FICTIONAL ORALITY IN THE GERMAN TELEVISION SERIES "TÜRKISCH FÜR ANFÄNGER" AND ITS TRANSLATIONS INTO ROMANCE LANGUAGES

The expression of emotionality

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Abstract

The present study aims to explore the role of interpersonal layers of meaning in the current media culture of distance. With this aim in mind, we examine a corpus of audiovisual texts composed of the German sitcom *Türkisch für Anfänger* and its translations into Romance languages such as Catalan and French.

The analysis is based on a multimodal transcript of the first episodes including not only the verbal context but also paraverbal, nonverbal (gestures, facial expressions, etc.) and shooting details.

In order to explain the interpersonal layers on the extradiegetic and intradiegetic level of narration in film we draw on the theoretical framework of appraisal theory which in recent years has been applied to translation studies.

Key words: appraisal theory, audiovisual translation, interpersonal meaning, communicative immediacy, sitcom

Resumen

El presente estudio se propone investigar el significado interpersonal del lenguaje y su papel en la cultura de los medios de comunicación actuales. Con este fin se examinará un corpus de textos audiovisuales formado por la comedia de situación alemana *Türkisch für Anfänger* y de sus traducciones a las lenguas románicas como el catalán y el francés.

El análisis se basa en la transcripción multimodal de los primeros episodios de la sitcom, e incluye tanto la transcripción de los códigos verbales como de los paraverbales y no verbales (gestos, expresiones faciales, cinematografía, etc.).

Para analizar el significado interpersonal en los diferentes niveles narrativos (extradiegético e intradiegético), el estudio parte de la teoría de la valoración, recientemente aplicada en los estudios de traducción.

Palabras claves: teoría de la valoración, traducción audiovisual, significado interpersonal, inmediatez comunicativa, comedia de situación

Introduction[1]

Preliminary considerations

Emoticons in e-mails, greetings and kisses in video blogs, thumbs up or down buttons in the social media, or the omnipresent selfie photographs – these are only some examples that show the growing importance of interpersonal layers of meaning that are concerned with establishing a relationship between interlocutors in distance communication.

Despite the centrality of interpersonal meaning in today's communication, the precise way in which this type of meaning comes to create a sense of immediacy and closeness between interlocutors in this type of communication, however, remains a relatively under-researched topic.

In this regard, accounts such as Koch and Oesterreicher's (1990) framework have at least been able to shed some light on closely related questions, such as of how to conceive of the relationship between interpersonal meaning and communicative immediacy in general.

Koch and Oesterreicher's (1990) research, then, is widely known for modelling how discourses use strategies of spoken language in written texts and vice versa. Koch and Oesterreicher's (1990) particular merit lies in the introduction of a new idea that goes far beyond the mere distinction between spokenness and writtenness on the basis of their distinct realisation in the 'phonic' and 'graphic code': The authors suggested combining this medial distinction with one relating to conception. That is, the conception or planning of an utterance as spoken or written was introduced as a new variable. This conceptual level was then conceived of as a continuum between the two prototypical poles of 'communicative immediacy' (or spontaneous communication) and 'communicative distance' (or pre-planned communication). Whereas both highly scripted and monologic film texts, for example, are clearly characterised by 'communicative distance', the incorporation of interpersonal texture conveying emotions and evaluations in them seems to be a clear case of 'communicative immediacy'.

The latter has also been mentioned by Koch and Oesterreicher (1990), who included emotional 'involvement' among the extra-linguistic communicative conditions that are considered as universal for all language use in situations of 'communicative immediacy'. The choice of appropriate verbalisation strategies and corresponding linguistic devices was seen as being directly linked to such extra-linguistic conditions of involvement.

According to Koch and Oesterreicher's (1990), emotional involvement was further said to manifest in two forms. Involvement directed towards the interlocutor was called 'affectivity'. This type of involvement was regarded as being particularly linked to face-to-face communication, in which the interlocutors reciprocally negotiate their emotional relationship, and confirm their mutual intimacy and reciprocal experiences. By contrast, involvement directed towards the topic of communication was referred to as 'expressivity'. This was said to be realised by lexical resources such as metonymies, metaphors, similes, hyperboles, expressive diminutive and augmentative suffixes and, on a phrase or sentence level, by repetitions, tautologies and so on. However, as should have become apparent from this short summary, Koch and Oesterreicher's (1990)

account merely touched superficially on issues such as affective and evaluative linguistic resources and their link to the conveyance of communicative immediacy without implementing a more structured analysis.

In addition, the account also has a second important flaw. As stated above, in the framework, extra-linguistic conditions associated with communicative immediacy or distance were said to determine the choice of corresponding verbalisation strategies and linguistic resources. This is, however, methodically questionable because, rather than measuring the extra-linguistic conditions themselves, corpus-based observations of precisely these linguistic resources have been taken as reliable evidence of the underlying extra-linguistic conditions. To put it differently, the causality of the research process has been reversed (see also Freunek 2007).

Thus, the relation that is said to link the extra-linguistic communicative conditions and the linguistic resources has also been established in a somewhat determinist and causal manner. That is, the situational communicative parameters (like emotional involvement) are envisaged as coming first, and as more or less determining the corresponding verbalisation strategies and chosen linguistic resources. However, some currently observable meaning-making practices point to another direction. In practices such as 'stylisation', a certain linguistic surface item may indeed become linked to the specific communicative contexts in which it occurs. However, this relationship, caused through repetitive use in such contexts, is a constructed, merely pseudo-causal one.

The present study seeks to overcome the general scarcity of research on the relationship between interpersonal meaning and communicative immediacy or distance, as well as the abovementioned methodological problems by proposing some alternative hypotheses. The hypothesis as listed below refer to the study of a specific corpus of distance communication based on some non-translated and translated episodes of a cinematographic text.

Aims of and hypotheses for the study

In the following section, the aims of and hypotheses for the present study are specified:

Principal aim of the study:

- To describe and analyse interpersonal texture in a corpus of audio-visual texts formed by the initial episodes of the German TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* and its dubbed versions in two Romance languages (Catalan and French).

Secondary aims/ specific objectives:

First aim:

- To add to our understanding of the role of interpersonal layers of meaning associated with communicative immediacy as reintroduced in the current media culture of distance. In particular, we are interested in the way these texts engage the target audience through the deployment of interpersonal texture.

Second aim:

- To describe interpersonal texture related to the creation of audience engagement in the corpus, making use of a multimodal account based on appraisal theory. In addition, to focus on the co-deployment of the verbal and cinematographic code as in Feng (2012), special attention will be paid to the description of the kinesic code.

Third aim:

- To assess shifts related to the expression of interpersonal meaning in translation. This includes the identification of 'critical points' (Munday 2012); that is, those points where interpersonal meaning is most likely to be subject to change in translation.

Hypotheses

With regard to the first aim:

Hypothesis A: The principle of 'polyfunctionality' (Pfister 1994), that is that semiotic items are meaningful both with regard to diegetic and extradiegetic interlocutors, is a core principle to account for in the analysis of interpersonal texture in cinematographic texts, as is the way in which it triggers audience engagement.

Hypothesis B: Stance-taking practices, such as 'stylisation', are a special case of interpersonal meaning making. Thus, even when semiotic surface items used in those practices become linked to specific (proximal) contexts of occurrence, the relationship is a constructed rather than a 'natural' one. That is, the choice of such items is not always determined by situational conditions of production associated with communicative immediacy, as proposed by Koch and Oesterreicher (1990, see above).

With regard to the second aim:

Hypothesis A: Audience engagement through the deployment of interpersonal texture may be character-based. In such a case, the viewer is invited to make evaluations on the basis of a character's attributes and verbal and material actions, or of a character's expression of emotions and evaluations.

Sub-hypothesis A: Interpersonal meaning and corresponding semiotic choices exploited for the creation of character-based engagement differ according to the phases of engagement in which they occur. In the first phase (when a character's identity is revealed), the interpersonal texture chosen is likely to introduce the viewer to the character's status and/or close or distant relationships with other characters. In the closely interrelated second phase ('alignment'), interpersonal texture that serves to evaluate other characters from the main characters' perspectives and to create common ground with viewers is likely to be exploited. In the third phase ('allegiance'), interpersonal texture, especially choices concerning the expression of emotion and evaluation for purposes of altero-

and self-characterisation of various characters is likely to be chosen.

Hypothesis B: Audience engagement through interpersonal texture may also rely on non-character-based engagement. In this case, the use of certain semiotic items is likely to inspire bonding between (imagined and real) 'communities' of audiences.

Hypothesis C: In line with the principle that every semiotic item has a role to play with regard to the cinematographic text's semiotic system, some evaluative categories attached to broader plot strands or the portrayal of certain characters are likely to be overrepresented in comparison to others in those texts.

Hypothesis D: The closest verbal-visual-audial connection and redundancy concerning interpersonal texture is likely to occur in subjective passages (such as those rendered through point of view shots), and in those featuring intertextual references conveyed via more than one modality.

Hypothesis E: In order to guide the viewer's interpretation of interpersonal texture, cinematographic texts are likely to rely heavily on the prototypical rendering of emotions and corresponding evaluations in the kinesic code. This also includes the expression of evaluation through somewhat conventional (emblematic) gestures. In line with Feng (2012), the relationship between the expression of emotion and corresponding evaluations in cinematographic texts is likely to entail the evaluation serving as the eliciting condition of the expressed emotion.

With regard to the third aim:

With regard to non-character-based engagement:

Hypothesis A: Given the conventional encoding of some dimensions, such as the evaluating character, the eliciting condition or target of emotion/evaluation, and the nature and valence of emotion/evaluation in the images in subjective passages, these dimensions are less likely to be subject to alteration in the translation of these passages than are others. It is therefore expected that dimensions such as the intensity of emotion/evaluation, the standard or norm against which a target is evaluated, the stereotypicality and so on are more likely to be altered in translation than are the abovementioned visually encoded ones.

Hypothesis B: Choices of 'inscribed' (directly expressed) emotion/evaluation are more likely to be preserved in translation than are more indirectly conveyed ones.
Similarly, choices related to the expression of bare statements and other monoglossic utterances are more likely to remain unaffected

by translation shifts than are those related to heteroglossic ones. By contrast, resources of graduation that up- or down-scale the abovementioned dimensions are likely to be subject to considerable adjustment in translation.

Sub-hypothesis A: With regard to specific linguistic resources for the expression of interpersonal meaning, situation-specific nominal compounds with an evaluative component and non-core verbs that have a component of manner infused in their meaning are likely to change in the translation from German into Romance languages.

Hypothesis C: On the whole, viewer evaluations made on the basis of the situational adequacy of a character's verbal actions (speech acts) remain stable in translation. What is subject to alteration is the precise construction of the speech act because of shifts in the culture-specific standards and norms against which such evaluations are made.

With regard to non-character-based engagement ('bonding'):

Hypothesis D: In the analysis of semiotic choices for the creation of audience engagement through bonding, whether these are used from an in-group or out-group perspective in relation to the respective target audience is important.

Hypothesis E: In line with the explicitation hypothesis, explicitating shifts are likely to outnumber implicitating ones in translation. The preservation of implicitness is, however, paramount in the translation of choices that seek to create common ground and audience engagement through bonding.

Sub-hypothesis A: 'Translation-induced' explicitating shifts, that is those that are not due to different language-specific or language preferential patterns, are likely to point to 'critical points' in the translation of interpersonal texture.

Hypothesis F: On the whole, the degree of active intervention in the translated text is greater when dubbing into French (as a major linguistic culture) than it is when dubbing into Catalan (as a minor linguistic culture). That is, the French translation is likely to be more domesticated than is the Catalan one.

Organisation of the study

The present study is structured as follows:
In Chapter 1, we start by presenting a survey of two fields that provided significant contributions to the general understanding of interpersonal meaning in texts: linguistics for non-fictional texts, and literary and film studies for fictional texts. The study then introduces appraisal theory as a linguistic account emerging from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and which has already been fruitfully applied to the analysis of interpersonal texture in cinematographic texts (Feng 2012). In our view, the account is

able to combine the strengths of a thorough linguistic theorisation of interpersonal meaning with film studies' focus on viewer engagement as a more practical result of the deployment of this kind of meaning. The study then continues to discuss the application of appraisal theory to several fields of study, such as research in multimodality and translation studies. With regard to the latter, Munday's (2012) account applying the appraisal theoretical framework to the study of translations, and House's (1977, 1997) and Baumgarten's (2005) more general SFL-based framework for translation quality assessment are reviewed and contrasted.

The next chapter then focuses on the corpus. After providing an introduction into the corpus under consideration, the German sitcom *Türkisch für Anfän*ger (*TfA*), the historical development of the sitcom genre is briefly discussed. The study then goes on to describe the methodology of corpus transcription before moving to the corpus analysis. The analytical section focuses on the description and comparison of interpersonal texture as used for viewer engagement in the German, Catalan and French versions of the sitcom. Firstly, the creation of 'character-based engagement' is assessed. This type of viewer engagement seems to be elicited on the basis of the characters' own evaluations or their attributes and verbal or material actions. The discussion is organised according to three principal phases – character 'revelation', 'alignment' and 'allegiance' – whereby viewer engagement is likely to be constructed. In this regard, the way in which viewer engagement is elicited by potential evaluations made on the basis of the adequacy or politeness of characters' verbal contributions (speech acts) is also addressed. The discussion thus also revolves around issues of explicitation of the illocutionary force attached to such speech acts, mainly by means of explicit and hedged performative verbs in the French translation.

Chapter 5 focuses on what we have termed 'non-character-based engagement', where the way in which the text creates opportunities to bond for groups of audiences is at stake. Firstly, allusions to the opposition between 'Germanness'/native culture and 'Turkish-Germanness'/immigrant culture and their translations are observed in this regard. Intertextual references, both through the incorporation of 'voices' from other people and from other discourse types, are then the focus of study. Such references – the investigation of which is somewhat narrowed to more or less culture-specific references to media persons and products in the last part of the section – may create bonding opportunities for viewers who are able to recognise and appreciate the intertextual allusions.

The final chapter answers the hypotheses presented in the introduction, and points to some directions for further research.

Contents

List of abbreviations

+	positive valence
-	negative valence
%	percent
1st	first (person)
2nd	second (person)
3rd	third (person)
acknowledge	engagement: attribute: acknowledge
cap	judgement: capacity
cat.	Catalan
cf.	compare
comp: bal	appreciation: composition: balance
concur	engagement: proclaim: concur
counter	engagement: disclaim: counter
deny	engagement: disclaim: deny
des	affect: desire
distance	engagement: attribute: distance
e.g.	for example
eng.	English
entertain	engagement: entertain
et al.	and others
etc.	etcetera
fear	affect: fear
ed.	edition
endorse	engagement: proclaim: endorse
foc	graduation: focus
for	graduation: force
FN	footnote
fr.	French
ger.	German
hap	affect: un/happiness
heterogloss	heteroglossic
i.e.	that is
IFID	illocutionary force indicating device
inc	affect: dis/inclination
it.	Italian
monogloss	monoglossic
mor	judgement: morality (= propriety in Martin and White 2005)
neg	negation
norm	judgement: normality
n.pag.	no pagination
PP	prepositional phrase
pronounce	engagement: proclaim: pronounce
reac: imp	appreciation: reaction: impact
reac: qua	appreciation: reaction: quality
sat	affect: dis/satisfaction
sec	affect: in/security
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics

SoA	state of affairs
sp.	Spanish
SL	source language
ST	source text
t	ideational tokens/ invocations
ten	judgement: tenacity
TfA	Türkisch für Anfänger (the TV series under investigation)
TL	target language
TT	target text
val	appreciation: valuation
ver	judgement: veracity

1   Research on the emotional, subjective and evaluative use of language in different media

1.1   Linguistic approaches

An examination of the linguistic literature reveals an extremely wide range of ideas concerning the phenomenon of what, in the title of this chapter, has been termed the emotional, subjective and evaluative use of language. Anticipating our own position in the interests of greater terminological precision, we will later refer to this phenomenon using the umbrella terms of 'evaluation' or 'appraisal', or 'expression of speaker/writer attitude' (Bednarek 2008b: 7).

From a rather generic point of view, the above mentioned phenomena are often referred to as expressing *how* something is communicated in contrast to *what* is communicated (thus referring to the 'mode' instead of the 'content' of speech, Arndt and Janney 1991: 521; Drescher 2003: 81, 89). Moreover, these phenomena are frequently negatively defined in opposition to core fields of linguistic research: What is at stake is non-referential (versus referential), non-notional (versus notional), or non-propositional (versus propositional) layers of meaning (Drescher 2003). Even when focusing on more specific emotional, subjective and evaluative phenomena as studied in linguistics, the wealth of competing terms for these issues does not disappear. Examples of this terminological 'hotchpotch' are the notions of 'expressivity', 'affectivity', 'connotation', 'subjectivity', 'emotion', 'affect', 'evaluation', 'appraisal', 'stance', 'involvement', 'alignment', and 'style' – to cite only a few.

Historically, linguistic research in the subject under consideration has spread, among others, from a functionalist, a stylistic, and a broader semantic perspective. The common denominator of these perspectives is that they appeared to some extent as reactions against earlier language-immanent and thus structure-centred instead of use- and user-centred approaches.

a)   Early functionalist accounts

In functionalist accounts, the interest in the expressive function emerged in part as a reaction to the system-linguistic paradigm, in which the name Saussure is emblematic. As is widely known, Saussure ([1916] 1995) strongly advocated the premise of the different nature of language from other semiotic systems. Linguistic signs were conceived of as 'symbols', that is, as discrete and differential meaningful units arbitrarily related to instances of the extralinguistic reality. Language was considered as an abstract system ('langue'), largely sealed off from the contexts of sign use ('parole'), the sign users themselves and the linguistic functions for which the sign was employed.

Semiotic concepts paying attention to the sign user were first developed by Bühler (1934) in his well-known Organon model. Bühler's model set out to capture the linguistic sign with regard to its linkage to three other dimensions of the communicative act (conceived as an actualised speech act, and hence language in use). Bühler distinguished three types of sign-relations: The sign is the 'symbol' in its arbitrary relationship to extralinguistic objects; it is the 'symptom' in its causal relation to the sign maker or sender; and it is the 'signal' in its appeal to the receiver. In other words, the 'symptom' is the site of the speaker's own expression – and this sets the expressive sign apart from the representative sign or 'symbol' (representing extralinguistic objects), and the conative sign or 'signal'.The linguistic counterpart of the expressive

function of the sign was subsequently called 'expressivity', and was seen to be related to speech production. Jakobson (1963) further developed Bühler's concept of expressive function into that of 'emotional function'. The latter was used to capture all (context-dependent) uses of the feelings and emotional attitudes of speakers.

However, the usefulness of the differentiation of the symptom from the other sign types in the communication of feelings and emotional attitudes has been called into question in recent times. Communicatively, the question of whether a sign is employed unintentionally as a direct symptom of a speaker's inner state or intentionally to appeal to the recipient ('signal') appears only to be relevant from the speaker's own point of view. Accordingly, the emphasis shifted from the issue of intentionality or unintentionality in sign production to the effectively conveyed effect for the recipient. In other words, once feelings and emotional attitudes are verbalised, what is at stake is not their genuineness with regard to the expression of a speaker's inner state, but the strategical and rhetorical dimension of his or her communication.

The shift in emphasis from the sign production to the reception side also meant a shift from a psychological, speaker-related concept to a more socially and interpersonally defined concept of expressivity in communication.

b) Early stylistic accounts

Bally (1909) is credited with having introduced the notion of 'affectivity' into the field of linguistic research of style. According to Bally (1909), 'style' is created by attaching an additional affective element to a linguistic expression. 'Style', in the Ballyan sense, does not then refer to a speaker's idiosyncratic stylistic expression, but rather to a language community's shared stylistic system, aesthetic aspects excluded.

The model's emphasis is therefore on stylistic markers that are conventionally employed and which may have become recognisable in a particular speech community. These comprise direct affective devices, such as the use of affective lexical items, as well as affective meanings conveyed through intonation or syntactic means. According to Drescher (2003), the emphasis on conventionality is likely to reflect the need to take individual theoretical concepts related to a speaker's subjective expression into the realm of more supra-individual ones. As a result, Bally's focus shifted to the social dimension of affective expression.

Apart from the shift to the social dimension shaping the creation of attitudinal meaning, there are further commonalities between Bally's and the functionalist accounts discussed above. For instance, both include the speaker's and the recipient's perspective in their respective models, but nevertheless shift emphasis to the reception side. In Bally's account, for example, 'style' is conceived of in terms of the effect or impression it imposes on the recipient. When looking at the stylistic effects of affective components of meaning, Bally considered two different types of effects: natural effects and evocative effects.

These effects were explored with regard to an object of study completely different from those studied in linguistic research previously: That of colloquial spoken language. In terms of natural effects, Bally proposed a particular set of parameters for the description of affective components akin to those of 'valence' and 'intensity' in subsequent attempts seeking to capture the attitudinal components of meaning. The scholar introduced parameters of quality ('plaisir' versus 'déplaisir') and quantity (roughly comprising intensification and attenuation).

More remarkable, however, is Bally's concept of 'evocative effects', which was to exert a great influence on subsequent work in stylistics. This not only led to a greater research

focus on colloquial language in general, but also provoked a fundamental reappraisal of 'spokenness' and 'affectivity', which were regarded as inherently intertwined. The concept of 'evocation' as briefly discussed in the introduction is one of the competing conceptualisations used to describe fictional orality connected with this body of work.

Evocational effects, then, refer to the effects created by the use of a (linguistic) form that runs counter to its typical usage, standing out from the context as a salient form. The recognition of such stylistic effects thus involves the recognition of the deviation from a norm, which in Bally's account is deviation from the standard or scientific language. The use of affective terms is then considered as 'marked', because it signals deviation from a neutral mental state that is equated with the deviation from a supposedly neutral linguistic norm. Among the affective elements triggering evocational effects are elements of sociolinguistic variation (such as dialectical features that contrast with apparently neutral and standard ones). These elements are associated with specific groups of speakers and/or specific situations of use, thereby evoking these contexts.

It is no coincidence that the concept of 'evocational effect' also comes close to the effects created by 'connotations' – a concept put forward in semantic accounts on attitudinal language. In fact, Bally's description of 'evocative effects' is based on both formal and relational criteria (the formal and relative deviation from a norm), and semantic criteria (non-affective and affective uses). The latter also serves as a criterion when it comes to determining the connotations associated with a word apart from its denotations. As discussed in more detail below, 'connotations' are seen as additional attitudinal nuances attached to the referential core meanings of lexical items. They depend on the typical uses of these items in a speech community that exploits the typicality implicating these nuances. 'Connotations' are therefore conventional (shared by the speech community) as are 'styles' in the sense of Bally.

We then turn to the issue of semantic accounts dedicated to the description of attitudinal components – which are apparently not so different from stylistic ones.

c)   Semantic accounts

In contrast to functionalist approaches, semantic accounts define their subject of study not in terms of semiotic functions, but in terms of aspects of conceptual content. Emotional and evaluative components then stand for non-representational or non-notional senses of meaning. As with functionalist accounts, semantic accounts also developed as a kind of antidote to abstract system-linguistic attempts. Whereas in the overwhelming majority of cases the emphasis then shifted from the abstract structure to the language user, in some cases the focus on the description of the linguistic structure itself persisted to some degree.

The latter was the case with various accounts putting forward the notion of 'connotation'. The notion of 'connotation' is loosely tied to that of 'denotation'. Whereas 'denotation' refers to a concept's semantic core meanings, 'connotation' is associated with marginal, indefinite and additional semantic features that are not part of the lexical meaning as such. Put differently, connotations are unimportant for the correct identification of the referent of an expression. However, they may express attitudes that reflect the speech community's common experience of an expression, and are likely to become more or less stably associated with this lexical item (Schwarz-Friesel 2007). Frequently, the term 'connotation' is also employed in a stylistic sense, thereby referring to dimensions of register variation that may be triggered by an item's use in contexts that deviate from its typical usage. Given that we are more concerned here with

the way in which emotion and evaluation is linguistically coded in respect of the language user, we will not comment on the notion of 'connotation' any further.

In contrast to the concept of 'connotation', semantic conceptualisations, which have emerged both directly and indirectly from the notion of 'subjectivity', clearly accord a central position to the language user.

Such accounts developed in response to earlier research paradigms that focused on abstract linguistic structure (as evident in Saussure's focus on 'langue', Athanasiadou, Canakis, and Cornillie 2006). Thus, in a way somewhat similar to Bally's concept of 'style', Benveniste (1966) connected the individual with the supra-individual level in his work. The author then blurred the structuralists' categorical opposition between linguistic system ('langue', or 'langage' in Benveniste's terms) and language in use ('parole', or 'discours') in shifting attention to the way in which the former may be converted into the latter (Drescher 2003).

One way Benveniste proposed how 'subjectivity' as the basic constitution of individuals may be inscribed into linguistic structure was via the use of deictics. Benveniste's emphasis was first on the deictic 1st person pronoun *I*, which marks the origin ('origo') of a particular point of perception. The author then proposed the distinction between 'sujet d'énoncé' (syntactic subject) and 'sujet d'énonciation' (subject of the utterance). The latter subject, apart from being the author of his or her own words, is also seen as being present in his or her discourse. Therefore, language is regarded as the tool via which the language user may become aware of his or her own (psychologically defined) 'subjectivity'. This subjectivity is established and linguistically encoded in opposition to the 'you' of the other (Benveniste 1966).

Lyons (1982, 1995) further developed Benveniste's work. Following Lyons (1982: 102), 'subjectivity' more precisely points to "the way in which natural languages [...] provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and of his own attitudes and beliefs". Here, Lyons' notion of 'subjectivity' as directed to feelings, attitudes and values partly approaches that of 'evaluation' as put forward in this study. According to Bednarek (2008c, 2009), subsequent studies on 'subjectivity', carried out especially in cognitive linguistics and related disciplines, have concentrated on three research domains: the cognitive representation of a speaker's 'perspective' (Langacker 1990), the speaker's linguistic encoding of 'affect', and 'modality' as the speaker's expression concerning a proposition (Finegan 1995). Furthermore, 'subjectivity' has been a major field of inquiry in the study of language change (e.g. Stein and Wright 1995, Traugott 1995). Roughly speaking, this area of research relates processes of diachronic change to the increased incorporation of the speaker's perspective into the linguistic form of his or her discourse ('subjectification'/'subjectivisation'). Recently, attention has been redirected to processes of 'intersubjectivisation'; that is, the encoding of the speaker–hearer relationship in the linguistic form during processes of language evolution.

Overall, Benveniste (1966) introduced a relatively broad conception of a speaker's 'subjectivity', which places emphasis on the speaker's expression as grammatical subject and as self. This somewhat contrasts with notions such as 'evaluation', 'appraisal' and 'stance', which rely on more restricted concepts of subjective uses of language.

Evaluation as a subordinate term

The term 'evaluation', used in this paper interchangeably with that of 'appraisal' and similarly to that of 'stance', based on Hunston and Thompson (2000), who proposed an almost classic definition widely taken up in the linguistic research on attitudinal

meanings. 'Evaluation' is then defined as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about" (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 5).

It is almost a commonplace to mention the relative scarcity of research on attitudinal components of meaning, which stands in sharp contrast to the ubiquity and pervasiveness of the phenomenon in language in general (Schwarz-Friesel 2007). In fact, it has been repeatedly pointed out that certain nuances of evaluations necessarily accompany utterances, and that there is no such thing as a completely 'neutral' and 'objective' statement (Daneš 1994; Jaffe 2009; Vološinov 1986).

That relatively little research on 'evaluation' exists to date is perhaps due to the complexity of the phenomenon. The issue of 'evaluation' is difficult to grasp for various reasons: Evaluations cannot be separated from the contexts in which they are used and in which they exhibit great multifunctional variation; evaluations can spread across larger stretches of discourse, thereby realising the complex textual phenomenon called 'evaluative prosody'; and classes of evaluative devices are often open-ended, so that it is difficult to establish a more or less complete inventory of such means (Bednarek 2008c).

Several studies have argued that 'evaluation' and concomitant concepts ('appraisal', 'stance') are effectively built on Benveniste's subjectivity framework. The definition given above illuminates their basic difference from Benveniste's account: Whereas 'subjectivity' in general appears to be unfocused, the definition of 'evaluation' is more specific, capturing subjective uses of language that are directed towards an object (an 'entity' or 'proposition', see Englebretson 2007, Munday 2012).

The distinction between 'entities' and 'propositions' as targets of evaluation, appraisal and stance-taking, points to a distinction between attitudinal layers of meaning attached to lexical items, and those attached to propositions and larger phrasal units. This distinction roughly corresponds to what in the previous section on 'subjectivity' has been termed the speaker's subjective encoding of 'affect' and 'modality'.

Research in evaluation offers two different perspectives on the above distinction: separating and combining approaches. Separating approaches, such as Martin and White's (2005) appraisal theory distinguishing between attitudinal and dialogic positioning, treat them systematically as inherently distinct subsystems of evaluation. By contrast, combining approaches, such as Hunston and Thompson's (2000) account of 'evaluation', classify them together.

The latter becomes evident when taking another look at the broad definition of 'evaluation' cited above. Evaluative meaning components, regardless of their scope of entities or propositions, may be further defined semantically as feelings/emotions, evaluations/stances in a narrower sense, and points of view as expressed in narrative texts. These manifest linguistically on the levels of lexis, grammar and text (Hunston and Thompson 2000).

Further sub-dimensions of evaluative meanings emerge from the three main functions that evaluations are said to perform in discourse. Evaluative items are multifunctional, and can serve different functions simultaneously. They can be used:

> (1) to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community; (2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader; (3) to organize the discourse (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 6).

The first two functions are clearly related to issues of 'subjectivity' and 'intersubjectivity'. Although Hunston and Thompson (2000: 6) still considered the expression of a speaker's opinion as "[t]he most obvious function of evaluation", their approach fits in with the general marked tendency in shifting attention from speaker-centred ('subjective') to speaker-hearer-centred ('intersubjective') phenomena. Evaluative meaning in the sense of Hunston and Thompson (2000) is thus a kind of interpersonal meaning established in the speaker–hearer communication.

However, in the light of the latter, some of Hunston and Thompson's (2000) suggestions need further consideration. As the above citation concerning the evaluative language functions shows, the authors argued that the expression of a speaker's subjective position "reflect[s] the value system of that person and their community" (Hunston and Thompson 2000: 6). In their account, the authors further referred to the broader set of values that is revealed beneath the evaluative surface forms as the entire society's or subgroup's 'ideologies'. These suggestions call for two remarks: Firstly, as the scholars rightly stated, the function of the text is to put the message across to the reader, whereby the background value systems are not merely indirectly 'reflected', but are rather actively built and rebuilt. This is thus clearly related to the intersubjective function. Secondly, recent studies further suggest that a terminological distinction must be drawn between sets of values (be they personal, sub-group-related or communitarian) established on some kind of moment-to-moment basis in a text ('identities') and broader, somewhat fixed 'ideologies'. Overall, however, we share Hunston and Thompson's (2000: 8) opinion that indirectly conveyed value systems constitute a "key linguistic concept" for research of evaluations.

In the following, we will re-examine a variety of competing terms that can either be regarded as sub-dimensions or as quasi-synonyms of 'evaluation'. The discussion proceeds from the subjective encoding of 'affect'/'emotion' (concerning entities) to that of 'modality' (concerning propositions). The discussion then extends well beyond these categories to explore the textual manifestation of evaluation, which also encompasses 'points of view' in narrative. Subsequently, 'stance' and 'appraisal' as quasi-synonyms are introduced. However, the discussion of 'appraisal' is postponed until chapter 2. The concept of 'stance', by contrast, is examined in more depth. Within the treatment of 'stance', sociolinguistic perspectives that necessarily shift attention to the dynamic and intersubjective functions of evaluation, as well as interactive perspectives, are taken into account. Inherent, alternative and competing perspectives to 'stance' are also considered.

Evaluation as expressed at the lexico-semantic level

Emotion/affect

Accounts in this field of study are concerned with the semantic realisation of the content-based category of what may roughly be called 'emotionality'. This is a core area in research on the linguistic expression of attitude, which focused particularly on the description of language-specific and cross-cultural sets of emotion terms.

The term 'emotion' is much contested and has been variously defined by researchers working within different disciplines, such as linguistics, psychology, and cognitive sciences in general. Borrowed from French into English, 'emotion' has made its way into the general vocabulary, mainly through its use in scientific theory from the 19th century onwards (Dixon 2012). The expression of emotions is regarded as a multidimensional phenomenon that entails neurophysiological, motivational, cognitive, subjective and thus experiential and expressive components (Scherer 1990). As one of

the leading experts in emotions as studied from a psychological perspective, Scherer (2011) proposed a rough framework that enables the differentiation of the concept of 'emotions' from neighbouring concepts. According to the author, emotions refer to

> *processes* that are: (a) focused on specific events (and thus always have an object); (b) involve the appraisal of intrinsic features of these objects or events, of their conduciveness with respect to specific need or goals and of their compatibility with norms and values; (c) affect most or all bodily subsystems in a coherent fashion leading to an integrated mental representation of an episodic emotional quality; (d) are subject to rapid change due to the constant unfolding of many types of events and the resulting reappraisals of the potential consequences (which in turn change the response pattern); and (e) have a strong impact on behavior due to the generation of action readiness (Scherer 2011: 335, italics in the original).

Emotions are then bodily manifestations that result from appraisals and evaluations of an appraised object, are somewhat elusive, and incite a kind of 'action tendency' (Frijda 1986: 44) in response to the stimulus. The terms 'emotion' and 'affect' often seem to refer to the same phenomenon (Drescher 2003).[2] 'Emotions' may be distinguished from more stable, enduring and rather unfocused bodily manifestations referred to as 'moods' (Arndt and Janney 1991; Drescher 2003). Furthermore, a distinction can be drawn between the multi-componential process of 'emotion', as referred to above, and a subjective and thus consciously experienced state as expressed, for example, through the German term *Gefühl* ('feeling', Schwarz-Friesel 2007). Therefore, in contrast to terms such as 'feeling' or the German 'Gefühl', the term 'emotion' has retained its scientific connotations. Another level of complexity is added when the verbalisation of 'emotions' is at stake (see below).

One issue that has occupied the centre stage in the scientific debates on 'emotion' is its distinction from 'cognition'. Rather than being conceived of as fully autonomous and mutually exclusive mental systems, recent research points to their interaction and modularity. The debate further involves discussions about the question of which one of the two mental systems is activated first. It has been widely acknowledged that the expression of emotions involves cognitive dimensions; that is, nuances of evaluation. This is even more true in the event of the emotions' verbalisation, which clearly presupposes some kind of conscious analysis of the experienced feeling. The relation between emotion and cognition is not a trivial one, as the debate regarding the degree to which the recognition or the expression of emotions may be culturally specific or universal shows. Proponents of the universality position contend that emotions are (biologically explicable) reactions to particular stimuli; the ability to experience and express them is thus seen as largely genetically determined and therefore cross-culturally shared. Accordingly, several attempts have been made to identify so-called basic emotions that are presumed to occur universally. Other authors have tried to describe the fundamental commonalities between lexical expressions of emotions from a cross-cultural point of view. Wierzbicka (1999), for example, proposed that emotions may be decomposed into their basic semantic components (semantic primitives), which can subsequently serve as a basis for their cross-cultural comparison.

Defenders of cultural-determinist positions argue that emotional reaction, recognition and expression are crucially informed by socio-cultural factors and are therefore socially constructed. The presence of nuances of evaluation that point to the socially-shared value systems on the basis of which emotions are judged seems to provide some

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[2] But see Ochs (1989).

evidence for this position. Moreover, both non-verbal and verbal 'outside' expressions of emotions often seem to follow some culture-specific display rules for their public exhibition. In accounts that focus on the expression of 'emotions' (including linguistic ones), it is thus not the genuine representation of inner states that is at stake:

> Das Problem der Authentizität von Gefühlen ist hier von nachgeordneter Bedeutung. Da der Schluß von der Geste auf das Gefühl nicht mit Sicherheit zu ziehen ist, kann nicht zwischen fingierten Formen wie der 'Stilisierung von Gefühlen' oder der Verwendung 'emotionaler Masken' einerseits und 'echtem' emotionalen Erleben andererseits unterschieden werden (Drescher 2003: 77).

In some respects, however, the verbalisation of an 'emotion' is not entirely sealed off from the expressed inner state of a speaker: The verbal and non-verbal expression of an 'emotion' is said to be indexically related to the speaker. In directly expressing rather than denoting (symbolically encoding) the emotion, the verbal conveyance of an emotion appears as quite naturally related to the speaker. However, as pointed out by Arndt and Janney (1991), one should distinguish between various degrees to which the verbalisation of emotions is expressed or denoted. Firstly, the authors suggested the concept of 'emotional communication' in order to capture direct and spontaneous expressions of emotion. This is conveyed through "accessible expressive behaviour, or socially ritualized, biologically stabilized, audible or visible activities recognized by partners as 'signs of emotion'" (Arndt and Janney 1991: 526). Signs of emotional communication may be referred to as indexical signs. Secondly, 'emotive communication' refers to the deliberate and strategic exploitation and modification of emotive signs in order to manipulate the recipient's behaviour. Such emotive display functions as a signal and has a cognitive component: "The strategic use of emotive displays to reach goals in speech is definitely cognitive in some sense" (Arndt and Janney 1991: 531). Lastly, 'cognitive communication' itself is seen to be non-affective and symbolic. It should become clear, then, that the verbal and nonverbal expressions of emotion occur along a continuum between more or less conventionalised signs. From an interpersonal point of view, strategically employed 'emotive communication' provides the most interesting type to be explored.

Another way to capture the vast range occurring between symptomatic (indexical) and somewhat conventionalised symbolic signs used for the verbalisation of emotions is in terms of their forms of representation. Fiehler (1990) drew a distinction between the expression and the thematisation of emotions. The former comprises spontaneous, indexical emotive displays as manifested in the use of interjections, modal particles, intonational pattern and the like. The latter refers to the conventional lexical encoding of 'emotions', for instance in nouns and adjectives. He further proposed various forms of representations that can be seen as occupying the middle ground between the two extremes.[3]

Another line of research aims at describing broader semantic parameters or dimensions underlying the verbal expression of emotions and/or evaluations (Bednarek 2008a). Lemke (1998) and Bednarek (2008c) are among those who suggested parameter-based approaches, and proposed the most elaborate and delicate categorisations. At a more simplistic level, proposals about the basic dimensions all include those called 'valence' (positivity/negativity) and 'intensity'.

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[3] See Fiehler (1990) for a more detailed discussion of these types of verbalisations.

It is interesting that Caffi and Janney (1994) and Fries (2004) proposed 'proximity' as a third parameter for the description of emotions expressed via both lexical and grammatical means. 'Proximity' refers to a speaker's emotional closeness to the appraised person, object, or fact.

In the field of parameter-based approaches, some consideration has also been given to the semantic dimension of 'evaluation' as underlying the description of 'emotion' (see, for example, Drescher 2003). In this regard, it should be said that it is widely agreed that the expression of 'emotions' involves a cognitive component that may be referred to as 'evaluative'. This aspect has also been included in the above cited definition of 'emotion' as put forward by Scherer (2011). The question of whether 'evaluation' is to be considered as an inherent quality, a superordinate category, or even as a subordinate category and analytical dimension of 'emotion' is therefore a tricky one. A vast majority of experts seems to opt for the first option, including Hunston and Thompson (2000), whose perspective on 'evaluation' is widely adopted here.[4]

Evaluation as targeting propositions

Modality

As mentioned previously, we can understand the inclusion of modal meaning as an analytical subcategory of 'evaluation' analogical to that of 'affect'/'emotion': "Während die Haltung des Sprechers im Falle emotionaler Bedeutungskomponenten in die Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes einfließen, erscheinen sie im Falle der modalen Komponente als emotionale bzw. bewertende Haltung bezüglich eines im propositionalen Äußerungsteils zum Ausdruck gebrachten Sachverhaltes" (Drescher 2003: 43). To put it differently, whereas a speaker's emotional attitude is related to an 'entity', modal components convey the speaker's attitude as attached to a 'proposition'.

Modal meanings thus refer, on one hand, to what is known as 'modality' (epistemic and deontic), expressing the degree of certainty, possibility and obligation about what is said. On the other hand, they also refer to what is called 'evidentiality', which involves linguistic markers of the "attitudes towards knowledge" (Chafe 1986: 262) as captured in terms of degrees of speakers' certainty, the source of knowledge and the mode of knowing ('evidentiality', Chafe 1986).

However, it should be clear that the description of modal meanings as an analytical subcategory of 'evaluation' given here does not consider 'modality' and 'evidentiality' from a logical and truth-functional point of view. Instead, they are considered with regard to the way in which modal statements – by conveying the speaker's attitude to what is said – allow for a speaker's dialogic positioning in respect of potential or real alternative positions, including those of readers. For example, by making (objectively modalised) bare statements, speakers express their points as categorical, absolute and non-negotiable. These positions are not easily contested by potential readers. By contrast, subjectively modalised utterances present positions as questionable, denied, expected, as mere possibilities among others, and so on. Therefore, the latter indicates a position from which the speaker refrains to some degree and which is thus presented as negotiable, or in Bakhtin's (1981) terms, as 'heteroglossic'. Several modal resources are used for the linguistic encoding of modal meaning as a sub-dimension of 'evaluation'. In describing such resources, authors often draw on a broad perspective of 'modality'

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[4] In contrast, Bednarek (2008c) argues against the consideration of 'affect' (her term for 'emotion') as a subtype of 'evaluation'. According to the author, 'affect' should rather be considered as "a broad cover term for various approaches analysing the relationship between language and emotion" (Bednarek 2008c: 20).

(and 'evidentiality') as proposed, for example, by Simon-Vandenbergen (1996). The autor suggests to refer to "any lexicogrammatical choices which convey these attitudes towards one's claim [...] as modal expressions, so that the notion of modality is not restricted to any specific formal category" (Simon-Vandenbergen 1996: 391). In addition to modal verbs, this includes modal particles, particular uses of future forms and the like.

The 'engagement' (and to a lesser degree the 'graduation') sub-dimensions in the appraisal theoretical framework, for instance, draw on, expand and further systematise these modal resources encoding 'evaluation' (see sections 2.3 and 2.4).

Evaluation as expressed at the textual level

Evaluative uses of language also serve textual functions, especially with regard to discourse organisation. According to Schwarz-Friesel (2007), the textual manifestation[5] of emotion,[6] however, remains a relatively under-researched topic.

As suggested by Schwarz-Friesel (2007), an examination of the textual encoding of emotion has to consider both text-internal structural aspects and text-external procedural aspects of coherence creation and meaning making in discourses.

Text-internal aspects then refer to the textual manifestations of attitude, which include but also extend beyond the lexico-semantical and grammatical means discussed thus far. As is well known, the principal task of the textual function is to integrate propositions into a coherent and cohesive whole through information-structural organisation. For the creation of textual coherence, both the place of evaluation in clause and text, and the salience it is given in the information-structural organisation, becomes crucial.

Inter-clausal coherence through evaluative resources is often implicitly realised, for instance by means of logical (causal) connectors such as eng. *because*. This is said to implicitly present a situation as a problematic, thereby indicating a particular point of view behind this evaluation. In giving a causal explanation, the speaker implicitly signals that something does not comply with the interlocutors shared expectations. At the same time, the reader is prompted into the position of accepting the explanation (because the connector indicates a natural cause, Hunston and Thompson 2000).

Another resource that helps to promote inter-clausal coherence in a text and which manipulates the reader is the use of evaluative anaphoric nouns. Such anaphoric nouns synthesise and evaluate in one noun the content of prior clauses. The evaluation is often presented as a 'given' (in theme position), and is thus unlikely to be challenged by the reader (Schwarz-Friesel 2007).

On a textual level, coherence is also created through the wave-like pattern in which more or less interrelated evaluative devices are spread throughout a text ('evaluative prosody').

Evaluative anaphoric nouns also serve important functions for the generation of cohesion on a broader textual level. This is less concerned with the presentation of an evaluation as a given, but more about the placement of the item at the turning point of a discourse. Generally, as stressed by Sinclair (1987), 'evaluation' is likely to occur at boundary points in discourse. It therefore functions as a hint for discursive organisation. Therefore, evaluative anaphoric nouns placed at the beginning of a paragraph act as a kind of summary of the previous text and point to the text's structural organisation. In

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[5] 'Text' is then defined as any utterance comprising at least two sentences (Schwarz-Friesel 2007: 210).
[6] Schwarz-Friesel's (2007) use of the concept of 'emotion' is somewhat similar to the concept of 'evaluation' used here, as evident in Schwarz-Friesel's discussion of lexico-semantic, propositional and textual uses of 'emotion'.

addition, they function as evaluative devices signalling that a point has been made, and that this point should be taken for granted by the reader. As pointed out by Hunston and Thompson (2000), evaluative devices used this way at the end of a segment in monologic texts may make up for the lack of interactivity. In dialogical texts, by contrast, this is achieved through backchannelling and other evaluative devices. Thus, in general, evaluation is a kind of 'interactive' resource regarded as directing the reader's attention to the point being made in the discourse. This is seen to be consistent with Labov's (1972) view on 'evaluation' as being closely related to the narrative stage, expressing what makes the story worthy of being told. In other words, evaluative devices in narrative "are used to establish and sustain the point, the contextual significance and tellability, or reportability of a story" (Toolan 2001: 151).

However, rather than occurring in one narrative stage alone, 'evaluative' resources are said to accumulate across several stages, including what Labov (1972) called the abstract, coda, at the end, and before the climax. Hunston and Thompson (2000: 13) therefore drew the following important conclusion: "Essentially, it is evaluation that enables monologic narratives to be interactive and to fulfil a communicative function".

The latter statement echoes our own point of view that evaluation is likely to be a crucial means of creating a kind of 'interactivity' in the monologic communication with the television audience.

Evaluation as expressing narrative point of view

Evaluative means are also employed to convey points of view in narration. This has to do with the crucial characteristic of evaluative devices to encode the evaluating person (or the source that takes the responsibility for the evaluation) together with the attitude itself (Drescher 2003; Hunston and Thompson 2000).

In narration, on a story level, evaluative devices are used to indicate the kind of mindset at the origin of an utterance. The use of evaluation with this purpose is especially important when different perspectives, say those of the narrator and a fictional character, become blurred. Idiosyncrasies in evaluative choices (such as a character's use of a dialect, a certain speech style or the repetition of typical expressions) might then help the reader to differentiate between overlapping 'identities'.

Stance

The notion of 'stance' is often conceived of as a (quasi) equivalent to that of 'evaluation', with the latter term being preferred to the former because of its greater potential for morpho-syntactic adaptation in several situations of terminological use (Bednarek 2008c).[7] In establishing their subject of study, such accounts then often refer back to Biber and Finegan's (1989), Biber et al.'s (1999), and Conrad and Biber's (2000) works on stance-taking. Biber et al.'s (1999) aim was to identify lexical and grammatical markers as surface displays of stance in large-scale corpora of English. Biber et al. (1999) and Conrad and Biber (2000) then identified three broader categories of stance: 'attitudinal stance', 'epistemic stance', and 'style stance'. Having either entities or propositions as their objects, the former two are seen to be more or less equivalent to the abovementioned evaluation subcategories of 'emotion'/'affectivity' and 'modality'. The consideration of an extra subcategory of 'style stance', defined as a "speaker/writer's comments on the communication itself" (Conrad and Biber 2000: 60),

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[7] The advantage of the term 'evaluation' is that it also has an adjective form that can be employed in accounts on the topic.

is then regarded as one major difference between the concepts of 'evaluation' and 'stance' (Bednarek 2008c).

The term 'stance-taking', in its gerund form, alludes to a dynamic perspective on evaluation as a phenomenon constructed in the ongoing discourse and in the social context of a situation (Englebretson 2007). Du Bois' (2007) definition of 'stance' also illustrated the dynamic and socially embedded nature of the phenomenon. 'Stance' is defined as a "public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means […] through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects [...], and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (Du Bois 2007: 163). Du Bois (2007) thus proposed that 'stance-taking' must be considered from three closely related angles: the evaluative dimension as a core component, the speaker's positioning with regard to self and others, and the signalling of alignment or disalignment.

Markers of 'attitudinal stance' thus no longer feature as mere surface clues to a speaker's affective state or opinion. Instead, such markers are conceived as evoking shared communitarian values and social identities formed around their content and their norms of expression. The markers are likely to be employed in order to mark social differences that set societies and cultural groups apart from each other (Jaffe 2009).

One specific type of stance-taking in this regard is 'stylisation'. According to Coupland (2001: 345), 'stylisation' refers to "the knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context". Stylisation is thus a stance act lying at the interstices between personal style and socially recognised speech style. Socially recognised speech style then needs to be qualified with regard to the broader semiotic systems of opposition in which it plays a role. It is said to be tied to more or less conventionalised systems in which "a style contrasts with other styles, and the social meaning signified by the style contrasts with other social meanings" (Irvine 2001: 222).

The purpose of the study of style is to identify the patterns of linguistic resources for the expression of both personal and social styles, and to uncover the broader semiotic systems of opposition against which these styles are to be qualified (Jaffe 2009). As we will see later in this study, in fictional texts, such systems of opposition may also be more or less narratively determined.

Coming back to practices of 'stylisation' as a particular kind of stance-taking activity, we might say that such practices exhibit a number of characteristics that are characteristic of stance-taking activities in general. For instance, stylisation practices involve issues of self- and other-positioning. By projecting particular social identities, the interlocutor is prompted into a certain position or role. For example, in a performed or staged stance act, the interlocutors may be 'construed' as an audience. In this way, it is also possible to project the interlocutor as real or merely virtual, or – even more importantly – as socially close to or distant from the stance-taker and his or her position (Jaffe 2009). The projection of an interlocutor's position always involves a certain adaptation of values and identities with regard to the interlocutor and to the ongoing discourse. Stance-taking is thus a co-constructed or 'dialogic' activity (Jaffe 2009).

The latter is also evident in the possibility of taking up stance acts. In general, a stance act conveys an evaluation about a stance object; that is, about a "salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (Du Bois 2007: 163, see definition above). In other words, stance acts mark a certain evaluative position and its object as relevant in the ongoing interaction. When aligning with the position singled out in this way, the interlocutor acknowledges the relevance of the discussed and evaluated stance object to a degree. The sustained production of mutually-acknowledged stances may then even feed into

more enduring stances, indexing underlying social identities or ideologies (Jaffe 2009). Operating at the interface between personal and social styles, stylisation therefore constitutes an active process through which personal or local social meanings are determined in relation to social identity meanings. That is, in deploying a particular style, a speaker may define certain identities in relation to bigger identity categories circulating in society.

The act of stance-taking is also a form of contextualisation: In order to enable the interlocutor to draw the correct situational inferences about the positions, roles and identities an individual wants to convey in a certain context, so-called 'contextualisation cues' (Gumperz 1982) are employed to guide the interpretation. Among other things, it is socio-cultural knowledge and world knowledge accumulated through communicative encounters with the other members of a certain community that helps the interlocutor to decode such contextualisation cues and to design their own responses on this basis. Closely related to the concept of 'conceptualisation cues' is that of 'footing', as proposed by Goffman (1981). 'Stance' is conceived of as "the inventory of footings taken in the course of communication" (Jaffe 2009: 10). In other words, it is the varying repertoire of alignments, disalignments and realignments with the projected opinions, positions and identities that are adopted during a communicative act.

For instance, in aligning with a position, a speaker may signal full approval of and accommodation with the projected position. In terms of Goffman's (1981) 'footing', the discursive roles of author, principal and animator of the communicated message are mapped.

However, interlocutors may also signal a partial or total disalignment with a projected position. A somewhat innovative means of doing so is through 'keying'. 'Keying' is a kind of reframing process in which an already conventional framework of stance-taking is enacted in an alien setting, so that it transcends earlier uses. For instance, a conventional authorial role can be made the focus of attention and placed as up for discussion, objectifying it as a mere figure. Other candidates for reframing processes involving a certain distancing from earlier uses are rekeying of serious statements as humorous or vice versa, or shifts in an individual's stance-taking towards their own utterances, the communicative setting or other individuals. Reframing thus involves the placement of particular stances as the focus of attention and the re-enaction thereof. However, such performative practices do not merely come to the fore in reframing, but are themselves constitutive of stylisation practices (Jaffe 2009). In performances, the surface realisation of stances draws attention to itself, thereby shifting emphasis to the general artificiality of processes of representation. Performative practices are thus highly self-referential, especially in relation to form.

Another characteristic that stylisation practices share with stance-taking practices in general is 'indexicalisation'. The process of 'indexicalisation' leads to a more or less fixed association of certain linguistic features with particular stances, social identities and ideologies. The newly established relationship is not a causal one by nature; rather, as pointed out by Silverstein (2006), signs are related to their object through association and through their co-occurrence in a frame, which then creates likeness between the two items. This means that social meaning is acquired through the co-occurrence of a particular register with a particular social group or a certain genre (Bell and Gibson 2011). When having acquired a more or less conventional status (or the status of 'higher order indexicalities', Silverstein 2003), stable indexicalities seem to be more easily recognisable and interpretable by members sharing a certain social background.

In addition, in tandem with processes of 'indexicalisation', those of 'iconisation' are likely to take place. According to Irvine and Gal (2000), 'iconisation' is a process of

stylistic objectification causing social indexes to appear as if they were naturally linked to their objects. It entails the typification of indexical meaning, for instance through selection processes. This may comprise the reduction of the social category associated with a certain register to a typical core, and the projection of a semantic opposition onto the established connection between a certain style and a social group. Furthermore, it may comprise 'erasure', "when a pattern of meaning associations is simplified, and one part of the meaning complex is forgotten about or elided" (Coupland 2007: 22f.).[8] To give an example, the Turkish-German 'Kanak sprak' style typical of a certain character in our corpus has become naturalised, so that there appears to be a direct correspondence between this linguistic variant and its typical speakers: 'Kanak sprak' has become associated with a particular subgroup of young male lower-class characters, and this is done on the basis of a few linguistic and non-linguistic features only.[9] Other linguistic features that are typical for its corresponding 'real-world' variant 'Kiezdeutsch' have been erased. In addition, a negative versus positive opposition has been projected onto the 'Kanak sprak' style and its speakers in relation to, for example, standard German and its speakers.

Finally, and this can also be illustrated with the example of 'Kanak sprak' as a media product, a process of 'enregisterment' (Agha 2003) of style may occur. The latter refers to "the process by which a style becomes engraved in the public mind as indexing certain social personas or 'characterological figures'" (Bell and Gibson 2011: 561). Once the style has been conventionalised, 'crossing' (Rampton 1995), that is, the mobilisation of a style by different speakers and across different domains of use, may occur. In our case, this takes place when non-Turkish-German teenagers adopt the style in particular speech contexts.

1.2   Approaches in Literary and Film Studies

In the previous section, we discussed several linguistic frameworks in which attitude-related concepts featured prominently. We will now go on to discuss the position and the status that has been allocated to such concepts in accounts of fictional texts, especially in those from film studies.

Accounts from literary and film studies certainly differ from linguistic ones in that they have fictional texts as their object of study. Moreover, these texts are narrative ones. At this point, one might argue that non-fictional (linguistic) frameworks may equally be concerned with narrations, albeit with factual ones. It is therefore important to clarify the sense in which factual narratives differ from fictional ones from the beginning.

Classical definitions emphasise the distinction between factual and fictional narration in terms of referentiality. Factual narratives are said to establish a referential relationship to 'real' worlds and can thus be judged in terms of truth conditions, whereas fictional narrations do not and cannot (Hamburger [1957] 1973).

However, from a pragmatic point of view, the conditions of a fictional text's use seem to be more important than issues of referentiality. Narrative fiction is conceived of as implying an act of mental intension or 'simulation' of the mental states of fictional characters. In fiction, simulation is then likely to be used to boost the effect of immersion into the simulation (Schaeffer 2009).

Mental simulation as described above is seen as adjacent to another type of simulation ('empathy'), which is affective in kind but which also has a cognitive component.

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[8] See also Irvine and Gal (2000: 37ff.).

[9] Such a variant may even become associated with a single speech feature only (Coupland 2007).

Mental simulation and affective simulation are close phenomena, guiding the process of fictional experience in similar ways. For instance, both are directed at 'reading' the (mental or affective) intention of fictional characters. Moreover, both produce imaginings but do not lead to real-world interactions with the characters afterwards (Schaeffer 2009). The question of which kinds of semiotic devices are used to maximise immersion in simulation is then pervasive for both types of simulation.

The latter brings us to a second point, according to which the objects explored in film studies differ from those in linguistics and literature. Films and television series are multimodal: They do not merely or primarily rely on the verbal mode. Traditionally, then, the film medium's reliance on the visual mode for developing narration has been overemphasised. A case in point is the traditional distinction between 'showing' and 'telling'. 'Showing' roughly refers to visual perspective-taking in narration, whereas 'telling' refers to a verbal one, for instance a perspective conveyed through a narrator's words. Bordwell (1985: 3, italics in the original) traces the two different theoretical viewpoints on narration back to Aristotle's and Platon's concepts of 'mimesis' and 'diegesis': "*Diegetic* theories conceive of narration as consisting either literally or analogically of verbal activity: a telling. [...] *Mimetic* theories conceive of narration as the presentation of a spectacle: a showing". At first sight, film, which relies heavily on pictures, is likely to be the ideal candidate for narration through showing. Visual perspective-taking seems to take place through the 'camera', which appears to be more or less equivalent to an 'invisible observer's' eye structuring the story. However, it has been argued that the mere emphasis on narrative principles of visualisation does not fully do justice to film. This seems to be a construct established in order to claim the film medium's validity as an art form independent from literary and other forms (Schmidt 2009).

Contrasting with the latter view is the reliance on literary or linguistic models in order to explain filmic narration. One rationale for the choice of these models, for example structuralist and formalist ones, is their higher level of sophistication. Possibly most interesting for the present purposes is the adaptation of Benveniste's (1966) account of subjectivity in the film medium. As discussed earlier, Benveniste proposed that every verbal utterance bears traces of the speaking subject as manifested in the act of speaking ('enunciation'). These traces may be more or less salient in the actual utterance. The distinction between passages of 'discourse' in which the enunciating subject (such as a narrator) comes to the fore and those of 'histoire' where the subject is disguised has been applied to filmic narration. Metz (1974), for example, proposed a certain analogy between traces of enunciation and traces of a filmmaker's intentions with regard to what he wants to convey to the audience. The traditional film is thus conceived of as one that disguises all visible traces of enunciation, and the filmmaker's intentions. The camera is seen as merely showing the story (Bordwell 1985).

However, just as in the strict analogy of filmic narration with visual representation, the comparison with verbal processes of representation is somewhat limited. Both attempts largely ignore how filmic narration is received by the viewer: Theories focusing on visual narration do not usually account for any mental presence of the viewer; in accounting for the filmmaker's intension of conveying a certain effect on the viewer, theories of verbal narration at least marginally factor in the film viewer. However, this also means that "*énonciation* gets reduced to marks of the speaker" (Bordwell 1985: 29, italics in the original), so that theories of verbal narration also ultimately fail to consider the film viewer. A comprehensive view of film narration should, however, consider film as a multimodal medium and shift emphasis on the reception side, as do theories of simulation (or immersion).

Cinematographic texts allow for direct immersion into fictional worlds through a variety of means. For instance, the realistic modality of most instances of film photography fosters direct cognitive simulation of the film text. In addition, focalisation through a narrating or perceiving entity is an important means for immersion into fictional worlds (Mellmann 2010). Focalised narratives, especially those rendering perspective in a non-verbal way, then come close to life-like perceptions because they seem to be "processed by more or less the same second-order circuits as are involved with processing sensory inputs" (Mellmann 2010: 424). Viewers are likely to derive a high degree of pleasure from such narratives. Preferences appear to be even higher for sequences with anthropomorphic focalisation; that is to say, when camera movements seem to imitate human movements and so on (Mellmann 2010). Even when employing narrative devices that are somewhat at odds with the way perspective-taking takes place in real life, the priming for anthropomorphisation does help to boost the process of immersion into simulation. Another function of anthropomorphic focalisation is to prepare the viewer's subsequent alignment with a character: "To 'align' a narration with a character means to seemingly walk about and keep close with him, applying internal focalizations (like in point-of-view shots) as well as external ones (like in close-up shots)" (Mellmann 2010: 422).

The creation of empathy with a character is then sometimes regarded as a specific form of simulation related to character, which is secondary to that achieved through perspective-taking or focalisation. Such a view is for instance advanced by Currie (1995) and Mellmann (2010). By contrast, a second perspective worth highlighting focuses on the centrality of empathising with the character as the most important factor for eliciting audience immersion in film.

However, a second look might reveal that the differences between these two viewpoints are not as pronounced as they might seem. We have already mentioned that focalisation might foster some kind of spatio-temporal alignment with characters that helps to access the character subjectively. This prepares for subsequent processes of affective participation: "As a consequence of such kinds of focalisation, we experience characters from different positions, for instance, as distanced observers or participant empathisers" (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 53). Furthermore, focalisation is likely to be a crucial precondition for eliciting the viewer's affective responses to film, because it allows attention to be directed to the objects of affect: "Artworks or media texts direct our affective reactions by focusing our attention on certain features of the characters and their situations. Those 'textually pre-focused' features serve as triggers eliciting feelings, moods, and emotions" (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 53). Because of processes of prefocalisation, the film viewer seems to be even more prepared to respond emotionally than in real-life situations (Grodal 2009).

A key question, and a matter of considerable debate, is related to the next step in the potential engagement with characters: Is it really possible that film viewers respond emotionally to characters whose emotions, actions and concerns are merely depicted? And how could they come to do so?

A core problem with many theories relying on the popular notion of how to establish 'empathy' derives from the mistaken claim that a character's emotions can simply transmigrate to the viewer. This possibility may certainly exist, as in the rare cases in which the character's and viewer's emotional experiences are parallel due to experiencing the same stimuli in the context. Another possibility would be through emotional contagion when laughing, crying or similar actions are seemingly infectious and therefore are transmitted from the character to the viewer. However, according to

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Mellmann (2010), these remain marginal cases, having limited value in explaining how viewers access characters' emotions.

The latter position is challenged by authors such as Grodal (2009), who argued that the transmigration of emotions to the viewer is indeed possible, and that it is even the default case for viewer engagement with characters.

The two theoretical positions pitched against each other here may be described, in the first place, by the opposition between what is captured by the contrasting terms of 'imagination' and 'simulation'. For Mellmann (2010), who advocated the first position, the crucial importance of 'imagination' is already derived from the fact that there must be a distinction between bodily emotions experienced by the self (the character) and their imaginary understanding through a mental representation created by the other (the viewer). Imagining a fictional world's emotions then corresponds, more or less, to mentally representing it. For authors such as Grodal (2009), by contrast, the film viewer's 'simulation' of emotions is not linked to a kind of imaginary understanding of the character's situation, but seems to consist of a real 'perception' process: the perceptual experience of viewing. Feelings elicited in the viewer on the basis of this perception process therefore appear not to just be created in the mind. In line with Frijda's (1986) suggestion that emotional experiences have an action component, such feelings are seen as responses to the characters' intentions and actions as depicted in the film. The film viewer's 'simulation' of emotions elicited by such actions is said to be 'real' in the sense that it is based on the perceptual experience of viewing, but differs from real-life emotions in that it does not generate an action-tendency in the viewer him- or herself. In this regard, it should be said that, paradoxically, the fact that the viewer has no real interest in subsequent, real-life-like action and reaction, may even enhance the viewer's emotional immersion in the fictional world (Grodal 2009).

According to Grodal (2009), action-motivated simulation, also known as 'empathy' or the fellow feeling with a character, then appears to be the standard case of the viewer's emotional engagement with the characters. The centrality of simulation through 'empathy' is, however, challenged by several other accounts of viewer engagement. In these accounts, the preference for the concept of 'imagination' is often intertwined with the preference for a distant observer's perspective that viewers are seen to take of characters. The latter accounts propose that 'sympathy', rather than 'empathy', should be the core notion when explaining how viewers come to engage with characters (e.g. Carroll 1998). Distant observer theories claim that viewers experience characters and their situations from the outside, as some kind of distant observer or witness to the events. The witness position involves the observer not just being immersed in the simulation, but also being consciously aware of his or her own distance from the character and situation depicted (Grodal 2009).

Distant observer theories appear to sharply repudiate the suggestion that the viewer could become emotionally close to characters, as expressed by the folk notion of 'identification'. According to Carroll (1990), who refuted both the concepts of 'empathy' and of 'identification', the renewed interest in 'empathy' is just another way of reintroducing the frequently contested everyday notion of 'identification' in film theory. As Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider (2010) pointed out, there are indeed some problems with the latter notion. The authors caution against an indiscriminate use of the term 'identification' to describe the processes of a viewer's relation to media figures, because such processes of 'identification' may be triggered by quite a number of different phenomena. For instance, in theory, a viewer's wishful identification may occur with human and non-human figures, 'good' or 'evil' characters, or protagonists or antagonists alike. Similarly, viewers may be prompted to identify with characters that

resemble or do not resemble them in terms of gender, age, class and nationality, or in their role models.

However, instead of simply supplanting the term 'identification' with more comprehensive concepts, Smith (1994, 1995, 2010) proposed a further conceptual refinement. The author suggested three types of cognitive processes were at work in the process of a viewer's engagement with fictional characters. The first is 'recognition', which refers to the fundamental task of constructing media figures, and which is likely to prepare the ground for later wishful 'identification' with characters (Smith 1994, 2010). However, 'recognition' also implies processes of 're-recognition' throughout the narrative. That is, 'recognition' occurs "at once [as] a necessary first step and [as] an on-going process" (Smith 2010: 234). The second, processes of 'alignment', seems to ensure the viewer's spatio-temporal attachment to the characters and thus encourages the viewer's subjective access to them (Smith 2010). The third, processes of 'allegiance', seems to allow "spectators to evaluate characters on the basis of the values they embody, and hence form more-or-less sympathetic or antipathetic allegiances with them" (Smith 1994: 35). In other words, characters are judged in terms of how they conform to the viewer's individual, or the viewing communities', moral norms. This may also comprise compliance with value judgements underlying the film (that is, belief and value systems present in the text itself). The latter is often referred to as a film's 'ideology' (Smith 2010).

Despite Smith's closer attention to processes of 'identification', the scholar's proposal seems to largely follow the imagination and the distant observer paradigm in suggesting that distant observation (or feeling 'sympathy' for the character) is more important than is the simulation of direct involvement through 'empathy' (Smith 2010). The latter is neatly captured in Smith's (2010) distinction of engagement with characters through processes of 'central' and 'acentral imagination'. 'Acentral imagining' or the creation of 'sympathy' with the characters refers to the viewer's "imagin[ing] that such-and-such a character did something in a given setting" (Smith 2010: 252). Put differently, viewers are not transporting themselves imaginarily into the character's exact perspective, but acknowledge the figure's emotional concerns and react with sympathetic emotions such as pity, compassion, anger, admiration or schadenfreude (Smith 2010; Grodal 2009). The abovementioned three principal processes of 'identification', and particularly that of forming 'allegiances' through moral judgements, are more likely to occur when sympathy with characters is established. By contrast, 'central imaging', or the creation of 'empathy' – which implies that the viewers put themselves directly into the shoes of the depicted character – is regarded as secondary to 'sympathy':

> [E]mpathy functions in part as a 'subroutine' within the frame of sympathetic engagement. Our basic stance towards characters is not an empathic one in which we experience the fictional world consistently from their imagined perspectives; but through simulation (and related processes, like emotional contagion and mimicry) we flit rapidly in and out of characters empathically, moving with imaginative agility through a variety of perspectives which are then aggregated and interrelated to produce the structure of sympathy – that integrated, dynamic picture of the characters populating the fiction in terms of their moral-emotional appeal (Smith 2010: 254).

A certain affinity to distant observer theories is also observable in the work of Tan (1994, 1996). Seeking to explore what he called 'witness emotions' in film viewing, the scholar resorted to a slightly different terminology than that of the authors mentioned above. According to Tan (1994), 'empathy' and 'sympathy' were not different concepts. Rather, 'empathy' constitutes a witness emotion comprising both positive feelings

towards characters ('sympathy') and negative feelings ('antipathy'). Broadly speaking, the witness emotion termed 'empathy' used here is called 'sympathy' in other accounts. Despite this terminological conundrum, Tan's account is helpful in providing a fresh perspective on viewers' engagement with film by introducing two important points. Firstly, Tan (1994) made the distinction between 'diegetic emotions' (those created in the fictional world inciting sympathy or antipathy) and 'artefact emotions'. The latter are elicited when a film explicitly makes reference to its constructedness and artificiality. Importantly, then, the recognition of artificiality also shifts emphasis to the formal constructedness of fictional characters and their internal make-up itself: "[C]haracters are comprised of a 'formal' and a 'referential' dimension, or 'internal' and 'external' properties, and the presence of the formal dimension profoundly qualifies the referential dimension, rendering inadequate any simple mimetic account of character" (Smith 2010: 236f.). Secondly, according to Tan (1994), engagement with characters did not simply arise from the mere depiction of characters and their traits but, crucially, relies on the viewer's understanding of the significance of situations for the characters.

The latter brings us back to the perspective of Grodal (2009) mentioned earlier, in which he conceived of 'empathy' in terms of action-motivated simulation. Prompting viewers to 'read' the characters' intentions and to simulate their action-tendencies necessarily implies an understanding of the characters' concerns and the significance of situations in which the characters' actions take place.

From the cognitive perspective on emotions that Grodal (2009) used, the simulation of action-motivated emotions on the basis of incoming film data is not easily impeded. When empathetic simulation is seen as the default case, the creation of more distant observer perspectives (or 'sympathy') becomes more marginal. In fact, as argued by Grodal (2009: 196), "abstract, distant comprehension is untypical of most viewers' experience. To understand the character's situation in depth is to simulate his or her dilemma with eyes, bowels, heart, cognition, and muscles".

However, in contrast to most accounts that draw a more or less uncrossable line between the spectator's 'sympathetic' and 'empathetic' emotions, Grodal (2009) did not see them as strictly separate notions. Instead, 'sympathy' and 'empathy' are conceived as prototypes that "bleed into each other" (Grodal 2009: 199). Sympathy, for example, is likely to arise when the passage does not stimulate the viewer to simulate characters' action tendencies directly with his or her body. Moreover, viewers may be lured into sympathy when the action tendencies are directed at an agent other than the self, or when the action tendencies are blocked, because the viewer is no longer fully immerged in the fiction, but becomes focally aware of him- or herself and the condition of being an observer instead. The latter is often the case at the end of films, when the narrative segment comes to a close and the fictional world fades away (Grodal 2009). By contrast, empathetic simulation might be fostered in action-intense scenes and in close-ups of a characters' face, which may tempt viewers to indulge in speculation as to how they would feel in the characters' position (Tan 1994). Furthermore, prefocused depictions, as in point of view shots, may prepare the viewer's empathetic immersion by singling out the character as a target for empathetic engagement (Grodal 2009).

Overall, the action-potential of a given depicted situation is likely to play the most important role in determining whether the viewer is lured into empathy or sympathy:

> Thus the rule of thumb for predicting whether a given salient film situation will induce simulation or sympathy is whether that situation offers the potential for relief through action. Clearly, pity and compassion are the appropriate reactions when a tragic hero is dying, but they would be inappropriate in the middle of an action film when the hero is temporarily at the mercy of villains, for in this case pity might diminish the simulation of the urge to escape or take revenge (Grodal 2009: 200).

For Grodal (2009), empathetic simulation and sympathy were thus two alternative modes of prompting viewers to engage with characters. Emotional engagement with characters might then shift between positions of empathy or sympathy within the film' scenes or during the entire film: "[O]ur immersion and empathy are not always total; thus we may experience large parts of the film from a more distanced position, and different films have different ratios between immersion and distance" (Grodal 2009: 200f.). In addition to empathetic and sympathetic engagement, films orchestrate an even wider spectrum of modes of viewer engagement. In contrast to empathetic simulation, in which the viewer's action potential is largely "sealed off from the practical aspects of interaction" (Grodal 2009: 194), scenes featuring direct interaction are likely to further increase the viewer's action tendencies. Therefore, there are occasional passages and scenes in which "[the] [v]iewer interacts with [the] protagonist by elimination of diegetic boundaries, indirectly, as in films like musicals where protagonists address the audience, or by being addressed directly, or by interacting with the diegesis in video games" (Grodal 2009: 203, Table 8.1.). In film the most likely of the options cited above is certainly a character's direct address to the audience by speaking into the camera.

Apart from character simulation, there are further ways to generate viewer engagement in film by eliciting the viewers' emotions. In this regard, one possibility to do so is through arousal of what Tan (1994, 1996) called 'artefact emotions'. This type of emotional response "is based on viewers' awareness that the fictional world is presented by way of an artefact" (Visch, Tan, and Molenaar 2010: 1440). It is likely to occur in passages in which a film exhibits a high degree of self-consciousness and ambiguity, thereby drawing attention to itself and its construction by one or more authors. In other words, the filmic form, or what Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson (1985) termed 'style', is made perceptually salient and singled out for marked attention (Grodal 2009).

Such a heightened attention to filmic form appears to be rare in traditional mainstream cinema. As Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson (1985) have demonstrated with regard to classic Hollywood cinema, in mainstream films, 'style' is usually exploited in the service of the plot. Against the backdrop of mainly action-oriented and 'objectively' occurring plot developments, it is the characters' subjective experiences (emotions, perceptions, states of mind) that are stylistically marked. In this sense, style occurs as deviation from the normal action-oriented bias of mainstream films. However, style may also be made perceptually salient, for its own sake, perhaps even excessively so. While this is often the case in art films, excessive attention to a films' own constructedness is not confined to these. Modern television series have come to exhibit a considerable degree of metafictional, as well as intra- and intermedial elements, which "may bare the artificiality of the narration" (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005: 37). However, as stated by Tan (1994), stylistic elements eliciting 'artefact emotions' usually remain subordinate to diegetic or fictional world emotions (emotions created through immersion in the story as in character simulations). As Visch, Tan, and Molenaar (2010: 1444) have shown in experiments on viewer immersion in 3D films, "[i]mmersion would decrease the cognitive distance and would thus impair judgements

of the artefact". Formulated the other way round, increased consciousness of the film medium itself runs counter to the viewers' immersion into the fictional world: It potentially creates distance. In passages in which the artefact becomes the focus of a viewer's emotion, the representation of filmic action is backgrounded. As a result, the viewer's capacity to deduce the action intention of characters and to simulate action-motivated emotions is blocked. In this sense, in contrast to viewers' emotions generated through simulation, 'artefact emotions' are disembodied: They do not lead to the bodily simulation of action-tendencies or to the release of emotions in response to depicted actions in the viewer (Grodal 2009).

In their appeal to higher meanings that are evoked when the viewer is not able to construct a coherent, sense-making fictional world, 'artefact emotions' resemble other ways of creating viewer engagement; for example, through subjective representations. Such methods also have in common that they do not usually appeal to mass audiences (Grodal 2009). Thus, 'artefact emotions' such as enjoyment, admiration, or wonder about innovative stylistic features are more likely to be elicited in the more sophisticated viewer (Tan 1994).

Another way to stimulate engagement with the film is through eliciting viewers' subjective emotions. As with the 'artefact emotions' mentioned above, subjective emotions are likely to be created in the viewer when filmic action is backgrounded and therefore action-motivated simulations of emotions are ruled out. This seems to occur not only when there is no or little action, but also when the viewer's ability to establish hypotheses and propositions about the depicted situations is impeded, or when these situations cannot be related to the concerns of the protagonists (Grodal 2009).

Overall, in film, passages creating subjective feelings usually alternate with more objective options for viewer engagement. Some film types and genres have a higher number of scenes, and thus exhibit higher degrees of subjectivity, than do others: "Art films make prominent use of subjective sequences, whereas mainstream films use them more sparingly and by way of support for objective narrative sequences" (Grodal 2009: 230). As with subjectively experienced passages, other modes of viewer engagement provide alternatives for obtaining emotional relief through the simulation of action. Viewers might, for instance, find some emotional relief through humour (Grodal 2009). This is most typical of comedies, where comic relief seeks to alleviate seriousness, and thus the viewer's immersion in simulation from time to time: "Most film comedies oscillate between offering cues for character simulation and creating distance through laughter" (Grodal 2009: 202).

Another way to create opportunities for viewer engagement through humour is tied to the indirect 'interaction' film and theatre texts seem to allow for their audiences. One factor to be taken into consideration here is the (direct or simulated) presence of an audience in theatre and in classic situation comedies. Shared laughter seems to guarantee temporal social bonding among the members of the audience. Classic sitcoms used to prompt the home audience into similar acts of bonding:

> [M]any comedies and sitcoms are made in such a way that the audience members feel they are participating in a ritual of social bonding by defusing through laughter a series of negative emotions such as shame, pity, and embarrassment, indicated in sitcoms by the laugh track, which of course is made to cue contagious mirth but also to position the viewer as a participant in a mutual 'grooming ritual' to defuse negative social emotions (Grodal 2009: 203f.).

However, supporting social bonding among audience members is by no means confined to specific pseudo(spatial) situational constellations that enable audience participation. As in acts of distant communication in general, there is a growing need to create social bonding in increasingly large groups of completely unrelated people. One possibility for doing so seems to be through the creation of virtual communities, such as communities of laughter, which rally around certain shared topics and values. In films, apart from comic scenes, scenes that emotionally activate the viewer, thereby creating intersubjectively shared emotional resonance within the larger audience group, are good examples of the latter. Furthermore, virtual audience communities seem to be built around the belief and value systems the film exhibits, either in specific scenes or in general. Lastly, scenes enabling a shared appreciation of a film's intertextuality and aesthetical make up may elicit bonding by constituting virtual communities of those who are 'in the know' and those who are not. Film can thus support social bonding among audience members by a variety of means, and is not merely based on pseudointeraction (or 'ritualistic interaction' in Grodal's 2009 term).

On balance, we might say that cinematographic texts present a wide spectrum of options for the emotional engagement of their viewers. Whereas the creation of empathy and sympathy with characters is probably the most important of these possibilities, consideration of the broader spectrum of options is imperative if we want to understand the viewer's emotional reactions to films systematically.

Thus far, cinematographic frameworks of affective participation and their linguistic and literary counterparts have merely been discussed in terms of difference. We have, for instance, seen that fictional texts may differ from their factual equivalents in that the business of fictional devices is to draw the recipient into the story by boosting the text's immersion-inducing power. In this regard, it should be also said that fictional texts create a mediated account of emotions and evaluations. Such texts are likely to obey a certain principle of functionality of means, in which every single textual element is exploited in the interest of an overall message. That is to say, in opposition to everyday contexts in which emotional communication might lack a clear orientation and purpose, in scripted dialogue every linguistic element is there "for a reason" (Baumgarten 2005: 86). It is thus appropriate to assign these elements essential functions for the coordination of the narrative with the viewer's receptive disposition.

Despite these crucial differences, there are also similarities in cinematographic (or literary) and linguistic accounts of affective participation. Thus, some linguistic theories also have shifted in focus towards the recipient's side; that is, towards strategies concerning the recipients' emotionalisation instead of the speakers' own emotional expressions. In this case, it is no longer the accurate linguistic rendering of emotions but the strategic exploitation of textual elements in order to manipulate the recipient's emotional engagement that becomes an issue.[10] These parallels should be taken into account when seeking to explore how cinematographic frameworks can be fruitfully combined with insights from linguistic theories on emotion and evaluation.

In this regard, emphasis will be placed on one of the few linguistic accounts that allows for the systematic analysis of emotional and evaluative features in texts, namely appraisal theory. In addition to a pure description, appraisal theory also enables us to consider how such textual features are exploited in terms of recipient's positioning, and how evaluative choices and ideologies are created throughout a text. The account, which has been elaborated in the broader framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, has already been successfully applied to translated texts (Munday 2012), and is compatible

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[10] See Arndt and Janney's (1991) notion of 'emotive displays'.

to other systemic-functional frameworks used in translation theory (House 1977, 1997; Baumgarten 2005). Given appraisal theory's focus on the description of textual elements on the discourse semantic level (in terms of the meaning they convey), one additional benefit of the framework may lie in its potential applicability to multimodal instead of texts mainly based on linguistic signs. Feng's (2012) application to cinematographic texts is a first step in this direction.

The next section is dedicated to the introduction of this theoretical account.

2   Appraisal theory

Emerging from Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), appraisal theory aims at developing systematic descriptions of linguistic choices for the expression of emotions and the evaluation of people's behaviour and actions, as well as of concrete and abstract phenomena and things.

One of the main tenets of Systemic Functional Linguistics is that meaning-making is socially instilled. Semiotic processes are then explored in relation to the social realities in which they occur. Linguistic forms of meaning-making are therefore not seen as mere reproductions or enactments of social structures exploited for certain social purposes. Instead, they are simultaneously regarded as reshaping and transforming the social realities they enact and represent.

In line with Systemic Functional Linguistics' theoretical origins in some structural accounts[11], linguistic forms of meaning making are described in terms of structural organisation. SFL thus encompasses the systematic description of semiotic processes on different levels or strata (such as discourse semantics, lexico-grammar, genre and register). Semiotic processes are then exploited in terms of options that are potentially available in particular social situations, and those that are actually chosen or instantiated in a text (Halliday 1978). Correspondingly, the terms of 'meaning potential' and actually realised 'choice' are crucial in SFL. The potentially available options are further systematised in system network descriptions that capture the 'valeur' of an option in relation to the potentially available but unrealised choices. Such system network descriptions are provided according to the three broad metafunctions likely to be realised in semiotic processes: the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions.

Appraisal theory, as one branch of SFL, is concerned with the expression of the interpersonal metafunction serving "to construct or negotiate solidarity, and value judgements, between participants" (Munday 2012: 15).

Earlier systemic functional accounts have treated the interpersonal dimension as paramount in connection with speech act functions related, for example, to the interpersonal 'negotiation' of information, goods and services (Lemke 1998; Tan 2010). From the late 1990s onwards, efforts have been made to broaden the scope of research, since the latter categories no longer sufficed for an adequate and full description of the interpersonal metafunction: "[I]t is not sufficient to rely on the options thus far described for Halliday's interpersonal metafunction systems, important as these are. [...] we also, and crucially [...], construct attitudes and evaluations toward our own and others' discourses" (Lemke 1998: 2). The move towards a stronger analytical concern with evaluative meaning then also implied a methodological shift from the lexico-grammatical to the discourse-semantic level of analysis (Oteíza and Merino 2012).

Against this background, appraisal theory emerged in Australia from pedagogical work dealing with inadequate writing competencies, both in secondary school and in workplace contexts (Lee 2007; Taboada and Carretero 2012). The efficient use of language governing writer-reader interaction through evaluative positioning was seen as a key strategy in order to address such writing problems.

However, the main interest in appraisal theory seems to have arisen after the publication of Martin and White's (2005) seminal work *The language of evaluation*. Subsequently, a considerable number of case studies on appraisal categories in a wide variety of genres

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[11] For instance, the Prague school of linguistics.

have been carried out, mainly focusing on the expression of interpersonal meaning in English. The overwhelming majority of studies seems to have concentrated on the description of appraisal choices in contemporary texts, thereby approaching the topic from a synchronic perspective rather than from the point of view of diachronic development.[12] Appraisal choices, then, have been extensively studied in pedagogic and workplace contexts (e.g. narrative genres in secondary school: Martin and Rose 2003; Macken-Horarik 2003a; Page 2003; job interviews: Lipovsky 2008a, 2008b), journalistic texts (A'Beckett 2009; Bednarek and Caple 2010; Coffin and O'Halloran 2005), academic writing (Coffin 2009; Hood 2010; Lee 2008, 2010), political genres (Becker 2009), historical texts (Coffin 2006; Oteíza and Pinuer 2013), medical discourse (Adendorff and Klerk 2005; Körner 2010), advertising (Zhou 2012) and new media (Zappavigna 2011). Less attention has been paid to casual conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997), popular culture (Caldwell 2008) or cinematographic genres (Bednarek 2010 on television series).

2.1   The notion of appraisal

Given the widespread usage of subjective, attitudinal and evaluative meanings in all kinds of communicative contexts – in fact, there is no such thing as non-value-laden communication (Munday 2012) – there is a vast range of competing theoretical terms in linguistic accounts of this subject. As discussed previously in chapter 1, the notion of 'evaluation' itself stands out as one of the most comprehensive among them. According to Thompson and Hunston (2000: 5), it serves as "the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about". Several appraisal theoretical accounts (e.g. Jullian 2011) propose a one-to-one correspondence between such an all-encompassing notion of 'evaluation' and that of 'appraisal', which somewhat analogically seems to refer to all kinds of discursive phenomena related to the expression of emotions, evaluations and value positions in propositions or parts thereof. However, in appraisal theory the various options for the expression of evaluation are captured in system network descriptions, thereby offering one of the few systematic accounts in this area of research.

In appraisal theory, evaluative uses of language are clustered under three broader, simultaneously operating systems: attitudinal positioning ('attitude'), dialogistic positioning ('engagement'), and 'graduation'. This analytical distinction reflects the tripartite separation of the expression of an emotion or evaluation itself, its source, and the possibilities for its intensification.

2.2   The appraisal subsystem of attitude

a) Affect

Within the appraisal subsystem of attitude, 'affect' is certainly the sub-dimension that first comes to mind when we talk about attitudes and emotions. "[C]oncerned with

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[12] Exceptions from this 'rule' are, for instance, Hong (2011) who explores appraisal choices in Old English historical narratives, and Huang and Chen (2009) who assess the development of appraisal choices in Chinese newspaper editorials from a diachronic perspective.

registering positive and negative feelings" (Martin and White 2005: 42), affect is also the most basic and direct category for the expression of emotion: Judgement and appreciation are seen as institutionalised forms deriving directly from affect. In addition, affect is also said to be the first attitude subcategory to be acquired by children, and can already be found in some pre-lexical forms (Painter 2003).

In Martin and White's (2005) typology, affect, or the type of evaluation in which a speaker indicates how he or she responds emotionally to triggers of various kinds, can be grouped according to six factors. The first is the broad distinction between positive and negative emotions. Secondly, emotions are differentiated in terms of externality or internality of manifestation. Thirdly, there is a distinction between directed emotions (responding to a special trigger) and somewhat undirected emotions, which can be described as general emotional states or moods. The fourth distinction refers to the grading of emotions according to low, median or high intensity of feeling. That is, reference is made to how the system of graduation operates regarding affect choices. However, since graduation is seen as an independently operating system in appraisal theory, this variable should not be included in the classification parameters of affect and, instead, is better treated separately. The fifth axis of differentiation concerns the contrast between the realis and the irrealis effect. Finally, affect can be further subdivided into three sets of meanings related to happiness/unhappiness, insecurity/security, and dissatisfaction/satisfaction.

However, it must be said that the somewhat clear-cut system presented by Martin and White (2005) is not without problems. One more general problem in this regard, also acknowledged as such by Martin and White (2005), is the borderline cases between affect and the other attitude subsystems, which more or less escape the abovementioned classification.

The resemblance between choices of affect and choices of appreciation, for instance, can be assessed from the point of view of similarities in their linguistic realisation. As argued by Martin and White (2005), English conventions for the expression of affect, for example, point to a vast range of lexico-grammatical possibilities. When expressing affect in an explicit ('inscribed') way, the speaker might select between codings of affective qualities attributed to persons or processes in the form of adjectives, adverbs or verbs referring to mental or behavioural processes. Both processes and qualities are also frequently conveyed through nominal forms. Moreover, affect may be directly inscribed in comment adjuncts (Martin and White 2005). Borderline cases between affect and appreciation are most likely to occur when emphasis is shifted from the person experiencing the emotive reaction to the qualities of the target triggering the emotion.

b) Judgement

The second sub-dimension of attitudinal positioning is termed 'judgement'. Judgement "deals with attitudes towards behaviour which we admire or criticise, praise or condemn" (Martin and White 2005: 42). In other words, the evaluative target of a judgement is a person's character or behaviour, which is judged positively or negatively according to a set of moral and ethical norms. The latter comprise assessments in terms of social esteem ('admire or criticise') or social sanction ('praise or condemn').

Social esteem then comprises evaluations of behaviour in terms of 'normality', 'capacity' and 'tenacity', whereas social sanction includes assessments according to the 'veracity' and 'propriety' of the behaviour (Martin and White 2005).

To put it with Körner (2010):

'Normality' assesses behaviour against expectations of what is usual and the extent to which behaviour complies with these norms. 'Capacity' refers to the assessment of a person's ability to perform an action or achieve a result. 'Tenacity' is the assessment of a speaker's state of mind and commitment to perform an action. 'Veracity' assesses whether behaviour conforms with or deviates from expectations of adherence to truth. Lastly, 'propriety' is concerned with the evaluation of behaviour in terms of compliance with or resistance to ethical norms (Körner 2010: 275).

Grammatically inscribed expressions of judgement largely conform to the word classes that are typical for the expression of affect in English in general. That is, judgements are typically signalled through adjectival lexis (eng. *skilled*), but can also be realised through nouns (eng. *best behaviour*) and prepositional phrases (eng. *in order*).

When it comes to indirect judgements, these may, for example, be evoked through direct inscription of other choices from the attitude, engagement and graduation systems.[13.] In addition, judgement is particularly prone to being evoked via superficially impartial and factual statements. By foregrounding ideational meaning, evaluation is then disguised as fact and is more difficult to challenge (Martin and White 2005).

Furthermore, judgemental values in general appear to be highly susceptible to 'semantic prosodies' (that is, the accumulation of evaluative values throughout a text). This is, at least partly, due to their high dependence on group and communitarian norms. Accordingly, judgements are particularly informed by the cultural and ideological values[14] that are at stake in the actual communicative situation and in the co-text (Coffin 2003; White 2001). In other words, even when directly inscribed in a text, the quality of judgemental values in particular textual positions is highly informed by the value of previously made judgements in the same text.

Tokens of judgements and judgement sub-dimensions may be realised differently according to text types and targets of evaluation. For example, there is a general, clear preference for positive judgements when assessing one's own behaviour, and a preference for negative judgements when judging other people's behaviour and qualities (Lipovsky 2008a, 2008b with regard to job interviews). The subcategories of judgement found in particular text types are sometimes self-evident (such as mainly judgement: capacity in job interviews). In addition to positive capacity, negative propriety (morality) as the most severe type of assessment of human behaviour (Martin and White 2005) is also frequently exploited. It was, for instance, used in rap songs and court testimonies for blaming institutional and political forces (Bock 2011; Caldwell 2008), or in historical accounts for blaming the enemy (Hong 2011).

The application and testing of judgement values in different types of texts has led to additions to the original judgement subsystem. Bock (2011), for instance, suggested that code-switching practices should be considered as a phenomenon of appraisal (judgement). As code-switching can be regarded as one practice of stylisation or style-shifting, as discussed in chapter 1, it is worth considering Bock's proposal briefly.

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[13] For example, such inscribed evaluations on the lexical level lead to evoked judgements on the whole-clause level (Lee 2007, 2008, 2010). Furthermore, another case in point is evocation through incribed appreciation, when "an activity is explicitly appreciated as a thing, and also as an evoked JUDGEMENT of whoever accomplished it" (Lee 2007: 182, uppercase in the original). Repeated use of graduation can also trigger indirect judgements (Coffin 2002; Coffin and O'Halloran 2005; Zhou 2012).

[14] Given that certain moral and ethical values differ cross-culturally, this also means that distinct linguistic cultures are likely to arrive at different interpretations and categorisations of judgements. In other words, the system of judgemental values for English cannot be indiscriminately applied to other languages, and in translations between ideologically-distant cultures shifts in judgement values are likely to occur.

In the special case of South African post-Apartheid court testimonies discussed by Bock (2011), code-switching is seen to convey value judgements of propriety (morality), and to function as a resource for engagement, allowing for the inclusion of different voices. In their testimonies, the testifiers took on a particular variant of Afrikaans associated with a certain racist world view. They employed this variant when directly quoting the voices of dominant police forces they had to deal with during Apartheid. Together with some instances of obscene lexis in the quotations, "the code-switched utterances function as tokens which construe the police and the Apartheid system as morally corrupt and brutal and position them for strong negative judgement [...]. By inserting these quotes into their testimonies, testifiers are able to index their stance (outrage, rejection) in relation to the police and build solidarity with their audiences" (Bock 2011: 204).

Code-switching, or style-shifting in general, is thus a means of indirectly conveying attitude and value judgements while simultaneously signalling either alignment or disalignment with the cited position.

c) Appreciation

The third subcategory of attitude subsystems is referred to as 'appreciation'. Appreciation "involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field" (Martin and White 2005: 43). That is, appreciation focuses on the positive or negative assessment of objects, texts, results of processes and states of affairs.

Choices of appreciation share with those of judgement the property of being oriented towards the appraised rather than towards the person doing the evaluation (the appraiser). Appreciation, however, differs from judgement with regard to the precise nature of the appraised target: While judgement targets human beings and their behaviour, appreciation targets objects, results and other phenomena. Furthermore, an additional criterion of distinction is the assessment from an ethical point of view (judgement) versus an aesthetic point of view (appreciation). Because of the latter criterion, evaluations of people in aesthetic terms (eng. *a beautiful girl*) fall into the appreciation rather than into the judgement subcategory.

Appreciation is further subdivided into several dimensions: appraisals in terms of reactions to objects, their composition and how they are valued. 'Reaction' reflects the impact the appraised thing has on the appraiser (reaction: impact) or the approval or disapproval it creates (reaction: quality). 'Composition' comprises an assessment either in terms of harmony or disharmony of the appraised object (composition: balance), or in terms of its intricacy (composition: complexity).[15] 'Valuation' refers to the significance and social values attached to appraised items.

Drawing on Eggins and Slade (1997), Martin and White (2005: 57, bold in the original) set these categories in relation to the tripartite division of mental processing in terms of emotive, perceptional and cognitive processes: "**Reaction** is related to affection (emotive – 'it grabs me', desirative – 'I want it'); **composition** is related to perception (our view of order); and **valuation** is related to cognition (our considered opinions)". The subcategory of reaction, then, remains closest to affect. The difference between affect and appreciation: reaction lies in the direct emotional expression of feeling (affect) and the evaluation of the target that causes such feelings (appreciation, Martin and White 2005). Similarly, because it involves value judgements, appreciation:

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[15] As Pounds (2012: 260) puts it, this dimension has "clearly [emerged out of] the language of the visual arts and the aesthetic domain".

valuation is the least differentiated from judgement. For instance, one can appraise the capacity of someone to do something in terms of judgement and the result of this action in terms of appreciation (Martin and White 2005). Therefore, as in the case of judgement, the interpretation of instances of appreciation: valuation is highly susceptible to field choices. That is, their interpretation depends on the semantic field created in their textual environment. The latter is, lastly, highly determined by the institutional perspective from which it is assessed (Martin and White 2005; Painter 2003).

When it comes to linguistic realisation, explicit (or inscribed) appreciation is mainly conveyed in adjectival form in English. Indeed, "APPRECIATION is the area in which adjectival lexis – the canonical form of realization for ATTITUDE – is most evident ontogenetically" (Painter 2003: 202, uppercase in the original). With regard to indirectly conveyed appreciation, the combination of apparently factual statements and qualities with resources of graduation seems a useful strategy for evoking appreciation (Pounds 2012). Furthermore, appreciation may be evoked by secondary codings, particularly by those made on the basis of inscribed instances of judgement.

As with the other frameworks of attitudinal positioning, the appreciation typology has been applied to diverse discourse types and contexts. Some discourse types seem to be more susceptible to analysis in terms of appreciation than are others. Given that appreciation targets the assessment of objects, texts, processes, the state of affairs and the like, instances of explicit appreciation can often be found in reviews, evaluative descriptions and advertisements concerning texts, objects, processes and states of affairs. Then, while positive appreciation predominates in property advertisements (Pounds 2012), for instance, both positive and negative aspects can be found in book, film and hotel reviews (Asher, Benamara, and Mathieu 2009; Taboada and Carretero 2012) or newspaper editorials (Huang and Chen 2009; Lihua 2009). Appreciation is also frequent in discourse types in which the circumstances of situations are to be evaluated, such as in discourses relating to environmental conditions (Bednarek and Caple 2010), or to historical circumstances (Oteíza and Pinuer 2013). In addition, academic writing (e.g. Lee 2007) is a field in which appreciation plays a significant role.

2.3   The appraisal subsystem of engagement

We now turn to consider the second broader subsystem of appraisal, which is generally called dialogistic positioning, or 'engagement'.

In appraisal theory, the engagement system refers to the sourcing or origin of attitudes (A'Beckett 2009; Martin 2003; Oteíza and Merino 2012). Attitudes maybe presented as emanating from the speaker itself (authorial), or from another participant (non-authorial). Sourcing also has to be set in relation with regard to the expression of speaker orientation it enables. In addition to the exploitation of subjective or 'self-oriented' evaluative resources, evaluative actions are also 'other-oriented' (Lee 2008). In other words, advancing a particular evaluation or point of view regarding a proposition also has an intersubjective effect, because it implies positioning in relation to alternative positions, including those of the audience (Bock 2011).

