be much less marked in the second time frame 1999-2002. Rather we find in German an increase in the use of linguistic means with which the text producer directly involves the addressees in the actions described in the text, which is achieved by mentioning not only the research and its results but also the human beings carrying it out or being affected by it, which invite identification with them by the readers. This form of addressee-orientation is realized with the following linguistic means: presence of human agents, speaker-hearer deixis and material and mental processes (in Halliday’s sense) in combination with human agents, often the addressees themselves; simulated interaction between author and addressees including mood switches; colloquial lexis, use of modal words, particles and adverbials.
A rather more indirect influence of English can be detected in the increased use of additional modalising elements such as adverbials and particles accompanying modal verb in places where in the English original text only a modal verb appears. By using these additional modalising elements, forms of “orality” and simulated interaction are also inserted into the written text, serving simultaneously the expression of stance and addressee involvement. Similarly, adopting the use of co-ordinating conjunction in sentence-initial position add to the interpersonal nature of the German texts and their level of subjectivity and addressee orientation.

3. **Explicitation**: In the older German translations we find explicitations particularly on a meta-level (Hyland 1998; Hyland & Tse 2004) via text commenting devices with which the author verbalizes his procedure in producing his text. (“Es muss an dieser Stelle betont werden”) thus inscribing himself in the text as well as via explanations (“so nennt man”). Such commentaries and explanations often, as mentioned above, have a didactic function. In the newer German translations the addressees’ knowledge is usually presupposed. However, concerning simple additional information, even the newer German texts keep them up in the form of parentheses, semantic expansions through relative clauses and the verbalisation of larger semantically connected content, i.e. as before German translated texts are systematically enriched with additional details which addressees of the English texts must infer.

In the genre **Economic Texts**, we also detected a number of differences in the realisation of various linguistic phenomena. Before I describe these, some preliminary remarks are necessary: Increasing difficulties with finding translations of corporate statements (missions, visions) and letters to shareholders from English into German, French or Spanish are a result of the fact that there are no translations of texts in these genres done any longer, i.e., the original English text is used instead of a translation. This means of course that the dominance of English as a *lingua franca* in international (financial) business communication has strongly increased. This trend as well as the above findings of our qualitative analyses with respect to a takeover of Anglo-American text conventions in German translations and an orientation to Anglo-American text patterns in German monolingual texts were also confirmed by our interviews with representatives of translation firms, authors of guides to annual report writing in different business contexts and authors of a scientific studies on the communicative quality of letters to shareholders.

The linguistic expression of subjectivity and addressee orientation in letters to shareholders has been investigated in some detail by Böttger (2002, forthcoming). She conducted first of all comparative analyses of monolingual German letters to shareholders in the time frames 1999-2000 und 2001-2002. These times frames are obviously much more closely together than it is the case with the popular science texts. This can be justified by the fact that data access in this field is much more difficult. Still, to operate with such a small temporal passage can be justified, because during that time major changes occurred in international financial accounting practices such that we have here a genuine before and after situation.

In brief, Böttger found that changes over time occurred with respect to the following phenomena related to subjectivity and addressee orientation:

**Mood**: In the newer letters to shareholders we find increased use of interrogatives and imperatives instead of the previously exclusively used declaratives – the effect is a simulated interaction between author and addressee (Thompson 2001). Particularly striking in
texts from the time frame 2001-2002 is the linkage of an imperative with direct address of the addressees, not only – as before – as opening address, but also in conjunction with certain speech acts such as requests, warning, threat, announcements.

**Modality:** Modal verbs expressing a writer’s evaluation are now preferably used in the final paragraph of a letter to shareholder functioning inside announcements of further action. (Böttger & Bührig 2003).

**Narrative Sequences:** Narrative sequences in texts in which addressees are to be drawn into the author’s imaginary space are used with much greater frequency in the newer texts. They replace reporting and describing sequences. (Böttger & Probst 2001).

The ensuing comparative analyses of English letters to shareholders and their German translations showed that the German translations underwent in the same time frame changes similar to those in the German monolingual (comparable) German texts. This variation was found to be due to the norms of the English original texts. Taken together, the analyses of English original, German translated and comparable non-translated German letters to shareholders revealed that with regard to mood, modality and narrative sequences an adaptation to Anglo-American conventions was noticeable, with the variation observed in the translations being generally more marked than those occurring in the monolingual German comparable texts.

