# 4 ENGLISH AND GERMAN CONTRASTED

The aim of this chapter is to analyse cases in which the articles used in the German translation differ from the articles used in the English original.

The existence of such cases of difference is demonstrated by the statistical data contained in Tables 1a-b:

| ARTICLE | OCCURRENCE | % |
|---------|------------|-----|
| the | 623 | 25.4% |
| a/an | 430 | 17.6% |
| zero | 1,396 | 57.0% |
| TOTAL | 2,449 | 100% |

**Table 1a – Distribution of articles in English**

| ARTICLE | OCCURRENCE | % |
|---------|------------|-----|
| der-Form | 879 | 35.9% |
| ein-Form | 406 | 16.6% |
| zero | 1,164 | 47.5% |
| TOTAL | 2,449 | 100% |

**Table 1b – Distribution of articles in German**

Tables 1a-b illustrate how the three analysed articles (see 2.1.3) – *definite (the / der-Form), indefinite (a/an / ein-Form)* and the *zero article* – were distributed in the English original of the analysed texts and in the German translation. The following observation can be made using the data from these tables:

The frequency of occurrence of the three articles in the English original differs from their frequency in the German translation. There is a slight difference between the frequency of use of the indefinite articles in English as opposed to German. 430 indefinite articles are used in the English original compared with only 406 indefinite articles in the German translation. The difference is more remarkable as regards the uses of the definite articles. Here, the frequency ratio between the English and the German definite articles is 623 : 879, which means that the definite articles are used in the German translation more frequently than in the English

original. The frequency ratio of the English zero articles to the German ones is 1,396 : 1,164.

In summation, the frequency of occurrence of the definite article in the German translation is considerably higher than in the English original, and the frequency of the zero article considerably lower than in the original. The frequency of occurrence of the indefinite article is roughly the same in both the original and the translation.

For the sake of analysing the differences between the original and the translation manifested by Tables 1a-b, the following terminology is introduced to be used in further text:

The term *different use* will be used to refer to cases of contrastive pairs of NPs (see Chapter 3) in which the article used in the German translation differs from the article in the English original.

The term *identical use* will be used to refer to cases of contrastive pairs in which the articles used in the German translation and in the English original are the same.

The terms *different articles* and *identical articles* will be used in the same sense as defined above, respectively.

As my analysis is limited to articles, determiners other than articles (such as demonstrative and possessive pronouns in examples A1/8, A83/16, B9/11, and C54/10 below) will not be analysed.

| | |
|---|---|
| **A1/8** | our fractious, sublunary selves<br>unser störrisches, irdisches Selbst |
| **A83/16** | this elevation of art<br>diese Erhöhung der Kunst |
| **B9/11** | on her lips<br>über die Lippen |
| **C54/10** | my coat<br>den Mantel |

In Table 2 below, contrastive pairs of NPs from the corpus (i.e. English original NP + translated German NP) are divided into three groups: NPs containing articles, NPs containing determiners other than articles, and incomparable, structurally different NPs.

| GROUP | NUMBER OF NPs | OCCURRENCE (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Pairs of NPs containing articles | **2,449** | **67.4%** |
| Pairs of NPs containing determiners other than articles (DT) | 619 | 17.0% |
| Structurally different pairs of NPs (XX) | 568 | 15.6% |
| **TOTAL** | **3,636** | **100%** |

**Table 2 – Division of data from the corpus into three groups with respect to structural comparability**

NPs containing determiners other than articles (labelled DT) and structurally different NPs (labelled XX) are excluded from the analysis. The remaining 2,449 pairs of NPs containing articles will be the concern of further analysis.

The group of contrastive pairs of NPs containing articles is divided into two principal groups with regards to cases of different or identical article use. These two groups are subdivided with regards to which of the three analysed articles are used in the original NP and its translation, respectively. On account of this subdivision, nine types of *contrastive combinations* are distinguished. They are three combinations of identical article use and six combinations of different article use as illustrated in Tables 3a-b:

| | LABEL | COMBINATION |
|---|---|---|
| **1.** | **DD** | English definite article – German definite article |
| **2.** | **II** | English indefinite article – German indefinite article |
| **3.** | **ZZ** | English zero article – German zero article |

**Table 3a – Contrastive combinations of identical article use**

| | LABEL | COMBINATION |
|---|---|---|
| **1.** | **DI** | English definite article – German indefinite article |
| **2.** | **ID** | English indefinite article – German definite article |
| **3.** | **DZ** | English definite article – German zero article |

| | LABEL | EXAMPLE |
|---|---|---|
| **4.** | **ZD** | English zero article – German definite article |
| **5.** | **IZ** | English indefinite article – German zero article |
| **6.** | **ZI** | English zero article – German indefinite article |

**Table 3b – Contrastive combinations of different article use**

The individual contrastive combinations are assigned labels with which they will be referred to in further text. The letters "D", "I" and "Z" stand for the definite, the indefinite and the zero article respectively. Each short label consists of two letters. The first letter from the left refers to the article used in the English original. The second letter refers to the article used in the German translation.

Short examples of NPs from the corpus for each of the contrastive combinations are quoted in Tables 4a-b:

| | LABEL | EXAMPLE | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1.** | **DD** | **A26/2** | in **the** modern age<br>in **der** Neuzeit |
| **2.** | **II** | **B11/15** | **a** relentlessly hot day<br>**ein** gnadenlos heißer Tag |
| **3.** | **ZZ** | **A36/9** | national differences<br>nationale Unterschiede |

**Table 4a – Examples of identical article use**

| | LABEL | EXAMPLE | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **1.** | **DI** | C64/28 | **the** insane message<br>**eine** vollidiotische Nachricht |
| **2.** | **ID** | C23/15 | **an** extension of New Year's Eve<br>**die** Fortsetzung von Silvester |
| **3.** | **DZ** | A29,3/6d | **the** strenuously willed<br>angestrengt Gewolltes |
| **4.** | **ZD** | A67/4 | The idea of culture<br>Die Idee **der** Kultur |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **5.** | **IZ** | C42/30 | with **a** full beard<br>mit Vollbart |
| **6.** | **ZI** | A88/6 | In civil society<br>In **einer** Zivilgesellschaft |

**Table 4b – Examples of different article use**

Table 5 contains figures illustrating the frequency of the nine contrastive combinations in the corpus:

| LABEL | FREQUENCY | % |
|---|---|---|
| **DD** | 580 | 23.7% |
| **II** | 338 | 13.8% |
| **ZZ** | 1,079 | 44.1% |
| **TOTAL IDENTICAL USE** | **1,997** | **81.5%** |
| **DI** | 9 | 0.4% |
| **ID** | 42 | 1.7% |
| **DZ** | 34 | 1.4% |
| **ZD** | 258 | 10.5% |
| **IZ** | 50 | 2.1% |
| **ZI** | 59 | 2.4% |
| **TOTAL DIFFERENT USE** | **452** | **18.5%** |
| **TOTAL ALL** | **2,449** | **100%** |

**Table 5 - Frequency of  contrastive combinations in the corpus**

The figures in Table 5 show that identical articles are used in a large majority of cases – 1,997 cases (81.5%) out of the total amount of 2,449 contrastive pairs of NPs containing articles. The 452 recorded cases (18.5%) in which different articles are used will be the subject of further analysis.

## 4.1 USES OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN ARTICLES

There are five types of uses in which the articles in the German translation differ from the articles in the English original. They are: *qualifying use* (4.1.1), *generic use* (4.1.2), *conventional use* (4.1.3), *grammatical use* (4.1.4), and *elliptical use* (4.1.5).