Apparently, as the alternative labelling of the engagement system as 'dialogic positioning' seems to reflect, the engagement system is inspired by Bakhtin's (1981) and Vološinov's (1986) concepts of 'dialogism' and 'heteroglossia'. According to the latter authors' point of view, all discourses are inherently dialogic; in other words, they are conditioned by previous or possible utterances and the 'voices' or stances they

express. This is also true for the engagement system in which resources are employed to signal the way in which utterances engage with past, present or future communicative exchanges. They are used to simultaneously "invite the audience to share [the text producer's position] and to align themselves with a community of shared values and beliefs" (Bock 2011: 189). In this way, engagement resources serve to present actual utterances as currently up or not up for discussion. They indicate the speaker's or writer's readiness to negotiate alternative positions, and the relative position the speaker/writer assigns to the text receiver (Munday 2012), thereby creating a kind of ideal reader or listener.

'Dialogism' in the sense of Bakhtin (1981) applies to all kinds of communication, even monologic ones. With White (2001: n.pag.) explained, every utterance "is 'dialogic' in this sense in that the writer presents himself as imaging how his readers will be reacting at this very point of the text and presents himself as responding to what he believes would be their voiced objections or questions had they been there, in the room with him, engaged in a face-to-face conversation". Clearly, then, in texts with limited possibilities for direct interaction with the addressees (for instance, in cinematographic discourse), engagement resources might be exploited to recreate, at least to a certain extent, the impression of face-to-face communication and the possibility of interaction. To put it differently, in monologic texts, engagement resources may be exploited for audience positioning, including the creation of alignment or non-alignment with the advanced position and the reader's involvement. It is thus imperative to draw a crucial distinction between dialogic and monologic texts (distinguished by the possibility of direct physical speaker-recipient interaction or the lack thereof), and dialogism in Bakhtin's (1981) sense (where speaker-recipient 'interaction' is realised in terms of intersubjective positioning).

Dialogic positioning through engagement resources can be further distinguished in terms of 'heteroglossia' and 'monoglossia'. Broadly speaking, the latter terms refer to "utterances which do engage with dialogic alternatives" ('heteroglossia') "and those which do not" ('monoglossia', White 2003: 262). Martin (2004) differentiated between heteroglossia and monoglossia in terms of the utterances' ability to elide or reference dialogism. According to the author, "[t]he option monogloss construes a proposition or proposal baldly, with no referencing to sources or alternative positions" (Martin 2004: 324). That is, in terms of sourcing, "monogloss utterances do not explicitly refer to other sources and indicate that the writer or speaker is the originator and the source of the assertions" (Chatterjee 2008: 5). In this way, alternative positions are ruled out. This is the case for utterances that are generally presented as categorial and non-negotiable or unproblematic and factual, such as bare assertions, the statement parts of questions, and factual statements (Becker 2009; Gales 2011; Lee 2008). In terms of reader positioning, such monoglossic statements "assume an audience that is in alignment with the utterance" (Gales 2011: 37).

In general, however, actual utterances are presented as arguable and open to alternative positions to a certain extent. Heteroglossic utterances are seen to reference dialogism (Martin 2004) through a variety of lexico-grammatical features. At this point, it is worth noting that the engagement subsystem has been developed mainly on the basis of accounts of modality and epistemic modality that were considered to narrow their focus to the expression of truth validity. Thus, the engagement system that emerged from considerations that the concept of modality "should be extended well beyond the modal verbs to include all wordings by which speakers/writers modulate their attachment to, or

detachment from, the proposition" (White 2003: 260).[16] Consequently, the engagement system has been referred to as an all-encompassing category comprising resources of "voicing, modality, evidentiality and intersubjectivity" (Bednarek 2007: 108). Similarly, the engagement system has also been regarded as expressing a "social perspective on what has traditionally been described as epistemic modality and evidentiality" (Bednarek 2007: 109).

We now return to the lexico-grammatical resources organised as various types of engagement subcategories as found in heteroglossic utterances. Heteroglossic resources and the subcategories in which they are organised can be grouped on a cline of variation according to whether they permit 'dialogistic expansion' or 'dialogistic contraction'. Resources of dialogistic expansion help to open up the space for negotiation with other positions, whereas resources of dialogistic contraction close it down.

Beginning with the resources of dialogistic contraction, we can point to two broader sub-dimensions, called 'disclaim' and 'proclaim'. The 'disclaim' sub-dimension encompasses all resources through which "the textual voice positions itself at odds with, or rejecting, some contrary position" (Martin and White 2005: 97). The category thus comprises resources that articulate a negative response to a proposition or position ('denial'), or to counter propositions, positions or the audience's previous assumptions ('counter-expectancy'). The latter also includes concessive resources. Disclaim resources are said to be heteroglossic in that even the complete denial of a proposition always includes an allusion to its potential positive realisation, thereby implying the latter as alternative option. However, such alternatives are then directly rejected, countered and precluded. The space for alternative positions is thus contracted, with the cost of the subsequent challenging of the position being considerably increased.

The resources grouped under 'proclaim', are, in general, dialogically contractive to a slightly lower degree. Here, contraction occurs because the speakers indicate their strong commitment to the expressed position by emphasising the validity of their argument: "[B]y representing the proposition as highly warrantable (compelling, valid, plausible, well-founded, generally agreed, reliable etc.), the textual voice sets itself against, suppresses or rules out alternative positions" (Martin and White 2005: 98). This could be done by presenting the position as expected and unquestioned within the current speech community ('concur'), or by explicitly introducing the speaker into the dialogue, thereby framing the utterance as grounded in some apparently objective and plausible circumstances ('pronounce'). Furthermore, alternative points of view that are shared and thus heavily supported by the speaker may be inserted into the discourse ('endorse'). In this way, "[t]he endorsed utterance is represented as true, reliable, convincing or at least worthy of consideration" (White 2001: n.pag.).

In contrast to the resources of dialogic contraction, resources of dialogic expansion seem to open up the space for the negotiation with divergent positions. These resources can be classified into the two broader subcategories, namely 'entertain' and 'attribute'. Together with resources of pronouncement, lexico-grammatical means to express 'entertain' come closest to the traditional categories of modality and epistemic modality (Becker 2009). Softening a proposition to different degrees by modal means, for instance, is regarded as heteroglossic because "by explicitly presenting the proposition as grounded in its own, contingent, individual subjectivity, the authorial voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions – it thereby entertains or invokes these dialogic alternatives" (Martin and White 2005: 98). Similarly, resources of 'attribute' further expand the dialogistic space because they

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[16] For a similar position on engagement as expanding on 'modality in a broad perspective', see for instance Becker (2009).

allow for the introduction of external voices, for example through quotations. The category of 'attribute is somewhat similar to that of 'endorse' in its advancement of external voices. However, whereas in the case of 'endorse' the speakers indicate their alignment with the expressed proposition, through choices of 'attribute' they signal their neutrality by merely acknowledging the external point of view ('acknowledge') or their disalignment with the proposition ('distance'). The latter two are seen as not restricting the position that was expressed.

2.4 The appraisal subsystem of graduation

'Graduation' is the third broad subcategory of appraisal theory. It encompasses several means of either up- or downscaling the 'force' or sharpening or softening the 'focus' of an evaluation (Martin and White 2005).

It is noteworthy that, while acting as an independent parameter in the appraisal system, graduation cannot carry positive or negative evaluative meaning on its own: "Expressions of Graduation differ from those of Attitude in that they do not have intrinsic positive or negative values by themselves, but acquire them in context" (Taboada and Carretero 2012: 279). Assessed in the context of the appraisal subsystem of attitude, resources of graduation are employed to regulate the strength of a feeling or evaluation. In the context of the subsystem of engagement, by contrast, they may be used to adjust the degree of dialogic expansion or contraction. In this regard, graduation "provides the resources for speakers to position themselves as more or less strongly aligned with value positions and to invite the addressee to do likewise" (Körner 2010: 277).

Values of graduation then fall into two broad groups, termed 'force' and 'focus'.

'Force' serves to adjust the intensity of scalable expressions of evaluation. Values of force can be amplified or diminished. Up-scaling seems to be by far the most frequent option in languages such as English (Lipovsky 2008b; Martin 2003; Martin and Rose 2003).

Choices of force can be further subdivided according to the semantic subcategories in which they occur. The first is 'intensification', which may operate on qualities (such as eng. *very excited*), entities or processes (Taboada and Carretero 2012). In English (and in German), intensification is often conveyed via adverbs and adjectives, but it can also be expressed by other isolated lexemes, lexically infused items or even figurative language (Bednarek and Caple 2010). Thus, intensification may be generated through comparative and superlative forms of adjectives (Fuoli 2012; Martin 2003; Taboada and Carretero 2012), and the use of none-core vocabulary (Martin 2006; Mei and Allison 2005; Pounds 2010). The latter two classes may be (partly) realised through infusion, where the intensifying values combine with other meanings in one lexical item. In non-linguistic terms, some graphological and phonological features, such as large capitals conveying emphasis are also included in this category (Martin 2003). Finally, figurative means of up- or downscaling intensity include metaphor, simile and various forms of repetition (Bednarek and Caple 2010; Gales 2011; Martin and White 2005).

The second subtype of force is called 'quantification', which is further subdivided into 'number' (eng. *few*, *many*), 'mass/presence' (eng. *small, huge*) and 'extent' (Martin and White 2005). Some analysts prefer to confine instances of 'number' to expressions of imprecise numbers or amounts (eng. *few*, *many*) because these are likely to "refer to objective qualities" (Taboada and Carretero 2012: 280). However, particularly in automatic analyses of corpus occurrences, this would exclude some hyperbolic

expressions featuring exact numbers, which might nevertheless be used to convey subjectivity. The 'extent' subcategory groups resources that operate in space and time. The latter dimension was, in fact, not proposed in the original framework, but was later included on the basis of case studies of historical and academic discourse (Hood and Martin 2007). There is a wide range of proposals for further refinement of the category in terms of 'duration', 'speed', 'distance' or 'proximity', 'distribution', 'scale', 'scope', 'frequency' and 'enhancement' (Bednarek and Caple 2010; Hood and Martin 2007; Hood 2010; Oteíza and Pinuer 2013; Taboada and Carretero 2012).

The second sub-dimension of the broader framework of graduation, 'focus', is likely to be less frequent in texts. Focus applies to "the usually non-scalable categories, grading meanings according to the prototypicality and preciseness by which the categorical boundary is drawn" (Chen 2010: 501). Values of focus permit the sharpening or softening the degree to which meanings in their scope agree with a core item of their category, thereby signalling proximity or distance to this referential entity. In English, linguistic realisations include, for example, *true or genuine* to sharpen, and *kind of* or *bordering on* to soften categorical boundaries (examples taken from Taboada and Carretero 2012: 279). Focus may then serve to convey degrees of 'authenticity' or 'specificity', as well as the 'fulfilment' of a process, expressed in terms of its 'completion'/'realisation' or the lack thereof (Hood and Martin 2007; Hood 2010; Oteíza and Merino 2012).

2.5   Forms of realisation of appraisal choices

As discussed in the previous sections, there is an ample – and language-specific – range of lexico-grammatical means that can be used for the explicit expression of appraisal. However, appraisal may also be rendered implicitly ('invoked').[17]

a)   Provoked, flagged and afforded appraisal according to Martin and White (2005)

According to Martin and White (2005), inscribed and invoked realisations of appraisal choices can be situated on a continuum between the opposite poles of explicitness and implicitness. Rather than being a form of arbitrary categorisation, the latter arrangement is contingent upon criteria of particular interest for these scholars, namely the contribution of such meanings to the naturalisation of reading positions. Inscribed evaluation is located at the explicitness end of the scale, whereas for several invoked forms, opening up the space for the naturalisation of reading positions to various degrees, the opposite is the case.

The authors suggested three subcategories of invoked appraisal closer to the implicitness end of the scale. Firstly, 'provoked' appraisal through lexical metaphor (eng. *we fenced them in like sheep*) is seen to lie somewhere in between the explicitness and implicitness poles. Secondly, and already closer to the implicitness pole, is invoked appraisal in the form of 'flagging'. Flagging devices, such as counter-expectancy indicators (eng. *however*) or non-core lexis are seen to be indirectly indicative of evaluation, since they direct the reader's attention to the fact "that attitudinal values (positive/negative) are at stake" (Martin and White 2005: 67). However, they are simultaneously used for explicitly signalling engagement (counter-expectancy markers)

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[17] Alternatively, this may referred to as 'implied' (Martin 2003).

or graduation (non-core lexis). The same is true for some metaphors with grading qualities listed by Martin and White (2005) as means of provoked appraisal. However, some other authors (such as Bednarek 2007) have suggested that both the devices included in the provoked and flagged categories should be discarded as forms of invoked appraisal.

There remains the third subcategory of invoked appraisal proposed by Martin and White (2005): 'afforded' appraisal. This is also closest to the implicitness end of the explicitness-implicitness scale. In cases of afforded appraisal, attempts are made to disguise positive or negative evaluations as factual statements (Martin and White 2005). This can be illustrated with an example provided by White and Thomson (2008: 12): eng. *George W. Bush delivered his inaugural speech as the United States President who collected 537,000 fewer votes than his opponent.*

Here, the statement may appear externally to be objective and factual, but may evoke a negative appraisal in the addressee. Clearly, then, in order to decode the evaluative 'submessage', the addressee must arrive at the same interpretation as the author. To put it differently, the addressee must adopt a 'compliant reading position' (Munday 2012: 28). Furthermore, such a decoding of evoked authorial evaluation depends heavily on cultural and situational knowledge and points of view. It is therefore also possible that different recipients arrive at different interpretations. Despite these obvious difficulties in the decoding of evoked evaluation, it seems a powerful means for manipulating the addressee, because "by masquerading as a factual and 'commonsense' representation of the world, [it] is often more effective at manipulating the reader by seeming to be incontestable" (Munday 2012: 28).

2.6   Rhetorical purposes of appraisal choices

All instances of appraisal, whether explicit or implicit ones, can be assessed with regard to the broader rhetorical purpose the speaker/author has in mind. In fact, it could be argued that realisations of interpersonal meaning – which are necessarily speaker-hearer-oriented – are rhetorical in purpose, always seeking to persuade the recipient of the message.

When assessing why one appraisal category or subcategory explicitly or implicitly realises another in joint meanings, rhetorical motives appear to become even more straightforward.

One rationale behind shiftings within the attitude subcategory may, for example, lie in the more individual or personalised value attached to choices of affect, and the less personalised and thus more 'objective' value attached to choices of judgement and appreciation.

Results from various studies point in this direction. Rhetorical moves towards personalisation occur, for instance, when emphasis is shifted towards the expression of affect rather than that of judgement or appreciation. The latter has been found in appraisal analyses of an interviewer's evaluation of candidates conducted after job interviews (Lipovsky 2008b).[18] By contrast, depersonalisation strategies are exploited when there is a shift from affect or judgement towards more objective forms of attitudinal positioning (e.g. appreciation).

Apart from depersonalising a certain point of view, such rhetorical moves may also generate a shift in the responsibility taken for the evaluation, thereby creating a

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[18] See also Painter (2003) with reagard to the substitution of appreciation choices through those from affect as a personalisation strategy exploited by children.

distancing effect of the advanced evaluative position. This has been described in the recasting of judgement in terms of appreciation. Thus, when comparing judgements with appreciations, "[w]e can expect assessments of humans to typically put more at stake than assessments of natural objects or generalized situations" (White 2004: 234). Reshaping evaluated targets as thingy-like entities (appreciation) thus creates less risky evaluations – a strategy of authorial distancing that also translates into a distancing effect for the audience: "Packaging events as things and appreciating them can have a distancing effect, forming more of a community of commenting observers than reactive participants (a more contemplative evaluation from afar)" (Martin 2004: 328).

2.7 Meaning complexes created through congruent and incongruent realisations of appraisal choices

As stated previously, meaning complexes that couple direct and indirect meanings may not merely be created on the discourse semantics stratum, with one appraisal system or subsystem standing for another. The impression of indirectness may also emerge as a result of a tension between strata, for example, between the lexico-grammatical and the discourse semantics strata. A case in point is Halliday's (2004) 'grammatical metaphor', which is described as an incongruent mapping of semantic resources onto lexico-grammatical patterns. That is, semantic elements that are typically simply and directly encoded in a particular grammatical formulation may be recast into a more incongruent lexico-grammatical pattern. The semantic element is then conveyed more indirectly. Both ideational and interpersonal grammatical metaphors are possible, but are preferred in different text types and communicative situations.

Interpersonal metaphors appear to be preferred in everyday spoken communication. Metaphors referring to mood and modality, such as the incongruent realisation of a command in a question format, fall into this category (Martin 2008). By contrast, ideational metaphors seem to proliferate in academic writing, where nominalisations as incongruent realisations of actions or qualities abound.

2.8 Stratification of meaning along the hierarchies of realisation, instantiation and individuation

a) Realisation

In line with the systemic tradition of SFL, all the simple and complex configurations to express interpersonal meaning outlined so far have been approached from a systemic perspective. That is to say, they have been described as systems of alternative and contrasting semantic options for the expression of evaluations. The broader analytical perspective that allows us to capture such a systemic organisation of semantic options is that of the hierarchy of 'realisation'. Roughly speaking, the realisation hierarchy refers to a scale for the organisation of meaning according to several degrees of abstraction. This cline of abstraction runs from the stratum of phonology or graphology, through the strata of lexico-grammar, discourse semantics and register, to that of genre. Importantly, the coding along this realisation hierarchy shows patterns of redundancy; that is, genre is more abstract than is register because it involves an abstraction made over register patterns, register patterns are an abstraction built on top of discourse semantics patterns,

and so on (Martin and Rose 2003). Analytically, however, emphasis is usually placed on one stratum. For example, instances of appraisal are mainly accounted for as system network descriptions of options available at the discourse semantic stratum, which on a higher level can be recoded as register, and then as genre. From a systemic perspective, actually realised choices of appraisal are to be assessed against a backdrop of the potentially available but unrealised options characterising a social situation. From a research perspective of realisation, texts can then be exploited with regard to the question "how they realise comparable or contrasting selections for meaning in the system as a whole: [...] Given all possible kinds of appraisal, which are realised here?" (Martin 2006: 284).

b) Instantiation

Another analytical way of addressing how the system of meaning as a whole is linked to different levels of stratification is through the lens of the 'instantiation' hierarchy. In SFL, the notion of 'instantiation' refers to the actualisation of meaning potential in a text. This actually occurs across all strata of realisation, so that the instantiation hierarchy is actually cutting across all levels of realisation. The underlying principle shaping the hierarchy of instantiation – with the 'system' at one and the concrete reading afforded in a text at the opposite pole of a cline – is generalisation. In other words, the semiotic system as a whole is conceived of as the most generalised meaning potential. Lower down the hierarchy, genres and register are seen as sub-potentials of the system; even lower, we find text types as generalisations drawn over actual instances, and texts as exhibiting such actual instances. Finally, concrete readings form the lower end of the cline, further specialising meaning potentials arising in texts through subjective interpretations (Martin 2010).

From a research perspective of instantiation, texts can be compared according to how "instantiation [is] used to model intertextual relations with respect to more or less shared meaning potential" (Martin 2006: 287). The difference from a research perspective focusing on realisation may be explained as follows. In terms of realisation, one would, for instance, cross-textually compare the different configurations of appraisal choices in registers. Focusing on genre, one might assess how genres are realised as more abstracted configurations of such choices and how these differ across texts. From a perspective of instantiation, however, appraisal choices in a text would be studied according to the degree they depend on – and thus resemble or differ from – those of another intertextually related discourse. In general, textual patterns are shared when texts use quotations from related texts, whereas reworkings in the form of paraphrasing and retellings put more distance between texts. The use of quotations therefore establishes inter-instance relations on the stratum of the text. Reworkings, by contrast, incite a progression up the instantiation cline, with inter-instance relations becoming more vague and distanciated from each other: "[O]ne text may simply be felt to have inspired another [...] or pushing further, simply to belong to the same genre" (Martin 2006: 287). The generalisation of meaning potential as caused by reworkings then leads to an under-specification of meaning, which subsequently has to be reactualised in another text in a different form. In other words, the progression up the instantiation cline leading to semantic under-specification is completed by a corresponding move down the cline when intertextual motives are re-instantiated in another text (Martin 2006).

c) Individuation

While analyses of differences in semiotic choices cannot be satisfactory without taking intertextual relations into account, analyses would also be incomplete without reference to the ideological circumstances of text creation. The latter is analytically included in the hierarchy of 'individuation', which is described as a scale of stratification into "communities of meaning" (Martin 2006: 294). In other words, 'individuation', a term coined by Matthiessen (2003), refers to meaning potential as available to specific social groups (Martin 2010: 22).

Matthiessen's concept of the individuation cline builds on Bernstein's (2000) distinction between 'repertoire' and 'reservoir'. According to Bernstein (2000), 'repertoire' deals with the set of meaning resources that can be activated by an individual person. 'Reservoir', by contrast, makes reference to the set of meanings potentially available in a given culture. In between these two strata forming the systemic end ('reservoir') and the individual end ('repertoire') of the hierarchy, intermediate levels referred to as coding orientation and personality type are situated.

Bernstein's basic framework also implies the notions of 'recognition rules' and 'realisation rules', as well as the related concepts of 'classification' and 'framing'. Whereas 'recognition rules' specify the contextually expectable and thus legitimate choices for the speaker, 'realisation rules' allow the speaker to produce culturally expected texts. 'Classification' deals with how clear-cut boundaries between different entities (such as social groups) are drawn. 'Framing', by contrast, refers to different issues related to the nature of communication, such as the social nature of the speakers and questions about their grouping as insiders and outsiders (Martin 2010).

The reinterpretation of Bernstein's (2000) findings within the SFL framework allows for two different analytical perspectives on the individuation cline:

> Along the reservoir to repertoire trajectory, we can conceive of a culture dividing into smaller and smaller communities as we move from the community as a whole, through master identities (generation, gender, class, ethnicity, dis/ability) and sub-cultures to the personas that compose individual members. What we are concerned here with is power, classification and recognition rules – with boundaries between identities. Reversing direction, we can conceive of persona aligning themselves into sub-cultures, configuring master identities and constituting a culture. Along this trajectory we are concerned with realisation rules, framing and control – with negotiation among and across identities. While individuation is a suitable name for the first trajectory, affiliation seems more appropriate for the second (Martin 2010: 24).

Knight (2010: 36) described the 'individuation hierarchy' as conceiving of the culturally available meanings through the lens of ideology, thereby "specifically [referring] to how individuals may display differential access to the linguistic resources of the culture".

In fact, as should have become clear in the previous sections of this work, the exploitation of interpersonal texture necessarily seems to entail the introduction of some kind of value orientation reflecting the ideological orientation of the writer/speaker in relation to which the text's recipient is positioned (Munday 2012). It is the stratification along the individuation cline that ultimately enables us to "interpret discourse from an ideological perspective, in terms of both the distribution of meaning in a culture, and discourses that work actively for and against redistribution" (Martin 2006: 294).

From the research perspective of individuation, both the ideological interests of the speaker and those of the recipient are served, and the cultural affiliation to these ideological positions is negotiated. As stated above, down the individuation trajectory,

we move from meanings codified in the culture as a whole to meanings linked to different smaller groups, personalities and individuals. The individual meaning configurations can be recognised as groups', personalities' or individual's styles and corresponding ideologies.

However, the mere representation of differential identities sanctioned by a culture does not lead to a negotiation about the cultural distribution of meaning. The negotiation of community values and ideologies takes place when individual identities progress up the individuation hierarchy, thereby creating possibilities for cultural affiliation or disaffiliation with the negotiated position. Martin (2006) provided the example of the cultural recoding of a well-known Australian wartime story in a children's book. The author gives the story a more non-violent reading than that of its forerunners. Through various reconfigurations, including those of appraisal choices, the reader is thus prompted towards a more tolerant reading position. The redistribution of the story takes it into the cultural realm, where the author's individual position reverberates and thereby "elaborate[s] collective memory in the direction of a more balanced view" (Martin 2006: 294).

At this point, it should be noted that such processes of 'affiliation' concerned with the negotiation of community values may be very complex. They may also include the combination of interpersonal meanings with ideational ones. Given that the relationship between the appraisal system as one means of creating interpersonal meaning and other types of meaning (ideational, textual) has not been addressed thus far, the next section will be dedicated to this topic.

2.9   Interactions between metafunctions

a)   Interaction between the interpersonal and ideational metafunctions

Although the appraisal framework clearly aims at identifying patterns of interpersonal meanings, such meanings are not conceived of as existing independently from patterns of ideational or textual meanings (Munday 2012). Thus, while studies may be partitioned by focusing on the interpersonal metafunction in appraisal analysis, meaning making at each stratum is always regarded as drawing on each of the three metafunctions. In this regard, there are points of overlap between metafunctions that are more pronounced than are others.

When it comes to ideational meaning, this differs from interpersonal meaning in that it refers to the subject matter of a discourse. The extralinguistic reality is represented in discrete semiotic structures.

Ideational and interpersonal meanings may become intertwined in complex ways. For example, the negotiation of community values may be cemented through shifts between ideational and interpersonal meanings.

Knight (2010), for instance, argued for the negotiation of affiliation to a certain community through the process of 'bonding'. Bonding is a kind of 'coupling'; that is, the selection of specific combinations of meanings from larger sets of possible options (Martin 2010). In bondings, ideational meaning referring to a certain subject matter and value judgements about this matter as shared by a certain group are likely to be bound together. A good example is the coupling of the proper name *Obama* (the subject matter) with a positive value judgement in twitter messages sent after Obama won his first election (Zappavigna 2011). Clearly, then, such bondings can become more or less stable over time, thereby forming so-called 'bondicons' (bonded icons).

Crucially, bonds are seen as the fundamental units clustering around the different levels of the individuation cline (Knight 2010). When somewhat individual value judgements about subject matters are expressed and fixed, possibilities for the negotiation of meanings are created. Individuals and smaller or larger groups affiliating with certain positions can be recognised. Similarly, as described in the last chapter, for the process of affiliation in general, individual positions may spread by moving up the individuation hierarchy, thereby creating possibilities for cultural contestation. In this regard, on the level of an entire culture, bonds may be created and cemented not only through the spread of slogans or cultural ceremonies, for instance, but also through the telling of political jokes (Martin 2010). In fact, humour seems to be a major device for creating affiliative bonds (Knight 2010).

However, it must be said that such a negotiation of meaning in culture or on the level of smaller groups does not automatically forge bonds and affiliation among participants. Instead, bonding creates possibilities for both affiliation or for disaffiliation with the expressed position. It entails a high risk factor when the proposed couplings of subject matters and values are not mutually agreed upon by all group members or by members of a culture. This is what Martin (2006: 294) seemed to have in mind when stating that stratification along the individuation clines generates "discourses that work actively for and against redistribution".

Before going any further, it should be noted very briefly that research in this direction (the coupling of interpersonal and ideational meanings, as well as its role for the creation of bonds and affiliation) is still in its infancy.

b) Interaction between the interpersonal and textual metafunctions

Another way to study interpersonal texture is through the lens of its textual patterning.

In general, textual structure is described in terms of "a periodic pattern, one of waves and troughs that function to give prominence to certain meanings over others in the message" (Hood 2010: 152). With regard to overlappings between textual and interpersonal meanings, it is then imperative to identify the sites in which interpersonal meaning is particularly singled out for the recipient's attention.

Such sites for 'peaks of interpersonal prominence' seem to concern the information's structural organisation, and are likely to vary according to languages and to the levels of analysis applied. In English, for instance, meanings appear to be foregrounded in initial and final positions of units of meaning.[19] That is to say, highpoints of prominence roughly coincide with the positions of themes and rhemes. This pattern can further be generalised across various levels of organisation in larger units of meaning (Hood 2010). Clearly, then, the textual spread of prominent interpersonal meaning depends on the text type or genre, since broader Hyper- and Macro-Themes are regarded as peaks of prominence in larger stretches of text. In order to identify the highpoints of prominence, texts should therefore be further subdivided into stages and phases (Macken-Horarik 2003a, 2003b).

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[19] At least in the case of initial positions, the same seems to be true for German. Fetzer (2008: 35), for example, found "language-specific preferences for the realization of turn-initial positions and their functions as interpersonal, topical and textual themes" in English and German.

2.10 Appraisal theory as applied to different fields of study

Due to their origin in a branch of Australian Linguistics, accounts of appraisal theory have mainly focused on verbal texts in English as their objects of study. Recently, however, some approaches have emerged that originate from a wider semiotic perspective or from the (comparative) study of appraisal in additional languages.

a) Appraisal theory and research on multimodality – short overview

In light of the relative extensive body of appraisal analysis devoted to verbal discourse, it may come as a surprise to find that only a handful of researchers had apparently given some serious thought to its application to multimodal texts. As stated by Caple and Knox (2012: 221), "such applications are in their relative infancy compared to the extensive work on appraisal in language".

One of the reasons for this widespread disregard is the difficulties that the inclusion of non-verbal and para-verbal features into appraisal analysis may pose for transcription and coding (e.g. Lipovsky 2008a with respect to the coding of attitude and graduation). Nevertheless, there is some consensus that a shift in attention towards multimodality may be insightful in assessing appraisal choices. The common denominator between purely linguistic and more multimodally oriented appraisal analysis is the broader rhetorical and value orientation of the text (Chen 2010). Not surprisingly, studies accounting for non-verbal and para-verbal features often fit in with more linguistically-oriented studies, in that they discuss appraisal choices in similar text types. Therefore, multimodal research on appraisal has included, for example, the study of journalistic discourse (Bednarek and Caple 2010 on image-nuclear news stories; Caple and Knox 2012 on online photo galleries; Economou 2008 on images in the lead of news stories), pedagogical texts (Chen 2010 on Chinese ESL textbooks) and advertising (Feng and Wignell 2011; Tan 2010; Zhou 2012). However, analyses have also occasionally been extended to new or mixed discourse types emerging in new media (Ho and Ong 2007 on interactions through virtual role play; Zappavigna 2011 on tweets). While the studies of appraisal in multimodal texts often focus on the exploration of verbal-visual relationships, other modalities assessed in appraisal analyses in conjunction with language are body movements (e.g. Bednarek 2010 on verbal-visual features and body movements in a TV series; Feng and Wignell 2011; Ho and Ong 2007; Zappavigna et al. 2010) or typographic features (Chen 2010; Zappavigna 2011). The latter category is perhaps most closely related to classical (linguistic) appraisal analysis, in that typographical choices such as large caps or typeface colour seems to build directly on linguistic choices, thereby constituting a kind of 'visual metadiscourse' (Dafouz-Milne 2008: 98, referring to a term coined by Kumpf 2000).

As far as research on multimodal appraisal choices in film or television discourse is concerned, this has received relatively little attention. One notable exception is Feng's (2012) comprehensive account, which is mainly dedicated to attitude (especially affect and judgement as the main triggers of viewer judgement). As one of the bases of the present study, this account will be explored in more detail in chapter 4. Moreover, Feng and Wignell's (2011) study addressing the incorporation of multimodally rendered voices (or engagement choices) into television advertisements will be addressed in chapter 5 when discussing intertextual allusions and voices in the present corpus.

b) Appraisal theory and translation studies

The study of evaluation in translation presents a complementary perspective to the analysis of cross-linguistic differences in evaluative language use. Only a few studies have gone some way towards broadening and sharpening the picture that a more systematic treatment of evaluation requires. These studies mainly subscribe to a systemic-functional or functionalist perspective on translation.

Such studies challenge the traditional assumption of the translator's invisibility, in that they recognise that the subjectivity of the translator is necessarily present in any translated text.

Primarily concerned with the faithful rendering of religious and literary works, translation has from the beginning been regarded as a somewhat mechanical activity inferior to that of the original author. That is, instead of allusions to the transformative role of the translator, the latter has been regarded as being committed as much as possible to the source text. From the second half of the 20th century onwards, one can trace the influence of linguistics in translation studies, where the core concept of maintaining 'equivalence' of expression between ST and TT appears to echo the earlier positions of the translator's commitment to the source text.

It was only within the cultural turn in translation studies that the translation process has been recaed as an activity that has been transformed in the context of intercultural communication. Consequently, attention has been shifted to the impact of target cultural contexts, norms and constraints on translation. Other factors, such as target culture ideologies, power balances and literary and poetic systems have increasingly gained significance in translation studies. In this context, concern for the translator's opportunities to actively manipulate or intervene in the translation process has been raised. Within this growing interest in the translator's visibility (e.g. Venuti 1995), the concept of the 'translator's voice' (Schiavi 1996), accounting for a subjective presence of the translator in the translated text, has emerged. This was consistent with some existing bodies of work, for example, that of Schleiermacher (1838). In shifting emphasis from the translated text to the relationship of the original author, the translator and the reader, Schleiermacher stressed the subjective and intersubjective nature of the translation process (Cercel 2010).

The modelling of writer-translator-reader relationships is then of crucial importance for a subjective and intersubjective account of translation. Roughly speaking, from a semiotic-functional point of view and concentrating on translators, we can say that they, like target readers, might encounter the original author's specific and significant lexical choices at certain points in a text. They might then assess why the choice was made at this point and how to render it adequately (Munday 2012). In a similar way to the author's choices, the translator's choices then "are also meaningful and represent conscious or unconscious decisions at the lexical level that, together, represent the translator's interpretation of the ST [source text, S.F.]" (Munday 2012: 16). In other words, potentially, opportunities for the translator's intervention – with "all intervention [being] evaluative" (Munday 2012: 20) – are created at every lexical instance throughout a text. The translator's voice – largely substituting for that of the original author – then figures among the different types of evaluative voices orchestrated in a translated text.

Initial approaches

Systematic contrastive analysis of what happens to appraisal choices in translation has only recently begun, the major work so far being that by Munday (2012). Munday

focused on critical points of translator decision-making when translating evaluative language. This seminal work will be presented at the end of this section, which first focuses on a number of smaller studies mainly conducted on translations or transeditions between English and Chinese.

With regard to the translation of attitude, Munday (2012) reported on two studies on the translation of literary texts and advertisements from English into Chinese. In these studies (Zhang [2002] 2011; Zhang and Qian 2009), which we were not able to access directly, the source texts are said to have been reworked favouring a target-culture-oriented framework. This included a considerable body of explicitations of culture-specific items (Munday 2012).

A change along the dimensions of culture-specific preferences was also found in another study by one of the above mentioned authors dedicated to the Chinese-English/Portuguese translation of public notes in Macau (Zhang 2009). Zhang (2009) used a functional account on translation derived from the earlier work by Reiss (2000) and Nord (1997) to describe how public notes with different informative, expressive and operative functions are rendered in a bi-/trilingual environment. Given that, for public notes, the target culture's conventions are highly binding, culture-specific adaptations are likely to occur. This seems especially the case with notes having an operative function; that is, those seeking to create a particular effect in the target reader. Reader-orientation appears to be especially pronounced in those notes demanding information or services from the recipient. For the latter, Zhang (2009) observed a reader-oriented translation shift that does not affect the ideational content of the note itself, but the tenor thereof (that is, interpersonal meaning concerning the relationship between discursive participants, including their status). Zhang (2009) proposed different cultural values, for instance in terms of different culture-specific experiences and expectations, as the underlying rationale of such translation shifts affecting interpersonal meaning.

The inscription of the translator's subjectivity as observable through shifts of interpersonal meaning has also been addressed in a small number of studies regarding English-Chinese news transediting in Taiwan (Chen 2011a, 2011b; Lu and Chen 2011).

The practice of news transediting seems to be guided by two somewhat paradoxical principles: The transedited text needs to remain close to the source text in order to comply with good journalistic practice; however, inddition, it "must be adjusted to accommodate the target culture" (Chen 2011b: 120). Thus, while practices of textual reworking, deletion and so on take it into the realm of adaptation, transeditioned texts could provide an interesting point of comparison with more 'faithful' translations with regard to the adjustment of writer-reader orientation.

Chen (2011a) suggested three factors that may have an impact on the construction of writer-reader solidarity in the specific context of news transediting in Taiwan: a more divergent (world-wide) audience compared to that of the source texts, the communitarian (team-working) practice of news transediting (as opposed to the individual practice of the original writer), and the dependence on the institutional setting and ideological position of the newspaper. The latter two, which are production-based factors, may be the focal points at which ideological distortion may take place.

Chen (2011b) put forward a more comprehensive characterisation of the issue of translator subjectivity than those existent to date. The author identified three particular strategies of text manipulation in the observed transedition context: the reproduction/recreation of ideologically-laden lexical items already present in the ST, the addition of news sources (with appeal to their authority), and the synthesising and shortening of content (which comprises the deletion of information that is irrelevant for the target audience in order to create a more straightforward text).

Such a "news translator's prearrangement of target perspectives" (Chen 2011b: 124) with regard to the reader seems to vary according to the transedited item's textual position (for example, whether it is in the headline, lead or main body). General patterns of writer-(translator-)reader solidarity then also vary with regard to textual positions. Based on a functional perspective on translation, Lu and Chen (2011) studied shifts of engagement in transedited news headlines. Similarly to Chen (2011a), they reported only a few shifts in the general proportion between heteroglossic and monoglossic headlines. In accordance with the general primary goal to attract the reader's attention, Lu and Chen (2011) observed a shift from implicitness to explicitness in headlines, which helped to get the message across more clearly. In terms of to the main body of transedited news, they also observed a shift from source to target texts with regard to the dominance of the appellative (audience-oriented or intersubjective) function. Additional dialogically contractive resources of denial and counter were found to serve such an appellative function, thereby creating surprise and singling out certain elements for the reader's attention. The somewhat secondary expressive (sender-oriented or subjective) function was found to be stressed through the shift from the neutral engagement resources of acknowledgement to those of endorsement. Such resources serve for the introduction of alternative voices into the discourse. However, shifts towards endorsement (or the writer's positive alignment with the introduced external position) were dialogically contractive. Those shifts were particularly observed when the authority and importance of the quoted source should be stressed (Lu and Chen 2011). Overall, albeit not aligning the reader by allowing for alternative positions, the transedited version was found to position the text closer to the reader, thereby creating reader involvement (Lu and Chen 2011).

Chen (2011a) also reported on shifts of intersubjective positioning in the main body of transedited news. On one hand, Chen (2011a) observed the addition of heteroglossic resources (expressions of likelihood and acknowledge[20]) in order to open up the discourse for alternative viewpoints and thus negotiate solidarity with a readership that is more diverse and more international than that of the ST. On the other hand, Chen (2011a) also found that despite the effort to acknowledge the heterogeneity of the audience, resources for dialogically contracting the discourse were also generally retained in the target texts. Resources of denial and counter, in particular, were used to align the target readership with the original writer's perspective, presenting it as more straightforward, and therefore the writer as being more trustworthy.

Munday's (2012) account of appraisal theory in translation

Munday (2012) also applied the appraisal framework to the study of translation. The author's purpose was to identify critical points of translation at which, due to the translator's evaluative intervention, translation shifts were most likely to occur.

In his study, Munday (2012) took the notion of 'uncertainty in communication', as coined by Grant (2007), as a major theoretical starting point. Partly based on Bachtin's observation that language is inherently evaluative and anchored in social practice, Grant (2007) described communication as an ever-changing system of subjective evaluation based on culture-specific ideological belief systems. In particular, Grant (2007)

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[20] In particular, he found that more neutral resources to introduce alternative positions in the discourse ('acknowledge') were used to substitute more biased ones ('endorse' or 'distance'; for instance, reported speech verbs such as eng. claim replaced by more neutral eng. say). Although the findings are somewhat contrary to those of Lu and Chen (2011), the use of more neutral forms may be considered as being in line with a general tendency of English (hard) news reporting to use neutral speech verb forms.

maintained that the expression of a speaker's subjectivity as realised in language and informed by broader culture-specific belief and value systems is permanently under pressure from both the "centripetal and centrifugal forces of discourse" (Grant 2007, quoted by Munday 2012: 12). Such discursive forces are regarded as driving evaluative communication in two opposite directions: "'centripetally' towards unification with broader communitarian beliefs, and 'centrifugally' towards stratification" (Munday 2012: 12) in terms of individual and highly subjective beliefs and values. The resulting communicative act is thus highly unstable and creates uncertainty for the speaker: "Social communications are a complex tension between dominant cultures and ideologies and the uniqueness of selves. This uniqueness and the asymmetries between self and others are factors of contigency which generate uncertainty" (Grant 2007, quoted by Munday 2012: 12).

At this point, it is important to stress that, due to the permanent tensions between individual and societal values and beliefs informing evaluative discourse, there is a lot of space for different interpretations of these evaluations. Therefore, there is ample potential for a speaker to interpret and choose different linguistic forms of evaluation that can be assessed against the unrealised but equally possible choices. Given the close similarity to the concept of choices in SFL, for Munday (2012), these points of tension or gaps between evaluations can then be fruitfully applied to the study of evaluation in translations. Here, the translator's evaluative and ideological interventions should be compared to their equally possible counterparts. According to Munday (2012), appraisal analysis is a promising account in this regard.

Before turning to the results of Munday's (2012) study, a remark on the difficulties that the approach might pose are as follows: Firstly, as Munday (2012) rightly proposed, the wide range of possible interpretations attached to one evaluative item generates some problems in practical analysis. For instance, the reading position in which a translator is positioned or might take against the evaluative stance in the text cannot be clearly assessed. Therefore, the study of evaluative choices should attempt at exploring more general patterns of interpretation, as found when observing translation shifts: "The concentration on patterns of shifts, rather than individual instances, reduces the obstacle of the crucial question of interpretation" (Munday 2012: 18). Secondly, for Munday (2012), the assessment of linguistic items that could have been chosen in the translation process is likely to require a process-oriented rather than a product-oriented perspective.[21]

Accordingly, Munday (2012) set out to explore a wide variety of texts from different modes (interpreting versus written translation), different text types (technical translation, literary translation), different languages and from translators with different levels of experience (novice translators, experts). In addition, he drew on different forms of (empirical) research (for example, interviews with translators and corpus studies).

Given Munday's (2012) focus on the attitudinal-rich points assumed to be critical (and unstable) in translation, he listed some critical points already identified in previous studies (such as naming, culture-specific items and keywords) in the introductory chapter of his work.

However, in general, the author's findings showed that linguistic evaluative items appear to be relative stable across translation: "From the examples we have studied, overt distortion of values is not a common occurrence in translation" (Munday 2012: 156). The addition of paratextual elements, as well as explicit and overt averral of a

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[21] But see discussion below in the section dedicated at the critical assessment of Munday's (2012) account.

translator's voice in a particular case of interpreting were, then, exceptions to that rule (Munday 2012).

With regard to lexical items analysed mainly in respect of the expression of attitude, the stability of items has been set in relation to word classes. Nouns, especially concrete nouns and abstract nouns with a close "dictionary equivalent" (Munday 2012: 156) in the TT, were found to remain largely unchanged. According to Munday (2012: 156), "the lexical realization of attitudinal nouns seems to centre around a core translation, often a dictionary equivalent or calque translation, with an interpretative periphery of marked alternatives". By contrast, evaluative adjectives and adverbs used in combinations with nouns were revealed to be somewhat unstable elements for the expression of attitude.

When it comes to invoked attitude, expressions indirectly invoking culture-specific values and beliefs were found to be subject to considerable changes. This was explained by Munday (2012) as the translator's effort to make them work successfully in the target text. Similarly, evaluative resources of graduation have been found to undergo remarkable shifting in translation. Munday's (2012) first results pointed to the frequent omission of adverbs and modal particles as resources of overtly expressed focus and force. Furthermore, he noted a somewhat marked trend towards the toning down or neutralisation of non-core items, such as reported speech verbs. It is interesting that there are other factors, such as mode and stage of translation, which are also likely to inform the relative attenuation of graduation in translation. Restrictions of time and processing placed on interpreting, for example, seem to place emphasis on the rendering of ideational meaning, accompanied by a neglect or (partial) neutralisation of graduated choices. The same seems to be true for the first stages of written translations, with a reassessment taking place in the revision stages.

With regard to reading positions, these are said to be potentially susceptible to changes at every juncture in the text. In this regard, Munday (2012) pointed out in his account that he could not do justice to the complexity of factors underlying the choice and possible transformation of reading positions. One way to shift and adapt reading positions in translations seems to lie in the adjustment of the translator's voice as interposed in a text. By introducing his or her own voice to a greater or lesser extent into the text, the translator may take over or reject responsibility for the translated positions. This may also imply a shift in the direction of compliant or resistant readings. While explicit averral of a translator's voice may be related to compliant readings, the opposite case appears to be more frequent. According to Munday (2012), the latter is likely to be due to translators' overall eagerness to conceal their own presence by translating the text in an accurate and exact manner.

The account of translation quality assessment by House (1977, revised 1997)

In the previous section, a brief overview of several approaches attempting to include appraisal theory in the analysis of translated texts was given. Munday's (2012) account was then given closer attention because it is the most systematic of the attempts to assess how interpersonal texture is treated in translation.

Nonetheless, we might profit from taking a step back and discuss another theoretical framework which – instead of concentrating on the interpersonal metafunction – was originally designed to describe the specific configuration of all three metafunctions and their potential shifts in translation. As with appraisal-theoretical accounts, House's functional-pragmatic framework also primarily draws on Systemic Functional Theory.

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In addition, it connects with existing work stemming, for example, from speech act theory, the Prague school of linguistics, Biber's (1995) corpus-based account of distinctions between spoken and written language in English, and further pragmatic and discourse analytical frameworks (House 2001).

As the account's title suggests, its central purpose is to provide an analytical framework against which it is possible to judge how good or bad a translation is. However, since the account provides a two-step approach based on a linguistic analysis and the subsequent judgement of a translation (House 2001), it is also possible to merely apply the first step. In this respect, the account has been tested in a contrastive linguistics research project, housed in the University of Hamburg, studying language and register shifts as generated through language contact in translation. In particular, the investigation focused on the influence of English as a European *lingua franca* causing structures of comparable registers in English to be easily accepted into translated texts in languages such as German. With a similar purpose in mind, the framework has been applied by Baumgarten (2005) in a contrastive study of James Bond films and their translations from English into German (see below). As explained by Baumgarten (2005: 82), the framework's value for contrastive analysis in translation is two-fold: Firstly, the account provides an analytical framework that allows for the categorisation of linguistic choices encountered in a (source or target) text. Secondly, from a contrastive point of view, "the model serves as *tertium comparationis*, allowing detailed contrastive descriptions of the linguistic expression of communicative functions in the text genres and languages involved and assessments of language specific preferences for the linguistic realization of communicative functions" (Baumgarten 2005: 82). In other words, the account epitomises a certain notion of 'translation equivalence' defining that "a text that is some sort of 'representation' or 'reproduction' of another text originally produced in another language, with the 'reproduction' being of comparable value, i.e., equivalent" (House 2001: 247).

In using such an everyday conception of equivalence, House (2001) departed from earlier, strictly linguistically defined concepts. For the author, the apparent lack of one-to-one correspondences between both the linguistic devices and the conceptual partitioning of reality as captured in different languages seemed to call for the rejection of a strictly linguistic definition of equivalence. In addition, according to House (2001), measuring the relationship between the ST and the TT in terms of direct linguistic equivalence is also impossible because linguistic meaning making is never direct, but is based on different kinds of inferences. Instead – in line with SFL – linguistic choices and the context of the situation in which they occur can be seen as intrinsically intertwined. In House's (1977, 1997) account, translation thus becomes re-contextualisation of a source text in a different situational context, being measured in terms of both semantic and pragmatic equivalence (House 2001). The latter involves the assessment of a particular setting of ideational and interpersonal meaning against the pragmatic exploitation of such a setting; that is, the application to the specific context.

At this point, closer attention to different conceptualisations of functional organisation in texts is in order. A distinction must be made between the concept of 'textual functions' and a rather 'abstract' analytical concept of 'functional components' in texts.

On one hand, 'textual functions' are usually assessed either at register level as the specific configuration of field, tenor and mode, or at lower levels in terms of choices of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings.

The analysis of register (or context of situation) is thus further broken down into the categories of field, tenor and mode. According to House (2001), field – roughly corresponding to the expression of ideational meaning on lower-level strata – is

concerned with the context-specific expression of subject matter and configurations of social action. Tenor, the register-level equivalent of interpersonal meaning, is seen as related to the expression of context-specific sender-receiver relationships. These comprise the typical tenor categories allowing for assessments "in terms of social power and social distance, as well as degree of emotional charge" (House 2001: 248). Both affective and evaluative assessments of textual propositions and displays of a kind of social attitude in degrees of formality are included in this category. Furthermore, variational differences, such as differences in diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variation, form part of the phenomena assessed in this category. The category of mode – the register-level counterpart of textual meaning – encompasses context-specific differences related to the distinction between spoken and written language. This includes differences in the realisation of cohesion and coherence relationships, as well choices linked with channel-based differences between speech and writing. The latter are further subdivided with regard to their complexity. Moreover, in House's (1977, 1997) model, mode accounts for context-specific possibilities of participation, which are also grouped according to levels of complexity. Monologic texts, for example, are seen as simple in terms of the receiver's participation, which is entirely inhibited. By contrast, texts eliciting the addressee's participation to several degrees are conceived as complex with regard to the participation dimension. It is interesting to note that House's analytical subcategory of participation draws its impetus from Biber's (1995) well-known dimensions of register variation in spoken and written registers found in corpus-based research. Biber (1995) conceived of the distinction between speech and writing in medial terms. Some of Biber's (1995) spoken-written distinctions, such as 'involved' versus 'informational text production', 'explicit' versus 'situation-dependent reference' and 'abstract' versus 'non-abstract presentation of information' are then included in House's framework.

On the other hand, the concept of 'functional components' as the uppermost principle of measuring equivalence is an abstract concept serving for the analytical description and assessment of equivalence in House's account. It may be best explained by describing the steps of analysis proposed for the assessment of equivalence in general: The particular register configurations of both the ST and the TT are first described separately. In this way, metafunctional profiles of both the ST and the TT are established. In a next step, on the basis of these profiles, generic descriptions of both the ST and the TT are elaborated upon. The analytical category of 'genre' is thereby conceived of as being an intermediary between register and the assessment of functional components. In SFL, genre is, among other things, regarded as the next higher-level stratum to that of register. In other words, genre functions as the content plane in a relationship in which register features as the expression plane. This close relationship may be explained as follows: Whereas register captures the metafunctional organisation as related to the context of a situation, and thus in micro-contextual terms; genre appears to capture this organisation with regard to the broader cultural environment of text production, and thus in macro-functional terms.[22] As a next step of the analysis, a statement about the individual textual function on the basis of the earlier assessed configuration of ideational and interpersonal functional components[23] is made. Finally,

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[22] Put differently, at the level of genre each particular text and its metafunctional configuration can be assessed against a wider generic category of texts with similar communicative purposes.

[23] That translation equivalence is judged only in terms of the configuration of ideational and interpersonal meaning is due to the first order nature of these types of meaning. That is, these two categories work together in meaning making in the first instance, with textual integration only arising out of their combination, and establishing cohesive and coherent ties as second-order meanings. Thus, from an

both the ST and the TT profiles may be compared in terms of such translational equivalence (or similarities in the configuration of ideational and interpersonal functional components making up the individual textual function). Analysis might then conclude with a statement concerning whether or not equivalence has been preserved, thereby situating the translation in a continuum between two types of translations. These two types of translations are 'overt' and 'covert' translations.

House's notions of overt and covert translations appear to have been clearly derived from Schleiermacher's (1838) distinction between 'verfremdete' and 'einbürgernde Übersetzung', or 'foreignisation' and 'domestication'. House (1977, 1997) then conceived of every translation as standing in a bipolar relationship with both the source text and the communicative conditions of the recipient or target community. Roughly speaking, the translation may then be oriented more towards the source text or towards its recasting in a new cultural frame.

Coming back to the distinction between overt and covert translations, these two types of translation may be defined in the following manner. In terms of their individual textual function, 'overt translations' can be regarded as the target community's window onto the original source text function. The source text is therefore seen as operating within the same frame or discourse world[24] as in the source community.[25] The lower level analytical categories of House's (1977, 1997) account (text/language, register, genre) are then conceived of as being equivalent in the ST and the TT. Given the co-activation of both the source and the target culture's conceptual and discursive frames, overt translations are clear cases of foreignising translations that explicitly maintain access to the target culture. In such translations, the translator's presence is then overtly acknowledged.

'Covert translations', by contrast, seek to re-cast the ST functions – as originally working in the source's cultural frame and discursive world – in the target's cultural context. That is, the translation appears to be fully inserted into the target culture, with access to the source text largely denied. Accordingly, equivalence may be established on the level of individual text function as well as on the level of genre. However, changes are likely to be introduced at the level of linguistic realisation (language/text), as well as at register level, where the metafunctional configuration may be shifted. As emphasised by House (2001), the 'manipulations' introduced by the otherwise somewhat invisible translator may be considerable. These 'manipulations' may be captured in terms of the process of translational filtering. In particular, the cultural filter[26] then seems to serve as "a means of capturing socio-cultural differences in shared

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analytical point of view, one would only be interested in differences and similarities in particular configurations of functional components expressing information and sender-receiver relationship. Therefore, the configuration of ideational and interpersonal functional components is the only one to be fruitfully exploited in such an abstract research perspective (Baumgarten 2005).

[24] According to House (2001: 249), the notion of 'frame' refers to a psychologically anchored principle that unconsciously provides guidelines how to make sense of a message by restricting the wealth of possible interpretations. Likewise, 'discourse worlds' are conceived as higher-level conceptualisations offering clues of how to interpret actually instantiated discourse worlds in a specific manner.

[25] An example of overt translation is the translation of the work of a famous author such as the German poet Goethe in such a manner that the original function of the work in the source cultural realm keeps being transparent to the target readership.

[26] In coining the term 'cultural filter', House (2001: 251f.) seems to be well aware of the difficulties the definition of the notion of 'culture' poses in contemporary research, since 'culture' can no longer be related to the level of the national state. Whereas postmodernism rejects to speak of a unified culture at all, other authors suggest to consider culture on smaller levels and with respect to subgroups embedded in particular socio-cultural contexts. House does not take side for either one or the other position, but points to this issue as an unresolved question in cultural studies.

conventions of behaviour and communication, preferred rhetorical styles and expectation norms in the two speech communities" (House 2001: 251).

However, in House's view, the translator should adopt caution before applying a cultural filter, thereby manipulating the text according to alleged cultural differences. Alternatively, the default hypothesis guiding the translator should be that of cultural match and compatibility rather than of mismatch (House 2001).

In the event that translational filtering occurs, House (2001) distinguished between two subtypes of filtering with different effects and potential consequences. On one hand, translational filtering may involve deliberate manipulation in line with the translator's ideological and individual background. The application of this so-called individual-ideological filter is seen as serving a specific goal, such as the aim of adjusting the text in order to fit a particular ideological position. Several consequences may then result from the translator's deliberate intervention. Drawing on the particular case of children's books translated from English into German, House (2001) mentioned shifts in child-adult relationships, emerging messages of emancipation or feminism, or other ideological distortion in the guise of political correctness.

On the other hand, translational filtering may involve socio-cultural filtering occurring somewhat unconsciously but, in each case, without the translator pursuing any specific manipulative goal. Such socio-cultural filters are applied according to underlying socio-cultural norms for linguistic production and for linguistic preferences. According to House (2001), translations of children's books from English to German can, for example, render the translated content more direct and explicit, while making less use of routine language. Possible effects include stylistic shifts, reduction or omission of humour, removal of ambiguity and reduction in potential readings, and adjustments to a more uniform target readership. Hypotheses about contrasts in language-preferential patterns (see the above mentioned dimensions of register variation) may then serve as guidelines for assessing the impact of the socio-cultural dimension of the translational filter.

Another theoretical distinction can be drawn between translations that follow the ST closely and translations that depart from the ST in the form of adaptations. House (2001) preferred the term 'versions' for translations showing some degree of departure from their ST counterparts. Such translational versions are then defined as intentionally non-equivalent translations. Given that, in House's account, the uppermost principle of equivalence is functional equivalence, translations that deliberately depart from their ST counterparts in terms of their individual textual function are regarded as such 'versions'. Overt versions then come in two different forms. On one hand, overt translations featuring a new, specific function (such as children's book designed for a more specific target audience than that of its ST equivalent) are conceived of as versions. On the other hand, overt translations conceived for an additional purpose (such as interlingual versions) are also referred to as versions. Covert versions, by contrast, "[result] whenever the translator – in order to preserve the function of the source text – has applied a cultural filter randomly manipulating the original" (House 2001: 252). In other words, covert versions are regarded as the outcome of the TT's manipulation via cultural filtering.

House's account as revised by Baumgarten (2005)

Baumgarten's (2005) account pursued House's (1977, 1997) line of research *grosso modo*, albeit with certain critical reservations towards some of the notions introduced by

House, and, above all, with the aim of making the model applicable to the investigation of fictional cinematographic texts.

With regard to the adjustment of House's model for the analysis of fictional cinematographic texts, Baumgarten (2005) indicated two principal areas of distinction between language use in nonfictional and fictional environments. Firstly, the author argued that, in opposition to meaning-making processes in nonfictional, everyday contexts, meaning making in cinematographic texts is distinct in that every linguistic element has a certain role to play with regard to overall meaning making in the cinematographic text as such (Baumgarten 2005). The latter is related to the second, and even more important, area of distinction between non-fictional and fictional cinematographic texts: The analysis of cinematographic texts calls for a consideration of both diegetic and extradiegetic dimensions of communication. In other words, we are concerned with the distinction between the level of communication between characters (diegetic) and with the audience (extradiegetic).

According to Baumgarten (2005: 99), then, "the extradiegetic communication is structurally implied in the diegetic one". This, however, is no reason to conflate them automatically in analysis, but to first analyse the diegetic and then the extradiegetic dimension of communication. In order to do so, and also to do justice to the incorporation of visual structures of meaning-making into the analysis, Baumgarten (2005) modified and extended the analytical categories of description proposed by House (1977, 1997).

Starting with the description of the linguistic realisation of field, tenor and mode choices, these are analysed according to lexical, structural and textual choices, both from a linguistic perspective and from the point of view of visual representation.

Even more importantly for the purpose of the present work, Baumgarten (2005) also modified House's analytical category of tenor. The most important change made by Baumgarten (2005) in this regard was the introduction of an extradiegetic sub-dimension into the category of 'participation'. In House's original account (1977), 'participation' was part of mode, but featured under tenor in her revised version (1997). In general, this dimension is seen as capturing the communicative relationship between participants in monologic, and simple or complex dialogic settings. However, Baumgarten (2005) rejected any broad overgeneralisation of film dialogue as a form of simple dialogue merely imitating spontaneous, everyday language use (as in House 1977). Instead, Baumgarten (2005) set out to complicate the analytical model considerably. The most significant consequence is the analytical split into categories of diegetic and extradiegetic participation. For the author, diegetic participation (or participation and involvement among participants in the discourse world) might in fact be compared to spontaneous, non-fictional language use. Extradiegetic participation (or the invitation of the audience's involvement and participation), however, is regarded as being more complex and is seen to target the audience's affective participation:

> The audience's participation in the film does not arise out of an active, on a par interaction with the participants in the communicative encounter onscreen but out of its affective quality which involves the audience in the text. [...] The audience's affective participation in a film is seen as an emotional, psycho-physiological phenomenon which is triggered by the linguistic elements in a text (Baumgarten 2005: 100f.).

Baumgarten (2005) then listed various linguistic resources related to the category of extradiegetic participation. These include:

Specific types of communicative situations which are specific to a particular genre, series of films or any other set of texts, and which are therefore expected by the audience. […] Lexical items and syntactic structures which are marked or non-standard usage in the immediate context of their occurrence or the film text as a whole. […] [or] which are marked or non-standard usage in their combination or in co-presence with visual information. […] The linguistic realization of specific conversational topics and contents which carry affective meanings […]. Linguistic units which refer to the different levels of information between the audience and the onscreen characters. […] Linguistic means which are associated with referential explicitness (cf. Biber 1988; Doherty 1999; House in press a). In naturally occurring conversation, implicit, situation-dependent reference is more usual, so that one may conclude that explicit reference (for example denotatively precise lexical expressions, deictic elements but also repetitions and visual-verbal redundancy) is explicitly directed at the audience as a means of focusing them on a particular piece of information. Explicit verbal reference can be made either to preceding or following verbal and visual information, to co-present visual information, or to the situative and cultural context of the fictional world (Baumgarten 2005: 102).

As in House's (1997) revised account, in Baumgarten's (2005) account, linguistic devices related to field, tenor and mode are first described on a textual level before being correlated with higher-level ideational and interpersonal functional components. Baumgarten (2005: 108, upper case in the original) justifies the latter correlation as follows: "The results of the analysis of the linguistic items associated with FIELD, TENOR and MODE are categorized with respect to the function − ideational, interpersonal – they have for the overall function of the text".

Such relations can be systematic or non-systematic (the latter e.g. between tenor choices and ideational functional components, or between field choices and interpersonal functional components).

In addition, Baumgarten (2005) also departed from House's (1997) account by introducing some extra analytical categories derived from film theory (Bordwell 1985), and called 'knowledge', 'self-consciousness' and 'communicativeness'. These categories account for the way the audience is given (restricted or unrestricted) knowledge in a similar way to the characters, for issues of metadiscursive reflexivity drawing the audience's attention to the filmic construction itself, and for the way that meaningful verbal-visual relations are communicated according to different levels of explicitness. According to Baumgarten (2005), after the correlation of field, tenor and mode choices with ideational and interpersonal functional components, describing idiosyncrasies of information transmission to the audience is one of the last steps of analysis: "The results of the analysis of KNOWLEDGE, SELFCONSCIOUSNESS and COMMUNICATIVENESS are summarized and together with a summary of the make-up of the IDEATIONAL and INTERPERSONAL functional components they constitute the INDIVIDUAL TEXTUAL FUNCTION" (Baumgarten 2005: 112, uppercase in the original).

Critical assessment and adaptation of Munday's, House's and Baumgarten's accounts to the current needs

At this point, we have merely outlined the main points of both Munday's (2012), House's (1977, 1997) and Baumgarten's (2005) accounts, all targeting the translation of interpersonal texture from an SFL point of view. The main aim of this section is to

synthesise the above mentioned research initiatives, providing a first general sketch of the needs of a research design for analysing interpersonal meaning in translation.

Starting with Munday's (2012) account, the strengths of this framework are straightforward. The account focuses on the analysis of interpersonal texture, thereby drawing on well-established analytical categories from appraisal theory. Moreover, there is a high level of generalisation as the framework proposes focusing on general patterns of shift in order to "[reduce] the obstacle of the crucial question of interpretation" (Munday 2012: 18) of individual evaluative choices. Thus, the focus on 'critical points' that are subject to change in translation due to the translator's evaluative choices seems to be a valuable research perspective within a broader framework that relies on the notion of semiotic choices as one of its basic tenets. Furthermore, the concentration on such evaluative choices and the corresponding reading positions that the text makes up for enables to pay attention to the recipient's side. In other words, it is not merely the translator's subjectivity, but also issues of intersubjectivity that the account addresses. In addition, Munday's (2012) process-oriented rather than product-oriented approach translates into the exploration of a relatively wide range of texts and texts types according to different variables (such as different languages, different stages of translation, different levels of translator's experience, and the like).

However, as Munday's (2012) analysis of passages from final products also shows, the process-oriented perspective is not always necessary for the description of evaluative choices in translated texts. In fact, product-based approaches appear to be equally valid when it is only actual TT realisations that we are able to observe and assess in analysis. In agreement with Baumgarten (2005), we would argue that, from such a product-based perspective, cinematographic dialogue is best analysed on the basis of actually rendered dialogue lines rather than on that of a prepared script.

However, in the light of the above discussed frameworks by House (1977, 1997) and Baumgarten (2005), Munday's (2012) account also presents some important shortcomings. The first and most striking is that despite the great range of text types discussed by Munday (2012), cinematographic texts were outside of scope of the study. Accordingly, Munday's (2012) account does not allow for the treatment of interpersonal texture from a multimodal perspective, or according to diegetic and extradiegetic dimensions of communication. This ultimately means that, despite the account's general concern regarding the recipient's side of communication, it may not prove particularly worthwhile when it comes to assessing audience participation and engagement in film. However, while Baumgarten's (2005) distinction between diegetic and extradiegetic 'participation' may at first seem more valuable in this regard, her precise categories of descriptions of extradiegetic 'participation' (including such somewhat fuzzy categories like 'linguistic units which refer to the different levels of information between the audience and the onscreen characters') are not particularly helpful. In chapter 4, we will see how a multimodal approach that relies on the precise categories of description from the appraisal theoretical framework will be more helpful in this regard. Thus, we will not adapt Baumgarten's (2005) extra analytical categories for film texts in terms of 'knowledge', 'self-consciousness' and 'communicativeness' because these are outside of the internal scope of the applied framework.

Another potential shortcoming of Munday's (2012) account might be its limitation to the measurement of the relationship between the ST and the TT in terms of direct linguistic equivalence. As stated above, the latter was rejected by House (2001) as being too limited to account for translational equivalence, whereby linguistic choices are seen as being intrinsically intertwined with the context (register) in which they occur. That is, for House (2001), translation choices should be accounted for in terms of both semantic

and pragmatic equivalence. That pragmatic equivalence may indeed also play some role in translation will be illustrated later using examples from our corpus in which pragmatic force is explicitated. However, as the examples will show, comparison between the interpersonal textures attached to the choices will be made on the basis of semantic equivalence. In this regard, it may also be reiterated that Baumgarten (2005) discarded House's above distinction as unhelpful, because the description of linguistic means in specific texts already implies their use in a specific communicative context. Accordingly, discourse semantic choices will still first be described in terms of appraisal theoretical categories here.

A legacy from both House's (1977, 1997) and Baumgarten's (2005) accounts will be the link of possible translation shifts towards the target's cultural norms (for instance, explicitating shifts) with their assessment according to communicative preferences in contrast to other possible motivations.

With regard to the individual (the translator's) or the ideological motivation underlying possible translation shifts, however, we will depart somewhat from House's (1977, 1997) account, which does not allow us to capture those shifts in a detailed and systematic manner. Of course, appraisal analysis does not allow for a systematic transcription either (so far). Nevertheless, incorporation of the individual/ideological aspect of meaning making into the textual analysis is possible. Textual choices may then be described with regard to their position on the individuation cline (see section 2.8). Here, textual choices may come to indicate a certain individual or ideological position, which also involves the projection of in-group and out-group values, thereby creating solidarity with the audience.

In summary, in spite of the differences between House's (1977, 1997) and Baumgarten's (2005) accounts on one hand, and Munday's (2012) framework on the other, we have seen that they potentially allow for synthesis in terms of core ideas. The research framework for analysing interpersonal meaning as roughly outlined here will be further deployed and refined for the assessment of audience involvement in film after the introduction of the corpus in the next section.

3 Introduction of the corpus

In the previous chapter, it was claimed that appraisal theory offers a suitable framework for the study of emotional and evaluative language in audio-visual texts from a contrastive point of view. It is the business of this chapter to ascertain how these verbal patterns – both in the source and in the target texts – correspond to patterns of viewer engagement. Such patterns will be studied by examining an audio-visual corpus consisting of three episodes of the German TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* and its translations into Catalan and French.

The chapter is structured as follows: Firstly, the corpus under investigation, the German TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* will be introduced. Generic conventions of the sitcom genre to which the series pertains are then discussed. In this discussion, the main focus is on shifts away from the traditional sitcom format and their role in opening up new avenues for viewer engagement and audience participation. Finally, the precise method of transcription and corpus analysis involving language, visual imagery and other semiotic modalities will be outlined.

3.1 The TV series Türkisch für Anfänger

My corpus consists of three episodes of the German series *Türkisch für Anfänger*, which was broadcast in Germany in 2006–2008. It is a series of the sitcom type that has received several awards on a European level, and inspired a feature film (2012) in which the story in the series is told from a different angle. The series has been translated into several languages, such as Catalan (where it is called *Turcs per principiants*) and French (*Family Mix*).[27]

The series features the conflicts among the siblings in a multi-cultural family, who are forced to live together after their parents, the German psychologist Doris and the Turkish-German police officer Metin, fall in love with each other. The German teenage girl Lena and her brother Nils then find themselves sharing the family home with the macho Turkish-German Cem and his Islam-addicted sister Yagmur. Video messages sent by Lena to her friend Kati in America often initiate the episodes, adding an intimate tone to the reporting on the highly emotional struggles in her everyday family life.

The selection of the TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* as an object of study was motivated by an overall keen interest in the expression of interpersonal texture on screen. In a world in which both film and television are increasingly competing for the viewers' attention with other types of media, it is crucial that a programme is able to keep the viewers interested and engaged in its story. While its closed set of characters and its never-ending repetition week in and week out may keep serial programmes interesting for some audience groups, the repetitive format alone no longer guarantees that series achieve wide appeal for a great number of viewers. One antidote to the routine of presentation, which helps to keep the viewers hooked on the story, is to strike an emotional chord with them.

In this regard, the sitcom format is considered a particularly promising object for the investigation of how cinematographic texts are able to induce emotional responses and a sense of proximity in the viewer. By definition, sitcoms are comic formats in which the

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[27] Whereas the German version of the sitcom is available on DVD (see references at the end of this study), the Catalan and French versions are not. However, some French episodes feature on youtube, whereas Catalan ones may be available via TotsRucs (www.totsrucs.cat).

development of (situationally defined) personal relationships among the main characters plays a prominent role. Whereas traditional sitcoms focused on an ever recurring set of core characters in a relatively stable setting, sitcoms of the new generation have opened up to viewers and have become more varied in their strategies for viewer engagement. For example, more realistic settings and characters and more realistic and intensified cinematographic techniques for their depiction are consistent with principles of viewer engagement through perceptional and emotional realism. Moreover, the incorporation of intertextual references or playing with narrative forms are additional new strategies used to this end. The study of a new sitcom genre – with *Türkisch für Anfänger* being a good example of this TV format – can thus give us valuable clues to the ever-increasing and varied forms of viewer engagement and proximity in television and film.

Despite the profound changes the sitcom format has undergone in recent years, one thematic core principle has remained relatively stable: More often than not, situation comedies are set in intimate domestic contexts, which are in themselves favourable for the display of characters' heightened emotions.

In the show, the depiction of a character's emotion is, however, not the only type of character appraisal that may potentially feed into viewer emotions and judgements. The multicultural setting of the show itself also lends itself easily to the study of character judgement, as captured in the characters' opposing moral and ideological points of view.

In addition, the sitcom *Türkisch für Anfänger* further reveals itself to be a promising area of study for viewer engagement due to the text types' potential to combine viewer engagement with characters, engagement through a kind of simulated interaction allowing for alignment with viewers, and engagement through bonding by means of intertextual allusion.

In addition to these considerations of the show's thematic and narrative make-up, the TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* has also been chosen for analysis because it has been translated into several European languages, among which were different Romance languages. In choosing the specific episodes to be explored, an important concern was not only the potential availability thereof, but also the easy access to particular episodes in French and Catalan. The first three episodes of the first season have thus been selected for analysis. Despite being carried out on a relatively small sample, the quantitative analysis of the data may prove valuable here, since the somewhat complex patterns of viewer engagement in both the source text (ST) and the target texts (TTs) are best captured in a micro-scale analysis (see Munday 2012 for a similar approach). In this regard, the focus has been on the three initial episodes, particularly on the first one, because of the paramount importance the initial phases of character representation have for the creation of viewers' engagement with and closeness to the characters. The latter is by far the most important way to get viewers to engage with the show.

3.2   The episodes under investigation

The first episode of *Türkisch für Anfänger* (henceforward: *TfA*) starts with introduction of the teenage protagonist Lena and her family. The camera takes us directly into the family's living room, where Lena is about to record the first of a number of video messages through which she stays in touch with her close friend Kati, who went to the USA as an exchange student. The viewers learn about Lena's negative opinion regarding life in big families, as well as towards her mother Doris' presumed ex-boyfriend Metin. During an evening out at a restaurant, Lena's family meets Metin's

Turkish-German family, and Lena realises that Doris' and Metin's relationship has not gone to pieces just yet. On the contrary: The lovers announce that they are planning to start living together, combing the two families into one big one – an announcement that devastates Lena. However, Lena's younger brother Nils manages to convince her that accepting her mother's will would be the best for Doris and the family. Nevertheless, when moving into the new house, conflicts between Lena and the different members of Metin's family soon escalate. Lena finds herself sharing a room with her new sister Yagmur, who slavishly follows the rules of Islam. Her new father Metin, a man who seeks harmony, constantly wants to establish a cosy relationship with Lena. Conflicts also flare up with Metin after Lena's mother announces her decision to work part-time in order to spend more time at home as a housewife, with Lena blaming Metin for this decision.

Moreover, her somewhat liberal dress-code brings Lena into direct confrontation with her new brother Cem. In order to demonstrate his role as the older brother, Cem asks his friend Costa to harass Lena so that Cem can intervene and protect her. After the 'rescue', Lena sees her new brother in a more positive light, but soon learns that Cem's rescue action was feigned. The annoyed Lena then decides to add even more fuel to the fire by revealing that the family's dinner, which Lena's mother had pretended to have prepared herself, was in fact ordered and that the delivery service had made the mistake of delivering pork instead of chicken – the kind of meat that the religious Yagmur is not allowed to eat. Lena then takes refuge in her family's old apartment. However, her mother convinces Lena to return home and not to destroy the family's new life and the love relationship between Metin and herself. In a family conference, the family members finally promise to show greater tolerance towards each other, and decide to take their first family photo together. The still photo, which is included in the opening credits and which has become iconic to the series, provides viewers with the information about what Lena really thinks about the new harmony in the newly established patchwork family: Lena flashes her middle finger, which is the gestural equivalent of telling somebody to fuck off.

The second episode ('Die, in der ich keine Schwester will'), on the one hand, focuses on the problems Lena has with her new sister Yagmur, with whom she shares a bedroom. Encouraged by her mother Doris to make friends with Yagmur, Lena follows Yagmur to the prayer school. However, Lena's unruly behaviour at the school leads to a new and bitter conflict between the two girls. Back at home, Lena encounters Yagmur hiding in the bathtub behind the shower curtain, and after some argument, the girls' conversation moves in the direction of their parents, whose constant striving for harmony annoys both of them. Yalgmur then discloses to Lena that she is about to leave the family's home in order to go back to Turkey. Despite having shared some moments of closeness, the two girls go on pretending to be enemies, particularly in front of Doris. However, after Yagmur leaves the family's home, Lena soon realises how much she likes her, and she finally manages to catch up with Yagmur at the bus stop, taking her home again.

On the other hand, the second plot strand of the episode focuses on the problems of Cem, who is trying to develop an intimate relationship with a girl. After the parents have learnt from the scribbles in one of Cem's schoolbooks that he fancies a girl, his father, Metin, raises the topic at the family's dinner table. He seeks to persuade his son to win over the heart of the girl.

Later, the girl (Ching) comes to the house to buy a noodle machine that is for sale. The parents, Metin and Doris, convince Cem to show Ching how to use the machine. Alone with Ching in the kitchen, Cem spoils the budding romance by his macho behaviour. Afterwards, his father Metin accuses Cem of not being able to control his machismo and

his heightened emotions. He persuades his son to admit his failure and to show Ching what he really feels for her in a love letter. With Cem's imagination fired by a song by Céline Dion, Cem writes the letter, but is suddenly interrupted by his friend Costa. Afterwards, Metin discovers the crumpled letter, and decides to send it to Ching. The next morning, Ching visits Cem, and tells him how deeply the letter touched her. However, Costa, who has stayed overnight with Cem, bursts into laughter about Ching's declaration. Afraid of losing face in front of his friend, Cem then pretends that not he but his father had written the letter. Disappointed, Ching finally leaves the room.

In the third episode ('Die, in der ich abstürze'), the protagonist Lena seeks to convince her new 'sister' and friend Yagmur to go clubbing with her. With the encouragement of her liberal mother Doris, she manages to win over not only Yagmur, but also Yagmur's father Metin. During their evening out, Yagmur acts in a rather responsible way, while Lena overdoes things and gets drunk. When Lena and Yagmur are about to leave the disco with a drunken boy, Cem comes to the rescue by preventing them from driving home drunk.

The next morning, Lena awakens with a hangover and no memory of the night before. Annoyed by the inappropriate behaviour of her liberal mother, who starts to recount some anecdotes of her experiences with drunkenness during her youth instead of telling her off, Lena asks her mother for stricter behavioural rules. When her mother refuses, Lena seeks to disrupt family life in order to provoke a reaction from her mother. Doris finally agrees to impose stricter regulations on Lena's behaviour. However, this time, she greatly overdoes it, and Lena becomes tired of it after a short period. In a conversation, Doris then makes it clear to her daughter that her motherly love and the fear of losing her soon, even as a friend, is at the root of her rather liberal moral practices. Finally, Lena and Doris agree on some less stringent rules for behaviour, which Lena proposes on her own.

3.3 The sitcom genre

From a generic point of view, the series *TfA* is likely to be classified as a sitcom or situation comedy. Sitcoms are among the most popular television genres, which – because of their forms and topics – show a certain ease of assimilation into different domestic television markets.

The sitcom genre has its origins both in theatre and in early American radio culture, where the presence of a studio audience was tested as a means to increase audience involvement (Grandío Pérez and Diego González 2009; Padilla Castillo and Requeijo Rey 2010). The genre's popularity then quickly soared with its introduction in television in the 1950s and 1960s, first in American and later in British contexts. The American sitcom *I love Lucy* is considered to be the first situation comedy created for the small screen (Holzer 1999).

a) The classic sitcom

In its classic form (which was more or less predominant until the year 2000), the genre can be described as follows:

> The sitcom is typically a style of drama, in which exposition, conflict, climax, and denouement all take place within a thirty-minute episode. Generally, each episode depicts a specific comedic situation in the main characters' lives, with subsequent episodes building on previous ones, thus giving the viewers a general idea of the

characters and the relationships between them. Sitcoms are usually videotaped before a live audience, and are later aired on television in weekly installments (Grimm 1997: 380).

As its name suggests, the *sitcom* or *situation comedy* usually revolves around a limited cast of characters struggling to cope with a specific situation that causes amusement for the audience. Broadcast on a weekly basis and thus forming part of a series, the classic sitcom formula relies on stability of situation and continuity of characters throughout and between episodes. The individual episodes are largely self-enclosed, so that the viewer is usually left without loose threads that the subsequent episodes have to resolve. Such a narrative structure – that of a 'series'[28] in the narrow sense – is at the basis of the fact that the characters ultimately remain untransformed by their experience: "The episodic closure of traditional series and their lack of continuing storylines offer relatively little room for character development" (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005: 28).

The principle that narrative closure is provided after each of each episode is consistent with the sitcom's general narrative architecture borrowed from theatre: The narrative model resembles the Aristotelian three-act structure proposed for drama. The story consists of a major and one or two minor plot strands, which are deployed simultaneously (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). This general structure has been adapted to the specific constraints of the television format; in other words, the need to fit into schedules and slots determined by the channel, as well as the need to get the audience engaged in the story rapidly and to ensure their continued attention, keeping them watching even through commercial breaks or across seasons. Thus, sitcoms are usually aired in 30-minute instalments (and about 22-25 minutes long without commercials), thereby fitting exactly into a half-hour slot in the television schedule (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). When the episode begins, a 'teaser'[29] serves to capture the viewer's attention as quickly as possible: "Here, the subject of the episode may be introduced or an outline of the problem to be solved may be given – a strategy which is meant to rouse the viewers' curiosity" (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005: 12). The episodes comprise a small number of rather long scenes, thus providing a considerable amount of progression in a given plot strand. Cliff-hangers occurring before commercial breaks, and tags or epilogues during the closing credits – all these narrative devices serve to grip and ensure the television viewer's attention (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009).

Other characteristics of the classic sitcom are indicative of the typical situation of their production and reception. The classic sitcom is usually shot in a studio setting before a live audience, whose presence is evidenced by the laugh track accompanying the show. Three to four cameras capture the action taking place on the 'stage', with minimal camera movements. The shooting in a studio setting also means that the action is confined to a small number of 'stock' settings; that is, up to three sets placed next to each other before the studio audience. Given the studio conditions, set decorations are likely to portray man-made rather than natural places, and inside settings in homes and workplaces rather than outdoor scenes (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). It is therefore not surprising that the prototypical classic sitcom features a domestic setting, typically revolving around the conflicts taking place in the life of a core family whose

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[28] See Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp (2005: 5f.) for the difference between 'series' (in the narrow sense) and 'serials'.

[29] The 'teaser' is "a short segment of the episode appearing before the opening credits" (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005: 12).

members mutually support each other: "The recurring situation in sitcoms is such that the unity of the 'family' takes precedence over all other values" (Morreale 2000: 113).

More recently, instead of the somewhat enclosed worlds of the characters, classic sitcoms occasionally seem to depict a limited set of mayor characters whose problems are likely to mirror the pressing problems of contemporary societies. However, despite such a superficial increase of realism, characters in classic sitcoms are often depicted stereotypically rather than in terms of individual representations. This is in line with the general repetitiveness and continuity of the classic sitcom's story world as outlined above, which seems to be at the basis of the viewers pleasure: "The same way of imagining a situation that will be both funny and significant recurs; hence the necessity of establishing a homeostatic situation with well-defined non-evolving main characters [...]" (Attallah 2010: 18).

The latter brings us to the topic of humour. For the production of comic effects, classic sitcoms appear to rely heavily on jokes in the dialogue. In addition, they often seem to draw on visual and audio gags. Techniques borrowed from classic film comedy, such as misunderstandings or surprising plot twists, are also frequently used to create humour (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009).

b) The sitcom in the new millennium

Nowadays, as a result of technological innovations, mayor transformations within the television industry and experimentation with innovative narrative forms, a new type of sitcom has emerged.

Technological innovations have made it possible to extend the ways in which television formats are realised and received. The development of recording techniques, such as the use of high-resolution digital cameras or of hand-held devices, has enabled to free the recording process from the static multicamera studio situation. This has not only given way to an impression of increased movement and vivification of narration (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009), but also to the illusion that the camera can take the viewer to natural settings and provide characters' perspectives, thereby increasing the viewer's perception of (alleged) realism. With regard to postproduction, digital technologies now allow for computerised editing and the creation of digitally manipulated pictures and auditory tracks (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005).

Furthermore, the proliferation of cable television, especially in the US context, was at the root of two other changes introduced in the sitcom format. Firstly, since cable TV usually does not depend on commercials, the duration of the typical episode was extended from 22 (or 25) to 30 minutes (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). Secondly, cable channels have different, smaller audiences. This not only means that they must act in a more cost-efficient way, but also that TV shows produced by these channels can refrain from pleasing large audiences by depicting what is seen as 'normal' by majority groups (Thompson 2007). Under the influence of American cable channels, the sitcom format, which in its classic form indeed focused on depicting 'normality' and average values, dared to introduce more controversial issues and to employ a number of (postmodern) narrative strategies. The aim of appealing to smaller audiences also meant that other postmodern strategies, such as the incorporation of intertextual references recognisable only by small subgroups of viewers, were adopted (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005).

The latter already points to the growing experimentation with innovative narrative forms as another crucial factor for changes in the sitcom format. Such an

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experimentation forms part of an overall cultural shift towards what Nelson (2000) termed 'a new affective order':

> The new affective order involves a consciousness informed by: short, but intense, sound-vision bytes; non-linearity (in contrast with linear narrative); an information overload; constellatory access to diverse materials; bricolage as its principle of composition; reception- (as much as production-) driven aesthetic; polysemy, in respect of meanings; diversity, in respect of pleasures" (Nelson 2000: 112).

Here, a clear correspondence with postmodern aesthetics often associated with a particular emphasis on the ontological status of representations is evident (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005). Postmodernism questions such representations, for instance through parody of the ontological incompleteness of the sitcom characters, or the self-enclosedness of the sitcom form in sitcoms themselves. Narrative principles, such as the mixture of genres, self-referentiality, formal playfulness and parody, as well as extra-, intra- and intertextual references can therefore be characterised as postmodern narrative devices. Together with another recent development in television – the move towards representational realism – these innovative forms contribute decisively to a shift towards a "reception-driven aesthetic" (Nelson 2000: 112). To put it differently, the use of these innovative forms leads to different forms of viewer engagement. In the following, we will look more closely at recent shifts in the sitcom's generic conventions, and discuss these with regard to their impact on possibilities of viewer engagement.

A first important shift concerns the sitcom's nature as an ongoing narrative. Whereas the classic sitcom's individual episodes exhibit a high degree of narrative closure, the new sitcom is likely to have a growing number of overarching storylines. The latter is in line with a general shift in television series towards hybrid formats that incorporate aspects of a 'serial': A number of recently produced series feature "storylines that continue well beyond individual episodes and even individual seasons and establish the continuity which is characteristic of a serial" (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005: 5). Two consequences result from this development. In terms of episodic architecture, the growing number of overarching storylines calls for the integration of additional cliff-hangers before the end of an episode, and even before the end of a season. This is a crucial means of encouraging the viewers to keep watching the series. Another way to get or keep the viewer interested in the story is by means of an overview of previous story developments at the beginning of an episode. This is often done by a voice-over narrator, and attests to the general tendency to the greater role and presence of narrators in sitcoms of the new generation (Allrath, Gymnich, and Surkamp 2005; Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009).

In terms of content, a more open-end episode format challenges the enclosed setting and character constellation of the classic sitcom to a degree. Characters are now more free to develop individually within and across episodes. This is also fostered by the increase of thematic variation – both in terms of thematic range and degree of daring – which characterises the development of the new sitcom genre. Topics such as homosexuality, racism, mental and physical disability are now exploited in the sitcom format (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). However, it must be said that the introduction of such new, more controversial and realistic topics into the sitcom genre has had little to do with social criticism yet. As pointed out by Mills (2005: 45), the "[s]itcom has been a reflection of social changes, rather than an intervention into them".

Although the depicted social realities may have changed to a certain degree, the sitcom is likely to keep deriving part of its comic appeal "[f]rom the discrepancy between the characters' behaviour and accepted social norms" (Scheunemann 2010: 109). Other kinds of viewing pleasure are more affected by the sitcom's recent development away from principles of narrative closedness and continuity. In the case of the classic sitcom, viewing pleasure was at least in partly founded on principles of recurrence, such as a recurrent set of typical situations or stereotypical and unchanging characters. Such extraordinarily strong stereotypification of the generic and figural make up is likely to invite humorous reactions from the audience, since "stereotypes operate [...] as personal instances of a repeatable increase in pleasure within a ritualized, self-resembling game continually offered anew [...]" (Schweinitz 2010: 288).

In the classic sitcom, then, "[t]he recurrence of [...] tropes, situations, characters, industrial-institutional constraints, and theories of representation indicates a recurrence of a certain conception of the audience" (Attallah 2010: 19). By contrast, when the sitcom structure opens up and becomes less recurrent, the conception of the reception side, and therefore the possibilities for viewer engagement, also become more varied. For example, in slavishly relying on issues of recurrence, the classic sitcom was able to be appealing and to establish a sense of community that certain groups of viewers wanted to return to every week. In sitcoms of the new generation, strategies for viewer engagement are more varied. A possible way to make up for the lack of narrative stability while simultaneously establishing some sense of viewer community is through the incorporation of intertextual references or playfullness with narrative forms. Morreale (2000) cited the example of the sitcom *Seinfeld* in which

> 'the unstable' inside situation of the narrative, where Seinfeld parodied the setting, characters, and relationships of conventional sitcoms, helped to create the 'stable' community of insiders. The richer the narrative play with sitcom rules, the more there was for viewers to 'get' on the discursive level (Morreale 2000: 113f.).

New possibilities for character and thematic development in the sitcom format go hand-in-hand with an increasing use of non-studio settings. The latter increases the possibility for stories and characters' actions to be set in outdoor locations, for instance in different urban settings, enormously. Repetitive use of particular outdoor locations then can contribute to creating a sense of real, authentic place in which the action takes place. As mentioned earlier, the shift to non-studio settings and a general tendency towards more realism is also a result of technological changes, such as the creation of high-resolution digital cameras and hand-held devices. This enables substituting the three-camera approach in front of a studio audience with the one-camera approach in a variety of settings. The latter creates more movement in the scenes, as for example through the use of hand-held cameras tracking characters (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). Such movements are said to contribute a great deal to the creation of empathy.

Camera movements and other techniques, such as camera framing as if seen through the camera's viewfinder may also be considered in terms of realism. With the advent of reality TV and the increasing presence thereof, there has been a growing tendency to incorporate elements and conventions of documentary genres into sitcoms. Mills (2005), who observed this phenomenon with regard to the British sitcom *The Office*, proposed calling this new, mixed genre 'comedy verité'. In assessing the effect of realism created in this genre, one has to take into account that the conventions of documentaries are themselves constructed: There is an "indexical relationship between the documentary and its 'real' content" (Thompson 2007: 71). In other words, whereas

techniques such as quick camera movements may in fact be due to specific recording conditions such as hastily done recordings, they are often not. Instead, they are employed as conventional signs that allow the sitcom content look as it does in a reality program: 'real'. Other elements that sitcoms have borrowed from documentaries are characters looking directly into the camera, the incorporation of testimonies and interviews, and natural lighting conditions (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009). Direct looks and statements into the camera may then have further implications with regard to the creation of realism and beyond. On one hand, by directly addressing the viewer, they can try to make the viewer part of the communication process. This is another type of viewer engagement the sitcom of the new generation is able to create. One the other hand, direct looks and statements into the camera may be a means of filmic self-referentiality. The use of such techniques may raise the viewers' consciousness, drawing their attention to the conventions of filmic discourse and to the fact that these may be enjoyed for their own sake. In this regard, it is worth pointing out that the deployment of techniques of self-referentiality and playfulness is not necessarily at odds with the purpose of creating an impression of realism. As Mittell (2004: 183) has shown with regard to realism in the cartoon series *The Simpsons*, "realism emerges not in its adherence to norms of naturalistic live-action programming, but from its parodic dismantling of unreal live-action sitcom conventions". Returning to the sitcom's deployment of camera techniques, one can say that the new sitcom genre makes use of a vast range of different techniques originally used in cinema. This comprises pannings, zooms, cranings, inlay, overlay, split screens and the like (Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez 2009).

A last group of changes to be discussed with regard to the sitcom of the new generation relates to the possibilities for the creation of humour. In line with the postmodern emphasis on interpretational polysemy and diversity of pleasure, sitcoms now increasingly rely on comical techniques such as irony, subtexts, the absurd or the anecdotal, or even on pure silence. According to Bonaut Iriarte and Grandío Pérez (2009), the use of silence in the sitcom is likely to be a consequence of both the viewer's active incorporation in the creation of humour, and the absence of the laugh track. In other words, the omission of the laugh track generates pauses after the jokes, which, when unfilled, make the viewers feel uneasy. The humour may appear strange, but the entire situation seems to be more real without the canned laughter.

The omission of the laugh track is thus one of the most important changes the new sitcom format has undergone. In this regard, we must also point to the shift from the emphasis placed on the (verbal) joke to that of the comic event as the target of observation (Thompson 2007). Reality-invoking principles borrowed from the documentary genre, such as the shift towards the use of hand-held cameras and one-camera photography, are likely to place the viewer in the role of an observer. This observer role seems to have an influence on the viewer's response to the target of the humour and may encourage the viewer to laugh with instead of laughing at the character as in the classic sitcom (Thompson 2009).[30]

This way,

> [w]hat comedy verité may be doing through its distinctive televisual style is shift the source of humor in the television comedy from the constructed joke to the observation of a comic event. […] The observational component of these sitcoms, which includes

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[30] However, it must be said that the way the audience reacts to the source of laughter is somewhat culture-specific: "[The] American sitcom often invites us to laugh *with* its characters, British instead offers the pleasure in us laughing *at* them" (Mills 2005: 42, italics in the original).

not just what they look like but also the timing of shots and the sense that at times we observe events in real time, creates a different type of engagement with the narrative. The sitcom is thus reinvigorated by a shift from the tired realm of the staged sitcom, with its three cameras, studio audience, or one-camera, coverage shooting, to an experience of observation or witness (Thompson 2007: 67).

Once more, a shift in the conventions of the sitcom genre is mirrored by a shift in the possibilities of viewer engagement with the television format.

After these introductory perspectives on the content of the sitcom at hand, as well as on the sitcom format, attention will now be shifted to the methodology of corpus description and analysis.

3.4   Methodology of corpus transcription

Audio-visual texts, for example those from the sitcom genre, are multimodally construed. Nevertheless, there is a long-standing tradition in the analysis of film dialogue to either assess it from a mainly videocentric point-of-view in film studies, or from a linguacentric perspective in linguistics and neighbouring fields of study (Richardson 2010). Given the focus on the transformation of the verbal code, the translation scholar also is likely to have an analytical bias towards verbal signifiers.[31]

Apart from these limited perspectives for disciplinary reasons, there is another good reason that the analysis of audio-visual film texts has been biased towards one or the other perspective for a long time. In contrast to more or less conventionally coded linguistic signs, cinematographic devices such as certain shot types largely resist stable, intersubjectively shared interpretations. The latter has already been pointed out by Metz (1974), who argued against easy comparisons between language and film as semiotic systems, with the film system having its own way of articulation (Chatman 1990).

However, the fact that appraisal theory is predominantly concerned with context-specific choices on a discourse semantic level facilitates its application to the description of semantic choices from other semiotic modes employed in the creation of interpersonal texture. Recent research seeking to reconcile the videocentric and linguacentric perspective then aims at investigating "how meanings in film discourse are construed within certain contexts and are realized through filmic devices, rather than probing into how filmic devices/elements are comparable or not to the grammatical features in verbal language" (Tseng 2009: 45).

Thus, before any valid generalisations – as the ultimate aim of each scientific investigation – can be drawn, multimodal choices for the construction of interpersonal meaning in film should be identified and described as choices in context. The latter calls for a descriptive transcription approach. Given that the usefulness of analytical categories of appraisal theory as a diagnostic for distinguishing between subcategories of emotion and evaluation has been largely proved (see studies mentioned in chapter 2), transcription should combine these categories with a descriptive annotation of the other codes involved.

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[31] This is due to the fact that verbal signifiers (as well as some paraverbal and auditive features) are the only ones that are modified in translation. From a translation scholar's perspective, visual signifiers, for instance, only matter in terms of their co-deployment with verbal layers of meaning making.

Table 1:   *Example of corpus transcription*

Time	Screen shot	Visual image	Kinesic action	Soundtrack	Attitudinal positioning	Graduation	Dialogical positioning
12:29-12:54	32 ->	CP: stationary, slightly moving HP: oblique VP: medium D: MCS VC: hospital VS: Lena, Axel CO: natural VF: Lena looks towards the entrance, gaze is disengaged	Axel: shoulders: shrug, head movement: slight nod-R Lena: gaze: steady	A: Ching meinte, sie hat so eine Seite an mir entdeckt, smooth, gentle, low pitch		-foc	endorsed, assimilated
	->	CP: as above HP: as above VP: as above D: as above VC: as above VS: Lena, Axel CO: as above VF: Lena looks towards Axel, gaze is disengaged	Lena: head movement: side turn-S (slowly), arms: folded	A: so voller Leidenschaft und Zärtlichkeit, smooth, gentle, low pitch, slow	+ norm	+for: high	

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[32] The screen shot images used in the transcription are not reproduced here for reasons of copyright restriction.

In our transcription, somewhat similar to Feng's approach (2012), we then rely on a slightly modified version of Baldry and Thibault's (2006) descriptive framework for the transcription of audio-visual texts, which is combined with descriptions of the verbal code in appraisal theoretical categories.