**5. Validating qualitative analyses**

Our investigation of translations from English into French and Spanish served to validate our analyses of the translation direction English-German. The analyses of French translations of popular science texts revealed the following with respect to subjectivity-related choice of lexis, deixis, cohesive markers and narrative sequences:

In the French translations of popular science texts, subjectivity is expressed linguistically less frequently than is the case in English and German such that the expression of the speaker’s personal involvement recedes into the background. This seems to be due to the following phenomena: reduction of emotive and evaluative lexis (particularly superlatives and elatives); fewer particles and colloquial forms; preference of metaphorical instead of congruent constructions, of written and literal instead of figurative forms, shifting of the perspective from author to a third person.

The lack of direct involvement of addressees can be seen in the following: lack of mental processes and hearer deixis; no offer to the reader of identification through verbalisation of human agents; absence of narrative frames, lack of structural parallelism (and thus rhetorical effectiveness) through discontinuing chains of identical sentence initial forms. The French translations also do not copy series of paratactic construction in the English originals which simulate orality, rather they employ a more complex syntax complete with pronouns and conjunctions and strong sentence internal cohesion all of which result in a more written style. Further, the use of narrative frames and co-ordinating conjunctions for macro-syntactic connectivity, which was found in the German translations as an indication of an adaptation to Anglophone textual norms, was not found in the French translations.

The analyses of Spanish translations of economic texts in comparison with their English originals yielded the following results with respect to the phenomena mood, modality,
information structure, narrative sequences and choice of lexis: We found that sentences with active constructions are often transformed into those with a passive construction. The paratactic structures favoured in the English originals are often transformed into hypotactic structures with which the author presents a hierarchic arrangement of the content he wishes to portray and at the same time explicitizes it. Narrative sequences occur less frequently in the Spanish translations than in their English originals, and often lexical items with strong positive connotations are not equivalently rendered in the Spanish translations. Further, the Spanish translations show a higher degree of formality in addressing readers and in the general choice of lexis.

In sum, the German translations tend to be much closer to their English originals than the French and Spanish ones with regard to subjectivity and addressee orientation. So we did not confirm an equivalent influence of English norms on native French and Spanish norms.

6. Quantitative Diachronic Analyses

Our quantitative analyses serve first of all to verify the results of the qualitative analyses with regard to the diachronic development of the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic means. Secondly they are designed to reveal preferred usage of each individual form with respect to collocations and co-occurrence as well as their syntactic and textual position vis-à-vis the organisation of information. The linguistic forms and phenomena which were found in our qualitative analysis to express subjectivity and addressee orientation in English and German are as mentioned above: modal verbs, semi-modals, modal words, particles, mental processes, deixis, connective particles, sentence adverbials, ing-adverbials, progressive aspect, sentential mood, complement constructions, frame-constructions, commenting parentheses, and valuative lexis. We are presently examining their distribution and frequency in comparative diachronic analyses.

As a first step in our quantitative analyses we have examined the occurrence of linguistic forms separately in the three data sets (original, translation, comparative monolingual texts). This means that we cannot yet tell whether e.g. a personal pronoun in the original was actually rendered via a corresponding personal pronoun in the translation. This would require an examination of the translation relation, the prerequisite of which is an alignment of translation units executed semi-automatically. The data basis for the diachronic-quantitative investigations of texts in the genre popular science consists of about 500 000 words, divided into the following subcorpora:

1. English monolingual texts from the years 1999-2002 (122866 words).
2. The German translations of these English texts (113420 words).
3. German monolingual texts from the years 1999-2002 (100648 words).
5. The German translations of these English texts (37830 words).
6. German monolingual texts from the years 1978-1982 (82480 words).

The quantitative investigation is based on several concordance programs that operate semi-automatically. In the case of phenomena which do not belong to a closed class (e.g. verbs expressing mental processes) mental processes are isolated from the entire word list of each data set. We then conduct a concordance for each individual verb (including the lemmata). Since there are isomorphic forms in most cases (e.g. in the case of the German conjunctions
and modal particles ABER, DENN) each concordance must be manually checked, a very labour-intensive process which is however unavoidable.

The quantitative analyses conducted so far with the popular science data have by and large confirmed our qualitative analyses. In both the German translations and the comparable German texts we did find a change in the frequency of those linguistic means that contribute to the realization of subjectivity and addressee orientation that was occasioned by the presence of or contact with Anglophone text- and discourse norms, i.e., we found an increased frequency of speaker-hearer deixis, elements expressing modality, particles, and mental processes all of which express speaker attitude, construe simulated orality and interaction between author and addressee which were found to be typical of English texts in this genre (cf. Biber et al. 1999; House & Probst 2004). At the same time our results show that the use of linguistic means for creating connectivity (conjunctions, particles, pronominal adverbials) has taken a different path in the German translations and the German original texts – and that the reason for this seems to be the direct contact of the translations with English text norms and the preferred information organisation at the level of sentence and text reflected in them.