**4.1.1 Qualifying use**

Brinkmann (1975, 114) in his *How to Avoid Mistakes* – a coursebook written for native speakers of German to help them learn correct English – points out that the indefinite article is used in English to refer to occupation, nationality and religion (*He is a doctor, an American, a Catholic.*) while German uses the zero article (*Er ist Arzt, Amerikaner, Katholik.*) In his *Lexikon zum Artikelgebrauch*, Grimm (1992, 173ff.) says that the zero article is used in certain predicative structures (above all with the verb *sein*) in German[1] and lists examples such as the following:

> *Diese Wörter sind **Substantive**.*
> *Sie ist **Berlinerin**.*
> *Dieses Substantiv ist **weiblichen Geschlechts**.*
> *Sie war **von außergewöhnlicher Schönheit**.*

The zero article, Grimm (ibid., 175-176) continues, is often used in subject or object complements after *als*:

> *Sie wurde **als Betreuerin** eingesetzt.*     (subject complement)
> *Man verwendet Glas auch **als Baustoff**.*     (object complement)

A number of similar constructions with the zero article can be found in grammars of German:

| | |
|---|---|
| Flämig (1991, 112ff.): | *Doris ist **Lehrerin**.* |
| | *Wir sind **gleichen Alters**.* |
| | *Die Erfindung ist **von großer Wichtigkeit**.* |
| Helbig & Buscha (1994, 539ff.): | *Hans ist **Student**.* |
| | *Das Problem ist **von Bedeutung**.* |

The *Duden Grammatik* (1998, 539ff.) calls such structures "Gleichsetzungsnominative" and treats the use of the zero article in them under the

---

[1] „Der NA (Nullartikel) wird in einigen **Prädikativkonstruktionen** (vor allem mit dem Verb *sein*) verwendet." (p. 173)

category "Sonderfall: artikellose Substantivkonstruktionen", i.e. special uses of articles. Examples from the *Duden*:

> *Er ist **Engländer.***
>
> *Sie arbeitet **als Schlosser.***
>
> *Er fühlt sich **als Frauenheld.***

Berry's (1993, 18) guide to the use of articles in English states that the indefinite article is used in English to say what someone's job or profession is. Berry also observes (ibid.) that "this is different from some European languages, which do not use the indefinite article in this situation" and explains that one has to say *He is a teacher* not *\*He is teacher*.

Dušková (1994, 74) observes that the rules for determination in English complements are practically the same as in other syntactic functions[2] and adds that occurrences of the zero article with singular countable nouns are exceptional after the verb *to turn*: *He turned traitor* or when reference is made to a class with only one member: *He was elected president* (ibid. 74-75).

The above discussed quotations from English and German grammars are important with respect to different article use. They illustrate a particular type of article use with which one can expect different articles to be used in the German translation than in the English original. A comparison of the German *Doris ist Lehrerin.* with the English *He is a teacher.* resembles the IZ combination of different article use. I am going to call such use of articles *qualifying* with reference to Hlavsa (1975, 72).

The primary function of qualifying NPs is their reference to qualities, not to specific referents. Not referring to specific referents is a feature qualifying use has in common with generic use (see 4.1.2). A common feature of both uses is interchangeability of articles (cf. 2.2.4). This means that different articles may be used in the English original and the German translation without loss in equivalence.

A number of occurrences of the IZ combination of different use found in the corpus can be explained as qualifying. Consider the example B50/21 below:

---

[2] „Determinace jmenné části přísudku a doplňku se řídí v podstatě týmiž pravidly jako determinace substantiv v jiných syntaktických funkcích." (p. 74)

| B50/21 | Oxford, in the summer haze, looked no less alien. She had never been there. Paul was **a Cambridge man**. |
| | |
| | Oxford in der Sommerhitze sah nicht minder fremd aus. Sie war nie dort gewesen. Paul war **Cambridge-Mann**. |

The NPs *a Cambridge man / Cambridge-Mann* are used as a subject complement. The English indefinite article as well as its German zero equivalent both refer to the quality of Paul being a Cambridge man. Different articles are used in the original and the translation because the article distinctions are neutralised. No specific Cambridge man is being referred to but the prototype of a quality.

The following IZ quotations also exemplify qualifying reference:

| B28/7 | She came **of a lower middle-class London family**. |
| | |
| | Sie entstammte **kleinem Londoner Mittelstand**. |
| B68/9 | She liked Paul's friends though they alarmed her. They were all very clever and much older than her and had clever wives who alarmed her even more. They treated her **with a protective bantering condescension**. |
| | |
| | Sie mochte Pauls Freunde, obwohl sie ihr beunruhigend erschienen. Sie waren alle sehr gescheit und viel älter als sie und hatten gescheite Frauen, die ihr noch beunruhigender vorkamen. Man behandelte sie **mit wohlwollender, scherzhafter Herablassung**. |
| B64/18 | The man was large and broad-shouldered, but a little gaunt and drawn in the face underneath his sunburn. He had **an open friendly expression** and a wide forehead crossed by rows of regular lines. |
| | |
| | Der Mann war groß und breitschultrig, sein Gesicht aber schien unter der Sonnenbräune ein wenig hager und angespannt. Es war **von offenem, freundlichem Ausdruck** und zeigte eine breite Stirn, die von Reihen regelmäßiger Falten durchfurcht wurde. |
| C75/38 | 'Have you noticed anything odd about your mother?' he said in a stiff, embarrassed way as he fiddled around with the oil stick, wiping it with rags and plunging it back **in a not unworrying manner** |
| | |
| | „Ist dir an deiner Mutter vielleicht irgend etwas merkwürdig vorgekommen?" fragte er steif und verlegen, als er mit dem Ölpeilstab herumfuhrwerkte, ihn mit einem Lappen abwischte und **in nicht ganz unbeschwerter Art und Weise** wieder eintauchte |

In the above quotations, qualification is signalled by the indefinite article in the English original while it is equally signalled by the zero article in the German translation. However, the German NPs contain attributively used adjectives which

take over some of the surface article functions – they signal the grammatical categories case, number and gender (see 4.1.4).

Guides to German article usage such as Grimm's *Lexikon zum Artikelgebrauch im Deutschen* (1992, 175-176) state that the zero article is, as a rule, used after the preposition *als*. This preposition has the typical meaning of ascribing a quality, which explains such a grammatical rule. *Als* always appears with qualifying NPs containing the zero article in IZ examples from the corpus such as C47/14.

**C47/14**      I'm halfway through *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*, which Jude lent me, but I didn't think Mark Darcy, though clearly odd, was ready to accept himself **as a Martian** quite yet.

Ich habe *Männer sind vom Mars, Frauen von der Venus*, das Jude mir geliehen hat, etwa zur Hälfte gelesen, nahm aber nicht an, daß Mark Darcy trotz seiner seltsamen Art sich deswegen gleich **als Marsmensch** bezeichnen würde.

German structures with *als* + a zero qualifying article may also be the equivalents of the English structure *as* + a definite qualifying article in a few DZ occurrences from the corpus. A11/3 is one of them:

**A11/3**      Nature produces culture which changes nature: it is a familiar motif of the so-called Last Comedies, which see culture **as the medium** of nature's constant self-refashioning.

Natur bringt Kultur hervor, die Natur verändert: ein bekanntes Motiv in Shakespeares sogenannten Späten Komödien, in denen Kultur **als Medium** der ständigen Selbsterneuerung der Natur erscheint.

A typical feature of qualifying articles used in the corpus is their cataphoric reference to a quality expressed by a postmodification (cf. 2.2.3). This has in fact already been exemplified by the English NP A11/3 above, which contained a cataphoric definite article. Quotation B63/13 below also exemplifies this. The English definite article in the NP is used to refer to the quality of Paul being a guest. The same function is performed by a zero article in the German translation:

**B63/13**      Paul had been in the country since July. He was working, he told her, in one of his letters which she had never answered, on some fourteenth-century manuscripts of enormous interest which belonged to an Anglican convent in Gloucestershire. He was **the guest** of a lay religious community which lived beside the convent.

Paul war seit Juli in der Provinz. Er arbeite, so schrieb er ihr in einem seiner Briefe, die sie niemals beantwortet hatte, an irgendwelchen enorm wichtigen Manuskripten aus dem 14.Jahrhundert, die einem anglikanischen Kloster in Gloucestershire gehörten. Er sei **Gast** einer religiösen Laiengemeinde, die dem Kloster nahestehe.

The following quotations contain a few more examples of qualifying NPs with the DZ combination which were recorded in the corpus:

**A37/8**    Indeed culture for Schiller is the very mechanism of what will later be called 'hegemony', moulding human subjects to the needs of a new kind of polity, remodelling them from the ground up **into the docile, moderate, high-minded, peace-loving, uncontentious, disinterested agents** of that political order.

Kultur ist denn auch für Schiller justament der Mechanismus dessen, was man später „Hegemonie" nennen wird: Sie prägt die menschlichen Subjekte nach den Bedürfnissen eines neuartigen Gemeinwesens, indem sie sie von Grund auf umformt und **zu gelehrigen, gemäßigten, hochgesinnten, friedliebenden, versöhnlichen und interesselosen Trägern** dieser neuen politischen Ordnung macht.

**B57/8**    She was amazed that Paul should notice her at all, and she passed quickly from this amazement **to the luxurious pleasure** of being able so easily to delight this subtle and sophisticated person.