Baldry and Thibault's (2006) framework presents a tabular approach to transcription, with the transcription being organised in columns and rows. The framework is further based on the segmentation into frames (or the time period between two shots) as the smallest unit of analysis. The latter is the first point of divergence with more linguistically-oriented accounts, which take the sentence or clause as their fundamental unit of analysis. In the majority of cases, the visual and linguistic units of analysis, however, do not exactly match each other. Our preference for the visual frame as the basic unit of description is then due to the fact that the cinematographic organisation into frames can itself act as a signifier in the creation of interpersonal meaning (for instance, in sequences of point of view shots, see below).[33]

The transcription was organised as follows:

Each row in the transcription table (see example in table 1) contains the description of one frame. The time code of the frame is given in the first column. The second column features a still snapshot (screenshot) in the original transcription, which, however, has not been reproduced here for reasons of copyright. The remaining columns are then devoted to the coding of different modalities. Thus, the third column contains the analysis of various aspects of the visual image in terms of cinematography and mise-en-scène. The abbreviations stand for camera position (CP), horizontal and vertical perspective (HP, VP), camera distance (D), visually salient items (VS), secondary items with meaningful content (VC), colours (CR), coding orientation (CO), and visual focus (VF). Camera position (CP) is then coded according to whether it is stationary or moving, with subcategories such as (slightly) moving backward or forward, left or right, and combinations thereof. Such a distinction is important as camera movement might enable the viewers to come close to characters in their imaginations when the movement follows their gaze or actions, for example. Horizontal perspective (HP) may be oblique or frontal. The horizontal angle then encodes whether the image-producer is involved with the characters and actions on the screen or not. An oblique angle, for example, is related to detachment, whereas with frontal angles the opposite is likely to be the case. Vertical perspective (VP) is coded according to categories such as high, medium-high, medium, medium-low, and low perspective. A character's depiction from a low angle, for example, might make it appear more powerful, whereas a high angle might make it appear more powerless. Camera distance (D) is further coded according to the size of characters in the following way: A very close shot (VCS) only shows a character's face or even greater detail, a close shot (CS) cuts the character off at head and shoulders, a medium-close shot (MCS) shows the character until the waist, a medium shot (MS) cuts the character off at the knees, a medium-long shot (MLS) features a full-size depiction of the character, a long shot (LS) is one where the character takes up half of the shot, and finally the very long shot (VLS) shows anything wider than this. These distances are seen as somewhat mirroring the proxemics of interpersonal communication. When it comes to visually salient items (VS), secondary items with meaningful content (VC) and colour (CR), these transcription categories capture additional meaningful elements in the shot that are related to the setting, such as specific features of the location,

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[33] However, the transcription in terms of frames as smallest units of analysis is not without difficulties. Sometimes shots can last several seconds. Then, in order to be useful as units of analysis they have been further subdivided (in these cases, the continuation of shots is indicated by means of arrows in the transcription table).

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meaningful objects and costume, as well as the colour coding of the scene. The specification according to coding orientation (CO) is usually natural in the corpus at hand. Finally, visual focus (VF) is a crucial feature for the analysis of interpersonal communication, because 'direct-eye contact' can establish a rapport with other characters or an interpersonal relationship with the audience.

The fourth column of the transcription table is devoted to kinesic action, that is gestural, facial or locomotory action. When there is a shift in the images' kinesic action in the switch from one shot to the next, which occurs frequently in the corpus at hand, this is transcribed at the beginning of this column for the second shot. The distinct categories are then: A new image moving in from the left or the right, the top or the bottom, and the tempo (T) (fast, slow and variations thereof). The description of kinesic features related to character's body behaviour is then the most time-consuming activity in transcription. This includes a statement of the general movement patterns as shown on screen. Furthermore, gaze directions are transcribed (none, interlocutor, object, up, down, side, unfocused, other). The transcription of facial expression includes the general expression (smile, laugh, sulk and so on.), the face muscles (tense or relaxed), eyebrow movement (frowning, raise) with regard to the left or right eyebrow or both (-L, -R, -B), and eye movement (extra-open, close, narrowed, rolling) with regard to the left or right eye or both, mouth-openness (open, close). Furthermore, it includes lip position (corners up, corners down, pout) and other facial expressions related to movements and positions od nose, chin and so on. Descriptions of head movement were made according to categories such as nod, jerk, down, up, forward, back, side-tilt, side-turn, shake, waggle, static, and with regard to left and right, as well as to the repetition of movement (-R). Movements of other body parts, such as the arms, torso or shoulders, were also transcribed. Finally, there was coding of the hand gestures. This usually involved a general description of the gesture and the coding in terms of handedness (left or right hand or both [LH, RH, BH]). Other characteristics such as hand orientation, hand position,[34] hand shape (flat, fingering, cup, fist, A-shape and so on) and movement characteristics (up, down, held), including trajectory (arc) and repetition, were transcribed in a second version, when the corpus analysis of sequences revealed this would be necessary for the precise interpretation of the gesture.

The fifth column in the coding table is dedicated to both the nonverbal and the verbal soundtrack. In this column, there is distinction between music, nonverbal and non-musical sound, and dialogue. Here focus was on the transcription of dialogue. When transcribing a translated version, the soundtrack column then had to be retranscribed. The transcription also included a description in terms of appraisal, and this was done in columns six, seven, and eight. Column six lists types and subtypes of attitudinal positioning (such as judgement) and their value (positive/negative/neutral), while column seven does so for graduation and column eight for dialogistic positioning.[35]

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[34] Coding for hand orientation involves coding according to the direction of palm and fingers, while coding for hand position involves coding of the place where the gesture is carried out in relation to the body. A coding such as PTC, FAB, C-LW would mean that the hand gesture is conveyed with the palm facing toward the centre (the body), and the fingers facing away from the body at the height of the lower centre of the body (that is, the stomach). We here applied Mc Neill's (1992) gesture coding system. Readers are referred to this work for further information about the coding criteria.

[35] Note that for reasons of copyright, the translations have not been included into the published version of this thesis.

4   Corpus analysis: Character-based forms of eliciting viewer engagement

4.1   Preconsiderations

Apart from the theoretical problem that the equation between verbal and nonverbal semiotic resources poses for the description of appraisal meanings as mentioned in the previous section, there is another problem to be considered before embarking on analysis. Exploring how the expression of emotional and evaluative meaning generates viewer engagement means that a framework able to account for the stratification of meaning across diegetic and extradiegetic levels of communication – how resources from lower (diegetic) levels provide the basis for the generation of extradiegetic meanings – is needed. A valuable attempt in this regard is Feng's (2012: 84) account, which aims at "systematically model[ling] the filmic construction of emotion". The framework places particular emphasis on the co-deployment of verbal and visual means for the representation of a character's emotions and judgements on screen.

Among other things, Feng's (2012) proposal connects with the existing body of work in Cognitive Appraisal Theory, which includes scholars such as Frijda (1986). One of the main tenets in this psychological account of emotions is that reaction to particular stimuli creates emotional appraisal which, among other things, activates action-tendencies in the appraiser. This mechanism is the basis for various (cognitive) theories of viewers' active participation in film: The viewer is able to empathise with the character because he or she can assess the character's intentions and goals, and simulate the character's action tendencies.

The accounts' value for the present study lies, above all, in the fact that Feng's (2012) modelling of the filmic construction of emotion and judgement at the diegetic level prepares for the modelling of viewer engagement at the extradiegetic level.[36]

4.2   Representations of characters' emotions at the diegetic level of communication

One of the main dimensions according to which a viewer's engagement with cinematographic texts can be assessed is engagement invited by the portrayal of characters. This involves, among a number of other things, the portrayal of their emotions.

In the representation of a character's emotion on the screen, parameters such as the emotional stimulus ('eliciting condition' or EC in Feng's terms), the feeling itself, the linguistic and non-linguistic emotional expression, and the goal or intention against which the emotion can be judged are of paramount importance. In Feng's (2012) account, the first three parameters feature as causally related components of emotions: eliciting condition (EC) -> feeling state -> expression (Feng 2012: 87). There is a need to represent at least one of these three components in the portrayal of a character's emotion on screen.

According to Feng (2012), emotional stimuli or eliciting conditions (EC) consist of consequences or effects of events, actions of agents or aspects of objects. Some parallels

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[36] As argued by Baumgarten (2005), the treatment of diegetic and extradiegetic layers of meaning making as separate, but interrelated categories enables us to keep these dimensions analytically apart.

with the (linguistic) coding of emotions as posited by appraisal theory come immediately to mind. Feng's (2012) eliciting conditions largely correspond to what in appraisal theory is coded as the trigger/target of emotion. The three types of eliciting conditions (events, actions of agents, objects) then roughly equate to appraisal theory's sub-classification of triggers of attitude in terms of emotional reactions in general (affect), as well as to people's behaviour, and results of actions or things (judgement, appreciation). Returning to the discussion of eliciting conditions, these may be judged according to different criteria, of which the intention or goal is the most important with regard to the later engagement of the viewer. Goals are appraised positively in respect of their fulfilment and negatively in respect of goal disruption. Goals can then be implicitly ('assumed') represented or explicitly represented (linguistically 'inscribed' or merely narratively 'invoked') in filmic discourse (Feng 2012).

With regard to the rendering of the eliciting conditions themselves, these may or may not be represented on the screen. When represented, they may be conveyed through action or conversation (doing or saying) or through perception (visual, auditory or somatic). When eliciting conditions are unrepresented, this does not necessarily mean that they are not alluded to at all: They may be narratively conveyed to the viewer (Feng 2012).

Whereas the second component of emotion, the feeling state, is likely to be expressed linguistically or not to be represented at all, the first and third components, eliciting condition and emotional expression, may be expressed in various modes and even by combinations of modes. Feng (2012) presented a framework for the multimodal description of semiotic choices for the latter. These may be expressed verbally, thereby further falling into broad subcategories labelled 'denotation' and 'signal'. These subcategories echo the distinction between more descriptive and more expressive or symptomatic expressions of emotions. Broadly speaking, 'denotation' then alludes to descriptive ways of expressing emotions. This comprises, on one hand, the direct linguistic coding of emotions in language. Such 'thematised' emotions reference the feeling state directly. Following Feng (2012), on the other hand, when linguistic descriptions of either the eliciting condition or the emotional expression are given, these have been referred to as indirect ways of 'denotation'. Moreover, apart from verbal coding, the emotional expression itself can also be conveyed through nonverbal behaviour. However, given Feng's (2012) pure focus on verbal and visual semiotic resources, the picture is not yet complete. Musical or other auditory codes should be added to the semiotic choices for the expression of emotion.

When it comes to capturing cross-modal relationships, such relationships can be described as either congruent or incongruent. Following Feng (2012: 111f.), congruent cross-modal relations are the default case, "especially among nonverbal expressions. For example, facial expression and gesture/action seldom contradict each other". Congruent relations can further be subcategorised as repetition or amplification. With regard to repetition, expressions in two (or more) modalities duplicate part of the information they express – a case that seems to be rather rare in the self-expression of emotions. Feng (2012: 112) gave the example of a punch, rendered verbally and visually: "For example, if I make a 'punch' when I say 'I want to punch him in the face', the behavioural 'punch' and the verbal 'punch' repeat each other".

Amplification, by contrast, means that "different modalities encode the same, or at least, congruent, emotions" (Feng 2012: 112). For instance, a particular facial expression conveying anger may expand on a corresponding verbal expression of anger. Given that redundant coding is vital for the audience's recognition of depicted emotions, amplification is likely to abound in audio-visual texts.

Incongruent relations may be captured either in terms of contrast or of contradiction. Cross-modal contrasts occur when two (or more) somewhat dissonant emotions are rendered simultaneously. According to Feng (2012), this does not normally occur innercategorially, but across emotion subcategories (such as those referring to 'consequences of events', 'actions of agents' or 'aspects of objects' as discussed above). Finally, contradiction refers to a clash between modalities used for the expression of emotion. According to Feng (2012: 114), this "typically arises out of the fact that one modality, more likely the linguistic one, is not representing the true emotion". The latter is not particularly surprising, given that in contrast to verbal behaviour, nonverbal behaviour is often seen as more directly indicative of 'true' feelings. In addition, whereas diegetic and extradiegetic participants share the 'space of verbal communication' to a degree, nonverbal behaviour is often made salient exclusively to the viewers, whereas it is not recognised by the diegetic participants. Thus, cross-modal contradiction is often used as a narrative strategy highlighting differences in knowledge between the extradiegetic audience and the diegetic participants. Whereas the audience is afforded trustworthy cues as to the character's true emotion, the diegetic participants' awareness of the emotional situation may remain poor.

The latter cross-modal contradiction already points to the fact that the analysis and description of filmic emotion easily transcends the diegetic level. This is even more obvious when considering how the tripartite emotion scheme is coded discursively. Feng (2012) mentions the following discursive choices for the coding of emotion: simple versus complex choices, and interactive versus individual ones.

Simple choices refer to the expression of one single unit of emotion, irrespective of whether this is coded monomodally or across several modalities, in a single shot or verbal clause. The reaction shot, usually depicting a character's facial expression in response to a stimulus, is often – albeit not always – confined to the rendering of one emotional unit, and thus an example of such a simple way of representation. Complex choices, by contrast, comprise succeeding realisations of emotive expressions. In this regard, "[f]or example, the film can first represent the facial expression, followed by linguistic expressions and a series of emotional actions" (Feng 2012: 115).

Thus, one may further distinguish between interactive and individual discursive choices for the representation of emotions. Broadly speaking, interactive choices are "those expressed to interactant/s" (Feng 2012: 115); in the remaining cases, the representations are considered individual. Within this category, simple representations are those occurring within exchanges, whereas complex representations spread across consecutive exchanges.

Another distinction can be made in terms of shot structure. Here, Feng (2012) drew a broad distinction between joined representations of eliciting conditions and expressions of emotion in single shots and those in complex ones. Single shots often express EC and expression of emotion (Ex) together in the following way: A verbally recounted EC is accompanied by a kinesically, acoustically and/or verbally rendered expression of emotion.

Complex representations of EC and Ex – expressed in immediately succeeding shots – fall into two broader sub-patterns: projecting shots and temporal shots.

Projection across shots occurs in similar ways as projection in language[37] or within pictures:[38] A depicted individual is connected with the object of his/her vision or thought processes. In projecting shots, the individual's (emotional) reaction and the

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[37] Typical instances of projection in language occur in reported speech.
[38] Typical instances of projection in pictures is the use speech or thought bubbles creating a link between the depicted speaker and his or her utterance or thought.

object of vision/thought causing this reaction are rendered in adjacent shots. With regard to vision, a primordial and systematically researched example is the so-called point of view shot (Branigan 1984; Carroll 1996). Research into POV-shots has shown that they may be employed in reaction-first and object-second sequences, or the other way round. For instance, so-called point-glance-shots depicting a character's reaction may first render a rather diffuse picture of the depicted individual's emotion or affective state. Subsequently, point-object shots then provide a more detailed picture by specifying the object or eliciting the condition causing the emotion. However, rather than being confined to single reaction–object pairs or vice versa, projecting shots often stretch over larger parts of film text. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the use of multiple reaction shots, possibly in the form of close shots of long duration, is beneficial to the extradiegetic audience in two respects: It may enhance both the viewer's recognition of particular emotions and the viewer's overall empathy with the depicted character (Feng 2012).

In contrast to projection shots, temporal shots construct causal relationships between shots only through temporal ordering. Alternating shots, as one sub-dimension of temporal shots, oscillate between two or more depicted actions or characters. Such structures often convey the eliciting condition in the reverse part. Another sub-dimension of temporal shots is successive action shots which, instead of shifting between interacting participants, merely render the actions of one character in consecutive shots (Feng 2012).

4.3 Representation of character judgement at the diegetic level of communication

The organising principles underlying the construction of character judgement are somewhat similar to those already discussed with regard to the diegetic construction of emotion. There is a tripartite scenario made up of causally related eliciting conditions (EC), a judgement stage and a corresponding action: eliciting condition > judgement concept > resultant action (Feng 2012: 160).

Both emotion and judgement scenarios are also quite similar in that they include a component against which the respective eliciting condition (EC) is evaluated. The EC of the judgement scenario, then, is judged according to a certain standard of judgement. In film, this standard of judgement may correspond with the appraiser's general belief and value system, but often also fits in with more general social norms and value systems shared in a community (Feng 2012).

With regard to the modalities of description of eliciting conditions, the judgement concept and resultant action in the judgement scenario, the following should be pointed out. In general, as with the emotion scenario, judgement may be conveyed directly or indirectly, with the second stage (here, the judgement concept) usually being expressed directly. The judgement concept may then be rendered linguistically through attitudinal lexis as captured in the judgement subcategory of appraisal theory. Moreover, apart from the explicit linguistic thematisation of judgement, evaluations of a character's behaviour may also be conveyed verbally through metaphorical expressions, and nonverbally through certain types of gestures. Following Feng's (2012) approach, it is specifically emblematic gestures, that is, those that stand in non-iconic, conventionalised relationships with the object of their depiction, which often come to

render a judgement concept.[39] The latter is somewhat logical, because judgement is a somewhat abstract concept, which is therefore difficult to capture as a concrete, iconic gestural sign.

Subcategories of judgement, such as capacity and morality,[40] may also be rendered through metaphorical expression. In this regard, Feng (2012) pointed to two broader principles of expression: expression through dehumanisation, and through concretisation. These involve the analogisation of humans and their traits or attributes with non-humans and their attributes Metaphorical scripts such as HUMAN BEINGS ARE NON-HUMAN BEINGS, ATTRIBUTES ARE SUBSTANCES and so on provide evidence for the latter (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Here, Feng (2012: 166) gave examples such as "his heart is full of courage", which seem to convey a judgement of tenacity, thereby comparing a part of the human body to a container. Other types of metaphors employed in the textual construction of judgement are orientational metaphors. Orientational metaphors capture the world by allusion to spatial orientation. A well-known example is general metaphorical scripts, such as POSITIVE IS UP and NEGATIVE IS DOWN (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Occasionally, such comparisons are also represented in visual metaphors (Feng 2012).

Judgement may also be expressed indirectly by reference to the eliciting condition or the action resulting from the judgement. However, indirectness does not mean that there is no language involved in the expression of these stages of the judgement scenario. The eliciting condition, for example, is more likely to be expressed in language through verbal recounting than through other modalities.

In film, eliciting conditions may also be conveyed through allusions to the character's identity, which may trigger a judgement. The term 'identity' therefore refers to the allusion to particular properties such as names, social roles, professions and the like, which are constitutive of a character in a given story. These properties provide the basis for easy recognition on part of the viewer. On one hand, a character's identity may be signalled by clues the character conveys through its own actions and attributes, such as clothing. On the other hand, clues as to the character's identity may come from the appraiser. These may comprise indirect triggers of identity, such as the information about a character gained indirectly from aspects of character attributes spread throughout the film text. Furthermore, a character's identity might be revealed via direct clues, such as captions signalling a character's profession or vocatives used to refer to a character. In the latter case, this involves "signal[ing] the Appraiser's Judgement of his/her relation in terms of power and distance" (Feng 2012: 162).

Another way to express judgement indirectly is through the depiction of actions caused by the judgement. Such resulting actions may further be subdivided into material and verbal actions (speech acts). Similarly to that which was pointed out with regard to gestures, these actions are likely to be somewhat conventionalised ones. Feng (2012: 162f.) provided the example of bowing, which offers cues as to the status of the appraised person, and points to the interpretation's high degree of cultural specificity. Linguistic representations of resultant actions include verbal recounts, as well as allusions of some abstract, future kind such as eng. *I will never do business with him again*. These verbal actions also convey character judgement (Feng 2012).

Furthermore, character judgement is often coupled with emotion. The relationship between them can then be captured in terms of congruency or incongruency. The basis for the proposal of congruent relations between judgement and emotion is the

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[39] The thumbs-up gesture as employed in the favourable evaluation of a person's behaviour is an example for such an emblematic sign.
[40] 'Morality' corresponds to Martin and White's (2005) appraisal subcategory of 'propriety'.

observation that "some emotions are motivated by the Judgement of people's actions" (Feng 2012: 167). Characters' self-evaluations of their own actions as praise- or blameworthy (pride or shame), and evaluations of the actions of others along the same lines (such as expressing admiration or reproach), pertain to this category. The expression of these so-called attribution emotions then involves an implicit judgement. Here, the judgement functions as the eliciting condition of the emotion. The latter may be implicitly realised (only the expression of emotion points to the underlying judgement) or directly verbally expressed (Feng 2012).

Incongruency between simultaneously represented judgement and emotion occurs when these representations emerge from unrelated appraisal processes. This means that they may even be contradictory.

4.4 The extradiegetic level of communication in cinematographic discourse

In the last section, we explored the semiotic and discursive choices available for the filmic representation of emotion and judgement, mainly in terms of a diegetic level, such as in the communication between characters. In proceeding from the diegetic to the extradiegetic level of communication in this section, we necessarily shifted attention to how appraisal choices are designed with regard to the audience; that is, how they are exploited in order to enhance viewer engagement (via engagement with the film characters).

a) Characters and their definition

It has been widely acknowledged that characters are "one of [...] most important sources of recipient responses" (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 46). This raises the question of how to tackle the relationship between characters and recipients. Are characters simply be understood by viewers by analogy with ordinary, real-world people – except for the fact that the characters do not really exist (Smith 2010)?

The medial specificity of film, which instead of rendering characters in purely abstract terms as in literature is able to make them the objects of perception, certainly acts in favour of such an assumption. Furthermore, the characters' roles as drivers of the story's events certainly contribute to the impression of their general resemblance to real-world agents.

However, evidence from the earlier discussion of the conceptual distinctiveness of fictional texts shows that conceiving of characters as simple fictional equivalents of real-world persons would be a gross oversimplification. In what follows, some approaches that orient researchers towards closer examinations of character–ordinary people analogies are presented.

Smith (2010), for instance, made a case for approaching fictional characters and their worlds in terms of a mimetic hypothesis. The term 'mimetic hypothesis' suggests that the imitation of non-fictional realities is only a first step in this process. In later stages of the character creation process, emphasis may then be shifted to formal aspects of the character as narrative structure: "This 'twofoldness' of our perception of characters – seeing them at once as (more or less realistic) representations of persons and as artifacts in their own right – also enables us to understand fictions which foreground just this duality" (Smith 2010: 237).

In this regard, Eder (2006) proposed an even more fine-grained framework for analysing the viewer's understanding of characters. According to this author, the reality of characters may be categorised in four different ways: In addition to their condition as artefacts and as parts of the diegetic world, characters may feature as symbols (as representatives of some higher-level meaning) and as symptoms (by emphasising the linkage to the non-fictional reality as well as to corresponding reality effects). As in Smith's (2010) proposal, it is only the diegetic dimension in which characters are said to resemble real-world agents. However, apart from presenting a more elaborate analytical grid with categories in which the reality of characters may be captured, Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider (2010) also went a step further than did Smith (2010) in relating these categories to the viewers' emotional responses to characters:

> We not only emotionally react to characters as fictional beings, but also react to their (brillant or clumpsy) representation, to the (often controversial) meanings they impart, to the intentions of their makers (e.g., propagandistic ones), or to the supposed effects they may have (e.g., on minors). Those kinds of reactions in turn may influence the feelings we have for the fictional being (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 16).

Moreover, whereas Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider (2010: 45) recognised that characters and their representations may serve a number of different ends, the authors, however, acknowledge that "[i]n novels or feature films, they serve primarily narrative purposes [...]". That is to say, from a general point of view, primacy is accorded to the diegetic dimension of characters. The latter suggestion is in line with the emphasis on representations of characters as active persons – and is thus an argument in favour of the crucial role of simulation (because characters' agency is a precondition for the viewer's simulation of action tendencies). However, one has to say that the latter is particularly true for mainstream or action films: "The plotting of mainstream films, for instance, follows the aims of their protagonists, who are involved in exciting problem-solving processes" (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 25). Given that this is the default condition in the TV series *TfA*, in which characters' actions are essential in driving the story in most parts of the narrative, it seems methodologically justifiable to concentrate on how character representation relates to viewer engagement through simulation.

Before turning to this issue, however, we should mention another way in which characters differ significantly from real-world (human) beings. As stated above, characters do not exist as real-world people do; they come into existence merely through particular textual and mental operations. This implies that characters are ontologically incomplete (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010; Reicher 2010): As audiences, we can only infer those character traits and properties that are given in the text. Despite this incompleteness, viewers are able to understand characters as contigent entities and as continuous actors. Furthermore, they are able to react to such incomplete and fragmentarily represented characters both emotionally and morally**.** It is the business of the next section to make explicit how the viewer's experience of character emerges as a result of several filmic strategies of character representation.

4.5   Recognition of characters in film

Research into the representation of characters on screen has usually been confined to the initial stage of character introduction. A case in point is Tseng's (2009) account of character representation. Despite its limited focus on the modelling of the first

appearance of characters in cinematographic texts, the framework nevertheless provides some insights into the textual construction of character introduction – an issue generally considered of minor importance in the bulk of cognitively oriented studies (Feng 2012).

In his account, Tseng (2009) proposed drawing a distinction between the mode of a character's representation, which can be monomodal or multimodal, and issues of presentational salience. With regard to the latter, the author differentiated between immediate modes of character presentation (such as immediate presentation in close shots), and gradual modes of introduction. The latter are subdivided into dynamic presentations (as when the camera zooms in onto a character's face) and static presentations (such as the separate and sequential depiction of a character's body parts).

Whereas Tseng's (2009) framework enabled the description of the cinematographic means for the introduction of characters in representational (ideational) and textual terms, it cannot account for two crucial facts related to character representation. On one hand, given its limitation to the description of characters' first appearances, the framework does not consider character development – which, according to Smith (1994: 40), is a key feature in the process of 'recognition': "Recognition does not deny the possibility of development and change [...]". Building on Tseng's framework, Feng (2012: 158) advocated a similar point of view when suggesting that, in the analysis of cinematographic techniques for character introduction, "the character actions after the character is 'presented' [...] may also be considered".

On the other hand, Tseng's (2009) concentration on representational (ideational) and textual means for character representation is no longer sufficient. As argued by Feng (2012), such an account should be complemented with the description of interpersonal means of character introduction and representation. In this regard, it must be added that the idea that the introduction and tracking of characters is not affected by interpersonal meanings is an erroneous one. Both subjective access to characters ('alignment') and moral and emotional 'allegiance' with them starts at the moment (or even before) characters appear on screen for the first time (Smith 2010).

When a character makes its first appearance, the allusion to its identity often triggers an immediate value judgement from the appraisers in the film itself.[41] Introducing a character on screen is thus often an issue of diegetic communication. At the same time, however, as the term 'recognition' suggests, the revelation of a character's identity is clearly geared towards the audience, and is therefore an issue of extradiegetic communication. In other words, the viewers are those at whom the revelation of character identity is ultimately targeted. As with other phenomena in film texts, character revelation is thus an example of multiple addressing, whereby verbal and nonverbal items do not necessarily serve the same functions at diegetic and extradiegetic levels.

Seen from an extradiegetic perspective, film texts make use of deliberate strategies for prompting the viewer's 'recognition' of characters. Character identity may thus be revealed by direct (verbal) inscription. Examples are naming, use of personal pronouns, address terms, terms of endearment, identification through subtitles, intertitles, and identification through captions inside the diegetic world. Furthermore, the use of extradiegetic sound, or musical leitmotifs typically accompanying a particular character on the screen, also falls into this category (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010). As mentioned earlier, in addition to aiding character identification, the inclusion of such clues coming directly from an appraiser may – as in the case of address terms or terms of endearment – reveal a lot about the interpersonal relationships among characters.

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[41] In other words, it functions as a subcategory of eliciting conditions of character judgement.

Moreover, in film texts, indirect allusion to character identity, as emanating from clues provided by the character itself, may occur. These indirect clues comprise, for example, instances of character revelation through the depiction of characters' actions, as well as typical possessive or associative characteristics in terms of hairstyle, clothing, typical dialects and voice qualities, typical working environments and the like. Viewers must rely on their stereotypical knowledge of these clues in order to construct an idea of character identity on the basis thereof (Feng 2012). For instance, the filmic depiction of an office in which a person is lying on a couch while another is asking how he or she is feeling is likely to evoke the working environment, and thus the 'identity', of a psychologist.

That character identity may be revealed through a character's typical actions and possessive or associative characteristics points to the interrelatedness between character introduction ('recognition') and the conveyance of typical character attributes. The continuous accumulation of character attributes (even beyond typical actions and characteristics) is indeed the most common way to trigger viewers' recognition of characters (Feng 2012). However, instead of accompanying processes of 'character attribution', the revelation of a character's identity may also occur prior to the revelation of 'character attributes'. In this regard, at first glance, a curious paradox occurs: On one hand, character identity and recognition is said to be constructed 'prior to attribute' (Feng 2012: 190), so that processes of 'recognition' and characterisation through 'character attributes' appear to be separate processes. On the other hand, particular sub-dimensions of 'character attributes' (such as character action and possessive and associative attributes) are said to play a role in processes of the 'recognition' taking place prior to attribution. This paradox can, however, be resolved when taking into consideration that, in recognising character identities 'prior to attributes', viewers draw only on those attributes that they can interpret by means of stereotypical background knowledge (Feng 2012). They therefore gain a somewhat static and stereotypical first impression, which is, however, a first important step for the subsequent construction of viewer judgement and engagement. Subsequently, then, character attributes and the depiction thereof may become more diverse and less easily interpretable over the course of a film text.

In what follows, we will provide a detailed analysis of two cases from *TfA* that feature revelations of character identity 'prior to attribute'. The choice of the examples was motivated by the fact that sequences in which character identity is revealed 'prior to attribute' facilitates the isolation of 'recognition' patterns. To put it differently, the description can concentrate mainly on such patterns, without placing too much emphasis on corresponding and often closely interrelated processes leading to viewer engagement.

a) Character recognition in *Türkisch für Anfänger:* Examples

Kati

The cases we are going to discuss here are examples of deferred character revelation (or revelation of identity 'prior to attribute'). Given that a character's first visual appearance on the screen usually equates to character revelation (as the viewer can obtain an impression of a complete personality), providing partial and incomplete clues to a character is often the business of the verbal code. One special and infrequent case of deferred character revelation is when the character alluded to actually never appears (visually or acoustically) on the screen. This is the case with Kati, the protagonist

Lena's intimate friend in America, and the ultimate addressee of her video messages often featuring at the beginning of an episode. At least in *TfA*'s first season, Kati never makes a real appearance on the show.

In the following, we concentrate on the patterns of revelation of Kati's identity in one of the introductory scenes of the first episode of the first season of *TfA*.

In this scene (starting at approximately 0.10 minutes into the episode),[42] the protagonist Lena is shown as recording the first video message to be sent to Kati. These messages, in which Lena documents the events in her life and in her family's lives to the absent friend, will become a recurrent element of the series.

As we will see in the discussion of the present and the following example, analysis of verbal elements used for character introduction in both the source text (ST) and the target texts (TTs) has to consider these elements in terms of their multifunctionality, which extends across levels of communication.

In the present case, the linguistic elements used for character revelation appear to have somewhat different functions at the diegetic and extradiegetic levels. Broadly speaking, we can say that the video message mainly intends to create interpersonal meaning at the diegetic level, to which a strong ideational component is added at the extradiegetic level by the elements foreshadowing character revelation. This specific functional configuration is likely to be related to the specific pattern of narrative make up; that is, the difference in knowledge level concerning Kati between the character and the viewers.

As we have argued elsewhere (Falbe in prep.) with regard to the introductory scene of *TfA*, the conveyed video recordings resemble those of other, closely related monologic real-life genres, such as video blogs (so-called 'vlogs'). In addition to their monologic nature, the video messages at hand and vlogs are likely to share characteristics, such as careful preparation and elaboration of the messages, or the simultaneous communication of somewhat personal and even intimate topics to potentially diverse types of audiences (such as intimates, family, general internet users and so on). Therefore, vlogs are likely to accommodate different types of addressees and are multifunctional, as are cinematographic texts. At the same time, they also seem to follow the general principle that monologic texts with the greatest impact are those conceived of with a particular addressee (or group of addressees) in mind. They therefore employ a number of methods, such as verbal and visual greetings, terms of endearment, gossip, and other strategies and devices to allude to common ground at an interpersonal level.

Interpersonal devices such as greetings, naming (including the use of nicknames), and the use of terms of endearment are also present in the fictional video message under discussion. Employed at the beginning of a (virtual) communication, these devices serve the phatic (or contact) function,[43] which is clearly an interpersonal one. At the same time, given the viewer's position of inferior knowledge about Kati and her situation in comparison to that of the diegetic interlocutors (Lena and Kati), such devices also serve to provide the viewer with information about Kati, thereby functioning ideationally at the extradiegetic level.

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[42] Note that for reasons of copyright restriction, the transcribed scenes featuring the images are not reproduced here.

[43] According to Stenström (2014: 30), phatic communication is "talk for the sake of talking, with no or very little informative value, the function of which is to establish and maintain contact". In the present case, instances of phatic communication as presented in greetings, references to the latest news and to the circumstances of the communicative situation as well as closing comments do, however, have some informational value for the extradiegetic public. When it comes to phatic talk between teenagers, one principal aim seems to be the establishing and maintaining of a sense of camaderie (Stenström 2014; Tannen 1990).

In the following, we will consider this broadly sketched functional split in greater detail. In the sequence in question, we see Lena starting her video message by verbally and visually greeting Kati as the real (diegetic) addressee the video message. Concentrating on the verbal items that ideationally help the viewers to get some idea of Kati's identity and situation, we can point to the following: Kati is first named in the greeting by Lena, who refers to her by her nickname, *Kati*. This is followed by an explicit thematisation of the naming process, whereby the switch into English provides the viewers with some indirect clues to Kati's new living environment in an English-speaking country. These clues are thus the first possessive (situational) attributes of the character alluded to. Kati is further referred to by a term of endearment (ger. *Süße*) and the personal pronoun ger. *du*, and her new living circumstances are further specified for the viewer *(ger. in Amiland angekommen*). When Lena's mother Doris interferes in the communication, Kati is once more identified by her nickname in a direct greeting form, her situation of living with a host family is further described, and she is alluded to by her nickname in Doris' communication with Lena's little brother, Nils, who is also asked to greet the absent Kati. When Lena finally manages to speak to Kati in private, she is again referred to by a term of endearment (ger. *Süße*) and a personal pronoun, and further indications of her new living circumstances in a big family are provided. Seen from a merely ideational point of view, the pattern of identity revelation – which is confined to the verbal code – is thus rather simple: The verbal items used for identification are somewhat conventional means (nicknames, personal pronouns, terms of endearment), employed in a highly redundant manner. In addition, snippits of information about Kati's current situation help to move the girl's identity from some highly generic form into a slightly more specific realm.

More interesting than the ideational patterns of identity revelation, however, is the question of what is interpersonally at stake when Kati's identity is alluded to in the above mentioned manner. As discussed earlier, clues to character identity as provided by an appraiser (here Lena or Doris) may simultaneously point to issues of judgement, above all in terms of power and distance between characters. In the present case, the identity clues reveal that Lena has a close connection to Kati (and that Doris also wants to have one). At this point, it should be mentioned that the evocation of closeness and direct interaction in the sequence under discussion is very important for developing patterns of viewer alignment and allegiance with the protagonist Lena (see sections 4.7 and 4.8).

Returning to the evocation of closeness between characters, we can say that the use of nicknames, terms of endearment and 2nd person pronouns, as well as inquiries about and allusions to another character's situation, serve to evoke closeness and even intimacy on the level of a character's communication. However, in the present case, in contrast to ideational patterns of identity revelation, interpersonal patterns cannot be fully accounted for without referring to their co-construction in nonverbal modalities.

Reanalysing the sequence at hand from an interpersonal point of view, we arrive at the following: In the first section of the sequence, which is set in the family's sitting room, cinematographic patterns are relatively stable and – apart from the short sequences when Lena and Doris approach the camera and are depicted in close or very close shots – do not contribute much to character appraisal in terms of closeness between characters. This, however, is not the case with regard to kinesic and paralinguistic codes. In the beginning, phatic contact and intimacy between Lena and the potential diegetic interlocutor Kati is not only established by the rather informal greeting formula accompanied by reference to Kati by her nickname, but is simultaneously signalled by a direct and firm gaze into the camera and the visual greeting gesture, as well as the smile,

which signals a positive attitude towards the interlocutor. By switching from German into English, Lena then shows empathetic interest in Kati by putting herself in Kati's shoes (imagining how Kati would be called in her new living environment). Code-switching may also convey an allusion to common ground, and thus possibly point to the insider status of the girls' communication. When comparing the latter with the ideational function of the same items (direct allusion to character identity, indirect allusion through possessive attributes), there should be no doubt as to the multifunctionality of the items.

The evocation of intimacy is then further enhanced by the term of endearment, ger. *Süße*, which interpersonally also construes a close relationship between friends.[44] Moreover, reference to the current situation of the friend again signals concern and thus empathetic interest in what Kati does. Furthermore, the rather informal, teen talk reference to America (ger. *Amiland*) establishes a sense of common ground between the interlocutors. Lena's subsequent impulsive move in the direction of the camera while she points out that she misses Kati a lot further stresses the impression of the interlocutors' intimate relationship. We are now witnessing a kind of emotional outburst, in which Lena kisses the camera. Her face, rendered in a very close shot, clearly shows that the (temporary) loss of her female friend makes her sad. Facial expressions, such as eyebrows that are extremely closely drawn together, resulting in a frowning forehead and narrowed eyes, convey the character's emotion of sadness to the viewer. Paralinguistically, a rather low pitch,[45] as well as an emphatic intonation including the stretching of vocals in the intensifier ger. *total*[46] – when Lena expresses how much she already misses her friend – work in the same direction.

This intimate moment then is somewhat interrupted by the interference of Lena's mother Doris in the communication. Doris also greets Kati visually and verbally by resorting to Kati's nickname. Furthermore, Doris refers to herself by using the definite article before her name (ger. *die Doris*) – a marked instance of naming that points to some kind of informal or substandard use (Hentschel and Weydt 2013). Taken together, these actions point to character judgement and fuel the impression of Doris' (at least wishful) affiliation with the interlocutor.

Like Lena, Doris further establishes phatic contact by approaching the camera, by smiling, and by a firm and direct gaze into the camera,[47] thereby additionally indicating heightened interest through widely opened eyes. Similarly, after a short digression in the narrative, Doris again establishes phatic contact with Kati in the manner discussed above, and signals empathetic interest in her daughter's female friend by asking about Kati's current situation. In this regard, Doris even evokes a relationship of accomplices by winking. Again, there is a sharp contrast between the ideational function of providing background information to the audience at the extradiegetic level (that Kati

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[44] See Günthner and Kriese (2012) who list ger. *Süße* among the terms used for the construction of interpersonal relationships in German instant messaging.

[45] According to Guerrero and Floyd (2006), narrowed eyes and frowning as well as an overall low pitch feature among the nonverbal and prosodic clues to the expression of sadness.

[46] See Selting (1994) with regard to the lenghtening of vocals as a feature of emphatic speech style in German. Paralinguistic patterns of emphatic speech are of course instances of up-scaled graduation: force ([+for]), and thus work together with the intensifier as a linguistic means also expressing such up-scaled force. However, as stressed by Günthner (1997), in addition to its intensifying function, patterns of emphatic speech in German also play an important role for the conveyance of emotion.

[47] Note that we are here concerned with three out of four nonverbal indicators (eye contact, body forward lean, smiling, nodding) whose combination is said to result in the perception of a relationship as proximal (Burgoon and Le Poire 1999 with respect to US-American data).

stays with a host family) and the interpersonal function (signalling interest, empathy and closeness) on the diegetic level.

Bypassing another instance of naming, we now consider how Lena refers to Kati in their private communication after having sought refuge from the intrusion of her mother in the family's bathroom. The cinematographic make up of this section is somewhat different from that of the previous one, in that Lena is now shown as speaking into the video camera she holds in her hand from an oblique camera angle. In comparison to the prior frontal depiction of her face, the latter has a distancing effect. In other words, the viewers are now witnessing her intimate communication with Kati rather than being directly drawn into the story. Lena again signals how much she cares about her friend by her expression of empathy, and her concern about Kati's current situation. Whereas ideationally the viewer is provided with further and more specific information about Kati, interpersonally, the relationship between the characters is again at stake. Therefore, the section is clearly marked by the monological nature of the video communication. Lena's expression of empathy starts with an introductory routine formula (ger. *Hey, nochmal mein herzliches Beileid!*) before Kati and her current situation are readily addressed. The routine formula – normally used to offer one's condolences to somebody – is here used in its secondary, ironic reading as "Ausdruck mitleidiger Schadenfreude gegenüber jmdm., der etwas Unangenehmes tun muβ, dem etw. Unangenehmes passiert ist" (Taneva 2008: 175). In other words, it conveys Lena's negative judgement about the apparently negative situation Kati has to deal with in America, and signals Lena's emotive participation in this situation. Sympathy with Kati is further enhanced by addressing the friend again using the term of endearment ger. *Süße*, and by restating the interlocutor's problem in the form of a rhetorical question. As in letters and other monologic texts, the indirect up-take of personal information as obviously communicated in a previous message serves to reanimate the words, and to signal interest and concern about the friend.[48] Concern is then further expressed through a direct and firm gaze into the camera and a tense face. Incredulity with regard to Kati's message is conveyed by a high, rising pitch and a head shake of disapproval.[49] Character judgement about Kati's new living situation in a big family is further expressed in the next utterance, where Lena's disapproval is rendered by the interjection ger. *puh* and a gesture of pushing air out through closed lips. Here, interjection and gesture work together to convey an intensified negative appreciation of Kati's situation, because the interjection's origin lies in the action of blowing away a disliked object (Kleinpaul 1914). Then, in bringing the video camera to her face while steadily gazing into it, the intimacy of the relationship is further stressed. The negative character judgement is now made explicit in a rhetorical question, where the linguistic item of a nominalised superlative (ger. *Gibt's was Schlimmeres?*, [-reac: qua] [+for]) also serves an intensifying function. Both Kati and the viewers are somewhat expected to reply 'no' to the rhetorical question. Nonverbally, the negative message is reinforced by a facial expression in which the corners of the mouth are drawn down.[50]

As we can see from the above example, even apparently simple forms of character identity revelation may function interpersonally in complex, often multimodally

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[48] See al-Qinai (2011: 25) who suggested with regard to patterns of repetition in phatic communication: "When an addressee repeats an utterance he has already heard, this is considered an overture of emotional agreement with the utterance and stresses interest".

[49] See D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze (2012: 170) regarding an example of an head shake rendering incredulity.

[50] Wierzbicka (1999), referring both to Darwin (1872) and Ekman and Friesen (1975), relates downward pointing mouth corners with the expression of sadness or disgust.

conveyed ways. With regard to issues of their translation, the textual dimension, that is their coherence- and cohesion-creating function, also plays a role. For instance, there should typically be some coherence in the way names or typical catchphrases of characters as associated with character identity are rendered in the course of a text. Furthermore, ideational and interpersonal instances of character identification and recognition may come to perform a different function on the textual level. For example, instances of the greeting formula ger. *Hey, Kati* or *Hallo, Kati* which interpersonally serve to establish phatic contact, become vital for the viewers' recognition of the beginning of video messages in the different episodes of *TfA*.

Before discussing problems of translation arising from clues to character identity, we will look at another case of character introduction 'prior to attribute'.

Metin

The deferred introduction of Metin, Doris' boyfriend and the father-to-be of the Schneider-Ötztürk patchwork family, is another example of how a character is verbally represented and judged by the protagonist Lena before he actually visually appears on the screen. This example is also taken from the section discussed above and from the subsequent scene.

Ideationally, the elements referring to Metin are the following: Metin is first alluded to by Lena in a discussion with her mother about Doris' plans for an evening out (ger. *Wolltest du nicht deinen Typen daten?*). He is referred to by a combination of second person possessive pronoun and a very general, and somewhat colloquial noun (ger. *deinen Typen*). Moreover, there may be a further weak cue to Metin in Lena's claim that there is no reason for Doris to be sad about the supposed break-up of Doris' and Metin's relationship, because they actually did not suit each other well (ger. *Hat eh' nicht zu dir gepasst.*). Here, the ellipsis of the personal pronoun or noun alluding to Metin not only evokes a colloquial style, but may also be taken as a signal that, in Lena's eyes, Metin is not even worth mentioning. We skip the discussion of these preparatory instances and move on to the portrayal of Metin in the first video message Lena records for her female friend Kati in America.

In telling her friend the news about her own family, Lena refers to Metin hyperbolically as an Albanian terrorist with whom her mother has split (ger. *Meine Mutter hat sich offensichtlich von diesem albanischen Terroristen getrennt [...].*). The reference to Metin as an Albanian is repeated when, in the subsequent scene in a restaurant, Metin unexpectedly[51] (for Lena) enters the scene (with Lena asking ger. *Der Albaner?*). Before Lena expresses her surprise, Metin is visually introduced from a distance. His introduction is accompanied by an oriental musical theme, and he is clearly recognisable as a man of Southern European origin. He wears an elegant suit (possessive attribute) and directs his gaze steadily at Doris, Nils and Lena. His identity revelation is further shown through action (he greets Doris in a joyful voice and waves his hand while smiling).

Interpersonally, in the introduction of the Metin character, there is again more at stake than the merely ideational. In contrast to Lena's verbal references to her female friend Kati, her allusions to her mother's boyfriend Metin, whom she apparently knows

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[51] It should be said that Metin's appearance is not so unexpected by the viewer. This is due to differences in knowledge levels. Whereas Lena is not aware of the ongoing relationship between her mother and Metin, the viewer is likely to be so because of several cues provided by Doris (e.g. her positive facial expression when she states that the dating phase with Metin is over) and in the narration itself (e.g. Doris' and Lena's discussion about who will join their family in the restaurant later). .

superficially before meeting him again in the restaurant, are charged with judgements of disapproval and indications of distance. This is already apparent in the above mentioned discussion with her mother, where Lena refers to Metin as ger. *deinen Typen*. The 2nd person possessive pronoun clearly places Metin somewhat deprecatingly as a *Typen* in relation to the mother. Similarly, the combination of adjective and noun with the demonstrative pronoun ger. *diesem* in *von diesem albanischen Terroristen* signals a negative moral judgement ([-mor]), and a distant relationship. The hyperbolic expression ger. *von diesem albanischen Terroristen* also has a clear intensifying value ([+for]) inscribed in the noun. Interpersonally, it is even more interesting because it is employed in the context of gossip. In the context of the video messages depicted, gossiping is certainly another strategy to enhance the intimate relationship with the absent friend Kati. In raising a particular familiar topic, an appeal to previously shared knowledge is made.

Gossiping thereby further involves the implicit allusion to a shared and unquestioned standard on which a judgement (like the negative one about Metin) is based. As with other 'in-group' behaviour, gossiping may thus be a powerful symbol of the value of group solidarity. This was also pointed out by Claridge (2011), who argued that hyperbolic references to absent persons (cf. ger. *Terroristen*) can foster group solidarity between interlocutors.

With regard to the identification of Metin as an Albanian terrorist, we should also consider the metaphorical nature of the expression. Despite the somewhat drastic impact of the expression, moral judgement is indirectly rendered through the metaphor. This seems well-suited to the condition of indirect appeal to unquestioned moral standards, as mentioned above. The use of a cultural stereotype may also help to make the common ground more explicit. In this regard, we should also not underestimate the significance of the expression's stereotypical core at the extradiegetic level. As stated in section 4.5, particularly in the early stages of character introduction, character attributes are often rendered in a stereotypical manner. In this way, judgements attached to these attributes are likely to be more easily recognised by the viewers.

When the above mentioned hyperbolic expression is used in a slightly different form as a term of nationality in the subsequent restaurant scene, Lena seems to have already completely internalised the negative attitude towards Metin. Her deprecative judgement of Metin as ger. *Der Albaner?* seems to emerge spontaneously from an emotional outburst. The use of the definite article may increase the impression of a fixed mental image attached to Metin that spontaneously comes to the fore. In this regard, referring to a person as an Albanian when it is well known[52] that he is in fact Turkish, can be regarded as an intention to show contempt and disregard. Thus, the contrast between Metin's portrayal (firm gaze, joyful voice, smiling face and the intention to establish phatic contact), which is likely to elicit positive judgements from the viewer, and Lena's implicit negative judgement conveyed through her emotional outburst, is striking. The latter is rendered nonverbally by the rapid speed of delivery of the words, the loud volume, the high pitch that accompanies the high and rising intonation as well as a stare aimed somewhat incredulously towards the mother, and an open mouth signalling surprise.[53] This is accompanied by a tense facial expression (the corners of the mouth

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[52] From Lena's prior remarks on Metin in the introductory scene the viewers can infere that Lena already knows Metin (e.g. from Lena's remark that Doris and Metin do not suit each other). The use of the definite article in the present remark (ger. *Der Albaner?*) also adds to this impression.

[53] See Selting (1992) regarding the prosodic marking of German astonished questions indicating a problem through features such as increased loudness, high and rising intonation and so on. With respect to a gaping mouth as one of the prototypical nonverbal indicators of surprise, see Horstmann (2002).

are drawn apart and the chin is pulled forward) conveying the upcoming tension in the situation and a sense of challenge.

There is thus a striking contrast in valences of viewer judgements as potentially elicited through cues from the appraised (positive) and the appraiser (negative). The question of how the expressions of surprise and challenge in character emotion can elicit negative judgement is not only a question of co-deployment of the verbal code, but also one of appraisal prosody. To put it differently, the prior negative introduction and description of Metin as an Albanian terrorist can be seen as colouring Lena's subsequent references to Metin. This is an issue of the textual dimension, and will be explored together with other issues important in terms of translation in the next section.

4.6   Clues to character recognition in translation

We now seek to assess the position of clues to character revelation that were allocated in each of the translations of *TfA* into Catalan and French.

Catalan

From an ideational point of view, the Catalan text largely follows the information structure of the ST. The only slight deviation occurs with regard to the first allusion to Kati's situation in America (as a clue character identity): Whereas the ST gives indications of Kati's location and actions (ger. *in Amiland angekommen*), the TT refers to the American people (cat. *els ianquis*). This transformation, however, does not distort the informational dimension of the ST,[54] in which increasingly specific details are filled in for the viewer in the course of the revelation of the Kati character. The same is true with regard to the introduction of Metin. The specific narrative exigencies informing the sequences (the diegetic-extradiegetic differences in knowledge levels about the characters to be introduced) are thus complied with. Furthermore, the redundancy of clues in the verbal chain of information is largely maintained.

Interpersonally, the higher complexities exhibited by the ST also lead to a more complex picture in the Catalan TT. The first, highly salient features of the instances of character introduction are the character judgements in terms of closeness (introduction of Kati) or distance (introduction of Metin) attached to the items. Closeness is also evoked nonverbally by the cinematographic make up (such as the closeness conveyed through close shots). Focusing firstly on the explicit allusions to distance and closeness as linked to instances of character introduction, we can point to some minor shifts which, however, seem to be the result of differences in linguistic preferences and the markedness of items between the ST and the TT. For instance, the distant (and deprecating) value of the German demonstrative pronoun in the allusion to Metin as ger. (*von) diesem albanischen Terroristen* is left unspecified in the Catalan text (cat. *amb el terrorista albanès*). The impression of distance in the value judgement attached to items of character identification may also be conveyed in the ST and the TT by different verbal means. In the following example, the German 2nd person possessive pronoun, which has a clear distancing effect because it somewhat banishes the referred person

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[54] This transformation appears to be informed by transformations of the interpersonal dimension. The sentence patterns in which some speech acts are rendered may differ from one language to another. In textual acts where the target language conventions are strongest, as in appellative (phatic) communication, shifts in sentence patterns are more likely to occur. This can lead to other shifts of ideational or interpersonal dimensions.

from the realm of the speaker, is translated by a remote demonstrative pronoun (ger. *Mama, wolltest du dich nicht mit deinem Typen daten?* versus cat. *Mamà, que no has de sortir amb aquell?*). This, however, does not change the impression of distance (and deprecation) itself. Another example that actually changes the rendering of closeness is the translation of ger. *Hallo Kati, hier ist die Doris! a*s opposed to cat. *Hola Kati, sóc la Doris!* Here, the self-reference to the speaker in the ST features a combination of definite article and proper name (ger. *die Doris*), which is a marked selection in German, pointing to some kind of informal or substandard use (Hentschel and Weydt 2013). In Catalan, the appeal to informality and closeness is reduced, because the combination with the definite article represents the default case of naming (for instance Brumme 2007; Coromina i Pou 2001).

Further shifts in the interpersonal dimension are related to the introduction of character attributes, in particular to allusions to their current situations. As pointed out earlier with regard to the ST, the protagonist Lena provides the viewers with some indirect clues regarding Kati's new living situation in an English-speaking country when she temporarily switches into English. On the content level, she explicitly thematises the naming of her friend in the new living environment. In the Catalan TT, the switch is only partially made (only the name of the friend is rendered via English pronunciation). The translator has chosen to concentrate on the ideational content. In other words, emphasis is placed on the 'factual' information, such as the explicit thematisation of Kati's name in her new, English-speaking environment. The underlying perspective switch, which is Lena's imaginative process of putting herself in her friend's shoes, has thus been preserved.[55] However, the interpersonal value of the code-switching into English itself, that is, the fact that switching into the (now pertinent) language of the interlocutor signals empathetic interest in the latter, is ruled out. Moreover, further interpersonal implications of code-switching, such as the potential appeal to common ground between the female teenage friends (using English as an in-group, teen talk style) are lost. The reasons for this concentration on ideational contents are straightforward. As emphasised by Munday (2012: 40), "[m]odification of the ideational, 'factual' information in a text, or the story level in narrative, could take us into the realm of adaptation [...]". The translators then seem to have favoured the conveyance of ideational clues about Kati's situation to the viewers (which is of crucial importance because of the asymmetries in knowledge levels between characters and viewers). Moreover, there are possible differences in the value attached to the English language and code-switching into English in the source and target culture. In German media, references to Anglo-American culture and language in English abound, and knowledge of English is widespread. For instance, studying the Anglicisms and culture-specific references to Americanness in the version dubbed into German of *Sex and the City,* Adamou and Knox (2011: 9) pointed out that, "especially as far as the younger demographic is concerned, the Anglicisation of the German language has increased in the last decade [...]", with English even becoming in "non-Anglophone television [...] a signifier of 'trendiness'". However, in Catalan media, English might have a slightly different status. Wieland (2010), for example, studied Catalan youth language on the basis of data containing, among other things, 35 recordings of television programmes for adolescents. The author came to the conclusion that

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[55] That is, the basic cognitive mening structure (which is an ideational dimension) has been preserved. Compare the ST and Catalan TT with the French translation (discussed below), where the underlying cognitive perspective has been changed.

els autèntics anglicisms, només els trobem a la part dels mitjans de comunicació. [...] aquests anglicims apareixen destacats en cursiva o entre cometes o, a la televisió, marcats per l'entonació [...]. En tota la part juvenil del corpus la quantitat d'angliscismes és molt reduïda, només trobem una entrada del lexema *cool* (Wieland 2010: 407, italics in the original).

We might posite that different norms concerning the inclusion of the Anglicisms in audio-visual products might be at the origin of the contrast between the German and Catalan versions.

Another case in which compromises seem to have been made to comply with the target cultural norms is when the syntactic configurations in which meanings are rendered are changed. This is likely to occur in textual acts such as appellative and phatic communication, where the target language conventions are quite strong and binding. Nord (2007), for instance, argues that the phatic function "relies more on culture-specific conventions than any other function in communication". As a consequence, instances of phatic communication, such as greetings, are likely to appear in highly conventionalised patterns. When the translator violates the conventions by opting for source language patterns, this is highly noticeable, drawing attention to the form instead of to the propositional content (Nord 2007). Accordingly, for Nord (2007: 174), "it would be advisable for translators to adapt metacommunicative utterances to target-culture conventions in order to make them work for the target addressee".

In this regard, we have already noted the slight transformation of ideational meaning, which occurs in the translation of the following example: ger. [Lena:] *Hey, Süße, ich hoffe Du bist gut in Amiland angekommen...* versus cat. [Lena:] *I què, com et va amb els ianquis, nena?* This transformation seems to be due to different preferences in the patterns of inquiries about a person's situation (assertive act versus question format). The use of the direct question format in Catalan might then be related to the greater emphasis on the sender-audience relationship as evidenced in closely related Romance languages, such as Spanish, in contrast to German (Nord 2007). In both the German and the Catalan texts, these constructions nevertheless serve one goal: to establish and maintain phatic contact. In this regard, it should be pointed out that their interpersonal value remains largely the same.

Another instance in which meaning is used in a different, potentially language-preferential syntactic configuration, is when Lena's attitudinal remark concerning Kati's situation (living in a big family) is changed from a rhetorical question format to an outright exclamation (ger. [Lena:] *Puh. Gibt's was Schlimmeres?* versus cat. [Lena:] *Pff, ostres, quin pal!*). Here, the negative appreciation of Kati's situation is likely to be expressed in Catalan more in terms of affect. This is not surprising, given that the interjection ger. *puh* also expresses an affective reaction in the German ST, and given that affect and appreciation: reaction (as in the above case) often border on each other. In terms of graduation, the Catalan TT then somewhat intensifies the attitudinal remark, as it contracts the space of an alternative perspective, which is at least potentially present in the rhetorical question in the German ST.

French

In the French version, translation shifts in the ideational, interpersonal and textual patterns related to character introduction and recognition resemble those of the Catalan version.

Ideationally, as in the Catalan text, the information structure of the ST has been largely preserved. The preservation of ideational meaning in the French version includes the text's development from more general to increasingly specific clues as to character identity. Therefore, the passages underlying narrative implications regarding the knowledge asymmetries between characters and viewers are also taken into consideration.

Interpersonally, changes occur once more in the rendering of closeness or distance, as related to the items of character identification. For instance, the socially close interpersonal relationship between Lena and her friend Kati is, in one instance, neutralised by omitting the term of endearment ger. *Süße* in the French TT (ger. [Lena:] *Hey, Süße, ich hoffe Du bist gut in Amiland angekommen...* versus fr. [Lena:] *Bon. Tout d'abord, j'espère que tu es bien arrivée en Amérique [...]*). This omission may be due to the length of the French translation, which does not allow for additional syllables, because of exigencies of lip synchronisation that are vital in the medium-close shot. In this passage, the French TT also replaces an instance of colloquial and teen talk lexical choice (ger. *Amiland*) with a standard lexical item (fr. *Amérique*). In this way, the impression that the video message is geared to a teenage recipient with whom the protagonist Lena has close personal ties (and a shared common ground) is lost in the French translation. Thus, the sense of proximity in the relationship between the protagonist and her intimate friend is somewhat downplayed in this passage in the French TT. Thus, the French version does not transfer the interpersonal function of the German ST to the maximum degree.

With regard to the indicators of distance that go hand-in-hand with the character judgement about another character's identity, the French TT largely recreates the sense of distance as rendered by the ST. Occasionally, the grammatical patterning of the TT is adapted in order to conform to target-language norms. For instance, the distance value of the German demonstrative pronoun in the allusion to Metin as ger. (*von) diesem albanischen Terroristen* is adequately translated by resorting to a possessive pronoun (fr. *de son terroriste albanais*). As we have discussed above with regard to the German ST, this grammatical form is likely to signal that the person referred to is seen as belonging to the realm of the other. The reference to fr. *son terroriste albanais* thus implies a distance judgement, as expressed in the ST.

Another interpersonal shift in the French TT is related to the issue of code-switching into English, as discussed previously with regard to the Catalan TT. As with the Catalan TT, instead of the entire utterance, the French version renders only the name of the friend in English (ger. [Lena:] *Well, they will call you 'Cathy' right now* versus fr. [Lena:] *Oh, je devrais plutôt dire 'Cathy' maintenant*). In addition to the consequences for interpersonal equivalence between the ST and the TT as already discussed with regard to the Catalan version, the French TT also implies a shift in cognitive perspective. To put it differently, the underlying cognitive frame prompted by the French TT is different: Whereas in the ST Lena imaginarily comes close to her friend by imagining what the current situation of her friend Kati might be like, the TT takes the action of naming into the realm of Lena herself. Whereas ideationally this has no consequences for the message about Kati's new setting in an English-speaking environment, interpersonally, the impression of Lena's empathetic participation in

Kati's situation is changed. In summary, ideational equivalence is maintained, whereas even less interpersonal equivalence than in the Catalan TT is achieved in the French TT. The French version furthermore shows a tendency to intensify some affective dimensions. For example, when Lena provides her own judgement about Kati's experience of living in a big family, the French translation employs an instance of directly inscribed attitude (fr. *triste*, [-hap]) in combination with an intensifier ([+for]) at the expense of idiomatic elements (ger. *[...] noch mal mein herzliches Beileid!* versus fr. *[...] j'y vraiment triste que [...]*). This shift from invokedness to inscription renders the attitude more explicit and intense. The somewhat complex empathetic attitude (captured in the combination of compassion and schadenfreude) inherent in the German routine formula is therefore lost.

An instance of explicitation may be found in the passages in which Metin is introduced visually in the story. In one instance, the French TT displays greater verbal-visual redundancy, as Metin's joyful greeting to Doris in the restaurant scene is more elaborate than in that of the ST (ger. [Metin:] *Doris!* versus fr. [Metin:] *Doris! On est là!*). Here, issues of lip synchronisation and differences in sentence length between the ST and the TT are likely to play a minor role, as Metin is shown in a distance shot. The reason the translator feels obliged to explicate the value, which is redundant because it is also conveyed in the visual code, is unclear. The greater redundancy on the ideational level may, however, lead to the impression of greater emphasis and happiness regarding the encounter with Doris on the interpersonal level.

In summary, both the Catalan and the French TTs feature similar items that are somewhat problematic for translation. These 'critical points' (Munday 2012) particularly revolve around the interpersonal dimension. In this regard, the different degrees of closeness or distance attached to items of character identification and recognition may pose the first challenge for the translator. As should have become clear, with regard to the rendering of proximity and distance, grammar often works as a kind of straitjacket. The grammatical patterning of the TT must often conform to target language norms; thus, that the translator may be obliged to not keep the translation as close to the ST as was probably intended.

A second 'critical point' relates to the interpersonal value of code-switching. Code-switching may serve the purpose of characterisation or, as in the present case, provide clues as to the relationship of one character to another. As shown, it may function to signal empathetic interest or appeal to common ground and shared codes between characters. These interpersonal dimensions, however, lie beneath the surface and cannot be determined in any principle way, as they are likely to be context-specific. Furthermore, the picture becomes even more complicated: In addition to problems that understanding code-switching into another language may cause, different linguistic cultures may not apply the same value to switchings into particular foreign languages and dialects. Faced with these difficulties, translators may opt to retain the ideational information conveyed by passages in another language at the cost of dimensions of interpersonal equivalence.

Thirdly, some further challenges posed by the translation of items regarding character revelation are linked directly to the character emotions and judgements attached to these items. Here, problems of direct inscription versus indirect invocation and degrees of graduation rendered in translation are particularly at stake. Treatment of these problems will be deferred to section 4.8, in which character judgement in general will be discussed in greater detail.

Overall, the passages in question reveal only a small portion of the potential difficulties one might imagine for the translation of items of character revelation.[56] However, due to the focus on instances of deferred character identification – which are more easily recognisable because they are primarily rendered verbally and are not as intertwined with instances of alignment and allegiance – the discussion thus far has been somewhat limited. The treatment of character identification and recognition, together with that of allegiance to characters in section 4.8 will remedy this situation. In the next section, we will consider the dimension of spatio-temporal attachment or alignment to characters as a precondition for viewer engagement.

4.7   Alignment or spatio-temporal attachment to characters

After these introductory perspectives on character 'recognition', the emphasis will be shifted to processes of spatio-temporal attachment to characters. In Smith's (1995) threefold model, such processes are summarised under the concept of 'alignment'. In earlier versions of his account, Smith (1994: 35) described the alignment process as follows: "Spectators are [...] provided with visual and audiovisual information more or less congruent with that available for characters, and so are placed in a certain structure of alignment with characters". Given that spatio-temporal attachment is seen as beginning after a character's first introduction and recognition, 'alignment' was originally regarded as the second step in the construction of viewer engagement. However, more recently, Smith (2010: 250) acknowledged that a strict segmentation and ordering of the processes of 'recognition', 'alignment' and 'allegiance' "is only a half-truth". Instead, these processes serve to prepare subsequent processes of viewer engagement simultaneously. The temporal ordering is thus an abstraction, and is only partially justified by the fact that cognitive processes of character individuation and recognition may form a precondition for alignment and moral allegiance.[57] Thus, the processes of 'alignment' are no longer conceived of from merely a spatio-temporal perspective, but also in terms of alignment with a character's inner life: "[W]e are attached to characters spatially, and given access to their minds, to a greater or lesser degree" (Smith 2010: 250).

With the protagonist as the main carrier of narration and action, processes of viewer identification and alignment are likely to rely on access to his or her subjectivity. This is indeed true for the majority of cinematographic texts. However, as recent research has shown, films with so-called 'network narratives' may foster alignment beyond the mere attachment to an individual figure: "In such films, which depend on the articulation of numerous parallel lines of action, we are aligned with various characters or character groupings, usually in alternating fashion over the course of the work" (Smith 2010: 247f.). In other words, some narratives allow us to come close to a single character in our imaginations – an impression potentially fuelled through the contrast with more distantly portrayed minor characters and antagonists, whereas others give access to a multiplicity of fictional minds and worlds.

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[56] To name but a few: Ideationally, one might imagine problems in the preservation of the informational value of verbal items and its redundancy, issues of verbal-visual redundancy and issues of the explicitation or overspecification of information. Interpersonally, in addition to the problems discussed so far, we can point to possible difficulties arising from cultural specific values (of terms of endearment and so on), differences in stereotypicality of the attributes attached to particular characters, and problems arising with regard to appraisal prosodies. Textually, the preservation of a coherent chain of textual signals may, for instance, pose difficulties.

[57] The adherence to such a temporal ordering in the present study is motivated by a similar concern.

Despite Smith's efforts to further develop the concept of 'alignment' first expounded by himself, Eder's (2006) recent elaboration of Smith's view may be considered to be a more complete account.

In an attempt to explain how film viewers may come to feel close to characters, Eder (2006) distinguished between five principal ways in which closeness to or distance from characters may be created. 'Alignment', in Smith's sense, forms part of Eder's slightly larger category concerning spatio-temporal closeness and issues of paraproxemics. Within this category, Eder (2006) adopted a fourfold sub-classification. Two of the author's subcategories are dedicated to the rendering of spatio-temporal representation in film in terms of content, and the other two relate to the manner of representation. That is to say, the author distinguishes between the *what* and the *how* of spatio-temporal representation and its relation to impressions of closeness as elicited in viewers (Eder 2006).

According to Eder (2006), the viewers' spatio-temporal attachments to characters rely firstly on the spatial and temporal closeness of the depicted fictional worlds to the viewer's actual world. In other words, a viewer originating from Berlin or familiar with life in a big city may feel closer to the fictional world of *TfA* than somebody living in a more rural environment. However, spatio-temporal closeness between characters' and viewers' worlds is a somewhat individual parameter that does not easily allow for generalisation, or for operationalisation with regard to the comparison of translations. In addition, even in such assessment were possible, the coincidence between fictional and actual worlds might not be as clear a criterion of closeness to characters as it appears. As argued by Eder (2006), viewers' attachment dispositions may not necessarily be fostered by close analogies between characters' and viewers' settings: The latter could possibly lead to stereotypical renderings, which might, in turn, give rise to a sense of distance in the viewer. In this regard, the impression of closeness to characters may paradoxically be enhanced when depicted settings are spatio-temporally more distant from the film viewer's actual life world.

Secondly, close relationships that viewers may form with characters might be based on spatio-temporal attachment in a narrow sense. This category roughly coincides with what Smith called 'alignment'. Somewhat similar to Smith (1994, 1995, 2010), Eder (2006) regarded spatio-temporal attachments as referring to the degree to which viewers are provided with access to the character's inner world and his or her spatio-temporal setting. Viewers may, for instance, be able to form a close alignment with protagonists in the early phases of the narrative, when the line of action closely follows the actions of the protagonist. It should then be emphasised that, in order to achieve a sense of personal closeness, characters' actions have to be depicted via an audio-visual code, rather than just being recounted verbally. Thus, when larger portions of character-related actions are skipped over or are only verbally rendered in the form of a brief summary, viewers are more likely to be held at a distance. The longer or more often the viewer is able to follow the character's actions and concerns closely, the more the narrative connects him or her to the character (Eder 2006). In network narratives, the cross-cutting between different plot strands then allows the viewer to be shunted from a particular character's domain of action to another character's domain.

In addition, film seeks to create a sense of personal closeness to characters by giving viewers the impression that, rather than being separated from characters in space and time, they form part of the semiotic and spatio-temporal sphere depicted on the screen in some sense. Cinematographic devices, such as close shots or surround sound, are crucial means of evoking impressions of closeness in this respect. Taking viewers inside the sphere of a certain character can help to focus viewers' attention on the character's

interests in a particular situation. That is, viewers may be primed and even positioned to assess characters' concerns as expressed in 'situational meaning structure' (Tan 1994: 44), which is another important precondition for the viewer's sympathetic or empathetic engagement. In addition, the impression of sharing a space or time with characters can lead to the emergence of a sense of bonding through shared goals of action and to a better understanding of the character. Moreover, it can create the effect of having gained exclusive and intimate access to the character's inner disposition. The audio-visual make up of films may allow viewers to imaginarily approach characters and establish certain intimate relationships with them, as if they were friends or partners. With regard to the manner of the representation of spatio-temporal closeness, Eder (2006) then distinguished between cinematographic devices rendering space and time, respectively.

Eder's third subcategory of spatio-temporal proximity involves space – or devices to generate a sense of closeness through paraproxemics. Very close shots, which may provide the viewer with the impression of being almost close enough to touch the characters, have, for instance, become a conventional means of rendering spatial proximity. In contrast to this, establishing shots conventionally convey a sense of spatial distance. Zooms or other camera movements are other effective means of conveying a sense of paraproxemics by simulating anthropomorphic movements of getting closer to or more distant from characters.

Another important cinematographic means that is able to establish a sense of closeness through paraproxemics is camera angle. Camera angles may signal close or distant relationships between the characters depicted and the viewers in a number of ways: Distant renderings can be employed to convey some authority or respect for the fictional personae. Low angles may make the character look more important and superior, whereas high angles may convey the impression of inferiority (Feng 2012). Furthermore, camera angles give clues regarding situations of unnoticed observation, direct or indirect (pseudo-)interaction and so on.

Finally, a fourth category in Eder's (2006) account is cinematographic devices for rendering temporal closeness. The representation of temporal experience may feed into the perception of closeness to characters in several ways. On one hand, the temporal alignment between modes might become a crucial element for establishing closeness. Carefully arranged narrative timing, as well as carefully timed configurations of characters' body movements, music, dialogue and other visual and aural elements may give rise to the impression of synchronicity with and temporal closeness to the character. On the other hand, viewers may also gain the impression that they are synchronised with characters in their experience of time more directly. For example, character motion and music delivered at a slow pace, as well as empty shots, may contribute to the impression of a more or less endless extension of time. By contrast, cinematographic devices such as fast cutting and fast music, which keep the cinematographic text fast-paced, may harmonise with the character's experience of time as passing quickly – an experience likely to be shared by the viewer.

There are two more ways in which alignment through spatio-temporal attachment and subjective access to characters may take place. The first one is usually referred to as 'parasocial interaction'.[58] 'Parasocial interaction' is often defined in a broader and in a narrower sense. In a broader sense, it refers to several kinds of reactions to real persons or fictitious characters in the media. In other words, several types of participation fall into this category. According to Eder (2006), the term 'parasocial interaction' could better be applied in a narrower sense to situations,

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[58] This roughly corresponds to Grodal's (2009) prototype of character simulation through 'interaction'.

wenn Zuschauer auf Stimuli verbalen und nonverbalen Verhaltens in dargestellten Face-to-Face-Situationen reagieren (z. B. wenn jemand in die Kamera blickt) oder wenn sie imaginieren, selbst mit Figuren in Interaktion zu treten (z.B. ihnen zu helfen, mit ihnen Sex zu haben) (Eder 2006: 141f.).[59]

Parasocial interactions thus establish non-reciprocal imaginative relationships (Giles 2010), which seem to rely on multiple reception processes featuring the imaginative interlocutor: It is "repeated encounters [that] shape and modify the initial schema over time, particularly in relation to affective evaluations" (Giles 2010: 448).

The video communication in *TfA*, where the protagonist Lena addresses her interlocutor on the other side of the video camera directly, is thus clearly an instance of parasocial interaction. Given that such parasocial action usually occurs early in our data, we take it in the sense of Eder (2006) as a preparation for rather than a rival of process of empathetic and sympathetic participation.

A second way to create a sense of subjective access to the viewer is through perspective-taking.

In the present study, perspective-taking, establishing attachment and subjective access to a character is to be taken in its technical sense, as related to the character's verbally, visually and acoustically expressed focalisation processes (such as in POV-shots). As in the earlier discussion of a character's identity revelation 'prior to attribute', we will now briefly discuss how some kind of alignment with a character prior to the character's visual presentation on the screen may take place. As before, this reduces the obstacle of placing too much emphasis on corresponding and closely related processes of viewer engagement, and enables full concentration on alignment patterns in the verbal code.

a) Viewer alignment elicited through episode titles

The titles of the individual episodes in *TfA* follow a common pattern, which can be illustrated by the title of the first episode of the first season: 'Die, in der ich meine Freiheit verliere'. This example shows two important features that characterise almost all episode titles of *TfA*: It is both highly elliptical and is perspectivised.

In the example given, the elliptical nature of the episode titles is tangible from the absence of the noun ger. *Episode* or *Folge* after the initial determinate article. This pattern seems to have been borrowed from the episode titles of the US-American sitcom *Friends* (where the determinate article eng. *the* is followed by the substituting pronoun *one* without a noun).

In general, the use of the determinate article and elliptical patterns is likely to signal shared background knowledge and proximity among the interlocutors. As Şerban (2004: 334) proposed with regard to Romanian fairy tale titles, "[d]efinite reference in the title of the story claims familiarity with the entities which are the subject of the story […] the existence of the entities can be taken for granted from the outset and is 'common ground'". This creates "complicity and closeness" (Şerban 2004: 335) between the reader and the author. In a similar manner, Kozloff (2000: 74) argued that "so-called elliptical dialogue implies special closeness amongst characters".

The latter can also be suggested for the sitcom *Friends*, in which regard Quaglio (2009) argued that

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[59] Grodal (2009) furthermore includes cases of direct interaction with diegetic worlds and characters, for instance, in video games.

> [s]ince *Friends* is about a group of very close friends, a predominantly local domain of shared knowledge would be expected. However, the virtual interlocutors (the audience) are characterised by a wide range of socio-cultural backgrounds. In this sense then for the language of the show to be easily understood […], the level of vagueness should be as 'global' as possible […] (Quaglio 2009: 78).

The ellipsis of easily recoverable elements (such as the noun ger. *Episode* or *Folge* lacking in the above mentioned title) can be seen as an example of such a globally interpretable pattern.

When it comes to the perspectivisation of the episode titles, the use of the 1st person pronoun ger. *ich* is the most striking feature. When this occurs in novel titles, it can be taken as a hint that first person narrators will be recounting their memoirs, writing diaries, and so on. The series *TfA* relies on a diary-like pattern for voice-over narration (in the form of a video blog-like structure). Its episode titles thus convey the impression that the first person (voice-over) narrator herself is likely to be responsible for them and that, as in video blogs, these titles may have been created after the actual recording of the blog with the aim of summarising the narrated content for the diegetic interlocutor.[60] Such titles thus suggest a certain realism within the diegetic world; they seem to stress the character-narrator's claim that she is indeed telling her own story, and they serve to establish her as a focaliser in the verbal modality. In addition, in contrast to nominalised titles as a somewhat preferred form of titling in German, titles in verbal style are likely to shift the focus from an informative function to a stronger interpersonal, audience-oriented function (Nord 2007). Nord (2007) included such titles in her discussion of phatic titles. All these functions of the title in question clearly correspond with the construction of the introductory passage of *TfA* – which also claims a certain degree of realism by beginning in *medias res* and featuring Lena as the *I*-narrator of her own story in a video message to Kati, thereby relying heavily on an appeal to shared knowledge and phatic speech.

It is thus the appeal to common ground (not only with the characters, but ultimately with the viewers) and the perspectivisation of the episode titles that helps to link the viewer to the protagonist and somewhat assess her subjectivity even before she is actually introduced. When it comes to the translation of the episode titles in our data, this does not pose much difficulty. Therefore, a few general remarks on potential problems for translation might suffice here. It is clear that the effects of closeness, shared knowledge and perspectivisation should be preserved in the TTs. In particular, Lena's role as a focaliser and the verbal style should be maintained. Furthermore, the translators must be careful not to explicate the passages in which deliberate ellipsis or underspecification point to (culturally shared) common ground. Another crucial issue is the preservation of the high degree of correspondence between the perspective conveyed in the episode titles and the action in the introductory scene. Given that some parameters of the action, such as the beginning in *medias res*, the role of the protagonist as an *I*-narrator in the video messages or the construction of the nonverbal phatic communication cannot be adjusted in translation, the TT has to be careful not to modify the verbal episode titles in such a way that their construction is no longer consistent with the subsequent action in the episodes themselves as conveyed in the images.

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[60] However, as emphasised by Kozloff (1988: 45): "voice-over narrators could never actually be responsible for the primary diegesis, always embedded with the image maker's discourse". The latter is also true for TfA where the episode titles are of course created by the filmmaker, and the series title *Türkisch für Anfänger*, understood as a beginner's lesson to be given to Lena, points to the filmmaker's and not to the voice-over narrator's discourse.

4.8   Allegiance or (moral) judgement of characters

a)   Character attributes as a source of judgement

After the deviation to spatio-temporal issues, emphasis will again be shifted to the rendering of character attributes as already touched upon briefly in the section on character recognition. However, we are concerned here with the semiotic construction of character attributes, which goes beyond a first stereotypical rendering for purposes of easy recognition.

According to Feng (2012), the depiction of 'character attributes' serves to trigger viewers' value judgements. In other words, 'character attributes' function as eliciting conditions of viewers' value judgements. When discussing techniques for the conveyance of character attributes, we are thus again concerned with issues of extradiegetic communication. In addition, we are moving on to considering issues triggering the initial processes of 'allegiance' (processes based on the viewer's appraisal of the characters' moral qualities).

As eliciting conditions of viewer judgement, 'character attributes' seem to fall into two broad categories. On one hand, there are 'reported' attributes, which correspond to the means expressing direct and indirect judgements of diegetic characters. The latter can also be referred as characters' altero- or self-characterisation. Such characterisations occur either explicitly (through explicit judgemental lexis) or implicitly (through metaphorical expressions or conventional gestures). All these realisations may be described in terms of the subcategories that the appraisal subsystem of judgement provides (such as in terms of 'normality', 'capacity' and so on). On the other hand, there are 'invoked' attributes, or attributes that are only indirectly referred to. In films, parts of such 'invoked' attributes can be grouped under the heading of 'representational' resources, while others can be termed 'interactional' ones (Feng 2012).

With regard to representational resources, these can be further subdivided as arising from actional or from analytical processes.

Actional processes may be captured in action schemes, which together with the actor's intention as the most important element to which viewers may respond emotionally, also feature the action or behaviour itself and the outcome of the action. As parts of action schemes, each of the individual components may become the target of viewers' judgement processes. In some cases, this is even true when the component is not explicitly alluded to. Intentions of actions, for instance, are often easily recognisable as elements of larger action schemes. Potentially, the components (intention, action/behaviour and outcome) may be described according to at least one of the subcategories of the appraisal subsystem of judgement (Feng 2012).

All components are judged according to a particular social norm or standard for behaviour. The action structure may be further categorised in terms of action types, which comprise material, behavioural and verbal ones (Feng 2012).

Furthermore, actional processes, whether verbally or visually rendered, allow for the agent as the crucial element of the action process to be included or excluded in the depiction of the action on screen. With regard to verbalisations, passive sentences do not allow for a prominent rendering of the agent as part of the action structures. In a similar manner, the agent may not be rendered in visual depictions of actions. However, more often than not the agent is included in the pictorial depiction of an action. In this case, he or she might appear in a prominent position (foregrounded) or might not be singled out for attention (backgrounded). A further choice for the depiction of actions in

film is that between the rendering of an entire action in a single shot and the somewhat fragmented representation in successive shots (Feng 2012).

When it comes to analytical processes as eliciting conditions for viewer judgement, these can be subdivided into possessive attributes and associative ones, although there is no need to differentiate sharply between them for the present purposes (Feng 2012).

With regard to interactional processes as eliciting conditions of viewer judgement, two cinematographic techniques in particular can be mentioned: shot distance and camera angle (Feng 2012).

As far as discursive choices are concerned, there are three simultaneously available options. Firstly, and most importantly, the options for the discursive expression of 'character attributes' may be classified according to the semiotic categories appraisal theory provides for the appraisal sub-dimension of judgement. Accordingly, discursive choices may be narrowed down to five main options: judgements of 'normality', 'capacity', 'tenacity', 'veracity', and 'morality'. Secondly, discursive options may be distinguished according to the valence of judgements (positive or negative valence). Thirdly, another option in discursive choices is the intensity of the judgement elicited through 'character attributes'. Given that we are concerned here with 'character attributes' that may be conveyed in complex ways through different modalities, the intensity dimension cannot merely be captured in terms of the appraisal system of graduation. Instead, the viability of the categorisation should rely on very broad patterns of classification. The options for the expression of the intensity of character attributes might then be captured in terms of quantity and quality. Quantity can be assessed with regard to the total number of attributes attached to a specific character or to the number of instances representing a specific quality. The way in which intensity of attributes has been conceived quantitatively is thus intrinsically related to principles of redundancy of cues as exploited in cinematographic texts. When the quantity of cues to character attributes decreases, the intensity of corresponding viewer judgements is likely to decrease as well (Feng 2012).

Assessments of quality, by contrast, refer to those assessments of intensity that adhere to certain types of character attributes intrinsically (Feng 2012). For instance, some characteristic actions of characters may elicit more intensive judgements of viewers than do others. For example, telling white lies may be judged less morally despicable by viewers than when a character is deliberately cheating on his or her partner.

b) The notion of allegiance

After having introduced the general semiotic and discursive options for the conveyance of 'character attributes' in film, it is now necessary to explore the way in which the depiction of attributes enters the arena of the viewers moral judgements. This, in turn, gives way to processes of 'allegiance'. This means that the representation of character attributes actively shapes the viewer's moral judgement from the very beginning of a film. The initial scenes of a film are indeed the most important ones for the creation of 'allegiance':

> The choice of Character Attributes at the initial stage of the film is worth special attention because it is crucial for the formation of viewer allegiance. [...] It is normally constructed at the beginning of a film so that the 'concern' with the protagonist is established as early as possible (Feng 2012: 200).

c)   Alignment and allegiance in Türkisch für Anfänger: Examples

Lena

In our discussion of the ways in which viewers are prepared to empathise and sympathise with characters, we will of course first consider the textual construction of *TfA*'s protagonist, Lena. As defined by Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider (2010: 20), the term 'protagonist' generally "refers to the main character of a narrative or a play". As the most important major character, the protagonist is crafted in such a way that his or her personality more or less contrasts with the personalities of other characters, with the opposition to an antagonist usually being the most accentuated one. As stated several times previously in this study, the characters, their emotions and evaluations are somewhat accessible the viewers because of the characters' action tendencies.

However, as also mentioned earlier, the protagonists' action tendencies can only be simulated when the viewers have been prepared for this through processes of 'recognition', 'alignment' and 'allegiance'. In this regard, it should be said that, in *TfA,* Lena is not only the protagonist, but also the main focaliser and narrator.

Even if a sharp distinction between the focaliser and the narrator may not be as pronounced in film as it is in literature, it is vital to draw it, because the perceptional perspective on events may not be identical to that of the narrator established in the verbal text (Niederhoff 2009). However, this is not the case at the beginning of TfA. Here, the episode titles establishing a 1st person narrator – as a means to "[stress] the individuality and subjectivity of perception and storytelling" (Kozloff 1988: 41) – correspond to the video recordings in which Lena will provide her subjective view of the story's events. A core element in this regard seems to be the technique of an *in medias res* beginning, which helps to situate the video messages firmly in the series' world, and the storytelling activities of Lena as 1st person narrator become motivated within the diegetic universe. Thus, the visual depiction of Lena in the act of telling her family's life story to Kati is a common means of defining a character's role as a focaliser (Kozloff 1988). Verbally, in addition to her role as homodiegetic character-narrator depicted on the screen, Lena also features as a voice-over narrator commenting the events on the screen early in the story. The latter is an additional means of reinforcing Lena's role as the primary and default focaliser of the narrative: "Once the presence of the voice-over narrator has been established the entire film serves as a sort of linguistic event, as the narrator's speech even when there is none" (Kozloff 1988: 47).[61]

The fact that the fictional world of the episode is dominated by Lena's point of view thus means that her characterisation through a 'still' portrayal – that is, when the action seems to come to a momentary halt and the character is positioned for the character's and/or viewer's contemplation– would only be a minor option in comparison to her presentation in action. In general, it is not the main focaliser but rather secondary or minor characters which are likely to be "presented without any action [...]. Even in the

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[61] This is even true despite the fact that in contrast to novel narrators filmic voice-over narrators usually do not impose their perspective on the whole cinematographic work (e.g. a film or an episode). For instance, they do rarely appear as permanent narrators (which, by contrast, is quite common with literary narrators). Furthermore, the narrated passages usually do not become as smoothly integrated into the work's overall structure as in the case of their literary counterparts (Kozloff 1988). When it comes to perceptional perspective-taking, the focalisation "through character's eyes" (Kozloff 1988: 47) is also rarely maintained throughout an entire work. Following Deleyto (1991), the shift between focalised ('subjective') and non-focalised ('objective') passages is even crucial to the overall functioning of focalisation in film.

temporal media, such as film, some minor characters are characterised not by action but, for example, by a physiognomy that hints at the features of personality"[62] (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 23).

Similarly, given the realistic construction of the beginning of the story, character revelation through self-characterisation – itself rare in dialogue and often regarded as hackneyed (Kozloff 2000) – is not a particularly viable option. That is, since the storytelling activities are realistically anchored in the diegesis, explicit expository commentary including explicit self-characterisation would seem somewhat clumsy. In the pilot episode of *TfA,* the textually explicit self-adscription of character traits is therefore limited to some rare instances in the dialogue[63] and to the opening credits as a layer of frame narration somewhat separated from the rest of the story. The opening credits, which do not occur at the opening of the episode but only after the teaser, then feature instances of Lena's explicit self-characterisation as ger. *glücklich* ([+hap]) before being forced to live in a patchwork family, and her implicit self-characterisation as negatively affected afterwards (ger. *bevor mein Leben vorbei war*). Interestingly, this self-characterisation occurs in combination with the presentation of photos (that is, 'still' portrayals of Lena and other characters), as alluded to above.

With self-characterisation being rare, the explicit information other characters provide about the protagonist is likely to become vital. However, the predominance of Lena as a focaliser means that, given the series' actional and experiential bias towards Lena, textually explicit commentaries of other characters made about Lena are scarce. Altero-characterisation by other characters, which is often employed in film in order to maintain the focus on the protagonist (Kozloff 2000), is thus also limited to rare instances.

In concert with the crucial role of a protagonist's action tendencies, it is characterisation through Lena's attributes and verbal, behavioural and material action itself that becomes central with regard to character revelation and judgement.

In this regard, Lena's verbal action plays a particularly central role. Generally, a character's verbal action may, for instance, point to idiosyncratic features of a character's speech. In Lena's case, speaking habits and general characterisation go hand-in-hand. For example, as a pubescent teenager, Lena often acts on her impulses and speaks her mind directly to other persons. This is mirrored in her language, where unmitigated and often hyperbolic statements and replies abound. She also likes to provoke the other characters deliberately; for instance, by making all-encompassing generalisations about foreigners in their presence. Furthermore, Lena often delivers comments in a sarcastic and ironic tone. Sometimes, however, Lena does not speak out loud regarding what she is really thinking about another character or the ongoing events. Instead, Lena's off-screen voice takes over in transmitting Lena's characteristic way of putting it bluntly. Thus, voice-over commentaries provide the viewer with information about Lena's true thoughts, which are not accessible to the remaining characters. It should then be said that voice-over commentary is a particularly apt means of transmitting the contrast between a character's verbal or public face and his or her true feelings and thoughts. With regard to the latter, there is some kind of 'division of labour' between the visuals rendering exterior views in the form of facial expressions and the voice-over monologue providing inner views. Thus, as with the visuals, which are often said to convey a speaker's perspective more truthfully than open verbal action, voice-over monologues may be related to truthfulness: It "connote[s] an absolute

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[62] See, for instance, the introduction of Cem as discussed later in this chapter.
[63] For instance, when Lena sarcastically comments on the duration of Doris' and Metin's relationship: ger. *Ein Jahr? Ich bin wirklich gut im Verdrängen.*

honesty [...] there is no need to lie, or even to include the typical face-saving shadings and equivocations of social speech" (Kozloff 2000: 71). In the present case, inner monologues in voice-overs are an appropriate means to render Lena's characteristic verbal directness even more bluntly. In addition, in line with the voice-over's ability to correct mistakes (Kozloff 1988), such commentary also helps the viewers to see through the teenager's self-deceits and false inferences.[64]

Lena's directness also implies that her verbal statements frequently give characterisations of and judgements about other characters. By providing such characterisations, characters "reveal their own value systems, so that every explicit altero-characterisation can also be read as an indirect self-characterisation of the utterer" (Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider 2010: 33). Whereas the latter is also valid for other characters, the frequency with which Lena delivers her comments about other people contributes to painting a vivid picture of the protagonist.

To summarise, sequences featuring Lena are likely to contribute in different ways to recognition, alignment and allegiance. Instead of explicit self-characterisation and overt presentation, Lena's personality is above all revealed and presented for the viewer's assessment through her own verbal and behavioural actions in the exchanges with other characters. We will therefore assess viewer judgements elicited by Lena by focusing on her verbal and material actions in the exchanges with various other characters.

Doris

Lena's mother Doris is the second character introduced in the first episode of *TfA* after the protagonist herself. Since her mother's decision to move in with Metin marks the beginning of all the conflict in the first episode of *TfA*,[65] the relationship between the adolescent daughter and the youthful mother lends itself to a more profound analysis. The purpose of this discussion, as well as of the subsequent ones focusing on other characters, is to assess how the way in which the characters are judged may prompt TV viewers to experience allegiance or the opposite thereof.

While it would certainly be desirable to analyse instances of altero- or self-characterisation apart from judgements elicited through possessive character attributes and actions, in most cases this is not possible. We therefore decided to treat them together. Due to Lena's role as both protagonist and primary focaliser Lena's judgement and the alignment and allegiance processes Lena's perspective entails are of utmost importance in establishing Doris' image for the viewer. For these reasons, in the following section, we will mainly look at how Doris' is portrayed in the encounter with Lena and through the protagonist's eyes.

Lena's mother Doris is first shown in the first scene of the pilot, when she intervenes in the intimate video communication between Lena and her absent female friend Kati. Whereas Doris' verbal and nonverbal behaviour in the greeting of her daughter's friend (see section 4.5 for a more detailed discussion) is likely to invoke closeness to Kati, Doris' behaviour may also elicit negative judgements. Such viewer judgements may be prompted by Doris' repeated action of interfering in the communication between the female friends. Since Doris has not been given the right to take part in the communication, she does not comply with the felicity conditions of the speech act – a situation which, according to Feng (2012), may invite judgement ([-norm]). This is also confirmed by Lena's verbal and nonverbal reaction to Doris' behaviour: During Doris' first intervention, Lena is shown as gazing at Doris from the side, with her eyes closed

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[64] This becomes an issue in the episodes after the pilot episode.
[65] Note that Lena is convinced that her mother's decision has spoilt her life.

or rolling in order to show her embarrassment about Doris' behaviour.[66] She then tries to distract Doris' attention from the video camera conversation with Kati by bringing up the topic of Doris' romantic relationship: ger. [Lena:] *Mama, wolltest du dich nicht mit deinem Typen daten?*

The latter interrogative format is sometimes called a 'conducive yes-no question' format (e.g. Bublitz 1980; Piazza 2002; see also Blanken 1983; Frank 1979; Hentschel 1986 for German[67]). Rather than representing a 'real' question, the question has a rhetorical value, with the questioner already strongly biased in favour of a particular position.68 A speaker using this interrogative format then seems to presuppose that there is some agreement between the interlocutors on the subject of inquiry. Moreover, he or she signals that he or she does not merely want to receive an affirmative answer, but also some legitimation of his or her own point of view, and a kind of affiliation in response. In some cases, with more malevolent or aggressive intentions, the speaker even seems to signal that he or she wants to show up the interlocutor, forcing him or her to admit some fact against his or her will (Sousa Chichorro Ferreira 1997). Sousa Chichorro Ferreira (1997: 95) provided a Portuguese example for which she proposed a German translation closely resembling the example from our corpus (ger. *Na? Wolltest du nicht zu Hause bleiben?*).

These features proposed by Sousa Chichorro Ferreira (1997) for conducive questions are then also valid for the example at hand. Here, Lena clearly presupposes not only that Doris is dating Metin, but also that this situation is quite contentious. The preferred action into which the interlocutor is more or less forced would be, for instance, to comply and leave the room or to admit some failure. Thus, whereas Doris' prior interference in Lena's private communication with Kati might have justified some critical remarks, Lena's question is somewhat malevolent and shows the intention to expose Doris. The latter is consistent with Bousfield's (2007) suggestion that, at least in English, the conducive question format represents a form of impoliteness on the part of the speaker.

Returning to the question of what Lena's verbal reaction to Doris' behaviour tells us about Doris' personality and Lena's judgement about her, we can clearly point to Lena's embarrassment with her mother's previous communicative behaviour and with her mother's relationship. Occurring in the rhetorical question format, an unfavourable opinion of her mother's dating activities with Metin is strongly suggested. The strong presupposition of expectations, including the presupposition of some agreement between the interlocutors, might be the reason that Lena then interprets Doris' somewhat ambiguous response (ger. *Das Daten ist vorbei*) as being in agreement with her negative expectations about the relationship. In other words, Lena infers from the response that Doris has broken up with Metin. The viewer, however, who is not biased towards a particular position from the outset, may be able to interpret Doris' response in the light of her nonverbal behaviour: Doris stands upright, and puts both arms at her side, so that she opens up her body to the interlocutor. Specifically, the upright position with raised head might be taken as conveying some sense of pride, joy and high certainty about the relationship.[69] In addition, Doris smiles, which further supports a positive interpretation of Doris' statement. Here, rather than providing speech-

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[66] See Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman (2007: 403) who propose that "[e]yes rolled upward suggest another's behaviour is unusual or weird".

[67] In German, the question format is known as 'Bestätigungsfrage', 'tendenziöse Frage', 'verneinte Frage' and so on.

[68] In terms of the appraisal subcategory of engagament, it is thus dialogically contractive.

[69] See Mignault and Chaudhuri (2003), Poggi (2003) and Wallbott (1998).

accompanying redundant clues, the nonverbal clues to Doris' emotional state are crucial for disambiguating the verbal statement and for putting the audience in a situation of superior knowledge in comparison to that possessed by Lena. Understanding Doris' response in this way is important for the viewers, since it has forecasting qualities for the events to come, with Lena's misinterpreting of Doris' relationship later giving rise to the first case of misunderstanding in the series.

Extradiegetically, the above described communicative situation not only forecasts future events, but also serves to introduce Doris visually. When she stands upright, the viewers can see that she is dressed in trendy, ethno-style clothes (a big necklace in ethno style, a rather short top in bright colours, and a jeans skirt). This is in line with Doris' later portrayal as a rather unconventional, liberal, anti-authoritarian, ecologically and ethnologically interested character – in short, the type of person known in Germany as *Alt-68er* (a 'student from '68').

Turning back to the scene in question, Lena's interpretation of Doris' statement that the time of dating is over becomes obvious in her next turn, which she begins with an expression of sympathy (ger. [Lena:] *Ja, ach komm', sei nicht traurig.*). Interpersonal meaning (compassion) is signalled here using an 'explizit feststellender Satz' (Schwitalla 1995: 230). Note that from an extradiegetic point of view, the explicit thematisation of Doris' emotional state (ger. *traurig*, [-hap]) as seen through the eyes of Lena is likely to make the contrast with Doris' joyful nonverbal expression more salient. Returning to the diegetic level, we can say that the expression of compassion indicating some sense of closeness between Lena and Doris is then somewhat overridden in the next turn through Lena's outright negative assessment of Doris' relationship (ger. [Lena:] *Hat eh' nicht zu dir gepasst*, [-comp: bal]). In concert with what we described earlier with regard to the conducive question format, the particle ger. *eh*, a typical element of the spoken language,[70] "drückt wie *sowieso* und *ohnehin* aus, daß eine Aussage auf jeden Fall, unabhängig vom jeweiligen Kontext gilt" (Weydt and Hentschel 1983: 19). That is, by indicating that Lena's negative presuppositions hold across contexts the statement dismisses out of hand all contrary evidence that emanates from Doris. In this way, an utterance that at first sight may be intended to comfort Doris, is in fact strongly disaffiliative. It should be added that ambivalence also holds for a nonverbal gesture simultaneously performed with the verbal code: Lena gives Doris a pat on her right thigh. What might be interpreted as a gesture of encouragement (like a pat on the back), could also have been taken as a gesture of condolence. In fact, in the communication between the characters, both interpretations seem possible.[71]

Doris does not respond to Lena's outright expression of her opinion, but sets out to continue the video communication with Kati. The viewers now are provided with clues as to Doris' liberal political position: She expresses, for instance, the hope that Kati's US host family are democrats. Lena shows her annoyance of Doris' renewed intervention in her communication with Kati by goading her verbally (ger. [Lena:] *Ooch Mama!*). Lena also looks directly into Doris' eyes, her gaze steady and frowning in order to convey her disapproval.[72] After Doris' intent of additionally involving Lena's brother Nils in the video communication with Kati, Lena again shows her disapproval

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[70] See Eggs (2003).