Major results of our quantitative analyses are as follows:

(1) **Deixis**: The occurrence of speaker-hearer deixis has doubled in both the German translations and the German original texts. In the case of the translations, the occurrence closely approach the one in the English originals, with the German originals showing a much lower frequency of occurrence (cf. figure 1). E stands for English originals, DÜ for German translations and D for German originals.

![Fig. 1: Speaker-Hearer-Deixis](image)

(2) **Modality**: We found that in particular particles and modal words are used more frequently in the newer translations than in the comparable German original texts. There are no formal equivalents for particles and modal word in English, so we were not able to conduct directly comparable contrastive analyses. However, the use of these elements increased considerably in the space of 25 years for both translations and original texts (see figures 2 and 3). This we take as an indication of the fact that German original texts too now tend to explicitly express modality more frequently.
(3) **Mental Processes:** There is a stronger increase in the use of mental processes in the German translations than both the English and the German original texts, and the frequency of the occurrence of mental processes in the translations is closer to their frequency in the English originals than it is vis à vis the German original texts (figure 4).

(4) **Connectivity:** Our analysis of the sentence initial coordinating UND and AND has shown that newer German translations and original texts increasingly use UND as a means of macrosyntactic coordinative linking mechanism. (Baumgarten et al. 2004; Baumgarten in press). Since in German – much more so than in English – sentence initial use of UND is stylistically marked in non-narrative texts (Weinrich 2003), German texts overcome through their increased use of sentence-initial UND prescriptive stylistic norms. Newer German
translations even surpass the English originals’ frequency of sentence initial AND. In German originals, too, we found an increased use of sentence-initial UND, though less so (figure 5).

The increase in the use of sentence initial UND leads to a more marked implicitness in the logical-semantic relationships between propositions – an implicitness which, as described above, is much more typical of English textual norms in many registers, but rather untypical of German. Such a relative loss of explicit linkage of propositions in the newer German translations is also supported by the general increase in the use of coordinating conjunctions and – in comparison to the newer German original texts – decrease in the use of connective particles. However, in the newer German originals we also find an opposite trend, i.e., fewer coordinating conjunctions as means of (macro-)syntactic linkage than in the German translations and a strong increase in the frequency of connective particles. The same also applies to the use of pronominal adverbials (Rehbein 1995) acting as macro-syntactic connectives. Pronominal adverbials (DAZU; DAFÜR etc) are used quite frequently in the earlier German translations to indicate a hierarchical arrangement of information and to produce cohesion between propositions, with the logical-semantic relation between the propositions they link being made explicit. The use of pronominal adverbials increases in the German originals whereas it all but remains constant in the German translations (figure 6).

Fig. 5: AND/UND

Fig. 6: Pronominal Adverbials

(5) Information Organisation: The influence of English communicative preferences on German ones can not only be related to a change in the frequency of the use of linguistic means, as e.g. in the case of the use of sentence-initial AND/UND, but also to changes in their use with reference to their position in sentence and text, co-occurrences and collocations.
In general, we have observed two phenomena, which can be interpreted as either separate developments or two different phases of a single development: Firstly a separation of the text norms of the German translations from the norms of German original texts and their simultaneous adaptation to English norms (cf. the development of pronominal adverbials as macro-syntactic connectors and connective particles). Secondly, a differentially fast development of textual norms in German translations and originals such that German original texts are basically on the same path of adopting Anglophone textual norms, but they do this more slowly. (cf. speaker-hearer deixis, particles, modal words and the coordinating conjunction UND as macro-syntactic connective) (Baumgarten in press).

The main trend however is that certain parts of the German language system when in contact with the English language seem to be in a process of change. These parts are linguistic means belonging to the functional categories of conjunction, pronouns, and particles, whose frequency and distribution have changed in the space of 25 years (1978-2002). Therefore we can say that linguistic means of expressing modality and information organisation as realisations of subjectivity and addressee orientation in German translations and original texts change under the influence of the English language and they adapt to English conventions of textualisation. These changes do not only refer to the frequency with which individual linguistic forms occur but also and most importantly to their position and their co-occurrences. Subjectivity and addressee orientation thus appear to be inherently textual phenomena whose realisation and adaptation to Anglo-American norms seem to also have an effect on German conventions of syntactic and textual structuring.