Sie war verblüfft, daß Paul ihr überhaupt Beachtung schenkte, und diese Verblüffung wandelte sich rasch **in selbstgefälliges Vergnügen** darüber, daß es ihr so leicht gelungen war, diesen feinsinnigen und geistvollen Menschen zu bezaubern.

Examples A37/8 and B57/8 resemble the already quoted IZ examples such as B28/7. Like them, the NPs contain attributes which ascribe some qualities to the head nouns. Like the indefinite article used in those IZ examples, the definite articles in A37/8 and B57/8 refer cataphorically in line with the attribution towards the head noun of the NPs and signal qualification. Finally, like B28/7 and the other IZ examples, the NPs in the German translation contain declined attributive forms of adjectives.

There is good reason to suppose that the inflections added to the base forms of the German adjectives in examples such as A37/8 and B57/8 also participate in determining the NP.[3] This function of the inflection endings is more apparent in NPs in the absence of prepositions. Consider two more examples of the DZ combination:

---

[3] It has been implied that exponents of grammatical categories such as case and number function as operators of determination (Pípalová 1994, 87).

| A20/10 | The trouble begins when **the descriptive and normative aspects** of the word 'civilization' start to fly apart. |
|---|---|
| | Schwierig wird es, sobald **deskriptiver und normativer Bedeutungsaspekt** des Wortes „Zivilisation" auseinandertreten. |
| B13/17 | Their faces, if not already buried in books, reflected **the selfish glee** which had probably been on her own a moment since as she watched the crowd in the corridor. |
| | Ihre Gesichter, soweit nicht bereits in Büchern vergraben, spiegelten **genießerische Schadenfreude**, wie sie möglicherweise auch ihre eigenen Züge gezeigt hatten, als sie das Gedränge im Gang beobachtete. |

Due to the presence of a zero article in the German translation, the inflections added to the base forms of the adjectives in fact substitute the function of surface articles. They perform the role of determiners on equal terms with the definite articles used in the English original.

The following quotations exemplify the cases in which a definite article is used in the English original and an indefinite article in the German translation – the DI combination. In quotation B14/7 below, reference is made to a choice between two "evils" – the present Paul and the absent Paul, of whom the latter is qualified as the greater "evil".

| B14/7 | Dora Greenfield left her husband because she was afraid of him. She decided six months later to return to him for the same reason.The absent Paul, haunting her with letters and telephone bells and imagined footsteps on the stairs, had begun to be **the greater torment**. |
|---|---|
| | Dora Greenfield verließ ihren Gatten, weil sie sich vor ihm fürchtete. Sechs Monate später beschloß sie aus dem gleichen Grund, zu ihm zurückzukehren. Durch seine Abwesenheit war Paul, der sie mit Briefen und Telefonanrufen verfolgte und dessen Schritte sie auf der Treppe zu hören glaubte, **zu einer weit größeren Qual** geworden. |

The English NP B75/8 quoted below and its German translation are equivalent despite the fact that the English original has definite and the translation indefinite determination. Both articles signals of qualification. Dora is being qualified as *the cultivated woman / eine kultivierte Dame*.

**B75/8**      Once married and installed in the Knightsbridge flat, in the midst of Paul's unique collection of mediaeval ivories, Dora set about the business of being happy, at first with success. But as time went on, she discovered that it was not so easy as she had imagined to grow into being Paul's wife. She had been beckoned on by a vision of Dora **the cultivated woman**; but after a year of being Mrs Greenfield she was already finding her ideal too difficult and was even beginning to dislike it.

Kaum war Dora verheiratet und hatte sich in dem Knightsbridge-Appartement inmitten Pauls einmaliger Sammlung mittelalterlicher Elfenbeinschnitzereien etabliert, da nahm sie die Aufgabe in Angriff, glücklich zu werden, und zwar zunächst mit Erfolg. Allmählich jedoch dämmerte ihr, daß Paul eine gute Frau zu werden nicht so einfach wäre, wie sie sich vorgestellt hatte. Ihr schwebte zunächst noch das Bild **einer kultivierten Dame** Dora vor; nachdem sie jedoch ein Jahr lang Mrs. Greenfield gewesen war, schien ihr dieses Ideal zu kompliziert, und sie begann sogar es zu verabscheuen.

C64/28 is a final example of qualifying determination with the combination DI. The primary reference of the NP is that of qualifying the *message* as undesirable and stupid:

**C64/28**     … if he made several calls to the machine he could find the code which would let him play back and erase the message. … So now Daniel not only has **the insane message** but will think it's me who's rung his answerphone fourteen times this evening …

Wenn er den Apparat mehrmals anriefe, könne er den Code herausfinden, mit dem er das Band zurückspülen und die Nachricht löschen könne. … Jetzt hat also Daniel nicht nur **eine vollidiotische Nachricht** auf seinem Band, sondern wird auch noch denken, daß ich es war, die heute abend vierzehnmal seinen Anrufbeantworter angerufen …

In the quotations below, the use of full forms of articles in the German translation is seen as indicating that they are fully referential (cf. *Duden Grammatik* 1998, 319). They refer to qualities expressed by the premodifiers.

**B49/17**     She got up and said to **the** standing lady, "Do sit down here, please. I'm not going very far, and I'd much rather stand anyway."

Sie erhob sich und sagte **zu der** stehenden Dame: „Bitte, setzten Sie sich doch. Ich fahre nich weit und stehe sowieso viel lieber."

**C32/9**      in **the** dazzling Bank Holiday sunlight

**in das** blendende, feiertägliche Sonnenlicht

The following is a short summation of the theses presented in this subchapter:

As has been exemplified by quotations from the corpus, the characteristic features of qualifying articles is their reference to qualities expressed by premodifying (attributes) as well as postmodifying (dependent NPs or clauses) structures.

A characteristic feature of qualifying use is interchangeability of articles. As a result, several combinations of different article use have been recorded in the corpus and discussed in this subchapter.

## 4.1.2 Generic use

Generic NPs refer to whole classes of referents. They are used to generalize about all members of a particular group (cf. Lyons 1999, 179). The following example from the corpus exemplifies generic reference:

| | |
|---|---|
| **A89/6** | In civil society, **individuals** live in a state of chronic antagonism, driven by opposing interests |
| | In einer Zivilgesellschaft leben **die Individuen**, von antagonistischen Interessen getrieben, in einem Zustand chronischen Widerstreits |

The possibility of using the singular and plural with the same meaning is among the characteristic features of generic reference for Hawkins (1978, 214). Dušková (1994, 63) regards "neutralisation of the category of number" to be the test of generic reference. Such neutralisation has implications for the use of articles as is illustrated by example C53/13:

| | |
|---|---|
| **C53/13** | As my friend Tom often remarks, it's amazing how much time and money can be saved in the world of dating by close attention to detail. A white sock here, a pair of red braces there, a grey slip-on shoe, a swastika, are as often as not all one needs to tell you there's no point writing down **phone numbers** and forking out for expensive lunches because it's never going to be a runner. |
| | Wie mein Freund Tom häufig bemerkt, ist es erstaunlich, wieviel Zeit und Geld man bei der Partnersuche sparen kann, wenn man genau auf die Einzelheiten achtet. Eine weiße Socke hier, ein paar rote Hosenträger dort, ein grauer Slipper oder ein Hakenkreuz reichen meistens aus, um einem klarzumachen, daß es zwecklos ist, sich **die betreffende Telefonnummer** zu |

A zero article is used in the plural in the English original. A singular definite article is used as its German translation equivalent.

Articles are sometimes interchangeable in generalisations (see 2.2.4). This applies to NPs in English as well as German (Dušková 1994, 63; Oomen 1977, 14) and it can be illustrated on a number of examples from the corpus. Generic reference is common in Text A which may even be defined as a generic text (Oomen 1977, 124). The ZD combination of different article use is typical for this text. Consider the following two examples:

**A51/7**   Culture, or the state, are a sort of premature utopia, abolishing **struggle** at an imaginary level …

Die Kultur oder der Staat sind eine Art vorgezogener Utopie, indem sie **den Kampf** auf einer imaginären Ebene abschaffen …

**A4/11**   The more **actual civilization** appears predatory and debased, the more the idea of culture is forced into a critical attitude.

Je raubgieriger und verderbter **die tatsächliche Zivilisation** erscheint, desto mehr ist die Idee der Kultur zu einer kritischen Haltung gezwungen.

The ZD combination is also exemplified by quotations from the remaining two texts.