[71] See Hunter and Struve (1998) regarding the interpretation of the pat on back gesture as either encouraging/congratulating or condolencing. As stated by Heslin, Nguyen, and Nguyen (1983), women are likely to interpret touching gestures in a situationally different manner according to their interpersonal relationship with their female interlocutors.

[72] According to Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010), frowned brows may, among other things, signal disagreement, and a fixed stare may indicate defiance.

by leaning forwards, with her gaze directed downwards, burying her head in her hands.[73]

Lena's verbal and nonverbal judgement of her mother is thus generally depreciative in the scene in question. In her subsequent private video communication with Kati, which takes place in the family's bathroom, Lena again expresses a similarly negative judgement when she summarises her mother's situation in a verbal account for Kati: ger. [Lena:] *Also, pass' auf! Meine Mutter hat sich offensichtlich von diesem albanischen Terroristen getrennt und ist jetzt in ihrer Wir-verarbeiten-die-Trennung-mit-guter-Laune-Phase.*

Clearly, from an extradiegetic point of view, both the explicit expression that Lena thinks that her mother has split up with Metin, as well as the renewed indication that Lena is misinterpreting the clues provided by Doris, help to ensure that the upcoming events and Lena's misinterpretation thereof are becoming salient for the viewers.

Diegetically, with regard to the characterisation of Doris, the second part of the above utterance is particularly interesting. This part, featuring a composite noun made up of an entire phrase, gives further clues as to Doris' character identity and provides a judgement about Doris. The passage itself is, then, an instance of what we referred to earlier as 'stylisation'. This is clearly signalled by the shift to a distinctly soft voice which indicates that Lena probably feigns a happy mood in a stylised voice attributable to her mother. Some verbal features, such as the use of the 1st person plural pronoun ger. *wir* or the somewhat psychological jargon (ger. *wir verarbeiten die Trennung*), can also be read as clear references to Doris who, as a psychologist, often uses such expressions.

That a passage is likely to be interpreted as stylised can, however, also be signalled by nonverbal clues. The most important clues in this regard seem to be some kind of deviation (in gaze direction, head position and so on) from the surrounding, neutral nonverbal communication. Head movements may, for example, signal the change from direct to indirect styles in storytelling.[74] In the current passage, Lena gazes directly into the camera before tilting her head slightly sideways, then gazes to the side and closes her eyes while performing the sequence in a soft voice, accompanied by rather dense accentualisation and repeated head nods on the emphasised syllables.[75] The side-gazing may also be seen as a cue to Lena's shift to the enactment of Doris' position.[76]

As mentioned earlier, verbal recounts of events may function as eliciting conditions for verbal judgements, and this is even more true when it comes to stylisation (which is by definition evaluative, see section 1.2). By performing Doris' 'out-group style' in front of her friend Kati, Lena is likely to distance herself from Doris and her position. Given that this performance takes place in front of the television viewer, who is at Kati's supposed viewing position at the moment of Lena's delivery, the viewer is spatio-temporally aligned with Lena and is prompted into the same reading position as Kati, that is one of alignment with Lena and her slightly critical judgement of Doris.

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[73] Following Mignault and Chaudhuri (2003), a head bowed this way may refer to several emotions such as, for example, embarrassment, sadness, shame or disgust. The common core is likely to be a 'submissive display'. The 'head in hand' gesture has certainly acquired some emblematic quality in this regard.

[74] See McClave (2000). See also McNeill (1992) for similar uses of head movements in storytelling.

[75] See Selting (1994) with regard to dense accentualisation and a marked rhythm as clues to 'emphatic speech style' in German. The beats performed by head nods on the accentuated syllables can be taken as non-prosodic signs of emphasis. Selting (1994) suggests that 'emphatic speech style' may be linked to points of high involvement and evaluative climaxes in storytelling, calling for the interlocutor's subsequent alignment.

[76] See McClave (2000).

Bearing the above passage in mind, we can point to some more general patterns of how Doris' character is presented in encounters with Lena in order to elicit the viewer's recognition, alignment and allegiance.

Firstly, as opposed to the presentation of other characters, Doris' character attributes are primarily introduced and judged in active communicative exchanges. That is, Doris is not introduced and positioned as a passive object for the character's and viewer's contemplation. Rather, Doris' character attributes are revealed and judged in active and unfolding exchanges with characters like Lena. One reason for this might be found in the story itself: Characters such as Cem are unknown to both the focaliser Lena and to the viewers when they make their first appearances on the screen. This might invite their somewhat static depiction in analytical images, as if Lena's gaze comes to rest on them in order to judge them. Doris, however, although unknown to the viewers, is well known to her daughter Lena. Therefore, in concert with the *in medias res* beginning, Doris is depicted via her own actions in the encounter with Lena. She is then indirectly judged on the basis of her actions and personality traits, and Lena's reactions to them. Doris' action of intervening in her daughter's personal video communication is a case in point. This is not to say that there is no such thing as altero-characterisation accompanied by explicit character judgement passed on Doris. However, in comparison to the judgement elicited by Doris' actions and possessive traits in communicative encounters, there are only a few instances of character judgement being passed on Doris.

From the passage above, it also becomes obvious that character introduction and revelation, on one hand, and judgement of Doris' character on the other, are not easily separated. In addition to the above mentioned assessments of closeness, there are four broader categories of judgement, according to which Doris, based on her character attributes, is appraised in our corpus. Thus, Doris is positively rendered as caring about her children and Metin, in terms of affect. At the same time, some behavioural oddities and somewhat odd possessive attributes related to her identity as a psychologist are likely to prompt a negative judgement of normality ([-norm]). Similarly, Doris is shown as lacking tenacity ([-ten]) in the communication and confrontation with her children. Furthermore, Doris' lack of ability in housework is likely to elicit negative judgements of capacity ([-cap]).

In the following, we will treat some examples of the mainly negative assessments in terms of normality, tenacity, and capacity as occurring in encounters with Lena.

Judgements of Doris' in terms of normality and tenacity

Judgements of normality are frequently elicited when allusions to Doris' identity as a psychologist and as a caring and liberal mother are made. Doris is, then, occasionally depicted as being too involved into the lives of her children. Lack of tenacity is revealed in Doris' reluctance to inform her children about her plans for moving in with Metin and in the communication with Lena who, as a teenager, often likes to counter and challenge her mother sarcastically. We will now look at some instances in which judgements of normality and tenacity are passed on Doris in our corpus.

The first scene to be discussed here provides an illustration of how Doris is judged by her children in terms of normality. The passage occurs at about 6.05 minutes into the pilot episode, but we will only consider the second part, starting at about 6.20. Lena, not pleased at all by her mother's plans of moving in with her boyfriend Metin, has finally given in, but not without making predictions about the failure of the relationship. In the scene in question, Lena tells Kati that her predictions were wrong, with her family being about to move in with Metin's family. Two removal workers then lift the couch Lena is

sitting on and Lena falls to the ground. This is where the passage under consideration begins. Lena's mother Doris now demands they perform a kind of family-specific goodbye ritual: ger. [Doris:] *Okay Leute, Zeit für unser Ritual.* Doris then appears on the screen in a medium-long shot, clapping her hands so as to motivate her children. She moves past Lena and takes a standing position face-to-face with Nils. Lena, who is lying on the ground, pleads with her not to perform the ritual: ger. [Lena:] *Mama, bitte! Nicht der Kreis!* The word *bitte*, conveying the plea, is elongated. Lena's negative assessment of the ritual is also palpable from her nonverbal behaviour: She moves her head from side to side while glancing from under lowered and furrowed brows.[77] When getting up, she sighs audibly. Her body remains somewhat passive as her shoulders are lowered and her arms swing around passively.[78] With a closed mouth and a tense face, the girl also lets her gaze drift between the focused Nils and Doris so as to seek support for her reluctant position. Meanwhile, Doris proceeds with her speech: ger. [Doris:] *Wir sind alle auf einer Ebene, wir reden über unsere Ängste. Wir lassen unsere Ängste hier, in dieser Wohnung.* This passage features two important characteristics that are more or less idiosyncratic of Doris' way of speaking in *TfA*. Firstly, note that Doris' 'speech' explicitly thematises the emotion of fear (ger. *Ängste*, [+fear]). Explicit thematising of emotions is the exception rather than the rule in everyday colloquial language. It is, however, frequently found in the professional jargon of psychologists (Drescher 2003), and thus functions here as a means of characterising Doris as a psychologist and the ritual as a psychological action implying talking about emotions. Secondly, Doris is particularly prone to the use of the 1st person plural pronoun *wir* with 2nd person singular reference. As in the present case, in which Doris acts in her role of mother and psychologist/instructor, this non-prototypical use of the 1st person pronoun often occurs in contexts of asymmetrical power relationships between the speaker and the hearer (e.g. in parent/child, doctor/patient, or teacher/student communication, see Cock 2011 for English). It is also considered a positive politeness strategy; that is, it is used to indicate acceptance and appreciation of the interlocutor. Accordingly, the power distance between the interlocutors is likely to be mitigated and solidarity between the interlocutors seems to be established. This further leaves the speaker more room to perform face-threatening acts such as the directive act implied in the present example. When co-occurring with future-oriented forms, such as the present tense forms with an immediate future reference in the example under consideration, the construction is even held to produce an 'empathetic effect' (Cock 2011: 2769 for English and Spanish). However, the power difference is not entirely levelled, since "the speaker assimilates the addresser (with whom he identifies) and the addressee (identified with the hearer) as part of one group, thus taking the right to speak for the addressee" (Cock 2011: 2767). The fact that Doris is indeed thinking she is speaking for Lena is reflected in Doris' intonational and nonverbal patterns: She performs the utterances with a firm, assertive voice (with each clause spoken with a falling terminal intonation). Moreover, Doris seems to be fully concentrated on her performance, including some ritualistic hand gestures, and does not let herself be distracted by Lena. On the basis of her somewhat odd esoteric and assertive behaviour in this scene, the Doris character is likely to be

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[77] Frowning is often associated with displays of incomprehension or disagreement, whereas head shaking is linked to negation and related concepts such as incredulity (Kendon 2002; Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010).

[78] Such movements without force are likely to convey passivity and lack of energy and power (like in passive emotions such as sadness and disgust, Wallbott 1998). In the present case, the body movement is likely to express Lena's reluctance to participate in the family ritual.

judged by the viewer in terms of normality ([-norm]) and tenacity ([+ten], due to assertiveness).

The viewer is helped in his or her negative judgement of Doris in terms of normality by nonverbal character judgement. Lena, for example, shows her negative assessment of Doris' behaviour and the situation by rolling her eyes,[79] before finally sitting down.

With a palm-up open hand gesture performed with both hands, Doris then hands over to Lena who is supposed to start the ritual.[80] Lena responds with a palm-forwards open hand gesture[81] accompanied by a head nod before moving into the middle of the circle formed by Doris and Nils. Rhythmical music sets in. Lena, now shown in a close shot, closes her eyes and breathes out, before she starts swinging her body to the right and to the left, so that Doris and Nils can catch and push the falling Lena. At the same time, Lena sets out to tell about her fears regarding life in the future patchwork family: ger. [Lena:] *Ich habe Angst, dass sich alles verändert, was mir wichtig ist.* Doris replies with a calm voice: ger. [Doris:] *Wir lieben dich und sorgen dafür, dass sich nichts verändert, was dir wichtig ist.* In response, Lena draws her lips into a tightly contrived smile.[82] Now Doris moves into the middle of the circle and performs the let-oneself-fall ritual herself while admitting: ger. [Doris:] *Ich habe Angst, dass ich Metin nicht glücklich machen kann... auch sexuell!* Doris' explicit lexical allusion to fears (ger. *Ich habe Angst*, [+fear]) concerning a satisfying sexual relationship with Metin is greeted with immediate gestures of disgust from both Nils and Lena. Nils frowns with his eyebrows and purses his mouth[83] while responding with an interjection expressing disgust (ger. *boah*). Lena rapidly turns her head away from Doris[84] and stands up while uttering: ger. *Boah. Das ist echt eklig!* Note that the short interjection *boah* communicates the 'affect burst' usually involved in the expression of disgust more effectively than longer sentences with an emotion-specific voice pattern would do (Banse and Scherer 1996).[85] Moreover, note that in the present passage, Lena explicitly thematises the emotion of disgust she is feeling (by means of the adjective ger. *eklig*, up-scaled by the intensifier *echt*, [-reac: qua] [+for]). The negative evaluation of the sex-related topic introduced by Doris is thus expressed by both nonverbal and verbal emotional clues emanating from the teenagers.

Judgements of Doris' in terms of capacity
Another type of character judgement Doris' personality and behaviour frequently elicits in the first episode of *TfA* is that of capacity. This judgement is often related to one of

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[79] According to Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman (2007) eye-rolling may be taken as a reaction to inappropriate and odd behaviour.

[80] Streeck (2009) reports on similar palm-up open hand gestures for handling over the turn to the next speaker in his English data.

[81] The precise meaning of this gesture is unclear. Bergmann, Rieser, and Kopp (2011: 90f.) mention a German gesture by means of which "a current speaker can ward off the addressee's incipient interruption using a palm-up gesture directed against the intruder thus setting up a 'fence'". Possibly, by employing the hand gesture Lena (who is not speaking and can therefore not be interrupted) is fending off the constant demands of Doris, before finally signalling her surrendering by means of a head nod.

[82] This may correspond to what has been referred to as an 'embarassed smile' (e.g. Ambadar, Cohn, and Reed 2009) or what Drahota, Costall, and Reddy (2008: 281) call a 'surpressed smile' "in which the speaker is trying to hide their smile by pulling their lips in or down as they speak". The latter is related to the display of embarassment.

[83] See Magno Caldognetto et al. (2004) with regard to lip rounding as indicative of disgust.

[84] Atkinson et al. (2004) observed that actors' displays of disgust often involve the turning away of the face from the camera, which roughly corresponds with Lena's behaviour in this sequence.

[85] However, as stated by Banse and Scherer (1996), visual clues are an even better indicator of disgust than vocal ones.

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Doris' typical characteristics: Her rather limited capacity to do the cooking and housework for the family. For the protagonist Lena, who is used to it, this does not present a problem until Doris decides to become a part-time housewife because Cem suggests that housework is one of the tasks a real mother should perform.

We now turn to some scenes in which Lena (and other characters) judge Doris' new interest in housework and her capacity in this regard.

The first scene under consideration starts at about 15.15 minutes into the episode. We see Doris and her son Nils entering the kitchen with baskets full of food, and Lena coming in a moment later. While Doris empties her basket, putting a turkey on the kitchen table, she glances around the kitchen and exclaims: ger. [Doris:] *Hab' doch heut' morgen erst aufgeräumt!* Doris' utterance thus broadly establishes the topic (Doris' housework and cooking abilities) of the passage. With regard to the interpersonal meaning conveyed, the utterance signals Doris' evaluation of the time interval between the point in time expressed in the sentence (ger. *heute morgen*) and the reference point provided by the time of speech as short (see König 1979 with respect to this reading of ger. *erst*) and as contrary to her expectations (see Weydt and Hentschel 1983 with respect to this basic meaning of ger. *doch*). In other words, it is an expression of counter-expectation ([counter]) in response to a negatively evaluated situation (that the kitchen is untidy again).

Meanwhile, Lena comes into the kitchen and notices the turkey, which leads her to state: ger. [Lena:] *Da liegt 'n totes Tier.* This is an instance of a statement foregrounding ideational information, while the attached evaluation is conveyed nonverbally. Thus, Lena simultaneously focuses her gaze on the turkey, with her eyebrows lowered, the corners of her mouth pointing downwards, and then raises her upper lip while her mouth assumes a rectangular form. This nonverbal negative evaluation of the turkey in terms of disgust,[86] indicative of Lena's own preference for vegetarian food, however, does not yet refer to Doris' shopping or cooking abilities but, in the context of situation, acts as a thematic springboard to shift emphasis to these abilities. Lena's brother Nils then proudly informs Lena of Doris' intention to prepare the evening meal: ger. [Nils:] *Mama kocht heute!* With the heavy stress placed on the finite verb, the utterance is likely to be an exclamation (Lindner 1991). The action on which the contrastive accent[87] falls (ger. *kocht*) is singled out as somewhat special with regard to what is normal ([-norm]). Nils' nonverbal behaviour, especially his smile after having finished the utterance, then indicates that he evaluates Doris' plan to cook positively.

In reaction to this revelation, Lena, however, sets out to beg her mother not to do so: ger. [Lena:] *Mama, tu uns das nicht an! Bitte, das darfst du nich'!* Lena employs a vocative, followed by a negative imperative in the first part of her turn. The negative imperative therefore amounts to a prohibitive: "By using a prohibitive, the speaker utters a demand for the addressee to stop an ungoing activity or to refrain from an activity bringing about an unwanted situation" (Kuehnast 2008: 178). Lena's request then conveys that her mother's cooking should be prohibited, because it would lead to an unwanted situation. This involves an indirect negative evaluation of Doris's cooking capacity ([-cap]). Both the rejection of Doris' planned activity and the attached

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[86] Lowered eyebrows and a raised upper lip may signal disgust (Ekman and Friesen 1975; Mendolia 2007). Wierzbicka (1999), referring both to Darwin (1872) and Ekman and Friesen (1975), argues that in addition to sadness down-turned corners of the mouth also may indicate disgust.

[87] See, for instance, Sudhoff (2010) and the literature therein with regard to the prosodic characteristics of the contrastive accent in German,

emphasis are further expressed by Lena's repeated head shakes,[88] her extreme frown[89] and her tense facial muscles. Lena's demand, however, remains unanswered as Metin enters the room and picks up on Lena's last question by asking Doris: ger. [Metin:] *Na, was darfst du nich'?* Since Doris does not want to elaborate further on her inability to cook in front of Metin, she replies with an explanation of what one should not do when preparing a turkey, which in turn leads Metin to utter a positive judgement about Doris (ger. [Metin:] *Doris, wow!*). This verbal judgement, which is accompanied by a thumbs-up gesture,[90] is likely to refer to Doris' expertise in cooking ([+cap]).

However, rather than being satisfied with the response, Metin keeps asking about the preparation of the turkey (ger. [Metin:] *Und äh … was tut man in so ein' Truthahn rein?*). Lena, sensing an opportunity to unmask her mother's faked expertise, steps in by partly repeating Metin's question (ger. [Lena:] *Ja du, was tut man da so rein, Mama?*). In so doing, her eyes are steady and directed forward[91] and she gives a broad smile in order to challenge her mother.

Doris' surprise and her problem answering the question can be deduced from her facial expression in the next close shot. While gazing in the direction of her interlocutors, her face is tense and her mouth remains half-open, probably in surprise.[92] Behind the back of Metin and Lena, Nils points to the apples he is holding to be used for the stuffing. Doris then finally gives the correct answer, but avoids eye contact with the interlocutors by lowering her gaze to the turkey on the table. She is thus not only portrayed as somewhat deceiving her interlocutors,[93] but the fact that she has to rely on her teenage son to answer Metin's and Lena's question is likely to provide additional clues of Doris' lack of expertise in cooking ([-cap]).

The next passage (starting at about 15.58 into the episode) then features the family at the dinner table after Doris has prepared the turkey. It is again Nils who starts praising Doris' cooking abilities (ger. [Nils:] *Oh, Mama, das schmeckt total lecker!*). As in the case of his proud exclamation when announcing Doris' cooking intention in the previous scene, there is an element of contrast to what can be normally expected from Doris' food in the present example: the interjection ger. *oh*. This interjection serves, among other things, as an "Ausdruck der *Verblüffung*, die ihren Grund in einem starken Kontrast zur Erwartung hat, wobei der Kontrast zur Bewunderung Anlass gibt" (Ehlich 1986: 79, italics in the original). *Oh*-fronted compliments, such as the present one, which in German are frequently paid with regard to food, are likely to occur "when the complimenter is experiencing the emotion while he or she is expressing it" (Golato 2011: 367).

In the present utterance, Nils further expresses a strong speaker-centred appraisal and strong contrast, which seems to run contrary to his expectations, with heavy stress placed on the intensifier ger. *total* and a lengthening of the stressed vowel of this word.

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[88] These head shakes function similar to other 'batons' or 'beats' (Ekman and Friesen 1969; McNeill 1985), conveyed, for example by the hands or brows. Furthermore, head shakes are prototypically related to the expression of negation, but may also serve other functions such as intensification (Kendon 2002; McClave 2000).

[89] Frowned brows may, for example, signal worry, incomprehension, disagreement or anger (Poggi and Pelachaud 1998; Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010: 35).

[90] See, for instance, Kendon (2004) with regard to the thumbs-up gesture as expressing 'positiveness'.

[91] Direct, longer and possibly constant eye-contact is likely to convey a position of power and influence the other's behaviour (Maricchiolo et al. 2009; Poggi and Pelachaud 1998).

[92] As already mentioned previously, the open mouth is one of the prototypical expressions of surprise (Horstmann 2002).

[93] Avoiding eye-contact with the interlocutors may be taken as a sign to lying and deception, and to negative and inferiority emotions such as shame or embarrassment (Haddington 2006).

The adverb ger. *lecker*, conveying a highly favourable evaluation of the dinner prepared by Doris, can be taken as an instance of appreciation upgraded by the intensifier and the heavy stress ([+reac: qua] [+for]). Nonverbally, a gaze directed towards Doris and lips pointing in her direction indicate that the compliment is intended for her. Nils' somewhat restless movement of his tongue in and out of his mouth, however, is not an unambiguous sign that the meal is indeed as delicious as he pretends it is.

When the camera moves to the right so that Doris comes into the picture, the viewer can see and hear her response. In general, responses to compliments are constrained by two factors: the need to produce an agreement with and an acceptance of the compliment as a preferred response to compliments in German (Auer and Uhmann 1982), and by the need to avoid self-praise (Pomerantz 1984). According to Golato (2011), German *oh*-fronted compliments in her data are often responded to by response types 'in-between' acceptance and rejection. This is also the case in the present example, where Doris partly accepts the compliment but reinterprets and expands it by shifting the frame towards a more general question: ger. [Doris:] *Schmeckt es das nich' immer?* It might be surprising that Doris does not avoid (indirect) self-praise. However, as Golato (2005: 195) argued with regard to operation under conflicting constraints, "German compliment responses seem to be oriented more towards a preference for agreements (than towards the preference for self-praise avoidance)". A direct gaze at Nils and a smiling face then signal the agreement with Nils' compliment of the food nonverbally.

However, the next shots featuring the family's children do not confirm the earlier positive appraisal of Doris' meal. Firstly, Lena is shown in a close shot from the side as she raises a fork holding a burnt piece of turkey, stopping in front of her nose, and gazing suspiciously at the piece of meat. Yagmur, who had already been depicted in the background as gazing in a similar manner at her meal, is portrayed in the following shot as hesitating several times before tasting the turkey. More specifically, she slowly raises the fork containing the turkey, and when she finally opens her mouth, she sticks her tongue out in order to taste the food with the tip of her tongue. Similarly, Nils, featuring in a third close-up, seems not to be enjoying the food: After having eaten a piece of turkey, he screws his eyes up, squints several times, raises his eyebrows and chews very deliberately. In the background of the shot, Cem is shown as poking around in his meal. Nonverbally, Doris' food is thus appraised negatively by her children ([-reac: qua]).

In contrast to the latter, Metin now begins to laud Doris' cooking abilities indirectly by uttering ger. [Metin:] *Ich dachte, du kannst nich' kochen*. Although the format of this utterance resembles that of reported thought, the utterance's meaning may be better explained via a specific function reported for clauses featuring eng. *I thought* (the English equivalent of ger. *ich dachte*). Occurring almost exclusively in sentence-initial position, eng. *I thought* can serve "as a present-discourse marker 'indicating contrasts of opinion and assessments'" (Kärkkäinen 2009: 300). Then, "the utterance as a whole gains irrealis, counterfactual status because of *I thought*, and thus simultaneously display a change in the speaker's epistemic state […]" (Kärkkäinen 2009: 300, italics in the original). With regard to the utterance in question, we can thus say that Metin expresses a contrast of opinion concerning Doris' qualities as a cook. Nonverbally, he conveys a positive assessment by gazing directly at Doris and smiling.

Lena, however, cringes in embarrassment as Metin assesses Doris' cooking ability more or less positively. Replying to Metin's assessment (ger. *Ich dachte, du kannst nich' kochen.*) Lena denies Doris' cooking qualities outright by answering: ger. [Lena:] *Kann sie auch nicht.* ([-cap]). Given that Metin's assessment was not directed at her, Lena interferes in the communication as an eavesdropper. She thereby gives an assessment of Doris as a present person in the 3rd person singular, so that Doris' discourse role and

status is reduced to that of a third party listener, although the statement is about her. Lena's nonverbal behaviour is then further symptomatic of impoliteness because, rather than addressing Doris directly with her gaze, she first looks in the distance and then, after squinting her eyes several times, she turns her gaze directly towards Metin.

Turning back to the verbal code, we also can say that Lena's disagreement represents a dispreferred second to Metin's assessment, which due to its very short form and the lack of any mitigating devices, appears to be very direct. Whereas in public contexts such impoliteness and directness would possibly be taken as a highly face-threatening act, it may be more easily acceptable in family contexts where the interlocutors know each other very well (as is the case for Doris and Lena).

Following Lena's challenge to her competence, Doris, however, does not just accept this assessment and instead objects: ger. [Doris:] *Du kennst mich gar nich', Gürkchen.* Spitz (2005) discussed a similar case in English taken from her corpus of mother–daughter conflicts in contemporary (American) plays.[94] In Spitz' (2005: 392, 395) example, it is also the mother who denies her daughter the ability to assess something by stating: eng. *You don't know this town like I do.* According to Spitz (2005: 395), the mother thereby "challeng[es] her daughter's competence to judge by claiming that she does not know the people in the town well enough to foresee their reactions correctly". The similarity to the present example from our corpus in which Doris challenges Lena's competence to judge her is striking. It may therefore be illuminating to cite a larger passage from Spitz's (2005) general observations about competence challenges in mother–daughter disputes:

> Competence is a matter negotiated on the interpersonal plane of interaction. Accordingly, by producing a competence challenge, the speaker initiates a change from the content level to the interpersonal level of the ongoing interaction. Challenges to competence present a threat to the addressee's positive face, in showing that the speaker has a negative evaluation of some aspect of the addressee's personal characteristics. […] In addition, since competence reinforces arguments, whereas imputations of lack of competence undermine them, disputing the opponent's competence allows the speaker simultaneously to challenge the position put forward by the addressee in the prior activity. Therefore, competence challenges provide a powerful argumentative resource that can be effectively employed to oppose the interlocutor both on the interpersonal and the content level of interaction (Spitz 2005: 401f.).

This quotation nicely summarises what is at stake and what kind of changes between ideational and interpersonal layers of meaning occurring in competence challenges. With regard to the communication between Doris and Lena, we can thus say that, in questioning Lena's competence to judge her, Doris also challenges Lena's previous claim that Doris cannot cook. Doris' assertive nonverbal behaviour – her steady gaze, raised and upright head and jaw[95] – further reflects her effort to put Lena on the defensive. However, this is somewhat mitigated at the end of the turn by the intimate term of endearment (ger. *Gürkchen*) targeted at Lena. As pointed out by Bubel (2006), forms of direct address in the utterance final position first and foremost serve interpersonal functions – they are relationship-maintaining.

According to Spitz (2005), there are several ways to answer a competence challenge, with the two basic options being giving in or opposing the challenge. Lena makes use of an 'in-between' option when ironically replying: ger. [Lena:] *Oh, dann hab' ich mir die*

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[94] Spitz' (2005) corpus thus consists of instances of scripted dialogue.
[95] According to Poggi (2003), an upright position of the body conveys full certainty and assertiveness.

sechzehn Jahre Fastfood wohl nur eingebildet. Entschuldige bitte! From a superficial perspective, Lena seems to cede the field to Doris by conceding the possibility that her own subjective perception of the family's long-standing bad nutritional situation might be wrong and by even making an apology for her supposed fault to Doris. However, there are several signs that this concession should be in fact not be taken at face value. Firstly, the move is *oh*-prefaced, which as discussed above might be taken as a sign of Lena's current emotional stance (indicating surprise and a contrast to expectations), but can also be seen as preface to a dispreferred turn. Secondly, the sentence featuring the modal word ger. *wohl* might indeed indicate that the factuality of the proposition it has in its scope (Lena's mere imagination of sixteen years of eating fast food) is very high[96] and that Doris is right. The hyperbolic quality of the proposition itself (ger. *sechzehn Jahre Fastfood*) might also work in favour of such an interpretation. However, Westheide (1985: 192) reported on utterances with ger. *wohl* which, as is likely in the present case, are ironic and turn the literal interpretation upside down. Nonverbally, there are several clues pointing out that Lena's utterance is to be interpreted ironically. Lena's lateral movement of her head while speaking, her glancing through half-closed eyelids, and later the sidelong glance at Doris, raised eyebrow and a laterally inclined head, as well as her contrived smile,[97] all indicate that the face value of the utterance is not at stake here. Moreover, her narrowed eyes, her frown and her rather tense face indicate that she does not agree with Doris' position.[98] Here, there is thus a partial clash between the verbal and visual content of the passage.

Doris' is then shown in a medium-close shot, responding, among other ways, with a smile at Lena's ironic comment, before Metin steps in by changing the topic. The next shot shows him asking Lena and the other children about their daily activities. Meanwhile, we see Lena in the foreground of this medium-close shot glancing at a fork holding a burnt piece of turkey, thereby providing another redundant clue to Doris' poor abilities with regard to cooking.

We refrain from discussing the end of the present sequence, where a quarrel between Lena and Cem caused by Doris' behaviour is at stake. Thus, we skip the discussion of the sequence in favour of some passages that further illustrate Lena's (and other people's) assessments of Doris' cooking competence.

The next passage to consider starts at about 17.06 minutes into the episode. The action is set in the family's living and dining room, depicted in a long shot. The panning camera follows Lena's movement as she jumps down from the stairs at the left and enters the room with a spring in her step. In the background we can see Doris bent over the vacuum cleaner, which she switches off and then stands up when Lena comes in. Lena now makes a suggestion to have coffee together as usually on this day of the week. In other words, Lena suggests carrying on as usual in their new life in the patchwork family.

However, rather than accepting Lena's request, Doris rejects it: ger. [Doris:] *Weißt du, ich geh' nur noch nachmittags arbeiten, damit ich den Haushalt schaffe.*

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[96] See Westheide (1985: 199, italics in the original): "*Wohl* ist als wesentlich epistemisch modaler Funktor, der auf der Faktizitätsskala nahe bei der kategorialen Aussage liegt, an den Aussage- und an den Fragemodus gebunden".

[97] According to Attardo, Wagner, and Urios-Aparisi (2013), horizontally sidewards moved or rolled eyes and raised eyebrows as well as tightened lips are among the facial clues to irony.

[98] Narrowed eyes may convey anger and disgust, and furrowed eyebrows are, for example, related to anger, worry, disgreement and incomprehension (Frijda 1986; Poggi and Pelachaud 1998; Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010; Scherer and Fontaine 2013; Vos, van der Kooji, and Crasborn 2009). Muscle tension is regarded as a pysiological sign of anger (Stemmler 2010). In sum, these facial and bodily expressions are indicative of a negative evaluation of the situation.

Doris' reaction is thus a dispreferred one, as signalled through the response delay caused by prefacing with the discourse marker ger. *weißt du*. Given that, apart from the work of Imo (2007), research on ger. *weißt du* in turn-initial position is rare, we will point to some findings for the well-researched discourse marker *you know* in English, being well aware that there is no one-to-one correspondence between them and their functions in the two languages. The core meaning of eng. *you know* has often been described as a reference to the interlocutor's shared background knowledge or common ground (Östman 1981; Schiffrin 1987; Schorup 1999). However, as stated by Fox Tree and Schrock (2002: 737), work by Jucker and Smith (1998) in fact suggests thay by using eng. *you know* "speakers strive towards acceptance of a particular unspoken intention, rather than acceptance of whatever was said as background knowledge".

According to Fox Tree and Schrock (2002: 737), the co-participant's inferences about intentions can be invited on an interpersonal level, eliciting, for example, subsequent agreement. Moreover, speakers may employ ger. *you know* as a marker appealing to common ground for purposes of politeness. Thus, for instance, "[s]hared views may achieve negative politeness by reducing the potential face threat of introducing or changing a topic" (Fox Tree and Schrock 2002: 738).

In the light of these findings for eng. *you know*, we might suppose that by employing the discourse marker ger. *weißt du* Doris may not only signal that her response will be a dispreferred one. She might also seek to diminish the face-threatening potential of her topic shift and try to gear Lena towards the acceptance of the implications of the point she is about to make (that she is going to work part-time in order to do the housework). Doris' nonverbal behaviour clearly conveys her awareness of her own dispreferred action and her determination to avoid any confrontation: She does not directly gaze at Lena, with her eyes ranging over the dishes and cakes arranged on a table; she also rearranges the cups there. The viewers may take this as a sign of embarrassment[99] and thus of reduced tenacity ([-ten]). Doris' also immediately shifts the topic, and initiates a follow-up move that is intended to elicit a favourable assessment from Lena. By gazing at and pointing towards a cake on the table, she tries to direct Lena's attention to it, while uttering: ger. [Doris:] *Guck' mal, ich werd' besser*. ([+cap]).

The next shot features Doris and a slightly burnt cake more closely (in a medium shot), while Lena is depicted in the background. Doris keeps rearranging cups, and starts smiling. The visual appearance of the cake on the table stands in contrast to Doris' pleased facial expression and her somewhat hyperbolic praise of her own progress in cooking and baking, to which she now refers as ger. [Doris:] *Kuchenevolution*. Wheres Doris' evaluation of her progress in baking is thus favourable and intensified by the metaphoric expression ([+for]), the judgement made by the viewer on the basis of the visual evidence (the burnt cake as the outcome of her baking activity) is likely to be negative ([-cap]).

Lena, however, is clearly less convinced of her mother's baking competence. She is shown as standing unmoved in front of the table, with her eyes downcast to the ground and her face muscles tense. She then twists her mouth into a contrived smile[100] while responding to Doris' earlier turn with the announcement of her plan to become a part-time housewife: ger. [Lena:] *Haushalt schaffen, wow, klingt nach Selbstverwirklichung*. Both the non-response to Doris' positive evaluation of her progress in baking and the delay in response to Doris' earlier turn represent dispreferred responses, foreshadowing

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[99] See Keltner (1995) and Maricchiolo et al. (2009) with regard to gaze aversion, shifty eyes and nervous hand gestures as displays of embarrassment and, more generally, of submissive nonverbal style.

[100] See Attardo, Wagner, and Urios-Aparisi (2013) with regard to tightened lips and smiling as facial clues to an ironic interpretation of the utterance.

the negative assessment to come. Further indication that Lena's move is going to be an oppositional one comes from the first part of the move where Lena repeats parts of Doris' earlier turn she responds to (ger. *Haushalt schaffen*). According to Spitz (2005: 153), partial repetitions of the opponent's prior words are quite frequent in conflict talk, where they serve "to locate a trouble source" expressed in the repeated element. Spitz (2005) also pointed to some differences between the typical features claimed for instances of partial repetitions in non-trouble talk activities and those used as disagreement prefaces in her data on mother-daughter disputes in contemporary (American) plays. Firstly, in the disagreement prefaces, "the partial repeats are characteristically immediately followed by further talk which explicitly opposes what the prior speaker has said" (Spitz 2005: 154). Secondly, the intonation contour in trouble talk sequences appears not to correspond to a rising one as in other partial repeats. Instead, there seems to be a preference for a falling-rising intonation pattern that

> enables the speaker both to display a particular affective reaction, such as offence or incredulity, at what the other has just said and to caricature the opponents by portraying their actions as ridiculous or inappropriate. Hence, in prefacing their turns with a partial repeat produced with such intonation structures the disputants not only signal that disagreement is going to follow but also actively challenge what the prior speaker has just said (Spitz 2005: 155).

Both points are also valid for our example, which, on one hand, conforms to the proposed intonation pattern. On the other hand, there is a sequence following the partial repeat, which expresses opposition to Doris' position ironically. Thus, as pointed out by Schröder (2003), in German, the interjection *wow* as featured in our example, will be recognised by a high proportion of speakers as a sign of admiration. Lower pitch than in the co-text placed on this otherwise stressed interjection may then be taken as a clue to irony in German (Haiman 1998). Then, by implying that Doris' decision to become a part-time housewife is exactly the opposite of self-realisation, Lena thus passes an implicit, negative judgement on her mother ([-ten]).

While Lena ironically challenges her mother, we see Metin coming in very dynamically and, with a smile on his face, greeting Doris and Lena very enthusiastically. When coming closer to Lena, Metin starts extending his arms as if to embrace her. Lena, however, closes her eyes[101] and rejects his friendly overtures by turning around and producing a stopping gesture with her hands.

In the next shot, where both are shown from a medium distance in exactly the same posture, Lena accuses Metin of being at the root of Doris plan to become a part-time housewife by asking: ger. [Metin:] *Hey, was hast du mit meiner Mutter gemacht?* This move, albeit possibly better suited to shedding light on the relationship between Lena and Metin, also conveys the kind of judgement Lena makes about her mother who is suggested to have changed her personality to suit Metin.

Metin's reply to this accusation in interrogative format[102] is nonverbal: He closes his eyes, clenches his fists[103] and moves away in the direction of the table, where the

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[101] Recent research on gaze patterns has shown that eye closure may function as an intensifier, adding a categorical overtone and a high degree of convincement to accompanying body expressions such as head nods and shakes (Vincze and Poggi 2011). It might be worth studying whether such intensifying functions of eye closure also occur in combinations with hand gestures (such as the stopping gesture in the example at hand).

[102] See, for example, Spitz (2005) with respect to accusations formulated in question formats in trouble talk in American English.

smiling Doris is preparing to pour coffee for Metin. The camera then cuts to Doris and Metin at the table, where the latter extends his arm to Doris and kisses her on the cheek before he takes a seat at the table. He then extends his right hand and, pointing at the cakes, says: ger. [Metin:] *Toll!* This a clear instance of positive appreciation of the result of Doris' baking activities ([+reac: qua]) and stands in contrast to the visual appearance of her cakes. That the verbals contradict the visuals here becomes even more evident when Doris, in the same shot, after having put much effort and concentration in the preparation of Metin's coffee,[104] takes a huge electric kitchen knife and begins to cut the cake.

The oddity of this behaviour (which leads the viewer to assume that the cake is obviously very hard, hence [-cap] passed on Doris) is also palpable from Lena's reaction. The girl, shown in the background of the shot, watches Doris' actions without any movement, her hands resting on her hips. Her negative evaluation is signalled by her furrowed brows[105] and by a slight head shaking.[106] Nonverbally conveyed negative character judgement (that stands in contrast to Metin' nonverbal positive evaluation of Doris) thus supports potential viewer judgement.

Nils

As Lena's 'real' brother, Nils has a relatively close and somewhat affectionate relationship with his sister. Albeit merely being a minor character in *TfA*, Nils has a well-determined role to play in the pilot episode, because his favourable assessment of his mother's relationship with Metin stands in clear opposition to Lena's negative one. Apart from the loyalty to his mother and her new partner, Nils' principal character trait is his conformist and somewhat harmony-seeking nature. This is illustrated by the following altero-characterisation provided by Lena in an act of accusation: ger. [Lena:] *Oh, Nils, du lässt dich immer breitquatschen! Mann, du bist dreizehn, du musst mal endlich so was wie 'nen eignen Charakter entwickeln!* As here, Nils is often, but not always, judged in terms of reduced tenacity ([-ten]).

In the following, we proceed to discuss a passage featuring Lena's and Nils' private conversation in the bathroom of the Chinese restaurant after Doris and Metin reveal their plan to move in together. Earlier in the conversation, Lena referred to the new situation metaphorically as 'war' (ger. *Krieg*). She also discovered that her mother had told her brother Nils but not herself about the plan to move beforehand. The conversation now expands on why Doris did so, thereby touching on the issue of Doris' and Lena's relationship. The passage also provides some cues for the characterisation of both Nils and Lena. We skip the above summarised first part of the sequence and move on to a passage starting at about 4.25 minutes into the pilot episode. Immediately before, Lena firmly asserted her determination to spoil the evening for her mother and to get Metin on the run soon. She then sets out to leave the room, but is stopped by Nils, who pushes her back before he starts arguing: ger. [Nils:] *Mama wusste schon, warum sie's dir nicht sagt. Weil du immer nur an dich denkst.*

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[103] Making a fist is a power-related emotive display (of anger, pride and so on) that seems to especially abound in males (Schubert and Koole 2009). Here it may be taken as a sign of Metin's anger.

[104] This is obvious from nonverbal indicators such as her continuation of the preparation even while Metin kisses her and her facial expression of having her tongue protruded over the upper lip while continuing to serve Metin. With regard to the latter see also Smith, Chase and Lieblich (1974) regarding 'tongue showing' as often occuring during or after difficult tasks.

[105] See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010 with regard to furrowed brows as a sign of disagreement.

[106] With regard to head shakes as signs of disapproval and negation (in English and Italian), readers are referred to Kendon (2002).

The utterances are delivered with high energy and with greater loudness than Nils' other speech. At least in the second sentence, there is also a very high density of accented syllables with almost one accent on each word. The latter is a clear indicator of so-called 'emphatic speech style' (Selting 1994) in German, which points to highly emotive involvement. Nils' nonverbal behaviour further underlines the emphatic nature of the speech. He makes several rhythmic beating gestures on the stressed syllables in the second sentence.107 Furthermore, on the verb ger. *wusste* (uttered with emphasis) in the first sentence, he performs a flat-hand gesture with both hands in the vertical plane, palms facing each other and fingers pointing away from his body. His hands therefore move downwards in a rigid, energetic movement. This might be regarded as a beating gesture, adding emphasis to the statement. However, there is another possible interpretation of the gesture.108 Cienki and Müller (2008, referring to Cienki 1998) reported a very similar gesture performed with only one hand in an English-speaking context. This flat-hand gesture made with a vertical palm in a downward straight line is held to metaphorically render the abstract quality of 'truth' in terms of 'straightness'. Calbris (2003: 38) also reported on a group of such cutting gestures in French, where nuances of the straight movement of the act of cutting are said to be metaphorically associated with the "representation of the decisive, incisive, rigid, categorical character – of a person, assertion or fact [...]".109 The symmetrical use of both hands may even further emphasise the gesture's categorical character (Calbris 2003). In the present case, the straight downwards movement of the hands can thus be taken as alluding to the categorical and assertive nature of Doris' action not to tell Lena about the removal and/or Nils' categorical assessment of it. This would be a sign of Nils' tenacity ([+ten]). Linguistically, the pre-announcement in the first sentence that the second sentence will provide the reason for the mother's actions is then a way in which the second sentence is singled out for attention. The accusation expressed in the second sentence is made by referring to what Pomerantz (1986) called an 'extreme-case formulation' (henceforward: ECF). According to Norrick (2004), ECFs form a subgroup of hyperboles that are semantically extreme. Referring above all to complaint sequences, Pomerantz (1986: 219) proposed that ECFs are used, for example, "to defend against or counter challenges to the legitimacy of complaints, accusations, justifications, and defenses". As suggested by Edwards (2000), ECFs may convey speaker investment, stance and attitude.

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107 Ferré (2011: 6) provides an example of a similar pattern in French data, which is described as 'acting anger': "This anger is acted thanks to a prosodically strongly emphatic speech which is accompanied by numerous hand beats". Similarly, Wallbott (1998) lists some of the movement characteristics found in the example at hand (e.g. high movement activity and dynamics, expansive movements) as indicators of hot anger in German.

108 Beats are usually conceived as having no clearly describable meaning, with their identification likely to rest on typical movement features of the gestures (McNeill 1992). Such beats may be superimposed on other gestures with a more clearly discernible meaning, so that rhythmic emphasis is added to them (see McClave 2000: 870 for an example).

109 The utterances are delivered with high energy and with greater loudness than Nils' surrounding talk. At least in the case of the second sentence, there is also a very high density of accented syllables with almost one accent on each word. The latter is a clear indicator of so-called 'emphatic speech style' in German which points to high emotional involvement (Selting 1994). Nils' nonverbal behaviour further stresses the emphatic nature of his speech. He makes several rhythmic beating gestures on the stressed syllables in the second sentence. Furthermore, on the verb ger. wusste in the first sentence he performs a flat-hand gesture with both hands in the vertical plane, palms facing each other and fingers pointing away from the body. The hands thereby move downwards in a rigid, energetic movement. This might be regarded as another beating gesture adding emphasis to the statement (see, for example, Calbris 2003 with regard to French).

In the example under discussion, the ECF is expressed by the adverb ger. *immer (nur)*, which is employed by Nils in order to construe Lena's selfishness ([-prop]) as a habitual rather than a random behaviour. This way, both Doris' decision not to tell Lena and Nils' current accusation appear as legitimate actions (elicited by Lena's selfishness). Moreover, as mentioned above, the use of ECFs also implies defence against possible counter challenges in the next move.110

When the image cuts to Lena shown in a close-up, Lena indeed rejects Nils' accusation of selfishness with an outright denial: ger. [Lena:] *Oh, das stimmt ja wohl überhaupt nicht!* The denial here is up-graded with a series of intensifying devices (ger. *ja wohl überhaupt*, [+force]). Nonverbally, Lena's disagreement is, above all, expressed by her frowned eyebrows.111

The soft, sentimental background music already present during Nils' prior turn now becomes louder and more marked, while the image cuts forwards and backwards between the two siblings during the next close-up sequence featuring another move of Nils: ger. [Nils:] *Wenn du ihr das jetzt versaust, dann bist du daran Schuld, wenn sie mit sechzig immer noch Single ist und 'ne Therapie braucht.*

We are here concerned with an *if-then* (*wenn-dann*) conditional construction. Such conditionals may express hypothetical scenarios with respect to cause–effect relationships between (future) actions. In the present case the *wenn-dann* construction asserts the dependence of Doris' potential future condition as a single woman in need of psychological treatment and Lena's current barbs targeted at Doris' romantic relationship. Among the pragmatic functions of such constructions is that of an accusation ('Vorwurf' in German). The definition of 'Vorwurf' provided by Günthner (1997) is illuminating in this respect:

> Vorwürfe sind kommunikative Aktivitäten, in denen ein Erwartungsbruch hinsichtlich situativ angemessenen Verhaltens thematisiert wird und bestimmte Verhalternsweisen oder Handlungen als unangemessen, inadäquat oder verwerflich evaluiert werden [...]. Es handelt sich also bei Vorwürfen um Formen der Moralisierung. [...] Die in Vorwürfen artikulierte Regelverletzung betrifft meist eine bestimmte Handlung oder Einstellung des Gegenüber, d.h. einer anwesenden Person. Dabei geht der Sprecher davon aus, daß die Vorwurfsadressatin für die betreffende Handlung 'verantwortlich' ist (Günthner 1997: 98f.).

Accusations, then, do not merely assert a fact but also provide an implicit moral evaluation of the interlocutor responsible for the potential future consequences. In the present case, the accusation implies a negative evaluation of Lena's conduct in terms of morality (ger. *versauen* [-mor] which, as a non-core item, also has an intensifying slant, [+for]).

This negative evaluation is also borne out by Nils' nonverbal behaviour: While uttering the first part of his accusation, Nils lowers his eyes, frowns and shakes his head from side to side, the latter possibly conveying a sense of intensification.112 One of these intensifying head shakes is performed at the onset of the stressed verb ger. *versaust* (the accent on the verb is one of the clues likely to contextualise the utterance as an accusation in German113).

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110 See Spitz (2005) for similar uses of ECFs in (scripted) trouble talk in Amercian English. See also Günthner (2000a) and Selting (2012) with regard to the use of ECFs in complaint sequences in German.
111 See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010) with respect to frowning as a sign of disagreement.
112 See McClave (2000); McClave et al. (2007).
113 See Günthner (1997).

A negative connotation is also attached to the potential effect Nils proposes as the outcome of Lena's action (ger. *[...] dann bist du daran Schuld, wenn sie mit sechzig immer noch Single ist und 'ne Therapie braucht*). Nonverbally, Nils' lowered and furrowed eyebrows keep signalling the negative evaluation.[114]

Lena's reaction to Nils' accusation is rendered in a close-up. Before and while speaking, Lena closes her eyes with somewhat compressed eyelids. The latter may, for instance, signal 'acted desperation' which "at the indirect level, conveys a deep disagreement" (Vincze and Poggi 2011: 68).

Accordingly, Lena sets out to perform an oppositional move, opposing Nils' accusation with a counter-assertion in which she takes up the topic of the therapy her mother may need in the future: ger. [Lena:] *Sie ist Therapeutin. Sie braucht sowieso 'ne Therapie.* Lena thus somewhat redirects the conversation from the discussion of her own responsibility for her mother's possible future problems to a discussion of Doris' profession as a character attribute that is likely to cause the same type of problems. This is a way of disclaiming responsibility. The use of the connective particle ger. *sowieso* then further reinforces the move's oppositional slant, since the *sowieso*-clause refers to a fact, "das die zuvor erörterte Handlungsalternative [...] als nebensächlich kennzeichnet [...]" or "als völlig bedeutungslos hinstellt" and "das so stark ist, dass es der Diskussion gewissermaßen die Grundlage entzieht" (Eggs 2003: 27). To put it differently, the use of ger. *sowieso* constructs the mother's need for therapy as an undeniable and indisputable fact, which is used to rule out Nils' prior argument. Lena's nonverbal behaviour further reinforces her point being constructed as an undeniable fact: The first utterance, rendered with a strong falling intonation at the end, is performed with highly raised eyebrows and a head nod on the stressed syllable of the final word ger. *Therapeutin*. Thus, while prosodically signalling assertion, the facial expressions and movements are likely to convey emphasis.[115] During the second utterance the head movement changes to lateral head shakes, with one of them performed on the particle ger. *sowieso*. In this case, the head shakes are likely to signal intensification as one of the possible meanings of lateral head movements performed on similar intensifying particles in several languages (McClave 2000; McClave et al. 2007).[116]

In the next move, Nils, again shown in close-up, adopts another strategy to convince Lena to support her mother. He appeals to the affective relationship between mother and daughter: ger. [Nils:] *Wenn du Mama magst, dann....* Among the various speech acts that may be cast in the conditional *wenn-dann* form in German, is that of a warning. Warnings are said to be of negative utility for the recipient, with the current speaker having no control over the outcome of the potential action (Haigh et al. 2011). Nils' utterance would thus count as one. However, Nils' calm nonverbal behaviour (with his gaze steadily resting on Lena and almost no facial movement) and prosody (no steeply falling or raising pitch or slow tempo) indicates a lack of vigour which tones down the possible face-threatening value of the utterance. Nils' calm behaviour gives Lena time to interrupt him, so that the dependent clause of the *wenn-dann* sequence, which specifies the ensuing result, is omitted. Because he lets himself be interrupted, Nils again comes across as lacking tenacity ([-ten]).

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[114] Frowning is a sign of, for example, the expression of incomprehension or disagreement (Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010).

[115] See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010) with regard to head nods performed on accented syllables as conveying emphasis,

[116] See Kendon (2004) and McClave (2000) with regard to possible relations of the concept of 'intensification' to that of 'negation' as the prototypical meaning of the head shake.

Lena's counter-move is performed in a cracked voice while the girl turns and walks away from Nils: ger. [Lena:] *Du weißt ganz genau, wie gern ich sie mag.* The reluctance Lena exhibits through prosodic[117] and nonverbal clues is, however, not entirely born out in the linguistic construction of the move. On one hand, the partial repetition of the preceding turn again picks out and shifts emphasis to a conflictive element. One the other hand, by referring to the fact that Nils is familiar with her affective feelings, she repeats and affirms the condition expressed in the preceding *wenn*-clause. That is, she performs a somewhat affiliative move by signalling that she can comply with the condition proposed by Nils. However, in the next move, Lena somewhat withdraws her earlier affirmation of affection for Doris by making a concessive move: ger. [Lena:] *Warum auch immer.* Lena's utterance here takes the form of a free relative clause, in which the particles ger. *auch* and *immer* establish a generic reading of the *wh*-pronoun, with the entire construction conveying indifference (Leuschner 2013).[118] A somewhat low pitch and a rather flat intonation also point towards such an interpretation.[119] Lena then signals ignorance of the reasons she feels affection for her mother – which might even implicitly allude to the lack of grounds for such feelings and, ultimately, that her mother does not deserve them.

In his reactive move, Nils', now depicted in a medium shot, replies with an oppositional question: ger. [Nils:] *Und warum zeigst du's ihr nicht mal, zur Abwechslung?* Opposing questions have fewer face-threatening power than, for example, do outright and unmitigated statements of disagreement: "They confront the opponent only with a single topical aspect of his/her own preceding turn and do not reject the whole turn" (Gruber 2001: 1824). In the present case, Nils does not question Lena's general affection for her mother, but her failure to express this affection explicitly. Thus, by choosing an opposing question format, Nils somewhat mitigates his opposition. On the other hand, the second part of the question puts Nils in some kind of power position, since he can now determine the future direction that the conversation will take. By employing an opposing question, he might compel Lena to provide an easily defeatable reply (Gruber 2001). Nils' ambiguous power status is also observable in his nonverbal conduct: On one hand, he is shown as standing with both hands on hips, raising his gaze until steadily and directly gazing at Lena while speaking. Furthermore, emphasis in his speech is conveyed by raised eyebrows on the accented verb[120] ger. *zeigst* which, in its function of designating the challenged behaviour,[121] is the focus of the utterance. On the other hand, Nils' clearly visible shoulder shrug in the first part of the utterance expresses doubt (and possibly stresses the questionability of Lena's behaviour).[122] Moreover, the hesitation with he utters the last part of his turn are also indicative of a lack of vigour.

Instead of providing a justification or giving a reason for her failure to show her mother her affection, Lena now performs an apparent counter-question: ger. [Lena:] *Wieso muss ich immer nachgeben?* Here, the explicit reference to the action of giving somewhat thematises the power struggle at stake in the passage. Furthermore, the *wh-*

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[117] According to Poyatos (2002), creaky voice is, among other things, related to the expression of reluctance, suppressed rage and unwilling concession.

[118] See Leuschner (2013) with regard to the concessive qualities of such constructions.

[119] See Pavlenko (2005).

[120] According to Poggi and Pelacheaud (1998), co-occurring clues such as vocal stress and raised eyebrows may be used to convey the same meaning in a somewhat redundant manner (here emphasis).

[121] Prosodic features such as contrastive or main accents on the finite verb are among the typical clues to an interpretation as accusations ('Vorwürfe') in German (Günthner 1997: 98).

[122] See Colletta, Pellenq, and Guidetti (2010) concerning shoulder shrugs as indicative of doubt or lack of knowledge.

interrogative format is likely to take on pragmatic functions beyond the mere informative function of asking for a reason (Egbert and Vöge 2008). As for instance in Spitz' (2005: 261f.) English examples of *wh*-interrogatives in complaints and accusations, the interrogative takes on some affective qualities. This is especially palpable from the low-pitched whiny voice with which Lena performs the utterance.[123] The whiny voice is carried over to the second part of the utterance, in which Lena continues her complaint: ger. [Lena:] *Ich geb' immer nach! Ich bin der Kautschuk dieser Familie!* The metaphor in the last sentence conveys an indirect judgement with regard to Lena's own tenacity ([-ten]). While uttering the complaint, Lena turns her head towards her brother, so that we can see her sad face, with tense facial muscles and raised eyebrows. She then walks towards Nils with her eyes cast upwards and fixed in the distance, with her lips turned outwards and the upper lip raised. Finally, Lena reaches her brother who consoles her by hugging her while stating affectively: ger. [Lena:] *Ich hab' dich lieb!*.[124]

Lena thus seems to finally surrender. However, this is not her last word. The sentimental background music suddenly stops with a short tone like a stopped tape. Simultaneously, Lena, with her gaze skywards, repeatedly closes and opens her eyes as if thinking[125] and presses her lips together as if making a decision. The effect of the latter is somewhat congruent with the sound of the tape stopped: Lena suddenly changes her mind and her evaluation of the situation. She frees herself decisively from Nils' arms, and sets out to predict a different outcome than her preceding submissive and affiliative behaviour would have suggested: ger. [Lena:] *Es wird sowieso schief gehen und ich… hab's vorher gewusst!* Lena thus expresses her firm conviction that Doris' and Metin's relationship will end in disaster anyway. The use of the connective particle ger. *sowieso* again constructs her conviction as an undeniable fact (see above). Nonverbally, Lena expresses superiority as evident from her raised head and chin.[126] With a laterally inclined head, she performs several head nods on the accented syllables of the important content words ger. *sowieso*, *schiefgehen* and *ich*, the latter of which is further singled out through contrastive stress, a pause after the word and an emphatic brow raise. Apart from the raised chin and inclined head, there are several other facial clues to Lena's feeling of superiority and conviction: Lena glances under half-closed eyes, with the lower eyelids somewhat tense. Furthermore, towards the end of her turn, accompanying the explicit assertion of her own knowledge expressed by ger. *gewusst*, she first closes her eyes, then starts repetitive rapid blinking while maintaining eye contact. Note that several of the above mentioned clues are clear indicators of superiority displays.[127] A contrived smile performed with a closed mouth and tight lips, as well as a slight head jerk after terminating the utterance, complete Lena's nonverbal behaviour. Lena is thus shown as having regained tenacity ([+ten]).

The scene ends with Lena walking away, and Nils following her departure with his gaze.

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[123] See Pavlenko (2005) with regard to low pitch and whiny voice as somewhat prototypical clues to an interpretation as complaint sequences in German.

[124] According to Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1980), gaze avoidance and pouting (as in Lena's nonverbal behaviour here) are often linked to the cut-off of communication between interlocutors sharing an intimate bound (such as siblings): "Pouting probably is derived from a pushing-away movement of something offered, by means of the lips, and thus in this derived form signals rejection in a social context". Then, "[i]t seems that the cutoff does not only stop further aggression but also gives rise to effort toward bond repair" (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1980: 68). The latter is what actually occurs between Lena and Nils when they finally hug.

[125] See Poggi (2003) with regard to the association between upward gaze and careful thinking.

[126] See Mignault and Chaudhuri (2003) with regard to the raised head as a sign of superiority.

[127] See Poggi and D'Errico 2012.

Metin

Metin is Lena's mother's Turkish-German boyfriend, whose appearance has not been greeted with much enthusiasm by Lena. Usually, Lena does not hide her negative evaluations of Metin, but expresses them outright in front of Metin or in private discussions with her mother and her brother Nils. For instance, Metin is directly challenged by Lena for being responsible for her mother's decision to become a part-time housewife. The most important source of conflict between Lena and Metin, however, arises from their different personalities and ideas about family life. Metin's harmony-seeking and affectionate nature is in sharp contrast to the adolescent's often somewhat anti-social and aggressive behaviour. Whereas Metin intends to establish an affectionate relationship with his new daughter, Lena wants to avoid just that.

The latter is also at stake in the scene from *TfA*'s pilot episode that we will discuss in the following section. This scene has been chosen for analysis because it not only nicely illustrates the way in which Metin's possessive traits and actions are judged directly by Lena, but also how camera distance, camera movement and camera angle may support the expression of emotion and judgement in this respect.

The passage in question (starting at about 11.20 minutes into the episode) is set in the room Lena has to share with her new sister Yagmur. After the first night in the new house, Lena awakens to the penetrating oriental sound of Yagmur's alarm clock. After showing Lena's pain-twisted face calling for Yagmur, the camera cuts to Yagmur laying on a carpet on the ground and switching off the clock. While Lena falls back into bed, someone is knocking at the door. In the next shot, the camera first moves up and sharply to the left before it comes to rest on Metin as he opens the door. Simultaneously, music the theme music of the show begins. Camera movement and the oblique and temporarily somewhat low camera angle suggest that the shot has been taken from the optical perspective of Lena, thereby forming a pair of subjective POV-shots with the preceding shot of Lena's face. The smiling Metin enters the room, greets Yagmur in Turkish, and makes a comment about her sleeping position: ger. [Metin:] *Guen Ayden. Yagmur, biste wieder auf'm Teppich eingepennt?*

The image now cuts back to Lena, who is depicted from the same camera angle and shot distance as before. This is again an eye-line shot, as Lena is gazing in the direction of Metin and Yagmur, thereby showing her disapproval and incredulity regarding what she sees by lowering her eyebrows, and by moving her head slightly from side to side.[128] After showing Lena's emotional expression, the image then cuts back to the eliciting condition of her evaluation: Metin affectionately tickles and kisses the laughing Yagmur.

Next, we are again presented with a shot in which Lena is shown looking at Metin and Yagmur. She is still lying in bed, with her head and torso somewhat raised. While her gaze remains fixed on Metin and Yagmur, her lips are pressed together and her eyebrows are lowered and drawn together. She then raises her right brow[129] and utters in voice-over commentary: ger. [Lena:] *Er kitzelt sie wach? Hilfe, die türkischen Waltons!*

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[128] See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010) with respect to frowning as conveying incomprehension or disagreement. In addition to the prototypical expression of negation (Kendon 2002), lateral head movements have several other, often related functions. See, for instance, D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze (2012: 170) for an Italian example in which a slowly performed side-to-side shake is related to the expression of incredulity.

[129] See Keltner (1995) and Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010: 36) with regard to lip pressing as associated with embarassment displays, and frownings as associated with disgreement. Asymetrically raised eyebrows may, for instance, be interpreted as a superiority display, with the appraiser conveying that he or she is haughty (see Poggi and D'Errico 2012: 239 for an Italian example).

Clearly, the first part of the utterance, reiterating the visually rendered scene verbally in question form, is highly redundant. However, this is a redundant cueing of the eliciting condition of the evaluation made about Metin and Yagmur. In addition, the format in which Lena verbalises what she is seeing as if she does not understand it aptly conveys her incredulity.[130] Thus, it also provides the target for subsequent evaluation in form of a hyperbolic expression explicit for the viewer. This hyperbolic expression (ger. *die türkischen Waltons*) is a good example of the capacity of figurative language to summarise a situation in a few words: The Waltons were the protagonists of a well-known American series of the same name, featuring a large family characterised by highly affectionate behaviour. There are thus several parallels between the original Waltons and *die türkischen Waltons* (large family, affectionate behaviour). The effect of the hyperbole is manifold. Firstly, hyperboles are intensifying devices that are often employed by Lena for expressing highly emotional immediate reactions and evaluations. This is also expressed by the interjection ger. *Hilfe!* Secondly, the hyperbolic expression helps coding Metin's and Yagmur's affectionate behaviour as excessive ([-norm]). Furthermore, at least those members of the audience who are able to get the intertextual reference to the US series can derive some pleasure from this hyperbolic allusion (see section 5.3).

After Lena's voice-over commentary, the title theme of the series is substituted by threatening music before the image cuts to the next shot. This is again a point-object shot taken from the optical perspective of Lena, and even Lena's bed cover is visible in the foreground. During the shot, the camera moves slightly and turns upwards so that, in line with Lena's position in the bed, the camera angle is low. The viewer, in the optical position of Lena and the camera, sees Metin as he is walking towards the camera, with a smiling face and a firm gaze, his hands extended in the direction of the camera and his fingers moving as if he now wants to tickle Lena.

Not only the fact that the shot forms part of a POV-shot sequence, but also the camera distance, the camera movement and particularly the camera angle clearly point to the shot's subjective nature. A low camera angle is often used to render the superiority, dominance and power of the depicted person (in this case, Metin). As suggested by Eerden (2009) with regard to low camera angles in animated Asterix films, this device may also be taken as a conventional sign to signal the anger felt by a character in a victim position:

> The representation of anger in animated films results in the identification of at least one new sign ('low angle') […]. The 'low angle' sign originates from the unique possibilities (such as framing and motion) of the animated medium. Also 'low angle' seem to focus more on the perspective of a 'victim' experiencing or witnessing the anger expressed by another character. When a 'victim'-character is not present in the story, it is the viewer who experiences the anger through a virtual point-of-view-shot (Eerden 2009: 258).

Since in the present case the viewer is situated in the position of Lena, this device can thus be regarded as a means of drawing the viewer into the story emotionally. Furthermore, with the low camera angle potentially indicating a victim position, it may

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[130] Note that the utterance's prosodic construction then gives additional clues to an interpretation in terms of incredulity or surprise: The utterance is delivered with higher pitch, especially higher local pitch on the verb ger. *kitzelt*, additionally emphasised by the elongation of the verb's first vowel. See Selting (1992, 1994) with respect to the prosodic cueing of surprise-related emotions in German.

also serve to express fear as a complementary emotion to anger.[131] The accompanying nondiegetic threatening music suggests that this might indeed be the case here.

The next shot then renders Lena's fearful reaction in a close-up of her face, which is taken from a high angle (or Metin's optical position). Note that Metin's 'threatening' fingers are visible in the foreground of the image and that the close shot distance equals the close and threatening distance of Metin. Lena is shown as lying in bed, the bed cover pulled up in an expression of fear. She stares at Metin with her eyes wide open, her eyebrows are raised very high and she is frowning, her nostrils flare, as her mouth is open[132] and assumes a somewhat rectangular form, while the corners of her mouth are down.

Lena now stops Metin by ordering: ger. [Lena:] *Wag' es nicht, mich zu berühr'n!*

The second part of this unmitigated command is delivered when the image has actually cut back to Metin, who is again depicted from a low angle in a close shot. Immediately after Lena has uttered her command, we hear the sound of an audio tape being stopped. The stopping sound alludes to a subjective evaluation of a situation as somewhat surprising or unexpected by the depicted person (Metin). In other words, the stopping sound is an evaluative device, perhaps created on the basis of a metaphor in which the stopping of a tape might be correlated with the stopping of a 'tape' in a person's mind.[133]

The sound is accompanied by a corresponding nonverbal action: Metin rapidly moves his fingers away. With a steady gaze on Lena, he offers his apologies and provides a justification for his behaviour, stating that he just wanted to be funny (ger. [Metin:] *Tut mir leid! Ich wollt' nur witzig sein!*). The self-characterisation implied in the adjective ger. *witzig* is stressed prosodically and the utterance is modified by the restrictive focus particle ger. *nur*. The use of ger. *nur* renders the utterance slightly heteroglossic: "A sentence with *nur* presupposes the meaning of the respective sentence without the particle; the restrictive meaning component introduced by *nur* is asserted" (Sudhoff 2010: 73, italics in the original). Thus, Metin asserts his specific personal interpretation of the situation against a background that does not entirely rule out a different interpretation. His own personal, now negative, interpretation is also palpable from his furrowed eyebrows and the slight shake of his head,[134] as well as his rather rigid expression and tense face. Finally, he defuses the situation by moving back towards the door.

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[131] Evidence for such a link comes from a study by Moody et al. (2007, quoted by Likowsky et al. 2011: 102, 112) suggesting that both anger and fear displays may elicit fearful reactions in the appraiser (or the one in the perspective of the 'victim').

[132] Covering movements, wide open eyes, raised and furrowed eyebrows and an open mouth are typically associated with expressions of fear (Atkinson et al. 2004; Mendolia 2007).

[133] Metaphors imply source–target associations made on the basis of similarity. The following features may possibly explain why the stopping sound has come to signal surprise (or counter-expectation): According to Mendolia (2007) surprise is one of the few emotions which can be identified on the basis of a single feature (outer brow raising or jaw drop/gapping mouth) even in otherwise neutral contexts. In decoding such an emotion, the viewer is said to combine the single feature-decoding with an interpretation on the basis of a dimensional category such as arousal. In surprise, arousal seems to be expressed by "its function as an interrupt, neutral in quality, quickly followed by either a positive or a negative emotion depending on the individual's interpretation of the eliciting stimulus" (Mendolia 2007: 73). The stopping sound also conveys an interruption, which is neutral in quality but projects a subjective context-dependent evaluation which is likely to immediately follow.

[134] As said before, frowning may indicate incomprehension or disagreement and head shaking may stand for negation, incredulity and so on (D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze 2012; Kendon 2002; Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010).

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In the next shot depicting Lena in a close-up from a high viewing angle, the protagonist is shown as staring at Metin as he moves back, while she is still holding the bed cover tightly. Her eyes are wide open, her nostrils flare, and her mouth remains tightly closed. That is, both Lena's fearful expression and her negative nonverbal assessment of Metin continue until he leaves the room[135] and even afterwards.

Yagmur

Yagmur is Lena's new Turkish-German sister, with whom she has to share a room. Yagmur's outstanding feature is her slavish adherence to the rules of the Islamic religion. In the pilot episode, Yagmur's religious zealotry and moral conviction is, for instance, mirrored in her speech: She is very prone to making categorical declarations and bare assertions with regard to religious issues and corresponding judgements of morality and immorality.

When it comes to discussing the revelation and judgement of Yagmur's character, we will bypass the initial scenes of her introduction on the screen, because these co-occur with those of Cem, with Yagmur being somewhat of an accessory to her brother. Instead, we propose to have a closer look at two scenes that shed light on the relationship between Yagmur and Lena.

The first passage starts at about 10.45 minutes into the pilot episode. It forms part of a larger scene set on the removal day in the new house in which the new siblings choose their rooms. When Lena is entering her supposedly private refuge, it turns out that it is effectively part of a bigger room she has to share with Yagmur. The parents are called to help, and propose making up for the problem soon (ger. *bald*), while slowly retreating from the scene. Yagmur, following the parents' withdrawal with her gaze, then asks what the parents' proposal for fixing the problem entails: ger. [Yagmur:] *Wann ist... bald?* The high and rising pitch with which the first part of the question is performed is likely to signal how problematic the issue is for Yagmur.[136] The girl's facial expression provides further clues in this regard: Yagmur's face shown in a close-up from the side is tense, with somewhat slanted eyebrows and pressed lips.[137]

Lena, who is familiar with her mother's behaviour and knows that the proposal to fix the problem 'soon' is a mere pretext, answers Yagmur's question confidently by responding that the parents in fact mean 'never' (ger. [Lena:] *Nie!*). Depicted in a medium-close to close shot, Lena looks Yagmur firmly in the eyes, glancing under half-closed eyelids and with her arms crossed in front of her body. That is, in line with her position of superior knowledge, Lena shows nonverbal signs employed in superiority displays.[138] Yagmur's reaction in the next close shot is a nonverbal one: She looks at Lena with eyes wide open.[139] She then averts her gaze downwards. Gaze aversion and

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[135] A paralysed position, covering movements (such as covering with the duvet) as well as wide open eyes are often associated with the expression of fear (Atkinson et al. 2004; Wierzbicka 1999).

[136] See Selting (1992) with regard to the prosodic features of such 'astonished' and problem-signalling questions in German.

[137] Here, 'oblique eyebrows' means that the inner parts of the eyebrows are raised like in prototypical expressions of sadness. However, given that Yagmur's face is merely shown from the side, the impression that her eyebrows are oblique is contestable to a certain degree. (Tighly) pressed lips may express anger, or the reaction to other unpleasant issues in terms of determination or resolve (Wierzbicka 1999).

[138] See Maricchiolo et al. (2009) with regard to constant eye-contact as a display of dominance. See Poggi and D'Errico (2012) and Wallbott (1998) with regard to half-closed eyes and crossed arms as signs of (superiority) pride.

[139] See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010) regarding wide open eyes as a facial clue to surprise.

head bowing is, for instance, linked with appeasement or inferiority displays and submission.[140]

When the image cuts back to a close-up of Lena, the girl starts speaking her mind in the voice-over commentary to her friend Kati: ger. [Lena:] *Meine Intimsphäre ist im Arsch, Kati.* Lena's superior perspective remains somewhat present when she raises her left eyebrow and glances from under half-closed eyelids.[141] Her highly negative appreciation of the situation, expressed in the colloquial formulation ger. *im Arsch (sein)* ([-reac: qua] [+for]), is nonverbally emphasised by repeated nods. Lena then prepares for a continuation of her turn by lowering her gaze and starting to smile. The shifting of the gaze might be taken as a signal of shifting to a slightly different communicative position or style, or even as a signal of entering into an ironic mode.[142] While the camera shows Yagmur's still sulky face, Lena now adds to her earlier negative evaluation of the situation: ger. [Lena:] *Das wäre der ideale Grund für den ersten Mord.*

When Lena next features on the screen, she delivers the second part of her move, indicating a change of mind: ger. [Lena:] *Aber Phase eins ist ja schließlich eine Friedensmission.* The latter assertion refers to the first stage in Lena's and Nils' plan of becoming friends with their new siblings and Metin (ger. *Phase eins*). Lena remembers the peaceful intentions of the plan as expressed in the somewhat overstated metaphor (ger. *Friedensmission*, [+reac: qua]). Lena then directs her gaze at Yagmur and, at a slow tempo, delivers a positive evaluation of the situation: ger.[Lena:] *Ja, ist doch ganz lustig...* ([+reac: imp] [+foc]). According to Lütten (1979: 30), there is a special use of ger. *doch* (and other modal particles) in spoken German that "consists in preparing the consensus by means of an indication of well knows [sic!] facts or facts known to the speakers on a given occasion, – or in considering the consensus beyond all question". In other words, Lena produces an affiliative move by pointing to the positive and possibly consensual features of the given situation. The positive evaluation is nonverbally supported by a smile, while the reference to the given situation is emphasised by the action of letting her gaze wander across the room while speaking.[143]

While the camera briefly cuts to Yagmur, Lena continues her turn with a comparison (ger. [Lena:] *so wie im... Ferienlager.*) The fact that Lena takes recourse in an element of comparison from the lifeworld of teenagers – and thus supposedly also from Yagmur's world – marks her move as an affiliative one. However, Yagmur does not take up this offer of affiliation. Instead, while her gaze firmly rests on Lena, she responds with a categorical statement about teenagers and holiday camps: ger. [Yagmur:] *Jugendliche fahren nur ins Ferienlager um Sex zu haben und Drogen zu nehm'n.* We are here concerned with a negative moral evaluation of the actions of teenagers at holiday camps ([-mor]). The judgement is based on the negative connotation of actions related to sex and drug consumption. By extension, the present (holiday-camp-like) situation is also implicitly evaluated in negative terms. The assertive power of Yagmur's bare, unmitigated statement seems to be further reinforced by musical accords occurring immediately afterwards, when the image has already cut to Lena. It is, however, not entirely clear whether the extradiegetic accords have an assertive and emphasising function with regard to Yagmur's statement, or whether they

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[140] See Mignault and Chaudhuri (2003).

[141] See Poggi and D'Errico (2012).

[142] Attardo, Wagner, and Urios-Aparisi (2013) mention sideward and downward gaze shiftings as signals that might cue irony.

[143] The gaze may thus fulfil deictic functions. Possibly, the wandering of Lena's gaze may express inclusivity (of the interlocutor in the here-and-now), in a similar manner as proposed for some instances of lateral head movements (McClave 2000).

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emphasise Lena's evaluative reaction (by signalling Lena's contrasting position[144] to that of Yagmur). Here, Lena reacts negatively by raising her eyebrows,[145] averting her gaze and pouting her lips,[146] before she turns and moves away.

Another scene featuring the problematic relationship between Lena and Yagmur occurs about 16.40 minutes into the episode. In the establishing shot for this scene, we see the family's house in the evening with some windows illuminated. After the short musical interlude has stopped, Lena addresses Yagmur using an interrogative voice (ger. [Lena:] *Du, Yagmur?*). The image then cuts from the house to Lena, captured in a medium-close shot as she lies on her belly on her bed, with her head raised and her gaze directed at Yagmur. The new sister, featured blurrily in the foreground, responds with ger. [Yagmur:] *Hmm…*, thereby encouraging Lena to go ahead. Lena now asks Yagmur about the motive for her prayers: ger. [Lena:] *Wofür betest 'n du eigentlich?* Such a question featuring the modal particle ger. *eigentlich* serves to mark a shift in topic (Thurmair 1989). Furthermore, questions featuring ger. *eigentlich* often appear to be posed casually, thereby conveying the true interest and implication of the speaker in the topic (Schmidt-Radefeldt 1989).

The communicative success of such questions is then likely to depend on the level of familiarity between the interlocutors:

> Denn ohne Zweifel man tritt damit jemanden nahe und das trotz der Verwendung einer MP [Modalpartikel, S.F.], die das alles entschärfen soll. Das kann selbst dann passieren, wenn man diese Frage andererseits an jm. stellt, den man zwar kennt, über seine persönlichen Vorlieben aber nichts weiß. Denn gerade (unangemessene) Fragen können als Zumutung oder als unverständlich empfunden werden und eine Beziehung auf Dauer in ein schiefes Licht bringen. Das gilt besonders, wenn etwas Grundsätzliches in Frage gestellt wird. Und *eigentlich* ist eine MP, die eine solche Wirkung erzielt (Muhr 1989: 651, italics and spaced characters in the original).

That is, questions featuring ger. *eigentlich* are slightly face-threatening, and may even be interpreted as reproachful or pressing (Stănescu 1989). In the present example, Lena's expression of true interest in the topic is somewhat overruled by the inadequacy of the question alluding to the highly controversial topic of religion, as well as by Lena's nonverbal expression: Both her brow and head movement (frowning, lateral headshake) may be taken as signs of incomprehension.[147]

Yagmur's reaction is, then, a negative one. In an angry voice, she responds to Lena's inquiry about what she is praying for: ger. [Yagmur:] *Dass alles so wird wie früher und ihr auszieht!* This move is performed with high frequency energy – a characteristic prosodic clue to anger displays.[148] Note that Yagmur produces one of the short, categorical statements typical of her. Nonverbally, the girl is captured in a medium-close shot as kneeing on the ground, raising her head and gaze in the direction of Lena,

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[144] Note that music is an especially apt and conventional means to render such meanings: "Sound especially will be called upon to render [a] situation's violence and suddenness [...]. This device of exaggerating contrast is a kind of white lie committed even in films that use direct sound" (Chion 1994: 113).

[145] Raised eyebrows are, for example, prototypically related to emotions such as perplexitiy or surprise (Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010). In other words, they such facial expressions be indicative of some sort of contrast to expectations.

[146] Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1980), links pouting and gaze avoidance to the break-off of communication between interlocutors.

[147] See Kendon (2004) and Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010) with regard to frowning and head shakes as indicators of incomprehension,

[148] See Banse and Scherer (1996) and Laukka et al. (2011).

and then shaking her head while her face remains rigid, before finally averting her gaze. Yagmur's position is not so different from Lena's own position, so that the latter, despite the angry overtones in the preceding move, responds in a somewhat affiliative manner: ger. [Lena:] *Schick 'nen Gruß mit rauf, ich nehm' das Gleiche!* There is even some laughter at the end of Lena's move. That Lena is refusing to take Yagmur's anger seriously also becomes evident from her nonverbal behaviour depicted in a medium-close shot. Moving her head back and up, she points with her gaze and with a slight hand movement upwards (that is, in the direction of God), before she again establishes eye contact with Yagmur, now smiling.

Shown in a medium-close shot, Yagmur, who might feel that Lena does not take her religion seriously, now shifts the topic to a more personal subject: ger. [Yagmur:] *Sag' mal, findest du mich auch so scheiße wie ich dich?* The initial formulation ger. *sag' mal* here has an addressing function, and serves the "Einforderung einer Äußerung" (Imo 2007: 103). The question then clearly restricts the interlocutor's possibilities for response and foregrounds the speaker's own assessment of the interlocutor. By attempting to discredit the interlocutor (see the negative evaluation as ger. *so scheiße*, [-reac: qua] [+for]), the question also indexes upcoming conflict, thus conveying a powerful challenge rather than a mere request for information. This is also borne out by Yagmur's nonverbal behaviour: Yagmur establishes direct eye-contact with Lena, shakes her head,[149] and starts smiling at the end of her highly face-threatening move. Lena's affirmative response is almost as unmitigated as Yagmur's prior question (ger. [Lena:] *Denk' schon*). Furrowed eyebrows and repetitive head nods[150] underline Lena's position. When Lena re-establishes eye-contact with Yagmur, her eyes become narrowed in the typical expression of anger.[151] Lena now elaborates her personal point with a comment that is even more hurtful than the earlier affirmative response to Yagmur's provocative question: ger. [Lena:] *Ich find' das aber eigentlich total krank, was du da machst. Na ja, nach Mekka und so....*

The first part of this statement is delivered while the image shows the somewhat stony-faced Yagmur as she looks at Lena with a fixed stare. That is, Yagmur's hostility is palpable from her face. In the comment, Lena again shifts topic. Then, "'eigentlich' actualizes and [sic!] objection, of which the speaker believes that it was hitherto unknown to the listener, or that he did not pay any attention to it" (Harden 1983: 28). Lena thus comes to the fore with even more hurtful details about what she is thinking about Yagmur and her prayer behaviour. Lena's main evaluation of Yagmur's religious conduct as ger. *total krank* ([-norm] [+for]) – an assessment employing typical teen talk expressions – contains the intensifier ger. *total*, and is therefore not easily attenuated by a preceding ger. *eigentlich*.[152] Lena's accompanying facial expression shows signs of ridicule. For instance, she somewhat parodies Yagmur's behaviour when she averts her gaze and head for a moment, and raises both her eyebrows and her gaze upwards while uttering the word *Mekka*. While her eyes are wide open, the lower part of her face is unusually rigid, with only the lips tightened. Note that all these clues feature among the indicators for the facial expression of (humorous) ironic statements (Attardo, Wagner,

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[149] According to Maricchiolo et al. (2009) sustained eye-contact may be associated with a powerful position. In addition to conveying negation, lateral head shakes performed on intensifiers and the like may convey a sense of intensification (McClave 2000).

[150] Frowning may be taken as a sign of disagreement (Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010). Head nods on stressed syllables may have a similar function as batonic gestures in general (Poggi, D'Errico, and Vincze 2010) conveying emphasis.

[151] See Frijda (1986) and Planalp (1999).

[152] Attenuation is another potential function of ger. *eigentlich* (Stănescu 1989).

and Urios-Aparisi 2013). When finishing her turn, Lena performs a head shake,[153] and starts smiling. As before, at the end of Yagmur's turn, Lena's smile does not mitigate her words, but can be taken as a sign of challenge, ridiculing Yagmur's behaviour.

Yagmur initially also reacts with a (false) smile, but suddenly changes her assessment in the opposite direction (ger. [Yagmur:] *Hähä... Nazi!*). Nonverbally, it is as if her face becomes blank from one moment to the other, with her jaws dropping and the corners of her lips changing from upward pointing to downward pointing within a short span of time. Verbally, the use of the hyperbolic formulation ger. *Nazi* presents an unmitigated insult. Lena's reaction, shown in a medium-close shot, can therefore not be described as particularly pleased. Music sets in while Lena first feigns a smile, then furrowing her brows and narrowing her eyes, makes several blinking movements. Despite important findings from some research on eye blinks conducted recently (Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010; Vincze and Poggi 2011), the precise communicative functions of the present blinks remain unclear. There might be some relation to the expression of surprise[154] as, after a side-turn and a side-tilt of her head, Lena performs a head shake to indicate incredulity.[155] The passage now comes to an end.

Cem

We now turn to the discussion of the presentation of a character who is the antagonist of the female protagonist Lena: her new Turkish-German teenage brother Cem. According to Eder, Jannidis, and Schneider (2010: 21), the term 'antagonist' is applied to a protagonist's "main opponent" in a story. However, as we have discussed above with regard to the introduction of Lena, the *TfA* protagonist is presented as diametrically opposed to a variety of characters (including her mother Doris, her brother Nils, her new father Metin and her new sister Yagmur). There is good reason to assume that this somewhat more complex protagonist–antagonist constellation has to do with the serial form of the format, since sitcoms typically revolve around recurrent communicative situations featuring a recurrent set of main characters. With regard to *TfA*, the basic setting of conflicts in family life is likely to be reproduced in subsequent episodes, but with changing opponents for the main character Lena. However, the antagonistic constellation between Lena and Cem takes centre stage when it comes to the generation of narrative conflict in the course of the series as a whole. The series' pilot episode – which is typically the place in which character identities and core constellations and oppositions between characters are established – is especially rich in conflict scenes featuring Lena and Cem.

Given that Lena is the main focaliser in *TfA*, it could be expected that the viewer's image of Cem does not merely build on clues issued by Cem himself, but perhaps more decisively on character judgement issued by Lena.

From the moment Cem makes his first appearance in the restaurant scene mentioned previously, he is met with opposition on the part of Lena. The encounters between the two opponents in the first episode then fall into two broad patterns. On one hand, there are two scenes in which Cem's presentation in terms of actions and analytical features elicits Lena's subjective assessment, which is rendered in point of view shots (POV-shots). That is, in these scenes, character judgement is primarily realised through the co-deployment of cinematographic means and the verbal code.

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[153] As said before, in addition to negation head shakes may convey intensification (McClave 2000).

[154] See Vincze and Poggi (2011) with regard to eye blinking as an indicator of surprise.

[155] See, for instance, D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze (2012: 170) for a similar case.

On the other hand, judgement is also elicited on the basis of arguments and conflicts between the two main characters that flare up from time to time. Such conflict scenes feature different types of speech acts, exhibiting varying degrees of aggression (ranging from somewhat impolite directives to outright threats).

In order to answer the question of why the mere depiction of conflicts may lead to certain types of judgements about the opponents, we may point to at least one feature the above mentioned broader patterns of encounters have in common: They are characterised by a high degree of impoliteness exhibited by the antagonist Cem.

Following the seminal work of Brown and Levinson (1987), research on politeness and impoliteness has become a mayor object of study in recent years. Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed that certain illocutionary acts are potentially impolite in the sense that they present either a threat to the interlocutor's negative face (limiting the interlocutor's personal freedom) or to his or her positive face (denying the interlocutor the desired acceptance and appreciation). 'Impoliteness', a term to be distinguished from mere 'rudeness', and refers to "communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony" (Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann 2003: 1546).

However, Brown and Levinson's (1987) universalist view on certain speech acts as inherently impolite was later rejected in favour of a more situation-dependent interpretation of politeness/impoliteness. The latter allows 'politeness'/'impoliteness' to be captured in terms of judgements made about the adequacy of an individual's behaviour in a particular situation (Spencer-Oatey 2005). Behavioural expectations established on the basis of intersubjectively shared norms and conventions thus represent the first of three core factors on which assessments of politeness/impoliteness are based.

A second factor is individual face sensitivity and socially accorded rights. Drawing on Goffman's (1972) definition of 'face', Spencer-Oatey (2005) pointed out several judgemental dimensions that appear to be related to the individual dimension of 'identity face'. According to the author, "[c]laims to (this type of) face reflect people's social values [...] relate to specific social attributes [...] occur in specific social encounters [...] [and] include claims to social group membership" (Spencer-Oatey 2005: 103, round brackets in the original). It can now easily be seen why situation-dependent face-threatening and impolite behaviour is intimately linked to issues of (social) identity revelation and value judgements.

The third dimension underlying the judgement of an individual's situative behaviour as polite or impolite relates to the person's interactional goals (Spencer-Oatey 2005). For instance, the individual's communicative intention to commit a face-threatening act (such as by exerting power) is likely to favour judgements of impoliteness. However, in natural communicative settings, specific interactional goals are often difficult to infer. By contrast, scripted film dialogue has the advantage that it is tailored to provide the audience with all the necessary clues for interpretation. This means that the interlocutors' interactional goals become more easily inferable from film dialogue (Dynel 2012).

The latter leads us to briefly consider the rendering of impolite behaviour in film with regard to diegetic and extradiegetic layers of meaning making. As pointed out by Dynel (2012) regarding the impolite behaviour of the television character Dr House, diegetically, impoliteness displays are likely to work in a similar manner as they do in non-scripted, naturally occurring speech. This implies that, on the level of communication between characters, similar value judgements according to shared

standards of situationally appropriate behaviour as in corresponding natural settings and communities are likely to be made.

By expressing impoliteness in the above mentioned way, film discourse simultaneously targets extradiegetic audiences. Prompted by their real world experience, their knowledge of the stylistic conventions of film and character judgements, audiences will generally be able to understand situated expressions of impoliteness as such, and judge them accordingly. In this way, character and viewer judgement seem to converge.

There are, however, additional functions impoliteness displays might perform in the communication with the audience. Firstly, following Culpeper (2002), in fictional texts conflict sequences featuring impoliteness may function both as a plot-driving and as a characterisation device. Secondly, conflict sequences may serve humoristic purposes in fictional texts (Dynel 2012).

With regard to the conflicts flaring up between Lena and Cem in the first episode of *TfA*, it is thus reasonable to assume that these conflict sequences are also exploited with the pleasure and entertainment of the audience in mind.

Before we turn to a detailed discussion of such conflict sequences, we will first assess how perceived impoliteness is likely to inform character and viewer judgement related to the introduction of the antagonist Cem.

Character and viewer judgement elicited by introductory portrayals of Cem

As stated earlier, in order for processes of moral allegiance to be effective and to prepare the viewer's later empathetic or sympathetic participation, they must occur early in the film. The scenes discussed in the following are then a key element in establishing the viewer's alignment with the protagonist Lena, and not with the antagonist Cem.

Cem makes his first appearance on the screen in the restaurant scene in the pilot episode (about 2.20 minutes into the episode). The sequence quite literally functions as an introduction: The diegesis of the film involves the communicative act of presentation (Lena is introduced to Yagmur and Cem). Such a contact-establishing act is likely to be governed by social protocols and rituals eliciting expectations of appropriate behaviour: "[T]here may be ritual phrases or behaviour that are expected when people meet each other" (Spencer-Oatey 2005: 99). Disobeyance of such social rules, such as situationally inappropriate behaviour, almost automatically triggers judgements of impoliteness.

The latter is the case for Cem's behaviour in the passage under consideration. After Lena's introduction to Yagmur, the camera shifts to Cem who is depicted in a close shot.[156] The Cem character we are introduced to does not conform psychologically to normality standards, nor does he conform socially to the requirements of the communicative situation. His overall negative assessment of the situation has already been made evident in earlier distant shots where he – like his sister Yagmur – wore a permanent scowl on his face, with the corners of his mouth drawn down.[157] From a distance the viewer could also have perceived that Cem wears white sports clothes. This analytical feature becomes more apparent in the close shot in question, as do other visual character attributes (a bold necklace, a rather rigid face with the right corner of his mouth drawn up and his somewhat pouted lips when speaking) and verbal characteristics (such as greeting Lena with the male greeting formula ger. *Was geht?*). Through these visual and verbal attributes Cem is not depicted as an individual character, but rather seems to represent a specific type. Such a representation not only prompts Lena into making an easy judgement about the stereotypicity of Cem (see

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[156] This shift is accompanied and thus made salient by Yagmur's head turn in Cem's direction.
[157] Lowered lip corners have been related to a couple of negative emotions such as disappointment (D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze 2012) and shame (Keltner and Harker 1998).

below), but also makes this judgement easily understandable for the viewer, because its eliciting conditions are quite clear.

The macho coolness Cem possibly wants to convey is in contrast to an obvious general uneasiness about the situation: He shifts the weight of his body from one foot to another and refuses to establish direct eye-contact with Lena. Spencer-Oatey (2005) listed eye-contact among the nonverbal features that signal the adherence to general conventions of polite behaviour. Accordingly, the flouting of such conventions may be judged as impolite. Similarly, Cem's apparent disobeyance of the typical dress code for a restaurant (he wears sports clothes) and his almost immediate bodily turn away from Lena towards his father, expressing how much he hates this specific type of restaurant may also be assessed as inappropriate behaviour.

There are several signs that the inadequacy of Cem's behaviour is recognised and judged as such by the remaining characters. For instance, Cem's father stops smiling and places his hand on Cem's shoulder in a calming gesture.[158]

Similarly, negative character judgement is passed by Lena. Here, Cem's depiction in a close shot is first mirrored by a close shot of Lena after Cem has finished his inappropriate greeting. This pair of close shots, cutting between Cem and Lena, will later be followed by another. We are concerned here with a point of view structure; more precisely, with a point-object and point-glance section (Branigan 1984) that is repeated twice.[159] Such POV-shots are conventionally associated with the subjectivity of the character who is depicted as glancing at an object. The object itself is serving as the eliciting condition or target of the subjective appraisal. Following Branigan (1984), the occurrence of POV-shots as instances of subjective narration means that the reliability of the narration is (temporarily) ascribed to a particular source.[160] Whereas low or high camera angles, blurred pictures and the like further help in identifying such passages, it is sufficient for their recognition that the object in the point-object section is shown more or less from the optical point of view of the person in the point-glance. In the present case, shots of Cem are shown from the optical point of view of Lena. Furthermore, the shot-accompanying voice-over commentary revealing Lena's thoughts about Cem also contributes to marking the passage as subjective.

For analytical purposes, the shot structure in question may be defined even more precisely. This coincides with what Branigan (1984) termed 'continuing POV', in which the object is shown repetitively. Such a structure is a particularly powerful tool for the alignment of the viewer with the character performing the observation: "The sustained viewpoint of the continuing POV tends to implicate the viewer in the experience or fate of the character" (Branigan 1984: 115). In the present case, there is another consequence of the somewhat prolonged section: The depiction of Cem may be perceived as rather static, similar to the depiction of objects in classificatory images – a procedure that is likely to draw attention to the analytical, possessive features of the depicted character. Thus far, we have pointed to several techniques that make the assessment of Cem salient for the viewer. We now consider precisely how this

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[158] See Heikkinen et al. (2009) regarding this possible interpretation of the shoulder tapping gesture.

[159] The delimitation of this shot pair section might seem somewhat arbitrary, as the first point/object shot depicting Cem may simultaneously be interpreted as the point/glance of an earlier shot pair. However, this problem with ambiguity is quite common in interpretations of POV-shots whose elements, according to Branigan (1984: 117), "need not be distributed in a fixed pattern". The fact that in the section under consideration Cem is depicted from Lena's optical point of view, in conjunction with Lena's verbal commentary on Cem should provide sufficient evidence for the suggested delimitation of the shot pair section.

[160] From the perspective of appraisal theory, one would say that there is a shift within the appraisal subcategory of engagement taking place.

assessment is made by Lena. In the point-glance shots depicting Lena glancing at Cem after he has been introduced for the first time, we see Lena frowning and pressing her lips together,[161] which indicates a negative evaluation to come. Furthermore, Lena is gazing downwards and then slowly moves her head up, with her eyes coming to rest on Cem immediately before the image cuts back to Cem. The head movement may then be taken as a sign of reflection[162] – an interpretation that is indeed supported by the accompanying voice-over commentary. In the voice-over, Cem is assessed in a somewhat depersonalising manner as being stereotypical (ger. [Lena:] *Ein Klischee...*, [-val]). The second part of the assessment (ger. [Lena:] *und es lebt!*) is rendered in voice-over commentary after the image has cut back to Lena. Its intensifying value is further supported by the exclamative intonation and the final head nod falling on the pitch accent ([+for]).[163]

In *TfA*'s pilot episode, there is another passage in which Cem becomes the object of Lena's gaze and judgement (about 8.30 minutes into the episode). In the passage, we see Lena and her little brother Nils on one hand, and Cem and his sister Yagmur on the other as they upload removal boxes on the day they are moving into the family's new house. The bad feeling between the two parties[164] is palpable from the characters' facial expressions (such as from Cem's and Yagmur's downward-pointing mouth corners in the first shot). The confrontational situation is also expressed through intercutting between POV-shots. In the sequence in question, character judgement is reciprocal. In the first shot of the sequence, we see Cem and Yagmur gazing in the direction of Lena and Nils, who are in turn shown in the second shot as glancing at Cem and Yagmur. The first shot can therefore simultaneously be interpreted as point-glance (featuring Cem's and Yagmur's glances) and as point-object (featuring Cem and Yagmur as the objects of Lena's and Nils' glance).

While in the first shot, the gaze and the general bad atmosphere are established nonverbally, the second shot depicting Lena and Nils from a medium distance, an almost frontal angle and with a somewhat 'instable' camera combines visual and verbal elements for the conveyance of character judgement. The protagonist Lena is the one who delivers the first assessment, and we therefore focus on her. Lena is leaning in a relaxed position, hands in pockets, against the removal van. She first directs her gaze towards Nils and then turns her gaze in Cem's and Yagmur's direction. Her narrowed eyes, furrowed eyebrows and wrinkled nose, as well as her general grimace, all signal Lena's disgust and disapproval.[165] Lena' gaze direction and a slight chin pointing gesture in the direction of Cem and Yagmur indicate at whom the assessment she is about to produce is directed.

Verbally, Lena tries to direct Nils' attention to Cem's tracksuit, the trousers of which she deprecatingly assesses as ger. *so 'ne Scheiß-Schnellfickerhose*. The compound

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[161] Frowning is often related to negative feelings and evaluations, such as the expression of disagreement. Lip pressing might be associated with displays of embarrassment or disgust (D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze 2012; Keltner 1995; Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010).