We are presently investigating the translation relation and the contexts of use of all those linguistic items whose frequency of use had changed under the impact of the English language in English original, German translated and comparable texts. With this step the cycle from qualitative to quantitative and back to qualitative analyses is closed. This last step is very important given that our previous quantitative analysis only yielded simple frequencies of linguistic forms in the individual separate data sets, which in itself cannot tell us which linguistic form in the English original triggers which linguistic form in the translation. Investigating the translation relation puts us in a position to explain exactly which syntactic-semantic or discourse-semantic phenomena in the English original led to the use of a conjunction, a particle, a personal pronoun or pronominal adverbial in the translation, which then contributed to an increased expression of an interpersonal orientation of the text and a rather more English convention of information organisation.

Using our fully aligned corpus, we now examine in a new cycle of qualitative analyses the translation relation of all those linguistic means which our quantitative analyses have shown to be in a contact-induced process of change. Comparative analyses of the context of use in the English originals, the German translations and the German originals will then tell us whether the contexts of use are the same or not, and if they differ, exactly how they differ. We want to find out whether German translations tend to follow syntactically and textually German or Anglophone textual conventions in their employment of those linguistic means realizing subjectivity and addressee orientation and thus express German or English textual norms. The linguistic means to be investigated are the same ones we have established before as being responsible for expressing subjectivity and addressee orientation: modal verbs, semi-modals, modal words, modal particles, mental processes, deixis, connectives, sentence adverbials, ing-adverbials, progressive aspect, sentence mood, complement and frame constructions, commenting parenthesis, and evaluative lexis.
In the present project phase, we are pursuing the following modified hypothesis: Changes in German text conventions which come about through contact with English texts take place through register-specific variation of the use of certain linguistic means, which are reflected in a changed function of the text as a whole. We will need to find out which communicative effect the diagnosed changes have in the text as a whole, and whether genre contrastively, diachronically and also in the German original texts an (also statistically significant) deviation from formerly preferred structuring patterns can be found. If this were the case, and if we were able to prove that also in the German originals the vulnerable categories underwent changes in terms of the information organisation in sentence and text, this would have consequences for the theoretical modelling of language variation and language change through the process of translation as a locus of direct language contact as well as through the production of original comparable texts as a locus of indirect language contact. As early as 1978 Halliday argued for a conception of language change as a consequence of language variation (see also Thomason 2003). Language variation is here the result of communicative goals being changed on account of social factors, and this change in turn brings about a change in the relationship between speaker and hearer and the presentation of propositional content. This change is not realized by a new repertoire of linguistic means, but by a changed employment of already existing linguistic means.

To test this hypothesis we are looking at each individual occurrence of the linguistic forms that were established as vulnerable to change in its syntactic and textual context and its function in the text as a whole, using our corpus which is now annotated with Part-of-Speech Tags. The translation subcorpus is aligned on the basis of translation equivalent sentences. The texts are comparatively analysed in the following two time frames in the popular science corpus: 1978-1982, 1999-2002, and for the economic subcorpus on account of the difficulties of collecting older texts and the faster change of genre norms described above in the time frames in the following timeframes: 1993-1996 and 1999-2002. The analyses continue to follow functional approaches using the House model which is being continuously further developed in our project work. In particular, we are further differentiating our analysis along the parameter Mode, integrating pragmatically oriented work on text structuring, cohesion and connectivity (Rehbein 1999), Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann et al. 1992, Matthiessen 2004) and information organisation (Lambrecht 1994).

Concretely, the procedure we pursue is as follows: We are searching the subcorpora for each of the vulnerable individual linguistic forms. Each individual occurrence is then isolated in a textual context of at least 5 sentences before and 5 sentences after the occurrence – depending on the specific nature of the textual environment. The totality of the occurrences of each linguistic form is then subjected to detailed analyses of its syntactic and textual function with the aim of characterising and comparing the occurrence in the three subcorpora with regard to its syntactic position, co-occurrences and collocations and its function in the entire text in terms of information organisation. These new qualitative analyses are conducted using functional approaches and in particular a coding program developed on the basis of systemic-functional theory, a so-called Systemic Coder. The advantage of this procedure is that the analysed occurrences are made available in a databank. In this way we can determine from the number of the qualitatively analysed individual occurrences those structurally and functionally preferred occurrences of each linguistic form in question – and, by extension, we might be in a position to answer the important question whether language variation and change under contact-induced Anglophone influence has actually taken place and in what form it has occurred.
If our hypothesis were confirmed that changes in German text conventions which result from contact with English texts through register-specific variation in the use of certain linguistic means and changed function of the entire text, we would be able to present for the first time research findings that might introduce a new perspective on the debate about the role of English in many domains of present day life – away from the obvious lexical imports towards the more hidden changes on the level of syntax and text.

References