**B92/10**   Paul wanted children ... Dora however was alarmed at the thought of children ... Had she been able to examine her lot more dispassionately she might have felt that a child would give her an independence and a status in Paul's *entourage* which she now sadly lacked. It was in her to become a prompt and opinionated mother to whom even Paul would defer. As a child-wife she irritated him continually by the vitality for which he had married her: **motherhood** would have invested her no doubt with some more impersonal significance

Paul wünschte sich Kinder ... Dora jedoch erschreckte der Gedanke an Kinder ... Wäre sie fähig gewesen, ihre Lage mit weniger Leidenschaft zu beurteilen, sie wäre vielleicht auf den Gedanken gekommen, daß gerade ein Kind ihr die Unabhängigkeit und den festen Platz innerhalb Pauls Kosmos hätte geben können, die sie beide im Augenblick so schmerzlich vermißten. Es lag ganz bei ihr, umgehend eine energische Mutter zu werden, der selbst Paul sich beugen würde. Kindweib, das sie war, reizte sie ihn beständig durch ihre Lebenslust, um deretwillen er sie geheiratet hatte; **die Mutterschaft** hätte ihr zweifellos eine über ihre Person hinausweisende, tiefere Bedeutung verliehen

| C10/21 | 'We women are only vulnerable because we are a pioneer generation daring to refuse to compromise in love and relying on our own economic power. In twenty years' time **men** won't even dare start with fuckwittage because we will just *laugh in their faces*,' bellowed Sharon.

„Wir Frauen sind nur verletzlich, weil wir eine Generation von Pionierinnen sind, die es wagt, in der Liebe Kompromisse zu verweigern und sich auf ihre eigene wirtschaftliche Kraft zu verlassen. In zwanzig Jahren werden es **die Männer** gar nicht mehr wagen, uns mit dieser Flachwichserei zu kommen, weil wir ihnen einfach *ins Gesicht lachen* werden", tobte Sharon. |

The interchangeability of articles in generic use is recorded with several other combinations of different use in the corpus. This is exemplified by the following quotations.

Type ZI

| B74/10 | Dora however was alarmed at the thought of children. She felt in no way prepared for them; though it was typical of the paralysis which affected her dealings with Paul that she made no effort to prevent **conception**.

Dora jedoch erschreckte der Gedanke an Kinder. Sie fühlte sich einer solchen Aufgabe nicht gewachsen; doch war es typisch für die Passivität, die alle ihre Beziehungen zu Paul kennzeichnete, daß sie nichts unternahm, um **eine Empfängnis** zu verhüten. |

Type DZ

| B42+43/10 | The elated confidence which Paul's love had given her at first began to ebb. It seemed to her that Paul was urging her to grow up, and yet had left her no space to grow up into. He wanted to teach her everything himself, but lacked the time and the patience to do so. Though a natural devourer of the women's magazines and an indefatigable tester of "accessories", she did not even know how to dress herself any more. She abandoned **the big skirts** and **the sandals**. But after annoying Paul with a number of mistakes, she purchased one or two safe expensive outfits, which she thought extremely dull, and then stopped buying clothes altogether.

Das überhöhte Selbstgefühl, welches Pauls Liebe zunächst in ihr geweckt hatte, begann zu schwinden. Ihr war, als drängte Paul sie, erwachsen zu werden, ohne ihr jedoch genug Raum zu lassen, sich zu entfalten. Er wollte sie alles selbst lehren, aber dazu mangelte es ihm sowohl an Zeit wie an Geduld. Obgleich die Gier nach Frauenzeitschriften ihr angeboren war und sie unermüdlich die Wirkung neckischer Winzigkeiten erprobte, verstand sie es plötzlich nicht einmal mehr, sich richtig anzuziehen. **Weite Röcke** und **Sandalen** kamen nicht mehr in Frage. Nachdem sie jedoch Paul durch eine Reihe von modischen Mißgriffen verärgert hatte, erstand sie – um sicher zu gehen – kostspielige Komplets, obgleich sie ihr ungewöhnlich langweilig erschienen, und hörte schließlich überhaupt auf, sich Kleider zu kaufen. |

**B41/17**     Dora hated pointless sacrifices. She was tired after her recent emotions and deserved **a rest**.

Dora haßte sinnlose Opfer. Die Aufregungen letzthin waren anstrengend gewesen, und sie hatte **Ruhe** verdient.

Cases of the contrastive combinations DI and ID described above with qualifying use (4.1.1) have also been recorded with generic NPs.

Type DI

**A6/13a**     In a gesture prefigurative of postmodernism, itself *inter alia* a vein of late Romantic thought, Herder proposes to pluralize the term 'culture', speaking as he does of the cultures of different situations and periods, as well as of distinct social and economic cultures **within the nation itself**.

Mit einer Gebärde, die die Postmoderne vorwegnimmt (die ihrerseits eine spätromantische Ader hat), regt Herder an, den Terminus „Kultur" im Plural zu gebrauchen: Er spricht von den Kulturen unterschiedlicher Völker und Zeiten und von einzelnen gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Kulturen **innerhalb eines Volkes**.

Type ID

**C37/14**     The trouble with working in publishing is that reading in your spare time is a bit like being **a dustman** and snuffling through the pig bin in the evening.

Für Leute aus der Verlagsbranche hat Lesen als Freizeitgestaltung etwa denselben Reiz wie das Durchwühlen der hauseigenen Abfalltonne nach Feierabend **für den Müllmann**.

As illustrated by the examples from the corpus which quoted in this subchapter, generic use allows for interchangeability of articles. Consequently, a number of cases of different article use recorded in the corpus may be explained as the result of genericity.

**4.1.3 Conventional use**

The characteristic feature of conventionally used articles is idiomaticity. The use of articles in such structures is fixed and subject to intralinguistic convention of each of

the languages compared (cf. Grimm 1983, 234). NPs with conventional articles recorded in the corpus can be divided into two principal categories: those which contain proper nouns and those which can be classified as fixed expressions.

Proper nouns which occur in the corpus include:

- names of restaurants

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **C55/19** | in Café Rouge | i**m** Café Rouge |

- names of days in the week

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **C37/39** | on Monday | a**m** Montag |

The zero article is sometimes used in certain communicative situations such as greetings and wishes (see Berry 1993, 60-61, 72; Dušková 1994, 380ff.; and Grimm 1992, 124ff.). Consider the following two examples from Text C:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **C50/10** | Happy New Year! | **Ein** gutes neues Jahr! |
| **C2/11** | Happy New Year! | **Ein** glückliches neues Jahr! |

The phrase *Happy New Year!* is used with the zero article in the English original while the indefinite article is used in the German translation. These cases are examples of the ZI type of different article use.

Different articles are used in fixed expressions. A typical feature of the fixed expressions recorded in the corpus is their adverbial function. Notice also that they very often contain the contracted article in German, which indicates conventionalisation (cf. *Duden Grammatik* 1998, 319); Helbig & Buscha 1994, 388). These fixed expressions can express:

- direction, location or state

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **A51/2** | into focus | in**s** Blickfeld |
| **A3/7** | at work | a**m** Werk |
| **A9/11** | at one | i**m** Einklang |
| **A47/11** | in thrall | i**m** Banne |
| **B39/19** | in store | in **der** Hinterhand |
| **C30/17** | in bed | i**m** Bett |
| **C30/25** | to work | an**s** Werk |
| **C42/31** | for lunch | zu**m** Mittagessen |
| **C4/41** | at dinner | bei**m** Abendessen |

- condition or manner

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **B101/13** | in case | i**m** Falle |
| **B61/21** | by bread alone | vo**m** Brot allein |

All of the above quotations exemplified the ZD combination of different article use. The inverse combination – DZ – has also occasionally occurred in the corpus:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **A36/8** | from **the** ground | von Grund auf |
| **B18/11** | from **the** start | von Anfang an |

In his *Lexikon zum Artikelgebrauch*, Grimm (1992, 158ff.) lists the following examples of adverbial structures in German which regularly appear with the zero article:

- temporal expressions:

> *Wir haben uns **vergangene Woche** getroffen.*
>
> *Der Kurs beginnt **Anfang nächster Woche / Ende dieses Monats / Mitte dieses Monats**.*

- locative expressions: *Der Zug fährt **ab Hauptbahnhof.***

- modal expressions: *Diese Figuren werden **auf traditionelle Weise** hergestellt.*