[162] See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010), and Poggi, D'Errico, and Vincze (2011) with regard to (downward) head tilting and gaze aversion as indicators of thinking or reflexion.

[163] See Krahmer's and Swerts' (2009: 130) suggestion that "visual cues such as eyebrow flashes, head nods, and beat gestures boost the perceived prominence of the words they occur with [...]". See also McClave (2000) with regard to functions of head nods such as emphasis and affirmation.

[164] Mainly between Lena, Cem and Yagmur.

[165] Narrowed eyes are a common sign of anger (Frijda 1986), portraying the angry person as dominant and mature (Farb, Chapman, and Anderson 2013). Furrowed brows may signal disagreement (Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo 2010), while nose wrinkling is a reliable cue to the expression of disgust (Mendolia 2007).

includes the highly negative element ger. *Scheiß-*, which is a highly productive one in German teen talk (Altmann 1986; Androutsopoulos 1998). The compound is thus both intensifying ([+for]) and an instance of negative appreciation ([-reac: qua]), since the assessed example, the trousers, is an object.[166] From the perspective of politeness/impoliteness, the 'indirectness' and slight mitigation of the premodifier ger. *so 'ne,* as well the fact that the targeted person is not able to overhear the conversation may, in fact, somewhat mitigate the otherwise highly offensive nature of the slur.

The subsequent shot gives a more detailed impression of the object of evaluation, rendering Cem' trousers in a subjective shot that mimics Lena's (and Nils') glances. In so doing, the camera pans from a medium shot depicting Yagmur and Cem in a slightly diagonal movement downwards to the right, and finally comes to rest on the tracksuit trousers. The camera movement thus reinforces the cueing of the subjective perspective attributed to Lena. The shot also provides visually-verbally redundant cues for the viewer's unequivocal identification of the evaluated object, the expression of which in the verbal code as a creative lexical creation may require some additional contextual support for its interpretation. The attentive viewer can see that Cem's tracksuit trousers have some buttons at the sides, so that when sexual intercourse is likely to occur, they can be easily and quickly removed (and this is what the German creative compound ger. *Schnellfickerhose* literally means).

In addition to the former, the POV-shot sequence and the subjective camera movement mimicking the characters' glance allows the viewer to spatio-temporally come close to the main character, so that he or she might assess Cem's trousers as the object of the glance in a similar manner as the character does. To put it differently, both spatio-temporal alignment and allegiance are likely to occur.

The following sequences of shots, which in their verbal and visual make-up closely resemble the previous ones, then render Cem and Yagmur in terms of their assessment of Lena. In order to make this assessment more visible, the camera first zooms in from a medium shot to a medium-close one, so that the viewer can better see what is going on in the teenagers' faces. While maintaining his gaze on Lena and Nils, Cem inclines his body towards Yagmur before gossiping about Lena. The fact that his gaze is not averted from Lena and Nils enables the viewer to better identify Cem's facial expression. Cem's face is tense and his mouth is somewhat screwed up (in particular, the right corner of his mouth is raised and his lips are protruded and rounded, which is a somewhat typical trait of Cem's mimics). Cem's facial expression therefore both anticipate his negative judgement and allude to a rather stereotypical cue to character identity.

Verbally, Cem first draws his interlocutor's attention to the observed and evaluated person (ger. [Cem:] *Ey, guck' mal, Yagmur, ey*.). This is followed by the evaluation of Lena's outfit as ger. *Voll die No-Name-Collection*. This is again an instance of appreciation ([-reac: qua]), which – while apparently referring to the outfit – might ultimately be intended to target the person wearing the outfit. The intensifier ger. *voll* that is currently highly productive in German teenage talk serves to upgrade the intensity of the assessment ([+for], Androutsopoulos 1998).

The image now cuts back to Lena and Nils for about a second, providing the viewer with visual information about the evaluated item. A medium close-up then brings Cem and Yagmur in focus again. Cem now also screws up his eyes, wrinkles his nose, and presses his lips together while speaking. Verbally, Cem now further specifies his previously made, somewhat generally negative assessment about Lena's outfit by devaluating it as ger. [Cem:] *So öko, ey*. Together with the interjection ger. *ey* typical of

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[166] Even if the assessment is in fact directed at Cem.

his speech style, Cem again makes an intensified negative assessment of Lena and her outfit ([-reac: qua] [+for]), which may also be taken as a judgement about a certain lifestyle. The use of the shortened form *öko* for the adjective *ökologisch* is thereby associated with a context of communicative proximity (Androutsopoulos 1998).

The scene featuring the encounter between Lena and Nils, on one hand, and Cem and Yagmur, on the other, has, however, not yet come to an end. The last shot we referred continues to a degree, with the camera zooming out as Cem and Yagmur walk in the direction of Lena. The next shot again depicts Lena in a medium shot, with Cem stopping directly in front of her. With Cem standing directly in front of her, Lena seems to remember the general principles of polite behaviour. Thus, she directs her gaze at Cem, and finally makes a favourable assessment of Cem's trousers as ger. *cool* ([+reac: qua]). This time, Cem also adheres to the basic principles of politeness by accepting the compliment and agreeing with it, while avoiding self-praise.[167] He pays the compliment back to Lena, and accompanies it with a positive evaluation of her taste (ger. [Cem:] *Ähm, du auch. Hast voll Geschmack!*). The latter can be seen as a positive judgement of capacity, again upscaled by the intensifier *voll* ([+cap] [+for]).

However, the sharp contrast with the earlier negative assessments makes it clear that both Lena's and Cem's positive judgements, while conforming to politeness principles, are far from being sincere. Evidence for this also comes from the clash between what is expressed in the verbal code and what is conveyed in the visuals – a clash that is especially pronounced in Cem's communication: While praising Lena for her good taste, Cem does not make eye contact with her, and his body and face, apart from the motion of his mouth, remain somewhat rigid. Even when he finally walks away after the encounter, this walk is somewhat wooden.

In summary, these subjective passages show some similarities to the previously discussed section, in that POV-shots cue evaluative sequences in which characters and their attributes are judged by the viewer. This time, however, the depicted assessment on the part of the characters is reciprocal. This has, of course, consequences for viewer judgement about the antagonist Cem, who in addition to clues from himself and altero-characterisation by Lena may then act as a counterpoint, providing character judgement about Lena.

Judgement in scenes of problems between Lena and Cem
Judgement established by the character's own action is also a central element in the following scenes that feature different forms of conflict and problems between the two main characters, Lena and Cem.

As our earlier discussion has shown, the notions of 'impoliteness' and 'conflict' appear to be intimately related to each other. In resuming the commonalities of different accounts of politeness/impoliteness, Spencer-Oatey (2005: 95) pointed to their shared concern "with harmonious/conflictual interpersonal relations". Verbal conflict displays (or 'conflict talk', Grimshaw 1990) thus refer to disagreements and contrary positions regarding a topic or concern that is expressed verbally by the opponents.

A specific form of conflict, as found in the encounters between Lena and Cem in the pilot of *TfA,* is threats. Limberg (2009: 1376) characterised conflictive moves involving verbal threats as a "strategy which coerces and manipulates the target into (not) doing something which s/he considers to have an unfavorable outcome".

At first sight, impoliteness, itself defined as producing face-threatening acts, and the communicative act of threatening, appear to be somewhat naturally related to each other. However, as emphasised by Limberg (2009),

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[167] See Lorenzo-Dus (2001) for these three principles.

a threat can only turn into a face-threatening act through its use in a particular context. This involves both the intentional production of an act that causes some kind of (face) damage as well as the corresponding assessment made by the addressee based on what is considered as 'normal' and 'appropriate' in that context (Limberg 2009: 1378).

As with impoliteness sequences in general, threats are constructed interactively, with the reaction to the threatening behaviour on the part of the interlocutor being crucial for its recognition as a threat and involving a judgement of appropriateness regarding that behaviour. Applied to film discourse, one might say that, when the targeted character's verbal or nonverbal response makes it clear that he or she perceives the opposing move as a threat, this not only helps the viewer to recognise the threat, but also communicates character judgement. In *TfA*'s pilot, character judgement comes mainly from Lena (who is threatened by Cem), and is thus an additional means of eliciting the viewer's allegiance with Lena's position.[168]

As a result of the exertion of superior power, threats are often regarded as one of the most severe and fearsome forms of opposing behaviour (Limberg 2009).[169] Threats may then come in different communicative forms, varying according to their perceived intensity. For instance, in German and English, they typically appear as question formats, directives or conditional sentences involving *if-then* (*wenn-dann*) relations (Limberg 2009; Spitz 2005).

Despite the considerable variety of forms, the patterns of sequential organisation in which threats occur are somewhat similar. Limberg (2009) proposed the sequential pair threat–threat response, with the latter situated along a continuum between compliance and non-compliance, as the minimal pair of sequential organisation in threats. According to the author, it is possible that the response move, which can be either verbal or nonverbal, may merely indicate tendency with regard to compliance or non-compliance, which is fully signalled in the third move (Limberg 2009). In terms of preferential patterns, compliance appears to be the preferred response to threats. Moreover, there may be a prior move eliciting the threat move: "[T]hreats are produced following some form of inappropriate behavior by the addressee" (Limberg 2009: 1379).

The latter is precisely the case in the passage featuring conflict between Lena and Cem to which we now turn.

The scene starts at about 12.40 minutes into the episode, and immediately follows a prior scene in which the mother, Doris, walked naked through the Turkish-German patchwork family's new home. When Cem expresses his indignation about such lax and liberal moral behaviour, Lena raises her nightdress in a provocative act. The subsequent scene is set in the room Lena shares with Yagmur. Lena, wearing a short skirt, is about to 'construct' a wall separating the two parts of the girls' room when Cem enters the scene. The camera depicts him in a frontal shot with his gaze moving up and down Lena's naked legs as shown in the foreground. The film now cuts to the second shot, which is a long one offering a panoramic view on the scene. Cem is shown as holding a long skirt in front of Lena's body, while shifting his gaze between the skirt and Lena. He simultaneously starts to speak, suggesting to introduce her to some standards or

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[168] Given that Lena is more or less provoking Cem's threatening responses, her actions also invite value judgements as to appropriate behaviour (both as character judgements made by Cem and as direct viewer judgements with respect to Lena's behaviour).

[169] For instance, in addition to threats Bardovi-Harlig and Salsbury (2004) mention general disagreements, denials, challenges, accusations and insults as forms of opposing communitive acts (in American English).

rules of behaviour (ger. [Cem:] *Es gibt da 'n paar Rules, die solltest du kenn'n, weißt du?*). The first part of Cem's move consists of an existential proposition that would present the rules as unarguable facts, if this proposition were not slightly attenuated by the hedge ger. *'n paar* ([-foc]). The second part of the utterance comes in the form of a suggestion, mitigated not only by the modal verbal ger. s*ollen,* but also by the use of a question tag that is typical of Cem's speech style. The utterance thus represents a quite polite indirect request (of the suggestion type). In the next shot, a medium-close shot depicting Lena from a low camera angle that more or less reproduces Cem's optical perspective, Lena is shown turning her attention to Cem. Lena's furrowed brows indicate that there might be some disagreement between Cem and herself.[170] Cem now goes on to offer some general explanations for his claim for the rules: ger. [Cem:] *Das hier is' so meine Hood, meine Area, meine Straße.* Nonverbally, he underlines his claim by three hand gestures. These gestures more or less accompany the three pitch accents falling on the nouns ger. *Hood*, *Area* and *Straße*. They are realised as a deictic gesture pointing to the surrounding space, as an A-shaped hand gesture, which may signal reference to the totality of the surrounding space, and as a beat with the fist on Cem's chest (possibly claiming power over the space to which, in the verbal code, Cem claims as his own). In addition to their supposed deictic, metaphorical or emblematic functions, the gestures are used in a similar manner to batonic gestures, thereby emphasising Cem's claim.

Lena, however, pretends to interpret the spatial reference literally. Shown in a medium-close shot and from a low camera angle roughly coinciding with Cem's optical position, she makes direct eye-contact with Cem and, while smiling, she asks him in an extremely sweet voice whether he wants to sell her a property (ger. [Lena:] *Willste mir 'n Grundstück verkaufen?*). However, rather than a real (unwarranted) misunderstanding between the characters – which provides a frequent source of humour in comedies – Lena's exaggerated, sweet voice and her facial expression indicate that she is deliberately feigning some misunderstanding. In interpreting the illocutionary force of Cem's verbal statement in a different manner than he intended, Lena indirectly provides a negative judgement of tenacity on character action ([-ten], targeting the intention of Cem's verbal behaviour).

The camera now cuts back to Cem, depicting him in a close shot and from a low camera angle. The fact that Cem is somewhat aware of Lena's provocative behaviour is evident from a delay in his response. He is shown as thinking about Lena's words, while his body movement and facial expression (uneasy movement from one leg to the other, sulky face, tense face muscles, and raised eyebrows) signal a negative assessment of the situation. The delay in response further indicates that Cem's move will be a dispreferred one; that is, Cem will neither answer Lena's question nor step into the teasing modality projected by her turn. Instead, he continues in a serious manner, determined to give Lena a lecture in Turkish culture and about his new role as Lena's brother (ger. [Cem:] *Türkisch für Anfänger Lektion eins: Cem is' jetzt dein Bruder.*). The linguistically asserted power position as older brother is also conveyed through the structural composition of the verbal code (short clauses, a bare assumption in the second part), through the intonational pattern (falling intonation), and through Cem's nonverbal behaviour (head nodding,[171] another chest-beating gesture and the fast and power-loaded action of hanging the skirt on a ladder). Note that the cinematography itself, rendering Cem in a shot taken from a low angle, is often associated with a powerful position, and is consistent with the forceful self-image Cem wishes to convey.

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[170] See Poggi (2003) with regard to furrowed brows as signs of disagreement.

[171] See Granström and House (2005) on head nods as accompanying declarative speech acts.

Cem's unwillingness to accept alternative positions and non-compliance with his rules is also tangible from the third part of his verbal contribution, in which he states his responsibility for Lena (ger. [Cem:] *Isch hab' Verantwortung*.). Here, he again resorts to an unmitigated assumption accompanied by a vigorous head nod.

The passage also gives clues as to character identity and recognition. Nonverbally, Cem's typical lip movement (one corner of the mouth is drawn up) functions as a redundant clue to his identity in the passage under consideration. Verbally, Cem's short, assertive sentences, which occasionally lack articles (see the last sentence above), and the general paratactic style are likely to attract attention. Furthermore, the passage features some salient prosodic features, such as the realisation of the palatal fricative /ç/ as [ʃ] (see ger. *ich > isch* [iʃ] in the last sentence above). Some of these features, notably the omission of articles and the variation in the pronunciation of the fricative, are somewhat conventionalised clues to a specific Turkish-German variety.

This ethnical variety is known, among other things, as 'Türkenslang' (Selting and Kern 2009), 'Kiezdeutsch' (Wiese 2009), or, in its mediated and stylised variant, as 'Kanak sprak'/'Kanak-Sprak' (see Androutsopoulos 2001). As with other ethnic styles documented in European countries, such as Denmark, Sweden or the Netherlands, the Turkish-German variety is "typically found in multi-ethnic and multilingual settings of urban neighbourhoods with large migrant populations" (Wiese 2009: 782). The term 'Kiezdeutsch', with ger. *Kiez* signifying 'neighbourhood', also points to this typical use in urban settings.

The ethnic 'real-world' variety spoken in these areas[172], however, has to be distinguished from its stylised counterpart 'Kanak sprak' as employed in *TfA*. Initially used pejoratively to designate the variant spoken by certain Turkish migrants in Germany, the term 'Kanak sprak' has subsequently lost its negative connotations after being employed in the literary works of Feridun Zaimoglu. Moreover, comics, stand-up comedy shows and film comedy made by and featuring immigrants (such as *Erkan und Stefan* or *Was guckst du* by Kaya Yanar) have contributed to the rapid popularisation of 'Kanak sprak'. Already in 2001, Androutsopoulos (2001) was able to relate 'Kanak sprak' to a "Sprechmode, die sich an Muttersprachler richtet und von ihnen reproduziert wird […], die insbesondere von jüngeren Sprechern unschwer als stilisiertes 'Türkendeutsch' identifiziert wird" (Androutsopoulos 2001: 1). 'Kanak sprak' can thus be regarded as a medially stylised variety created on the basis of its 'real-world' counterpart, from which it has borrowed some features, such as the phonetically, morphosyntactically and grammatically more marked ones. Phonetically and prosodically, it is characterised by features such as the lack of the *umlaut*, the occasional insertion of an epenthetic vowel between word-initial consonants, the above mentioned coronalisation of the palatal /ç/ to [ʃ], the reduction of /ts/ to [s], and syllable-timed instead of stress-timed prosody. Lexically, 'Kanak sprak' is evoked through highly frequent lexical items (such as the adjectives ger. *korrekt, konkret* und *krass*; discourse markers and interjections such as ger. *ich schwör, weißt du, alter, ey, boah*; hyperbolic and vulgar expressions borrowed from German teen talk such as the adverbials ger. *voll* and the prefix ger. *scheiß-*; ritualised openings and greetings featuring ger. *was geht?*).

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[172] The 'real world' variety of 'Kiezdeutsch' is characterised, among other things, by the following features: Prosodically, by the qualitative and quantitave modification of vowels (ger. *Sohn* > [zon]), the above mentioned variation in the pronunciation of the fricative, the reduction of the africate /ts/ to [s] (ger. *zwei* > swei), the aspiration of plosives which are not aspirated in standard German, a "stampfendes Sprechen"; lexically, by frequent lexems such as the Turkish address term *lan*; grammatically, by the ommision of certain functional elements such as articles, local propositions, pronouns and copular verbs (Androutsopoulos 2001; Selting and Kern 2009; Wiese 2009).

In addition, false collocations between lexical items occur. Syntactically and grammatically, 'Kanak sprak' does not always obey standard German word order; prepositions, pronouns and articles are used incorrectly or are omitted altogether, and the grammatical genus and possessive pronouns are incorrectly employed (Androutsopoulos 2001: 7; Deppermann 2007: 329; Kotthoff and Stehle 2014: 223). The underlying processes of stylisation through which these features have been naturalised to the degree that they have now become evocative of 'Kanak sprak' are largely unknown. Comparing 'Kanak sprak' to its 'real-world' counterpart, Androutsopoulos (2001) merely pointed to some general differences in terms of overall frequency, distribution and phonetic realisation.[173] By contrast, the kinds of characters that have become indexically related to 'Kanak sprak' are quite clear:

> [Die Geschichten, S.F.] drehen sich um jugendliche Charaktere aus dem 'Ghetto', die durch Kriminalität und Drogenkonsum geprägt sind. Ein weiteres Hauptmotiv [...] ist die aggressive, anmacherische Selbstdarstellung. Die Charaktere posieren herum in ihren Jogginganzügen, geben an mit ihren Handys und erzählen einander Schlägereigeschichten, aus denen sie immer als Gewinner hervorgehen" (Androutsopoulos 2001: 6f.).

In short, we are concerned with the stereotype, or better "Hypertypus des bildungsfernen, jungen, männlichen Migranten" (Kotthoff and Stehle 2014: 217). The term 'Hypertypus' thereby refers to the deliberate over-exaggerated performance of the stereotype, so that it is made overly transparent to the viewer and can be perceived as such (Kotthoff and Stehle 2014). The Cem character in *TfA* clearly embodies such a hypertype.

Given 'Kanak sprak''s connection with a special stereo- or even hypertype of character, at this point discussion of the notion of 'stereotypicity' as applied to fictional characters is in order. Schweinitz (2010) provided the most elaborated account in this regard. According to this author, it is to distinguish between two different types of stereotypes involved in the construction of fictional characters: Social stereotypes, and narrative stereotypes created in the text itself. From a social point of view, 'stereotypes' represent "shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits but often also behaviours of a group of people" (Leyens, Yzerbyt, and Schadron 1994: 3). These shared forms of beliefs imply the reduction of personality and group traits to a common core and a specific evaluation attached to this core pattern (Kotthoff and Stehle 2014). Such social stereotypes, then, seem to prepare the ground for the processes of stereotyping in the construction of fictional characters in two regards. On the one hand, "[f]or the experience of reception to work, it matters that a film and its characters, as the key factors of audience participation in the plot, are closely interrelated with everyday beliefs and values" (Schweinitz 2010: 276). In other words, the orientation of stereotypical characters and the values attached to them in real-life stereotypes play a crucial role for viewer engagement. On the other hand, the media's representation of stereotypical characters may have profound repercussions on the way in which real-life stereotypes are perceived: "[P]opular audio-visual narratives actively influence the audience's imagination, if only through visually reshaping and rendering the current cognitive schemata concrete […]" (Schweinitz 2010: 276f.).

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[173] However, one should not forget that, in general, research in subprocesses of stylisation is still in its infancy. Research in general patterns such as the over- or underrepresentation of features in stylised vernaculars has, for instance, been carried out with regard to phonology (e.g. Bell and Gibson 2011).

Despite this close interrelation between social stereotypes and narrative embodiments of stereotypes, they do not merely represent two sides of the same coin. Rather, as textual constructs, narrative stereotypes do not exist outside the text in which they perform narrative functions (Schweinitz 2010). According to Schweinitz (2010), there are two factors – the reduction of their complexity in the guise of narrative functions and their intertextual repetition – that make narrative stereotypes distinct. Typified characters may, for instance, function narratively "as a 'pretext' for the staging of events" (Schweinitz 2010: 279). An example is the classic sitcom in which the action depends crucially on recurrent situations and therefore on recurrent and stereotypically rendered characters. Moreover, the reduction of character complexity to a limited set of attributes and traits "enhances the poignancy of such characters beyond their characteristic traits by placing counterfigures to them" (Schweinitz 2010: 279). That is, the reduction of character complexity helps to build clear oppositions between characters – such as the opposition between Cem and Lena set up in the present passage.

Following Schweinitz (2010), a second phase of typification relates to the intertextual repetition of reduced narrative schemes related to fictional characters. The reproduction of conventional patterns of stereotyped characters is, among other things, an important means for the recognition and reinstatement of a particular genre. The representation of 'Kanak sprak' speakers has, for instance, become intrinsically associated with certain German comedy genres and frames. Viewers may derive part of their pleasure precisely from the recognition of such recurrent stereotypical patterns. However, the conventionalisation of narrative stereotypes does not necessarily depend on the process of the conventionalisation of social (real-world) stereotypes. 'Kanak sprak'-speaking characters are in fact a good example of the fact that typified fictional characters "refer precisely *not* (or at best highly indirectly) to the audience's immediate everyday world, and claim no validity in that world" (Schweinitz 2010: 284, italics in the original). Rather, by over-stylising certain traits, the performers mock the characters in their fictional frame, but not the real-world equivalents on which they are based: "Ein möglicher Diskriminierungseffekt wohnt dem zwar inne […], kann aber genau mit der Absicht des Durch-schaut-Werden-Wollens angeboten werden, wie es Ethno-Komiker für ihre Figuren der bildungsfernen jungen Männer behaupten" (Kotthoff and Stehle 2014: 218).

To reiterate, neither the processes of reduction nor those of the conventionalisation of narrative stereotypes correspond to those at work in 'social stereotypes' (although narrative stereotypes may draw on and influence real-world ones to a certain degree).

Returning to the passage under consideration, we will now point out why it has been imperative to introduce 'Kanak sprak' and the notion of 'stereotyping' in character construction. In the next passage, we see Lena's reaction to Cem's assertion discussed above, in which features of 'Kanak sprak', abound. In her response, Lena sets out to imitate Cem's speech style, thereby making use of both salient verbal and nonverbal features of Cem's speech. Captured in a medium-close shot from a low camera angle, Lena first bends forwards, with her arms coming to rest on the upper part of the ladder on which she stands. She grimaces, imitating amongst other things Cem's typical lip movement as well as Cem's somewhat slurred intonation. Due to the latter, the verbal message, providing some metacommentary on Cem's inappropriate language use, is not completely understandable in German. It seems that the mimicking of Cem's stylistic features is even more important than what is actually said. In stylising Cem's speech, Lena then also makes use of some of typical verbal features, such as the interjection ger. e*y,* used twice in both the initial and in the final position. She also peppers her speech with 3rd person references to herself, as featured in Cem's earlier contribution (where

Cem, probably with the intention of imitating the impersonal style of a theorem, spoke of himself in the third person: ger. *Cem is' jetzt dein Bruder.*).

In the next turn, Cem signals that he understood Lena's metacommentary on his speech style when he suggests they switch to High German (ger. [Cem:] *Dann sag' ich's dir auf Hochdeutsch*). However, nonverbally, he does not exhibit any behaviour related to taking up a defensive position (he re-establishes direct eye-contact with Lena while his face muscles are tense, and stresses his own verbally conveyed position with a head nod).[174]

The picture now cuts to Lena, shown in a medium-close shot and from a low camera angle. Lena's face shows signs of refusal (furrowed eyebrows, slow withdrawal of head and body). Meanwhile, Cem continues his turn, now delivered in the form of a directive (ger. [Cem:] *Zieh'n Sie sich anständig an, Fräulein Schneider, sonst wird Onkel Ötztürk sauer.)* The move exhibits features of highly formal standard German, such as a shift to the formal pronoun ger. *Sie*, a highly formal and even out-dated register as evoked by lexical terms such as the adverb ger. *anständig* and the form of address ger. *Fräulein*. This is contrasted with the recourse to an informal register and a kind of 'baby talk' style (using lexemes such as ger. *sauer werden,* and referring to himself as an uncle) in the second part. The latter again underscores the power difference, which Cem also conveys through his other nonverbal behaviour. For instance, he performs a powerful hand gesture in the first part of his move, while he accompanies the second by raising his eyebrows so as to signal anger as the consequence with which Lena is threatened in the event that she does not comply with Cem's order.

As we can see from the entire passage discussed so far, there is increasing directness and force in Cem's verbal and nonverbal behaviour (passing from an indirect and somewhat mitigated demand to a direct threat, thereby toying with different levels of formality).

The next high-angle shot features Cem's sister Yagmur, who is smiling while overhearing the conversation in which Cem has now gained the upper hand. Cutting back, the image (again in a close shot and from a low angle) shows Cem uttering a final sarcastic greeting before leaving the room.

Lena (depicted in a low angle shot from a medium-close distance) follows Cem's departure with her eyes and hurls a final insult at Cem. However, with her face frozen in the earlier imitated lip position (left corner of the mouth drawn up), accompanied by a shoulder shrug,[175] she gives the impression of being hopelessly overpowered. This impression is reinforced when, as a result of Cem's final action of slamming the door, Lena's do-it-yourself blanket construction falls down, to which Lena reacts with an expletive (ger. [Lena:] *Merde!*).

In summary, the scene considered is characterised by the rendering of Cem's increasing powerfulness, contrasted with the growing powerlessness on Lena's part. Dominance and power are thus becoming important, recurrent themes in the struggle between Lena and Cem. Therefore, this relates not only to the characters' general disagreement concerning moral standards (such as Cem's *Rules*), but also to the question of who has the power to define these standards. In the scenes under consideration, character judgements concerning moral standards and discursive rendering thereof are thus intrinsically linked to issues of power and its discursive depiction.

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[174] Steady gazes are, for instance, associated with superiority displays and head nods with declarativity (Granström and House 2005; Mignault and Chaudhuri 2003). The low camera angle from which Cem is portrayed may further support the impression of Cem as powerful.

[175] See Bubel (2006: 166) for a similiar case of a shoulder shrug signalling submission in the series *Sex and the City*.

In contrast to the previously analysed passage, the next scene features a balance of power shift in favour of Lena. The scene from the pilot episode (starting at about 14.20 minutes into the episode) takes place in the family's garden, where Cem is shown as repairing his motorcycle. The character attributes that might elicit viewer judgement are quite 'stereotypical': Cem's material action consists of a somewhat typical male youth leisure time activity and, as in the previously analysed passage, he wears a red t-shirt featuring a half-moon, which can be taken as a statement related to his Turkish identity. A hard-edge background music theme sets the stage for the confrontational action to come.

From Cem, as depicted in the foreground in a medium-close shot, the camera, following Cem's gaze, pans to the left, where Lena is shown entering the garden. The long duration of the shot (about 10 seconds) enables the viewer to cast more than only a passing glance at Lena's outfit and actions. The smiling Lena, dressed in a dressing gown and wearing high heels, swings her hips lasciviously while moving towards a place where she can put her deckchair. She then undresses very slowly, glancing at Cem from under slightly dropped eyelids. Meanwhile, she moves the chewing gum in her mouth from one side to the other. Overall, Lena's straightforward nonverbal behaviour and steady gaze portrays her as being very determined, confident and cool. From her sidelong glances, it becomes apparent that Lena wants to provoke Cem via openly seductive behaviour. The subject of the moral struggle will thus resemble the scenes discussed previously: Lena's behaviour when wandering underdressed through the family's garden.

In the next shot Lena, now in a bikini, is shown in the foreground, while Cem's reaction to her behaviour is depicted in the image's background. We see Cem starring at Lena with his eyes wide open, showing signs of surprise.[176] He walks rapidly towards Lena, with his facial muscles tense, his lips protruding and pressed together, and his right hand raised in a pointing gesture toward the girl. Cem then requests an account of Lena's appearance (ger. [Cem:] *Wie läufst du rum, hä?*). The prosodic features of the current passage resemble some of the clues to a 'reproachful tone', as suggested for German *wh*-questions used in moralising contexts (for example, the falling terminal pitch and the rising-falling glide on the slightly elongated vowel of the verb ger. *läufst*, Günthner 1996).

Focusing on *wieso*- and *warum*-question formats, Günthner (1996) pointed to their function as devices of moral indirectness, whereby the interlocutor's behaviour is judged negatively:

> As, in reproaches, not only a general action or type of behaviour is judged according to someone's moral norms, but the behaviour of the co-participant is negatively evaluated, this activity bears a face-threatening potential and can provoke teasing, counter-reproaches, and may even end up in quarreling (Günthner 1996: 296).

In the passage in question, the reproach format under discussion then clearly serves to highlight the moral frame of the discussion, with the subject of offence not only being clearly established in the visuals at the beginning of the sequence, but also being mentioned explicitly in the verbal question (Lena's inappropriate *Herumlaufen*).

Despite Cem's outright offensive behaviour towards her, Lena's reply is calm, arrogant and witty. She sets out to imitate Cem's earlier verbal verbally expressed effort to teach her a lesson, now using the Cem as the intended target of the suggested lesson content:

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[176] See Poggi, D'Errico, and Spagnolo (2010) regarding wide open eyes as a facial clue to surprise.

ger. [Lena:] *Deutsch für Anfänger Lektion eins: Fräulein Schneider macht, was sie will.* Here, Lena recycles most of the verbal features Cem used in the earlier encounter: She speaks of herself in the 3rd person singular, employing the formal form ger. *Fräulein Schneider* that Cem earlier used to address her. The imitation may then be taken as a sarcastic comment about Cem's earlier contribution. It thus constitutes a non-preferred reply, or what Günthner (1996: 296) referred to as 'teasing'.

Visually, the shot accompanying the verbal code until the verb ger. *macht* shows Lena lying in the deckchair from a high angle at a medium-close distance. Together with the previous point-glance shot, the shot taken approximately from Cem's optical point of view may be interpreted as forming a subjective POV-shot sequence. The viewer thus sees what Cem sees: Lena's eyes are directed steadily at Cem, her head is thrown back self-confidently, her eyelids are dropped while her upper lip is raised,[177] and her legs are crossed in a relaxed way in front of Cem. During her turn, Lena closes her eyes, glancing through nearly closed eyelids, her nose and chin lifted.[178] In addition, her self-confident and provocative attitude is palpable when she finally rounds her mouth while adjusting her bikini top directly in front of Cem.

The next shot features Cem's reaction to Lena's provocation, shown in a medium-close shot from Lena's optical point of view. Cem shifts his gaze to the heavens before (somewhat nervously) looking to the left and to the right. Cem is thus portrayed as being more powerless than is Lena.

While the image cuts to the next shot, Lena reaffirms her verbal statement that she can do what she wants by continuing her offensive behaviour: She extends her arms upwards, executing a bow so as to explicitly present her body for observation, even shaking it a little bit. While the camera focuses on portraying Lena, Cem's verbal reaction is to ask Lena whether she intends to provoke him (ger. [Cem:] *Ey, willst' mich provozier'n? Ey, wenn dich so die Nachbarn seh'n, dann.... Du kriegst die Probleme, nich' ich!*). The passage again features a conditional *wenn-dann* clause. Given the scarcity of research into 'threatening' *wenn-dann* clauses in German, in what follows, the example from our corpus will be compared to English patterns.[179]

Limberg (2009) suggested that the syntactic composition of *if-then* threats is made up of two parts, with the second one comprising the threat with negative consequences in case the addressee will not do what the speaker wants.

The *wenn-dann* sequence in question then presents some special characteristics: It is not the addressee Lena's, but the neighbours' actions that are referred to in the *wenn*-clause and which are thus linked to the consequences. Cem, as the speaker, does not have real control over the threatened consequences because they depend entirely on other people's actions. Therefore, in comparison to threats in which the threatener is able to inflict consequences by him- or herself, the present threat is likely to be less powerful. In addition, the interruption of the clause after *dann*, which leaves the consequences unspecified for a period, before broadly referring to them as problems in an extra clause, also contributes to this impression of reduced directive forcefulness.

When discussing the forcefulness of threats, however, one should take into account that "[t]he directive force of a conditional threat utterance comes, in part, from its combination of a strong illocutionary force and the way it is (non)verbally

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[177] A steady gaze or a glancing under half-closed eyelids, a head thrown back, a lifted chin as well as calm and relaxed gestures are associated with dominance displays (D'Errico, Poggi, and Vincze 2012; Mignault and Chaudhuri 2003; Poggi and D'Errico 2012).

[178] Again we are concerned with dominance displays.

[179] I am aware that this is not the best solution, especially if one considers that German and English *wenn-dann* and *if-then* patterns are not entirely similar in their grammatical value (see Auer 2000).

communicated" (Limberg 2009: 1379). Thus, there is a chance that Cem's nonverbal behaviour will, at least, come across as dominant and powerful. The low angle from which Cem is shown makes him appear as imposing. Furthermore, Cem's body posture, gaze and hand gestures – his body bent forwards in the direction of Lena, his direct eye contact, and his right hand pointing at Lena – suggest superiority and force.[180] Other bodily signs, such as the rounded mouth and the outwardly turned lips, however, are more likely to be interpreted as idiosyncratic features, pointing to Cem's character identity rather than working as clues to the character's current emotional state.

Cem's domineering behaviour, however, does not work with Lena. A medium-close shot taken from a high angle (that is, from Cem's perspective) brings her into focus again. Perhaps in allusion to Cem's above mentioned idiosyncratic features (rounded and pouting mouth), she responds with a disdainful reply, thereby addressing Cem as the German-Turkish mock comedy character Erkan: ger. [Lena:] *Ja sicher, Erkan!* The response starts with a combination of two affirmative particles. According to Imo (2007: 273), in this specific construction, the particle ger. *sicher* serves as "semantisch stärkeres Äquivalent zur Antwortpartikel *ja*". It has thus an intensifying function and may carry the pitch accent (Imo 2007), as in the example under discussion. However, rather than signalling a full, even emphatic agreement with Cem's threat, the mock form of address in combination with a specific intonational pattern signals that Lena's reply should not be taken at face value. Rather, we are concerned here with an expression of 'sarcastic irony' as a communicative form "used to express a negative attitude as well as to insult or hurt to some degree" (Kumon-Nakamura, Glucksberg, and Brown 1995: 4). Prosodically, in the example at hand, sarcasm is conveyed by an exaggerated pitch on the first syllable of ger. *sicher* (see Attardo, Wagner, and Urios-Aparisi 2013 for this pattern). Given that the interpretation of an utterance as sarcastic is highly context-dependent, non-prosodic clues such as specific lexical clues and nonverbal expressions (Caucci and Kreuz 2012) are vital. Possible nonverbal clues to sarcasm found in the present utterance are highly raised eyebrows and a nodding movement of the head.[181] However, perhaps more important for the interlocutor's recognition is that sarcasm is often related to the act of defying expectations. The latter is likely to direct the attention of the interlocutor to the speaker's attitude itself (Woodland and Voyer 2011). Accordingly, nonverbal displays of attitude that are incongruent with the positive verbal message, such as the dropped eyelids, the slightly inclined head, the rigid face and the continued action of chewing all indicate a challenging rather than a compliant attitude.

It thus comes as no surprise that, in the next shot, Lena continues her provocative and challenging behaviour. The girl raises her naked left leg and crosses her legs in front of Cem, who presses his lips together and averts his gaze. Lena now starts a long turn: ger. [Lena:] *Jetzt erzähl' mir noch, wenn man vergewaltigt wird, ist es die eigene Schuld. Die Keuschheitsnummer is' nur 'nen Scheißtrick von irgendwelchen reaktionären Türken, die ihre Frauen von der Emanzipation abhalten wollen.*

The passage starts with a linguistic metacommentary, which contextualises the subsequent conditional sentence as a potential utterance and attitudinal statement of Cem. The metacommentary is followed by an integrative *wenn*-(*dann*) conditional sentence, which expresses a logical cause-effect relationship. According to Köpcke and Panther (1989: 694), then, "the feature of hypotheticality is not an inherent part of the

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[180] See Maricchiolo et al. (2009) with respect to constant and direct eye-contact and intrusive pointing gestures as indicators of superiority. See also Poggi and Pelachaud (1998) concerning forward leaning as a frequent posture in warnings and similar actions.

[181] See Caucci and Kreuz (2012) for these indicators. Of course, the head nods may also be intepreted as co-conveying the literal meaning encoded in the verbal reply (that is, affirmation).

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core meaning of integrative conditionals, but a pragmatically invited inference. In fact, it may be cancelled given an appropriate context". As with Cem's earlier thread rendered in the form of a conditional sentence, Lena's anticipated counter-argument can thus be easily countered – and this is exactly what Lena does in the second part of her turn. She now expresses her own point of view. Lena's utterance shows some lexical ad-hoc compounds that are typical of a teen talk register. As suggested by Androutsopoulos (1998), such creative compounds typically occur in emotionally highly marked passages. Prosodically, the passage then comes close to some features of what Selting (1994) referred to as emphatic speech style in German. That is, there is dense accentuation (a high number of pitch accents), and high energy in the prosodic pattern. Lexically, as already touched upon above, the passage features some composite nouns, which despite being the result of ad-hoc creation, remain somewhat easily interpretable for the viewer because they are formed on the basis of some lexicalised parts (-*nummer*, a somewhat fuzzy reference to a thing, and *Scheiß*-, a highly productive, intensifying noun component in teen talk, see above). On a whole, these compounds have evaluative force (*Keuschheitsnummer*, [-mor] [-foc]; *Scheißtrick*, [-reac: qua] [+for]). This is also true of the adjective noun group ger. *reaktionäre (n) Türken* ([-nor]), as well as the softener *irgendwelchen* ([-foc]). Lena's long, affect-laden turn is accompanied by nonverbal actions captured in four subsequent shots, cutting back and forth between herself and Cem. In these shots, Lena is still portrayed as lying seductively in the deckchair. When she gets to the topic of violation and male domination not only her speech, but also her nonverbal behaviour becomes even more confident than before: She throws her head backwards, screws her eyes up and draws her eyebrows together, all of which may be taken as signals of superiority and disapproval (of male domination). While speaking about emancipation, Lena, with raised cheeks and seductively pouting lips, extends her arms in a confident gesture above her head. Furthermore, Lena's brows move quickly up and down so as to emphasise her point.

Rather than directly criticising Lena's verbally and nonverbally expressed point of view, Cem then sets out to challenge her by providing a metacommentary on the length of Lena's turn: ger. [Cem:] *Ey, laberst du immer so viel?* Nonverbally, he again shows his anger towards the girl, as conveyed by his steady gaze, narrowed eyes and furrowed brows, the rectangular shape of his mouth and the shaking movement of his head. In addition, he also makes a stopping gesture with his right hand.[182]

Lena's reply, rendered in the form of an apparent apology, turns out to be indirectly self-praising: ger. [Lena:] *Sorry, ist der Nebeneffekt, wenn man intelligent ist.* ([+cap]). The use of an impersonal construction with ger. *man* in a conditional clause might somewhat mitigate the face-threatening effect of the statement. However, the statement indirectly implies that Cem who, in contrast to Lena, usually produces short utterances, often in a paratactic style and without explicit linking between the clauses, is not intelligent. We see that the form of a character's verbal and nonverbal expression may not only become an important clue to characterisation, but also a crucial principle for building up explicit oppositions in character portrayal (such as those between characters speaking standard German and 'Kanak sprak', or those producing lengthy utterances in a hypotactic style versus those that do not).

The presumptuous way in which Lena has laid claim to her intelligence is also indicated in her nonverbal behaviour, especially in her facial expression after she has finished her

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[182] See, for instance, Calbris (2003) with regard to stopping gestures.

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turn: Her facial muscles are relaxed, and with drooping eyelids and her chin confidently pushed forwards she brings her head into upright position in front of Cem.[183]

Cem, in a medium-close shot again anchored to the perception of the main character Lena, seems finally to have been overpowered by Lena. He lowers his eyes to the ground, his lips pressed together, moving his right hand slightly up and down in a gesture of indecision, before pointing at Lena with the spanner in his hand, and finally turning and moving away. It is thus clear that Lena has gradually gained the upper hand and has had the last word in the conversation.

The last shot of the scene thus features Lena as seen from a high angle in a shot taken from medium-close and close camera distance. The girl is shown raising her body, while glancing at Cem from the side and following his departure with her eyes under half-closed eyelids. She cooly chews her gum, and smiles. After Cem has left, Lena finally expresses her satisfaction about her victory in a self-congratulatory tone, assuring herself that her own courage would even fill Alice Schwarzer, an icon of the German feminist movement, with pride: ger. [Lena:] *Alice Schwarzer wäre stolz auf mich!* ([+sat]).

4.9   Viewer engagement through allegiance in translation

For a possible answer to the question of how viewers become engaged through processes of allegiance with the text under consideration, the German source text was explored and described in the last section.

The micro analytical framework imposed on the ST may, of course, provide a structural basis for describing and analysing allegiance in the Catalan and French TTs. Therefore, the transcription and analysis have been as fine-grained as that of the German ST. However, given that the reader should have gained an impression of the nonverbal layers of communication that remain constant in translation so far, analysis and discussion will necessarily be shorter for the TTs.

a)   Judgements of Doris in translation

Judgements of normality elicited by Doris' proneness to the use of 1st person plural pronouns

As discussed with regard to the German ST, the unconventional mother Doris' speech exhibits several idiosyncratic characteristics that may elicit the viewer's judgements in terms of normality. The first is Doris' proneness to make use of the 1st person plural tense (including the German 1st person plural pronoun *wir*) in a non-prototypical manner. That is, Doris employs the construction either with 2nd person singular or plural reference or, in cases bordering on the latter, as typically found in parent/child, doctor/patient or instructor/student communication. Working on the interpersonal plane (Whitt 2011), the use of the construction is related to the expression of solidarity and power in several linguistic cultures. For example, the construction seems to convey solidarity and empathy by reducing the power-asymmetry between the interlocutors (Cock 2011). Moreover, along with other idiosyncratic manners of speech, this

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[183] Again, upright head, pushed chin, dropped eyelids and a general relaxed appearance may be associated with displays of superiority and force, for instance those linked to the expression of pride (Mignault and Chaudhuri 2003; Poggi and D'Errico 2012).

particular device contributes to Doris' characterisation as a psychologist seeking to extend her professional 'voice' and empathetic way of interaction to the private context and the education of her children.

Catalan
In Catalan, a similar use of the 1st person plural tense with 2nd person reference is possible, referred to as '1P d'empatia' by Nogué (2010). As the name suggests, by making use of this construction,

> l'enunciador aconsegueix implicar-se en el que li diu, cosa que provoca dos efectes comunicatius complementaris: d'una banda, l'atenuació de la referència al destinatari directe i de la força il·locutiva d'un enunciat més o menys impositiu o negatiu per a ell; de l'altra, paral·lelament, la transmissió d'un sentiment d'empatia (Nogué 2010: 180).

In other words, as in German, the '1P d'empatia' serves to express solidarity and empathy, while mitigating the face-threatening potential of certain imposing speech acts. According to Nogué (2010), the latter is especially valid in various contexts of power asymmetry. Thus, apart from specific issues of pronoun use affecting Catalan as a pro-drop language,[184] Catalan's potential in this respect is likely to resemble that of German and other languages.

Having said that, we now pass to the consideration of some examples from the Catalan corpus.

An instance of 1st person plural reference, for example, occurs in the 'restaurant scene' where Doris employs the 1st person plural with 2nd person singular reference to Lena when trying to calm her down after Metin's appearance:

ger. [Doris:] *Lena, wir holen tief Luft und atmen alle unsere Aggressionen aus.*
cat. [Doris:] *Lena, ara respira fondo i elimina aquesta agressivitat.*

Note that nonverbally, as in other cases in which Doris uses the 1st person plural construction, additional paraverbal, nonverbal or verbal reference to Doris' specific psychological or esoteric condition is made. Thus, in the scene under discussion, Doris speaks slowly and performs some odd ritualistic hand gestures ([-norm]) while addressing Lena. The context of psychologist/patient interaction created in this way would then also be a typical context for the occurrence of the empathetic 1st person plural in Catalan (Nogué 2010). There is indeed no compelling reason why the Catalan TT does not take up the German 1st person plural form, and employs a 2nd person singular imperative construction instead. In this way, overtones of Doris' empathetic involvement as a psychologist, and most importantly, typical elements of her characterisation as a slightly odd person, which may lead the viewer to judge her in terms of normality, are lost. The nonverbal reference can only partly compensate for the omission. However, the omission might perhaps be explained via overall translation strategies applied to the TT. In other words, fostering the interpretation in terms of pragmatic force might have been a major concern for the translator. In the present case, the Catalan TT seems to explicitate, substituting the more indirect German form with an imperative construction as the most direct grammatical form for the expression of Catalan requests (Curell 2011).

However, in other contexts in which Doris adopts her 'psychological' or 'mothering' voice the TT keeps the plural reference. In the next example, Doris' previous nonverbal behaviour (clapping her hands so as to motivate her 'children') and Doris' prior request

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[184] The use of subject pronouns is not mandatory in Catalan, and is only made for specific purposes (for example, for contrasting ones).

to perform the family-specific ritual serve to establish the typical context in terms of parent/children, and psychologist/ patient communication:

ger. [Doris:] *Okay Leute, Zeit für unser Ritual.*

cat. [Doris:] *Au va! Fem el ritual.*

Doris' first move when finally initiating the ritual performed together with her children then also contains 1st person plural forms in both the ST and the TT:

ger. [Doris:] *Wir sind alle auf einer Ebene, wir reden über unsere Ängste. Wir lassen unsere Ängste hier, in dieser Wohnung.*

cat. [Doris:] *Parlem de les nostres pors. I deixem-les aquí, en aquest pis.*

When Doris utters these instructional sentences, it is not yet clear whether or not the 1st person plural form includes or excludes her. Only in the latter case, that is when Doris' role is restricted to that of a mere instructor, are we presented with a true empathetic construction. However, when the instructor participates in the ritual – and this is the case here, as revealed over the course of the scene – we are concerned with an inclusive use of the 1st person plural (but clearly bordering on the empathetic use).[185] We are now able to provide a possible reason why, in this case, the Catalan TT opts for preserving the plural construction. In Catalan, the inclusive 1st person plural form is

> una marca de proximitat i fins i tot de comunió entre el productor i l'interpretador d'un text: se li ha donat el nom de *marcador pedagògic* perquè involucra en un mateix món, en un mateix procés i en un mateix motiu d'interès l'enunciador i l'enunciatari (Calsamiglia 1998, quoted by Nogué 2010: 160, italics in the original).

The aim to involve all present interlocutors in the jointly performed ritual is then aptly conveyed by the inclusive form in Catalan.

French

We now turn to discuss how viewer judgements of normality are likely to be elicited through 1st person plural references in Doris' dialogue in the French TT.

The example from the 'restaurant scene' reads as follows:

ger. [Doris:] *Lena, wir holen tief Luft und atmen alle unsere Aggressionen aus.*

fr. [Doris:] *Lena, tu vas essayer de respirer bien, enfin laisser ton aggressivité de côté.*

As in the Catalan TT, even if an additional, non-linguistic reference to Doris' odd psychological or esoteric nature is made, viewer judgements of normality are no longer triggered by the linguistic code because the inclusive 1st person plural reference is replaced by a 2nd person imperative form. Apart from rendering the request more direct, the rationale behind the French translator's decision for the use of the imperative is somewhat unclear: French has, in fact, the pronoun fr. *on* that may be used in indirect imperative constructions, and which may potentially trigger associations of power asymmetry between parents and children (van Compernolle 2008). In a corpus of Canadian-French chat communication, van Compernolle (2008: 94) found a similar request to calm down, where an *on*-construction was employed as an indirect imperative (fr. *on se calme*).[186]

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[185] See also Nogué (2010: 180).

[186] Note how van Compernolle (2008: 95, italics in the original) further explains this use by the chatter <Moi_jeune>: "Although <Moi_jeune> could have used an imperative form (i.e., *calme-toi* 'calm down') or a modal auxiliary structure (e.g., *tu devrais te calmer* 'you should calm down'), s/he chose on, perhaps in jest, since this style is typical of parents speaking to their children. The ludic nature of this turn is further signaled by <Moi_jeune>'s use of the emoticon :p symbolizing a smiling face with the tongue sticking out".

However, as in the Catalan TT, there are also instances where 1st person plural statements alluding to Doris' psychological, esoteric or mothering way of speaking are preserved. Again, as in Catalan, this is the case when Doris takes on the instructor role in a kind of family-specific ritual to speak about problems:

ger. [Doris:] *Wir sind alle auf einer Ebene, wir reden über unsere Ängste. Wir lassen unsere Ängste hier, in dieser Wohnung.*

fr. [Doris:] *On est tous au même niveau, nous discutons nos angoisses. On laisse toutes nos angoisses dans cet appartement.*

The French TT has in some sense chosen the simplest possible equivalent realisation of the ST's syntactic pattern, and this is likely to affect the preservation of personal pronouns. In colloquial French, the pronoun fr. *on* is certainly the most frequent choice (when compared to uses of *nous* in subject position). When used as a reference to a definite group, fr. *on* might be used in variation with *nous* (van Compernolle 2008), as in the present example. Together with considerations of frequency, the most compelling reason for the choice of the pronoun fr. *on*, then, is that it might evoke the impression of 'motherese' or parent–child communication in French (van Compernolle 2008). Thus, the potential for viewer judgements of normality as evoked by Doris' psychological and mothering speech style seems to be somewhat reduced in both Catalan and French TTs. Furthermore, there is a tendency in both TTs to replace the 1st person plural reference in requests with imperative constructions or other conventional but more indirect constructions. That is, both TTs sacrifice features of character portrayal to the rendering of speech acts in somewhat conventional terms. In other contexts, however, Doris' typical speech style in terms of pronoun choice is kept in the translations.

Judgements of normality elicited by Doris' psychological jargon

The thematisation of emotions is another prominent feature of Doris' speech style. As stated earlier, such an explicit thematisation is rare in everyday contexts, but is frequent in the speech of psychologists like Doris. In Doris' speech, the thematisation of emotions co-occurs with other instances of scientific jargon from her profession, so their translation will be treated simultaneously.

The symbolic (lexical) encoding (or 'Thematisierung', Fiehler 1990) of emotions may be regarded as one pole in a continuum of forms of representation of emotions, with symptomatic representations (or 'Ausdruck', Fiehler 1990) as manifested in the use of interjections, modal particles and so on, situated closer to the other end of the continuum.

As suggested by Fries (2008), in German literary texts, the explicit thematisation of emotions is more likely to occur in descriptive text passages than in non-descriptive ones.[187] It is thus reasonable to assume that the thematisation of emotions in the speech of psychologists also takes on a descriptive and explicitating value, thereby deliberately drawing not only the diegetic interlocutor's but also the viewer's attention to the emotion under consideration. Furthermore, explicit thematisation may help to specify the meaning of accompanying nonverbal emotional expressions.

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[187] In addition, 'thematisation' is more likely to occur in the graphical code "wenn entsprechende Bedeutungsaspekte im *code phonique* über prosodische Variation kodiert würden und diese nur schwierig durch (ortho)graphische Variationen ausdrückbar/präsentierbar sind" (Fries 2009: 51f., italics in the original).

Catalan

When it comes to the translation of both emotions and other instances of the technical language of psychology and similar professions as found in Doris' speech in the Catalan TT, we can point to the following.

Firstly, there is a slight tendency to translate nominally or adjectivally expressed emotional or evaluative lexis with verbal lexis in Catalan. However, it should be said that the latter is not confined to Doris' speech. This tendency can be illustrated using the following example taken from the previously mentioned 'ritual scene' in which Doris describes her own fears:

ger. [Doris:] *Ich habe Angst, dass ich Metin nicht glücklich machen kann... auch sexuell.*

cat. [Doris:] *Tinc por de no satisfer en Metin… sexualment.*

As we can see from the example, there are two translation shifts with regard to lexicalised affect expressed in the second part of the utterance. The first shift affects word class encoding. The German pattern, made up of a support verb and adjective (ger. *glücklich machen*), is changed into a verbal lexical expression of emotion (cat. *satisfer*). The second shift is a semantic one, leading to a change within the appraisal subcategory of affect (from the encoding of 'happiness' [+hap] to 'satisfaction' [+sat]), but without affecting the valence of the emotions. In her discussion of the translation of emotive adjectives from an English literary text into Spanish and Catalan, Andújar Moreno (2009) discussed the possibility of rendering the adjective eng. *happy* (roughly equivalent to ger. *glücklich*), which is more polysemous than its close cognates in other European languages, via target language lexemes indicating states of satisfaction. According to the author, these solutions "se inscriben en una misma representación semántica básica, ya que son ambas experiencias derivadas de la realización de los deseos y proyectos [...]" (Andújar Moreno 2009: 170). Most importantly, the author also cites Marina (1998), who proposed such a shared basic semantic representation for (nominal) lexemes from several European languages, including eng. *happiness*, cat. *content* and ger. *Glück* as the nominal basis for the above mentioned adjective *glücklich*. It is suggested that: "Todas estas palabras tienen en común que mencionan un estado de satisfacción producido por la consecución de alguna meta o la experiencia de algún placer" (Marina 1998, quoted by Andújar Moreno 2009: 170).[188] Therefore, ger. *glücklich* and Catalan lexical items encoding 'satisfaction' may be conceived of as close cognates with a shared basic representation. In addition, it might be said that the specific context in which *glücklich* (*machen*) is used here – first referring to happiness in a general manner, which is then specified as also alluding to a positive sexual emotion – clearly favours the use of a lexical item denoting a state of satisfaction able to allude to both contexts in the TT. The shared basic representation then seems to allow for similar judgements of Doris in terms of normality – with Doris bringing up a topic related to her own sexuality in front of her teenage children ([-norm]).

Such negative judgements of normality that are likely to be prompted in the viewer correspond with character judgements implicitly expressed by the remaining characters' emotional reactions. Given that judgements are often the eliciting conditions of emotions (Feng 2012), the expression of character emotion in resultant verbal or material actions may present an indirect clue to character judgement. In the present scene, both Lena and Nils react with disgust to their mother's sexually-connoted revelation:

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[188] Unfortunately, Melčuk and Wanner (1996), who provide the semantic descriptions and collocational patterns of several German emotion terms, do not refer to the term ger. *Glück*.

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ger. [Lena and Nils:] *Oh boah!* [Lena:] *Das ist echt eklig!*

cat. [Nils:] *Aor.* [Lena:] *Oh, Mamà!* [Nils:] *Quin fàstic!*

Here, the emotion of disgust is redundantly coded (for instance, both verbally through signals such as the disgust-expressing interjection ger. (*oh*) *boah*, explicit and intensified thematisation of disgust as ger. *echt eklig* and nonverbally in the ST). The Catalan TT replicates Nils' (but not necessarily Lena's) display of disgust by means of the interjection cat. *aor* as well as the explicit thematisation of the emotion and the attached intensification.[189] Given the high degree of oddness in Doris' behaviour and the fact that the teenagers' emotional reaction to it is easily recoverable, judgement of Doris in terms of normality is not affected in the Catalan TT.

French

Explicit thematisation of emotions is also at stake in Doris' discourse in the French TT. However, we found no semantic shifts in the passages already analysed above with regard to the Catalan TT. The passage in which Doris expresses her fear of not being able to satisfy Metin in their relationship reads as follows in the ST and in the French TT:

ger. [Doris:] *Ich habe Angst, dass ich Metin nicht glücklich machen kann... auch sexuell.*

fr. [Doris:] *Ah. J'ai peur de ne pas réussir à rendre Metin heureux… par exemple sexuellement.*

The relative absence of translation shifts here is in line with Munday's (2012) observation that an inscribed (that is, thematised) attitude seems to be less prone to translation shifts than a more indirectly conveyed one.

Given that the content of Doris' utterance is also preserved – she openly speaks about her sex life in front of her children – the judgements of Doris in terms of normality triggered in the target audience are likely to be fairly similar to those triggered in the source audience. Again, Lena's and Nils' disgusting reactions to their mother's revelations about her sex life are not fully reproduced (that is, thematised) in the French TT. Consider:

ger. [Lena and Nils:] *Oh boah!* [Lena:] *Das ist echt eklig!*

fr. [Lena and Nils:] *Pouah, Maman! Pouah, c'est pas vrai!*

Here, a display of disgust is evoked (but not thematised) by the initial interjection fr. *pouah*[190], which prosodically and lip-synchronically comes close to the interjection used in the ST. However, the French TT omits the explicit thematisation of the emotion and the intensification. Then, the passage lends itself easily to 'implicitation'[191] for several reasons. Firstly, during the first part of the above passage, only Nils, and not Lena, is shown on screen. Accordingly, and in line with the purposes of lip-synchronisation, the TT only reproduces Nils' (but not Lena's) display of disgust by means of a somewhat similar TT interjection. During the second part of the passage, Lena, now on screen, reacts by turning her head away and standing up, so that matters of lip-synchronisation and utterance length are no longer important. Secondly, as already pointed out when discussing the German ST at greater length, short interjections may communicate 'affect bursts' more effectively than longer sentences, even if the latter also exhibit an emotion-specific prosody (Banse and Scherer 1996). From this perspective, the decision to carry over the interjection in Nils' discourse becomes even more understandable. Thirdly, as Banse and Scherer (1996) also suggested, visual clues are an even better indicator of

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[189] In the Catalan TT, intensification is mainly conveyed through the exclamation.

[190] According to the Larousse dictionary, the interjection fr. *pouah* "[e]xprime le dégoût" (pouah n.d.).

[191] See section 4.11 for this term.

disgust than are verbal ones. Nils' lip-rounding and Lena's turning-head-away-from-camera-movement are very reliable visual indicators of disgust in this regard.[192]

Judgements of Doris' in terms of capacity

As discussed in section 4.8, another principal type of judgement invited by the Doris character is evaluation in terms of capacity. It is above all Doris' ability as a housewife that is judged either positively or negatively in this regard.

Compliments are then one principal source for expressing favourable character judgements. There is a limited set of lexical items (adjectives with positive polarity, verbs of liking, intensifiers, and so on) likely to be found in such acts (Wolfson and Manes 1980). The latter may not only foster better overall recognition of complimenting speech acts on the part of the viewer, but may also potentially simplify the task of the translator when similar choices of inscribed positive appraisal and up-scaled force are likely to be available in the target language.

Catalan

We now turn to the translation of judgements passed on Doris in terms of capacity in the Catalan version of *TfA*.

The first time Doris is complimented for her alleged cooking skills in *TfA* is in the passage in which she has bought a turkey that she wants to prepare for dinner (starting at 15.15 minutes into the pilot episode). After Nils' proud revelation of Doris' determination to cook and Lena's plea that she must not do so, emphasis is shifted to Metin, who appears on the scene. Metin, impressed by Doris' insider knowledge about how to prepare a turkey, pays Doris a compliment accompanied by a thumbs-up gesture:

ger. [Metin:] *Doris, wow!*

cat. [Metin:] *Sí, dona i tant!*

Verbally, in the German ST, the compliment is thus conveyed by an interjection of English origin signalling admiration ([+cap]). In this example, the nonverbal code (the emblematic thumbs-up gesture) unambiguously expresses the positive quality of the accompanied verbal judgement. The TT is free to opt for or against an explicit encoding of this meaning component in the verbal code. Thus, the Catalan translation opts to verbally encode Metin's agreement with Doris, further reinforcing it with the affirmative interjection cat. *i tant,* which "communicate[s] emphatic affirmation, agreement with or confirmation of an idea just expressed [...]" (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 453). The positiveness of the judgement is thus redundantly coded. Because the compliment response is not conveyed linguistically, it is not discussed here.

During the subsequent dinner, shown in one of the next scenes (starting at 15.58 in the episode), Doris receives some additional compliments, some of which, however, are not sincere. The first is given by her son Nils, who was enthusiastic about Doris' decision to prepare the dinner earlier. He now starts praising the meal by saying:

ger. [Nils:] *Oh, Mama, das schmeckt total lecker!*

cat. [Nils:] *Mamà, t'ha quedat boníssim!*

As we can see, the German ST features a direct compliment, with the evaluation expressed by the adjective ger. *lecker* and the intensifier ger. *total*, the latter being even more intensified by the prosodic pattern of vowel lengthening ([+for]). Moreover, the compliment is fronted by the interjection *oh*, frequently used in German compliments about food where it can, for example, come to express surprise and admiration (Golato

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[192] See Atkinson et al. (2004: 724), and Magno Caldognetto et al. (2004: 182).

2005), and a vocative. In German, Doris' cooking ability is not directly praised; instead, it is the good quality of her food that is supposed to win Nils' accolades ([+reac: qua]). The Catalan TT has omitted the interjection but preserved the vocative. As in German, we are concerned with a direct compliment, with a lexically expressed and up-scaled evaluation, as encoded in the superlative form of the adjective. However, the TT diverges from the ST with regard to the compliment topic: The resultative construction featuring the resultative verb cat. *quedar* focuses on the outcome of the meal preparation process, thereby somewhat stressing the process itself and Doris' active role therein ([+cap]).

In the compliment response move, the translator compensated for the omission of the German interjection *oh* expressing surprise in the first move by inserting a verb denoting the same concept in the second move:

ger. ([Nils:] *Oh, Mama, das schmeckt total lecker!*) [Doris:] *Schmeckt es das nich' immer?*

cat. ([Nils:] *Mamà, t'ha quedat boníssim!*) [Doris:] *Que et soprèn, o què?*

That is, when considering only the expressed emotion, the symptomatic encoding (or Fiehler's 1990 'Ausdruck') in the form of an interjection in the ST shifts to a lexical encoding (or Fiehler's 1990 'Thematisierung') in the TT.

As stated earlier, in the present case, the German interjection ger. *oh* is likely to not only signal surprise, but also the immediacy of the expressed emotion (some kind of emotional outburst taking place in the here and now of the communicative situation). This notion of immediacy is suppressed when the TT shifts to the thematisation of the emotion in the second move. Given that the Catalan language is able to express (positive) surprise by means of interjections such as cat. *ah* and *oh*[193] and issues of lip synchronisation would also favour the latter, the question of why the TT did not do so remains.[194] We would suggest that the non-canonical nature of the second move, that is the German compliment response, might have caused some difficulties for the translator.

More precisely, the German ST expresses an indirect compliment acceptance in question form. Therefore, a discursive frame shift as one of the possibilities for reacting to compliments seems to take place (shifting the frame towards a more general level pointing to the supposed generally good quality of Doris' meals). As Marandin (1986) pointed out, such frame shifts are likely to situate the response as a mixed response type or 'in-between' category between acceptance and rejection. This is indeed what we, following Golato's (2011) observation that mixed response types often occur in reaction to German *oh*-prefaced compliments, proposed earlier for the present case. The fronting of the expressive interjection might thus be highly significant in terms of constraints imposed on the second move. In this regard, we might refer to a French example of a second move provided by Marandin (1986: 84, italics in the original) which comes very close to the German compliment response under consideration: (A: *Tu est très élégante ce soir.*) – (B: *Pourquoi je ne suis pas élégante tous les soirs?*) According to the author, it is not the usual thematic or evaluative shift characterising frame shifts in compliment responses that is at stake here. Instead, the compliment response shifts the frame to a kind of metatextual level in which "B présente E1 [the first move, S.F.] comme ce que veut dire A et lui en demande raison" (Marandin 1986: 89). This is due to the presence

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[193] See Cuenca (2011), who gives a somewhat extensive list of Catalan expressive interjections conveying surprise and admiration including cat. *ah* and *oh*. These polysemous interjections are among the most frequent interjections of the Catalan language.

[194] See also Matamala (2007) with regard to the translation of the interjection *oh* in a corpus of English sitcoms dubbed into Catalan.

of a certain element in the first move triggering a particular interference in the second speaker (B): "[Q]uand une évaluation est spécifiée par un adverbial référant à un moment de l'énonciation, il semble qu'on puisse inférer quèlle n'était pas valide auparavant" (Marandin 1986: 89). Returning to our German example, the interjection ger. *oh* in the first move situates Nils' positive evaluation of Doris' meal as an immediate reaction occurring in the moment of speaking and conveys a nuance of counter-expectation (or surprise). The first move can thus be interpreted by Doris as indirectly expressing an evaluation that is merely valid in the moment of speech, and which she can therefore challenge metalinguistically. By indirectly suggesting that her cooking activities always lead to the good quality of the meal, Doris then gives a mixed response, coupling the German cultural preference for compliment acceptance with a slightly self-praising nuance. However, the response pattern becomes even more complicated. According to Marandin (1986), such a compliment response is likely to constrain the way the interlocutor (A) might respond in a third move, either by interpreting it as a playful comment or, alternatively, as a polemic issue. In the present case, there is no third move by Nils, and Doris' smiling face accompanying the compliment response might be interpreted nonverbally as either pointing to the playful frame of her response or to Doris' pleased acceptance of Nils' compliment. To put it differently, the German compliment response move, far from featuring a simple and direct compliment acceptance, renders the compliment pattern very complicated. We would argue that the latter, rather than allegedly different cultural preferences for compliment responses,[195] is likely to be at the root of the shift in the Catalan TT. This points to a decision guided by extradiegetic concerns; that is, the translator's decision to shun the indirectness of the ST and to change it into a pattern that is easier for the TT's viewers to interpret. Thus, the direct thematisation of Nils' surprise in the TT makes Doris' inference of some kind of counter-expectation inherent in Nils' thoughts more explicit for the Catalan viewer. At the same time, the focus on Nils' emotional reaction directs attention away from the supposed general tastefulness of Doris' food as conveyed in the German ST. In this way, notions of self-praise are also reduced in the TT. Furthermore, the challenging or polemic potential inherent in the German ST is also attenuated in Catalan by the use of the mitigating device cat. *o què* in question-final position. As stated by Vann (2009: 169), this expression reduces the face-threatening potential of an utterance and "ostensively communicates the speaker's lack of a presupposition concerning a preferred positive response". That is, the pragmatic effect of the compliment response in the TT is slightly shifted away from a potentially polemic interpretation.

Even if the compliment sequence is formally finished at this point, it actually forms part of a larger sequence. Therefore, the subsequently expressed nonverbal behaviour of Doris' and Metin's children actually points to a negative evaluation of Doris' food.[196] Moreover, Metin's subsequent move is then related to the previous compliment's theme: As Nils did previously, he also expresses his surprise about Doris' food and her alleged expertise and skill in cooking by uttering:

ger. [Metin:] *Ich dachte, du kannst nich' kochen.*

cat. [Metin:] *Deies que no sabies cuinar...*

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[195] Given that literature on Catalan compliments is virtually non-existent, this claim is tentative. However, with regard to compliment patterns by Spanish students, Lorenzo-Dus (2001) suggested that, while there is a tendency to avoid self-praise concerning topics such as the speaker's talent or intelligence, Spanish compliment responses often occur in a jocular frame. In the latter case, they might have a slightly self-praising slant.

[196] In other words, Nils' compliment was a kind of white lie, uttered with the intention to please Doris.

As discussed in section 4.8, the German expression *ich dachte* might be employed similarly to the eng. *I thought* in the form of a present-discourse marker "indicating contrasts of opinion and assessments" (Rühlemann 2007: 138). Thus, the present utterance featuring ger. *ich dachte* thematises the content of an earlier assessment or opinion in contrast to the present one and, moreover, situates this assessment in the epistemic realm. In terms of the appraisal theoretical category of engagement, we would speak of an assessment that originates in the speaker's own thought processes ([entertain]), which is shifted to a slightly more heteroglossic assessment with evidence quoted from the interlocutor's speech ([endorse]) in Catalan. In addition, the sender–recipient relationship is strengthened in Catalan (as indicated by the shift from the 1st person singular form in the ST to the 2nd person singular form in the TT). How might this complex shift be explained? It seems likely that there is a lack of an analogous Romance form for the German present-discourse marker construction ger. *ich dachte* (or eng. *I thought*). Note that, formally, the present German construction introduced by ger. *ich dachte* comes very close to utterances expressing reported thought: These may also be introduced by verbs of thinking in the past tense and, especially in the spoken variety, the finite verb form used in the reported thought proper may also appear in the indicative mood.[197] Seen in the latter light, the TT's transfer of the utterance into a reported speech construction is less surprising, even if the present reference expressing contrast of opinion in German is lost. However, it would be lost anyway because of the shifting emphasis from the sender to the recipient of the message, which can be linked to a general preference in Romance languages (Nord 2007: 181 with regard to French and Spanish, and in contrast to German). Thus, while there may be some underlying condition explaining the shift from 1st person to 2nd person reference in the TT, there is still a need to explain the transfer from (supposed) thought act to speech act in the TT. Here, it is illustrative to refer to Martínez (2004), who pointed out that a certain construction including the English verb *think* is often dubbed using forms of the Catalan verb *dir* because of the coincidence of English *th* (and *i*) with Catalan *d* (and *i*). A corresponding translation strategy may have been at work when the translator opted for forms of the verb cat. *dir* instead of *pensar* or similar forms to translate ger. *denken* with purposes of lip synchronisation in mind.

After Metin's comment on Doris' cooking competence, Lena challenges this competence in her next move:

(ger. [Metin:] *Ich dachte, du kannst nich' kochen.*) [Lena:] *Kann sie auch nicht.*

(cat. [Metin:] *Deies que no sabies cuinar...*) [Lena:] *És que no en sap.*

Lena's reply not only implies a derogatory judgement of capacity passed on Doris ([-cap]), but may also express a high degree of impoliteness, since Lena gives a short and unmitigated assessment, speaking about a present person by using a 3rd person reference.[198] The Catalan translation closely conforms to the source text patterns here, the only exception being the addition of the initial modal marker cat. *és que*. According to Marín and Cuenca (2012), this modal marker has several functions, including the introduction of justifications and the attenuation or reduction of the assertiveness of an utterance for reasons of politeness. However, apart from these central functions, the authors also pointed to an emphatic use of the modal: "En aquests casos, *és que* indica generalment èmfasi i introdueix un argument coorientat amb l'argument anterior i que

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[197] The use of the subjective mood ('Konjunktiv') in the subordinate clause of German reported speech or thought is largely confined to the written language, albeit the use of the indicative mood is also gaining ground in writing (see Günthner 2000b).

[198] As described earlier, Lena also avoids establishing eye-contact with Doris, and looks at Metin after having finished her turn.

es presenta com a més fort respecte a la conclusió a què es vol menar el receptor" (Marín and Cuenca 2012: 79, italics in the original). As the authors further pointed out, such emphatic uses frequently occur when cat. *és que* appears in initial position, and the speaker "es fa eco de la intervenció prèvia del seu interlocutor" (Marín and Cuenca 2012: 80, italics in the original). It becomes evident that this description closely matches the case at hand. The Catalan translation of this clause is thus characterised by an added element of emphasis ([+for]).

Doris then responds with an objection containing a challenge to her daughter's judgement of competence concerning her own (cooking) activities:

ger. [Doris:] *Du kennst mich gar nich', Gürkchen.*

cat. [Doris:] *Tu no em coneixes, cuca.*

When treating this sequence in section 4.8, we suggested, following Spitz (2005), that this challenging move not only enables Doris to express a negative judgement about Lena's competence to judge, but also to show her own expertise and, moreover, to cast doubt on the target of Lena's judgement (her own cooking competence). Therefore, the statement is uttered with determination, and is only slightly mitigated by the term of endearment at the end. The Catalan TT adheres closely to this pattern.

Lena's response to the competence challenge is a mixture of giving in and opposing the challenge:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, dann hab' ich mir die sechzehn Jahre Fastfood wohl nur eingebildet. Entschuldige bitte!*

cat. [Lena:] *Ah, els setze anys de menjar ràpid deuen ser imaginacions. Perdona, mamà!*

Not only the in-between nature of the response, but also the attached ironic slant may pose some difficulties in translation. As we can see, the Catalan translator achieves a certain measure of equivalence when it comes to translating the epistemic and hyperbolic quality of the subsequent sentence part. Thus, on one hand, both the inferential meaning and the rather high factuality of the utterance (expressed by ger. *dann... wohl*) are aptly conveyed by the verb cat. *deure*. The Catalan periphrastic *deure* usually appears in 3rd person singular (or plural) form followed by an infinitive, and conveys "an epistemic interpretation of possibility" (González 2011: 146). It "has a primary inferential meaning" (González 2011: 161), with evidence for the inferential processes taken from the speaker's own reasoning process. The latter involves making "a judgement, an evaluation of facts" (González 2011: 151). As with its German counterpart, the sentence featuring cat. *deure* could thus be said to express some kind of evaluation, and may be categorised as expressing the heteroglossic engagement subcategory of entertain ([entertain]). Therefore, even if it appears to be an impersonal construction, the Catalan periphrastic *deure* is likely to express a speaker's subjective stance ("convey[ing] a given personal interpretation of the information being told", González 2011: 169). As in German, it thus anchors the evaluation in a certain personal realm.

On the other hand, the hyperbolic quality of the German ST (ger. *die sechzehn Jahre Fastfood*) has been preserved in the TT (cat. *els setze anys de menjar ràpid*). The latter is important, not only because Lena's characterisation crucially depends, among other things, on her hyperbolic speech style. It is also important because hyperboles are reliable clues to (verbal) irony (Colston and Keller 1998; Kreuz and Roberts 1995). The ironic slant of the sequence is simultaneously conveyed nonverbally (see section 4.8). Moreover, Doris' smile in response to Lena's remark further conveys that she did not, in fact, take Lena's remark at face value.

Returning to compliments as conveying positive judgements of competence passed on Doris, we can also point to the passage starting at 17.06 minutes into the pilot episode. In this scene, Doris reveals to Lena that she has made the decision to work part-time in order to have more time to do the housework. In a follow-up move, Doris then seeks to direct Lena's attention to the results of her cooking activities, both by gazing and pointing to the cakes on the table and by praising herself in a kind of self-compliment:

ger. [Doris:] *Guck' mal, ich werd' besser. Kuchenevolution.*
cat. [Doris:] *Mira quins pastissos, ja milloro.*

As pointed out earlier, compliments, including compliment responses, usually seek to strike a balance between the complimentee's agreement with the favourable assessment (usually made by another person) and the avoidance of self-praise. In self-compliments, where complementer and complementee are the same person, self-praise necessarily takes place. However, this may be attenuated to a certain degree. Here, in the direct praise of her growing competence in baking, Doris resorts to a comparative instead of a superlative adjective accompanying the finite verb in German (ger. *ich werd' besser,* [+cap]), thereby lauding the progression rather than the perfection of her skills. The same nuance of progression is conveyed by the second part of her utterance, in which she hyperbolically refers to (the outcome of) her baking as ger. *Kuchenevolution.* In German, the designation of such a progression in somewhat mundane contexts via a Latinism is likely to be a more marked choice than it would be in Romance languages, where most of the vocabulary is of Latin origin. In the given context, the use of the term then seems to serve several functions. Firstly, it again contributes to the characterisation of Doris as an educated person prone to using her psychological or scientific jargon in everyday contexts. This may indirectly elicit judgements of normality ([-norm]). Secondly, as stated above, the unusual expression used in combination with ger. *Kuchen-* in a rather mundane context may be taken as a bold overstatement ([+for]). Note that the overstatement is not directed at Doris' baking activity itself – which norms for self-praise avoidance may rule out – but at the outcome of her baking attempts.[199] The overstatement is even more marked when the subsequent visuals actually show some rather burnt and apparently very hard cakes that can only be cut by using a big electric knife. Thus, the oddity of the overstatement clearly also serves the sitcom's humorous purposes. This extradiegetic level of meaning making is certainly the ultimate reason for using the hyperbolic expression in the German ST, with the visuals further contributing to conveying the ridiculousness of the situation.

The Catalan TT also renders the notion of attenuated self-praise attached to the verb indicating progression (cat. *milloro*). Note that the translator has added the temporal adverb cat. *ja.* It is worth pointing out that cat. *ja* – whether as an adverb or as a modal particle – is often added in the translation from German into Catalan in our corpus. As proposed by Torrent (2011) with regard to the modal *ja,* this quite common device often passes unnoticed in linguistic research. While essentially signalling that "an event has or will have taken place" (Torrent 2011: 98), the adverb cat. *ja* also involves a notion of counter-expectation. Referring to the example cat. *Ja tinc pis. El vaig comprar ahir,* Espinal and McNally (2009), proposed that

> the adverb *ja* 'already' implies the information that the speaker has an apartment sooner than might have been expected [...], indicating that this discourse must be added to a common ground in which some discussion of an apartment has already taken place [...]

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[199] That is to say that the positive evaluation should be categorised as appreciation ([+val]) rather than judgement.

> – in other words, the discourse topic is more the apartment search and purchase than the apartment itself (Espinal and McNally 2009: 10, italics in the original).

A close analogy with the example from our corpus can be made: Here, Doris signals that her baking competence is becoming better, and this sooner than expected. This is likely to establish the discourse around her baking, cooking and housework as common ground – or as a discourse topic to which reference has indeed been made earlier in the episode and in the co-text – and which shifts the focus towards Doris' activities and skill development, rather than the outcome thereof. The latter is perhaps the reason that the Catalan TT omits the last part of the prominent hyperbolic expression – alluding to the outcome of Doris' baking – altogether. The reference to the cakes expressed in the first part of the German hyperbolic expression, then appears in a different place in Catalan: It completes the imperative that, as in the German ST, is accompanied by nonverbal deictics, and seeks to draw Lena's attention to the cakes. In other words, verbal-visual coherence is largely maintained.

The modification of the passage's structure in the Catalan TT thus seems likely to be guided by the purpose of achieving greater naturalness (by adding the adverb cat. *ja*). While the shifts do not significantly alter the propositional (ideational) content of the utterance and the verbal-visual coherence of the sequence, they affect the extradiegetic level of communication in two respects: First, the characterisation of Doris in terms of her situationally inappropriate register is lost. Second, the oddity of the hyperbolic expression sets up a humorous frame in the ST, which continues to be conveyed in the visuals in the TT, but appears to be somewhat mitigated without the verbal hyperbole.

When speaking about judgements of Doris in terms of competence, we can also point to the continuation of the scene in which Metin positively evaluates Doris' cakes and her baking activities. This compliment is also carried over to the Catalan TT (ger. [Metin:] *Toll!*, cat. [Metin:] *Oh, caram!*).[200] The harmonious situation between Metin at the breakfast table and Doris acting as a housewife and serving him food in the remainder of the scene is also judged unfavourably by Lena. However, given that this judgement is carried out nonverbally, it is not subjected to change in interlingual translation.

French

Judgements of Doris in terms of her capacity as a housewife are also elicited in the French TT. As before, we start by discussing passages in which several characters judge Doris' capacity as a housewife in positive terms.

The first passage to consider starts at 15.15 minutes into the pilot episode. At the beginning of the scene, Doris' decision to cook the dinner has been revealed. After Nils has shown support and Lena has shown opposition to Doris' plans, Metin expresses his admiration for Doris and her alleged cooking competence by means of a thumbs-up gesture accompanied by the compliment ger. [Metin:] *Doris, wow!* which is replicated without any changes in the French TT.

In one of the next scenes (starting at 15.58 into the episode), we see how the family at the dinner table actually receives Doris' meal. Again, Doris receives some compliments on her cooking ability:

ger. [Nils:] *Oh, Mama, das schmeckt total lecker!*
fr. [Nils:] *Maman, c'était superbon!*

Here, the ST utterance features explicit lexical items such as positive-polarity adjectives and intensifiers typical of compliment acts, and it thus comes as no surprise that the

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[200] See the following entry for cat. *carall* as equivalent to *caram* in the Diccionari de la llengua catalana: "interj. […] vulg. Expressió usada per a denotar estranyesa, admiració, enuig" (carall n.d.).

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French TT largely conforms to these patterns, too.[201] However, as in Catalan, the surprise-indicating interjection ger. *oh* is omitted in translation.[202] Doris then reacts by means of an interrogative compliment response that is between acceptance and rejection:

ger. [Doris:] *Schmeckt es das nich' im*mer?

fr. [Doris:] *D'habitude, c'est pas bon?*

Doris is likely to interpret Nils' turn as indirectly expressing an evaluation that is only valid in the immediate speech situation, and challenges it metalinguistically. As discussed previously with regard to the Catalan TT, such a complex pattern of compliment response is also possible in French (Marandin 1986). The latter, as well as the correspondence with Doris' visual reaction,[203] might be the reason that extremely few changes have been introduced in the translation.

This, however, cannot be said for the subsequent turn involving a compliment, which has been completely reworked in translation:

ger. [Metin:] *Ich dachte du kannst nich' kochen*. [Lena:] *Kann sie auch nicht.*

fr. [Metin:] *Tu cuisines comme une déesse*. [Lena:] *Ça, c'est nouveau.*

The compliment in the German ST – if recognisable as such at all – is clearly an indirect one: "Ein indirektes Kompliment [...] kann unterschiedliche Formen annehmen: So können z.B. Fragen oder Bemerkungen, die auf den Komplimentgegenstand hinweisen, selbst als Kompliment fungieren" (Probst 2003: 216f.). The French TT, however, makes the compliment act more obvious by turning it into a direct one, and adding an element of graduation by means of a conventional hyperbole ([+cap] [+for]).[204]

Given the ST's and the TT's different composition of the compliment act, the second pair part of the turn is also reworked in translation. Whereas in German Lena expresses her disagreement with Metin's prior remark about Doris' cooking abilities by denying it, in French, Lena disagrees by means of a metalinguistic commentary on Metin's remark itself. When assessed in terms of politeness, the French TT is more polite, since Lena no longer speaks about a present person employing a 3rd person reference. Instead, the current interlocutor (Metin) and his remark becomes the target of Lena's comment.

Doris now intervenes in the conversation, casting doubt on Lena's competence to judge:

ger. [Doris:] *Du kennst mich gar nich', Gürkchen.*

fr. [Doris:] *Tu me connais pas encore, mon chérie.*

The French TT here closely follows the German ST, with the exception that, in the TT, the adverb fr. *encore* is added. That is, the ST's allusion to the lack of intimate knowledge between mother and daughter is somewhat attenuated, with Doris just pointing out that such a state has not yet been reached. Note that, as in the German ST, the French TT also features a term of endearment at the end, added with a wink and thus somewhat mitigating Doris' slightly challenging move.

Lena's reaction is a kind of concessive move:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, dann hab' ich mir die sechzehn Jahre Fastfood wohl nur eingebildet. Entschuldige bitte!*

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[201] Probst (2003) found that both German and French frequently employ positive polarity adjectives in direct compliment acts.

[202] And in contrast to the Catalan TT, Nils' feeling of surprise is not thematised in the next move either.

[203] As stated earlier, the reactive move to the compliment response could be a playful one, and Doris smiling facial expression might be interpreted in this way.

[204] See Norrick (2004) with regard to the characterisation of comparisons with God as hyperboles and extreme case formulations.

fr. [Lena:] *Oh, alors, peut-être que ces seize années de fast food, je les ai inventé. Je demande pardon.*

As already discussed with regard to the Catalan TT, in this passage the difficulty for the translator lies not so much in the translation of evaluation-loaded items such as the surprise-expressing initial interjection or the hyperbole typical of Lena's speech style, but in that of the modal elements (ger. *wohl*). It is well known that French is not particularly prone to expressing (epistemic) modality in this way, so that modal particles are often simply omitted in translation. A case in point is utterances similar to the above: "In Assertionen, die aber als Vergewisserungsfragen zu verstehen sind, kommt dieses [die Weglassung von *wohl* in französischen Übersetzungen, S.F.] oft vor [...]" (Dalmas 1989: 237). In addition, another shift in translation is the topicalisation of the hyperbole, thereby giving further prominence to this item.

The evaluation of Doris in terms of capacity is equally essential in the scenes we now consider. In a scene starting at about 17 minutes into the pilot episode, Doris talks to Lena about her decision to work part-time and to do the household chores. She then directs Lena's attention to some cakes as the outcome of her baking activities:

ger. [Doris:] *Guck' mal, ich werd' besser. Kuchenevolution.*

fr. [Doris:] *Je suis en plein progrès, regarde l'évolution des gâteaux.*

Doris thus somewhat compliments herself on her progress in baking, and this sense of self-compliment is also present in the French TT. The French TT replicates much of the semantic features of the German text: It downplays the self-praise by lauding the progression rather than the perfection of Doris' skills, and the evaluation ultimately has the cakes as the outcome of Doris' baking as its target. Thus, the French TT differs only slightly from the ST in that the attention-getting expression is moved from the beginning to the second part of the utterance. Furthermore, as in Catalan, the choice of the lexical item fr. *évolution*, the closest cognate to the Latinism ger. *Evolution* used in the ST, is a less marked choice than it is in German. Therefore, both the judgements of normality likely to be elicited by the contrast between Doris' scientific jargon and the mundane context as well as the hyperbolic value of the item appear to be somewhat mitigated in the French version. However, at least with regard to the latter, the visuals showing a burnt cake, which is subsequently cut by Doris with an enormous electrical knife, somewhat make up for the mitigation in the verbal code.

Later in this scene Metin pays another compliment on Doris' cakes and her baking activities: (ger. [Metin:] *Toll!*, fr. [Metin:] *Fabuleux!*). Such an instance of inscribed evaluation ([+reac: qua]) is easily carried over to the French TT. As an important source of humour, the contrast between Metin's compliment and the actual bad quality of the cakes conveyed by the visuals is thus again preserved. Lena's further negative judgements of the housewifely qualities of her mother are nonverbal ones, and are thus not relevant in our discussion of the translations.

b) Judgements of Nils in translation

Judgements of Lena's brother Nils are often made in terms of (lack of) tenacity, since one of Nils' most striking traits is his conformist nature, with him seeking to please almost everyone. The latter is especially true with regard to his mother, whose decision to create a patchwork family the teenage boy strongly supports. Furthermore, even when Nils shows some determination in his action, his affectionate and harmony-seeking side ultimately comes to the fore. Therefore, displays of affect and proximity frequently accompany passages featuring judgements of Nils in terms of tenacity.

When it comes to the speech acts in which judgements are expressed and from which they are elicited in the viewer, in the interaction between Nils and Lena – at least in the pilot episode – accusations/reproaches and requests abound.

The following discussion of the translation of judgements in the pilot episode of *TfA* therefore revolves around these topics. As above, we start with the Catalan translation.

Judgements of Nils in terms of tenacity

Catalan

Nils' lack of tenacity is the first topic in the passage we have already discussed above with regard to the German ST. The passage under discussion revolves around Doris' decision to moving with Metin, which has just been revealed to Lena, but which was known by Nils beforehand. In the first move after the opening credits, Lena summarises this situation in a question directed at Nils with a bit of surprise and indignation:

ger. [Lena:] *Sie hat dir erzählt, dass sie mit einer fremden Familie zusammenzieh'n will... und was hast du gesagt?*

cat. [Lena:] *Tu ja ho sabies que se'n volia anar a viure amb uns desconeguts, i no li vas dir res?*

As we can see from the example, due to the shift from the 3rd to the 2nd person singular reference, the reproach, now directly targeted at Nils, is made more explicit in the Catalan TT. The same is true with regard to Lena's request for further information about the issue at the end of the utterance. The German ST employs a *wh*-question format asking for Nils' reaction to Doris' revelation. The utterance may thus be treated as an open information request focusing on what Nils said in response to Doris. However, the Catalan TT puts the utterance in the negative. As with the added temporal adverb cat. *ja* in the first part of the utterance, the negative formulation and the new polar question format in general add an element of counter-expectation not present in the German ST. In this regard, it is illuminating to refer to Rigau and Prieto (2005: 18), who provided an example somewhat similar to the example under consideration: cat. *(Que) no t'havien dit res? Doncs jo em pensava que ho sabies*. The authors call such a question type anti-expectational: "Anti-expectational questions are used when the facts or the situation do not agree with the speaker's expectations. They can convey an additional meaning of surprise and astonishment (and even incredulity) on the part of the speaker" (Rigau and Prieto 2005: 17). In our TT example, the new question format also changes the kind of information requested: It is no longer an open question, but assumes that Nils behaved in a certain way in response to Doris (that he did not challenge her, thus [-ten]). The negative question format thus conveys that Lena actually expected Nils to have done the opposite. The anti-expectational, surprise- and possibly incredulity-conveying overtones may have favoured the translator's decision in the construction.

Given the different kinds of information requested, Nils' responses in the ST and the TT necessarily differ. In German, he gives an account of his verbal response to Doris' revelation, reporting on his own words:

ger. [Nils:] *Ich hab' gesagt, wenn du ihn magst, dann find' ich das...*

cat. [Nils:] *Si a ella li agrada, què volies que…?*

In the German ST, Nils' own speech is thus rendered in a *wenn-dann* conditional sentence, interpreting Doris' decision as logical if she loves Metin. By presenting this statement as endorsed by himself (ger. *ich find'*), Nils takes firm responsibility for what he said.

In Catalan, in contrast, Nils does not give a primarily informative account, but signals by providing a kind of justification that he interpreted Lena's prior question as a

challenging one. Here, Nils is portrayed as weaker than he is in German, because responsibility is shifted more towards the interlocutor by asking what she would have expected ([-ten]). The latter shift may be interpreted in line with the general tendency towards more audience or recipient orientation in Catalan, as illustrated by the shift from 1st to 2nd person singular reference in the final part of the utterance. Like in German, the utterance is perfectly intelligible but not finished because Nils' account is interrupted by Lena. In both languages, the fact that Nils lets himself be interrupted without protest is likely to invite viewer judgement with regard to the boy's lack of tenacity ([-ten]).

In her next move, Lena again confirms this judgement of reduced tenacity, albeit with regard to Nils' failure to challenge Doris' point of view. Note that Lena's judgement is explicitly expressed ('inscribed') in the German text:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, Nils, du lässt dich immer breitquatschen! Mann, du bist dreizehn, du musst mal endlich so was wie 'nen eignen Charakter entwickeln!*

cat. [Lena:] *Sempre et deixes embolicar. Ja tens tretze anys, que no tens personalitat! Sempre et porten per on volen!*

In the ST, the verb ger. *breitquatschen lassen* alludes to Nils' passivity and lack of tenacity ([-ten]), which is up-scaled because it is presented in terms of the ECF ger. *immer* as a permanent behaviour ([+for]). Lena's demand to develop an independent personality (ger. *'nen eigenen Charakter entwickeln*), reinforced by ger. *endlich* ([+for]), implies that Nils does not yet have one, thus again indirectly pointing to his lack of tenacity ([-ten]). It should also be said that the fronted interjection ger. *oh*, which is multifunctional in German, is likely to acquire a negative interpretation in this context. One possible interpretation is that, as with the interjection ger. *Mann,* it conveys a heightened state of 'annoyance' (ger. *Ärger*, Schwarz-Friesel 2013: 156), as the high frequency energy with which Lena delivers the utterance suggests.

In the Catalan TT, the expressive interjections referring to Lena's emotional outburst are omitted. The second utterance is transformed into an almost bare assumption without modal verbs, so that the sense of accusation becomes stronger. Nils reply to Lena's direct challenge of his weak personality comes in the form of another justification. In the German ST, Nils signals his agreement with Lena's position, adding that he is trying to do something about his weakness:

ger. [Nils:] *Ja, ich… ich arbeite daran.*

cat. [Nils:] *Ah, què vols que et digui?*

Here, in the ST, both Nils' outright acknowledgement of the legitimacy of Lena's claim, the allusion to his personality development as a 'work in progress' and his hesitant speech style all invite further judgements in terms of reduced tenacity ([-ten]).

Then, in contrast to the Catalan TT, in the German ST, Nils at least takes some responsibility for his actions when he says he is actively developing his personality. In the Catalan TT, responsibility is once again shifted towards the interlocutor, when Nils asks what kind of response Lena would prefer to have from him. The shift from 1st to 2nd person singular reference and towards the interrogative format again represents a shift in the speaker-recipient relationship towards the latter. This strategy once more affects the characterisation of Nils, as his image as a person trying to please everyone is strengthened. The only thing working against this tendency to portray Nils as even more powerless in the Catalan TT is the omission of any signs of hesitant speech.

In summary, in the passage at hand, the Catalan translation portrays Lena as more powerful and Nils as less powerful and weaker than in the German ST. Thus far, the passages under consideration have mainly portrayed the Nils character in terms of reduced tenacity. However, as we will see in the following section, Nils is also able to

show some courage and tenacity in confronting Lena with the problems that she causes her mother. As discussed in section 4.8 with regard to German, judgements about Doris, Lena and Nils in these passages often appear in speech acts involving accusations/reproaches and even warnings/threats, countered by refusals and complaints on the part of Lena.

In the remainder of the passage discussed above, Lena signals her determination to scupper her mother's evening, as well as her entire relationship, and her plan to move in with Metin, and is stopped by Nils. 'Stopped' here has to be taken literally, because Nils physically prevents her from leaving the room. He then adds:

ger. [Nils:] *Mama wusste schon, warum sie's dir nicht sagt. Weil du immer nur an dich denkst.*

cat. [Nils:] *Saps per què no t'ho va dir? Perquè només penses a tu.*

Ideationally, Nils' move just reports on Doris' reflections before deciding not to tell Lena about her plans to move in with Metin. The first utterance featuring Doris' thought processes therefore pre-announces the reasons for Doris' decision given in the second one: Lena is regarded as not caring about people other than herself.

In the Catalan TT, ideationally, the overall topic is the same (giving the reason that Doris did not inform Lena about her plans to move beforehand), but the explicit anchoring in Doris' reasoning and reflection processes is lost. That is, the most striking change occurs in the first part, where the German 3rd person reference to the mother, Doris, is shifted to the 2nd person singular reference in the Catalan TT. The latter is, of course, due to a shift in interpersonal meaning that might be related to the previously mentioned overall preference for emphasising the speaker–recipient relationship in Romance languages. However, a closer look at this translation shift reveals some further shifts in interpersonal meaning taking place. Thus, when discussing the German example in section 4.8, we argued that it was delivered in a so-called emphatic speech style, involving paralinguistic features such as dense accentuation, accompanied by nonverbal clues such as beating gestures performed on the accentuated syllables. Together with further intonational clues (such as the stress on the verb in the first part of the move as a possible clue to reproach sequences in German), and linguistic clues such as the ECF ger. *immer (nur)* in the second part, these features contextualise the utterance as a reproachful act, and signal Nils' heightened involvement in it. Then, with the stress on the first verb and other emphatic clues, the reference to Doris' reflection and inference processes is no longer a neutral one, but one that is endorsed by Nils. In other words, according to Goffman (1981), Nils is not just an animator of Doris' words, but also takes on a kind of authorial role by endorsing them. The situational anchoring the accusation (with the accusation uttered in reaction to Lena's intention to leave the room in order to spoil her mother's evening and relationship), is also a clue to Nils' more active implication in these words. In fact, it might even be possible that he merely uses the reference to his mother to give authority to his argument, and that the conviction that Lena acts selfishly is in fact his own opinion rather than that of his mother. The German ST might thus be seen as having ambiguity between the two readings of the utterances in terms of originating from Doris' or Nils' minds.

Turning to the Catalan TT, the shift to the 2nd person singular reference (ger. *Mama wusste schon* versus cat. *saps*) somewhat attenuates the reference to Doris, so that the interpretation shifts slightly towards Nils as the ultimate author of the accusation and the corresponding judgement. The shift towards the 2nd person singular reference cat. *saps* then implies the following: Payrató (1996: 206f.) lists cat. *saps* among the

discourse markers[205] "referits al interlocutor" or "que es refereixen a la interacció comunicativa en conjunt (emissor – receptor – missatge)". Given that there is very little literature on the Catalan deverbal marker *saps* while its French equivalent *tu sais* (or *t'sais*) has received considerable attention, we will refer to the latter in discussing the former. As with its Catalan counterpart, the French deverbal marker *tu sais* is said to be oriented towards the addressee (Kluge 2010). Before discussing this issue, it should be said that *tu sais* may serve communicative purposes that are close to those found in the German TT: Coveney (2002: 148), for instance, gives an example from a corpus of spoken French in which the element serves pre-announcement functions (fr. *t sais pourquoi? – (parce) qu'on fait des jeux comme ça [...]*). The lack of response opportunities granted to the addressee then indicates that – as in our German ST example – it is not the inquiry after the addressee's knowledge, but rather the possibility of using the interrogative as "a means of highlighting, as particularly significant, the answer" (Coveney 2002: 150). In our case, the emphasised component would be Lena's selfish behaviour as the answer to the question of why Doris acted in the way she did. Extrapolated to Catalan, we can tentatively say that the choice of the deverbal marker seems to present an adequate translation solution.

However, the same French marker, as with its Catalan counterpart, also serves addressee-oriented interpersonal functions, especially when it occurs in the utterance initial position (Andersen 2007). According to Andersen (2007: 14), fr. *tu sais* and other French 2nd person deverbal markers are used as "marqueurs d'interaction, d'appel à l'interlocuteur, généralement pour s'assurer de sa participation (passive)". According to the same author, the more specific functions of the marker fr. *tu sais* prototypically involve the following: They signal "que le but du locuteur est de faire coopérer l'interlocuteur ou de lui faire accepter le contenu propositionnel de son énoncé comme un savoir commun" (Andersen 2007: 19f.). Applied to the present (Catalan) example, we would argue that the use of the addressee-oriented marker is likely to serve the Catalan preference for positive politeness[206] in its appeal to cooperation in face-threatening acts. More specifically, we could say that the addressee, Lena, is encouraged to accept her own selfish behaviour as a given, and as the ultimate reason for Doris' actions. This is somewhat equivalent to that which the German ST expresses by means of the ECF *immer,* in which Lena's selfish behaviour is established as a recurrent character trait – as something given.

However, in the next move, Lena refuses to accept Nils' prior negative claims about her behaviour. In this way, Nils' move is treated as arguable; in fact, it becomes interpreted as an accusation (Leung 2005). The preferred response after an accusation is unmitigated disagreement (Atkinson and Drew 1979):

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, das stimmt ja wohl überhaupt nicht!*
cat. [Lena:] *Què dius ara, això no és veritat!*

As mentioned previously, the interjection ger. *oh* is likely to indicate a situation-based emotional reaction; for example, a surprised one. In the present case, Lena's surprise is likely to be negative. The same attitudinal flavour is conveyed by the expression at the beginning of the corresponding Catalan utterance. Following Torrent (2009: 22), the expression cat. *Què em dius ara!*, a close equivalent to that in our example, "manifiesta

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[205] Cat. *saps* may also be used as an interjection (Cuenca 2011).
[206] See also Anderson (2007) and Kluge (2010) with regard to principles of positive politeness in French communicative acts containing the interaction markers fr. *tu sais/vous savez.*

sorpresa, unida normalmente a un componente valorativo negativo".[207] The second part of the utterance then conveys outright denial, as also expressed in the nonverbal code by frowning. In the German ST the denial was, however, up-scaled in intensity. One might nevertheless say that the longer Catalan expression signalling negative surprise partly compensates for the latter loss.

Nils' reaction to Lena's refusal, foreshadowed by his nonverbal behaviour (see section 4.8 above), is captured in a *wenn-dann* conditional sentence:

ger. [Nils:] *Wenn du ihr das jetzt versaust, dann bist du daran Schuld, wenn sie mit sechzig immer noch Single ist und 'ne Therapie braucht.*

cat. [Nils:] *Si ara li espatlles, serà la culpa teva si als seixanta anys encara està sola i ha d'anar a teràpia.*[208]

The illocutionary structure of this move is more complicated than it is in the case of the accusational move discussed above. In some sense, it combines several instances of what Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper (1989: 287f.) referred to as 'supportive moves' accompanying indirect requests. Thus, the present *wenn-dann* sequence sets out to threaten Lena "with potential consequences" (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989: 288) in the event that Lena does not alter her present behaviour. Furthermore, a moralising component (ger. *dann bist du daran Schuld*) is often implied in supportive moves to requests (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989). The request then amounts to not to spoil (ger. *versauen*) her mother's evening and relationship.

Supportive moves to requests are related to positive politeness strategies and are documented as such for Catalan (Curell 2011). It thus comes as no surprise that the Catalan TT largely reproduces the supportive move pattern in the German ST. The most striking features of the German ST – the moralising component, the devolved responsibility and the threat of future consequences – are preserved. Similarly, the most important feature when it comes to judgement, the negative value of evaluative lexical items (like cat. *espatllar*) acting as contextualisation cues for accusation sequences, is also preserved in the TT. This means that Lena's lexically expressed negative moral evaluation is maintained ([-mor]).[209]

Lena's responsive next move is not a refusal to Nils' implied request, but an unmitigated disagreement as the preferred second to the request-supportive move of accusation. In particular, she sidesteps his accusation by pointing to Doris' profession as a therapist:

ger. [Lena:] *Sie ist Therapeutin. Sie braucht sowieso 'ne Therapie.*

cat. [Lena:] *És terapeuta, ja anirà igualment a teràpia.*

Lena thus argues that Doris' profession would automatically cause her to have the same types of problems for which Nils blames Lena. That is, Lena shifts the responsibility onto Doris.

The passage at hand also reproduces partial repetitions of Nils' prior turn (cat. *anar a teràpia*). As in the German ST, partial repetition then serves as an important strategy to

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[207] As we can see, this expression is again formed on the basis of a 2nd person singular reference expressed in the verb which has become part of a fixed expression. It therefore provides another example for the Catalan tendency towards addressee orientation.

[208] In the present case, there is thus no problem in rendering German *wenn-dann* conditionals with an equivalent conditional construction in Catalan. However, see Marco and van Lawick (2009) with regard to the problems that the translation of sequences featuring ger. *wenn* may cause for Catalan novice translators.

[209] There is only one slight change taking place in the Catalan TT: The addition of the temporal perfective adverb cat. *ja*. According to Torrent (2011: 98), this adverb "indicates that an event has or will have taken place" and is thus perfectly congruent with the threat with future consequences expressed in the sequence under discussion.

mark the repeated element the source of trouble in an oppositional move (Spitz 2005). In addition, the combination of the markers cat. *ja* and *igualment* in the Catalan TT also aptly replicates the idea that Doris' need for therapy goes without saying (as conveyed in the ST by ger. *sowieso*). As with the ger. *sowieso*, the modal marker cat. *ja* opens the text up heteroglossically by introducing the notion of opposition to the preceding turn. By employing cat. *ja,* the speaker signals that he or she "wants nothing to do with or steps away from what the person referred to is doing and includes the voice of a speaker who has stated the opposite" (Torrent 2011: 98). Referring to the shift from temporal adverb to modal particle cat. *ja* has undergone in such cases, Torrent (2011: 98f.) further suggested that "the certainty regarding the fact that an event will occur in the future now becomes either confidence or a true distancing that, depending on the context, may include negative feelings like disinterest or contempt". The latter is exactly the case in the TT. The unmitigated disagreement is thus aptly conveyed in both the ST and the TT. Nils' strategy in the subsequent move is then to appeal to the affective mother-daughter relationship:

ger. [Nils:] *Wenn du Mama magst, dann…*
cat. [Nils:] *Que no l'estimes...*

As in Nils prior move, this implies an indirect request disguised in a supportive move featuring a *wenn-dann* conditional. As stated earlier for the German ST, the structure is likely to present an alert or warning. In the light of the above discussion of Catalan options for request-accompanying supportive moves, the translation of this passage should not pose difficulties. Nevertheless, the warning becomes a reproach in the form of a negative exclamative in Catalan. As pointed out by Lüdtke (1983: 63), in Catalan, "[l]es phrases introduites par *que* conjonction, suivi de l'indicatif, sont interprétées automatiquement comme des exclamatives". The exclamative then adds a notion of intensification not present in the German ST.

Lena interrupts Nils in response to his implicit accusation of not loving her own mother by reaffirming:

ger. [Lena:] *Du weißt ganz genau, wie gern ich sie mag. Warum auch immer.*
cat. [Lena:] *És clar que l'estimo, i tant! Per què ho dius?*

Lena's reluctance and unwillingness to concede, as conveyed by voice quality, therefore contrast with her overall agreement with Nils' position expressed in the first utterance. Thus, the conflictive topic, again marked as such by Lena's partial repetition of Nils' prior words, is shifted into the realm of agreed, shared knowledge. However, the second utterance in form of a free relative clause somewhat attenuates Lena's earlier concession. The particles ger. *auch* and *immer* then generate a generic reading of the *wh*-pronoun, with the resulting notion of emotional indifference (Leuschner 2013) standing in contrast to Lena's previously expressed affection towards her mother.

Turning to the Catalan text, in contrast to the German ST, we are concerned with a response to a prior negative move. The highly polyfunctional marker cat. (*és*) *clar* (*que*) (Cuenca and Marín 2012) then exhibits various functions that are also present in the German ST. Its use in the Catalan TT is close to what Cuenca and Marín (2012: 2218) called "very emphatic, especially if it is followed by a segment echoing the idea the speaker agrees with".[210] In the present case, the echoed idea equals the repeated and emphasised topic. Moreover, the present use of cat. (*és*) *clar* (*que*) takes up the idea of shared knowledge with the addressee already present in the German ST, albeit recasting it in terms of expectation: The use of the marker *"signals that the speaker assumes that what (s)he says coincidences with the addressee's expectations"* (Cuenca and Marín

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[210] See also González (2011) concerning such an emphatic use of the marker.

2012: 2218, italics in the original). The Catalan TT is then likely to imply a shift from the allusion to an internal, personal evaluation (ger. *Du weißt ganz genau*) to an external, more general one (cat. *és clar*). We can further point to what Cuenca and Marín (2012) considered as similarities between cat. (*és*) *clar* and the German modal particle *ja*: The latter indicates

> that the speaker assumes the strong evidence for the propositional content of the utterance is available in the situation [...]. When the speaker assumes that there is strong evidence for the propositional content available in the situation, she also implies that speaker and addressee agree as to the propositional content of the utterance (Waltereit 2001, quoted by Cuenca and Marín 2012: 2223).

Thus, the explicit allusion to the evidence available from the speaker's knowledge in the ST is replaced by a more implicit allusion that evidence is available from the situation in the TT.

The upgrading of the statement that Lena loves her mother, rendered in the ST via the emphatic ger. *wie gern* (*ich sie mag*), is conveyed by the addition of cat. *i tant,* which reinforces the affirmation (Cuenca 2011, [+for]) already expressed by cat. *és clar*.

As far as the second part of Lena's response is concerned, the Catalan TT opts for remodelling it. As said above, in the German ST, Lena sets out to question her own affectionate feelings towards her mother, which are downplayed by the expression of indifference. In the Catalan TT, however, Lena asks for the motivation behind Nils' accusation of not feeling affective for her mother (cat. *Per què ho dius?*). There is thus a shift in the content level that might be motivated by the different illocutionary structure of Nils' prior turn (the implicit accusation of Lena's lack of affection for Doris in the ST versus explicit accusation in the TT). The explicit accusation may then call for an equally explicit response in Catalan. It may also be the case that, instead of the German free relative clause expressing indifference, which might be difficult to translate into Catalan, the TT opts for partly compensating for the reduced addressee orientation by resorting to a 2nd person reference at this point of the move.

Nils' next turn builds on Lena's prior move in that it contains an encouragement to express the emotions that Lena admitted to feel for her mother explicitly:

ger. [Nils:] *Und warum zeigst du's ihr nicht mal, zur Abwechslung?*

cat. [Nils:] *I si ho demostressis, per variar una mica?*

In the German ST, the indirect request act comes in form of a suggestion. However, the emphatic stress on the finite verb ger. z*eigst* is likely to elicit a slightly accusational reading, too. In addition, the use of the interrogative pronoun ger. *warum* might even prompt a complaint reading, because "*warum* points to something wrong and is thus complaint implicative" (Egbert and Vöge 2008: 17, italics in the original). By contrast to the somewhat smooth and unmitigated delivery in the first part of the utterance, the last part is delivered with some hesitation before ger. *zur Abwechslung*, so that the speech act is somewhat attenuated, and Nils is portrayed as lacking some vigour in this final part.

In the Catalan TT, the German negative pattern of formulating a suggestion is changed to an affirmative one. This might be related to the perception of a request employing the negative adverb cat. *no* as highly impolite in Catalan: "La introducció de l'adverbi *no* determina en aquests casos un brusc matís de descortesía, perquè restringeix encara més la llibertat d'acció de l'interlocutor, esdevenint l'enunciat ofensiu" (Payrató 1996: 1999, italics in the original). Given the absence of the negative, accusation- or complaint-implicative nuances present in the German ST, the use of the conditional and the

addition of the downgrading element cat. *una mica*, the suggestion is mitigated in the Catalan TT,[211] and thus comes across as more polite than it does in the ST.

Instead of accepting or rejecting the suggestion made by Nils outright, Lena answers with an apparent counter-question:

ger. [Lena:] *Wieso muss ich immer nachgeben? Ich geb' immer nach! Ich bin der Kautschuk dieser Familie!*

cat. [Lena:] *Sempre em toca a mi afluixar. Sempre cedeixo jo. Sóc la tova de la família.*

The explicit allusion to the action of giving in and the hyperbolic and metaphorical self-characterisation[212] as ger. *der Kautschuk der Familie* then already foreshadow that the girl will, in fact, comply with Nils' proposal. Viewers may understand this as an expression of powerlessness on the part of Lena. With regard to the illocutionary value of the utterance, the use of the interrogative pronoun ger. *wieso* (Egbert and Vöge 2008) in the first part of the move, and the overall whiny voice in which it is performed, clearly contextualise it as a complaint. In addition, the contrast between Lena's own behaviour and the implicitly unfair conduct of not giving in on the part of the others and the repeated use of the ECF (ger. *immer*) also favour the interpretation of a complaint sequence (Acuña-Ferreira 2003). Furthermore, and somewhat related to the latter feature, the use of the figurative expression in the last part of the move may also be taken as contextualising a complaining matter (Drew and Holt 1990). Both ECFs and figurative (idiomatic) expressions seem to be employed because of their intensifying value, which helps to emphasise the 'grievance' and legitimise the act of complaining. However, the difference between ECFs and figurative idiomatic expressions in complaint sequences is that ECFs are often "used in building the case for a complaint, which is nevertheless subsequently summarised, and hence made explicit, in an idiomatic expression" (Drew and Holt 1990: 120). According to the authors, the summary through figurative expressions not only gives some closure to the complaint, but "in being recognisably figurative, idiomatic expressions remove the complaint from its circumstantial concrete detail" (Drew and Holt 1990: 120), so that it cannot be easily challenged. To put it differently, figurative (idiomatic) expressions are used to make the 'point' of the complaint. Making the point of a story or passage is usually given in evaluative segments, often occurring in short, summarising final passages, clauses or even words (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972; Schwarz-Friesel 2013). Repetitions and emotional voice quality then indicate high emotional involvement in the act of complaining.

The Catalan TT transforms the ST's complaint-implying question format featuring ger. *wieso* into a statement. However, other linguistic features that contextualise the utterance as a complaint, such as the use of ECFs or hyperbolic expressions are preserved in the TT. With regard to the translation of the latter, which is evaluative and points to a high degree of emotion, some general considerations are in order here. The translation of shorter hyperboles seems to pose little problem when there is a similar hyperbolic item in the TT or when the translator is able to capture the underlying concept, as in the present case where cat. *tova* captures the idea implied in the German creative *Kautschuk* metaphor that Lena gives in easily because she is extremely flexible and is thus not resilient to outward influences from her family. In this regard, and this seems to be especially true for figurative expressions with summarising functions in complaint sequences, "[o]ne-word hyperboles are economic, as often the best paraphrase might be longer and certainly less effectual" (Claridge 2011: 50).

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[211] See also Frías-Conde et al. (2011) concerning the use of the conditional and of quantifying elements such as cat. *una mica* in advice acts in Catalan.

[212] See Claridge (2011) with regard to metaphorical hyperboles.

A further, syntactical argument for the relatively easy translatability of shorter hyperbolic items is their apparent easy integration into sentence structures:

> [S]horter hyperboles, in particular individual words, have little or no internal structure, i.e., are less complex, and may thus be easier both to produce, to process and to retain. They are fairly easy to slot into utterances, in the same way as non-hyperbolic items (Claridge 2011: 46).

In the present example, Lena's complaint is not directly targeting the interlocutor Nils, but the overall situation of the family as a whole. It can thus be taken as an instance of indirect complaints, which "are often employed in an attempt to establish rapport or solidarity between interlocutors" (Boxer 1993: 106f.). The latter is also particularly the case in complaints featuring figurative (idiomatic) expressions that "may be [...] employed to summarise a complaint in such a way as to seek recipient's affiliation, in instances where such affiliation cannot be guaranteed or may be in doubt" (Drew and Holt 1990: 121).

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that, in the German ST, Nils responds with an affiliative move to Lena's complaint, expressing the affection he feels for her:

ger. [Nils:] *Ich hab' dich lieb!*

cat. [Nils:] *No ploris!*

As pointed out by Boxer (1993) for English, the expression of agreement and affiliation ('commiseration') is in fact one of the most frequent forms of response to indirect complaints. The Catalan TT, however, shifts from the expression of empathy to a directive whereby Lena is asked not to start or to stop crying. The motivation behind this shift is unclear. One may ask whether the outright statement of affection by a male teenager for his sister may go against Catalan communicative norms. The plead not to cry is certainly an alternative way to show compassion and to make the complainer feel better. Given that there is virtually no research on Catalan complaint responses available to date, it is not possible to give a satisfactory explanation for this translation solution here. In each case, however, it is likely to be a case of explicitation, since emotional information conveyed in the paralinguistic and kinesic code in the ST (Lena's whiny voice, accompanied by a sad face) is made explicit in the Catalan TT.

When the sentimental background music emphasising the emotional quality of the discussion up to this point stops, and Lena almost simultaneously frees herself from Nils' embracing, the conversation shifts into another direction.

French

It now remains for us to consider the implications of the translation process for the portrayal of Nils in terms of tenacity in the French TT. We start by discussing the same scene as in the Catalan text (starting at about 4 minutes into the episode). As said previously, Lens has just been informed about her mother's plans to move, and has realised that her brother Nils already knew about the plans:

ger. [Lena:] *Sie hat dir erzählt, dass sie mit einer fremden Familie zusammenzieh'n will... und was hast du gesagt?*

fr. [Lena:] *Elle t'a raconté qu'on va ménager tous ensemble avec une autre famille... et t'as dit quoi?*

On the whole, the utterance gives a summary of the past situation, and asks for an account of the verbal action that Nils is supposed to have taken in response. There is not much change in translation here.[213]

When answering Lena's directly challenging question, Nils shies away from a direct response:

ger. [Nils:] *Ich hab' gesagt, wenn du ihn magst, dann find' ich das....*

fr. [Nils:] *Eh bon, j'ai dit que si elle l'aime, je trouve que….*

In this extract, Nils' lack of tenacity becomes palpable, and even more so in the French TT, which adds some hesitation phenomena (fr. *eh bon*, Haug 1997) at the beginning of the turn. Furthermore, as in the German ST, Nils' turn is interrupted before being completed, so that another indicator of Nils' reduced tenacity is maintained.

Lena's interruptive move reads as follows:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, Nils, du lässt dich immer breitquatschen! Mann, du bist dreizehn, du musst mal endlich so was wie 'nen eignen Charakter entwickeln!*

fr. [Lena:] *Oh, Nils, tu t'encore laisses embobiner. Mais en fait tu as treize ans maintenant, tu crois pas que serait temps d'affirmer?*

In this passage, Nils' lack of tenacity becomes the explicit subject of communication in Lena's reproachful move. Nils' passivity and lack of tenacity ([-ten]) is encoded in the verb and verbal periphrasis in the first clause of both the ST and the French TT.[214] In contrast to the German ST, however, Lena does not characterise Nils' lack of strength as permanent behaviour, but as a continuing state of affairs that is contrary to her expectations (fr. *encore*).[215] The latter choice in the French TT might be motivated by the emphasised allusion to an advanced point in time (Nils' age) in the next clause, which might favour a characterisation in terms of duration. In other words, intensified force ([+for]) is rendered in the ST and in the TT in conceptually slightly different ways. Let us now turn to the last clause in Lena's turn, in which allusion to tenacity is again lexically encoded (fr. *affirmer*[216] as referred to in a negative clause). Whereas the Catalan translator even strengthened the illocutionary force of the clause by reworking it from a request in the ST to a statement about Nils' lack of personality in the Catalan TT, the French translator did the opposite. Thus, the translation is fully in line with the French preference for mitigating requests by means of rendering them in the negative (Booth 2010). The effect is a shift in the directness of the request act (from locution derivable in the ST to language-specific suggestory formula in the TT, see Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984).

Faced with Lena's request to develop a stronger personality, Nils feels compelled to justify himself by stating:

ger. [Nils:] *Ja, ich… ich arbeite daran.*

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[213] The only issue worth noting is that in German Doris' plans are characterised as affecting Doris herself (see the 3rd person singular reference). This implies a more distanced portrayal of Doris' actions than in the French TT, in which the plans are characterised as affecting the whole family including Lena as the speaker (see the colloquial 3rd person singular reference with plural meaning). This shift may be explained with the frequent use of the pronoun fr. *on* in colloquial French. French then further emphasises the sense of the speaker's personal involvement in Doris' plans by adding the adjectival intensifier fr. *tous* ([+for]).

[214] See Shyldkrot (2005) on the notion of passivity expressed by the French verbal periphrasis *se laisser* + infinitive. The impression of Nils' reduced tenacity then also relates with Lena's accusation of the boy as being easily deceivable by other people. See the lexical entry for fr. *embobiner* in the Larousse dictionary: "Familier. Séduire quelqu'un en vue de le tromper, l'enjôler; embobeliner, emberlificoter" (embobiner n.d.).

[215] See Mosegaard Hansen (2008) concerning the semantics of fr. *encore* in this regard.

[216] See the lexical entry for fr. *affirmer* in the Larousse dictionary: "affirmer [...] Manifester clairement un trait de caractère, une aptitude [...]" (affirmer n.d.).

fr. [Nils:] *Qui, je, j'y travaille.*

As in the German ST, Nils' acknowledgement of Lena's request as a legitimate one, the description of himself working on this own personal development, and the repetition of the personal pronoun are all preserved as signs of reduced tenacity ([-ten]).

On the whole, the French TT, which is usually characterised by more or less extensive reworking, stays remarkably close to the ST in this short passage here. In contrast to the Catalan TT, Nils is not portrayed as considerable more powerless and weaker than in the ST.

In the following, however, Nils becomes more powerful. For instance, Nils now sets out to challenge Lena by producing some kind of counter-accusation:

ger. [Nils:] *Mama wusste schon, warum sie's dir nicht sagt. Weil du immer nur an dich denkst.*

fr. [Nils:] *Maman savait très bien pourquoi elle voulait pas t'en parler. Parce que tu ne penses pas que à toi.*

As stated previously, this passage contains Nils' report of Doris reflections concerning whether to tell Lena of her plans to move, and provides Lena's self-seeking nature ([-prop]) as the reason that she eventually did not do so. Thus, there is a lot of informational content here, and this content remains the same in the French TT. In this regard, it has to be said that there is also a good reason that the French TT remains close to the ST from an interpersonal point of view. According to Cozma (2012), the semantic representation of the speech act of reproach in French is made up of several conceptual building blocks that are expressed in lexically explicit terms in the above example. Thus, the accusing person is said to convey that he thinks or knows that the accused person has violated some positively valued expectations or standards and is responsible for the latter. In the present example, Nils speaks for Doris as the accusing speaker. He then explicitly refers to Doris' reflections about Lena's violation of expectations (not caring about other people) and Lena's responsible role therein. When the reproach is semantically conceived in such a typical manner, there is no need for the translator to make major amendments. The use of modals in the imperfect in the TT then fits perfectly with the expression of reproach in terms of the above nuances of conceptual representation (Cozma 2012). The few modifications made in the TT then concern additional intensification through qualification (fr. *très bien*, [+for]).

Lena's reaction to Nils' reproach is outright denial:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, das stimmt ja wohl überhaupt nicht!*

fr. [Lena:] *Mais c'est pas vrai. Pourquoi tu me dis ça?*

The German ST contains a longer stretch of elements intensifying the denial than does the French TT. The latter, however, makes up for the quantitative and qualitative reduction by adding another move to the turn. Thus, the implicit accusational value of Lena's move in the ST[217] becomes more foregrounded in the French TT. Questions featuring fr. *pourquoi* are often ambiguous between a purely informative function and a secondary one, such as reproach. In the case at hand, the so-called 'pourquoi incolore', stressed on the first syllable and referring to the secondary function (asking for the reasons for making the statements rather than for a cause, Korzen 1985) is employed. Accordingly, the additional move is likely to be interpreted as a counter-accusational one.

Apart from the requirements of lip-synchronicity and the foregrounding of the accusational value, the reasons for the 'free' addition of the move are not straightforward. However, the addition has some effect in that it serves to establish new

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[217] As stated in section 4.8, by refusing to accept Nils' prior negative portrayal of herself Lena treats Nils' as arguable. In other words, it becomes interpreted as an accusation (Leung 2005) in the German ST.

thematic links between clauses: In French, Nils' next move starts with the conjunction *parce que*, and thus superficially seems to continue the sequence by giving the reasons for which Lena appears to have asked:

ger. [Nils:] *Wenn du ihr das jetzt versaust, dann bist du daran Schuld, wenn sie mit sechzig immer noch Single ist und 'ne Therapie braucht.*

fr. [Nils:] *Parce que si tu fous ça en l'air, ce sera ta foute si à soixante ans elle toujours est célébataire et qu'elle va sûr en thérapie.*

In essence, the sequence features an *if-then* conditional sentence, which has been characterised with regard to the German ST as referring to a supportive move accompanying an indirect request. The sequence's content (threat of potential unpleasant consequences and future implications, the moralising component) and composition (negatively connoted lexical items) all speak in favour of the interpretation of both an accusational and a request act in German.

The translation of *if-then* conditional sentences does not pose many problems in French. The above mentioned significant features, such as the moralising component and the negative and informal connotation of some items like the ger. *versauen* (fr. *foutre en l'air*[218]) should then be preserved, as is the case here. Therefore, in both the ST and in the TT, judgement in terms of morality ([-mor]) is passed on Lena.

In her response, Lena now seeks to invalidate Nils' argument by stating that the threatened consequence would not be a result of Lena's behaviour, but an automatic outcome of Doris' profession:

ger. [Lena:] *Sie ist Therapeutin. Sie braucht sowieso 'ne Therapie.*

fr. [Lena:] *Elle est thérapeute, normal qu'elle fasse une thérapie.*

In contrast to what happened in the German ST and the Catalan TT, the French translator did not opt for partial repeats of Nils' prior turn, which are likely to mark the repeated item as something up for discussion in an oppositional move (Spitz 2005). Moreover, the French is slightly more monoglossic in its judgement of Doris (she is judged in terms of normality [-nor]) than is the ST.

In his subsequent move, Nils changes his discursive strategy to that of striking an emotive chord:

ger. [Nils:] *Wenn du Mama magst, dann….*

fr. [Nils:] *Si tu tires à Maman alors....*

Skipping consideration of this section because of the lack of any translation problems, we move on to the discussion of Lena's interruptive reply:

ger. [Lena:] *Du weißt ganz genau, wie gern ich sie mag. Warum auch immer.*

fr. [Lena:] *Tu sais très bien je tire à elle. Je me demande pourquoi.*

We are concerned here with the repetition of parts of the opponent's prior move that mark them as a somewhat controversial topic. However, the move is affiliative, and the topic is situated in common ground. This time, the French TT refrains from modifying the wording and thus preserves this function. The second part of the utterance, then, somewhat downplays the earlier affiliative and concessive move by expressing some kind of indifference towards it.

In his next turn, Nils then suggests that Lena shows her feelings to Doris openly:

ger. [Nils:] *Und warum zeigst du's ihr nicht mal, zur Abwechslung?*

fr. [Nils:] *Alors, dis-moi pourquoi tu ne le lui montres pas, pour changer?*

In terms of illocutionary force, we are concerned here with language-specific suggestory acts as a subform of request acts. However, by adding a response-eliciting and

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[218] See the lexical entry for an expression with fr. *foutre*: "Foutre en l'air, abîmer, détériorer quelque chose; épuiser, ruiner quelqu'un; compromettre, ruiner quelque chose; jeter quelque chose, s'en débarrasser [...]" (foutre n.d.).

insistence-conveying marker[219] to the request, the French TT becomes more direct and demanding. It thus shifts somewhat in the direction of the accusational reading suggested for the German ST (as expressed by marked stress on the verb and the interrogative pronoun *warum*, see section 4.8).

Lena meets Nils' suggestion with a counter-question:

ger. [Lena:] *Wieso muss ich immer nachgeben? Ich geb' immer nach! Ich bin der Kautschuk dieser Familie!*

fr. [Lena:] *Mais aussi, pourquoi c'est moi qui dois céder? C'est toujours moi qui suis la victime de toute façon de cette famille.*

When comparing the ST and the Catalan TT, we suggested that both the explicit reference to the action of surrendering and the self-characterisation as *der Kautschuk der Familie* in the German ST are anticipating that Lena will finally give in and comply with Nils' suggestion.

In French, both Lena's reluctance regarding Nils' suggestion and the subsequent change of opinion is made slightly more explicit by inserting the discourse marker fr. *mais* at the beginning of Lena's move. The precise way in which the fr. *mais* is used here to introduce a (weak) counter-argument is said to be typical of spoken language:

> Le *mais* phatique et aussi métalinguistique marque le changement du point de vue, la ségmentation du discours. Il est typique de l'oral où il restitue l'ordre entre les parties hétérogènes du discours qui apparaissent aux niveaux différents. A l'oral […], *mais* en tant que ligateur se place dans la coénonciation, c'est à dire que malgré son rôle adversatif et concessif il prend en compte le collocuteur en vue de changer son opinion grâce à sa valeur d'introducteur d'arguments (Schlamberger Brezar 2012: 228, italics in the original).

Even if Lena's counter-argument comes in question form, the metalinguistic marker at its beginning already favours the interpretation of a non-informative question. Prosodic features (such as Lena's somewhat whiny voice[220]) and the presence of interrogative pronouns like ger. *wieso* and fr. *pourquoi* further support secondary readings of the utterance; for instance, as a demand for explication, reproach or complaint (Egbert and Vöge 2008; Korzen 1985). The more precise interpretation as a complaint is favoured by the use of ECFs like ger. *immer* and fr. *toujours* in the section that provides reasons for the complaint, and the use of a figurative (idiomatic) expression in the last section that summarises the complainable matter (Drew and Holt 1990).

It is worth having a look at the translation of the figurative expression used by Lena to portray herself as ger. *der Kautschuk der Familie* in French. The German expression is both a hyperbole and a creative metaphor that characterises Lena as the most flexible (and thus most easily surrendering) family member. While the metaphor itself is not replicated in the French TT, the idea that Lena is not resilient to outward influences from her family (and thus becomes the family's victim) is carried over to the TT. It is interesting that the French employs a strategy that has already been discussed with regard to the translation of German creative compounds, namely circumscription of the situation-specific meaning of such composites.

Indirect complaints, as well as those featuring an idiomatic expression, are often used for solidarity-seeking purposes. Solidarity is then conveyed by Nils in his next affective move:

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[219] See Dendale (2010: 302) referring to the imperative fr. *dis-moi* as an "exhortatif à répondre". Pitavy (2005) proposes that pragmatic fr. *dis* acts as a "marqueur d'insistance".

[220] See Fónagy (2001) with regard to prosodic features in complaints.

ger. [Nils:] *Ich hab' dich lieb!*
fr. [Nils:] *Je sais bien tu l'aimes.*

Whereas in the ST Nils expresses his own affection for Lena, in the French TT Nils refers to his own cognitive action of knowing that Lena feels affection for her mother. In other words, the trigger for the feeling as expressed in the ST and in the TT differs somewhat. However, despite these differences, both can be regarded as acts of commiseration in response to complaints, with those acts being defined as "any type of response in which the illocutionary force was an attempt to make the speaker feel better" (Boxer 1993: 116f.). The question that remains is why the French translator has chosen to render the act of commiseration in a different way than in the ST. The passage at hand is somewhat exceptional in that Nils' move to make Lena feel better does not refer directly to the complaining matter, as it is often the case in commiseration. Thus, while committing a certain act of commiseration, from a sequential point of view, the form of response seems to be a rather unusual one. In French, Nils' supportive move also does not make reference to the complaining matter. Instead, support is signalled for one of Lena's positions expressed previously in the dialogue (the statement that Lena loves her mother). That is, the French translator is likely to have introduced changes on the basis of contextual information. In addition, the decision to modify the present sequence in French might be related to a translation strategy frequently observable in the French translation in our corpus: the mitigating modification of assertives. The expression *je sais* may be used in French as a parenthetical verb (albeit it is rarely employed that way, Schneider 2007: 124). *Que*-deletion (as probably in the example under consideration[221]) is then one clue to the use as a parenthetical verb, which is associated with mitigating functions. In other words, a reduced speaker commitment than in a more monoglossic, bare assertive clause would be expressed. However, it is not clear whether such a mitigation of assertive clauses presents a general tendency in French because of issues of preference or politeness, or whether this is induced by the audio-visual translation process itself (for example, as a means of compensation for reduced utterance length for other reasons).

In the scene under consideration, the dialogue concerning the topic and the emotional background music now comes to an end.

c) Judgements of Metin in translation

Catalan

As with Nils, Lena's new stepfather Metin is typically portrayed as harmony-seeking and affectionate, which is in some contrast to Lena's rather conflict-seeking nature. In *TfA*'s pilot episode, Metin is often judged unfavourably by Lena. However, before discussing some scenes of conflict and the characters' corresponding emotions and judgements as portrayed in cinematography, kinetics and linguistic code, we will point to the translation of some idiosyncratic features present in Metin's speech.

At the beginning of the following scene (starting at about 11.20 into the pilot episode and discussed previously in section 4.8 with regard to the German ST), Metin enters the girl's room in the morning and finds his daughter Yagmur sleeping on a carpet on the ground. He comments the issue in the following way:

ger. [Metin:] *Guen Ayden. Yagmur, biste wieder auf'm Teppich eingepennt?*

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[221] *Que*-deletion, or the absence of fr. *que* between a reduced parenthetical clause and an assertion, is marked in spoken language by the delivery as a single prosodic unit. However, given that the present example features the additional item fr. *bien* which might bear an accent, it is not entirely clear if the example does feature a parenthetical or not.

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cat. [Metin:] *Guen Ayden. Yagmur, que t'has tornat a adormir a l'estora?*

Apart from the Turkish greeting formula, the most striking linguistic features of the utterance are certainly instances of colloquial language: the contraction of the finite verb and 2nd person singular pronoun ger. *biste* – short for *bist du*, much used in the Berlin dialect – and the colloquial verb ger. *einpennen*). We will bypass consideration of the former and turn to the use of colloquial verbs, which is quite common in Metin's speech. From an appraisal theoretical point of view, the use of colloquial registers (or so-called non-core items) is regarded as an indirect strategy for expressing attitude, since more common and standard lexical choices (such as ger. *einschlafen* instead of *einpennen*) have been dismissed in favour of the non-core item. At this point, it should be said that the substitution of non-core verbs with core ones is the usual translation strategy for these items in our corpus.[222] As a result, traces of Metin's idiosyncratic speech style used for characterisation, for instance his use of the colloquial register in line with his portrayal as someone that seeks to be close to his children, become obliterated in the TT.

Metin's somewhat colloquial greeting of his daughter Yagmur is followed by the action of kissing and tickling her. As described in section 4.8, the camera work here features alternating sequences of point-glance shots that show Lena in her bed observing the scene, and point-object shots of Metin and Yagmur as the objects of her gaze. The passage is thus clearly placed in Lena's subjective realm. Lena's nonverbal expressions of disapproval and incredulity (lateral head shakes, frowning, raising one eyebrow) are then to be interpreted in terms of disapproval of what she sees. Her accompanying verbal evaluation reads as follows:

ger. [Lena:] *Er kitzelt sie wach? Hilfe, die türkischen Waltons!*

cat. [Lena:] *Li fa pessigolles per despertar-la? Això cada vegada és pitjor. La família feliç en turc!*

The question in the first part of the utterance presents a verbal recount of the eliciting conditions of Lena's subsequent judgement, as also conveyed visually in the point-object shots. However, the question format also conveys that the affectionate scene observed between Metin and Yagmur is met with incredulity by Lena. In German, wider pitch range and other emphatic features, such as syllable lengthening, are used to express the incredulity reading (Hartmann and Zimmermann 2007).

The double possibility of expressing information-seeking questions or incredulous questions using (almost) the same syntactic pattern has also been attested for Catalan (Crespo-Sendra, Vanrell, and Prieto 2010). It is thus hardly surprising that the Catalan TT here closely follows the German ST. As in German, the first part of the move features the prosodically disambiguated incredulity-expressing question format making use of a wider pitch range than in a mere information-seeking question.[223] Therefore, there is no implicitating shift as one might have expected, because of the informational redundancy conveyed in this passage at first sight. Tentatively, this is due to the plot-supporting function of the interpersonal meaning expressed here. Thus, on one hand, eliciting conditions and/or feeling state and/or expression of evaluation are often redundantly cued in film dialogue, and this is also true for untranslated dialogue, as the

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[222] We may cite another example from Metin's discourse: ger. D*u haust immer so schnell ab, wenn ich bei euch bin.*, cat. *Et dones tanta pressa quan arribo*. Here the non-core verb ger. *abhauen* is replaced by cat. *donar-se pressa*.

[223] In Catalan, "els contorns bàsics es corresponen amb els de la interrogativa absoluta informativa, però amb els trets tonals més exagerats i el camp tonal ampliat, és a dir, la mateixa corba entonativa que les informatives, però amb un increment important de l'altura tonal del contorn" (Crespo-Sendra, Vanrell, and Prieto 2010: 107).

German ST here shows. On the other hand, the subjectivity of the passage is also likely to play a role in this regard. As the cinematography does with regard to the visual code, the voice-over commentary helps to anchor the verbal information in Lena's subjectivity. This signals that what Lena sees and verbally repeats is presented for personal evaluation. Lena's incredulity as expressed by the question format forms part of this evaluation.

Expression of emotion may be intimately related to judgments: "[S]ome emotions are motivated by the Judgment of people's actions [...]" (Feng 2012: 167). Given the latter and the fact that cinematography and voice-over have set the frame for subjective expression, it comes as no surprise that the second part of Lena's move contains instances of judgement in both the ST and in the TT. In the German ST, together with the further expressions of emotion (negative surprise as encoded in the interjection ger. *Hilfe*), judgement is passed on Yagmur and Metin by means of the hyperbolic expression ger. *die türkischen Waltons*. The Catalan TT, however, differs from that of the German ST in that the interjection conveying negative surprise has been omitted and the hyperbolic expression changed. The latter certainly has to do with the culture-specificity of the metaphorical hyperbole drawing a comparison with the Waltons as a TV family known for their affectionate behaviour. The Catalan TT, however, choses to explicate the expression's meaning. That is, the Catalan TT is likely to render explicit some features that establish the connection between the source domain (the Walton family) and the target domain (Metin and Yagmur as members of the Öztürk family) in the German metaphor. The TT explicitly alludes to the positive feeling that is likely to exist between the affectionate family members. Note that it selects a lexical expression that conveys the same positive valence (cat. *feliç*) as implied in the ST's metaphorical concept ('affectionate' or similar notions). Tentatively, we can point to the following probable reasons for the latter choice: The above mentioned subjective frame is likely to create expectations regarding the expression of some interpersonal meaning; the particularly close verbal–visual correspondence of the passage favours the verbalisation of a feature present in or inferable from the visuals (the positive affect between Metin and Yagmur) and, perhaps most importantly, the judgemental effect, which is Lena's negative judgement of the observed behaviour – as already announced previously in the verbal code and images and flagged by the ST metaphoric hyperbole –, and which should be recreated in the TT. In accordance with Lena's personality traits, a negative judgement is most likely to be conveyed about the positive and 'odd' affectionate behaviour of Metin and Yagmur ([-norm] as in the ST). Indeed, such a negative judgement is spelled out in the TT (cat. *Això cada vegada és pitjor*). We can now further specify the shift in interpersonal meaning between the ST and the TT in terms of explicitness: Implicit (metaphorically flagged) meaning has been rendered explicit in the TT. However, due to the omission of the intertextual allusion to well-known media characters from which German viewers may have derived some additional pleasure, the pleasure effect has been lost in the TT.

Establishing a negative judgement attached to Metin's behaviour also becomes important with a view to the next scenes. Contextualised by threatening music, Metin, still in a positive mood, now approaches Lena in order to tickle the girl. In line with the extradiegetic music, the images and thus the perception of the situation remain anchored in Lena's subjectivity. The girl feels threatened, which is conveyed both through kinesics and cinematography (sequences of POV-shots, camera distance and camera angle, suggesting that she is in a perceived victim position, see section 4.8).

When Metin is close to her, Lena tries to keep him at distance by ordering in a firm voice:

ger. [Lena:] *Wag' es nicht, mich zu berühr'n!*
cat. [Lena:] *Prou! Pobre de tu que em toquis.*
In German, the unmitigated negated imperative expresses prohibition.

In the Catalan TT, we have an additional conative interjection (cat. *prou*, Cuenca 2011: 188), which verbally reinforces Lena's demand to stop. Moreover, as in the German ST, the move features Lena's order not to touch her, which is rendered by situational formulas (ger. *wag' es nicht*, cat. *pobre de tu*). According to Cuenca (2011), the cat. *pobre de tu* features among the Catalan conative interjections related to the expression of warnings or threats. The illocutionary force of the German and the Catalan hostile formulas are thus approximately the same. Both expressions seem to implicitly threatening Metin with unpleasant consequences. However, the German utterance is formulated in the negative (prohibitive), whereas the Catalan TT makes use of the affirmative.

Metin is completely unprepared for the outright hostility conveyed by these intimidating utterances, as expressed by the extradiegetic sound of an audio tape being stopped (see section 4.8 for a discussion of this device being used to convey a notion of counter-expectation and surprise). After moving his fingers away from Lena, Metin offers his apologies to the girl:

ger. [Metin:] *Tut mir leid! Ich wollt' nur witzig sein!*
cat. [Metin:] *Perdona. Només volia ser simpàtic.*
In both the ST and the TT, the construction of the utterance then follows a typical pattern of direct apology, in which the apology formula is followed by a justification of the misinterpreted behaviour. As has been argued with regard to the German utterance, the restrictive focus particle ger. *nur* strongly presupposes the assertiveness of the remaining proposition, but also opens up the utterance to a slightly heteroglossic interpretation. That is, against the background of his personal interpretation of the situation, Metin signals some acknowledgement that a different position is viable. This verbal action, as well as Metin's accompanying nonverbal behaviour of defusing the situation by receding, is a good example of the way in which negative politeness is expressed in German. The German preference for negative politeness (or the preference for not restricting the interlocutor in terms of his or her actions) might offer some explanation concerning the way the utterance has been adapted in the translation into Catalan. Catalan culture is likely to favour strategies of positive politeness, among which Brown and Levinson (1987: 104) listed the "exaggeration of [...] sympathy with H[earer, S.F.] [...]". The somewhat inexplicable substitution of ger. *witzig* by cat. *simpàtic* might then have been made with such principles of positive politeness in mind.

French
The same scene (starting at 10.20 minutes into the pilot) will now be discussed with regard to the French translation. In the French TT, Metin's attempt to wake Yagmur reads as follows:

ger. [Metin:] *Guen Ayden. Yagmur, biste wieder auf'm Teppich eingepennt?*
fr. [Metin:] *C'est l'heure, allez! Yagmur, tu t'es endormi sur la moquette, ma fille.*
The French translator appears to have dismissed the Turkish greeting formula in the ST in favour of a more target culture-specific 'wake-up expression'. Other interesting linguistic features of the sequence, such as the non-core item ger. *einpennen* characterising Metin's idiom as a non-standard one have been levelled out in the TT. Thus, while the ingressive value of the verb has been preserved in fr. *endormir*, the non-core value has not (see the discussion of the Catalan passage for consequences of this shift).

Moreover, when it comes to the second half of Metin's turn, the interrogative asking whether Yagmur has fallen asleep on the carpet is turned into a statement in the TT. As Steensig and Larson (2008) have argued for questions asking for confirmation of another person's prior activities, these may be disaffiliative or affiliative in nature. Affiliative questions, then, "are aligning next sequences in environments where the focus is on information delivery. They have 'unmarked' prosody and they contribute to getting information on record" (Steensig and Larson 2008: 113). The question under discussion here somewhat resembles these questions in that it asks for confirmation about another person's prior activities. Despite the fact that the answer is somewhat obvious from the current situation, Metin is clearly interested in being affiliative and obtaining information from Yagmur. It is therefore somewhat understandable that the French translator has reworked the question as a statement in which Metin himself restates the information about Yagmur's prior activities that are obvious from the situation as captured in the visuals. However, the affiliative nuances that the information-centred question format would convey are somewhat lost in the TT.

The opposite, that is, a disaffiliative use of such a question stating the obvious, occurs in Lena's next move. The girl delivers the following commentary on Metin's activity of kissing and tickling Yagmur as conveyed by the visuals:

ger. [Lena:] *Er kitzelt sie wach? Hilfe, die türkischen Waltons!*

fr. [Lena:] *Ah. Il la chatouille pour la réveiller? Au secours, les Simpsons turques!*

According to Steensig and Larsen (2008: 113), disaffiliative questions (about prior verbal activities) "are parts of dispreferred and disaligning moves". Moreover, the authors suggested "that they have 'marked' prosody, that they raise problems, and that they are most often prefaced by 'objecting' particles" (Steensig and Larsen 2008: 113). The incredulity-expressing intonation in the ST is such a disalignment marker attached to the question at hand, as is the interjection ger. *Hilfe* in the co-text. In the French TT, in addition to the latter, prefacing by means of the interjection fr. *ah* is likely to signal surprise and thus a dispreferred move.[224] That is, disaffiliation is even more marked in the French TT than it is in the ST. Thus, as said with regard to the Catalan TT, the question redundantly cues the ECs for Lena's following evaluation, so that the information conveyed in this way is likely to be preserved in translation.

Another striking feature of the French TT is the translation of the hyperbolic reference to the tickling Turkish family members as fr. *les Simpsons turques*. However, a more detailed discussion of the cultural transplantation of this culture-specific item in the French TT is left until later (section 5.3). What is worth noting here, is that both the hyperbolic value and the negative judgement indirectly flagged by the hyperbolic metaphor are, on the whole, preserved. That is, Lena's negative evaluation of Metin's and Yagmur's behaviour as far from normal ([-norm]), with additional nuances of disaffiliation conveyed by the problem-signalling question format question, the interjections and Lena's facial expression (see section 4.8), are carried over to the French TT.

The next passage features Metin's attempt to approach and tickle Lena in the same way as he did with Yagmur. Lena experiences Metin's behaviour as threatening her privacy and requests him to stop:

ger. [Metin:] *Wag' es nicht, mich zu berühr'n!*

fr. [Metin:] *Ah. Je te conseille pas de me toucher.*

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[224] As suggested by Morel and Danon-Boileau (1998: 97), "[l']interjection 'ah' marque le plus souvent l'étonnement, la vraie surprise. Il signale un fait qui s'impose brusquement dans la situation, ou qui surgit dans la pensée".

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In the French TT, the added interjection fr. *ah* again signals that a dispreferred move is about to come. Furthermore, the illocutionary force of the sequence appears to have been shifted from warning to advice, and a conventional expression of warning by means of the negative imperative seems to have been replaced by an explicit performative alluding to the advice act in French. The shift may be expressed by the fact that warnings and advice are neighbouring speech acts, with German warnings being defined as negations of advice acts (see section 4.12). In the present example, the negative polarity of the warning in the ST is shifted towards the positive polarity in French, with the action in the complement clause being negated instead. However, one has to bear in mind that any negation of the performative clause[225] is not the same as a negation of the action expressed in the complement clause (Latraverse 1987). The shift in the French TT might thus be motivated by different norms concerning the expression of directness and mitigation in warnings and similar face-threatening acts. Here, it might be the face-threatening nature of the bold, negated imperative that is likely to be considered too impolite in French (see section 4.12 for further consideration of translation shifts in the passage in question).

Metin's reaction to Lena's warning or advice is to withdraw himself both bodily and verbally, the latter by stating:

ger. [Metin:] *Tut mir leid! Ich wollt' nur witzig sein!*

fr. [Metin:] *Faut pas t'énerver! Je voulais seulement rigoler.*

In German, Metin here offers an apology formed by an apologetic formula plus a justification of the offence committed. The utterance fr. *Faut pas t'énerver* in the French TT, however, is an advice act rather than an apology. This replacement will be discussed in detail below with regard to the translation of apologetic speech acts. Without anticipating the findings of the section below, we can state the following: While Metin's apologetic act in German implies some kind of acknowledgment of offence (hence implicit negative self-evaluation), in the French TT negative judgement is shifted onto the interlocutor, who's emotional arousal is evaluated as somewhat of an over-reaction ([-norm]). This shift might be considered to be an instance of the intersemiotic explicitation of interpersonal meaning (because Lena's state of being bothered as rendered through facial expression is explicitly verbalised in the TT). The effect of the translation shift is that, in the light of Lena's supposed over-reaction, Metin's own wrongdoing comes across as less offensive. Mitigating elements such as the use of the conditional in the justification part thus reduce the impression of imposition in the French TT. As in the ST, Metin signals some acknowledgement of the interlocutor's different perspective of the issue in the justification part. Unlike in the Catalan TT, the principles of negative politeness at stake in this scene are thus not fully ruled out.

In the justification part, there is another shift between the ST and the French TT with regard to the word class in which Metin's self-evaluation of his own prior action is conveyed. The combination of evaluative adjective plus copula in the ST (ger. *witzig sein*) is rendered through a verb (fr. *rigoler*) in the TT.

d) Judgements of Yagmur in translation

Lena's new sister Yagmur's personality is shaped by her religious zealotry, which translates into high moral standards compatible with the rules of Islam. Therefore, in *TfA*'s pilot episode, Yagmur is especially prone to making categorial and absolute

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[225] In French such a negation could either be made by means of a negation particle or by means of a lexicalised expression such as fr. *déconseiller*.

statements about other people who do not comply with her moral standards. This is the case in the two scenes featuring conflict between Lena and Yagmur discussed in the following section with regard to their translation.

Catalan

The first scene to be analysed, starting at about 10.45 minutes into the episode, features Lena and Yagmur as they realise they have to share a room with each other in the new family house. The parents are called to rectify the situation, but encourage the girls to accept their fate without demur, and to see it as an opportunity to get to know each other better. Doris also proposes installing a wall that would separate the girls' spaces 'soon', before both parents withdraw from the highly emotionally charged atmosphere in the girls' room.

As already described in section 4.8, Yagmur seems to evaluate the issue of having to share her room with Lena as highly problematic, whereas Lena – after some reflections the viewers might follow by means of voice-over commentary – is more ready to find an amicable solution to the problem.

At first, Yagmur starts asking Lena what Doris really meant when proposing to resolve the problem 'soon' (ger. [Yagmur:] *Wann ist... bald?*, cat. [Yagmur:] *Aviat, quan?*). In a somewhat superior manner, Lena responds that her mother actually meant 'never' (ger. [Lena:] *Nie!*, cat. [Lena:] *Mai!*). So far, the passage poses no great challenges for the translator insofar as the rendering of interpersonal layers of meaning is concerned.[226]

In the subsequent passages the viewer can participate in Lena's reflection about and evaluations of the situation as rendered in her voice-over commentary to Kati. In the imagined dialogue with Kati, Lena speaks her mind bluntly:

ger. [Lena:] *Meine Intimsphäre ist im Arsch, Kati.*

cat. [Lena:] *A la merda la meva intimitat, Kati.*

Here the expletive (*a la) merda* used among other things for the expression of extreme anger[227] replaces the German vulgar[228] expletive formulation *im Arsch*. In this way, not only is the expletive meaning but also the emotional value of the ST appropriately conveyed by the expressive patterns in the TT. More importantly, Lena's highly negative and intensified appreciation of the situation, the latter simultaneously conveyed nonverbally by repeated nodding, is preserved in Catalan ([-reac: qua] [+for]).

In what follows, Lena appears to shift nonverbally into a different, perhaps ironic, communicative mood (see section 4.8). She draws a hypothetical conclusion from her prior observation of lost privacy:

ger. [Lena:] *Das wäre der ideale Grund für den ersten Mord.*

cat. [Lena:] *Sería un motiu perfecte pel primer assassinat.*

The dialogue here makes use of what appraisal theory would categorise as an instance of the engagement subcategory of concur, that is a rhetorical move of apparent concession, the message of which is often is restricted in a second counter move. If we look at the TT's rendition of the utterance, we find that the Catalan version uses a slightly more specific term for ger. *Grund*, adapting it to the context of a murder case. By reinforcing the chain of association (murder case) already present in the ST, the TT's lexical selection emphasises the attached irony slightly.

Lena's second move then shows a change of mind also conveyed in a voice-over:

ger. [Lena:] *Aber Phase eins ist ja schließlich eine Friedensmission.*

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[226] The implied metalinguistic allusion is not likely to create great difficulties for the translator either.

[227] See Pujol (2006) concerning the use of cat. *merda* in the translation of swearwords into Catalan.

[228] See the lexical entry for ger. *im Arsch sein* in the German standard dictionary Duden: "im/am Arsch sein (derb: verdorben, zerstört, vernichtet sein: das Auto ist im Arsch)" (Arsch n.d.).

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cat. [Lena:] *Però la fase u és anar en to de pau.*

This is the second part (or counter move) that cancels the concession, as signalled by the adversative conjunction ger. *aber* and its Catalan counterpart *però*. The move conveys Lena's sudden resolution to establish peaceful relations with Yagmur.

This is followed by a move in which Lena – albeit somewhat reluctantly – tries to point out some positive aspects of the situation of sharing a room to Yagmur:

ger. [Lena:] *Ja, ist doch ganz lustig... so wie im... Ferienlager.*

cat. [Lena:] *Tu no trobes que és molt divertit? És com si anéssim... de campaments.*

The use of the German modal particle *doch* intends to stress common ground with Yagmur.[229] In the present example, such consensus is presented as being evident in the situation (as also expressed nonverbally by Lena's deictic use of her gaze shifting around the room). The positive evaluation of the situation is explicitly conveyed by a lexical item (ger. *lustig*), but is attenuated by the hedge ger. *ganz* ([+reac: imp] [-foc]). The comparison with a holiday camp, as an element from teenage life that Yagmur may have experienced, can be interpreted as a further affiliative move on the part of Lena.

In the Catalan TT, we observe a shift towards a 2nd person singular reference. The translator seems to have opted to stress the notion of the consensus to which Lena appeals by means of a negative interrogative. Referring to English data, Scott (2002: 317) characterised "questions soliciting opinions" as follows: "Via their form, these questions imply consensus with the speaker's expressed viewpoint, which an interlocutor is then asked to confirm or deny". The existence of such opinion-seeking questions is also attested for Spanish, for which an even more detailed description is available (cited here for lack of references for Catalan). In her work on negative interrogatives (ger. NEF) in Spanish, García Jiménez (2005) described the function of these recipient-focused interrogatives that usually occur in initiative moves as follows:

> Durch die Fokussierung des Hörers in NEF, die ein Verb des Meinens enthalten, fingiert der Sprecher, inferiert zu haben, daß, im Gegensatz zu ihm, sein Interaktionspartner die der NEF zugrundeliegende Meinung nicht teilt. [...] Zugleich legt er nahe, daß er an [die] Gültigkeit [des propositionalen Gehalts, S.F.] selbst glaubt und daß er in der Lage ist, gegen eine bezüglich seiner Meinung konträre Antwort Argumente vorzubringen. Eine solche Handlungsweise wirkt sich provokativ auf den Hörer und anregend auf die sprachliche Interaktion aus (García Jiménez 2005: 88).

According to the author, the provocative slant becomes even more pronounced when the interrogative also features a sentence-initial personal pronoun (as in the Catalan example above), with which the speaker signals that he or she is even more convinced of his or her own point of view (García Jiménez 2005). In summary, the Catalan translator chooses an idiomatic, perfectly situationally-adequate translation solution that takes the assessment into the realm of the addressee. The issue is therefore presented as slightly more available for discussion in the TT. Moreover, the TT solution again exemplifies the overall Catalan preference for recipient-oriented and solidarity-establishing politeness principles. With regard to the translation of the evaluation, Catalan, however, has recourse to slightly different means of graduation. Thus, the evaluative lexical element is qualified by a standard intensifying adverb (cat. *molt*), whereas the German ST made use of the non-standard adverb ger. g*anz,* which conveys

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[229] According to Lütten (1979: 30), ger. *doch* may be used in order to highlight "consensus beyond all question".

a moderate degree of graduation,[230] and exemplifies mitigating strategies common in German teen talk. That is, the Catalan TT shifted to a non-gradable predicate,[231] and altered the register to a slightly more standard one. This implied a shift in graduation, from the expression of moderate intensification in the ST to up-scaled intensification ([+for]) in the TT.

The above mentioned TT solution for the consensus-seeking move is also a felicitous one, because the second move part it foreshadows (confirmation or denial) is perfectly compatible with the ST's move structure. Thus, although Lena stresses both her positive assessment and her affiliative intention with a smile, Yagmur rejects Lena's 'peace offer' in the next move:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Jugendliche fahren nur ins Ferienlager um Sex zu haben und Drogen zu nehm'n.*

cat. [Yagmur:] *Els adolescents van de campaments per practicar sexe i drogar-se.*

Yagmur's response, with a categorical statement about the vices generally committed in holiday camps, is unmitigated and is thus easily replicated as such in Catalan. There is, however, a slight semantic difference between the ST and the TT, which involves the restrictive focus particle ger. *nur* in the ST. As suggested by Sudhoff (2010), on one hand, the particle ger. *nur* strongly asserts (and thus somewhat intensifies) the meaning component it has in its scope. On the other hand, by employing *nur* the speaker presupposes the meaning of the corresponding bare assumption lacking the particle. In other words, utterances with ger. *nur* are slightly heteroglossic because they allude to alternative, albeit only marginally differing, points of view. The Catalan utterance, by contrast, is fully monoglossic.

However, the latter, does not affect the characterisation of Yagmur, who is particularly prone to making such categorical statements. Neither does it affect the negative moral evaluation of teenagers attached to the statement ([-mor]).

It should be added that here the coordination of the verbal code with the remaining codes again becomes important. This time it is the soundtrack, with strong accords of extradiegetic music that serves to either emphasise the categoricality of Yagmur's statement after the girl has finished or Lena's contrastive evaluative reaction. At least in the first case, the translated verbal code should clearly correspond to the musical one (and it actually does so by replicating a strong sense of categoriality in the TT).

Another scene featuring Yagmur as a teenager with a clear perception of what she considers as morally right and wrong, especially with regard to religion, will now be discussed. The scene starts at about 16.40 minutes into the episode. Lying on her bed in the girls' shared room, Lena directs her speech at Yagmur asking her about the reasons behind her praying:

ger. [Lena:] *Wofür betest 'n du eigentlich?*

cat. [Lena:] *Tu què li demanes?*

As stated in section 4.8, the addition of the modal particle ger. *eigentlich* to the utterance under consideration shapes its meaning in several ways: Firstly, it signals an initiative move or a shift in topic within an ongoing communication. Questions with ger. *eigentlich* often appear to be casually posed. Secondly, by employing the modal particle, the speaker indicates his or her keen interest and high participation in the subject about which he or she is inquiring. At the same time, posing such a question is a critical communicative act when the level of familiarity between the interlocutors is

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[230] According to Os (1989) in addition to an extremely high and even absolute degree, ger. *ganz* may express a moderate or minimal degree when used with a predicate of moderately positive or negative connotation (like ger. *witzig* in the present example).

[231] See Castroviejo-Miró (2012) with regard to cat. *molt.*

low, and when the topic is of fundamental importance for the interlocutor (Muhr 1989). The question may therefore be taken as reproaching and provocative (Stănescu 1989). The latter is exactly the case in the present example in which Lena – also nonverbally – signals both her interest in and her incomprehension of Yagmur's faith, with the act of posing the question itself being highly critical.

The Catalan TT then reproduces the question without changes in terms of informational content. Moreover, the addition of the subject pronoun cat. *tu* renders a similar notion of topic change (through contrast) and of interest (through emphasis) as found in the ST. Furthermore, through its reliance on an indirect object pronoun (cat. *li*), the Catalan version seems to recreate the sense of context-embeddedness of spontaneous communication that also characterises the ST sequence.

However, other notions implicit in the German ST, especially those expressed through the somewhat provocative modal particle are downplayed, with the viewer forced to rely on the nonverbal communication for proper understanding.

Given the interrogative's primary function as an information request – a function preserved in the TT – Yagmur's answer then actually reveals what she is praying for:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Dass alles so wird wie früher und ihr auszieht!*

cat. [Yagmur:] *Que tot torni a ser com abans i que us en aneu!*

The TT's version provides almost the same information[232], as well as reproduces the somewhat categorical form of expressing a wishful request. The prosodic and nonverbal cues conveying Yagmur's heightened emotions (such as anger) are reproduced in the TT.

Despite Yagmur's angry and categorical tone and unmitigated request, Lena responds somewhat affiliatively:

ger. [Lena:] *Schick 'nen Gruß mit rauf, ich nehm' das Gleiche!*

cat. [Lena:] *Doncs recorda demanar el mateix per a mi!*

In both the ST and the TT, Lena thus signals general agreement with what Yagmur requests when praying to God: That the Turkish and German family members will separate again. However, the precise way in which this is conveyed varies in the German and Catalan versions to a degree. The German ST starts with a somewhat colloquial request to pass greetings 'upwards' (that is, to God) in the same way one would ask someone to pass greetings to absent colleagues or friends. The content of Lena's request that Yagmur is asked submit to God (ger. *ich nehm' das Gleiche*) then also comes across as a colloquial demand (one could order pizza or similar things in the same way). The fact that Lena's comment is made in a joking way, as indicated by her nonverbal behaviour (such as her smile after having finished the utterance), does not contribute to defusing the situation; on the contrary, it adds to the provocation by challenging Yagmur and the seriousness of her faith.

The sense of provocation is, however, not fully borne out in the Catalan TT: Whereas the ideational content of the message is roughly preserved, the controversy created by the colloquial way in which Lena approaches the topic of religion so important to Yagmur is lost. As before, it is thus the situationally inadequate way in which the speech act is performed that is only partly (nonverbally) conveyed in Catalan.

Yagmur's reaction features a question with an implicit negative altero-characterisation of Lena:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Sag' mal, findest du mich auch so scheiße wie ich dich?*

cat. [Yagmur:] *Et caic tan malament com tu a mi?*

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[232] There is, of course, a slight difference in meaning between the activity verbs ger. *ausziehen* and cat. *irse*, with the latter being, for instance, somewhat more general in sense.

This reaction has to be understood in terms of Lena's earlier provocation as the eliciting condition. Thus, Lena is evaluated in extremely negative terms, resorting to a combination of intensifier and adjective (ger. *so scheiße*), because of her earlier provocative behaviour. The Catalan TT expresses this in a similar way, also resorting to a combination of intensifier and adjective (cat. *tan malament*, [-reac: qua] [+for]).

It is, however, imperative to direct attention to a difference between the ST and the TT at this point. Unlike the general tendency towards 2nd person singular reference in the Catalan TT, the ST's initial formulation ger. *sag' mal*, featuring such a reference in the form of an imperative and serving the "Einforderung einer Äußerung" (Imo 2007: 103), is not carried over to the Catalan version. In German, such a fronted construction not only prompts but also limits the interlocutor's possibilities of response to the question, and shifts emphasis onto the speaker's negative assessment of the interlocutor. We are therefore again concerned with somewhat provocative behaviour, this time on part of Yagmur, which superficially comes across as somewhat affiliative (through the use of a 2nd person form). Once more, it is not reproduced as such in the TT.

Yagmur's evaluation-implying interrogative is met by Lena with quite a direct answer. Lena responds to the question of whether she thinks of Yagmur in the same negative terms as Yagmur does of her in the affirmative:

ger. [Lena:] *Denk' schon.*

cat. [Lena:] *Diria que sí.*

Here the answer, even the Catalan one, is consistent with the nonverbal code (repetitive nodding as signalling agreement, furrowed eyebrows as signs of the negative evaluation passed on the other). Note that in both the ST and the TT, the affirmative statement appears to be somewhat mitigated by being presented as personal thoughts or speech. The shift from an assessment originating in one's personal thought (ger. *denken*) towards one originating in one's speech (cat. *dir*, a verb in the conditional and thus mitigated) may be due to the target language's preferences. Another viable explication is the choice of an item starting with a similar consonant as in the ST for purposes of lip synchronisation.

The affirmative response is followed by a more extensive assessment of Yagmur's praying behaviour:

ger. [Lena:] *Ich find' das aber eigentlich total krank, was du da machst. Na ja, nach Mekka und so....*

cat. [Lena:] *La veritat és que em sembla que estigues una mica sonada. Tot el dia amb la Meca amunt i avall.*

In our view, there are a few aspects that are worth discussing when comparing the ST and TT versions. Firstly, in the ST, similar to that which was stated above regarding the functions of the modal particle ger. *eigentlich* in interrogatives, the particle marks a topic change in the present assertion, which is further emphasised by the adversative conjunction ger. *aber*. The particle *eigentlich* also has some adversative value in itself, introducing some demurral that has been ignored or dismissed as minor so far (Harden 1983). The Catalan TT reproduces the idea of a topic shift by means of the formula cat. *la veritat és que*, a variant of the very frequent justificational expression cat. *és que* (Marín and Cuenca 2012). In contrast to the above mentioned German expression, the formula primarily marks a co-oriented (rather than adversative) relationship to prior ideas and statements and "emfasitza el que ve a continuació" (Marín and Cuenca 2012: 66). Given that, in the present example Lena's subsequent evaluation of Yagmur's behaviour not only contradicts what was said before but also comes across as more important, the Catalan formula seems to be an adequate choice in translation.

Secondly, the most important information conveyed in this passage is the lexically expressed depreciative evaluation of Yagmur's praying behaviour (ger. *eigentlich total krank*, cat. *una mica sonada*). In the ST, the modal particle ger. *eigentlich* somewhat attenuates the impact of the otherwise blunt and up-scaled negative evaluation of Yagmur's praying. It should be pointed out that both the intensifier ger. *total* and the adjective ger. *krank* (in its evaluative use) are typical elements of German teen talk. The latter is also true for downplaying elements such as the general extender ger. *und so*, which is employed here as the last element in the list specifying the precise aspect of Yagmur's behaviour to which the evaluation refers. In this regard, it is also noteworthy that German teenagers frequently employ hedges and vague expressions – and usually not for reasons of politeness. The general difference from Catalan usage then does not lie in the expression of politeness, but in the frequency with which elements from the two subcategories of graduation (force and focus) are employed. Whereas in Catalan mitigation through downscaled force (*una mica sonada*, [-for]) is preferred, German mitigates by softened focus (the above mentioned *und so,* [-foc]). In the present example, softened focus in the ST (ger. *Na ja, nach Mekka und so...*) is then even replaced by intensified graduation in the TT (cat. *Tot el dia amb la Mekka amunt i avall*).

Yagmur's reaction to Lena's provocative remarks about her religion is a false smile, which is followed by a hyperbolic expletive comment about Lena: ger. *Hähä... Nazi!* Given that the German expletive *Nazi* is well-known in other cultures, this short passage is almost literally carried over to Catalan (cat. *He he. Nazi...*).

French
We now pass to the consideration of the translation of scenes featuring both Lena and Yagmur into French. As with the Catalan TT, categorical statements and attached judgements are of central concern here.

The first passage to consider starts at about 10.45 minutes into the pilot, and deals with the girls' surprised reaction when realising that they will have to share a room in the future. After the parents have left the room, the girls' comment on the parents' proposal for solving the problem in the near future. Lena responds to Yagmur's question (ger. [Yagmur:] *Wann ist... bald?*, fr. [Yagmur:] *C'est quand... bientôt?*), with the bold statement ger. *Nie!* (fr. *Ça, jamais!*). Therefore, apart from an element of explicitation of cohesive ties (fr. *Ça*), there is no modification in the rendering of the mostly informative content into French. In the voice-over commentary directed at her friend Kati, Lena's true feelings about the situation are then revealed:

ger. [Lena:] *Meine Intimsphäre ist im Arsch, Kati. Das wäre der ideale Grund für den ersten Mord.*

fr. [Lena:] *Mon intimité fout le camp, Kati. Ça ferait un mobile idéal pour un premier meurtre.*

The most salient issue in this section is the sub-standard marking attached to the verb (fr. *foutre le camp*)[233] in the TT, whereas the ST used a vulgar expletive formulation (ger. *im Arsch*). Along with the sub-standard marking of Lena's utterance, the negative, up-scaled evaluation found in the ST and nonverbally emphasised by Lena's repeated head nods is carried over to the French ([-reac: qua] [+for]). With regard to the second part of Lena's turn, as in Catalan, the translator has selected a more specific translation equivalent for ger. *Grund* (fr. *mobile*). The entire utterance, then, may be considered as echoing the language of murder cases. Again, the TT thus seems to emphasise the

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[233] See the lexical entry for fr. *foutre* in the Larousse dictionary: "foutre (populaire) le camp. décamper, s'en aller; s'abîmer, se dégrader [...]" (foutre n.d.).

attached irony a little bit more than does the ST. Lena then starts to rethink her prior considerations. Formally, the earlier counter move is now followed by a counter move cancelling the concession. This counter-move is clearly marked by an initial adversative conjunction in both the ST and in the French TT:

ger. [Lena:] *Aber Phase eins ist ja schließlich eine Friedensmission.*

fr. [Lena:] *Mais la phase un a été déterminée comme une mission de paix.*

In this passage, reference is made to the first step (ger. *Phase eins*) in Lena's and Nils' plan to become friends with the new family members. In the German ST, the combination of particles (ger. *ja schließlich*) then presents the peaceful expectations attached to this plan as arising somewhat naturally out of the situation.[234] By contrast, in the TT, this comes across as the result of human decision-making (as thematised in the passive verb construction fr. *a été déterminée*). There are no further modifications of the informational content.

Having reconsidered the new and unexpected room-sharing situation in the voice-over message to Kati, Lena now sets out to evaluate it with some optimism in the conversation with Yagmur:

ger. [Lena:] *Ja, ist doch ganz lustig... so wie im... Ferienlager.*

fr. [Lena:] *Va a ser rigolo. On se croirait dans une sorte de camp de vacances.*

In German, this represents an affiliation-seeking move, containing the consent-expressing modal particle ger. *doch*. Furthermore, there is inscribed positive, but somewhat mitigated appraisal of the situation (ger. *ganz lustig*, [+react: imp] [-foc]) The French TT reworks Lena's evaluative commentary of the present situation into one about the future, and eliminates the attenuating element from the expression of attitude. The same reworking into some kind of prediction about the future takes place in the second part of Lena's statement. In addition, the reluctance with which Lena delivers her statement in the ST (as evident from the interruptions) is not preserved in the TT.

However, Yagmur ignores and even rejects Lena's offer to affiliate around such a topic as a holiday camp by stating:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Jugendliche fahren nur ins Ferienlager um Sex zu haben und Drogen zu nehm'n.*

fr. [Yagmur:] *Les jeunes ne vont dans les camps de vacances que pour le sexe et pour la drogue, rien d'autre.*

Bold statements such as the present one, which expresses a moral judgement about the behaviour of adolescents in holiday camps, are likely to be easily translated into another language. Here it is only the intensifying element that undergoes modification in translation. The French TT is stronger in that there is an extra sentential negation (fr. *rien d'autre*) at the end of utterance.[235] Thus, the impression of the categoriality of Yagmur's statement, as probably also emphasised by the subsequent musical theme, is slightly strengthened in the TT.

The next scene showing an encounter between Lena and Yagmur to be discussed begins at 16.40 minutes into the pilot episode. In this passage, the two girls discuss Yagmur's religious dedication. After a short move to get Yagmur's attention (ger. [Lena:] *Du, Yagmur?* fr. [Lena:] *Dis, Yagmur...*), Lena comes right to the point by asking Yagmur:

ger. [Lena:] *Wofür betest 'n du eigentlich?*

fr. [Lena:] *Quand tu pris, tu demandes quoi?*

As discussed earlier, the most notable thing in the ST is the modal particle ger. *eigentlich*. The choice of this modal particle has several different implications:

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[234] See Burkhardt's (1989: 365) description of the meaning of ger. *schließlich*: "es war nach aller Erfahrung erwartbar, dass p".

[235] See Déprez (2011) regarding the negation element fr. *rien d'autre* as an innovation of Modern French.

Textually, it denotes a shift in topic in an on-going conversation; interpersonally, the question appears as casually posed but, in fact, signals the speaker's high interest in the topic and represents a highly critical communicative act in cases in which interlocutors are somewhat unfamiliar with each other. Lena's accompanying nonverbal expression further highlights her critical perspective on Yagmur's religious zeal (see section 4.8).

The French TT, then, makes no use of modal items. In addition, in the TT, the French verb *demander* competes with *prier*: The latter sets the larger frame of the topic, while the former designates the individual speech act of praying. When compared to the expression of the request act in the German ST, the TT solution appears to be more explicit. That is, the casual shift in topic marked in the ST by the modal particle ger. *eigentlich* is made explicit by the direct introduction of the background topic in the French TT. Both the sense of causality and situatedness within the exchange, and the provocativeness of Lena's requestive move are lost in the TT, with the latter only being recoverable from Lena's kinesic communication (see section 4.8). A possible explanation for the explicitation shift might be found in the polyphony of the French verb *demander,* which denotes the act of asking and of requesting (Frank 2011) – the latter both within everyday and religious contexts. Ger. *beten*, by contrast, is more unambiguous, because it is largely confined to demands to God in religious contexts.

Lena's high degree of interest in Yagmur's religious activities is satisfied by Yagmur's equally blunt answer:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Dass alles so wird wie früher und ihr auszieht!*

fr. [Yagmur:] *Que tout devient comme avant et que vous dégagiez d'ici.*

Again, Yagmur utters a categorical statement. The French TT then departs slightly from the ST in that it makes use of a popular lexical (or non-core) item: the intransitive verb fr. *dégager*.[236] This flags Yagmur's critical evaluation of the German family members to a degree. Yagmur's somewhat daring response in asking God for the removal of the German family members is met by Lena in the following way:

ger. [Lena:] *Schick 'nen Gruß mit rauf, ich nehm' das Gleiche!*

fr. [Lena:] *Hé, bienvenue au club, c'est ce que je demande aussi!*

This is a move in which Lena somewhat affiliates with the content of Yagmur's praying activity. The French TT chooses the fixed colloquial expression fr. *bienvenue au club*[237] in order to convey that Lena in fact thinks that she and Yagmur are in the same undesirable situation. The expression is appropriate for recreating the impression of affiliation between the two girls being in the same negative situation. as well as the non-seriousness of the speech act (as additionally conveyed nonverbally by Lena's smile and her laughter at the end of her move).

Later in this scene, Lena gives a more negative characterisation of Yagmur:

ger. [Lena:] *Ich find' das aber eigentlich total krank, was du da machst. Na ja, nach Mekka und so....*

fr. [Lena:] *Je trouve ça complètement débile, ton cinéma. Comme avec la Meque et tous ces trucs....*

In this passage of the French TT, modal elements such as ger. *eigentlich* are again omitted. That is, both the impression of topic change signalled by this modal particle as well as the adversative value established in conjunction with the adversative conjunction ger. *aber* are not reproduced in the French TT. Accordingly, Lena's evaluation of Yagmur's praying behaviour as fr. *complètement débile*, which replicates

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[236] See the lexical entry for fr. *dégager* in the Larousse dictionary: "dégager, verbe intransitif, Populaire. Vider les lieux, débarrasser le terrain [...]" (dégager n.d.).

[237] The slogan fr. *bienvenue au club* originally stems from an advertising campaign for Club Med (Costantino 2000).

the instances of judgement and graduation ([-norm] [+for]) found in the ST, comes across as an unmitigated appraisal. However, the ST choices ger. *total* and *krank* were recognisable as teen talk expressions. The French TT somewhat compensates for the loss of the teen talk marking by inserting the fixed colloquial expression fr. *ton cinéma* at the end of the clause. This expression does not simply refer to some set of activities as the ger. *was du da machst* does, but portrays them as deceitful and thus implies a negative judgement ([-ver]).[238] With regard to the expression of vagueness as a typical teen talk element in the last sentence of Lena's turn, the French TT, however, comes close to the ST. It makes use of the general extender fr. *et tous ces trucs* in order to express downscaled focus ([-foc]).[239]

Yagmur's final reaction, accompanied by a false smile, is then quite easy to translate into French:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Hähä… Nazi!*
fr. [Yagmur:] *Hehehe. Nazi!*

Here, again as in the Catalan TT, the hyperbolic and expletive reference to Lena as *Nazi* ([-mor]) is retained, since it is well-known in other cultures.

We will now consider the translation of some verbal exchanges between Lena and Cem as another source of interpersonal meaning (especially of judgement) in *TfA*.

e) Judgements of Cem in translation

Judgements attached to introductory displays of Cem

As stated in the description of the German ST in section 4.8, cinematography – especially the sequence of POV-shots establishing Cem as the object of Lena's subjective gaze and evaluation – plays an important role in Cem's introductory scenes. Cinematography and corresponding verbal evaluation thus work hand-in-hand to provide the viewer with the first opportunities to judge the antagonist Cem on the basis of Lena's own character judgement and to possibly side against him. Moreover, Cem's analytical features and behaviour serve to introduce him as a specific type of character, and act as eliciting conditions (EC) for both character and viewer judgement. The verbal realisation of evaluation is then somewhat predetermined by the narrative composition of the scene: Idiosyncratic features of speech style should not only allow us to distinguish Cem from other characters and to allocate him to a certain group, but also to stimulate character and corresponding viewer judgements. Oddity of verbal behaviour in a specific situation would be one possible EC of such judgements. In addition, a verbal recount of eliciting conditions in the accompanying or subsequent dialogue would be possible. Furthermore, given the sequence's subjective visual composition, the dialogue is also likely to contain some negative character judgement in the linguistic modality. In this regard, one should consider that negative evaluation of Cem (or occasionally reciprocal negative evaluation of both Lena and Cem) is made in voice-over or in inaudible communication with other characters. Hence, verbal evaluation is more likely to occur in a bold, direct, non-metaphorical manner. The latter should, in turn, reduce possible problems in translation.

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[238] See Lyotard (1977: 89).
[239] See Secova (2014) on expressions like fr. *et tout*, *et tout ça*, and expressions containing the vague noun fr. *truc* as general extenders in European French in general, and in the language of young people in particular.

After this short characterisation of potential general preconditions for linguistic realisation we will now focus on shifts in the verbal modality that actually occurred in translation.

Catalan
As mentioned earlier, the Cem character makes his first appearance in the restaurant scene, about 2.20 minutes into the film. It is here that he is introduced to Lena, making a bad first impression on her.
Given that the Catalan TT is very close to the German ST in this scene, we will refrain from discussing it in detail here. Thus, it only remains to say that, in accordance with the subjective evaluation conveyed by the POV-shots, Lena's final depersonalising evaluation about Cem's stereotypical personality ([-val]) is carried over:
ger. [Lena:] *Ein Klischee... und es lebt!*
cat. [Lena:] *És un cliché... ambulant!*
The second part of the utterance, spoken in voice-over over a point-object shot of Cem, is somewhat more specific in characterising the 'cliché' (= Cem) in the Catalan TT (instead of just being alive the cliché is characterised as being special in being able to walk around). This is, however, a minor change without specific effects on evaluation.
The second scene featuring Cem as the object of Lena's evaluative gaze (and vice versa) starts at about 8.30 minutes into the episode. Its precise visual construction has already been discussed in relation to the German version in section 4.8.
Pointing with her chin at Cem and Yagmur, who are carrying cardboard boxes for the removal, Lena first draws Nils' attention to Cem's outward appearance by stating:
ger. [Lena:] *Ey, guck' mal diese Klamotten an! So 'ne Scheiß-Schnellfickerhose*!
cat. [Lena:] *Però mira, quina pinta! Home, vestit d'aquesta manera!*
Again, the visuals play a crucial role for the conveyance of character judgement, so that any careful translation of this passage should pay particular attention to issues of verbal-visual simultaneity and coherence. Thus, the TTs – and not only the Catalan one – follow the ST in verbally replicating the gestural reference (chin pointing) to Cem: The ST's imperative construction demanding Nils to direct his attention to Cem's outfit is kept. Moreover, as in the ST, the target of evaluation is first generally introduced and then somewhat specified. However, the Catalan TT is less specific in this regard: Whereas the ST first makes reference to the dress and then to a particular part of the dress, the Catalan TT first refers to Cem's general outward appearance and then to his way of dressing in general. Before going into more detail, it should be said that, on the whole, the verbal reference to the target is in line with the subsequent camera movement imitating Lena's (and Nils') gaze, and coming to rest on a part of Cem's outfit.[240]
The more general reference to the dress as the target of evaluation in Catalan might be due to the fact that the translation of the creative composite ger. *Scheiß-Schnellfickerhose* might pose significant problems for the translator translating into Romance languages. As Bruti and Perego (2010: 66) observed with regard to the translation of terms of address and insults in audio-visual texts from English into Italian, "English can easily exploit a given situation and the speaker's standpoint in the selection of an appropriate referring expression, which may cause translational problems if the target language is more analytical". In other words, even more so than German itself the Germanic language English allows for the easy construction of evaluative nominal descriptors capturing the essence of a highly specific situation. Romance languages, however, neither show a general tendency to such situation-based conciseness nor a tendency towards nominalisation. Furthermore, there is an additional

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[240] Spatio-temporal alignment and allegiance as in the ST are therefore ensured.

difficulty added in that the present descriptor also alludes to a colloquial, even teen talk register in the German ST (the component *Scheiß-* is a highly productive element in German teen talk, conveying both a high degree of negativity and intensification; see section 4.8).

In the Catalan TT, the choice of a more general verbal description of the situation somewhat reduces the offensive nature of the evaluation in Lena's utterance. However, this loss of expressivity and intensification is compensated for in the utterance. The combination of interjection-like elements[241] carrying emphatic stress with exclamative clauses (cat. *[Però] mira, quina pinta!*) further intensifies the clauses "que ya por sí mismas intensifican una cantidad o cualidad" (Sancho Cremades 2008: 214). The result is a construction that, even without further specification of exactly which quantity or quality is being referred to, would convey to every recipient that the assessed is special in terms of something to an extreme degree (Sancho Cremades 2008). In addition, the construction inherits from the exclamative clause a sense of subjectivity and effect of surprise that "depende de la comparación entre lo que se supone que debe pasar y lo que realmente pasa" (Sancho Cremades 2008: 213). The addition of cat. *però* in the TT further adds to the latter effect of counter-expectation. On the other hand, the resulting construction is more colloquial than a construction with standard intensifying elements such as cat. *molt* would be. Therefore, based on examples from a corpus of interlingual audio-visual translation, Sancho Cremades (2008) is able to conclude: "Estas construcciones suplantan a las formas más estándar como marcas de coloquialización" (Sancho Cremades 2008: 213). The colloquial slant attached to the composite noun in the ST is thus somewhat reproduced in the Catalan TT.

The fact that the Catalan TT does not render evaluation by means of inscribed appreciation attached to the target of evaluation (unlike the compound ger. *Scheiß-Schnellfickerhose* in the ST) may perhaps be explained by the above mentioned lack of need to further specify the quantity or quality of evaluation. Thus, nuances of distancing and negative evaluation are expressed in a different way in the ST. Accordingly, in the second part of Lena's turn (cat. *Home, vestit d'aquesta manera!),* her distance from the assessed is signalled through the distancing demonstrative pronoun cat. *aquesta*. Moreover, the interjection cat. *home* conveys surprise and disapproval (Verdaguer 1999) of Cem's way of dressing.

We described earlier how the visual focus is placed on Cem's outfit as the assessive in an overall subjective-evaluative passage, so that the correlation between image and verbal rendering becomes crucial. This means that the target of evaluation (Cem's outfit or way of dressing) – but not necessarily the attached evaluation – should be verbalised in some way. That this verbalisation may also refer to the image's more marginal elements that may become the target of evaluation is evident from the Italian translation. We will briefly sidestep to allude to these differences. According to Heiss (2010), the Italian TT renders the passage as follows:

it. [Lena:] *Scatoloni pieni di spazzatura. Guardali, sembrano due pezzenti.*

Here, as Heiss (2010: n.pag.) noted, "[d]ie italienische Version gibt das Kulturspezifikum *Schnellfickerhose* nicht wieder sondern weicht aus auf das Klischee vom armen Einwanderer mit Pappkartons und minderwertigem Umzugsgut." In other words, instead of Cem's outfit, the cardboard boxes and their contents carried by Cem and Yagmur in the visuals become the target of evaluation. Negative evaluation is

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[241] See Sancho Cremades (2008) for the characterisation of cat. *mira* and similar elements as interjection-like items in such constructions.

flagged by means of comparison with beggars.[242] According to Heiss (2010), this in turn invites an allusion to an Italian stereotype of poor migrants (in contrast to the German stereotype of a sexually-active lower-class male evoked by reference to Cem's tracksuit trousers). The Catalan TT, by contrast, is comparatively more colourless in this regard because it makes no allusion to a specific stereotype. Returning to the Catalan TT, we turn now to the subsequent passage in which Cem and Yagmur assess Lena's outward appearance in a similar way. The cinematographic composition, a sequence of subjective POV-shots showing the assessor and the assessed, is essentially the same – but now it is Lena who becomes the object of Cem's and Yagmur's gaze and evaluation. The accompanying verbal assessment is rendered as follows:

ger. [Cem:] *Ey, guck' mal, Yagmur, ey. Voll die No-Name-Collection! Is' ja voll peinlich, so öko, ey.*

cat. [Cem:] *Ei, jo flipo, Yagmur. Tot marca 'no t'hi fixis'. I tot cumba! Quin mal gust!*

Here, the German imperative construction demanding Yagmur to direct her attention to Lena as the assessed object is not kept in the translation. Instead, an initial attention getter is immediately followed by an instance of inscribed attitude. The verb *flipar* that Cem uses to describe his emotional reaction regarding Lena's outfit is an Anglicism that has made its way into Spanish and Catalan teen talk (Wieland 2008). According to Martínez López (2009), (Spanish) *flipar* is

> a case of relative intensifying and exclusive constriction in teenage talk. The verb *flipar* [...] has acquired the meaning of 'asombrarse' or 'sorprenderse' ('be surprised') among the teenagers, [...]. It seems as if we are facing one of the multifaceted elements of the language that lacks a proper meaning, and that can be used in any context as long as the speaker attributes to it a suitable meaning in the context (Martínez López 2009: 92, italics in the original).

The latter may also be seen in relation to a general tendency in the expression of surprise in which the precise polarity of the feeling often needs to be recovered from the context. In each case, cat. *flipar* also denotes intensified surprise (Wieland 2008) without clear indication of polarity. As in the German ST, the expression of evaluation is then followed by the mention of the target of evaluation. The Catalan TT here remains close to the German ST in choosing a colloquial expression to render the idea that Lena wears nothing but unbranded clothing (which in the ST is expressed by means an Anglicism). The subsequent inscribed evaluation is also replicated in the Catalan TT, but with semantically different content. Perhaps due to the impossibility of combining the reference to an outfit with an evaluative adjective denoting embarrassment and shame,[243] the Catalan TT resorts to a negative evaluation in terms of lack of taste, which will be repeated later in the scene.[244]

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[242] The ST's indirect negative judgement of Cem via his outfit is thus explicitly expressed as negative judgement of both Cem and Yagmur in the Italian TT.

[243] According to the Duden, the collocation ger. *peinliches Outfit* somewhat implied in the abovementioned example is one of the most frequent ones among the collocations with ger. *peinlich* (peinlich n.d.). German peinlich is an object-experiencer (OE) psych adjective. Such adjectives are said to have an evaluative meaning component and to be close to evaluative adjectives. Accordingly, "[t]heir subject can either refer to an individual who possesses the expressed property or to an event which is somewhat related to an individual" (Temme 2014: 148). Tentatively, for this reason it is possible to employ an OE adjective like *peinlich* in a wider evaluative frame with reference to things somewhat related to an individual in German.

[244] However, general differences between emotion concepts such as ger. *Peinlichkeit* ('shame', 'embarrassment') and possible Catalan counterparts may also play a role here. Authors such as Wallbott and Scherer (1995) have pointed to differences between protestant, individualistic cultures (such as

Furthermore, elements of Cem's idiosyncratic speech style, such as the interjection ger. *ey* in utterance-final position, are largely eliminated from the Catalan text.

At this point, it is again instructive to consider the Italian version of this passage:

it. [Cem:] *Hey, guarda quei due Yagmur, Sembrano usciti da una pubblicità. Sono davvero penosi. Sono così tedeschi.*

Heiss (2010: n.pag.) says about the translation of this passage into Italian: "Über Lena und ihren kleinen Bruder heißt es nur ganz allgemein *sono cosí tedeschi*. In der Serie jedoch handelt es sich um ein ganz bestimmtes Klischee, nämlich das vom progressiven ökologisch-umweltfreundlich gesinnten deutschen Großstadtbewohner". Thus, the Italian TT again modifies the stereotypical portrayal of the German ST. However, this time, the stereotypes are not just relocated in their own cultural realm, but are somewhat replaced by a more hyperonymic and stereotypical allusion to Germans in general.

Returning to the narrative, the scene now culminates in a personal encounter between the two opposed parties. Both parties now suspend their generally negative evaluation of each other to a degree. Lena, still with a depreciative facial and gestural expression, first sets out to praise Cem's outfit, with the compliment subsequently paid back by Cem:

ger. [Lena:] *Hey, coole Hose!* [Cem:] *Äähm, du auch. Hast voll Geschmack!*

cat. [Lena:] *Ei, guai el xandall!* [Cem:] *Si, tia, com mola aquest jersei!*

In the Catalan TT, Cem's dress (that is, the entire tracksuit instead of just the trousers as in the German) is now referred to as the target of evaluation. Furthermore, Cem's reference to Lena's dress becomes more specific than it is in the ST. Moreover, the evaluation is preserved, and the colloquial slant of the passage (as conveyed in German by means of the Anglicism *cool* and the teen talk intensifier *voll*) is also preserved: Catalan resorts to lexical expressions such as cat. *guai* or *tia* that, as borrowings from Spanish, now abound in Catalan teenager talk.[245]

We now consider the French TT solutions of the above discussed passages.

French

In the French TT, the antipathy between Lena and Cem in their first encounter in the restaurant scene (starting at 2.20 minutes into the episode) becomes even more palpable. The French TT first also verbalises Cem's initial negative judgement of Lena. Let us examine the passage:

ger. [Cem]: *Was geht? Ich bin Cem, ey.*

fr. [Cem]: *Très drôle. Moi, c'est Cem.*

We are first interested in the substitution of Cem's 'Kanak sprak' male greeting formula ger. *Was geht?* by the ironic judgement of Lena's prior verbal behaviour in the exchange with Yagmur as fr. *Très drôle* ([+reac: qua] [+for]). Previously, Lena ridiculed Yagmur's conventional religious blessing formula by pretending to take it literally. The French TT thus makes Cem's character judgement explicit, although this is left implicit in the German ST. This might be a case of intersemiotic explicitation, as such a negative assessment is otherwise conveyed in the visuals (cf. Yagmur's depreciative evaluative reaction by raising her left eyebrow). Furthermore, it is important to remember that the flouting of implicit social rules, especially in situations

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German culture), and collectivistic cultures (such as the Spanish and Catalan ones). So, in accordance with semantic nuances conveyed in the present example, expressions of shame used in individualistic cultures seem to convey more negative moral overtones and ultimately have a negative impact on social relationships. This is not so much the case in collectivistic ones. See also Hurtado de Mendoza et al. (2010) for a more detailed discussion.

[245] See Wieland (2008) with respect to cat. *guai* and to the frequency of cat. *tío* in teen talk in the Catalan media.

with highly conventional rituals and protocols (such as greetings), almost automatically invites judgements of impoliteness made by both the interlocutor and the viewer. In other words, Lena's inadequate behaviour is also likely to trigger negative judgements in the ST that are similar to those spelled out in the French TT.

However, there is a clash between the expected negative judgement of Lena's behaviour and Cem's evaluation in positive terms (fr. *Très drôle.*). This discrepancy might be taken as signal for the judgement to be interpreted as ironic.

The French TT then deploys the above mentioned explicitation of evaluation at the expense of the stereotypical traits of Cem's speech style. Thus, both the ST's informal greeting formula ger. *Was geht?* and the interjection ger. *ey* are among the clues typically associated with (male) speakers of the mediated variety of 'Kanak sprak'. Given the overall function of the sequence (revelation of Cem's character identity), it would be highly advisable to reproduce these idiosyncratic features in the TT, particularly since Cem's attributional features will subsequently elicit an explicit judgement in terms of stereotypicality by Lena. Furthermore, in contrast to the verbals, the images do indeed convey stereotypical traits associated with Cem's Turkish-German identity (such as wearing sports clothes inappropriate in a restaurant setting, and wearing a bold necklace) and his personality (Cem's typical facial expression of drawing up a corner of his mouth and pouting his lips while speaking). Finally, Cem's use of an informal greeting formula typically used among male friends when being introduced to a female stranger is likely to trigger judgements of inappropriateness in the ST viewers.

Despite the importance of these features, the French TT omits them. The latter is clearly a case of implicitation as often occurs as a counterbalance to explicitation shifts (see section 4.11). Apart from possible matters of lip synchronisation and the fact that a greeting formula such as ger. *Was geht?* that is highly specific for a certain register is not easily translatable, there is no viable explanation for this shift so far.

The effect of the shift is that the reciprocal negative judgement of Lena and Cem in their first encounter is more pronounced in the French TT when Cem is given room to verbalise his evaluation about Lena. The TT thus shifts slightly away from a perspective that is predominantly anchored in Lena's subjectivity.

The scene now continues by presenting Cem for negative evaluation. Here, the French translator choses to replicate the negative judgement of Cem's stereotypicality ([-val]) as already present in the ST's voice-over commentary:

ger. [Lena:] *Ein Klischee... und es lebt!*

fr. [Lena:] *Encore un cliché... et qui se mantient!*

As we can see in the example, a further clarification of semantic content takes place in the TT. Firstly, the adverb fr. *encore* is added in the translation. *Encore* is usually regarded as a highly polysemous adverb expressing "une discordance entre ce que l'on s'attend à trouver et ce que l'on trouve en réalité" (Lindschouw 2011: 200). It is, however, instructive to consider the precise semantics of fr. *encore* here. The adverb's core notion is said to be based on a temporal dimension that gives rise to two competing interpretations: On one hand, fr. *encore* appears to convey the idea of an unexpected continuation of some prior state of the art or situation. On the other hand, the focus is on the idea of the non-termination of a state of the art rather than on its continuation. Thus, the fr. *encore,* in some sense, expresses a counter-expectation linked to a posterior situation. In our case, the expectation that there are no people representing stereotypes any more (posterior situation) is rejected in the light of the current example of Cem. Note that both the ideas of counter-expectation and non-termination are also palpable from the second part of the TT's clause. The phrase fr. *et qui se mantient!* adds an

additional argument that both specifies and reinforces the impression of stereotypicality ([+for]).[246] The latter is, of course, also present in the German ST, but the precise information rendered by the additional argument is different. That is, in the ST, reinforcement involves the personification of the stereotype (adding that it is even a living one). By contrast, in the TT, reinforcement involves the addition that the impression of Cem's stereotypicality is not a futile one.

It is then legitimate to ask why these latter changes in terms of informational content might have taken place. It is possible that it may have been precisely the nuances of both rectification (counter-expectation) and the reinforcement implicitly conveyed by the ST's second part of the clause (ger. *und es lebt!*) that the translator wanted to carry over to the French TT. As stated above, there is a nuance of counter-expectancy attached to *encore*. Together with the selection of the 'non-terminating' *encore*, which is more appropriate in this specific context than is *encore* in a continuation reading,[247] the translator might have chosen to play it safe. That is, he or she decided to substitute the second part of Lena's statement about Cem's stereotypicality with an allusion to the enduring posterior condition of this impression, as implied by the 'non-terminating' *encore*. It should further be added that the adverb fr. *encore* is also an apt choice in this context, because it actually has a rectifying/reinforcing value on its own. The adverb is also said to imply some cumulative aspect as a core value, so that fr. *encore* furthermore neatly conveys the sense of culmination that the ST encodes in the additive sentence construction (Mosegaard Hansen 2002).[248]

Is the addition of *encore* and the corresponding changes in the second part of the utterance then a case of explicitation and, if so, of what kind? To begin with, there are some problems with discussing the addition of the adverb *encore* in terms of explicitation. Even if we assume that notions of counter-expectation, reinforcement and culmination are implied in the German ST, the adverb *encore* cannot be said to make them fully explicit. As stated by Mosegaard Hansen (2002), fr. *encore* is itself a somewhat implicit element. Notions of counter-expectation attached to *encore* are generally not made fully explicit, but are rather recuperable on the basis of some generalised conversational implicatures. The question is thus whether the shift from more or less implicit nuances of meaning in the ST to slightly more – but nevertheless not fully – explicit nuance may count as a case of explicitation. Common theories of explicitation neither provide for nor against the latter.