Svoboda (1987, 83) implies that it is arguable whether such structures "are noun phrases at all". "Their adverb character", Svoboda (ibid.) observes, "places them at the periphery of noun phrases." For this reason, they are frequently used with the zero article in the German translation. A surface article is usually used in the English original. Consider the following DZ quotations from the corpus which contain temporal constructions:

| | |
|---|---|
| **A12/13** | It is this sense of the word which will tentatively take root **around the mid-nineteenth century**, but which will not establish itself decisively until **the beginning** of the twentieth. |
| | Dieser Wortsinn wird **Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts** langsam Fuß fassen, sich aber erst **Anfang** des 20. Jahrhunderts fest einbürgern. |

| C26/15 | New Year's resolutions can't technically be expected to begin on New Year's Day ... Since, because it's an extension of New Year's Eve, smokers are already on a smoking roll and cannot be expected to stop abruptly **on the stroke of midnight** with so much nicotine in the system. |
|---|---|
| | rein praktisch kann man gar nicht erwarten, daß Vorsätze für das neue Jahr gleich am ersten Januar umgesetzt werden … Denn weil das nämlich die Fortsetzung von Silvester ist, sind die Raucher gerade in einer Rauchphase und können nicht einfach **Schlag Mitternacht** aufhören, wenn sie schon dermaßen viel Nikotin im Blut haben. |

The following ZD quotation exemplifies a combination which is inverse to those represented by the above DZ quotations. The zero article is used in the English original while a surface article is used in the German translation.

| B1/9 | Paul had assumed that she would wish to give up her art studies, and she had given them up with some regret. But since she was lazy, and had in any case shown few signs of talent, she was also relieved. Paul, whose courting had upset the regime of his work, now safely wed resumed his studies with the single-mindedness which Dora so much admired. **During long hours** when Paul was at the Courtauld or the British Museum Dora found time on her hands. |
|---|---|
| | Paul hatte angenommen, sie würde ihre Kunststudien abbrechen wollen, und sie hatte sie, wenn auch mit einem gewissen Bedauern, aufgegeben. Da sie aber faul war und außerdem kaum Talent besaß, fühlte sie sich gleichzeitig erleichtert. Paul, dessen Bemühungen um sie den Rhythmus seiner Arbeit unterbrochen hatten, nahm nun, da er unwiderruflich verheiratet war, seine Studien wieder mit jener Zielstrebigkeit auf, die Dora so sehr bewunderte. **Während der langen Stunden**, die er sich im Courtauld-Institut oder im Britischen Museum aufhielt, wußte sie nicht, was sie mit ihrer Zeit anfangen sollte. |

I would like to discuss one more important point concerning the cases of conventional use recorded in my corpus. With some quotations it seems as if conventional determination actually occurred in only one of the NPs in the contrastive pair. Consider these cases of the ZI combination:

| B113/12 | "Darling, come live with me and be my love **on condition** that you keep it in mind that I am the most frivolous man in the world." |
|---|---|
| | „Komm, liebe mich und bleib bei mir, **unter einer Bedingung**: vergiß nie, daß ich der frivolste Mann der Welt bin." |

| | |
|---|---|
| **C22/41** | "Is it one in three marriages that end **in divorce**, or is it one in two?" |
| | „Ist es eigentlich jede dritte Ehe, die **in einer Scheidung** endet, oder jede zweite?" |

An interpretation of the English expressions as conventional is beyond doubt. Dušková (1994, 80) includes the structure *on condition* (B113/12) in her list of "more or less fixed expressions", and the expression *in divorce* (C22/41) resembles other structures listed by Dušková (ibid., 79-81) among "special cases of determination".

The interpretation of the German structures *unter einer Bedingung* and *in einer Scheidung* as conventional is less indisputable. On the one hand, they perform an adverbial function equivalent to that performed by the English NPs. The use of a surface article makes them appear less conventional, on the other hand.

The following IZ quotation is another example of the point currently under discussion:

| | |
|---|---|
| **A3/15** | Indeed the very term 'post-colonialism' means a concern with 'Third World' societies which have already lived through their anti-colonial struggles, and which are thus unlikely to prove **an embarrassment** to those Western theorists who are fond of the underdog but distinctly more sceptical about such concepts as political revolution. |
| | Schon der Terminus «Postkolonialismus» meint das Interesse an Gesellschaften der «Dritten Welt», die ihre antikolonialen Kämpfe bereits hinter sich haben und daher jene westlichen Theoretiker kaum mehr **in Verlegenheit** bringen dürften, die zwar ein Herz für die Benachteiligten haben, doch einem Konzept wie der politischen Revolution entschieden skeptisch gegenüberstehen. |

A3/15 exemplifies a situation which is inverse to that illustrated earlier by B113/12 and C22/4. The German expression *in Verlegenheit bringen* is an idiomatic verbo-nominal construction referred to in German grammars as the *Funktionsverbgefüge*. Such structures are described as "grammaticalised" and "lexicalised" by Helbig & Buscha (1994, 80) and the use of articles in them is seen as "convetional".

To interpret the English structure *to prove an embarrassment* as "lexicalised" is impossible. In addition, it is complicated to interpret the determination of the English NP A3/15 as conventional.

A solution to this problem may be found with reference to Hlavsa (1975, 72), who implies that conventionalisation is a scalar phenomenon. Consequently,

conventionalisation may appear in various degrees on a scale ranging from the centre to periphery. NPs with conventional determination may, as a result, be understood as possessing a high/low degree of conventionalisation with respect to verbal context.

Transitional types may also exist between conventional determination and the other types of determination described in this thesis. The above discussed German NPs *unter einer Bedingung* (B113/12) and *in einer Scheidung* (C22/41), as well as a number of other NPs discussed in the present subchapter, can be regarded as examples of such transition.

Fixed expressions such as *in case / im Falle* (B101/13) will occupy a central position on the scale because they are conventional structures *par excellence*.

## 4.1.4 Grammatical use

The focus of this subchapter is to analyse articles which are used as determiners of certain grammatical relations (see 2.1.2). Two types of grammatical use will be analyzed. They are *nominalising* and *case-signalling use*. The former use applies to both English and German articles, the latter to German articles only.

Articles sometimes serve as signals of nominalisation. In this function, they determine a word as being used in the function of a noun. Articles are used before nominalised adjectival or verbal forms in the corpus.

The German definite article *das* in the following ZD examples excerpted from Text A has a nominalising function. The English nouns *divinity* and *transcendence* are translated into German using the nominalised forms of adjectives *das Göttliche, (das) Transzendente*.

| | |
|---|---|
| **A28/2** | The Latin root of the word 'culture' is *colere* ... But *colere* also ends up via the Latin *cultus* as the religious term 'cult', just as the idea of culture itself in the modern age comes to substitute itself for a fading sense **of divinity and transcendence**. |
| | Die lateinische Wurzel des Wortes „Kultur" ist das Verb *colere* ... Doch von *colere* führt der Weg auch über das lateinische *cultus*, „die Gewohnheit", zum heutigen religiösen Begriff „Kult", so wie in der Neuzeit die idee der Kultur selbst an die Stelle des allmählich schwindenden Gefühls **für das Göttliche und Transzendente** tritt. |

The translation equivalents of the English gerunds *swimming, making*, and *being made* are German nominalised infinitives in the following two quotations from the corpus:

> **A18/3**      **Swimming** is an apt image of the interplay in question, since the swimmer actively creates the current which sustains him, plying the waves so they may return to buoy him up.
>
>         **Das Schwimmen** ist eine vortreffliche Metapher für dieses Wechselspiel: Der Schwimmende erzeugt durch seine Arbeit die Strömung, die ihn trägt; er teilt die Wellen, damit sie, zurückkehrend, ihn emportragen.
>
> **A22/5**      The very word 'culture' contains a tension between **making** and **being made**, rationality and spontaneity, which upbraids the disembodied intellect of the Enlightenment as much as it defies the cultural reductionism of so much contemporary thought.
>
>         Schon das Wort «Kultur» birgt in sich eine Spannung zwischen **dem Machen** und **dem Gemachtwerden**, Rationalität und Spontaneität, die den freischwebenden Geist der Aufklärung ebenso anzweifelt, wie sie dem verbreiteten kulturellen Reduktionismus des zeitgenössischen Denkens opponiert.