If the changes in question, especially those in the second part of the utterance, are indeed regarded as explicitating shifts, then they are likely to be of an optional nature. In addition, the changes may even be considered cases of intersemiotic explicitation: The visual expression of Lena's sustained gaze (and evaluation of Cem) in continuing POV-shots is linked with the verbal expression that Lena's assessment of Cem in

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[246] Note that this reinforcement or intensification is in line with the images: Lena performs a head nod, that, in its function as a beating gesture (performed on the pitch accent in the ST), has an intensifying value.

[247] If the translator had opted for adding a 'continuating' *encore*, then Lena's evaluation of Cem as a stereotype would imply that there had been some evaluation of someone as a stereotype before, and that this impression lasts (or revives in Cem) contrary to Lena's expectations.

[248] When assessing the shifts between ST and TT, we can furthermore say that the addition of fr. *encore* in the TT also leads to what Mosegaard Hansen (2008: 147) referred to as "the seeds of a modal use". Put more succinctly, by adding *encore* to the utterance the TT somewhat opens up for alternative positions, because the expression of counter-expectation in fact implies that there are some alternative points of view. In terms of the appraisal theoretical dimension of engagement, we are concerned with a slight dialogic expansion.

stereotypical terms continues in terms of his ambulatory capacity (fr. *et qui se mantient!*).[249]

We now move to the second scene (starting at about 8.30 minutes), in which Lena is shown as evaluating Cem:

ger. [Lena:] *Ey, guck' mal diese Klamotten an! So 'ne Scheiß-Schnellfickerhose*!

fr. [Lena:] *Regarde-moi le frac qu'il porte! Et le survête du dragueur qu'il se croit!*

In accordance with the visuals, both the attention-demanding imperative construction (fr. *Regarde-moi*)[250] and the sequence of general reference to Cem's outfit followed by more specific reference to a particular part of it is replicated in the French TT.

However, the transposition of the creative composite ger. *Scheiß-Schnellfickerhose* is again likely to present the translator into a Romance language like French with a dilemma. As said before, there is not only the difficulty of rendering this highly situation-based and culture-specific reference concisely in Romance languages; in addition, the evaluative component ger. *Scheiß-* also has an additional, intensifying slant and, together with some lexical elements of the clause such as ger. *Klamotten*, evokes a teenage talk register. Thus, the French TT first reproduces the ST's concise nominal reference in a more analytical and verbose form. That is, the nominal reference to a specific part of Cem's dress as simultaneously shown in the visuals is further specified by a relative clause. This shift has two effects: First, by reinforcing the salience of the element fr. *dragueur* as the antecedent of the relative clause, the French TT promotes a specific aspect of the stereotyping as presented in the German ST: that of a lady killer. Second, the added relative clause creates a shift in perspective: Whereas in the German ST the evaluation of Cem's outfit is made directly from Lena's perspective (with the negative evaluation inscribed in the noun), in the French TT, Cem is evaluated indirectly through what he thinks of himself (hence via an allusion to his perspective). It is worth noting that the verb fr. *croire* employed for this purpose generally evokes a subjective impression. When employed with a 1st person reference, the truthfulness of personal thoughts is somewhat presupposed; when employed with a 3rd person reference, however, the interpretation tends towards the opposite: "Dire *Il croit que p*, c'est généralement laisser entendre que moi-même je ne le crois pas. [...] Il se croit intelligent implique qu'il ne l'est pas. Et il ne suffit pas de croire qu'on l'est pour le devenir" (Martin 1987: 59, 62; italics in the original). One might thus easily see that, if employed with a 3rd person reference, there is an implicit negative evaluation attached to the item. Note also that, in contrast to the allusion to Cem's sexual activity in the German compound, the noun fr. *dragueur* does not immediately evoke negative connotations. Consider the following neutral definition in the Larousse dictionary: "dragueur, dragueuse nom. Familier. Personne qui aime draguer, qui recherche quelque aventure" (dragueur, draguese n.d.). The French TT may thus have opted to add the relative clause fr. *qu'il se croit* to convey the sense of negative evaluation present in the ST.

Another reason for such an addition may also have been the repetition of the syntactic pattern already used in the first part of Lena's utterance. This acts as an intensifying device (together with the exclamative intonation, [+for]).

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[249] However, this does not lead to an increase in verbal–visual cohesion as often occuring in explicitation. Rather, an instance of verbal–visual redundancy in the ST (where the images visualise the verbally expressed condition that the stereotype Cem is alive) is replaced by another one in the TT.

[250] Métrich and Faucher (2009: 174) provide a similar example featuring fr. *regarde-moi*, describing its pragmatics as follows: It serves "um den Adressaten aufzufordern, einer bestimmten Realität gewahr zu werden und dabei die Missbilligung des Sprechers zu teilen".

Furthermore, the register problem is overcome in the French TT by using lexical expressions typical of French teen talk, the shortening of which (fr. *survête [du dragueur]*, cf. also *frac*) further alludes to this group-specific speech style.

We now move to the subsequent evaluation of Lena's outfit by Cem:

ger. [Cem:] *Ey, guck' mal, Yagmur, ey. Voll die No-Name-Collection! Is' ja voll peinlich, so öko, ey.*

fr. [Cem:] *Hé, regarde ça, Yagmur, hein? Elle a la collection zéro marque complète. [...] Quelle honte!*

In this example, we will only point to two minor shifts: Firstly, the German teen talk intensifier *voll* has been replaced by the adjective *complète* that collocates in French with the noun *collection*. According to the Larousse dictionary, it thus refers to something "[q]ui comporte tous les éléments nécessaires, à quoi rien ne manque" (complet, complète n.d.). Its lexical content is thus somewhat different from that of the ST element, especially when placed before the noun, as it may also be used pejoratively in colloquial language with an intensifying purpose. Secondly, we would like to draw attention to the translation of the adjective ger. *peinlich* appearing in a copula construction as replaced by the French noun *honte*. French has no verb to refer to the experience of a shaming or shameful emotion, but it has some constructions with both a noun and an adjective (fr. *avoir honte*, *être honteux*). Thus, the copula construction could have been translated using either of them, even if the fr. *avoir honte* is the most frequent expression in Modern French (Koselak 2003). The possibility of rendering the high degree of intensity expressed in the ST by the intensifier ger. *voll* in a concise manner may then also have favoured the decision for the exclamative fr. *Quelle honte!* In this regard, some conceptional and semantic differences between the ST and the TT solutions should be pointed out. Semantically, the fr. *avoir honte* occurs in a highly productive pattern that expresses an essential property of the experiencer: "In most constructions in French, the experiencer is seen as the 'site' of the emotion, and the structure represents an essential property [...]" (Cislaru 2014: 121). By contrast, the expression ger. *peinlich sein* in the ST features in a pattern conveying a resultative (emotional) state: "It represents the experiencer as being affected by the emotion" (Cislaru 2014: 121). There are further differences apart from this conceptional one: The German adjective *peinlich* is a so-called object experiencer (OE) psych adjective. According to Temme (2014), languages like German that distinguish between different types of psych verbs and adjectives do this for a reason. In comparison to German subject experiencer psych adjectives (SE), OE adjectives are said to have an additional evaluative component. In terms of appraisal theory, such adjectives are situated on the boundary between appreciation and judgement, encoding either valuation (which is a subcategory of appreciation) or some kind of judgement (such as judgement in terms of morality). The French TT's solution is more likely to express affect or an affective reaction towards a certain situation (and thus reaction as another subcategory of appreciation).

Turning to the final encounter between the two evaluating parties as described earlier, we can say that the French TT again comes close to the German ST:

ger. [Lena:] *Hey, coole Hose!* [Cem:] *Äähm, du auch. Hast voll Geschmack!*

fr. [Lena:] *Hé, cool outfit!* [Cem:] *Oui, le tien aussi. T'as un goût super!*

Here, perhaps due to the simple structure of the turns and the clearly inscribed evaluation, no further shift in appraisal categories occurs. As in the German ST, the French TT again employs lexical means to give the passage a colloquial slant. Together with Anglicisms (*cool*, *outfit*), the adjective fr. *super* is used to render the intensifying value of ger. *voll*. With regard to characterisation by means of a specific manner of

speaking, the French version is somewhat 'flattening', since indicators of Cem's idiosyncratic speech style, such as the interjection ger. *ey* and the intensifier ger. *voll*, are either omitted to a considerable extent or are inconsistently translated. The latter strongly reduces their function as indexes of speech style.

Judgements in scenes of trouble between Cem and Lena

Scenes of conflict between Lena and Cem are a second broader type giving rise to character and viewer judgement in *TfA*.

Catalan

A first scene in which tension is built up between the two opposing parties starts at about 12.40 minutes into the episode.

Lena, rather skimpily dressed, is shown in the girls' room as she tries to separate her space from that of Yagmur by means of a blanket. Spurred on by Doris' prior morally lax behaviour, Cem wants to convince Lena to dress more modestly. Approaching Lena with a larger skirt in his hand, he utters an indirect request:

ger. [Cem:] *Es gibt da 'n paar Rules, d*ie solltest du kenn'n, weißt du? Das hier is' so meine Hood, meine Area, meine Straße.

cat. [Cem:] *Ei, tia, hi ha unes quantes regles que hauries d'aprendre. Som al meu carrer, al meu barri, al meu territori.*

Cem thus starts his discussion with Lena with a more or less polite request in the form of a locution derivable, where "the illocutionary form of the utterance is derived by the hearer from its grammatical structure and from its semantic meaning" (Curell 2011: 291). The German verb *sollten* and the Catalan verb *haver de* used in the conditional are such grammatical 'structures'. As stated by Curell (2011: 291), such requests in Catalan "can be mitigated by making the sentence impersonal" – for example, by means of an existential construction as in the TT here. The second part of the turn then features some kind of explanation for the request in both languages. More interesting than speech act-related issues, however, are deviations in register choice between the ST and the Catalan TT. The Catalan TT does not quite move into the register of marked language (for example, the Anglicism *Hood* or the question tag *weißt du* marked for 'Kanak sprak' style) that we have seen in the ST. Apart from the interjection equivalent to Cem's characteristic interjection *ey* in the ST and the vocative *tia*, the TT's lexical choices are not especially marked for substandard use. In her next move, Lena pretends to have interpreted Cem's request literally by asking:

ger. [Lena:] *Willste mir'n Grundstück verkaufen?*

cat. [Lena:] *Que em vols vendre un terreny?*

This interrogative comes across as an informative question. Thus, the choices to be made by the translator are not so much of interpersonal nature. Rather, it is facial expression, gesture and prosody (Lena's extremely sweet voice) that are significant in this regard. This is carried over to the Catalan. Cem's answer contains an assertion of his power:

ger. [Cem:] Türkisch für Anfänger Lektion 1: *Cem is' jetzt dein Bruder. Isch hab' Verantwortung.*

cat. [Cem:] *Turc per principiants. Lliçó u. Ara som germans. I ets responsabilitat meva.* Here, Cem reacts to Lena's deliberate misunderstanding by spelling out his cultural-specific rules regarding the power asymmetry that holds between older brother and younger sister. Therefore, in contrast to his earlier request – which was more indirect and thus more polite – he now puts it clearly in terms of a bare assumption. It is worth

mentioning two characteristic features of the monoglossic statement: Firstly, Cem starts his statement with a kind of introductory commentary in which he ensconces himself as a teaching authority. The latter asserts the inequality of power between the two parties. Secondly, in line with the direct nature of the statement, the second part features an instance of inscribed attitude whereby Cem explicitly alludes to his moral responsibility.

Due to their explicit nature, the conveyance of these features, as well as of the short and assertoric clause structure, appears to be completely unproblematic in translation. It should only be added that the Catalan TT resorts to a construction in which the possessive referring to the inscribed attitude appears in post-nominal position (cat. *responsibilitat meva*). In Romance languages such as Catalan where this is an alternative to normal word order, such a post-nominal position is likely to mark special emphasis and/or focus (Lausberg 1972). Therefore, the inscribed attitude seems to be marked for more emphasis in the Catalan TT than it is in German.

The somewhat marked word order, however, also somewhat contributes to characterisation by means of verbal attributes (speech style) as an issue that poses more problems in the translation of this passage than in the ones mentioned above. On a syntactic level, the marked word order is the only indicator of a somewhat more marked style in Catalan. Thus, in the German ST, the series of short, paratactic main clauses not only stresses the monoglossic character of the statement, but also establishes a contrast between the current speaker and Lena to a degree, and alludes to a 'Kanak sprak' style. With regard to the latter, the short utterances tend to give the impression of being grammatically inadequate and incomplete – as 'Kanak sprak' style (where prepositions and other grammatical devices are sometimes omitted) often is. Moreover, the prosodic features and attached values of the 'Kanak sprak' variety cannot be mapped from ST to TT. Accordingly, the marked spelling of the palatal /ç/ as [ʃ] in German is not reproduced in the TT.

In response to Cem's attempt to impose his own cultural categories on her, Lena now sets out to produce a mocking metacommentary targeting Cem's speech style:

ger. [Lena:] *Ey, und Cem, [...] nicht die Sprache, in der man mit Lena spricht, ey.*
cat. [Lena:] *Ei, Cem, si vols parler amb mi canvia de to, tio.*

The square brackets in the transcribed German text here indicate a sequence of Lena's turn that is difficult to understand because Lena imitates Cem's somewhat slurring pronunciation.

The latter somewhat points to the fact that it is not the informational content but rather the way it is conveyed (thus interpersonal meaning) that is the focus in this passage. It also fits with Bleichenbacher's (2008) observation that the content of contributions from non-standard speakers is sometimes deemed irrelevant in film dialogues. In these cases, it is rather the opposition to the standard as well as attached (negative) values that the filmmakers wish to convey (Bleichenbacher 2008). In the present case, however, the use of the non-standard variety is not merely deployed for purposes of contrast, but also in order to evoke and thematise Cem's way of speaking. Nonverbal attributional features like Lena's imitation of Cem's typical mouth shape when speaking further help to create this effect.

As far as the TT is concerned, it is interesting to note that the translator has opted to turn the incomprehensible passage into a perfectly comprehensible one. This, however, means that the TT's stylistic meaning departs from that of the ST, because slurring pronunciation as an important feature of allusion to Cem's 'Kanak sprak' speech style is lost. In addition, the resulting translation is likely to fail to correspond stylistically to the ST in other respects. Thus, marked stylistic features such as the ST's somewhat strange

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non-adaptation of personal deixis to the current speaker[251] – emphasising both Lena's distant position from Cem's speech style and the utterance's general style and mocking character – are not carried over. The TT's other choices alluding to Cem's idiosyncratic way of speaking are further marked by somewhat greater lexical variability. However, this is consistent with other instances of lexical choice in the Catalan TT, where both the interjection *eh/ei* and the colloquial vocative *tio/tia* function as a panacea for the characterisation of Cem's speech.

The TT also features an adaptation of the illocutionary force of the request act in this utterance. The request in the German ST is likely to fall into the strong hint category as one of the most indirect request categories (Blum-Kulka and Olsthain 1984). The Catalan TT, by contrast, contains an imperative construction as the most direct Catalan form of request (Curell 2011), which is only slightly mitigated through an introductory *si*-clause. Thus, being direct is perfectly compatible with Catalan cultural norms when, as in the present case, the current speaker seeks to restore the power balance between speakers: "Being blunt about one's wants with socially equal people is a feature of positive-faced systems" (Curell 2011: 296).

Lena's interlocutor Cem seems to have understood both the more or less direct request and the overall imitating nature of the utterance, and now changes to his speech style to a more formal one:

ger. [Cem:] *Dann sag' ich's dir auf Hochdeutsch: Zieh'n Sie sich anständig an, Fräulein Schneider, sonst wird Onkel Ötztürk sauer. Schön'n Tag noch!*

cat. [Cem:] *Doncs t'ho repiteré. Faci el favor de tapar-se una mica, senyoreta Schneider, perquè si no, em sentirà. Passi-ho bé!*

We will abstain from discussing the translation of the metalinguistic reference to the standard in the ST. As far as other characteristics of speech style are concerned, there are some minor shifts between the ST and the TT. For example, both versions make use of comparable indicators of a highly formal standard register such as formal forms of address. However, the German ST then sets out to play on the opposition between this formal register and an informal, baby talk-like one in the second part of the utterance (cf. the colloquial expression ger. *sauer sein*[252] and Cem's self-reference as ger. *Onkel Ötztürk*). In the Catalan TT, by contrast, this opposition is not as pronounced. One of the reasons for this is the adaptation of deictic reference to the speaker (cat. *perquè si no, em sentirà*) as opposed to its non-adaptation in the ST.

Lena's commentary after Cem leaves contains some expletives targeting both Cem and the situation. These expletives are rendered in Catalan as such; we omit their consideration here and move to the discussion of a new scene of conflict between Lena and Cem.

This scene begins at about 14.20 minutes into the episode. At the beginning of the scene, Cem is shown as being involved in a typical male activity (tuning his motorbike), when Lena enters the garden rather skimpily dressed. She bursts with self-confidence while unfolding a deckchair. Her provocative behaviour has an immediate impact on Cem, who approaches her demanding an explanation:

ger. [Cem:] *Wie läufst du rum, hä?*

cat. [Cem:] *Però què fots, tia?*

The Catalan TT employs the expression *Però què fots*[253] and the vocative cat. *tia* as one of its favourite expressions to evoke Cem's speech style of substandard register.

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[251] Note that in the German ST the speaker Lena refers to herself in the 3rd person singular.

[252] In the Duden dictionary, the expression ger. *sauer sein* is marked as 'umgangssprachlich' (sauer n.d.).

[253] See the following entry for cat. *fotre* in the Diccionari de la llengua catalana: "fotre […] pop. Fer" (fotre n.d.).

Cem's complaint about Lena's moral laxness is then challenged by Lena, who now attempts to assert her power in a similar way as Cem did earlier in his imposition as a teaching authority:

ger. [Lena:] *Deutsch für Anfänger Lektion 1: Fräulein Schneider macht, was sie will!*

cat. [Lena:] *Alemany per principiants, lliçó u. La senyoreta Schneider fa el que li rota!*

Given the focus on the transmission of information, there is little variation in translation here. The only shift worth noting is a slight shift in the Catalan TT towards a more popular expression referring to Lena's right to act in the way she wants.[254] Given that the turn simultaneously provides an intertextual allusion to Cem's earlier words, a main task of the translator here is that of translating such allusive items (such as cat. *Alemany per principiants* and *senyoreta Schneider*) consistently throughout the text.

Cem sets out to respond to Lena's obvious assertion of power in the following way:

ger. [Cem:] *Ey, willst' mich provozier'n? Ey, wenn dich so die Nachbarn seh'n, dann... Du kriegst die Probleme, nich' ich!*

cat. [Cem:] *Això ho fas per provocar-me. Si et veuen els veïns ja... ja t'ho trobaràs tu mateixa.*

Cem's turn thus features a larger complaint sequence that, in German as well as in Catalan, is made up of an accusation explicitly mentioning the offence and a warning announcing potential sanctions. Whereas the warning is conveyed both in the ST and the TT by a common *if-then* construction, the picture is more complicated for the accusation in the first part of the move. The latter is realised as a (rhetorical) question in the ST, and as a bold statement in the TT. As suggested by Günthner (2000a), questions frequently feature in complaint sequences in German. In the present case, however, the chosen interrogative format is an especially confrontational one. El-Mafaalani (2012) has found similar expressions in the discourse of Turkish-German fathers about culture-specific concepts of education. Tentatively, the highly confrontational question format might have been employed in German in order to reproduce such a style and, perhaps, a corresponding concept of education. As in other instances, such a reference to a kind of immigrant style is not preserved in Catalan. The preference of Catalan positive politeness culture for directness in face-threatening acts might have been at the root of the translator's decision to state this boldly. In each case, the combination of accusation and warning is perfectly acceptable in Catalan complaints (Curell 2011). Furthermore, the termination of the complaint with a somewhat fixed expression in Catalan (cat. *ja t'ho trobaràs [tu mateixa]*) is consistent with Drew and Holt's (1990) well-known observation concerning the frequent use of idiomatic expressions in (the last parts of) complaints.

Lena responds to Cem's accusation and warning with superficial agreement:

ger. [Lena:] *Ja sicher, Erkan!*

cat. [Lena:] *Sí, és clar, Erkan!*

Lena here in fact engages in ironic teasing, as evident from paralinguistic and kinesic clues and the playful reference to a German film character associated with 'Kanak sprak' speech style. For a better understanding of the precise function of teasing in the present complaint sequence, it is instructive to cite Drew (1987: 237, upper case in the original): "The tease puts the complainable matter BACK IN PROPORTION [...]. Thus, the elaborated complainings generate teases which treat the complaining as unwarranted, as overdone [...]". Thus, while it is highly likely that the Catalan audience does not understand Lena's playful reference to the Turkish-German film character,

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[254] According to the Diccionari de la llengua catalana: "rotar [...] pop. Donar la gana" (rotar n.d.).

both in the ST and in the TT, Lena's ironic statement clearly refutes Cem's complaint as being grossly overstated.

The latter is also evident in the continuation of Lena's turn:

ger. [Lena:] *Jetzt erzähl' mir noch, wenn man vergewaltigt wird, ist es die eigene Schuld. Die Keuschheitsnummer is' nur 'nen Scheißtrick von irgendwelchen reaktionären Türken, die ihre Frauen von der... Emanzipation abhalten wollen.*

cat. [Lena:] *Ara només has de dir que si em violen serà per culpa meva. Tot això de la castedat són excuses d'uns quants turcs reaccionaris de merda que no volen que les seves dones s'emancipin.*

The section here starts with a linguistic metacommentary followed by an integrated conditional sentence in the ST. The latter invites a reading as a hypothesis that can be cancelled in an appropriate context, as is done here in the subsequent clause. One of the few modifications in the TT is that the ST's metalinguistic allusion is moved into the impersonal realm (cat. *Ara només has de dir que*). The second clause is more interesting with regard to translation. In the ST, prosodic features such as the emphatic speech style, and lexical features such as various creative compounds (for example ger. *Keuschheitsnummer, Scheißtrick*) characterise this highly emotionally charged utterance. The TT solutions here illustrate the general preference of Romance languages for analytical construction. Whereas in the ST the compounds convey both nuances of attitude and graduation, the Catalan TT renders such nuances via separate lexical elements, sometimes eliminating one of these nuances. For example, the vagueness encoded in the *-nummer* component of ger. *Keuschheitsnummer* ([-foc]) is translated by means of the mitigating element cat. *tot això de* ([-foc]). Functionally, this implies a change from conceptual place-holder in German to discourse marker with a discourse structuring function in Catalan (see Andersen 2010 for this functional distinction in Germanic vague nouns).[255] The Catalan TT then replicates the informal marking of the ST element ger. *-nummer* by means of topicalisation as a strategy somewhat typical of colloquial Catalan (Payrató 1996).

In the case of the compound ger. *Scheißtrick*, the Catalan TT also renders the graduating element (cat. *de merda*) separately, but with a slight change in reference. The negative value denoted by cat. *de merda* now applies to the Turkish people rather than to the result of their actions. This is a shift from intensification of appreciation in the ST to that of judgement in the TT.[256]

Furthermore, the more general shift from nominal to verbal style also affects the clause featuring the noun *Emanzipation* in German and the verb *emancipar-se* in Catalan. In terms of speech style, we have already mentioned the compensation for the partial loss of the ST's lexical substandard marking by changes in the TT's thematic structure associated with colloquiality. Another field in which the TT's stylistic meaning does not depart as much from that of the ST is the contrast between Cem's earlier short and paratactic style and Lena's current lengthy contribution in hypotactic style.

Cem's next metacommentary on Lena's style makes it clear that this contrast is indeed the focus of the passage. Accompanied by clear facial expressions of anger and a stopping gesture, Cem asks:

ger. [Cem:] *Ey, laberst du immer so viel?*

cat. [Cem:] *Sempre xerres tant?*

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[255] See also Andújar Moreno (2009) for the translation of Germanic vague nouns serving as general extenders into Catalan (e.g. by means of cat. *i tot això*). This is the third function proposed by Andersen (2007) for vague nouns.

[256] The adjective ger. *reaktionär* has a depreciative connotation, so that Lena's reference to the Turkish people has some negative slant in German, too.

The translation does not depart much from the ST here; therefore, we move directly to the discussion of Lena's reply:

ger. [Lena:] *Sorry, ist der Nebeneffekt, wenn man intelligent ist.*

cat. [Lena:] *Perdona, és el que passa quan s'és intelligent.*

As in the ST, the TT renders Lena's reply in the form of an apparent apology that is indirectly a self-praising compliment in that her own lengthy speech style is linked with the general character trait of intelligence ([+cap]). As explained in the discussion of the German TT, the interlocutor Cem might infer from Lena's reply that he is only able to produce short utterances, and thus not very clever. The TT, then, also remains close to the ST in reducing the potential face-threatening effect of implied self-compliment by means of an impersonal construction in the 2nd person singular. As suggested by Nogué (2011: 124) with regard to Catalan, "[t]he second person singular [...] sometimes has a 'concealed I' value in its 'impersonal' use [...]. In those cases, it may be considered a deictic and at the same time attenuated strategy to refer to the speaker [...]".

Lena's confident statement, also mirrored in her accompanying facial expression and posture (see section 4.8), then drives Cem to leave the 'battlefield'.

Lena now expresses her satisfaction about having gained the upper hand not only kinesically, but also in another somewhat self-congratulatory statement:

ger. [Lena:] *Alice Schwarzer wäre stolz auf mich!*

cat. [Lena:] *Em sento feminista radical!*

In the ST, the feeling of pride is explicitly expressed (ger. *stolz sein*) and attributed to another person (the well-known German feminist Alice Schwarzer). The highly culture-specific reference has, of course, not been taken up in the TT, but has been replaced by the more general reference cat. *feminista radical*. Furthermore, Lena now attributes the reference to herself, stating that she feels like a radical feminist. Thus, while the shift from altero-reference to self-reference and the explicit allusion to the act of feeling (cat. *Em sento*) seems to favour the direct expression of affect as in the ST, the feeling of pride is no longer lexically inscribed in the utterance. However, it might be inferred from the description of the feeling state as well as from the general body language (see section 4.8).

French

Having discussed the translation of sequences of confrontational speech into Catalan, we now turn to consider the same sequences in the French translation.

Again, we start with the conflict scene in which Cem seeks to convince Lena to dress more modestly (starting at about 12.40 minutes into the episode). As described previously, the scene starts when Cem enters the room and presents a long skirt to the scantily dressed Lena. He then attempts to impose his own rules of behaviour on the girl:

ger. [Cem:] *Es gibt da 'n paar Rules, die solltest du kenn'n, weißt du? Das hier is' so meine Hood, meine Area, meine Straße.*

fr. [Cem:] *Il y a un bon paquet de règles que tu vas devoir connaître. Ici, c'est ma zone, mon domaine, ma rue.*

The French TT replicates the structure of the existential proposition already present in the ST. Then, as in the ST, the French TT renders Cem's indirect request in the form of a locution derivable (Blum-Kulka and Olsthain 1984), expressed grammatically through the modal verb fr. *devoir*. However, while the request act appears to be somewhat mitigated in the ST (cf. the hedge ger. *'n paar* and the question tag), it seems to be upgraded by the intensifier fr. *un bon paquet de* in the TT ([+for]). The choice was probably made with the intention of inserting a substandard element into the TT that

compensates for the loss of lexical items evoking the 'Kanak sprak' speech style (such as ger. *Hood, weißt du?*) or teen talk (vague references, Anglicisms) in general.

As described previously, in her reply, Lena pretends to take Cem's intent to mark his territory at face value:

ger. [Lena:] *Willste mir'n Grundstück* verkaufen?

fr. [Lena:] *Tu me veux vendre un terrain?*

These lines seem to pose no problems for the translator: As in the ST, they move into the register of ironic and marked language only through prosodic marking.

The somewhat overpowered Cem then tries to assert his allegedly powerful position as Lena's older brother:

ger. [Cem:] *Türkisch für Anfänger Lektion 1: Cem is' jetzt dein Bruder. Isch hab' Verantwortung.*

fr. [Cem:] *Le turc pour débutant, leçon un. Cem est ton frère. Et il est responsable de toi.*

As said previously with regard to the Catalan TT, the passage's structural characteristics, such as a paratactic style with short, assertive clauses and the inscribed instance of judgement (moral responsibility) in the last clause do not pose much of a challenge for the translator. Therefore, we can only point to the following slight modifications made in the TT: Firstly, the inscribed judgement is rendered by means of an adjective instead of a noun. This implies a shift from a *have*-construction, alluding to responsibility as an essential property of the experiencer Cem in the ST, towards a *be*-construction where emphasis is placed on the resultative state (Cislaru 2014; Leeman 1995). Secondly, and this might be somewhat related to the first shift, the 1st person reference in the ST is replaced by a 3rd person reference in the TT. Consider that, in the ST, the 1st person reference through the personal pronoun was probably chosen because its specific prosodic make-up clearly evokes 'Kanak sprak'. Furthermore, the corresponding shift in personal deictics from 3rd to 1st person between Cem's second and third utterance (ger. *Cem is'*, *Isch hab'*) and the use of the noun ger. *Verantwortung* without further complement[257] add a nuance of oddness to Cem's turn. In this regard, the French TT has somewhat normalised the pattern: It consistently relies on 3rd person reference and chooses the frequent construction with fr. *être responsable* that allows for construction with a complement. Thus, construed with a 3rd person complement, the resultative *be*-construction comes close in affective value to the ST, since "[i]t represents the experiencer as being affected by the emotion" (Cislaru 2014: 121).

The scene continues with Lena's mocking metacommentary about Cem's speech style:

ger. [Lena:] *Ey, und Cem, [...] nicht die Sprache, in der man mit Lena spricht, ey.*

fr. [Lena:] *Hé, Cem, tu devrais essayer parler une langue que Lena comprenne, OK?*

In contrast to the German ST, which has some slurred, somewhat unintelligible parts, clarity and comprehension is much improved in the French TT. Together with the partial replacement of the interjection ger. *ey*, this has an impact on the allusion to Cem's speech style in Lena's utterance, which is thus somewhat reduced in the TT. A further transition is obvious in the form of Lena's request act: There is a shift from an indirect request act (strong hint) in the ST towards a conventionally indirect and mitigated[258] request act (locution derivable, Blum-Kulka and Olsthain 1984) in the TT. Despite the mitigation, the TT's choice is a more direct one. However, at the same time, Lena's request to Cem is made more obvious for the television viewer.

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[257] As stated previously, sentences that are perceived as grammatically incomplete may also evoke 'Kanak sprak' style.

[258] Mitigation is made through use of the modal verb *devoir* in the conditional. Moreover, the act is somewhat attenuated as the TT shifts to hearer reference (cf. the backchannelling device OK).

In reply to Lena's mocking imitation of his speech style, Cem then switches to the standard:

ger. [Cem:] *Dann sag' ich's dir auf Hochdeutsch: Zieh'n Sie sich anständig an, Fräulein Schneider, sonst wird Onkel Ötztürk sauer. Schön'n Tag noch!*

fr. [Cem:] *Bien, alors te parle clairement. Habillez-vous vous convenablement, Mademoiselle Schneider ou alors l'oncle Ötztürk va se fâcher. Bonne journée!*

In this example, one of the first features to be noted concerns the reference to the linguistic variety to which Cem suggests switching. Although there is no longer an explicit reference to switching to some kind of standard, the TT seems to retain the formal features of the ST, such as the shift to the *vous*-form and to the formal form of address. The contrasting informal, almost baby-talk style of speaking through which Cem simultaneously alludes to Lena's inferior position is also retained (cf. self-reference as fr. *l'oncle Ötztürk*, the lexical item fr. *se fâcher*). When it comes to the grammatical encoding of the latter affect-conveying element, there is again a shift from the subject-experiencer psych adjective construction in the ST (ger. *sauer werden*) towards a psych verb construction in the TT (fr. *se fâcher*). In French, such emotional reflexive verbs "reflect self-affectedness" (Cislaru 2014: 121) and are therefore an adequate choice to express affect, even if the experiencer is not a 1st person experiencer, as in the present case.[259] The specific kind of affect conveyed ([-hap]) is not affected by such a shift in word class. As in the Catalan TT, the expletives issued by Lena after Cem has finally left the room are not very different from their ST counterparts; therefore, we omit their discussion here.

We now turn to the last conflict scene to be analysed with regard to its translation into French (starting at about 14.20 minutes into the episode). This is the scene in the garden in which Lena appears half-naked in front of Cem (see the full visual description of the scene in section 4.8).

Lena's provocative behaviour elicits the following request for an explanation by Cem:

ger. [Cem:] *Wie läufst du rum, hä?*

fr. [Cem:] *Hé, mais qu'est-ce que tu fais, là?*

It is significant that both Catalan and French TTs seem to make use of a similar strategy in translating this passage: They both add an element that recurrently alludes to Cem's way of speaking into the text, whereas the ST does not. In the French TT, the interjection fr. *hé* fulfils this role. Another modification in the French text concerns the insertion of the conjunction fr. *mais* as a shift that adds some notion of counter-expectation to Cem's move.

Lena, apparently unimpressed by Cem's solicitation of an explanation from her, then shifts the balance of power by proposing to give Cem a lecture on her own culture in a similar manner to that of Cem earlier in the episode:

ger. [Lena:] *Deutsch für Anfänger Lektion 1: Fräulein Schneider macht, was sie will.*

fr. [Lena:] *L'allemand pour débutants, leçon un. On dirait que Mademoiselle Schneider fait ce qu'elle veut.*

As said previously with reference to the Catalan translation, the most important task of the translator is to translate the items from Cem's earlier utterances, such as the lesson title and the formal term of address, consistently throughout the text. This is also true for the marked forms of deictics (self-reference in 3rd person singular)[260] the French

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[259] As far as the final leave-taking expression is concerned, it has already been stated with respect to the Catalan TT that Romance language like French prefer adjectives like *bon(ne)* in such routine formulas (Zirpins 2007: 20f.).

[260] For instance, Cem's earlier somewhat odd self-reference in the 3rd person that is imitated here by Lena, speaking of herself as ger. *Fräulein Schneider*.

translator has chosen to preserve in translation. Less consistent, however, are the translations of the last part of Lena's turn, where the French TT has inserted the hedged performative expression fr. *on dirait (que)* into the otherwise bold statement. It is most likely the secondary (evidential) reading of the expression, denoting that there is some shared perceptual evidence from the situational context for the declared fact, that is at stake here (Rossari 2012). That is, the situative context (Lena's highly confident actions and nonverbal behaviour) is presented as evidence of the fact that Lena does what she wants to do. In other words, the French TT features an instance of intersemiotic explicitation, since evidence from the visuals is alluded to in the statement.

Cem's response is a challenge to Lena's assertion of her own will and power:

ger. [Cem:] *Ey, willst' mich provozier'n? Ey, wenn dich so die Nachbarn seh'n, dann... Du kriegst die Probleme, nich' ich!*

fr. [Cem:] *Hé, hé, hé, tu désires de me provoquer? Si les voisins te voient comme ça là, c'est toi qui va avoir des problèmes, pas moi.*

As already stated in the discussion of both the German and the Catalan versions, the (rhetorical) question in the first part of this turn is, in fact, likely to be read as a complaint and thus a confrontational and face-threatening act. In addition, it may be taken as an allusion to a specific confrontational communication style of male Turkish-Germans. The impression of such a confrontational style is somewhat increased in the French TT through the use of the interjection *hé,* which evokes a superior–inferior power relationship (Fauré 2010) and through the reduplication thereof. From a translational perspective, the sequence does not pose any further challenges, since it largely reproduces informational content and relies on common constructions such as the *if-then* (French *si*) construction.

Lena's reaction is superficial agreement:

ger. [Lena:] *Ja sicher, Erkan!*

fr. [Lena:] *Si tu le dis, regarde!*

As in the German ST, at first sight, the French version seems to express Lena's emphasised agreement, captured in a commentary on the other's prior speaking activity.[261] Similar conventional constructions with fr. *dire* like the present one are sometimes employed with an ironic purpose.[262] The selection of such a construction, which is highly idiomatic, might be somewhat related to the presence of a similar metacommentary in the ST's next utterance and the possibility of strengthening thematic ties between clauses. As a result of this choice, even if the ST's culture-specific mocking reference to Cem as a well-known Turkish-German media character is not preserved in French, there are some lexical clues that, in addition to nonverbal ones (see section 4.8), help to mark the unit as ironic. Note the interesting translation solution whereby the culture-specific reference is replaced by the prosodically resembling imperative fr. *regarde!*, most likely for reasons of lip-synchronicity.

That Lena does not agree with Cem at all is also palpable from her long commentary added to the above statement:

ger. [Lena:] *Jetzt erzähl' mir noch, wenn man vergewaltigt wird, ist es die eigene Schuld. Die Keuschheitsnummer is' nur 'nen Scheißtrick von irgendwelchen reaktionären Türken, die ihre Frauen von der Emanzipation abhalten wollen.*

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[261] See Leclère (1985: 122): "La thématisation du dire de l'allocutaire [...] correspond généralement aux fonctions textuelles dialogiques réactives de l'approbation forte, du doute, du désaccord et de la réprobation". Leclère (1985: 119, italics in the original) further proposes that "les expressions comportant les pronoms de l'allocutaire *puisque tu le dis/vous le dites* ou *si tu le dis/vous le dites* ou encore *du moment que tu le dis/vous le dites* ont pour fonction textuelle l'approbation [...]".

[262] See Leclère (1985: 119f.).

fr. [Lena:] *Et maintenant, dis-moi encore que si on est violé, c'est que l'on a cherché. Et ceci est dépassé: de la chasteté, c'est juste un truc de merde avancé pour vous les turcs pour empêcher l'émancipation de vos femmes.*

In this passage, we again find features such as the metacommentary on the interlocutor's prior speaking activity and the *if-then* construction. However, these are potentially not as susceptible to change in translation as are the ST's creative compounds. As far as the first compound ger. *Keuschheitsnummer* is concerned, the lexically encoded vagueness (-*nummer*, [-foc]) seems to be omitted in the French TT. However, the noun fr. *truc,* which forms part of the translation equivalent for the ger. *Scheißtrick,* also has some connotation of vagueness and thus somewhat compensates in this regard ([-foc]).[263] At the same time, the chosen equivalent is an appropriate translation of ger. *Scheißtrick*, as one of its lexical entries in the Larousse dictionary reveals: "truc [...] familier. [...] Terme dépréciatif pour quelque chose dont on se méfie [...]" (truc n.d.). As an equivalent to ger. *Scheiß-*, the intensifying element fr. (*de*) *merde* ([+for]) further adds to the impression of negative evaluation conveyed by the sequence. Thus, in terms of substandard marking, the colloquial slant attached to the lexical items in German is carried over to French (see the label 'familier' in the dictionary entry for fr. *truc*), and the expletive is also replicated in the TT.

While on the whole the lexically encoded attitude and graduation is preserved in the French TT, the translator has left traces in other ways: Firstly, the evaluating element implied in Lena's designation of some Turkish men as ger. *reaktionär* is rendered in a separate clause in the TT (fr. *Et ceci est dépassé*). A shift in the target of evaluation from Turkish people (judgement) to Cem's projected thoughts (appreciation) in the TT then takes place. The clausal restructuring seems due to a second, deictic shift in the TT from 3rd person reference (ger. *irgendwelchen reaktionären Türken*) to 2nd person reference (fr. *vous les turcs*). As a result, Lena's accusation becomes more direct in French.

As mentioned in prior discussions of this passage in other languages, the lengthy composition of Lena's utterance, preserved in the TT, now becomes the target of a metacommentary from Cem:

ger. [Cem:] *Ey, laberst du immer so viel?*

fr. [Cem:] *Hé, hé, tu parles comme ça tout le temps?*

Here, the manner of speaking verb ger. *labern* is a non-core lexical item. As such, in addition to being marked for colloquiality, the verb flags a negative evaluation.[264] However, since lexical encoding of manner in verbs is less frequent in Romance languages, the French TT resorts to a more general manner of speaking verb. There is thus an implicitation of evaluation in the French TT. With regard to the graduating element at the end of Cem's question, there is a semantic shift from a quantitative reference to a temporal one. However, this does not affect the encoded subcategory of graduation itself, which in both the ST and the TT is up-scaled force ([+for]). With reference to speech style, Cem is again predominantly portrayed by means of his typical interjection, which is even reduplicated in the French TT.

As a reply to Cem's metacommentary on her lengthy way of speaking, Lena produces the following alleged apology:

ger. [Lena:] *Sorry, ist der Nebeneffekt, wenn man intelligent ist.*

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[263] See the following lexical entry for fr. *truc* in the Larousse dictionary: "truc [...] familier. [...] Mot par lequel on désigne quelque chose ou, avec une majuscule, quelqu'un dont on ne sait pas ou plus le nom [...]" (truc n.d.).

[264] Compare the entry for ger. *labern* in the Duden dictionary: "umgangssprachlich [...] (abwertend) sich wortreich über oft belanglose Dinge auslassen, viele überflüssige Worte machen [...]" (labern n.d.).

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fr. [Lena:] *Désolée, c'est un des effets secondaires de l'intelligence.*

Apart from the stylistic shift into the nominal direction in the second part of the clause, there is no further modification of the superficially apologetic statement in the transfer from German to French. Thus, the general structure of the apologetic formula plus an explanation[265] in the form of an indirectly self-praising compliment is maintained in the TT. Moreover, inscribed attitude in terms of intelligence ([+cap]) is preserved. Accordingly, as in the ST and the Catalan TT, the corresponding implied judgement of the Cem character as not intelligent at all is also kept.

Lena's commentary causes Cem to withdraw and leave the scene – a fact that is commented on by Lena with the following self-praising statement:

ger. [Lena:] *Alice Schwarzer wäre stolz auf mich!*

fr. [Lena:] *Les féministes seraient fières de moi!*

Here, the adaptation of values to meet cultural expectations can be clearly seen in the modification of the culture-specific reference (the reference to German feminist Alice Schwarzer is replaced by a plural reference to feminists in general). No further distortion of evaluative values occurs in the French translation.

4.10 Discussion and Summary: Non-standard varieties and attached judgements in translation

In order to embed the detailed findings from the prior comparative analysis of translations into the overall picture, summaries of the findings are provided in this section. In particular, we will shed some light on the translation of non-standard varieties (including Cem's 'Kanak sprak' speech style) and attached judgements. These will be discussed in the light of theoretical accounts of the translation of non-standard varieties and languages used for purposes of characterisation.

While shifts into another language or variety may serve several different functions in fictional texts, "it is the domain of characterisation where these [linguistic representations, S.F.] are most likely to surface" (Bleichenbacher 2008: 3). Given this crucial role of languages and varieties other than the default one in characterisation processes in film (and our focus on character-based engagement), following Bleichenbacher (2008), we will concentrate on their use for purposes of characterisation here.

Bleichenbacher's (2008) focus was on linguistic representations in Hollywood films, where the representation of other languages and varieties is pitched against a strongly hegemonic representation of standard American English. The author's emphasis is clearly on the linguistic representation of non-default languages rather than on non-standard varieties within the system of American English. Even so, the overall strategies for the rendering of multilingualism in film proposed by Bleichenbacher (2008) share some fundamental aspects with those proposed by Ramos Pinto (2009) for the translation of linguistic non-standard varieties. In general, strategies of linguistic representation in both untranslated and translated text appear to vary from complete elimination to complete and unaltered representation of the (foreign) language or non-standard variety. Tentatively, one might speak of a continuum between more or less authorial intervention, and in the case of translation, between domesticating and foreignising strategies. Given that Ramos Pinto's (2009) account is a translational one, and is slightly more precise in modelling the different options between the poles, we

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[265] See section 4.12 for further information on the general construction of apologies in French.

will predominantly rely on the latter here, even though it was mainly established for translation products in written form (such as literary and drama translation). According to Ramos Pinto (2009), the first decision a translator has to make in variety translation is for or against the preservation of linguistic varieties. The latter amounts to complete elimination, which is a domestication strategy and leads to normalisation when the only variant now used in the text is the standard variety (such as standard Catalan or French in the TTs under consideration here). The use of this strategy seems to depend on various parameters, such as low cultural status of the TT equivalent of the non-standard variety and its non-plot-carrying function at this point in the text (Ramos Pinto 2009). By contrast, following Ramos Pinto (2009), when opting for the preservation of a linguistic variety, the translator's second decision is whether or not to keep the space and/or time marking of source text varieties (Ramos Pinto 2009). When keeping the spatial marking as the only case of interest here,[266] "the translator can then decide to make use of familiar features recognized as non-standard in the target culture or to make use of features not familiar to the target culture receiver" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 294). The first option gives rise to the following strategies (ranging from more to less normalising or domesticating ones): Firstly, there is the explicit naming of the otherwise eliminated variety in accompanying discourse (Bleichenbacher's 2008 'signalization').[267] As a second strategy, the translator may resort to the "[r]eduction of the linguistic variation to forms of address and honorifics" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 295), so that a certain foreign flavour and the expression of power relations is preserved. The latter and all the following strategies, except that of more or less unaltered representation of the ST's non-default variety/language in the TT, are subsumed under the term 'evocation' in Bleichenbacher's (2008) account. Thirdly, another option is "[u]pgrading the level of standard discourse formality" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 295). For Ramos Pinto (2009: 295), "[i]n this case, the linguistic variation comes from the fact that standard discourse is more formal in the target text when compared to the source text rather than from the use of non-standard features". Fourthly, the translator's effort to have familiar features recognised as non-standard may lead to the use of markers of orality as substitutes for non-standard ones. However, in our opinion, there is no reason that the use of markers of orality, the proposal of which as a strategy on its own somewhat reflects Ramos Pinto's focus on written translation products, should be different from that of the use of features from non-standard varieties in general. Thus, the fourth category could be subsumed under either of the following two: the "[u]se of features from different non-standard varieties" or the "[u]se of features of a specific non-standard variety" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 295).

In addition, there are other strategies linked with the reproduction of features with which the target audiencs may not be familiar: "The introduction of lexical features from the ST, but following the spelling norms of the TT" and "[t]he direct import of certain lexical features from the source text" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 295, 296).[268] The latter is what Bleichenbacher (2008) termed 'presence'.

Another factor that has a certain impact on the way linguistic variation may be rendered in both untranslated and translated (fictional) texts is stereotyping as employed in characterisation. It is no coincidence that Bleichenbacher's (2008) description of

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[266] For present purposes, only preservation or non-preservation of spatial marking is at stake, for there is no pronounced temporal gap between source text and translations.

[267] Cem's naming of the standard variety before switching into this variety in the German ST (ger. *Dann sag' ich's dir auf Hochdeutsch: [...]*) is a case in point. However, this is not preserved in the TTs.

[268] We here skip consideration of the third strategy in this regard, "[t]he development of a 'virtual dialect'" (Ramos Pinto 2009: 296), since this is of no importance here.

linguistic stereotyping processes closely resembles that which linguists propose for processes of stance-taking through 'stylisation' (see section 1.2). In fact, both accounts draw on Irvine and Gal's (2000) characterisation of stereotyping processes in terms of 'iconisation' (or the naturalisation of the link of a particular linguist representation and the attached evaluation with a particular group of speaker), 'fractal recursivity' (the projection of oppositions onto the representation), and 'erasure' (the deliberate omission of certain features in favour of more salient ones; see section 1.2 for the characterisation of 'Kanak sprak' in these terms).

According to Bleichenbacher (2008), stereotyping processes in film dialogues then also resemble the linguistic ones in crucial ways. Their common features "are the mapping of social differences onto linguistic ones, the blindness to important contextual factors, and the focus on salient features only" (Bleichenbacher 2008: 34). Furthermore, in both cases, constant repetition helps to anchor the stereotypical representation in the viewer's mind (Bleichenbacher 2008; see also Agha's 2003 term 'enregisterment').

Bleichenbacher's last suggestion is not surprising in the light of the parallel between real-life stereotyping processes and narrative ones discussed earlier. Processes involved into the creation of narrative stereotypes (which have no existence outside the fictional text) are also said to involve the reduction of complexity in the guise of narrative functions, and the intertextual repetition of the stereotypes so that they become enregistered in the viewer's mind. With regard to the link between stereotyping and the representation of non-standard language, Bleichenbacher (2008: 31) suggested that "the process of stereotyping reduces the contribution of non-standard varieties and other languages to a bare minimum, but then exaggerates the few marked linguistic features that are left". However, there are a few additional factors shaping the stereotypicity of representations of non-standard varieties, such as the overall narrative composition of the sequence and the underlying 'ideologies' with regard to the representation of 'otherness' in general, and of languages and varieties thereof in particular. Thus, the Hollywood industry's hegemonic view of American English not only favours the stereotypical representation of other languages and varieties and their speakers in Hollywood films, but also the recasting of this opposition in terms of good–bad structures. In a similar way, film sequences narrated in Manichean (good–bad) structures (such as when Lena and Cem are clearly opposed and being judged through their speech styles) are closely linked to stereotyping.

Moreover, even when films exhibit a higher degree of understanding of cultural differences and fully render the non-standard variety, the rendering may be altered, becoming completely context-independent:

> [E]ven when the different varieties or other languages are fully present, they appear as strictly homogeneous and indexical of the individual characters, with little or no attention paid to stylistic variation, or any other sense in which speakers alter their performance in relation to the context of the communicative situation (Bleichenbacher 2008: 31).

Clearly, it would be interesting to consider such a cut-off of linguistic choices from the situational context ('elimination of *pragmatic* realism', Bleichenbacher 2008: 31, italics in the original) in the light of an SFL-based account in which choices are described precisely in terms of their dependence on the context of the situation.

Stereotyping processes are then also likely to affect the different above mentioned replacement strategies in different ways. As an intermediate category between strict elimination of non-standard features and their full representation, Bleichenbacher's

(2008) 'evocation' category (or Ramos Pinto's above mentioned strategies two to six) is the most interesting one in this regard. Given that both the phonological and the lexical domain are likely to play a core role in the linguistic representation through such an 'evocation' (Bleichenbacher 2008), these are the crucial sites in which stereotypical reduction and the exaggeration of features occur.

In the following section, we will summarise the findings from our analysis of the Catalan and French translations with special emphasis on the use of replacement strategies, especially that of 'evocation', in the TTs.

In the Catalan TT, full representation of the ST's non-standard varieties occurs in some instances when the characters' occasional switch into Turkish is represented as such in the TT. Remarkably, then, German subtitles that might enhance the comprehension of these passages for the ST viewer are also carried over into the TT. However, we are more interested here in the representation of non-standard varieties, such as 'Kanak sprak' and teen talk, for purposes of characterisation. With regard to 'Kanak sprak', the target culture is likely to have a limited knowledge of this non-standard variety, and it also lacks a similar variety associated with immigrants. The Catalan TT further reduces the already highly stereotypical representation of Cem's distinctive speech style to a few strongly marked features. Not surprisingly, then, evocation takes place by features that are not from the prosodic but from the lexical realm. The selection of only a few features, such as the colloquial lexeme cat. *tio/tia* and Cem's typical conjunction cat. *ei/eh* is somewhat consistent with the observation of the general reduction of stylistic variation in Catalan translations of foreign TV formats (Paloma i Sanllehi 1999) – at least it was in the 1990s. This was also true with regard to the representation of teen talk. In each case, lexemes such as the cat. *tio* and other teen talk expressions like the cat. *guai* or *flipar* seem to have made their way into the media representation of youth language in the meantime. As far as Cem's typical interjection cat. *ei/eh* is concerned, this appears to be no mere borrowing from the ST (and thus not an instance of the full 'presence' of 'Kanak sprak'), but a lexical element that exists in Catalan in its own right. Proof of the latter is the consistent elimination or substitution (for example, with the cat. *tio/tia*) in the sentence-final position as a position in which the interjection is not likely to appear in Catalan. Moreover, the Catalan TT also inconsistently employs the interjection in the sentence-initial position, sometimes adding it when Cem's way of speaking is of fundamental importance for understanding the plot and the opposition to Lena, while eliminating it in translation in other cases. Here, we are clearly concerned with the elimination of pragmatic realism. The latter is also the case when a passage featuring Cem's slurred 'Kanak sprak' speech style is normalised in the TT, so that it becomes perfectly understandable to the TT viewer. It should, however, be added that Cem's characterisation is only partly affected because visually conveyed attributes such as his typical lip position pointing to his idiosyncratic speech style somewhat make up for this loss. In terms of the representation of teen talk, as said previously, Catalan makes use of a few lexical expressions such as cat. *guai* or *flipar*, and occasionally also employs some typical phraseological items. In summary, such items are reduced in comparison to the ST.

The French TT uses both similar and different strategies to those in the Catalan TT. On one hand, the French TT is also characterised by a reduction of the linguistic representation of Cem's speech style to his typical interjection (fr. *hé*) in the sentence-initial position where it is used inconsistently (in comparison to the occurrences in the ST). The elimination of pragmatic realism is then also apparent from the reduplication of this idiosyncratic feature in order to confer on Cem's speech a slant of exaggerated imposition and emphasis that does not exist in the TT. Moreover, as in the Catalan TT,

the above mentioned passage in which the incomprehensibility of Cem's speech style is at risk of causing the passage to be obscure is also normalised in the French TT. On the other hand, when it comes to the representation of other non-standard varieties, the French TT presents more variation than does the Catalan one. This certainly has to do with the overall tendency of the French TT to treat the ST with more liberty than the Catalan TT does. Thus, in addition to the adjustment of speech acts by the use of explicit performatives and the cultural transplantation of culture-specific references (see sections 4.12 and 5.3), the French TT takes more liberties in the use of lexical features of youth language (such as shortened forms and general extenders) and other items from familiar and colloquial registers (including phraseology such as fr. *Bienvenue au club*). This, however, does not mean that the French TT generally makes use of a broader variety of methods than does the Catalan TT. The Catalan TT is in fact more varied because it also occasionally allows for the full presence of non-default varieties carried over from the German ST, or the partial presence in the form of terms of address and greetings.

4.11 The explicitation hypothesis

When analysing the 'translation shifts' in the Catalan and French TTs in the previous sections, we often mentioned explicitating (or implicitating shifts) as a specific type of shift found in the data. However, such shifts are even more pronounced in a specific subpart of our data – the translation of speech acts, especially of those featuring explicit performatives in the French TT. The following sections focus on the translation of the interpersonal texture coded in speech acts and possible evaluations attached to these acts. Therefore, it is imperative to provide some theoretical background regarding the 'explicitation hypothesis' at this point.

a) Theoretical background to the explicitation hypothesis

Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958) study is usually taken to be the first attempt to conceptualise the phenomenon of explicitation. The authors described a strategy of 'lengthening', involving the overt rendering of information in the TT that is only implied in the ST (Klaudy 2003). However, Blum-Kulka (1986) is credited with having first formulated the 'explicitation hypothesis' as the starting point of most later research. According to Blum-Kulka (1986: 19), the explicitation hypothesis "postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved". The hypothesis has been somewhat criticised as being largely confined to the explicitation of cohesive links (Séguinot 1988). Furthermore, as Séguinot (1988) pointed out, Blum-Kulka (1986) did not pay heed to cross-linguistic differences as a possible origin of explicitation in all kinds of language use. In order not to cloud our understanding of this phenomenon, "[t]he term 'explicitation' should therefore be reserved in translation studies for additions in a translated text which cannot be explained by structural, stylistic, or rhetorical differences between the two languages" (Séguinot 1988: 108). However, in practice, the distinction between cross-linguistic differences and other motivations for explicitating shifts is particularly difficult to grasp; therefore, many posterior studies (Olohan and Baker 2000; Øverås 1998; Puurtinen 2004) seem to have adhered to Blum-Kulka's hypothesis. These studies have generally verified the explicitation hypothesis,

with the exception of Puurtinen (2004), whose study has been inconclusive in this regard.

Explicating shifts have then been captured in terms of the distinction between quantitative expansion ('addition') and qualitative expansion ('specification', Øverås 1998; Perego 2003). The term 'addition' refers to "the **insertion** in the TT of linguistic elements different from those employed in the ST" (Perego 2003: 73, bold in the original). By contrast, 'specification' is regarded as "a case of addition of meaning(s), though not necessarily of words. The addition of meaning(s) usually occurs through the **replacement** of a general and wide-ranging word with a more specific and narrow one" (Perego 2003: 73, bold in the original).

Another study that has been particularly instructive, both in providing another typology of explicitation subcategories and a theoretical elaboration of the explicitation hypothesis, is that of Klaudy (2003, 2008; Klaudy and Károly 2005).

Klaudy's (2008) typology groups explicitation phenomena according to their underlying motivation into four major sets. The first, 'obligatory explicitation', is seen as dictated by language-pair specific differences between the morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of the ST and the TT. For instance, semantic explicitation is obligatory in the transfer of the English copula *be* to Spanish, since Spanish makes finer semantic distinctions (sp. *ser* versus *estar*, example taken from Becher 2010: 4).

The second subcategory is 'optional explicitation'. Here we are concerned with language-specific preferences regarding communication styles that are at the root of explicitation shifts.

'Pragmatic explicitation' as the third subcategory is couched in different interpretations of culture-specific items or different levels of world knowledge between the source and the target audiences (Becher 2010) and which need to be explicated for reasons of understanding. Fourthly, Klaudy (2008: 107) mentioned 'translation-inherent explicitation' as originating in "the nature of the translation process itself". However, as stressed by Becher (2010), in addition to the fact that Klaudy does not provide any examples of this kind of shift (Becher 2010) there are several other problems with this allegedly translation-specific category (see discussion below).

Klaudy and Károly (2005) also suggested the so-called 'asymmetry hypothesis' proposing the interplay of explicitation with implicitation tendencies: "[E]xplicitations in the L1→L2 direction are not always counterbalanced by implicitations in the L2→L1 direction because translators – if they have a choice – prefer to use operations involving explicitation, and often fail to perform optional implicitation" (Klaudy and Károly 2005: 14). According to Becher (2010), this hypothesis is the only viable option to continue researching explicitation while "[a]bandoning the notion of 'translation-inherent' explicitation" altogether. For the author, the reasons that the 'explicitation hypothesis' as formulated by Blum-Kulka (1986) in general and the postulation of translation-inherent explicitation in particular have to be abandoned are manifold. Firstly, Becher (2010: 6) challenged the 'explicitation hypothesis' as scientifically unfounded, carrying the risk of leading to "statistically significant but otherwise meaningless results". Moreover, the scholar attacked the hypothesis as not offering the most precise explanation. In this regard, he stated that "*any* other hypothesis that might explain an observed tendency of explicitation in translation without assuming a new type of explicitation would be [...] preferable to the Explicitation Hypothesis" (Becher 2010: 7, italics in the original). Furthermore, the author criticised the definition and many prior studies for being very vague. Those studies are, for instance, inconclusive as to whether or not the so-called 'strategy' of explicitation is in fact strategically (that is, consciously) applied during the translation process (Becher 2010).

Becher (2010) then further proposed adopting Klaudy's (2005) 'asymmetry hypothesis' concerning the implicitation–explicitation balance, albeit without the 'translation-inherent explicitation' subcategory. The modified hypothesis reads as follows: "Obligatory, optional and pragmatic explicitations tend to be more frequent than the corresponding implicitations regardless of the SL/TL constellation at hand" (Becher 2010: 17). According to Becher (2010: 2), the concept of 'implicitness' then refers to "the non-verbalization of information that the addressee might be able to infer". Accordingly, 'explicitness' is defined as "the verbalization of information that the addressee might be able to infer if it were not verbalized" (Becher 2010: 3). In contrast to explicitation proper, which was dismissed as an unmotivated hypothesis, the asymmetry hypothesis is said to be fully justifiable. Becher (2010) proposed two underlying motivations for the hypothesis in which – no matter what language pair is affected – explicitating shifts are likely to be more frequent than are implicitating ones. Both motivations are related to situation-specific factors of communication that are also known from research into speech and writing. Firstly, given the separation of writer/speaker and reader/viewer in space and time, written texts tend to be more explicit than, for example, spoken conversations in face-to-face settings. As argued by Becher (2010: 19), due to the additional cultural gap between source and target cultures, "in translation, the speech situation is even more dilated than in monolingual written discourse". Therefore, translations are likely to tend more towards the explicitation pole in an explicitation–implicitation continuum. The influence of a dilated speech situation is, of course, true for all types of language use, so that monolingual situations requiring cultural mediation are also likely to be placed closer towards the explicitation pole. As a result, "explicitations resulting from translators' preoccupation with reducing cultural distance cannot be called 'translation-inherent'" (Becher 2010: 19).

Secondly, translators' general proneness to risk aversion is also said to be an underlying motivation of the trend towards explicitation in translation. When the translator has the choice to imply, "[e]ven in cases where the inference is an easy and obvious one, it may still happen that a given reader fails to draw it" (Becher 2010: 20). Thus, translators are likely to "tend to be too explicit rather than too implicit when in doubt" (Becher 2010: 20).

Apart from providing evidence for underlying motivations for the hypothesis under discussion, the above explanations then have the benefit of arguing against translation-specific ('translation-inherent') explicitation. As the examples provided by Klaudy (2008) show, the remaining three subcategories (obligatory, optional and pragmatic explicitation) are better operationable (even if the problem of how to tell them apart in practice persists).

Moreover, the proposal of an implicitation–explicitation continuum – where explicitation is counterbalanced by implicitation – enables asymmetry to be conceived of as a mere trend, not as a (universal) law or rule. Some kinds of translations, such as overt ones that require less cultural adaptation to the target culture may, for instance, tend more towards the implicitness end of the continuum.

b) Research in explicitation in audio-visual translation

As Englund Dimitrova (2005) has shown in her survey of translation studies' research into explicitation, a great deal of investigation has been carried out using literary texts. Research in explicitation in audio-visual translation has been comparatively scarce, and has mainly focused on subtitling.

As one of the most valuable contributions to the field, Perego (2003) proposed 'channel-based' or 'intersemiotic' explicitation as a new form of explicitating shifts. This notion "is used for those instances of explicitation **determined by the impact of shifts from one semiotic channel to another**" and "consists of the lexicalisation of those data conveyed also or only by the visual or auditive support" (Perego 2003: 74, bold in the original). In subtitling, intersemiotic shifts turning nonverbal information into visual verbal information (written subtitles) occur alongside interlingual ones (Perego 2003). In dubbing, the picture is slightly less complex. Here, the translation and recording processes may also involve shifts from the spoken modality to the written one and vice versa, as the translators, adjusters and dubbing actors are likely to work from or to scripts. However, as stated by Becher (2010), research on explicitation should be entirely carried out from a product-based – and not from a process-based – perspective. In other words, it is the final TT solutions that are compared to the ST choices in order to detect instances of explicitation (and implicitation). Explicitating shifts in dubbing thus involve the verbalisation of visual and auditive nonverbal information in an auditive verbal way (spoken modality). Clearly, given the nature of the information (nonverbal), such shifts will not particularly concern inferences and presuppositions that are spelled out for the sake of understanding on the part of the TT audience. Rather, it is highly likely that the shifts will imply partial or total redundancy of information conveyed simultaneously through various channels, including the auditive verbal one. In other words, additions of information in the TT that are not verbalised in the ST but that are present in the visuals or in the auditive nonverbal code may occur. On the other hand, further specification of already verbally expressed information, for which the translator can rely on the visuals, is also expected. Explication in dubbing is further likely to differ from that encountered in subtitling because time and space constraints are of less importance. Even if this seems a contradiction in terms, in subtitling the tendency towards condensation may, in some cases, spark a so-called 'reduction-based' explicitation (Perego 2003). As observed by Perego (2003), explicitation and the need to be concise and brief frequently go hand-in-hand. Then, "whatever is added due to reduction is always vital and focal, and therefore plot-carrying, i.e., of great consequence for keeping up with the gist of the story" (Perego 2003: 75).

In dubbing, lip-synchronisation imposes certain constraints on the translated text, especially when the actor's face is visible in close-up on the screen. While some 'reduction-based' constraints may thus govern the TT message, leading to similar consequences as stated for subtitling, it is likely that these affect the TT to a lesser extent than in subtitling.

c) Explicitation and interpersonal meaning

Drawing on the above mentioned tradition going back to Blum-Kulka's (1986) research on the explicitation of cohesive ties in texts, most translation studies on explicitation have concentrated on textual meaning (for instance, Espunya 2007; Fabricius-Hansen 1998; Marco 2012; Olohan and Baker 2000).

As stated in Steiner's (2005: 15) comprehensive study focusing on explicitation in different metafunctional domains, the notion of 'explicitation' might roughly refer to "information which must be added to linguistically explicitly expressed information in order for (the interpretation of) a piece of discourse to become complete and coherent".

Given the creation of coherence for interpretational purposes as a crucial effect of explicitating shifts, the strong research focus on the explicitation of textual meaning is not at all surprising.

However, reduced processing effort as a main effect of explicitation (Marco 2012; Perego 2003) might also result from the spelling-out of interpersonal layers of meaning (as well as ideational ones). In this regard, it is instructive to include the factor of increased visual-verbal-audial coherence as significantly contributing to the reduced processing effect in audio-visual texts. According to Perego (2003), among other things, explicitation in audio-visual texts

> has **a facilitatin**g function. It tends to make the target product **easier** (**vs. simpler!**) by giving more precise, detailed and exact descriptions/information. This 'easier' situation fosters an undemanding, effortless cognitive process by the viewer, who can access the target product without difficulty. [...] Explicitation facilitates comprehension also by reinforcing the association of words with either imagery/actual objects or situations; the additive effect of image and translation together results in a powerful combination – [...] – that of the original dual impact of image and spoken language, and therefore restores redundancy, neutralises and compensates reduction (Perego 2003: 84, bold in the original).

Thus, explicitating (or implicitating) shifts may also concern items conveying interpersonal meanings. For example, TT choices may be more precise/vague with regard to degrees of graduation. Similarly, attitudes not encoded, merely implied or fully present in the ST may be redundantly cued, spelled out and vice versa. In her study on principles of visual-verbal coherence in translated audio-visual texts, Baumgarten (2008) provided the example of attitudinal values of added interjections and exclamations. Employed as "initiators for a subsequent utterance" (Baumgarten 2008: 18), these additional items predetermine the utterance's further attitudinal interpretation. According to Munday (2012), an explicitation of attitudinal values can also have a bearing on the engagement subcategory, as it may have an assertoric effect leading to dialogic contraction.

The increased concern with visual-verbal-audial coherence in audio-visual texts can also mean that the interpersonal orientation of the speaker with regard to what he or she perceives and what is presented in the visuals may be spelled out (Baumgarten 2008). Moreover, instances of interpersonal meaning that are nonverbally encoded in the ST but which cannot be easily recognised by the target audience may be explicitated (Perego 2003).

An example discussed by Perego (2003) in this regard specifies interpersonal meaning and is thus worth mentioning here. The author found a longer relative proposition in Hungarian to be rendered with the single Italian noun *accusa* ('accusation') in the subtitles. This is said to amount to an 'anaphoric encapsulation' (Perego 2003: 78) concisely summarising the preceding discourse segment and the wealth of evaluative values attached to it. Therefore, such an item expresses interpersonal meaning, and its modification may alter the semantic prosody for the entire discourse segment to which it refers.

Increasing the explicitness of interpersonal texture also has the effect of "draw[ing] the audience's attention to the most salient, significant and informative items of the sentence" (Perego 2003: 85). Baumgarten (2008) mentioned added exclamations and attitudinal speaker comments to the content of the visuals as focusing strategies guiding the viewers' attention.

Explicitation of speech acts is another possibility when it comes to the spelling out of dimensions of interpersonal texture. This can be done by means of varying degrees of performative verbs capturing the illocutionary force of the utterance. Later in this section, the focus will be exactly on this kind of explicitation.

4.12 Judgements attached to speech acts in translation

In *TfA*, a great deal of viewer and character judgement is elicited by the characters' verbal and material actions in communicative encounters. It is particularly the verbal actions, as analysed in the form of speech acts, which are of special interest here because the verbal component is the one predominantly adapted in translation.

There are several different ways in which judgements may be elicited by speech acts.

Firstly, judgements may be directly inscribed or indirectly invoked by evaluative lexis, metaphorical expressions, more or less culturally codified (emblematic) gestures, and so on. In this regard, particular speech acts seem to be more prone to the explicit encoding of either positive or negative evaluations than are others. Compliment acts, for instance, are likely to more or less cross-culturally employ a small set of positive evaluative lexical items in relative fixed syntactical patterns (Wolfson and Manes 1980).

Secondly, as is more general in all types of utterances, the verbal recount of eliciting conditions may also give rise to judgements in speech act-expressing utterances. Some speech acts featuring account-giving sequences may then be more likely to contain recounts of eliciting conditions than others.

Thirdly, some speech acts such as commissive ones may be interpreted as the result of certain prior judgements made by characters. Both characters and viewers might then be able to deduce the underlying judgement on this basis (Feng 2012).

A forth possibility is that judgements are made on the basis of the characters' interactional behaviour implying speech acts (such as apologies or disagreements). The main aspect according to which such behaviour seems to be appraised is – as in real life – the appropriateness or politeness of the conduct in the specific communicative situation. As discussed in section 4.8 in greater detail and with regard to recent trends in politeness studies, the latter comprise both character and viewer judgements of this conduct as 'polite' or 'impolite'.

There is thus a close relationship between speech acts and issues of politeness. From a general point of view, any speech act creates responsibilities that can be grouped into speaker-centred and interlocutor-centred ones (Caffi 2001). Due to these responsibilities, for example the obligation to comply with a promise (felt by the speaker) or the obligation to obey an order (felt by the interlocutor), speech acts are potentially face-threatening for the speaker's and/or the interlocutor's face. Thus, they can either represent a threat to a person's positive face (denying the interlocutor the desired acceptance and appreciation) or to a person's negative face (restricting the interlocutor's personal autonomy, Brown and Levinson 1987).

Further variables at play in speech acts as face-threatening acts are social distance (D), social power (P) and the imposition of the speech act (R). Social distance refers to a symmetrical relationship between interlocutors, based on factors such as familiarity with each other and frequency of interaction. By contrast, social power is related to an asymmetrical relationship between interlocutors describing the relative balance of power between them (Ogiermann 2009). Finally, the variable imposition of the speech act "depicts the degree of imposition of the speech act on the hearer's wants of self-determination or approval" (Ogiermann 2009: 11).

Culture-specific configurations of the above mentioned variables lead to different interactional styles. These are associated with positive or negative politeness cultures:

> '[W]arm', positive-politeness cultures have a subjective ideal of small values for D, R and relative P which give them their egalitarian, fraternal ethos, while the 'standoffish' negative-politeness cultures subscribe to a subjective ideal of large values for D, R and

relative P which give them their hierarchical, paternal ethos (Brown and Levinson 1987: 246f.).

Thus, in Peninsular Spanish (and Catalan) culture a trend towards positive politeness has been found (Hickey 1991). By contrast, German culture has been classified as a negative politeness culture. Although this rather neat way of explaining cultural differences in politeness standards has been questioned recently (Ardila 2008; Ogiermann 2009), this is not the place to indulge in any further discussion of this issue. For purposes of comparing judgements in translations, it is only important to bear in mind that politeness judgements made on the basis of speech acts are likely to be couched in different culture- and speech act-specific politeness standards.

In what follows, we will mainly concentrate on the latter (fourth) way of eliciting character and viewer judgement, but without necessarily excluding the other types from analysis. The investigation will then centre on the way in which different culture- and speech act-specific politeness standards are captured in differences in the composition of particular speech acts in ST and TTs. The extent to which these are open to explicitating (and implicitating) shifts is also assessed. In this regard, determining subtypes of shifts is also seen as instructive, with adaptations to different standards being presumably more likely to be related to optional and pragmatic than intersemiotic shifts.

In order to better account for shifts along the explicitation–implicitation continuum, we will also develop some parameters according to which different speech acts may be described in terms of explicitness.

a) Judgements attached to speech acts in translation: The case of explicit and hedged performatives

In this study, we will focus mainly on explicitating (and implicitating) shifts occurring in the translation of speech acts by means of verbally explicit performatives.

Such performatives come in two forms: On one hand, there are 'explicit performatives' in the narrower sense, "where the illocutionary intent is explicitly named by the speaker by using a relevant illocutionary verb" (Márquez Reiter 2000: 84). The advice-expressing utterance fr. *Je te conseille… pas de me toucher* featuring the illocutionary verb fr. *conseiller* from the French version of *TfA* is a good example. On the other hand, performatives may occur as 'hedged performatives' "where the illocutionary verb denoting the [...] intent is modified" (Márquez Reiter 2000: 84); for example, by rendering the verb in the conditional in French.

Several authors (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Mitterand 2001; Kohnen 2000a) have stressed the relatively low overall frequency of verbally explicit performatives – at least when they occur outside specific contexts and text types, such as legal texts. However, the latter observation is in contrast to the relatively high incidence of such constructions in our corpus, where they can particularly be found in Lena's dialogue, with considerably increasing numbers in the French TT.

As suggested by the above cited definitions, performative utterances usually contain a performative verb, optionally completed by a performative element such as *hereby* (ger. *hiermit*, fr. *avec ça*, *par cela*, Schneider 2010c: 270). The performative verb is likely to appear in the 1st person singular of the present indicative active. However, different realisations, such as 1st person plural constructions (including those with the pronoun fr. *on*), nouns, impersonal constructions, or conditional and future tense in French (Frank 2011; García-Carpintero 2013; Schneider 2010c) are also possible.

When the performative verb is shifted to the 2nd or 3rd person reference, a non-performative (that is, a 'constative' or descriptive) meaning component comes more to the fore. Thus, transforming the above cited advice-expressing utterance to fr. *Tu me conseilles... pas de te toucher* would shift emphasis from the performed advice-giving speech act to its description. Schneider (2007: 101) proposed the term 'saying-is-doing clauses' for the latter, while suggesting the term 'saying-and-doing clauses' for true performative utterances expressed in the 1st person.

Another distinction made is that between performatives in superordinate clauses and those in parenthetical ones. All examples mentioned in this section so far are of the former type. The transformation of an example from our corpus (fr. *On dirait que Mademoiselle Schneider fait ce qu'elle veut*) into fr. *Mademoiselle Schneider fait ce qu'elle veut, on dirait* would amount to a parenthetical use. This distinction is far from trivial, because the parenthetical use seems to mitigate the speaker's commitment to the expressed illocutionary act (and would thus imply a shift in interpersonal meaning).

Mitigation of speaker commitment is also likely to take place when the performative verb is hedged (Schneider 2010c). As suggested by Schneider (2010c: 268), one of the benefits of performatives is indeed that "they provide a place where to attach a mitigating device". Mitigation can then be made via one or more of the following means: by modals and semi-modals placed in front of the performative verb, by conditional suffixes attached to it or by shifts in person and/or temporal deixis (Schneider 2010a, 2010b).

When it comes to assessing potential translation shifts in performative sentences and utterances, it is also necessary to point out some differences between the diverse types of realisation. A first distinction to be drawn is between direct forms (both explicit and hedged performatives), and forms conveying illocutionary force in a more indirect way. In order to illustrate the latter, the explicit performative expression fr. *Je vous félicite de votre promotion* may be contrasted with the more indirect exclamative fr. *Bravo pour votre promotion!* (examples taken from Vanderveken 1988: 159). Although the issue of the performatives underlying semantics remains highly contentious, several authors seem to agree that, rather than differences in propositional (ideational) meaning, it is differences in pragmatic meaning that are at stake here. Direct forms of realisation are said to render the expression of illocutionary force more explicit. Thus, due to the self-verifying claim (saying and doing at the same time) attached to such performatives, a notion of assertion seems to be conveyed (Récanati 1987). Consequently, due to their greater explicitness, the context-dependence of direct forms of realisation is reduced in comparison to indirect ones (Récanati 1987). On the other hand, both felicity and sincerity conditions for direct and indirect speech acts differ. In general, a direct and thereby asserted performative utterance is understood as to be taken seriously (unless contextually or nonverbally indicated that it is, in fact, meant ironically). Such strict sincerity conditions do not apply to indirect performatives.[269] The felicity conditions, that is the circumstances under which the respective speech act can be performed (such as who is entitled to give advice in a certain situation), are also stricter in direct performatives (Récanati 1987; Vanderveken 1988).

With regard to differences between explicit and hedged performatives as more or less direct performative forms, it is worth pointing out that hedging does not affect the illocutionary force, but rather the degree of speaker commitment attached to the utterance (Schneider 2010c). That is, whereas in explicit and thereby asserted performatives the speaker takes responsibility for his or her saying-and-doing, this

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[269] For instance, one might congratulate another person by uttering fr. *Bravo pour votre promotion*! even if one does in fact not feel so.

responsibility is attenuated in utterances containing hedged performatives (Schneider 2010c). Recast in terms of appraisal theory, hedged performatives can thus be said to be more heteroglossic than their unmitigated counterparts.

Moreover, hedged performatives appear to have a stronger descriptive (or referential/ideational) component than do explicit performatives: In addition to expressing a certain illocutionary force, they also seem to capture the speech act in descriptive terms (Schneider 2010c).

After having discussed some distinctions within the category of performatives themselves, emphasis is now shifted towards grammatical and social conventions guiding the expression of direct performatives culturally and interculturally.

Culturally, there might be a great deal of variation in the use of performatives among linguistic periods, modalities such as spoken language and writing, register, text types and speech acts. Thus, diachronically, the use of explicit performatives seems to have especially abounded in English during the Old English period (Kohnen 2000b), and in French from the 14th to the 17th centuries (Frank 2011 with regard to performatives in requests). Today, both cultures are more oriented towards the avoidance or mitigation of explicit performatives because their use is often considered a face-threatening act. The relative proliferation of explicit performatives in Old English has, furthermore, been related to its relative high degree of orality (Kohnen 2000b). Given that performatives usually appear in the 1st person, their use in writing – where situation- and speaker-independence is likely to increase – is somewhat limited (Traugott and Dasher 2001). However, the picture is different when it comes to register. Here, formal registers (as usually found in writing) seem to be particularly prone to the use of explicit performatives (Traugott and Dasher 2001). A possible explanation is the frequent use of explicit performatives in formal institutional settings (such as court trials, marriages, baptisms and so forth). Not surprisingly, then, legal texts are among the text types in which relatively high numbers of explicit performatives have been found (as well as in Bible texts, Kohnen 2000b; Moessner 2010). Finally, speech acts may vary according to the use of performatives and the sense of directness they are likely to convey. For example, in English requests, explicit and hedged performatives appear to be the second and third most direct request strategies (after requests in the imperative, Schauer 2009). As far as apologies are concerned, the use of explicit illocutionary force indicating devices that may include performatives is the most direct strategy (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984).

When it comes to intercultural variation in the use of performatives, speech-act related differences continue to play a significant role. However, it is not so much the difference between distinct speech acts such as requests and apologies, but the variation in attitudes concerning the appropriateness of the use of direct performatives in particular situations that is at stake. The latter is related to issues of politeness, although there seems to be no one-to-one correspondence between the perceived (in)directness of a performative and issues of (im)politeness. For example, direct requests featuring an explicit performative are likely to be regarded as highly impolite in (British) English, but might be considered as highly polite in certain contexts in Turkish (Marti 2006).

Cross-cultural variation in the use of performatives may also be due to typological differences between languages and their idiosyncratic grammatical means and preferences for the expression of illocutionary acts. For example, the French language shows an overall preference for a verbalising way of expression and lacks direct equivalents for German modal particles, with the latter occasionally being translated into French by means of explicit performatives (Dalmas 1989). In this regard, it should be mentioned that Traugott and Dasher (2001) pointed to correlations between assertive

speech acts and epistemic modality on one hand, and between directive speech acts and deontic modality, or mood, on the other (Traugott and Dasher 2001). Accordingly, the authors suggested that "modals may be used to convey performatives" (Traugott and Dasher 2001: 198).[270] Such a substitution of performatives by modals would lead to a less direct expression of illocutionary force (Traugott and Dasher 2001), and has to be kept in mind as an option when it comes to explaining variation in the use of performatives in translation.

In the next section, performative clauses in the German ST and possible explicitating/implicitating shifts in the Catalan and French TTs will be analysed according to the speech acts in which they occur.

b) Performatives in translation

General parameters for the description of speech acts along the explicitation–implicitation cline

Taking as a starting point Becher's (2010) observation that research in explicitation must be counterbalanced by research in implicitation in order to lead to empirically valid findings, this section sets out to propose both general and speech act-specific parameters for the description of translation shifts in speech acts along an explicitation–implicitation cline. Stadler's (2011) coding system for explicitness–implicitness shifts in speech acts, especially those of disagreement in television talk shows in English, is a valuable contribution in this regard.

In contrast to studies focusing on highly specific linguistic phenomena that are subject to explicitation, such as those by Espunya (2007) and Marco (2012), we are not able to place all the identified parameters together on an all-encompassing scale according to increasing degrees of explicitness. Instead, in line with Stadler (2011) and given the diversity of the phenomena at the origin of explicitation shifts, various parallel existing scales, sometimes short and merely bipolar ones, are proposed. Speech act-specific criteria, the discussion of which will be deferred to the individual discussion of the respective acts, then exist together with more general ones.

A first, and perhaps the most important, general parameter is the degree of context-independence. Following Stadler (2010: 38), "the higher the degree of autonomy of an utterance from the surrounding contextual information, the more explicit it is". Broadly speaking, this parameter enables us to distinguish between explicit (more context-independent) and hedged (less context-independent) performatives.

A second parameter relates to conventionalisation, which is defined as "the predictability of an upcoming utterance on the basis of the use of expressions which frequently occur in connection with a particular type of speech intent" (Stadler 2010: 39). A conventionalised item needs less processing effort and is therefore regarded as being more explicit.[271] However, conventionalisation is also one of the speech act-specific parameters, and will thus be discussed below in concert with the latter.

A third parameter is 'form–function correlation' (Stadler 2010: 38) or 'grammatical metaphor': the congruent or non-congruent realisation of lexical-grammatical and discourse-semantic levels of meaning making. Non-congruent realisation (for instance, when a statement comes in an interrogative format) is related to implicitation. This is

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[270] See also Schneider (2007) with respect to the possible substitution of performatives in 'saying-and-doing-clauses' with modals.

[271] See section 4.11 with regard to the link between explicitation and reduced processing effort.

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also true for other types of form–function correlations, such as when "grammar suggests one speech act and intonation another" (Stadler 2010: 38).

Fourthly, explicitness in speech acts seems to be contingent upon cohesive reference to prior utterances and turns. Given what has previously been said about explicitation as creating cohesive ties, this is not at all surprising. In speech acts, the lexical and syntactic repetition of structures enhances redundancy. The latter is especially important in audio-visual texts, where verbalisation also includes reference to nonverbal layers of meaning making. When there is direct cohesive reference, whether to verbal or nonverbal information in simultaneously occurring or immediately adjacent turns/utterances/shots, the speech act may be described as more explicit than one without such cohesive reference.

Fifthly, Stadler (2010) mentioned several structural features that are presented as more or less idiosyncratic in disagreement acts. Some features, such as violation of preference organisation, are also applicable to other speech acts when adapted to their specific conditions.

Expressive speech acts

Given the diversity of expressive speech acts such as compliments, apologies and insults threatening the speaker's positive or negative faces differently, we treat them separately, proposing a separate description for explicitating shifts for each illocutionary act.

Compliments

A compliment act is a "speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill and so on) which is positively valued by the speaker or the hearer" (Holmes 1988: 446). This definition alludes to three core components of the compliment act (the assessed characteristic or trait, the target of the compliment, and the attached positive evaluation).

When it comes to compliment responses, these, as said earlier, are principally shaped by the balance between two factors: the need to produce an agreement and the need to avoid self-praise (Auer and Uhmann 1982; Pomerantz 1984).

According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1987), compliment acts may then be distinguished in terms of explicitness along the following lines. Explicit compliments are those that include an explicit performative expression or contain an inscribed, lexically expressed judgement (such as ger. *Doris sieht heute wunderbar aus*). Implicit compliments, by contrast, are said to convey the expressed judgements in either a presupposed or implied manner. In audio-visual texts, compliments may be cued in nonverbal codes such as intonational patterns, facial expression or gestures. These forms of complimenting (and responding to compliments) are regarded as implicit, and a possible verbalisation during the translation process as explicit.[272]

Another dimension of explicitness in compliments is suggested by Golato (2005). The author proposed that compliments may differ in their explicit reference to the 'assessable' (or 'good'); that is, "the object, trait, ability, characteristic, etc. that the compliment is about" (Golato 2005: 29). As with other speech acts, lexically expressed reference to the assessable as expressed in other modalities or neighbouring moves and

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[272] See Bruti (2008: 106) for an example.

turns is then described as more explicit, while the lack of such reference is regarded as implicit.

Compliment acts and compliment responses have already been treated with regard to judgements of capacity passed on the Doris character in sections 4.8 and 4.9. In addition, they are not rendered by (explicit or hedged) performatives in the TTs in our data. We therefore refrain from an extensive discussion here, simply pointing out some of the findings of the comparative analysis above, with special emphasis on the translation of attached judgements and observed explicitation shifts.

As stated earlier, compliment acts typically elicit judgement through directly inscribed or indirectly invoked lexis (such as adjectives with positive polarity, verbs expressing liking and intensifiers). The explicit rendering of evaluation and the typical, cross-culturally somewhat similar codification in relative fixed semantic frames and syntactical patterns is thus likely to encourage the preservation of evaluative choices in translation. Accordingly, no major shifts in explicitness are to be expected. In fact, only minor shifts in inscribed or invoked evaluation between the ST and the TTs have been reported. In one instance in the Catalan TT, choices of intensified graduation have been added to both verbally and visually expressed judgement. In other instances in both the Catalan and the French TTs, a slight shift between the appraisal subcategories of judgement and appreciation has been found, with either the process of preparing the meal or the outcome of this process presented as the assessable on which the judgement of capacity was built. This, however, did not imply any shift in explicitness of expression of the assessable.

When assessed from the perspective of judgements elicited by the compliment speech act itself, that is, with possibly shifting culture-specific standards concerning the adequacy of such acts and their composition in mind, the picture is only slightly different. We found a shift towards more culture-specific patterns of conveying compliment acts (elimination of both admiration and the surprise-expressing interjection ger. *oh* often found in German compliments related to food in both TTs). The optional implicitating shift was, at least in the Catalan TT, counterbalanced by an explicitating one, thematising the emotion of surprise as a clue to underlying character judgement. The latter then somewhat included a new codification in terms of intersemiotic explication (verbalising the emotion of surprise as also conveyed kinesically). Another shift was observed in the French TT where an implicitly rendered compliment was expressed in an explicit way (ger. [Metin:] *Ich dachte du kannst nich' kochen* versus fr. [Metin:] *Tu cuisines comme une déesse).* However, this shift could rather be called adaptation than explicitation because information not presupposed or implied in the German ST has been somewhat freely added in the TT. The reasons behind this shift are somewhat unclear (but an increase of explicitness for the sake of the target viewer is clearly an option). As observed with regard to compliment responses, the TTs somewhat tended to 'normalise' rather ambiguous 'mixed' patterns of compliment response, adapting them to more 'normal' turn-taking patterns.

Apologies

Apologies are post-event speech acts conveying "sorrow or regret (sincerity condition) for something judged bad that the speaker is responsible for (preparatory condition)" (Vanderveken 1990: 219). An apologetic act then represents "a face-saving speech act for the hearer because it provides support for the hearer's negative face […] from the perspective of the speaker, an apology is a face-threatening act as it damages the

speaker's positive face" (Schölmberger 2008: 334). The task of an apology is therefore to re-establish social harmony between the speaker and the addressee in a conversation. Apologies usually occur after the event that caused the offence. Often, apologies form the second part of an adjacency pair, the first part of which is a complaint. Optionally, in a follow-up move to the apology, acceptance or, more rarely, rejection may be expressed.

From the point of view of its realisation, in most cases the head act of an apology consists of an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID), often accompanied by the more indirect strategy of accepting responsibility for the offence. Other frequent indirect strategies are giving an explanation or justification, offering a remedy, and promising forbearance (Blum-Kulka, House, and Kasper 1989).

The head act featuring the IFID is the place in which explicit performatives can be found. Most European languages seem to possess one or more performative verbs for the expression of apologies (such as eng. *I apologise*), together with alternative routine formulae (eng. *Sorry*) occurring in the directly apologetic head act. In contrast to requests and similar speech acts, the alternative IFIDs available for apologetic head acts cannot be arranged on a scale of directness, but only differ in directness from the indirect strategies that sometimes substitute for them. There are some cross-linguistic differences in overall frequencies of IFIDs, and with regard to the frequencies, typical environments and semantic subcategories expressed by explicit performatives. For instance, German seems to prefer routine formulas (ger. *Es tut mir leid*) or imperative constructions (ger. *Entschuldigen Sie bitte*), and is likely to resort to explicit and hedged performatives (ger. *Ich möchte mich entschuldigen*) only in grave cases of offence (Sáfrányos 2012). In Catalan, the explicit formula *Demano disculpes* is only the sixth most frequent one, with the routine formulas cat. *Ho sento*, *Em sap greu* and variations of the imperative with the verb *perdonar* in the first three places (Curell 2011). French seems to have different options, among which are IFIDs featuring performative verbs such as fr. *Je m'excuse* or *Je demande pardon*, but it shows a predilection for formulas of regret such as fr. *Je suis désolé(e)* (Schölmberger 2008). In terms of semantic subcategories, apart from expressions of regret, offers of apology and requests for forgiveness are possible, with the latter sometimes containing performative verbs.

A categorisation system for apologies in terms of directness has been suggested by the cross-linguistic research project CCSARP. This system is taken as the basis for the present description of apologetic acts in terms of explicitness.

Apologies containing an explicit illocutionary force-indicating device (IFID), usually a routine apology formula (ger. *Entschuldigung*, fr. *je demande pardon*, cat. *perdona*), are coded as explicit. Utterances merely featuring alternative strategies used for apologising, such as stating the causes for the offensive behaviour, taking responsibility, offering recompense or promising forbearance (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984) are coded as implicit.

Catalan

The first instance of an apology to assess here is taken from the scene featuring the family dinner where Doris serves a completely burnt turkey. Despite her failure, Doris is complimented by Nils and Metin for the meal, whereas her cooking competence is openly challenged by Lena. In order to refute Lena's argument, Doris then accuses her daughter of lacking the competence to judge her (ger. *Du kennst mich gar nich',* Gürkchen, cat. *Tu no em coneixes, cuca).*

The apology features in Lena's response, which is verbally and nonverbally marked as ironic (see section 4.8). It consists of an expression of responsibility, followed by an IFID:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, dann hab' ich mir die sechzehn Jahre Fastfood wohl nur eingebildet. Entschuldige bitte!*

cat. [Lena:] *Ah, els setze anys de menjar ràpid deuen ser imaginacions. Perdona, mamà!*

In a reactive speech act like an apology, by offering an excuse the speaker refers directly to his or her role in the offensive past act, with the offending behaviour being judged in negative terms. However, in the present case, the problematic past act is a minor one (Lena's mere imagination of sixteen years of eating fast food) and is only made the subject of discussion by Lena herself. In other words, the sequence largely lacks the typical structure of apologies (there is no 'real' complaint or accusation by the interlocutor in the corresponding first move, inverted order of expression of responsibility and IFID). Without the explicit apologetic formula, it would not even have been taken as an apology. In our opinion, this lack of typical structure, as well as the fact that the 'justification' offered by Lena is a face-threatening one, might have posed some challenges for the Catalan translator. Such face-threatening justifications might be contrasted with face-saving ones:

> Justifications may either save or threaten the speaker's face. They may save face by giving reasons for the offence, reasons which minimize the speaker's guilt. In that sense, justifications serve to intensify apologies by communicating any efforts made. On the other hand, however, if the speaker overtly states to have forgotten or simply not to have met the obligation at hand, the justification is associated with personal weakness and the speaker risks loss of face [...]. In face-threatening justifications, the speaker does not resort to external explanations in order to justify the rule-breaking, whereas in face-saving justifications s/he does (Schölmberger 2008: 343).

Comparisons between apologies in German and Peninsular Spanish, which we cite here because of the lack of contrastive studies of German and Catalan, suggest that Spanish speakers, being strongly oriented towards the expression of positive politeness, often give priority to relationship-maintaining and own-face-saving practices, for example by offering external explanations as reasons for the misbehaviour (Siebold 2008). The bold acknowledgement of personal weaknesses as often occurring in German in general and in the present example in particular, is not a preferred choice in Spanish culture – and thus presumably not in Catalan culture either. Against this backdrop, it is possible to interpret the Catalan translation of the 'justification' in Lena's move, which renders it more impersonal, as an intention to provide a more external explanation than in the ST. The translation of the IFID, which in both the ST and the TT contains an imperative, is only interesting because of the shift in the semantic subcategories expressed (from an offer of apology in German to a request for forgiveness in Catalan).

The second example of an apology to be considered occurs in the final scene of the pilot episode. It forms part of the incident in which the emotional equilibrium among the family members is restored, with several family-internal conflicts being resolved. While the family eventually prepares to take its first family photo, Cem sets out to bury the hatchet with Lena by offering his apologies to her:

ger. [Cem:] *Obwohl Entschuldigen echt was für Mädchen is', ja aber... es tut mir leid!*

cat. [Cem:] *Ja sé que demanar perdó és per a nenes, però... que em perdones?*

So far, we have not alluded to the 'rule-breaking' activity or what the apology is for. In the present case, the infraction occurred three scenes before when Cem ordered his

friend Costa to bully Lena, with the girl realising that Cem was behind the bullying act some time later. Because of the viewers' close alignment to and following of Lena, there is no need to explicitly mention what the apology is for. Rather, as the viewers sympathise with Lena, they might be able to understand the reason for Cem's apology from the shared context of situation in a way similar to Lena herself.

In contrast to the high level of implicitness regarding the reasons for Cem's excuse, the speech act of apologising itself is made highly explicit. It is even explicitly thematised in the first part of the utterance, where Cem considers apologising to be a girlish activity. The latter implies a negative judgement of the apologetic behaviour (which is itself expressed by a performative verb). However, the first part of the utterance is of more interest here in relation to the second part, which contains the IFID. A construction that first presents a possible objection (here the girlishness of apologetic behaviour) and then invalidating it is a combined move of concur and counter in appraisal theoretical terms. Given that this kind of argumentation at least marginally acknowledges alternative positions, it is considered as heteroglossic, opening up the space for negotiation with the interlocutor. This is consistent with Cem's apparent purpose in restoring peace with Lena. The Catalan TT renders this by resorting to a somewhat conventionalised concessive construction. The first part of the construction is thus "fa presagiar la contraargumentació immediata que segueix el 'però' [...]" (Salvador 2010: 30). This construction also has a mitigating value in Catalan (Sancho Cremades 1994). Moving to what really interests us here, the IFID in the second part of the utterance, we can see that the Catalan TT renders the apology that is expressed by a standard routine formula in German by means of an interrogative featuring a performative verb. Moreover, there is a shift from 1st person to 2nd person singular reference, so that the Catalan solution, albeit containing a performative verb, is not a prototypical performative construction. In addition to the general preference for hearer-orientation in Romance languages, the shift towards 2nd person reference might also be explained via specific differences in meaning attached to the act of apologising in German and in Romance languages. Mirtl (2006), for instance, proposed the following with regard to German–French differences:

Während sich in der deutschen Sprache der Bedeutungswandel des Entschuldigens vom Hörer zum Sprecher weitgehend vollzogen hat (es heißt SICH entschuldigen, ist jedoch eigentlich ein Akt des Vergebens [...]), obliegt die Entschuldigung im Französischen noch weitgehend dem Geschädigten und nicht dem Schädiger (Mirtl 2006: 1, upper case in the original).

It then comes as no surprise that, in terms of semantic subcategories, the German speaker-centred expression of regret is translated into a request for forgiveness that better suits the 2nd person reference form. In addition, hearer-orientation is expressed by the interrogative format of the apology in Catalan. The shift from bold apology to interrogative might be interpreted with regard to the above mentioned predominance of positive politeness in Catalan, which possibly favours relationship-maintaining strategies over the explicit admission of guilt that an expression of regret might imply. Another possible explanation for the shift has to do with the follow up move made by Lena. Lena does not accept, but dismisses the apology outright instead: (ger. *Entschuldigung abgelehnt!*, cat. *No, mai de la vida!).* This is non-verbally accompanied by a judgemental gesture of giving the finger. Such a gross reaction is highly impolite, but so is the non-acceptance of the apology, which is only admissible in cases of gross misconduct. In Catalan, the apology rejection is rendered into a more acceptable form conveying an intensified negative answer to a question ([+for]).