The nominalising function of the English definite article *the* is exemplified below in A50/2. The English participle forms *given* and *created* are translated by the forms *Gegebenes* and *Erschaffenes* in NP A50/2 below:

> **A50/2**      If the word 'culture' traces a momentous historical transition, it also encodes a number of key philosophical issues. Within this single term, questions of freedom and determinism, agency and endurance, change and identity, **the given** and **the created**, come dimly into focus.
>
>         Bewahrt das Wort «Kultur» Spuren eines folgenschweren historischen Übergangs, so sind auch etliche philosophische Kernfragen in ihm verschlüsselt. An diesem einen Begriff rücken Fragen von Freiheit und Determinismus, Tun und Leiden, Identität und Wandel, **Gegebenes** und **Erschaffenes** ins Blickfeld.

The definite article is missing in the translation although it is otherwise normally used before nominalised participle forms in German (cf. Flämig 1991, 506ff.; Eisenberg 1994, 169ff.; Helbig & Buscha 1994, 286f., 544ff.). The "untypical" presence of the zero article is probably caused by coordination (cf. Grimm 1992,

141ff.).[4] The signal of nominalisation is present in the inflection –*es* added to the participle forms.

German articles are used as signals of grammatical categories such as case, number or gender. This is a generally accepted fact confirmed by grammarians (e.g. Flämig 1991, 479ff.; *Duden Grammatik* 1998, 300ff.; Helbig & Buscha 1994, 236ff.). Grimm (1992, 54) states that this function of the articles is more important in German than in some other languages.[5] The concern of the present subchapter is, for practical reasons, limited only to the grammatical category of case and to the role played by some articles from the corpus in determining case.

Grammatical cases function as markers of various syntactic relations in the sentence (cf. Dušková 1994, 88). In English, the primary means of expressing the case are non-inflectional. They are *prepositional case* and *word order* (Dušková ibid., 88ff.). Such a form of case-signalling is sometimes referred to as the *common case* in English grammar (cf. Hais 1991, 63). Hais (ibid.) also sees the emergence of common case as the result of the historical development of English from a synthetic to an analytic language. The only inflectional means of case marking left in Modern English is the *possessive case* (Hais ibid.).

The situation is different in Modern German than in English. The German article is considered to be the most widely used morphological means of expressing the case.[6] The inventory of case-signalling morphemes present in the German article is relatively small, though (see also 2.1.2). There are frequent syncretisms in German declination paradigms, referred to as *Formgleichheit* (*Duden* 1998, 307f.). Nevertheless, if the very poor inventory of inflections used with adjectives and nouns is disregarded, case-signalling morphemes are most frequently present in the articles. Thus, German articles are the primary means of expressing the grammatical category of case. It may be distinguished between the *reiner Kasus* – pure case signalled by an article only – and *präpositionaler Kasus* – prepositional case signalled by a preposition plus an article (Helbig & Buscha 1994, 280ff.).

---

[4] Coordinative use of two or more nouns is the normal indication for using the zero article in English, too (cf. Berry 1993, 71)

[5] „Der bestimmte Artikel steht manchmal als (einziges) **Signal** oder als (zusätzliche) Verdeutlichung bestimmter **grammatischer Merkmale des Substantivs.** ... Diese Signalfunktion des Artikels hat im Deutschen eine größere Bedeutung als in manchen anderen Sprachen." (Grimm 1992, 53-54, bold print original)

[6] „Der Artikel trägt ... in erheblichem Maße zur eindeutigen Kasuskennzeichnung der Nominalgruppe bei." (Duden 1998, 308)

Like the then Germanic Old English language, Modern German distinguishes four cases – the *nominative, genitive, dative* and the *accusative*. My account of the case-signalling grammatical use of articles in German will be limited to signallisation of the genitive and, partly, also of the dative as the pure case on the one hand, and to prepositional case on the other.

The use of the German article as a marker of the genitive case is exemplified by the following examples from the corpus:

**A15/1a**   'Culture' is said to be one of the two or three most complex words in the English language ... One of its original meanings is 'husbandry', or the tending **of natural growth**.

Das Wort «Kultur» ist wohl eines der komplexesten unserer Sprache ... Eine seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutungen ist «Urbarmachung», die Pflege **des natürlichen Wachstums**.

**A36/15a**   Those who regard plurality as a value in itself are pure formalists, and have obviously not noticed the astonishingly imaginative variety **of forms** which, say, racism can assume.

Wer Pluralität als Wert an sich betrachtet, ist ein reiner Formalist und hat offenkundig noch nicht die erstaunliche Vielfalt **der Formen** bemerkt, die zum Beispiel der Rassismus annehmen kann.

**B23/14a**   What, in any case, was a lay religious community? Dora's ignorance **of religion**, as of most things, was formidable.

Was zum Kuckuck war überhaupt eine religiöse Laiengemeinde? Doras Unkenntnis **der Religion**, wie der meisten Dinge, war überwältigend.

**C7/10a**   **11.45 p.m.** Ugh. First day of New Year has been day **of horror**.

**23.45 Uhr.** Erster Tag im neuen Jahr war Tag **des Grauens**.

The genitive forms *des, der* of the German article are translation equivalents of the English *of*-phrase. The function of both of them is that of expressing a syntactic relationship of subordination between two NPs. Semantically, the relationship expressed by both structures is that of possessivity. Thus, two formally different structures are employed in the original and in the translation. The meaning of both is the same, however.

The genitive form of the indefinite article – *einer* – is used in the same function as exemplified by quotations A60/7b and A26/9a.

| | |
|---|---|
| **A60/7b** | Those who proclaim the need for a period **of ethical incubation** to prepare men and women for political citizenship include those who deny colonial peoples the right to self-government until they are 'civilized' enough to exercise it responsibly. |
| | Diejenigen, welche die Notwendigkeit **einer ethischen Reifungszeit** behaupten, um die Menschen auf ihre politische Staatsbürgerschaft vorzubereiten, sind zugleich diejenigen, welche den Kolonialvölkern das Recht auf Selbstverwaltung abstreiten, solange sie nicht «zivilisiert» genug sind, um diese verantwortlich ausüben zu können. |
| **A26/9a** | Civilization was largely a French notion – then as now, the French were thought to have a monopoly on being civilized – and named both the gradual process **of social refinement** and the utopian *telos* towards which it was unfolding. |
| | Zivilisation war im wesentlichen ein französischer Begriff - damals wie heute schrieb man den Franzosen das Monopol auf Höflichkeit und Gesittetheit zu – und bezeichnete sowohl den Vorgang **einer allmählichen gesellschaftlichen Veredelung** als auch das utopische *Telos*, dem sie sich entgegenentwickelte. |

(italics original)

Contrastive pairs of NPs resembling those quoted above are common in the corpus, especially the ZD combination of different article use. Articles are often used before nouns which are uncountable or abstract and need not be determined by a surface article for other reasons than signalling the case. Notice the nouns *growth / Wachstum* (A15/1a), *religion / Religion* (B23/14a) or *horror / Grauen* (C7/10a) in the quotations above. A zero article is used in the English original as using a surface article would be superfluous because it is not declined and cannot, therefore, be used to indicate the case.

As illustrated by the following two DD examples, a surface article is used in the English NP in the case of specifying reference:

| | |
|---|---|
| **B34/20a** | on the face **of the man** opposite<br>im Gesicht **des Mannes** gegenüber |
| **C52/22** | at the bottom **of the message**<br>am Ende **der Nachricht** |

The German article used in such NPs in fact combines the specifying and grammatical function in the form of one word.

The following example of identical article use illustrates that German, too, is capable of expressing the case analytically:

| A59/16a | all such portentous dreams **of depth** |
|---|---|
| | die unheilvollen Träume **von Tiefe** |

The zero article is used in both the English original and the German translation. The German prepositional phrase with *von* is equivalent to the English one with *of*. Case is, formally, not expressed in German – (cf. *Präpositionen ohne Kasus* discussed by Helbig & Buscha 1994, 410ff.). As abstract uncountable nouns, both *depth* and *Tiefe* do not necessitate a surface article. The fact that it is not used in the German translation supports my thesis that the German articles used in quotation A15/1a and the quotations which follow it, are used to signal the grammatical case.

German surface articles used as a pure case indicators may be the translation equivalents of English prepositions. Consider the following quotations from the corpus:

| A24/1 | We derive our word for the finest of human activities **from labour and agriculture, crops and cultivation**. |
|---|---|
| | Das Wort für die vornehmsten menschlichen Betätigungen entnehmen wir also **der Feldarbeit und Agrikultur**, **dem Kultivieren und Ernten**. |
| A33/3 | 'contentious', antagonistic, recalcitrant **to human shaping** |
| | "streitbar", feindlich und widerspenstig **der Formung durch den Menschen** |
| B61/14 | Moreover the contempt of Paul as a Christian was even harder to bear than his contempt as a *savant,* since that aspect of him was **for poor Dora** even less penetrable. |
| | Überdies war die Geringschätzung Pauls als Christ ihr weit schwerer erträglich denn seine Geringschätzung als Gelehrter, da diese Seite seiner Persönlichkeit **der armen Dora** noch unbegreiflicher war. |

The definite articles used in the German translation are the equivalents of the prepositions *from, to,* and *for* in NPs A24/1, A33/3, and B61/14 respectively. Syntactically, these articles are in the dative case and signal the function of the NPs as indirect objects. Prepositions are used to signal the same syntactic function of the NP in the English original. No surface article is necessary in the English original.

The case-signalling function of German articles is generally less evident with NPs in the nominative and the accusative and with prepositonal phrases. Here, an interpretation of the articles as grammatical can be supported statistically by the

frequency of occurrence of the ZD combination in the corpus (see Table 5 in the introduction to the present chapter).

The following quotations illustrate the use of surface articles in German as indicators of the subject (nominative case) and the direct object (accusative case):

The nominative

| A76/13 | But since community, tradition, rootedness and solidarity are notions we are supposed to approve of, at least until **postmodernism** happened along, there might be thought to be something affirmative in the sheer existence of such a life-form. |
| --- | --- |
| | Da jedoch Gemeinschaft, Tradition, Verwurzeltsein und Solidarität Vorstellungen sind, die wir bejahen sollen (zumindest bis **der Postmodernismus** auftauchte), könnte man meinen, daß im Vorhandensein einer solchen Lebensform schon etwas Positives liege |
| B87+88/20 | "That's one of the things we stand for," said the man. "To bring dignity and significance back into life through work. Too many people hate their work now-a-days. That's why **arts** and **crafts** are so important." |
| | »Das ist eine der Fragen, für die wir verantwortlich sind«, sagte der Mann. » Wir müssen wieder Würde und Sinn in das Leben der Menschen bringen durch Arbeit. Zuviele Menschen hassen heutzutage ihre Arbeit. Deshalb sind **die Künste** und **das Handwerk** so wichtig.« |

The accusative

| A51/7 | Culture, or the state, are a sort of premature utopia, abolishing **struggle** at an imaginary level |
| --- | --- |
| | Die Kultur oder der Staat sind eine Art vorgezogener Utopie, indem sie **den Kampf** auf einer imaginären Ebene abschaffen |
| A33/8 | Indeed culture for Schiller is the very mechanism of what will later be called 'hegemony', moulding **human subjects** to the needs of a new kind of polity |
| | Kultur ist denn auch für Schiller justament der Mechanismus dessen, was man später «Hegemonie» nennen wird: Sie prägt **die menschlichen Subjekte** nach den Bedürfnissen eines neuartigen Gemeinwesens |

Helbig & Buscha (1994, 280) regard the role of prepositions in signalling the case as "dominierend". Quotations from German grammars such as "Die Präposition regiert einen Kasus." (Flämig 1991, 469) and titles like "Kasusforderung der Präpositionen"

(Helbig & Buscha 1994, 410) point to the fact that German prepositions dominate grammatical cases. This means that they require (*fordern, erzwingen*) a certain case as described by Eisenberg (1999, 53).[7] As articles are primary case signals in German, they tend to appear in this function in prepositional phrases. In the following quotations, surface articles are used in the German translation while there are zero articles in the English original. I consider these surface articles as motivated by grammar.

| | |
|---|---|
| **A47/1** | The word thus charts within its semantic unfolding humanity's own historic shift from rural to urban existence, pig-farming to Picasso, tilling the soil to splitting the atom. |
| | Das Wort birgt daher in seiner semantischen Entfaltung den historischen Übergang der Menschheit **von der ländlichen zur urbanen Existenz**, **von der Schweinezucht** zu Picasso, von der Bodenbearbeitung zur Atomspaltung. |
| **A77/5** | Like culture, the word means both what is around us and inside us, and the disruptive drives within can easily be equated **with anarchic forces without**. |
| | Wie «Kultur» meint auch «Natur» das, was um uns ist, wie das, was in uns ist, und die destruktiven Triebe unseres Inneren sind ohne weiteres **mit den anarchischen Kräften draußen** gleichzusetzen. |
| **A73/4** | The idea of culture, then, signifies a double refusal: of organic determinism on the one hand, and of the autonomy of spirit on the other. It is a rebuff **to** both **naturalism** and **idealism**, insisting against the former that there is that within nature which exceeds and undoes it, and against idealism that even the most high-minded human agency has its humble roots in our biology and natural enviroment. |
| | Die Idee der Kultur bezeichnet daher eine doppelte Zu-rückweisung: Verworfen werden der organische Determinismus und die Autonomie des Geistes. Die Idee der Kultur verwahrt sich **gegen den Naturalismus** wie **gegen den Idealismus**; gegen jenen besteht sie darauf, daß es in der Natur etwas gibt, das über sie hinausschießt und sie aufhebt; gegen den Idealismus insistiert sie darauf, daß auch das edelste menschliche Tun seine bescheidenen Wurzeln in der Biologie des Menschen und seiner natürlichen Umwelt hat. |
| **B113/20a** | But meanwhile, we have our individual lives to live, haven't we? And heaven help liberalism if that sense **of individual vocation** is ever lost. |
| | Dabei haben wir doch jeder unser höchsteigenes Leben zu leben, nicht wahr? Und der Himmel stehe dem Liberalismus bei, wenn dieser Sinn **für die persönliche Berufung** verlorengeht. |

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[7] „Jede Präposition erzwingt einen bestimmten Kasus oder die Wahl zwischen zwei Kasus"

The present subchapter has shown that some occurrences of different article use recorded in the corpus may be explained as the result of grammatical use of articles. In other words, a particular case of different article use may be caused by the fact that the use of a particular article in one language is motivated by the grammatical structure of this language. Such use of an article is considered as *bound use* in Barchudarov's terms (see 2.1.1). Consequently, such an article need not have a surface article equivalent in another language.

### 4.1.5 Elliptical use

The present subchapter analyses the connection between ellipsis of article forms and cases of different article use recorded in the corpus. Article ellipsis is common in Text C due to its stylistic character. Because it is written in the form of a diary, Text C bears certain features of condensed language comparable with e.g. the language of newspaper headlines.

Connections between ellipsis and text type are implied in linguistic literature. The "corpus-informed" *Cambridge Grammar of English* by Carter and McCarthy (2006, 11) states that "forms of ellipsis are widespread in certain types of journalism, ... in personal notes and letters and in certain kinds of literary text". Berry (1993, 71) writes about "leaving out articles in front of nouns or adjectives which normally would have them ... in language which has to be shortened for reasons of space, such as telegrams, notes and newspaper headlines". Finally, Grimm (1992, 127ff.) writes about using the zero article "in bestimmten Textsorten" in German and gives examples of such types of texts. Grimm's examples are very similar to those given for English by Berry. Compare also the *Duden Grammatik* (1998, 318).

Articles are typically omitted in the text of shorter diary entries or in introductory parts of longer ones because the language used in them is more condensed than in longer passages.

A specifying definite article is omitted in the German translation of NP C4/28:

**C4/28**  Nightmare day in office. Watched **the door** for Daniel all morning: nothing. By 11.45 a.m. I was seriously alarmed. Should I raise an alert?

> Alptraumhafter Tag im Büro. Den ganzen Vormittag wegen Daniel **Tür** überwacht: nichts. Um Viertel vor zwölf war ich ernsthaft beunruhigt. Sollte ich Alarm schlagen?

The specificity of the referent *Tür* is only determined by context in the translation whereas it is determined by *the* in the original.

Notice the ellipsis of qualifying articles in the quotations and their appearance in the translation.

**C47/39**    Thought all would be resolves with Daniel on Monday but he wasn't there. Nor yeasterday. Work has become like going to a party in order to get off with someone and finding they haven't turned up. Worried about own ambition, career prospects and moral seriousness as seem to reduce everything **to level of scout disco**. Eventually managed to worm out of Perpetua that Daniel has gone to New York.

Dachte, am Montag würde sich mit Daniel alles klären, doch er war nicht da. Gestern auch nicht. In der Arbeit ist es mittlerweile wie auf einer Party, bei der man jemanden abschleppen möchte, nur um festzustellen, daß derjenige gar nicht da ist. Mache mir Sorgen wegen meines Ehrgeizes, meiner Karriereaussichten und meiner moralischen Ernsthaftigkeit, da ich anscheinend alles **auf das Niveau einer Pfadfinderdisco** herunterziehe. Schließlich konnte ich Perpetua die Information entlocken, daß Daniel nach New York geflogen ist.

**C62/39**    On top of everything else, must go to Smug Married dinner party at Magda and Jeremy's tonight. Such occasions always reduce my ego **to size of snail**, which is not to say am not grateful to be asked.

Zu allem Überfluß muß ich heute abend auch noch zu einer Dinner-Party mit lauter selbstgeselligen Ehepaaren bei Magda und Jeremy. Solche Gelegenheiten lassen mein Ego regelmäßig **auf das Format einer Schnecke** schrumpfen, was nicht heißen soll, daß ich nicht dankbar für die Einladung wäre.

**C58+60+61/14**    'Have you read any good books lately?' he said.
Oh, for God's sake. … Then I had a brainwave.
'*Backlash,* actually, by Susan Faludi,' I said triumphantly. Hah! I haven't exactly read it as such, but feel I have as Sharon has been ranting about it so much. Anyway, **completely safe option** as no way **diamond-pattern-jumpered-goody-goody** would have read **five-hundred-page feminist treatise**.

„Haben Sie in letzter Zeit irgendwelche guten Bücher gelesen?" fragte er.
Ich zermarterte auf die schnelle mein Hirn … Dann hatte ich eine Eingebung.
„*Backlash – Die Männer schlagen zurück* von Susan Faludi", sagte ich triumphierend.  Ha!
Ich habe das Buch zwar nicht direkt gelesen, habe aber das Gefühl, ich kenne es ganz gut, weil Sharon dauernd davon schwadroniert hat. Jedenfalls **eine todsichere Wahl**, da **ein**

**Softi im Rautenmuster-Pulli** niemals **ein fünfhundertseitiges feministisches Traktat** gelesen haben kann.

The following quotations illustrate the ellipsis of conventional articles in the English original. The elliptical structures *go for walk* and *on way home* are used in Text C instead of the structures with determiners. Compare the expressions *go for a walk, on the/my way home* common in everyday language. The articles are present in the German translation – cf. *einen Spaziergang machen, auf dem Heimweg.*

| C7/24 | **12.10.** Maybe he has not got it yet. If only could get message back. Think will go **for walk** and see if can somehow go into Daniel's office and erase it. |
|---|---|
| | **12.10 Uhr.** Vielleicht hat er die Nachricht noch nicht bekommen. Wenn ich sie nur zurückholen könnte. Werde wohl **einen Spaziergang** machen und schauen, ob ich irgendwie in Daniels Büro gelangen und sie löschen kann. |
| C39/18 | **On way home** in end-of-Christmas denial I bought a packet of cut-price chocolate tree decorations and a £3.69 bottle of sparkling wine from Norway, Pakistan or similar. I guzzled them by the light of the Christmas tree, together with a couple of mince pies, the last of the Christmas cake and some Stilton, while watchin *EastEnders*, imagining it was a Christmas special. |
| | **Auf dem Heimweg** habe ich mir, um den Abschied von Weihnachten zu verdrängen, eine Schachtel Schokosterne ge-kauft (eigentlich für den Christbaum, dafür aber Sonderangebot) nebst einer Flasche Schaumwein aus Norwegen, Pakistan oder so für 3,69 £. Ich verleibte mir alles im Licht des Weihnachtsbaumes ein, zusammen mit ein paar Weihnachtspasteten, dem Rest des Weihnachtskuchens und etwas Stilton, während ich mir eine Folge von *EastEnders* ansah und so tat, als sei es eine Weihnachtssondersendung. |

Although diaries are not expressly mentioned among elliptical text types in the linguistic literature referred to in the introduction to this subchapter, it is evident that Text C bears features of such a text type and that the missing articles in it can be interpreted as cases of ellipsis. Article ellipsis is, therefore, one of the causes of different article use.


## 4.2 CONCLUSION

2,449 contrastive pairs of NPs excerpted from the analysed texts were divided into two principal groups with respect to whether or not identical articles were used in the English original and the German translation. The articles used in the translation were

identical with those used in the original in 1,997 cases (81.5%). In 452 (18.5%) cases, the articles used in the translation differed from those used in the original. These 452 cases were termed as cases of *different article use*. The aim of Chapter 4 was to examine the cases of different article use. Five types of article uses were described as leading to cases in which the article in the German translation differed from the article in the English original. They were: *qualifying use* (4.1.1)*, generic use* (4.1.2)*, conventional use* (4.1.3)*, grammatical use* (4.1.4), and *elliptical use* (4.1.5). A survey of these uses is presented in Table 6 below:

| USE / COMBINATION | DI | ID | DZ | ZD | IZ | ZI | TOTAL | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Qualifying use** | 7 | 19 | 17 | 39 | 42 | 14 | **138** | **30.5** |
| **Generic use** | 2 | 13 | 5 | 121 | 6 | 16 | **163** | **36.1** |
| **Conventional use** | 0 | 1 | 7 | 21 | 2 | 4 | **35** | **7.7** |
| **Grammatical use** | 0 | 9 | 4 | 62 | 0 | 9 | **84** | **18.6** |
| **Elliptical use** | 0 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 0 | 16 | **32** | **7.1** |
| **TOTAL DIFFERENT ARTICLE USE** | 9 | 42 | 34 | 258 | 50 | 59 | **452** | **100** |

**Table 6 – Uses of articles related to cases in which the article in the German translation differed from the article in the English original**

These five uses are related to the six combinations of different article use which were defined above (see pp. 48-51).

**Qualifying use** was the second most frequent use leading to cases of different articles being used in the original than in the translation. It occurred in 138 cases, i.e. 30.5% of all pairs of NPs with different articles. A tendency towards using the zero article in qualifying use could be observed in the German translation while the surface articles were used in the English original (cf. the DZ and IZ combinations in Table 6). The zero article was the norm in German NPs after *als* while a surface article was normally used after *as* in English. Qualifying articles were often interchangeable allowing for cases in which different surface articles were used in the translation than in the original (the DI/ID combinations). The interchangeability of articles is a feature which qualifying determination shares with genericity.

**Generic use** was the most frequent use leading to cases of different articles being used in the original than in the translation. It occurred in 163 cases, i.e. 36.1% of all pairs of NPs with different articles. The zero article was most frequently used

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in English NPs with generic reference while the definite article was common in this use in the German translation (the ZD combination). Cases of generic reference were comparatively more frequent in Text A than in the other two texts.

**Conventional use** led to 35 cases of different articles being used in the original than in the translation, i.e. 7.7%. A few cases of different article use were recorded with proper nouns and NPs expressing a wish. Fixed expressions most frequently contained the zero article in the English original while the definite article was typically present in the NPs in the German translation (the ZD combination). The article was mostly present in its contracted form, which is characteristic of conventional structures. All fixed expressions recorded in the corpus were classified as performing an adverbial function. A small number of the analysed structures could not be described as fixed expressions *par excellence* but they performed an adverbial function at the same time. They were mainly temporal and locative expressions. The zero article was used with them in the German translation as opposed to a surface article used in the English original (the DZ and IZ combinations). If conventionalisation is understood as a scalar phenomenon, these expressions could be classified as borderline cases between conventional determination and the other types of determination described in this thesis.

**Grammatical use** led to 84 cases of different articles being used in the original than in the translation, i.e. 18.6%. This use was generally described as the characteristic feature of the German surface article, most typically the definite article. The English original contained the zero article in such cases (the ZD combination). Both the English and the German definite articles can occur as the grammatical signals of nominalisation before certain words or expressions which are exceptionally used in the function of nouns. The function of the German definite article as a grammatical signal of case is most apparent in contrastive pairs of NPs which contain an *of*-phrase in the English original as opposed to an inflected genitival form of the article in the translation.

**Elliptical use** led to 32 cases of different articles being used in the original than in the translation, i.e. 7.1%. Elliptical structures were common in Text C as a result of its diary form. Cases of article ellipsis were, on the one hand, relatively frequent in the English original of Text C in which both the definite and indefinite articles were omitted, which resulted in the English NPs having zero article determination. The German translation was, on the other hand, less inclined towards

omitting the surface articles from the NPs (see the ZD and ZI combinations in Table 6).

A common feature of the analysed articles was that they were generally not used as signals of specifying reference. Consequently, a tendency was observable in the analysed NPs towards weakening or neutralisation of the category of definiteness. This tendency manifests itself in mutual interchangeability of the surface articles or their substitution for the zero article in both the languages compared.