The third example of an apology in our corpus stems from a dialogue between Lena and her new father Metin. As discussed earlier, after the first night in the family's new house, Metin tries to wake his daughters, thereby invading Lena's space. Lena then warns him not to touch her, and Metin sets out to apologise:

ger. [Metin:] *Tut mir leid! Ich wollt' nur witzig sein!*

cat. [Metin:] *Perdona! Només volia ser simpàtic.*

This example corresponds more to a normal pattern of apology than do the examples considered previously because it features an IFID followed by a responsibility-taking move offering an account for the misbehaviour. The IFID again features a form of the verb *perdonar* in Catalan, which implies a shift in terms of semantic subcategory from expression of regret in the ST to request for forgiveness in the TT. The most interesting issue, however, is the shift in meaning in the account-giving part of the utterance. As already indicated in section 4.9, in the German ST, Metin justifies his misbehaviour by his desire to be funny, whereas in the Catalan TT he points to the intention of being sympathetic. This modification neatly captures what we have discussed so far concerning the translation of apologies in our corpus, since 'being sympathetic' is one of the key strategies of positive politeness culture – the norm to which the apologetic speech acts seem have been adapted.

French

The first apology to treat in terms to the French translation is the same as discussed previously with regard to the Catalan TT:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, dann hab' ich mir die sechzehn Jahre Fastfood wohl nur eingebildet. Entschuldige bitte!*

fr. [Lena:] *Oh, alors, peut-être que ces seize années de fast food, je les ai inventé. Je demande pardon.*

Here, there is no shift towards a more face-saving 'justification' for the misbehaviour as there is in Catalan. Instead, as in the German ST, the French TT is strongly self-humbling: By means of 1st person reference, Lena explicitly points to her own personal weaknesses as being at the origin of the 'rule-breaking'. This fits in with Schölmberger's (2008) observation that European French shows some overall predilection for the use of face-threatening justifications in apologetic acts. When it comes to the translation of the IFID, however, the French TT, instead of closely following the German ST, resorts to the use of an explicit performative (fr. *je demande pardon*). As stated earlier, in apologetic speech acts the shift between two IFIDs (from the imperative form in the ST to the explicit performative in the TT) has no impact in terms of directness. However, the illocutionary force appears to have been made more explicit by the French translator. Note that such a translation shift affects the sincerity conditions. In the French TT, Lena's apology featuring a performative verb in the 1st person singular would be taken as being more serious than it is in the German ST. This means that the contrast between serious apology and performance with an ironic intent is more pronounced in the TT than it is in the ST. With regard to the semantic subcategories of the performative verb, the shift is the same as it is in Catalan (from offer of apology in the ST to request for forgiveness in the TT), and may thus have been made for the same reasons (see above).

We now move to the second example of an apology in our corpus, the excuse offered by Cem to Lena at the end of the pilot episode, as described above with regard to the Catalan translation. The German ST and the French TT read:

ger. [Cem:] *Obwohl Entschuldigen echt was für Mädchen is', ja aber... es tut mir leid!*

fr. [Cem:] *C'est un truc des filles, s'excuser, mais je veux te dire quand même... excuse-moi, Lena.*

We have already pointed out above that the first part of the utterance in the ST contains a metalinguistic commentary about the act of apologising as being a girlish activity, which, at the same time, forms part of the heteroglossic argumentation strategy of concur and counter. This is also the case in French. However, the first part of the move in the TT differs slight from its German counterpart in terms of the mitigation devices used. Whereas German employed a combination of adverbial markers of force and focus typical of teen talk, the French TT expresses the hedge by means of a nominal modalisation device (fr. *un truc*) as found in teen talk in French. Thus, apart from the change of word class, in contrast to the Catalan TT, the French TT comes closer to the German version via the addition rendering of the colloquial register.

Turning to the second part of the move under consideration, we can see that there is not only a routine formula (fr. *excuse-moi*, semantically an offer of apology), but also an apology-preparing hedged performative (fr. *je veux te dire*) in the French TT. The speech act thus appears serious and sincere. The presence of the hedged performative in the 1st person singular thus makes the speech act more explicit (for the viewer). On the other hand, hedging mitigates the commitment of the speaker to the act:

> [T]he speaker conveys the idea that she is not actually performing the speech act indicated by the performative, but she only wants or intends to do so. Thus, the speaker cannot be held fully responsible for its consequences [...]. The hearer, on the contrary, [...] might have the option of rejecting the performative force implied by the utterance [...] (Schneider 2010c: 280).

It is thus easier to reject the speech act (here, the apology), which is done by Lena in the subsequent move (ger. *Entschuldigung abgelehnt!*, fr. *Excuse réfusée*).

The third example of apology as mentioned in the section on apologies in the Catalan TT is a very special case in French, and can only be understood when treated together with the immediately preceding speech act featuring a warning or advice.

Assertive speech acts

Assertive speech acts are those acts that have the primary function of communicating and stating a certain issue:

> These are speech acts through which the speaker or writer describes a state of affairs regarding a certain matter. By performing a speech act of this type someone commits himself to a lesser or greater degree to the acceptability of a particular proposition. The prototype of an assertive is an assertion by which the speaker or writer commits himself to the truth of a proposition, [...] (van Eemeren, Houtlosser, and Snoek Henkemans 2007: 12).

Performatives expressing statements, denials, attestations, declarations, certifications, objections and so on fall into this category. Some scholars, however, have argued that utterances containing an explicit or hedged performative always simultaneously make an assertion about the truthfulness of the proposition (Vanderveken 1988). The latter is regarded as their distinctive feature in comparison to clauses and sentences without an explicit performative. Later, some examples of illocutionary acts in which this assertive component exists together with other components (for instance, in 'pseudo-proposals')

will be assessed. In addition to 'pure' assertions, some cases in which essentially non-assertive speech acts feature foregrounded assertive components are coded as assertive acts here.

When it comes to coding assertives for explicitness, bare (or unmitigated) assertions are certainly the most explicit ones. By contrast, bare statements that are expressed by means of presuppositions are seen as more implicit realisations (Becker 2009).

Note that there are some differences between the above mentioned assertiveness as attached to utterances such as bold statements, and assertiveness as triggered by means of a performative verb. Only the latter derives its assertiveness from its verbal semantics and from the self-verifying claim attached to performatives (as performatively stating an action is doing it, Searle 2001). Thus, the presence of a performative verb and its internal modification adds another dimension to the description in terms of explicitness. As the name implies, explicit performatives score high in terms of explicitness, because they are more context-independent and conventional than are hedged ones (Austin 1975, quoted by Récanati 1987). Utterances containing performatives modified by hedging devices (such as modals) are more implicit.

Hedged speech acts in general are furthermore regarded as less direct, showing an overall effect of decreased speaker commitment to the proposition. In this way, on the scale of the assertive acts, modified acts clearly correspond to the engagement subcategory of appraisal theory (which also makes a distinction in terms of the degree of speaker commitment). Decreased speaker commitment then means that the speaker takes less responsibility for what he or she says (and performatively does). The speaker is thus less direct in his or her expression (and often, albeit not always,[273] is perceived as more polite).

Warnings and advisory acts

Speech act categories are seldom clear-cut, and this is especially true for illocutionary acts such as warnings or advice. The latter has often been ascribed to the category of directive speech acts, or has been said to simultaneously convey two types of illocutionary force (assertiveness and directiveness, Weigand 2003). Focusing on German examples, Weigand (2003), however, conceived of them as subtypes of assertive speech acts, with some additional directive force expressed indirectly. The following reasons are given for the rejection of a simple categorisation as mere directive acts: Firstly, advice acts (and warnings) are not accompanied by formulas such as ger. *bitte* typically found in requests and other directive acts. Secondly, it is not up to the speaker but to the addressee to comply with the advice (or warning). In other words, the typical potential of directives to change worlds by words is shifted from the illocutionary into the perlocutionary realm (Weigand 2003).[274]

In contrast to the latter, the assertiveness of, say, advisory acts is straightforward: "Indem man zu einer Handlung rät, behauptet man, dass eine Handlung in einer bestimmten Problemsituation zweckmäßig ist [...]" (Weigand 2003: 145). Warnings are conceived of as negations of advice giving, and therefore also count as assertive acts: "Indem man vor einer Handlung warnt, behauptet man, dass eine Handlung in einer bestimmten Situation gefährlich/nicht zweckmäßig sei" (Weigand 2003: 146).

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[273] There is no one-to-one correspondence between directness and impoliteness. One reason is culture-specific differences in the perception of direct utterances as impolite (see above).

[274] It is, however, illocutionary and not perlocutionary force that determines the performative quality of a certain speech act.

Warnings, however, not only show some proximity to advisory acts, but also to threats. In fact, warnings, threats and advisory acts – and promises – are different sides of the same coin: Whereas the outcome of both advice and warnings is beyond the speaker's control, the speaker does take responsibility for the threatened or promised potential action. Furthermore, whereas advice and promises seem to be performed in the interests of the addressee, warnings and threats are likely to be unfavourable for him or her (Haigh et al. 2011): "Bei Drohungen wird eine eigene Handlung drohend in Aussicht gestellt, bei Warnungen hingegen wird vor einer Handlung des Kommunikationspartners gewarnt" (Weigand 2003: 150). By implying that the speaker is able to take action in case of the addressees' non-compliance, in contrast to warnings, commitment to action is foregrounded in threats;[275] thus, the latter will be treated in combination with commissive speech acts below.

Catalan
Given that no major shifts towards the use of performatives have been observed in the translation of assertive speech acts into Catalan in our corpus, we will not consider them here. The translation of the warning act in the example ger. [Lena:] *Wag' es nicht, mich zu berühr'n!*, cat. [Lena:] *Prou! Pobre de tu que em toquis.* has already been treated in section 4.9, and will only be very briefly commented upon here. Together with the reversal of polarity (negative–positive), the Catalan TT features an additional interjection (cat. *prou*) in the turn-initial position. This might be regarded as an instance of (translation-induced) explicitation of interpersonal texture in the sense of Baumgarten (2008): The added interjection is likely to serve as an utterance-initiator for the subsequent utterance (Baumgarten 2008). In conjunction with the second conative interjection cat. *pobre de tu,* it immediately brings the utterance's illocutionary force (warning to stop, Cuenca 2011: 188) to the viewer's attention. Metin's response in the form of an expressive speech act (apology) in both the ST and in the Catalan TT has been addressed in section 4.9.

French
We now consider the translation shifts in the French version of the above mentioned example:
ger. [Lena:] *Wag' es nicht, mich zu berühr'n!* [Metin:] *Tut mir leid! Ich wollt' nur witzig sein!*
fr. [Lena:] *Je te conseille… pas de me toucher.* [Metin:] *Faut pas t'énerver. Je voulais seulement rigoler.*
The French translation of the first part of the move involves both the shift from warning to advice, and from a conventional expression of warning (negative imperative) to an explicit performative construction. Given that warnings and advice are neighbouring speech acts, the shift from warning to advisory act might be extremely likely, especially when the polarity of the performative clause changes. Here, the negative polarity of the imperative (which is in line with the above definition of German warnings as negations of advice acts) is shifted towards positive polarity in the French. Admittedly, there is some 'compensation' since, in the French TT, the action in the complement clause is negated instead. However, one has to bear in mind that any negation of the performative clause is not the same as a negation of the action expressed in the complement clause (Latraverse 1987). The shift in the French TT might thus be motivated by different norms concerning the expression of directness and mitigation in warnings and similar

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[275] But see Weill (1993: 86) , who considers threats as both assertive, directive, promessive and expressive acts.

face-threatening acts. Here, it might be the face-threatening nature of the bold, negated imperative that is likely to be considered too impolite in French. For instance, threats as face-threatening acts adjacent to warnings are usually indirectly expressed in French: "Les menaces directes sont donc rares en français [...], la parole déviée est plus fréquente, [...]" (Weill 1993: 93). In order to express face-threatening acts, French resorts to 'marqueurs de dérivation illocutoire' "dont le but sera de transmettre une menace avec une garantie assurée pour le destinataire capable d'inférer la vraie portée de l'acte [...]" (Weill 1993: 95). The shift towards the use of explicit performatives, which in general are more likely to be found in advisory acts than in warnings or threats,[276] is one possibility to convey a somewhat similar illocutionary force in a conventional and inferable, but less bold and impolite way. A comparable example to that from our corpus is fr. *Je te conseille de t'arrêter* – an example that, despite even lacking the negation of the action expressed in the complement, is together with similar expressions referred to as 'conseil menaçant' by Chatar-Moumni (2013: 85). Both the prosodic and kinesic clues accompanying the advisory act as well as some impolite patterns in the subsequent turn, then help to further contextualise the move as a threatening one in French. In the subsequent turn – performed by Metin after the sound of an audio tape stopping has indicated his surprise when faced with Lena's warning, as well as his compliance with Lena's demand – is an apologetic one in the German ST, but not in the French TT. In particular, whereas the second part of the move featuring the 'justification' is largely conserved, the apology formula in the first part in German is substituted by another highly conventional and indirect illocutionary construction including the (negated) imperative of the verb fr. *falloir*. The precise illocutionary force conveyed becomes clear when comparing our example with another one provided by Chatar-Moumni (2013): fr. *Faut/Faudrait pas charrier quand même...*. Said to denote the performative act 'Je te conseille de ne pas charrier', the illocutionary value of such an utterance is further described as constituting "une assertion à formuler un ordre" (Chatar-Moumni 2013: 85). Thus, both assertive and directive functions (*ordre*) as typical of warnings and advice acts are conveyed. We are concerned with another, possibly redundantly cued 'conseil menaçant'. In contrast to the ST's apologetic act, which in addition to being more polite expresses an implicit self-judgement of Metin's behaviour as inappropriate, the TT conveys an additional and explicitly expressed judgement of the interlocutor: Lena's emotional behaviour is negatively described and judged as somewhat of an over-reaction (fr. (*se*) *énerver*, [-norm]). Thus, as with the translation shift towards the use of an explicit performative as discussed above, the latter shift might be conceived of as a (translation-induced) explicitation of interpersonal meaning for the viewer's sake. In addition, it might be considered as an instance of intersemiotic explicitation (because Lena's state of being bothered cued in the visuals is explicitly mentioned as such in the verbals in the TT).

We will now discuss the implications of rendering explicit the illocutionary force of an assertion in the French TT.

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[276] Explicit performatives expressing threats (such as ger. *Ich drohe dir*, fr. *Je te menace*, etc.) are not only rare because they are considered more or less impolite. As Weill (1993) suggests, the act of threatening does not fully comply with the sincerity conditions usually attached to performative clauses, because the semantic of the performative verb (such as fr. *menacer*) does not necessarily imply the fulfilment of the act. By contrast, performative uses of verbs of *advice* are more frequent (see for instance Diederich and Höhn 2012 who found nine instances of performative uses of the verb eng. *advise* in the British National Corpus).

A speech act verb that frequently features in explicit and hedged performatives in the French TT under consideration is fr. *dire*.[277] In French, the performative verb *dire* can have both assertive and directive functions.

A first example in which the assertive function is at stake occurs immediately at the beginning of the pilot episode where Lena records a video message to her friend Kati asking about her new situation in the American host family. In the German ST, Lena affiliates with Kati by switching into English and imagining how Kati will be received in an English-speaking country, while the French TT places the code-switching act more within Lena's realm (ger. *Well… they will call you 'Cathy' right now*, fr. *Oh, je devrais plutôt dire 'Cathy' maintenant*). By shifting from 3rd person plural reference towards a 1st person singular one, the verbal construction seems to acquire a truly performative quality in the TT. Accompanying features, such as the temporal deictic element *right now* in the ST, which is translated into its French equivalent adverb *maintenant*, seem to act in favour of the translation shift towards a performative use.[278] However, the performative effect is somewhat attenuated by the addition of a modal verb in the conditional mood in the TT.[279] The insertion of a non-mandatory modal sentence adverb (fr. *plutôt*) further adds to the mitigating effect, for "[s]uch adverbs automatically cancel any performative function of an utterance, [...]" (Schneider 2010c: 272). As a result, "clauses with modal sentence adverbs lose their illocutionary force indicating function and assume a descriptive meaning" (Schneider 2010c: 272). That is, they are used to indicate and describe rather than to perform the speech act. From a comparative point of view, the ST and the TT thus somewhat coincide in their ultimately descriptive use of performatives.

Another instance of a hedged performative added in the French translation occurs in the dialogue between Lena and Cem. Stressing her own free will and independence from Cem, who in his role as her new brother wants to impose his rules on the girl, Lena self-confidently states:

ger. [Lena:] *Fräulein Schneider macht, was sie will!*
fr. [Lena:] *On dirait que Mademoiselle Schneider fait ce qu'elle veut.*

The French TT adds the hedged performative fr. *on dirait (que)* to the utterance. As stated by Rossari (2012: 2191, italics in the original), "*[o]n dirait* literally communicates what one should say, if a particular SoA [state of affairs, S.F.] were noticed. The conditional brings an indication of caution which gives rise to the meaning of vague feeling". Thus, in contexts in which the fr. *on dirait* governs a subordinate structure, the meaning may become ambiguous between the literal and a second evidential one expressing a vague perception (visual, auditory and so on) about a certain state of affairs: "In the latter case, the interpretation corresponds to: ***on a l'impression que...*** [*we have the feeling that...*]" (Rossari 2012: 2191, italics and bold in the original).[280] That is, Lena may state that there is some shared perceptual evidence obtained from the situational context for the declared state of affairs (that Miss Schneider [Lena herself] is free to do what she wants to do). It is worth pointing out that, according to Rossari (2012), by using fr. *on dirait,* the speaker refers to sensorial, especially visual, evidence. Since the visuals indeed show Lena Schneider as acting in

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[277] See also Schneider (2007) with regard to the performative quality of the verb fr. *dire* and its equivalents in other Romance languages.

[278] According to Schneider (2010b), temporal adverbials such as eng. *now*, *finally* and so on in performative clauses further stress the performative nature of the act.

[279] See Schneider (2010b) concerning the role of the conditional mood as a hedging device in performatives in Romance languages.

[280] The evidential meaning is even more pronounced when fr. *on dirait* is used parenthetically (Rossari 2012).

her own way, the French TT appears to rely more heavily on verbal–visual correspondence than does the German ST. We are thus concerned with a case of intersemiotic explicitation. In addition, by adding a hedged performative to what in German appears as a bare statement, the utterance is transformed into a slightly more mitigated, and thus less direct and explicit one.

In the next example, the performative verb fr. *dire* features in an assertion with a secondary accusational or reproachful value. The example stems from a dialogue between Lena and Nils, in which Nils accuses his sister of always pursuing her own interests instead of their mother's. Lena's response is an outright rejection of this accusation:

ger. [Lena:] *Oh, das stimmt ja wohl überhaupt nicht!*

fr. [Lena:] *Mais c'est pas vrai! Pourquoi tu me dis ça?*

The combination of modal devices modifying Lena's rejective response in the ST (ger. *ja wohl überhaupt*) has been omitted in the French TT. Instead, there is an inquiry about Nils' motives and evidence for the accusation added to Lena's dialogue in the TT. This inquiry contains the verb fr. *dire*.

In order to account for the changes, we first have to have a closer look at the omitted elements. The first two ST elements omitted in the TT are the unstressed modal particles ger. *ja* and *wohl*.

One of the main functions of the particle ger. *ja* is to signal agreement, which includes an appeal to shared knowledge (Heringer 1988). The element ger. *wohl* may function, among other things, as a modal particle (Westheide 1985), marking the propositional content asserted by ger. *überhaupt* as unresolved or reparable, in addition to mitigating the speaker's commitment to it (Datcheva 2011). The particles ger. *ja* and *wohl* also occasionally collocate, with the basic function of such a combination described as "ungläubiges, aber berechtigtes Erstaunen" (Eroms 2006: 1031). The TT employs the adversative conjunction fr. *mais* as well as an astonishment-expressing intonation in order to convey this attitudinal meaning. With regard to ger. *überhaupt*, the use of this element plus negation in statements "has the effect of terminating a line of inquiry by generalizing prior statements" (Rojas-Esponda 2014: 3). In the present example, the current speaker (Lena) responds to the accusation that she acts selfishly with such a generalising declaration.

It should now be discussed how the above mentioned qualities of Lena's rejective move are rendered in French. The slight mitigating quality introduced by the particle ger. *wohl* in the ST, with the issue under discussion presented as somewhat moot, stands in contrast to the 'active quality' of utterances containing ger. *überhaupt*, which are said to convey that "the speaker's intention is to convince the other participants of his 'opinion'" (Harden 1983: 128).

This contradictory issue has been reproduced in the French TT as follows. First, the French translator seems to have decided in favour of the omission of the modalising elements. The result is a bare assertion in the French TT (fr. *[...] c'est pas vrai!).*

Possibly for reasons of lip-synchronisation – the French utterance *Mais c'est pas vrai!* is too short to coincide with all the lip movements of Lena who is shown in a close-up – a second utterance has been added in the French translation (fr. *Pourquoi tu me dis ça?*). Ideally, for reasons of equivalence in illocutionary force, the added utterance should convey some notion of attenuation (since the first utterance is a pure assertion). In French, there is the possibility to render the mitigating ger. *wohl* preceded by an assertive, adversative modal particle with a postponed 'Vergewisserungsfrage' (Dalmas 1989: 236). Although Dalmas' examples refer to the German particle combination ger. *doch* plus *wohl,* the present ST's combination ger. *ja* plus *wohl* is somewhat similar in

that the assertive force of ger. *ja* is mitigated by *wohl*. Very tentatively, then, the postponed interrogative seems to be a viable possibility in French to render the slight notion of unresolvedness and uncertainty expressed by ger. *wohl* in the German ST.

The choice of a particular interrogative format then seems to allow for the encoding of the notion of shared knowledge also present in the ST (see above). In the French TT, shared knowledge is encoded in a particular interrogative format termed 'pourquoi incolore' that shows a tendency to accent the first syllable of fr. *pourquoi* (Korzen 1985: 73), as in the example at hand. The speaker might use this interrogative format as a vehicle to demand an explication about a controversial issue that has already formed part of the interlocutors' shared knowledge (Korzen 1985). The illocutionary functions coming to the fore in this way may be challenge and reproach (Korzen 1985: 73). Thus, 'pourquoi incolore' formats often have an evaluative slant, conveying a "sens de désapprobation, d'agacement ou d'indignation" (Korzen 1985: 74). It might be argued that it is only a minor step from the rejection expressed in the German ST to that of challenge and disapproval encoded in the extra interrogative phrase in the TT.

Turning to the performative verb added in the French TT, it might be said that its insertion may be regarded as a mere by-product of the above mentioned shift. As stated by Korzen (1985: 81, italics in the original), "les questions introduites par *pourquoi* [...] sont souvent ambigües, *pourquoi* pouvant signifier soit: 'Qu'est-ce qui a causé ce que tu racontes?', soit: 'Quelles sont tes raisons de le dire?'". The latter interpretation is the one associated with the 'pourquoi incolore' format. The French TT then explicitly lexically encodes this specific interpretation (cf. *Pourquoi tu me dis ça?*).

Another example which, in the French TT version, features a performative construction involving the verb fr. *dire* is the one we discuss in the following. The example is taken from a discussion between Lena and Cem, where Cem accuses Lena of creating problems with the neighbours because she is half-naked in the garden. Lena then sarcastically agrees with Cem by saying: ger. [Lena:] *Ja sicher, Erkan!* fr. [Lena:] *Si tu le dis, regarde!*

Bypassing the culture-specific allusion encoded in the proper name *Erkan* and its translation, we concentrate on the agreement sequence. When comparing the semantics, functions and typical medial environments of the ST and TT constructions, several commonalities can be found. The element ger. *sicher*[281] "ist [...] mit 'ohne Zweifel' paraphrasierbar, die Funktion besteht in der Signalisierung einer Zustimmung zu einer Äußerung" (Imo 2007: 268). When *sicher* forms a construction with the affirmative response particle ger. *ja* in spoken German, there is further emphasis added to the affirmative response: "[Es wird] diese positive Antwort verstärkt und emphatisch markiert" (Imo 2007: 268). The French translation solution fr. *si tu le dis* also implicitly expresses that there is no doubt, as can be seen from an extended example taken from Wunderlich and Grumbach (1972: 41, FN 15): (*Je ne sais pas que...,*) *mais si tu le dis, c'est sans doute vrai.* The elliptic expression *si tu le dis* itself, having "pour fonction textuelle l'approbation" (Leclère 1985: 119), resembles the German one in that it is typical of the spoken register and has achieved great syntactic and discursive autonomy (Chatar-Moumni 2013). Moreover, and this is crucial here, both the ST and the TT constructions can be used to convey irony and sarcasm. Lena's agreement with Cem that they seem to express is, in fact, a reluctant one. As mentioned previously with regard to the German text, conventional prosodic and nonverbal displays of sarcasm (exaggerated pitch, eyebrow raising and head movements) go hand-in-hand with clues stemming from the act of defying expectations (such as non-correspondence with

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[281] According to Imo (2007), this usage of ger. *sicher* is closer to that of a copula construction with *sicher* than to the use of *sicher* as a modal word.

Lena's prior behaviour, and nonverbal displays of negative attitude in contrast to the positive response).

The translation solution can thus be explained by the high degree of semantic and functional equivalence between the ST and TT choices. However, are other underlying motivations conceivable? Traugott and Dasher (2001), for example, suggested that as modal elements with epistemic meaning are likely to have some properties in common with assertive performative constructions so that they can possibly substitute the latter. We will merely point out here, without going into detail, that is worth asking whether such a shift, albeit in the reverse direction, has taken place in the example under consideration and whether this is possibly a language-pair specific tendency.

Commissive speech acts

Promises

Promises are generally said to belong to the category of commissive speech acts.[282] That is, such acts commit the speaker to the actions promised. As stated earlier, roughly speaking, the distinction between promises and threats amounts to whether the future action is beneficial for the addressee (promise) or not (threat) (Castelfranchi and Guerini 2007; Haigh et al. 2011). Often promises and threats are further distinguished from neighbouring speech acts such as warnings and giving advice by the fact that the fulfilment of the act usually depends on the speaker him- or herself. However, as we will see in the following section, in some cases promising acts of which fulfilment is beyond the speaker's control will also count as kinds of promises.

For promises, the use of explicit performatives is well documented cross-linguistically. However, since more in-depth and above all cross-cultural studies about the speech act of promising are rare,[283] it is difficult to make general statements about the frequency of performatives in promises. An exception is promises in French, for which Vanderveken (1988) suggested:

> [I]l n'y a pas en français de type syntaxique d'énoncé qui engage le locuteur à une action future, mais il y a, par contre, de nombreux verbes performatifs de type engageant […] qui peuvent servir à complir un tel but illocutoire (Vanderveken 1988: 28).

Our interest here is in commissive speech acts that feature a performative verb form in the ST and/or in the TT. The promising acts in our corpus show a highly foregrounded assertive component (see below); thus, we can refer to speech act-specific coding criteria for assertive acts here. Bare assertions are coded as the most explicit ones, whereas presupposed assertions are considered more implicit. When it comes to clauses with performative verbs, as with other speech acts, explicit performatives are regarded as rendering the illocution most overtly and explicitly, whereas hedged performatives render it less explicit. Indirect forms of realisation of promises, such as those without a performative verb, are conceived of as implicit. Note that there is a difference in coding bare assertions as explicit and utterances with a performative verb encoding some assertive nuance as explicit.[284]

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[282] But see Vliegen (2006) for a different opinion concerning the categorisation of threats.

[283] This has already been noted by Bernicot and Laval (1996).

[284] This is the reason why two independent description categories are used here.

Catalan

In the Catalan TT, there were no translation shifts associated with the use of performative verbs in the speech act type under consideration. We therefore move directly to the consideration of performatives in the French TT.

French

The French language appears, at least potentially, somewhat prone to the use of performative verbs in promises (see above).

The first scene to analyse occurs at the end of the 'restaurant scene' when the protagonist Lena has finally agreed not to oppose to her mother's desire to move in with Metin. However, in her private thoughts, rendered in voice-over commentary, the girl still rejects her mother's relationship with Metin. She consoles herself somewhat by predicting that the relationship will not last long:

ger. [Lena:] *Drei Wochen... dann seid ihr sowieso wieder auseinander.*

fr. [Lena:] *Trois semaines... et je vous garantis vous n'êtes plus ensemble.*

As can be seen, there is a translation shift towards the use of an explicit performative in the French TT (fr. *je vous garantis*). We are concerned here with what Castelfranchi and Guerini (2007) termed 'pseudo-promises'. These can be distinguished from 'real' promises in that the fulfilment of the promise is not under the speaker's control (Castelfranchi and Guerini 2007). In the present case, the promised action (Doris' and Metin's separation) does not depend on Lena as the speaker, but on her mother and Metin as the two partners involved in the relationship. Despite the apparent lack of control over the future action, 'pseudo-promises' are, nevertheless, commissive acts, implying the speaker's commitment to the truthfulness of the proposition (Castelfranchi and Guerini 2007).[285]

The latter is even more the case when the pseudo-promise contains a performative verb in the 1st person singular present indicative. The French commissive verb *garantir* used here may then express the following speech acts and meanings:

> Garantir quelque chose à quelq'un, c'est accomplir un acte de discours complexe qui consiste, d'une part, à affirmer qu'un certain objet se maintiendra dans un certain état de fonctionnement et, d'autre part, à promettre qu'une compensation sera versée à l'allocutaire si ce n'est pas le cas. Une garantie est donc la conjonction de deux actes illocutoires. Garantir quelque chose, c'est faire une assertion à son propos, tout en promettant conditionnellement de donner une compensation si cela n'est pas le cas (Vanderveken 1988: 177).

In the present case, instead of the compensation-promising act, it is the assertive speech act (guaranteeing the functioning condition of an object or issue) that is at stake here. The shift in the construction of the promised action from a positive one in the ST towards a negative one the TT (ger. *wieder auseinander sein* versus fr. *n'être plus ensemble*) then seems to be due to the inherent semantics of the French verb *garantir*: The required reference of *garantir* to a state valid up to certain point in time (fr. *être ensemble*) means that, when the ST expresses a state after this point in time (ger. *wieder auseinander sein*), complements of constructions with fr. *garantir* must necessarily appear in the negative.

However, in each case, the question that remains is why the French translation opts for a performative verb, whereas there is none in German. As stated previously, German

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[285] This commitment is, ultimately, the reason that a character might be taken responsible and regarded as deceitful when repeatedly making promises of actions which may even be out of his own control.

(modal) particles, which often lack an equivalent in French, are occasionally translated using performative verbs (Dalmas 1989). A possible option in this regard is that "modals may be used to convey performatives" (Traugott and Dasher 2001: 192) and vice versa. In the example at hand, the use of the explicit performative seems to compensate for the loss of the German connective particle *sowieso*. As mentioned several times before, the particle ger. *sowieso* is connective insofar as it links the proposition to a previously discussed alternative, construing it "als völlig bedeutungslos" (Eggs 2003: 272). In the present example, Doris' and Metin's recently revealed plan of living together is rejected as being insignificant, thereby conveying a high degree of confidence and conviction in Lena's own 'promise' of an unfavourable outcome for their relationship. The common denominator between particle use in German and use of explicit performative in French is thus the high degree of commitment to and confidence in the veracity of the declaration expressed.

Another question to be tackled is whether choosing a modal element or an explicit performative verb makes a difference. Some authors have proposed that the choice of an explicit performative verb (such as fr. *garantir*) renders the expressed illocutionary act less context-dependent and more unambiguous for the recipient (Saeed 2009; Traugott and Dasher 2001). In this regard, Vanderveken (1988) suggested that explicit performatives illocutionarily imply the corresponding non-explicit illocution, but not vice versa. Moreover, in explicit performatives, the assertive meaning component that these exhibit in addition to the specific illocutionary one is strengthened. In the example at hand, the assertiveness of the declaration is thus not only reinforced due to the assertive component included in the semantics of the newly introduced verb fr. *garantir,* but also through the grammatical form (explicit performative verb in the 1st person singular present). As a result of the increased assertiveness, the French TT version appears to be more dialogically contracting than does the German version featuring the particle *sowieso*.[286]

We now turn to a second example in which a form of the explicit commissive performative verb *garantir* has been introduced in the French TT. The example is taken from the scene immediately before the one discussed above. In this scene, Nils tries to convince his sister Lena to consent to their mother's and Metin's plans to live together. However, Lena is enraged and promises that she will do her best to make Metin leave:

ger. [Lena:] *Dieser Penner wird sich ganz schnell wieder verzieh'n!*

fr. [Lena:] *Cet imbécile va rentrer chez lui, garantit!*

Here, the prediction of Metin's future action of leaving (an action ultimately beyond Lena's control) is affirmed by the parenthetical performative fr. *garantit* added in the TT. As before, the choice of the verb *garantir* semantically stresses the assertive meaning component (that is, Lena's high degree of commitment to the preposition). However, the choice of a parenthetical, which in addition is not in the 1st person form, somewhat mitigates this commitment effect (Schneider 2007) in comparison to the previous example containing a non-parenthetical explicit performative verb. Given the closeness between the commissive speech acts of promises and threats, it is not surprising that, as in the present example, an explicit performative verb of promise may be employed in a declaration coming close to a threat to Metin as one of the implied (albeit not physically present) persons. Indeed, as suggested by Weigand (2010), and illustrated via the example of the promise-indicating construction ger. *ich verspreche*

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[286] In this regard, note that according to Eggs (2003: 293) the German connective particle *sowieso* indicates a slightly cooperative attitude (and is thus slightly dialogically expansive), "insofern als der Sprecher mit ihm wenigstens minimal Bezug nimmt auf die von seinem Gesprächspartner zuvor verbalisierten Gedanken; [...]".

used in a threatening act, performative verbs can be employed in illocutionary acts other than those literally indicated by them.

Note that, in the present example, the explicit performative employed in the French TT does not sustitute for a modal particle in the German ST. Instead, the German ST features a combination of intensifier and adverb of manner (ger. *ganz schnell*) qualifying the predicted action by expressing upgraded force ([+for]). The upgraded force is in line with other instances of intensification conveyed by means of an expletive (ger. *Penner*) and a non-core verb (ger. *sich verziehen*) inscribing or flagging negative evaluation. The French TT only replicates the intensifying value attached to the expletive (fr. *imbécile*). In particular, it sacrifices the ST's expression of upgraded force through the intensifier-adverb combination (implicitating shift), but compensates for this by means of the explicit performative (explicitating shift). Tentatively, a possible explanation for this is that to which Vanderveken (1988: 28) alluded, as mentioned earlier: "[I]l n'y a pas en français de type syntaxique d'énoncé qui engage le locuteur à une action future, mais il y a, par contre, de nombreux verbes performatifs de type engageant [...]". That is, the explicitating shift may be due to the difficulty of expressing (pseudo)-promises by means of syntactical patterns in French, so that resorting to an explicit performative is one of the few choices when it comes to indicating this kind of speech act to the viewer. Lengthening through the addition of a performative verb then has to be compensated for by shortening (implicitating) Lena's turn at another point.

Directive speech acts

Requests

Based on the groundwork carried out in the Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project (CCSARP) requests are currently by far the most extensively studied speech acts in comparative research. As pre-event directive speech acts, requests are said to be impositional acts on part of the speaker, who tries to induce the recipient to do something in the speaker's own interest (Searle 1969; Trosborg 1995). Requests then border on other directive acts such as orders or commands, albeit with the latter not acknowledging the interlocutor's right to refuse the speaker's demand (Mbow 2011). Requests are highly face-threatening acts:

> En formulant une requête, le locuteur empiète sur le territoire de l'auditeur qui peut interpréter la requête comme un empiètement intrusif de la liberté d'action ou encore comme la démonstration d'un exercice de pouvoir ou de contrôle. [...] Mais l'acte de requête a également un caractère offensif et menaçant pour la face positive du locuteur qui, en exprimant sa demande, exhibe un manque et se met en position basse (Mbow 2011: 112).

The above mentioned Cross-cultural Speech Act Realization Project has proposed several dimensions of strategies exploited in request head acts.[287] These are arranged on a scale of decreasing directness, and are considered according to three major degrees (direct strategies, conventional and unconventional indirect strategies). Cross-culturally, conventional indirect strategies are most frequently employed, whereas explicit and

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[287] These head acts as the core acts of requests may be accompanied by attention getters such as vocatives and adjuncts such as query preparatories or grounders (exposing the reasons for the request, Blum-Kulka and Olsthain 1984).

hedged performatives, as the second and third most direct request strategy after the use of imperatives (Blum-Kulka and Olsthain 1984; Schauer 2009), are relatively infrequent. However, despite alleged broader cross-cultural communalities concerning the relative frequency of performatives, different linguistic cultures will perceive the use of performatives differently in terms of politeness. Thus, explicit performatives with verbs equivalent to eng. *ask* are very common in several European languages, but will be avoided in English requests, possibly to the benefit of performatives with eng. *suggest* and similar verbs, or by indirect illocutions conveyed through interrogative and conditional constructions that are considered as less face-threatening (Kristiansen and Geeraerts 2007).

Directive speech acts such as requests can be described using the categorisation system for request acts as developed in the CCSARP project. This system is modelled as a continuum of relative degrees of directness (or explicitness), varying from direct acts to non-conventional indirect ones. In particular, it distinguishes between:

1. Direct acts, passing from the most direct imperatives (ger. *Aufsteh'n!*) via explicit performatives (ger. *Mensch, du sollst aufsteh'n, hab' ich gesagt!*[288]) to hedged performatives (fr. *Faudrait qu'elles demandent des foulards avec la clime!*).

2. Conventional indirect acts that are more direct and explicit than are non-conventional ones. These conventional indirect acts consist of decreasing degrees of directness:

   a) scope stating: "The utterance expresses the speaker's intentions, desire or feeling *vis à vis* the fact that the hearer do X" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 202), such as ger. *Ich will, dass wir sofort damit aufhör'n, ja?*,

   b) a language-specific suggestive formula: "The sentence contains a suggestion to X" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 202), for example ger. *Und warum zeigst du's ihr nicht mal, zur Abwechslung?* and

   c) reference to preparatory conditions: "Utterance contains reference to preparatory conditions ability or willingness, the possibility of the act being performed) as conventionalized in any specific language" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 202), such as ger. *Mama, wolltest du dich nicht mit deinem Typen daten?*

3. Non-conventional indirect acts, including

   d) locution derivable acts: "The illocutionary point is directly derivable from the semantic meaning of the locution" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 202), such as ger. *Mann, du bist dreizehn, du musst mal endlich so was wie 'nen eignen Charakter entwickeln!*

   e) strong hints: "Utterance contains partial reference to object or to elements needed for the implementation of the act (directly pragmatically implying the act)" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 202), and

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[288] Ger. *Ich sage, du sollst aufsteh'n!* would, of course, be a more canonical example of explicit performatives. However, corpus-based examples which are preferred here to purely invented ones do not always neatly fit the proposed categories. In the example from our corpus given in the text, the problem is that the speech act verb is in the perfect tense. It can be interpreted as a present tense reference (thus acting as a 'canonical' performative that should be in the present). However, in German perfect tense can also express imperfective aspect, for it is generally employed in German colloquial speech to substitute past tense.

f) the most indirect mild hints: "Utterances that make no reference to the request proper (or any of its elements) but are interpretable through the context as requests (indirectly pragmatically implying the act)" (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 202).

After these short preconsiderations, in the section that follows we will analyse how request acts, especially those containing explicit and hedged performatives, have been handled in translation in our corpus.

Catalan

The Catalan TT generally makes use of speech act-denoting verbs when these also feature in the German ST. These speech act-denoting verbs are often used fully or partly descriptively. For instance, in the following example, when Lena employs the German verb *rumkommandieren* (cat. *dir que*) to metalinguistically characterise and criticise Cem's previous illocutionary act as an overly authoritative one is a good example:

ger. [Lena:] *Echt mal! Hör' mal auf meine Mutter so rumzukommandieren!*
cat. [Lena:] *A la meva mare no li es dir que ha d'haver!* [289]

It should be said that such metalinguistic-descriptive uses are likely to be conserved by the translators, because in in the ST they make the action performed by the referenced utterance and the attached evaluation fully explicit for the audience.

The same is true for the metalinguistic use of speech act-denoting verbs in utterances in which the content is simultaneously expressed kinesically. In the next example, the act of praying as a subtype of request acts is simultaneously alluded to by a head movement in the upwards direction (direction of God):

ger. [Lena:] *Wofür betest 'n du eigentlich?*
cat. [Lena:] *Tu què li demanes?*

French

In a comparative study of requests in learners' speech, Warga (2004) proposed that while there is a relatively high incidence of performatives in German requests, they are somewhat infrequent in French. In this regard, it is worth citing Mbow (2011: 114), who stressed that, in French, "[l]es déclarations performatives ayant une intention de requête sont très directes et généralement autoritaires". For this reason, since the 19th century they have often been employed in fictional texts to characterise authoritative and unpleasant characters (Frank 2011). One would therefore expect fewer performative forms – with these potentially being confined to the speech of unsympathetic characters – in the French TT than in the German ST. However, as with the other speech act categories analysed so far, the opposite is true: The TT features slightly more performatives than does the ST.

Skipping the discussion of the metalinguistic references that the French TT treats in the same way as does the Catalan one, we turn directly to the case in which request acts contain explicit and hedged performative verbs in the French TT. Occasionally, such performatives are chosen in socially distant situations. For example, when entering a Chinese restaurant for dinner, Doris informs the waitress about a reservation made in advance:

ger. [Doris:] *Schneider. Wir haben einen Tisch... für sechs.*
fr. [Doris:] *J'ai appellé pour réserver une table.*

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[289] Note that the illocutionary force of Lena's utterance itself is that of a request, while the verb ger. *rumkommandieren* or cat. *dir* que referring to Cem's prior utterance describes an order or command.

In German, Doris starts by mentioning her last name, and then provides information regarding the number of people for whom the table has been reserved. In French, Doris makes reference to her earlier act of calling the restaurant to make a reservation. This difference may be due to cultural specificities in the expression of phatic and appellative communicative acts.[290] In addition, it should be taken into consideration that, in French requests, the head act is typically preceded or substituted by a query preparatory (Warga 2004). For instance, in the present example, the use of the 1st person present in the request situation itself (fr. *J'appelle pour...*), would amount to such a preparatory (see Forsberg Lundell and Erman 2012: 762 for a similar case). As in the present example, preparatories occasionally feature performative verbs. Here, the performative appears in past tense because of the allusion to the act of requesting a reservation in the past. In other words, the present shift towards the use of a performative in the French TT should not be associated with a higher degree of directness/explicitness or impoliteness, but rather with a French preference for indirectness and politeness.

A second passage that merits comment is the one in which Lena asks Yagmur what she is praying for:

ger. [Lena:] *Wofür betest 'n du eigentlich?*

fr. [Lena:] *Quand tu pris, tu demandes quoi?*

As we can see, in the French TT the verb fr. *demander* then competes with *prier*: The latter sets the larger frame of the topic, while the former designates the individual speech act of praying. When compared to the expression of the request act in the German ST, the TT solution appears to be more explicit. That is, the casual shift in topic marked in the German ST by the modal particle ger. *eigentlich* is made explicit by the direct introduction of the background topic in the French TT. Both the sense of causality and situatedness within the exchange and the provocativeness of Lena's requestive move are lost in the TT, with the latter only recoverable from Lena's kinesic communication (see section 4.8 in which the German scene is treated in greater length). A possible explanation for the explicitation shift might then be found in the polyphony of the verb fr. *demander* that denotes the act of asking and of requesting (Frank 2011) – the latter within both everyday and religious contexts. Ger. *beten*, by contrast, is more unambiguous, because it is largely confined to demands to God in religious contexts.

What is important for the present discussion is that – explicitation or not – the introduction of the new topic of praying also sets the frame for potential uses of performatives in what follows. This is also true for Yagmur's annoyed response to the question of what she is praying for (ger. [Yagmur:] *Dass alles so wird wie früher und ihr auszieht!*, fr. [Yagmur:] *Que tout devient comme avant et que vous dégagez d'ici!*). Here, both in the ST and in the TT, the content of Yagmur's prayers is presented more as an in-situ assessment than as speech or thought reported from situations in which Yagmur is praying. This embeddedness within the immediate setting would be a good precondition for performatives to occur. Accordingly, it is Lena's subsequent turn that features a performative in the TT:

ger. [Lena:] *Schick 'nen Gruß mit rauf, ich nehm' das Gleiche!*

fr. [Lena:] *Bienvenue au club, c'est ce que je demande aussi!*

Here, Lena makes a (non-serious) demand, stating that she would ask God for the same thing as Yagmur. In the French TT, Lena's demand is declared performatively (fr. *je demande*). In this regard, one might argue that the verb in the German ST (ger. *ich nehm'*), used in the 1st person singular present, is also employed performatively.

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[290] In texts with appellative and phatic function the target language conventions are somewhat strong and binding. Nord (2007: 171), for instance, argues that the phatic function "relies more on culture-specific conventions than any other function in communication".

However, the request is not expressed by the semantics of the verb form but by the clause as a whole. By contrast, by declaring *je demande* in the French TT, the speaker simultaneously performs the speech act. It should be noted that, in the specific context of the present request act, the use of the explicit performative and the sincerity conditions it involves, are somewhat in contrast to the non-seriousness of the act (as conveyed nonverbally by Lena's smile and her laughter at the end of her move). Therefore, in the French TT, the contrast between the sincerity conveyed by the use of the explicit performative verb and the actual non-seriousness of the request act is more pronounced.

The question of why the French TT shifts towards the use of an explicit performative, however, is not easy to answer. It can be assumed that the direct and bold German utterance does not comply with French norms relating to the directness of request acts (see above). In each case, the verbal–visual correspondence between verbal expressions and a pointing gesture with the gaze and hand in the upward direction is maintained. The explicitating shift would thus not amount to an intersemiotic one (because verbal–visual correspondence has already been established in the ST).

Another instance in which the TT features the verb fr. *demander* in the 1st person plural form occurs in the following example, where Lena challenges Nils' accusation of not loving their mother:

ger. [Lena:] *Du weißt ganz genau, wie gern ich sie mag. Warum auch immer!*
fr. [Lena:] *Tu sais très bien je tire à elle. Je me demande pourquoi.*

As discussed previously in section 4.8, Lena's second utterance in this move somewhat mitigates her affirmation of affection for her mother in the preceding clause by resorting to a format that conveys indifference. Both the German ST and the French TT make use here of an interrogative format (featuring ger. *warum* or fr. *pourquoi*). With regard to French, a rhetorical question containing fr. *pourquoi* and formulated in the affirmative may imply a negative value (fr. *je ne vois pas pourquoi...*, Korzen 1985: 130). Furthermore, "[i]l arrive fréquemment que les questions rhétoriques niées introduites par *pourquoi* prennent une valeur d'exhortation" (Korzen 1985: 130, italics in the original). With *pourquoi* being the most important element of the clause, the ellipsis of the other elements in the subordinate clause is then compensated for by the addition of a construction with the performatively used speech act verb *demander*. It is thus language-specific preferences of expression that might be at the root of this explicitating (and implicitating) shift. Whereas the German ST uses an indirect construction (that is even more implicit, as the coding of an exhortation in an interrogative format amounts to a grammatical metaphor), the French TT somewhat explicates the (self-)interrogative value by means of the performative verb.

5 Corpus analysis: Non-character-based forms of eliciting viewer engagement

5.1 Preconsiderations

One way of addressing the question of how viewers are encouraged to participate emotionally in a film's story is to focus on the role of characters: How viewers come to experience a story emotionally in line with a character's perspective, and how self- and altero-characterisation, as well as the composition of a character's verbal and material action may foster viewer evaluation. While character-based forms of involvement may be one basis for viewer engagement, several forms of bonding that are introduced next provide another.

Grodal (2009: 274f.) pointed out the 'double nature' of processes of viewer engagement or participation:

> Viewers may participate in a first-person simulation of possible words and possible actions. Additionally, viewers have a tacit or explicit feeling of participating in a public communication and of being constituted as an audience. In these capacities, viewers participate in an experience of shared attention and shared emotions due to the fact that films and other audio-visual artefacts are public events and that by watching films viewers are sharing experiences with other people (the filmmakers as well as the actual or virtual community of onlookers).

It is the second option mentioned by Grodal (2009) that is at stake here.

In comedies, there are various possibilities concerning how the shared experiences of actual or imagined communities of viewers are typically created. One way in which comedies emphasise bonding with co-viewers is by means of sharing humour. Such bonding experiences are, for example, encouraged in theatre-like settings, where viewers are able to share their laughter with the other people present (Grodal 2009). The canned laughter of the classic sitcom is an apt substitute that is employed to stimulate experiences of shared humour in this regard.

Despite the fact that the creation of humour certainly plays a core role in sitcoms, we chose to largely discard bonding through shared laughter from the subsequent discussion of bonding practices. This is for a simple reason. In this study, we are concerned with a product-based approach: Both the ST and the TTs are assessed with regard to the question of what the texts as final products tell us about how viewer engagement is created. The scientific basis is provided by a semiotically informed account, in which the texts are seen as the outcome of configurations of semiotic choices made in a specific communicative setting. The creation of humour, at least of those forms that are not fully text-based,[291] cannot be given full credit by relying on such semiotic (or linguistic) theories alone.

In the following, the discussion is thus confined to bonding as it is directly and indirectly associated with verbal and nonverbal forms manifested in texts.

A good starting point to explain how bonding may take place is processes of stance-taking (including practices of stylisation). Such processes have more than just an evaluative dimension. Du Bois' (2007: 163) definition of stance is illustrative in this

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[291] For instance, humour elicited on the basis of semantically polysemous words could be regarded as text-based.

regard: "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field".

From the perspective of bonding activities, it is the process of 'aligning with other subjects' that is likely to play a prominent role. To put it differently, it matters how a current speaker signals congruence (alignment) or incongruence (disalignment) with a second speaker's perspective on a salient sociocultural subject matter. For instance, when Lena imitates Cem's 'Kanak sprak' speech style in *TfA*, she is likely to signal lack of coincidence with Cem's position. That is, Lena disaligns with Cem regarding his speech style as the salient sociocultural dimension.

However, in discussing bonding by means of alignment, we should further take into consideration that stance-taking sequences are performed with regard to particular audiences. A speaker may perform a second subject's style in such a way that the audience is likely to align or disalign with it. As in the case of humour, such performances, for instance of a certain in-group style, may give rise to the creation of a kind of viewer community bonding around this style. The linguistic and non-linguistic composition of such sequences may thus be interpreted in relation to several parameters of the alignment process. Thus, a particular (performed) variety may be reduced to few stereotypical surface features, both in real-life and in medialised contexts, and in untranslated and translated texts. While such stereotyping processes play an important role in characterisation, they seem to also be used for purposes of bonding. In this regard, the composition and degree of stereotypicality of such sequences is likely to be linked to parameters such as whether the performed variety or style is an in-group or out-group one, the rendering's precise function and the number of simultaneously performed varieties, as well as audience size and audiences' and performers' knowledge of the targeted variety. According to Bell and Gibson (2011), the parody of a large number of different characters for large, global audiences may result in highly accurate renderings of varieties and speech styles. Similarly, speakers performing a variety with which they are familiar are more likely to reproduce it with a high degree of accuracy. On the other hand, rhetorical or comic purposes or aims of easy audience recognition may all foster an in-group style's more stereotypical representation, especially through the overrepresentation of certain features (Bell and Gibson 2011). In addition, stereotypicality may also be fostered in representations of out-group varieties, since "voicing of outgroup varieties will often focus on just a handful of salient features [...]" (Bell and Gibson 2011: 569). These parameters have to be borne in mind when analysing non-character-based engagement in untranslated and translated texts.

A more specific phenomenon in this regard is the creation of bonds through 'bondicons'. Bonds may, for instance, be established through the coupling of an instance of ideational meaning with an interpersonal dimension, so that the ideational item becomes value-laden for a specific community or group. This interpersonally infused item is called a 'bondicon' (Knight 2010). Such a coupling process may be regarded as a sub-dimension of stance-taking acts as described earlier, because the coupling of a salient subject matter (ideational meaning) with an evaluation (interpersonal meaning) is an inherent feature of these processes. However, stance-taking acts may vary from *ad-hoc* associations that weakly suggest such a coupling to rather stable, codified couplings of ideational and interpersonal meaning. A 'bondicon', then, is a somewhat stable form of such a coupling as crystallised in the item, with a more or less codified meaning attached to the item by a specific group. Note that the

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new surface sign standing for the coupled meanings does not necessarily have to be a linguistic one.

These theoretical concepts form the background against which possibilities for the viewer's bonding around items in our corpus are assessed. More specifically, we will focus on group-specific meanings construed around notions of 'Germanness'/native culture and notions of 'Turkish-Germanness'/immigrant culture in both the source text and in the translations.

Another phenomenon in which bonding is at stake is intertextuality. The establishment of intertextual reference to the quoted item is a kind of 'side effect' when a speaker puts on a different 'voice'[292] in stance-taking activities. However, the intertextual dimension may itself become a core dimension on which bonding activities are based – and this is why the phenomenon is treated as an individual dimension here. For instance, intramedial references that appear in films and TV series not only support the storyline or characterisation processes but, above all, seem to be inserted with a view to specific 'in-groups' of viewers who are able to understand the reference. As with viewers aligned in communities of shared laughter, such viewers can then get a feeling of forming a community of cinephiles 'in the know' about the reference that has been made.

The bonding phenomena discussed above pose some challenges in translation, as will be further specified in the following section.

5.2 Group-specific meanings construed around concepts of native culture and immigrant culture in translation

Stereotypical representations of ideological differences between native Germans and Turkish-German immigrants are a major topic of the series *TfA*. This focus on the struggle between these two cultural groups is already apparent from the series' title (ger. *Türkisch für Anfänger*). The title is modelled after some confrontational scenes in the pilot in which both Lena and Cem propose to give their opponent lections in culturally appropriate behaviour (*Deutsch für Anfänger*, *Türkisch für Anfänger*). Supposedly, the title *Türkisch für Anfänger* was chosen of these two because the series focuses on Lena's perspective and her cultural learning process, with the ST's supposed main target audience, the potential learners, also being native Germans.

The strong allusion to ethnic differences in terms of binary oppositions is thus narratively motivated. Therefore, an overall binary opposition between native culture and immigrant culture (or in-group and out-group representations) is likely to be preserved in translation, especially in sequences in which this is essential for understanding the plot. However, the precise composition of the TT's representation of such binary cultural allusions and the extent of their reproduction might vary, and depends on a range of factors. In this regard, allusions replicating those of 'Germanness' in the ST seem to behave differently from those alluding to immigrant culture.

In translation, target audiences change, and concepts of native and immigrant culture are likely to be adapted to this change. However, in the series at hand, the German setting and the perspective taken by the protagonist appears to affect the concept of nativeness as presented in the TTs, too. The latter is likely to increase both the difficulty of finding

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[292] We take 'voices' as a metaphor here, refering both to verbal and nonverbal items and structures borrowed from other texts.

suitable replacements and the number of options available to the translator for the rendering of what constitutes 'Germanness' or native culture in general. By contrast, when it comes to 'immigrantness' as its opposite, non-familiarity of features might be carried over as a guiding principle in the TTs. That is, in the present case, translators may choose to maintain the ST's overall allusion to Turkish immigrant culture, turn this into references to target culture-specific immigrant groups, or even replace them with more general representations of foreignness and 'immigrantness'. These choices are, of course, context-specific and are made in line with culture-specific preferences for their rendering. They also should correspond with the visuals (featuring immigrants of apparent South European or Mediterranean origin). In general, however, there are likely to be fewer limiting factors than there are in the case of the representation of native culture.

In the following section, we treat allusions to 'Germanness'/native culture and to 'Turkish-Germanness'/immigrant culture in *TfA* separately.

a) Allusions to 'Germanness' or native culture in translation

Allusions to German or native culture made from an out-group perspective

Given *TfA*'s explicit thematisation of cultural problems arising in encounters with immigrants in a German setting, allusions to German national stereotypes (as well as to Turkish-German ones) are frequent. In the following, we discuss the implications for translation. Here, several facets of interpersonal and ideational meanings combined in such representations may potentially undergo a shift in translation. Potentially, the valence of evaluative nuances attached to the stereotype, their ambiguity, or the explicitness of their coding might be adapted in the TTs. Furthermore, the referent (or target) of the evaluation and the characteristic features that are at the essence of the stereotype might be modified in translation. Thus, differences in binary oppositions between stereotypes as entrenched in the source culture (as well as in the narrative) and in those of the target culture may also play a role. This also implies different places within the culturally constructed set of values and narratives that source and target cultures may draw upon, and differences in the degree of codification of certain stereotypes.

The first couple of examples to be discussed in this regard consist of direct characterisation of certain characters or settings in terms of Germanness in the ST. In the majority of cases, these characterisations are made by immigrant characters, as in the following example:

(Context: After a heightened argument between Yagmur and Lena, the two new 'sisters' discuss Doris' suggestion that they should become friends):

(ger. [Lena:] *Ja, ich weiß. Total blöde Idee.*) [Yagmur:] *Total saublöde Idee. Typisch deutsch!*

(cat. [Lena:] *Sí, ja ho sé. De fet no hi toc.*) [Yagmur:] *No hi toc ni gens ni mica. I és tan alemanya.*

(fr. [Lena:] *Bah oui, je sais, c'est complètement débile.*) [Yagmur:] *Complètement débile, ça oui, tu le dis. Comme tout ce qu'il y a ici.*

In this sequence, Yagmur repeats Lena's prior depreciative evaluation of her mother's aims to establish a kind of friendship between the two girls, adding that this idea is typically German (ger. *Typisch deutsch!*). In the German ST, we are thus concerned with Yagmur's appreciation of an out-group character's idea (ger. *Total saublöde Idee*, [-reac: qua] [+for]) that is linked to a general, stereotypical conception of Germanness.

Given the closeness between instances of appreciation (evaluating the outcome or product of a certain person's behaviour) and instances of judgement (directly evaluating the behaviour), it is not surprising that the French TT expresses the assessment in terms of judgement (fr. *Complètement débile*, [-cap] [+for]). The Catalan TT also expresses an explicit judgement of the inadequateness of Doris' behaviour on the clause level. However, while both the negative valence and Doris as the target of judgement are preserved, the precise quality on which Doris (and by extension Germans) is judged shifts from a kind of stupidity to a generally interfering nature.

Note that an expression such as ger. *Typisch deutsch!* in the ST then features an instance of lexically inscribed graduation (ger. *typisch*, [+foc]), but no evaluation in terms of inscribed affect. That is, even if the out-group appraiser makes an interpretation in terms of negative valence highly possible, technically the audience is not able to infer whether Germanness is valued positively or negatively on the basis of the lexical expression alone. Rather, it is the negative evaluative prosodies from the surrounding items that guide the viewer's interpretation. The viewer then needs to relate the evaluation in the first part of Yagmur's move to her allusion to Germanness. While such a linkage is left implicit in the ST, it is made more explicit in the TTs. This is done through the insertion of a coordinative conjunction in the Catalan TT, and through the addition of an element of explicit comparison in the French TT.

Explicitation, not only of the textual relationship to the co-text, but also through directly spelling out the attached evaluation (as in the construed example ger. *Typisch blöd deutsch*!) would be a possibility to help the audience to understand the evaluation. In the present example, however, this is not the case. Instead, leaving the attached evaluation implicit (or other more indirect strategies such as reliance on evaluative prosodies) is preferred in both the source text and in the translations. In our opinion, this has to do with the overall function and topic of the scene under discussion. The general topic of this scene is the growing alignment of Lena and Yagmur against a new common 'enemy' (Doris, or adults in general). It is especially the present passage that, for the first time, makes it clear that the girls do in fact share their evaluation of Doris. Thus, the girls' shared communication practice involving the shared evaluation of an absent person is strongly reminiscent of gossiping practices. As stated earlier, gossiping is a crucial means for creating alignment among teenage girls. The TV audience, which is already aligned with the protagonist Lena, might also feel compelled to side with the teenage girls. Leaving implicit or merely indirectly guiding the viewer's attention to the evaluation attached to a certain stereotypical concept would contribute to a sense of closeness, both on a diegetic and on an extradiegetic level. In addition, a more detailed specification of what constitutes prototypical Germanness is not at stake in this sequence; thus, a certain vagueness of connotation fits perfectly with the context. Such a vague and unspecific connotation may also have guided the French translator's decision to eliminate references to Germanness entirely. That is, while maintaining the sense of the stereotypicality and generality of the utterance as fitting Yagmur's overall linguistic characterisation, the reference is somewhat shifted into a neutral spatial realm by replacing the absolute reference (ger. *deutsch*) with a relative deictic one (fr. *ici*) in the TT.

Another instance in which the reference to Germanness is modified in both the Catalan and the French TTs occurs in the following example:

(Context: Lena and Yagmur meet Cem in front of the family's home on their way to the disco. Yagmur, influenced by Lena's ideas about emancipation, disobeys Cem's order to stay at home. Cem then makes a negative comment about this behaviour.)

ger. [Cem:] *Fuck. Kaum zieh'n die Deutschen ein, sinkt das Respektniveau.*

cat. [Cem:] *Curiós. Quatre dies vivim junts i ja no hi ha respecte.*
fr. [Cem:] *C'est fou. À peine on tourne le dos et déjà plus de respect.*
In the German ST, Cem turns the Germans into the scapegoat for Yagmur's disrespectful behaviour. The TTs, then, preserve the allusion to the disrespectful behaviour as the characteristic feature whereby the referent is evaluated negatively, but neutralise the reference to Germanness. The Catalan TT generally relocates the disrespectful behaviour to the realm of the family life. In the French TT, reference to Germans and thus any blaming of them for their bad influence is also eliminated. The reference has been reworked into a more generic statement about a less blameworthy behaviour (having reduced control by metaphorically turning his back to Yagmur for a short moment).

However, there are also cases in which references to Germanness are not reduced or omitted in the French text.

A case in point is when Germany or Germanness is explicitly thematised in the verbal code, and probably in the accompanying images as well. In other words, this is likely to occur when the reference has a certain plot-carrying function.

Consider the following example:

(Context: Cem's prior complaint in Turkish about Doris' failure to prepare the meal has been turned into a compliment by Metin in translation. Once Doris is out of earshot, Cem continues his complaint to Metin.)

ger. [Cem:] *Wo bin isch hier?* [Metin:] *In Deutschland! Almania!* (*Turkish pronunciation*)
cat. [Cem:] *Però òn sóc?* [Metin:] *A Alemanya! A-le-manya!*
fr. [Cem:] *C'est quoi, cet histoire?* [Metin:] *Parce que si on est en Allemagne.*

This sequence is deliberately ambiguous in portraying Cem's evaluative reaction to Doris. Given this ambiguity in Cem's communicative behaviour, a specific effort must be made to draw the viewers' attention to Cem's real negative evaluative reaction (complaint about) to Doris. However, in the ST, the complaint reading is only secondary to that of an informative question in Cem's turn. A literal translation, as in the Catalan TT, somewhat preserves this ambiguity of readings. The French TT, however, replaces the question with a more idiomatic one, in which the topic of evaluation is placed in theme position (Florea 1988), and is thus made more obvious.

In both the German ST and the Catalan TT, Metin's response shows a climax structure featuring a reference to Germany and the emphatic repetition thereof.[293] The composition of the sequence thus indicates that Metin's response is not just the answer to a mere informational question, but is rather an emotional, somewhat annoyed reaction to Cem's complaint about Doris. In French, the translator sought to disambiguate the readings to a degree by choosing an idiomatic way of expressing both Cem's and Metin's complaints instead of using a merely literal translation. As a result of this idiomatic choice, the structure of the response is somewhat adapted (by adding the causal conjunction fr. *Parce que* in order to meet required turn-taking structures). However, the general reference to Germany is preserved, because the contrast between German cultural worlds (as represented by Doris' reluctance to conform to traditional female roles) and Turkish cultural worlds (as represented by Cem's traditional ideas about Doris' female role as a housewife) is the main subject of the sequence. It is crucial to guide the viewer's attention to Cem's real evaluative reaction to Doris and to

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[293] Referring to Germany as *Almania* in an otherwise German text as well as the prosody marks the last item as distinctively foreign (here Turkish). Note that this is not the case in Romance languages such as Catalan, where *Alemanya* is the default choice in references to Germany. In order to attach a sense of 'foreignness' to the lexical item, the Catalan version opts for a marked, lengthened pronunciation.

communicate the clash of cultures to the viewer by pointing out the contrast to Cem's reaction to 'normal behaviour' in Germany. However, note that the climax structure established through the repetition and marked pronunciation of the reference to Germany in Metin's turn in the ST is omitted in the French TT. That is, in contrast to the previously mentioned issues, rendering Metin's emotional reaction to Cem's complaint might have been considered of secondary importance in the French TT.

The next example also illustrates the intention to preserve cultural references to German issues in the TTs.

(Context: In this scene, Lena is strolling around her new neighbourhood and on the playing ground, where she finally meets Cem. The accompanying images show people of different national origins. In a voice-over Lena ironically comments on what she is seeing around her.)

ger. [Lena:] *Super Ferien! Tja, wo hat man Italien, Griechenland und die Türkei in einem? Nur in Deutschland!*

cat. [Lena:] *Quines vacances! On trobes Itàlia, Turquia i Grècia tot junts? Només a Alemanya.*

fr. [Lena:] *Génial, les vacances! Devinez où on peut trouver l'Italie, la Turquie et la Grèce au même endroit? Ici, en Allemagne!*

Here, Lena's voice-over commentary introduces a new topic in a kind of question-response structure.[294] As in the previous example, the reference to Germany features in the response part. It is of plot-carrying relevance, and cannot be eliminated without damaging the underlying broader structure. In addition, the accompanying images featuring foreigners in a German setting clearly underscore the message of the text. The latter not only prevents the omission of the reference in general, but may also favour further verbal explicitation of visually conveyed information: The French TT, for example, places the reference to Germany more in the immediate realm by adding a spatial deictic element (fr. *ici*) than do the German or Catalan versions.

In some sense, the close visual-verbal link also affects the composition of the personal deictics in the sequence. As stated above, Lena's thought and perception processes with regard to the immigrants shown in the visuals are commented on in a voice-over. In this way, the viewer's interpretation is guided by Lena's subjective perspective (with the cinematographic composition of the images itself, however, not showing any apparent signs of subjectivity). The ST features the impersonal (generic) pronoun ger. *man* + verb in the 3rd person singular. Given that pronoun choice is an effective means of conveying (group-specific) identity in an indirect manner (Waugh 2010), it is imperative here to compare pronoun choice in the ST and in the TTs.

The precise place of ger. *man* in the German pronoun system, as well as its highly polysemic nature and function, has been a matter of considerable debate. Helbig and Buscha (2001), for instance, distinguished four different uses of the pronoun: a generic *man* conferring a notion of general validity on the claim, an anonymous *man* that backgrounds the agentivity of the referent, an abstracting *man* featuring in utterances presenting the objective content of perception without alluding to the perceiver him- or herself, and a pronominal *man* replacing other pronouns, but often with a specific distancing function. Clearly, it is the third option that is of specific relevance here, because its function corresponds exactly to the visual composition of the present sequence. However, as other readings are also involved here, further considerations are needed. Zifonun (2000) broadly differentiated between the pronoun's use in generic contexts and with regard to particular events. The generic use of the pronoun, as in the

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[294] See Feng and Wignell (2011) with regard to the multimodal expression of such sequential structures in TV advertisements.

present example, is not only the most frequent one in German (Zifonun 2000), but also has particularly interesting pragmatic effects. In its generic use, the pronoun *man* is likely to convey "a. that the generalization that applies to all (relevant) individuals is also applicable to the speaker and b. what the speaker experiences could be experienced in the same way by all other (relevant) individuals, as well" (Zifonun 2000: 242, translated by Zobel 2012: 3). Or, in the words of Zobel (2012: 3) as applied to impersonal pronouns in a cross-linguistic perspective: "The use of impersonal pronouns is connected to the beliefs and experiences of the speaker – it is conveyed that the speaker's beliefs and experiences support the validity of the general statement that is expressed". Applied to our example, we can say that the generic reading (in the sense of Helbig and Buscha's first option for polysemic ger. *man*) is involved, together with the abstracting one, in the present example.

The impersonal pronoun's high polysemy and the context dependency of the readings – generic and abstracting, generic, not involved and specific, individual – poses some difficulties for the translator. The Catalan TT choses to shift from the 3rd person singular reference with *man* to the 2nd person singular reference (cat. *trobes*[295]). This means that the sense of 'pseudogeneralisation' of the *I*-perspective (Schmidt 1987: 311) present in the ST is carried over to Catalan:

> The second person singular [...], which encodes the reference to the addressed recipient, [...], sometimes has a 'concealed I' value in its 'impersonal' use [...]. In those cases it may be considered a deictic and at the same time attenuated strategy to refer to the speaker [...] (Nogué 2011: 124).

Thus, the shift to 2nd person singular, which may be in line with Catalan preferences for addressee orientation and solidarity, creates a greater sense of closeness to the viewer as interlocutor (Nogué 2011) than it does in German. The discussed issue is presented as uncontroversial, with the interlocutor's acceptance of the generic claim being taken for granted (Zobel 2012).

The French translation solution is even more interesting. French has the impersonal pronoun *on*, which is roughly equivalent to ger. *man* as an indefinite generic reference (Johansson 2007). Not surprisingly then, *on* has been chosen in the French TT here. However, in contrast to, for example, the Catalan TT in which the pronoun choice brings the addressed interlocutor closer to the speaker, an additional shift in the French TT is likely to somewhat push it in the opposite direction. In line with the French TT's general proneness to explicitation shifts, the illocutionary force of the request act containing the pronoun is made more explicit by adding an imperative (fr. *Devinez*). Note that this imperative is in 2nd person plural form. Thus, when it is not to be interpreted as a formal choice in addressing a single interlocutor (which does not make sense here), the reference is to a group of interlocutors. In general, addressee-orientation is more directly spelled out in French than it is in German, but this orientation is not used to create closeness and camaraderie. Furthermore, polysemy of the pronominal reference is somewhat attenuated in French, because reference in the imperative is apparently confined to interlocutors in the plural, and this is likely to affect the reading of the pronoun co-occurring in the sequence.[296]

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[295] Given that Catalan is a pro-drop language, the use of the 2nd person singular pronoun tu is not necessary.

[296] Of course, the imperative construction and the construction featuring the pronoun fr. *on* must not necessarily be co-referential here. However, co-textual meanings in terms of 'genericity', 'impersonality'

Before turning to the next example, let me briefly consider where the evaluative value of the sequence comes from. At first sight, the question part of Lena's commentary containing the impersonal pronoun seems to come in the form of an information-seeking question, but has in fact a rhetorical reading. The rhetorical effects are likely to be consequences of the presence of expressions of shrunken referentiality (ger. *in einem*). Such minimising expressions act as negative polarity items that trigger a certain implicature and establish an overall negative polarity reading (Yoon 2011). That is, even without the preceding (explicit), ironic evaluative part (ger. *Super Ferien!*, cat. *Quines vacances!*, fr. *Génial, les vacances!*[297]) the viewer is likely to interpret Lena's commentary as a negative one. This is kept in translation, because the minimisers are kept.[298]

To return to the negative appraisal of Germans by immigrant characters, this is sometimes flagged by means of a more or less stereotypical metaphorical expression, as in the next example:

(Context: Lena has accompanied Yagmur to the Koran school where the German girl did not behave as decently as she was expected. Afterwards, she reveals to the enraged Yagmur that she only went with her because her mother Doris wanted her to do so. Yagmur responds.)

ger. [Yagmur:] *Und das ist genau der Grund, warum ich mit euch nichts zu tun haben will, verstehste? Weil, weil ihr immer denkt, ihr seid bessere Menschen. Nazi!*

cat. [Yagmur:] *És just per això que no vull saber res dels alemanys, ho veus? Sempre us penseu que sou millors. Nazi!*

fr. [Yagmur:] *Justement sera pour ça que je refuse tout contact avec vous les allemands. Parce que vous vous prenez encore pour les meuilleurs. Nazi!*

Let us concentrate on Yagmur's reference to her German interlocutor's national group here. The furious Yagmur performs a zoom-out from Lena's personal disrespectful behaviour towards Yagmur and her religion to the lack of respect and even racism she associates with Germans in general. In the German ST, Yagmur uses the 2nd person plural pronominal reference (ger. [*mit*] *euch*, *ihr*) to refer to Germans, drawing a clear boundary between the self and the other. At the same time, through its use of personal deictic reference, the German ST seems to replicate the context-embeddedness typical of spontaneous conversation. The TTs partly retain this deictic reference through 2nd person plural pronouns, but explicate the references to Germans on their first occurrence. The Catalan TT has recourse to a distancing nominalisation (cat. [*no vull saber res*] *dels alemanys*), whereas in the French TT the nominalisation is added to the pronominal reference (fr. *avec vous les allemands*).

In this way, the TTs appear to strike a balance between the distancing functions and the context-embedding sense as in the ST, and the need to adapt the reference to the target culture. The latter is not merely due to efforts to foster the TT's audience's understanding in general; rather, it has to be considered in connection with Yagmur's final reference to Lena as a Nazi, which has been retained in the TTs. As mentioned above, in the passage at hand Lena's disrespectful behaviour is linked to that of Germans in general, and the Nazi reference is the final point in this line of argumentation. In the ST, the Nazi reference targets Lena, but as an effect of argumentation it also targets Germans in general, which coincides with the main target audience group. In the TTs, it would have been somewhat odd to identify the respective

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and the like are likely to affect the (highly context-dependent) interpretation of the French pronoun on (Waugh 2010).

[297] In passages of ironic intent, polarity of evaluation is likely to be inverted.

[298] In addition, in French a modal verb assisting in creating such an implicature (Yoon 2011) is added.

target audiences as Nazis because this is a concept stereotypically linked to Germans. It is assumed that this is the reason that reference to Germans as the targeted out-group is spelled out in the TTs.

Note that 2nd person references often work on an extradiegetic level. Thus, the ST's German target audiences may interpret Yagmur's Nazi accusation as a criticism directed towards themselves, but this is not the case in the TTs. The subversive power that in some sense might be accorded to the German text (taking a critical stance regarding its own culture) is lost in the TTs.

b) Allusions to (Turkish-)German or immigrant culture in translation

Allusions to (Turkish-)German or immigrant culture made from an in-group perspective

In our discussion of references to German culture, we did not discuss how Germanness was portrayed from an in-group perspective, because the German characters in our corpus did not usually allude directly to their German identity. By contrast, (Turkish-)German characters do: They often address their Turkishness from an in-group perspective. This is what Waugh (2010: 82) called 'an explicit national identity act': "Some identity acts are explicit, in which the participant overtly identifies him/herself with regard to a facet of identity, as in 'I am French', an explicit national identity act".

We now start with the analysis of such in-group assessments of Turkishness, and later move to out-group ones.

Often, it is the father Metin who openly asserts his Turkish identity. Consider the following example in which Metin provides some advice to his son Cem regarding how to behave as a Turk in matters of love:

ger. [Metin:] *Wir sind Türken, wir sind cool. Türken sind cool.* [Cem:] *Ja.* [Metin:] *Aber wir sind wie eine Medaille, wir haben zwei Seit'n. Auf der einen Seite sind wir?* [Cem:] *Cool?* [Metin:] *Und auf der anderen Seite?* [Cem:] *Noch cooler?* [Metin:] *Auf der anderen Seite brennt das Feuer der Leidenschaft. [...]*

cat. [Metin:] *Som turcs, tenim pebrots. Els turcs tenim pebrots.* [Cem:] *Sí.* [Metin:] *Però som com una moneda, tenim dues cares. I en una banda, què hi tenim?* [Cem:] *Pebrots?* [Metin:] *I a l'altra banda?* [Cem:] *Titola?* [Metin:] *I a l'altra banda hi tenim el foc de la passió que ens crema. [...]*

fr. [Metin:] *On est turc, et cool. Les turques sont cools.* [Cem:] *Oui.* [Metin:] *Mais on est comme une médaille et nous avons deux faces. Alors, d'un côté, on est?* [Cem:] *Cool?* [Metin:] *Oui. Et de l'autre côté?* [Cem:] *Encore plus cool?* [Metin:] *De l'autre côté il y a le feu de la passion qui brûle dans nous. [...]*

In the above passage, self-characterisation of Metin and Cem in terms of 'Turkishness' is explicitly thematised. As in other allusions to identity discussed previously, the underlying structure of the passage is a lecture-like (statement–)question–response structure. As in a lecture, the answer to the question of what constitutes 'Turkishness' is in focus and is thus central to the plot. This not only applies to the mere reference to 'Turkishness', but also to the stereotypical way in which the concept is conveyed and the precise prototypical traits associated with it. That a high degree of stereotypicity is generally at stake here is already apparent from the all-encompassing generalisation in the eternal present that Metin makes when introducing 'coolness' as a first specific trait of his own national group (ger. *Türken sind cool*). Note that this is a generic statement from an in-group perspective, including himself and Cem.

The collective Turkish identity of the characters is further defined by 'passionateness' as a second essential character trait of Turks. In order to introduce this complemental character trait, in the German ST Metin resorts to the metaphor of a coin with two sides. In translation, it is particularly important to maintain the allusion to the complemental or oppositional structure conveyed by the metaphor, since it is simultaneously expressed in the gestural modality. The same is true for the allusion to 'passionateness' (which will later be emphasised by a metaphorical upward hand gesture characterising Cem as a flamethrower).

Thus, both the question-response sequence structure and issues of verbal–visual coherence are likely to act in favour of the reproduction of allusions to 'Turkishness' and assumed corresponding stereotypical traits in translation. That such patterns do indeed limit and encourage the language choices in translation may be observed in the Catalan TT. Whereas the high degree of explicitness of appraisal choices (ger. *cool*) would normally act in favour of their preservation in translation, the Catalan TT chooses to substitute them in line with the sequence structure and the oppositional structure of the verbal and gestural metaphor included in this passage. That is, the Catalan TT opts for a characterisation of Turkishness in terms of oppositional values that could be inserted in this position but which are different from those in the ST. The elimination of the instance of inscribed appreciation ger. *cool* may then be related to a general tendency to eliminate the Anglicism *cool* in the Catalan TT, or to the simple shift of the stereotype and the stereotypical portrayal of Cem towards that of a macho man (because the Catalan solution *tenir pebrots* means having guts). The French TT, by contrast, remains close to the German ST.

However, there is less invariance when it comes to the translation of notions of 'passionateness'. The ST here resorts to a metaphor embodying a somewhat prototypical concept of 'passionateness' associated with people of South European origin that may be easily understood by the target audience. The redundant cueing in several modalities is then likely to assist the target audience in understanding the plot-relevant characterisation of Turks. Indeed, the reproduction of these characteristics in close translation is what has happened in translation.

We now turn to a second case in which the Metin refers to his Turkish identity, albeit in a more indirect way. This time, this is made by explicit disassociation from the liberal ideas of his German girlfriend Doris.

(Context: Doris is trying to convince Metin to let his teenage daughter Yagmur go clubbing with Lena. Up to this point in the scene, Doris has argued in favour of the importance of anti-authoritarian education. When Doris' son Nils enters the scene complaining about his new, oversized trousers that she has bought him, Doris sees this as confirmation of her readiness to give her children space. This encourages Metin to respond as follows.)

ger. [Metin:] *Also bei aller Liebe für deine deutsche Liberalität... och, ich muss auf's Revier. Der Türke an sich macht sich eben Sorg'n.*

cat. [Metin:] *Ja saps que respecto la teva llibertat alemanya. Hm... Me´n haig d'anar. Però jo sóc turc i em fa patir molt.*

fr. [Metin:] *Je respecte l'esprit libéral des allemands. Tu sais bien … Eh, merde, faut que j'y aie. Mais je suis inquiète, tu peux le comprendre.*

The argumentation structure that Metin uses in his own argument here is the coupling of a concurring move with a subsequent counter move. Such a move is slightly heteroglossic, since it consists of a first part in which some kind of concession is made to the interlocutor, and a second contradictory part in which this is (partly) cancelled. As Martin and White (2005) argued with regard to English, the concur/counter pattern is a

quite frequent argumentative pattern. One might thus argue that it is likely to be present in several languages.

In the Catalan and French TTs, the concur/counter argumentation structure has been preserved and even explicitated. Here, thematic explicitation has been made by means of the addition of an adversative conjunction (cat. *Però*, fr. *Mais*) to the second part of the argumentative move. In the German ST, by contrast, the logical connection to the first part is left implicit. The latter might be due to the use of a lexicalised prepositional construction (ger. *bei aller Liebe [für]*) explicitly alluding to 'concessiveness' (Di Meola 2000; Grabski and Stede 2006 on lexicalised constructions with ger. *bei* in general) in the first part. In line with the Romance languages' stronger tendency to spell out propositions in verbal groups, the TTs have turned this nominal construction into a verbal one containing the verb cat. *respetar* or fr. *respecter*. The above mentioned conjunctions then seem to have been added to point out the interclausal coherence relation within the move. In addition, in the TTs, further modifications have been made in order to make the concurring argumentation structure more explicit. A counter-expectational element such as cat. *ja* might be too ubiquitous in the Catalan language to be noted as such (Torrent 2011). However, in combination with cat. *saps* – and its French counterpart *Tu sais bien* – it is likely to signal consensus with the interlocutor, in preparation for the subsequent countering move. The choice of these expressions may itself be partly motivated by semantic nuances expressed in the German ST: Among the functions of the highly polyfunctional German particle *also* is that of "specif[ying] the consensus existing in the handling of the interaction" (Fernández-Villanueva 2007: 111). Thus, as with the sentence-initial *also* in other uses, the present use combines a thematic-informative value (being responsive to Doris' verbally and visually conveyed proneness to giving her children space for their own development) with a more pragmatic one (marking the response as dispreferred). The explicitness with which this is marked in German (Fernández-Villanueva 2007) is only partly carried over to the Romance TTs. Therefore, the responsive function and thus the connective ties to earlier verbally and visually conveyed meaning is not kept. However, the interactive, consensus-alluding function is preserved, but the TTs transfer it into the realm of 2nd person reference (cat. *ja saps*, fr. *Tu sais bien*), expressing greater hearer orientation. In this regard, it is illustrative to draw attention to these expression's functions as mitigators (or 'cajolers'), for instance in Catalan requests and apologies, as pointed out by Curell (2011: 287): "With cajolers (expressions whose aim is to establish harmony between the interlocutors, e.g. *ja saps* 'you know') the speaker tries to persuade the hearer that the offence was not to [*sic!*] serious". Greater hearer orientation than in the German ST is then conveyed by the addition of fr. *tu peux le comprendre* to the countering part.

With regard to the latter, we are back to the question of how allusions to Turkish identity in the countering (second) part are translated into Catalan and into French. Before embarking on this issue, we note a particularity of the French TT regarding the translation of allusions to Germanness in in the concessive (first) part. While both the German ST and the Catalan TT place the allusion to Doris' German (educational) liberalism in the personal realm (ger. *deine deutsche Liberalität*, cat. *la teva llibertat alemanya*), the French TT is more distancing in presenting this as a more general trait of Germans (fr. *l'esprit libéral des allemands*). This cautious, distance-keeping attitude of the French translation is also palpable with regard to issues of Turkish identity. The German ST is highly stereotypical in presenting Metin's characterisation of Turks from an in-group perspective (ger. *Der Türke an sich macht sich eben Sorg'n*). Both the generalising nominalisation (ger. *Der Türke*) and the additional prototypical precision

ger. *an sich* ([+foc]) express this stereotypicality (see Schondelmeier 2009 with regard to the use of such expressions in interviews about nationality). The stereotypical view of Turks put forward in the ST is further enhanced through the use of the particle ger. *eben* converting the utterance in a categorical statement: "Durch die Modifizierung mit *eben* wird der Status der Behauptung geändert: die Behauptung wird zur kategorischen, axiomatischen Aussage, die unmittelbar evident, allgemein gültig und für alle Zeiten zutreffend ist. Die Behauptung wird immunisiert: sie wird unangreifbar" (Trömel-Plötz 1979: 321, italics in the original).

Despite the high degree of stereotypicality conveyed, Metin's statement is slightly surprising, because the above mentioned expressions and resources have a distancing, somewhat depreciating function and are thus rarely used from an in-group perspective, as in the present case. This is even more the pronounced as the characteristic trait ascribed to Turks is a personal feeling (ger. *sich Sorgen machen*), with the ultimate, implied message being personally related to Metin (that he, as a Turk, is indeed concerned about his daughter). The message is thus likely to have a somewhat subversive or self-mocking character.

The awkwardness of the allusion to Turkish identity in its specific context may be an underlying reason for the modifications made in the TT. Moreover, we can imagine an intention not to hurt the feelings of immigrants by means of distancing, depreciating allusions to immigrant identity in the target audience. Both the Catalan and the French solutions to this problem have been to reduce/eliminate stereotypicality and to resituate the reference in Metin's personal realm. However, while the Catalan TT at least keeps the allusion to Metin's Turkishness (cat. *Però jo sóc turc i em fa patir molt*.), the French TT eliminates it altogether and adds the above mentioned clause expressing greater hearer orientation (fr. *Mais je suis inquiète, tu peux le comprendre*.).

Allusions to (Turkish-)German or immigrant culture made from an out-group perspective

TfA also features references to 'Turkishness' and similar concepts from the out-group perspective of the German family members.

As we have noted with regard to the out-group reference to 'Germanness', such references are often made in a highly stereotypical manner. Consider the example below, in which Lena is shown as making explicit and implicit stereotypical comments about the Islamic religion.

(Context: When choosing their rooms in the new house, Yagmur uses a compass to find which room has windows with a view to the east. This is an implicit allusion to her religion because, as a devout Muslim, she wants to pray facing Mecca).

ger. [Yagmur:] *Das geht nach Osten, das nehm' ich!* [Lena:] *Oh, man schläft mit Ostblick!*

cat. [Yagmur:] *Aquesta és la meva, que dóna a l'est.* [Lena:] *S'ha de dormir cap a l'est.*

fr. [Yagmur:] *Ceci est orientée à l'est, je la prend.* [Lena:] *Pourquoi, c'est pour regarder le lever du soleil?*

It is interesting to look more closely at Lena's somewhat ironic comment about Yagmur's choice of room and its translation. In the ST, Lena feigns some surprise about Yagmur's decision, as signalled by means of the interjection ger. *oh*. This is not an explicit lexical marker of irony, but can help to guide the recipient to an ironic interpretation, possibly in combination with excessive politeness (see McDonald 1999: 488 for a discussion of this phenomenon in English). In addition to Lena's emphatic speech style in this passage, an ironic interpretation can be derived from the irony of the

situation in that Lena comments on the obvious and resorts to the impersonal pronoun ger. *man* to refer to Yagmur in a situation of shared experience between teenagers. Even without reference to the religious issues underlying Yagmur's decision regarding a room facing east, in overstating the matter Lena evaluates it particularly highly in order to imply that Yagmur's behaviour is somewhat ridiculous.

The ironic form of teasing is also present in the Catalan TT. However, the irony here lies in the Catalan construction expressing obligation. It is unclear whether interjections do not have ironic power in Catalan and are therefore not referred to in this case. Reference to cultural matters is left implicit in Catalan, as in the German ST.

In the French text, Lena's ironic comment about Yagmur's choice of room is conveyed in question format. Superficially, a *wh*-question may come across as an information-seeking one, while it can also be interpreted as a challenge (see section 4.8). Apart from the fact that Lena's disagreement with Yagmur's behaviour is expressed more explicitly, the French TT is also more specific in expressing Lena's allusion to the supposed aim of Yagmur's behaviour (ger. *mit Ostblick*, fr. *pour regarder le lever du soleil*). Thus, it is the contrast between the somewhat odd aim of watching the sunrise ascribed to the teenage Yagmur and the implied real aim (of praying to Mecca) that appears to create the irony. Again, reference to the underlying cultural matter is not made explicit in the French TT.

Religion is again the issue in the next passage taken from a discussion between Lena and her brother Nils after the first night in the family's new home.

(Context: Nils has just asked Lena whether their plan to make friends with their new siblings and Metin works).

ger. [Lena*:*] *Hey, in meinem Zimmer wohnt Allah und Metin wollte mich wachkitzeln.*

cat. [Lena:] *Sí, dormo a costat d'Al·là i en Metin em volia fer pessigolles.*

fr. [Lena:] *Hé, je me suis fait réveiller par Allah et Metin qui voulait me chatouiller.*

In this passage, reference to Allah is a hyperbolic metaphor for Yagmur and her religious activities. In order to better understand both the hyperbolic value and the emotive quality of the metaphor, it is instructive to cite some observations made by Norrick (2004: 1737) on the use of the God metaphor in English: "Direct comparisons with God in everyday talk along with the various formulas and lexical items associated with God suggest that speakers naturally have recourse to gross overstatement in their expression of strong feelings".

Given the relative commonality of God metaphors, including their hyperbolic and emotional nuances, the reference is kept in the TTs. In this regard, one should also take into consideration that it is relatively easy to preserve one-word metaphors in translation, because these metaphors easily fit into their respective environments (Claridge 2011). Another factor to be considered here is the fact that the metaphor-containing passage provides a verbal recount of what actually happened in the preceding scene. That is, the passage contains a multimodal metaphor in some sense, with the target domain (Allah) expressed verbally, while Yagmur and her activities are easily recuperable by the audience as the source domain, because they have just featured in the preceding visuals. The fact that the passage provides a verbal recount of earlier events may also explain why some semantic changes have been made in the textual surroundings of the metaphors in the TTs. Here, the translators appear to have relied heavily on the visuals themselves. Thus, cinematographically, the earlier events featuring Yagmur and Metin were narrated from Lena's highly subjective perspective (see section 4.8). This subjective 1st person perspective is reproduced in the verbal account in both the Catalan and in the French TTs (cat. *dormo*, fr. *je me suis fait réveiller*). Furthermore, a strong orientation towards the visuals is especially palpable in

the French TT, which is more specific than is the ST in recounting Lena's precise activity of waking up as previously shown in the visuals. The latter is an instance of intersemiotic explicitation.

Reference to Yagmur's radical religious point of view is equally essential in the next example, taken from a discussion between Yagmur and Lena:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Allahs Erziehung ist die einzig Wahre.* [Lena:] *Weil ihr euch da nicht entfalten könnt und weil ihr immer gehorchen müsst und nie widersprechen könnt.*

cat. [Yagmur:] *L'educació d'Al·là és la veritable.* [Lena:] *Perquè no teniu personalitat pròpia i obeïu sempre i no contradieu mai ningú.*

fr. [Yagmur:] *L'éducation d'Allah est tout ce qui compte.* [Lena:] *Ça, c'est pour vous empêcher de réfléchir toutes seules et obéir à tout ce qui disent les hommes sans interdire.*

This example first features Yagmur's gushing description of her religion. However, we move immediately to Lena's out-group reference to immigrant culture in the second part of the sequence. Thematically, Lena here clearly rejects Yagmur's arduous defence of Islamic traditions. She does so by giving an account that emphases the fact that, in Islamic culture, people like Yagmur are oppressed and denied the right to self-determination. The ST (and the Catalan TT) then makes no reference to the group of oppressors. Rather, allusion is made to the general inability of people like Yagmur (ger. *ihr*) to act in this situation (ger. *nicht entfalten könnt, immer gehorchen müsst, nie widersprechen könnt*). From an information structural point of view, the focus is here on the referenced group of people (in theme position) and their activities (in rheme position). The French translation, however, somewhat changes the information structure in topicalising the controversial issue (fr. *Ça*). Furthermore, it takes a more active perspective on the issue: The active oppression by men is now said to cause the criticised situation. Explicitation of the reference to men then makes it clearer that the oppressed group of people, including Yagmur, are woman. Note that intensification of what women are actually denied (the actions of fr. *réfléchir* and *obéir* intensified as *réfléchir toutes seules, obéir à tout... sans interdire*) actually implies a rather vigorous masculine oppression. Here, one may observe the French preference for modification by means of PPs and similar items. The German ST (and the Catalan TT) also makes use of intensifying elements, but these are from the group of temporal adverbs (ger. *immer, nie*, cat. *sempre, mai*) as typical extreme case formulations. The use of intensifying elements thus appears to vary between source and target languages.

5.3 Intertextual allusions as sources of bonding in translation

Another phenomenon potentially giving rise to bonding activities is intertextuality.

Originally, the notion of intertextuality emerged from Kristeva's (1969) work, in which we may trace the influence of the Saussurean concept of the sign and Bachtin's notion of dialogism. However, whereas Kristeva's study doubtlessly provided valuable insights into the nature of intertextuality, it is of limited value for studies focusing on intertextuality from a bonding perspective. The latter is due to Kristeva's (and post-structuralism's) text-centred point of view: The proposal that there is nothing outside the text necessarily excludes considerations of how intertextual allusions are strategically used to position target audiences for bonding.

Later research on intertextuality has also largely neglected aspects of reader positioning when studying intertextuality from an entire range of different perspectives. Appraisal

theory is one of the few frameworks in which this has not been the case. Thus, building on the connection between intertextuality and dialogism, appraisal theory allows us to theorise intertextuality as intertextual (and intersubjective) positioning. However, before going into any detail, it should be said that the framework's coding system for intertextual positioning has been developed first and foremost for references in the linguistic (and paralinguistic) modality. Film texts, however, may also feature intertextual allusions – for instance, references to other films – by means of camera angle, colour coding, costume style, music style, gesture, movement and so on. Moreover, instead of conveying specific intertextual 'voices', referencing often relies more generally on "the use of elements in one discourse and social practice which carry institutional and social meanings from other discourses and social practices" (Candlin and Maley 1997: 212). [299]

Recent accounts, such as Feng and Wignell's (2011) proposal for the description of character and discursive voice in TV advertisements, are better suited to capturing the entire range of possibilities for including intertextual references in audio-visual texts. We will discuss them in the following sections.

a) Intertextual allusions through voices of other people incorporated in the characters' speech

The first type of intertextual voice to be addressed here briefly is character voice. This refers to the inclusion of propositions presented by other people in the present character's dialogue. In other words, we are concerned with the intertextual freight of words or thoughts from previous speech or thought processes of (human) beings.

By way of illustration, let us take an example from *TfA*.

In the second episode, Yagmur speaks on the phone to Metin:

ger. [Yagmur:] *Doris behauptet, du hättest griechische Oliven ge....*

cat. [Yagmur:] *La Doris diu que has comprat olives gregues.*

fr. [Yagmur:] *Doris m'a dit tu as acheté des olives grecques.*

As mentioned above, appraisal theory has developed a comprehensive framework for the general coding of verbal intertextual references. Since this has already been introduced elsewhere (see section 2.3 on the appraisal subcategory of engagement), a brief overview must suffice here.

Firstly, appraisal theory allows for the coding of the type of source cited in current utterances (such as *Doris* in the above example).

A second coding parameter is termed 'endorsement'. Endorsement refers to the way the current speaker positions him- or herself with regard to the cited words or thoughts.

In general, verb and adverb choice in the matrix clause is important for signalling endorsement. Thus, the current speaker may remain neutral, simply acknowledging the cited words or thoughts ('acknowledge', such as by using neutral formulations like *X sagt*, *X diu*, *X dit and so on*). On the contrary, the current speaker may indicate some kind of endorsement. This is may be made by means of an endorsing formulation, signalling that the speaker wishes to share some responsibility for the cited words ('endorse'). In the opposite case, a distancing, dis-endorsing formulation is used, whereby the responsibility for the cited words is completely delegated to the cited source ('distance'). Importantly, an indication of endorsement may shift in translation. In the above example, the ST features the evaluative reporting verb ger. *behaupten*,

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[299] This phenomenon is often termed 'interdiscursivity' and set apart from 'intertextuality'. However, we consider it as a subtype of 'intertextuality' here.

which encodes a dis-endorsed positioning ([distance]).[300] By contrast, the Catalan TT has chosen the neutral verb *dir* to convey Yagmur's positioning with regard to Doris' prior words ([acknowledge]). Such translation shifts, which in some cases may be due to differences in the syntactic and semantic structures of the ST and the TT or due to language-specific preferences, have the following implications with regard to intersubjective positioning. On one hand, neutral or dis-endorsed utterances are dialogically expansive, with utterances of the 'distance' subcategory signalling more openness to alternative points of view than the merely acknowledging, neutral ones. One the other hand, endorsed utterances are dialogically contracting. Thus, translation shifts in terms of endorsement may constrain or open up reader response and thus position readers in this regard.

A third coding parameter suggested by appraisal theory is the degree of textual integration of the source text into the current dialogue. Appraisal theory proposes two broad subtypes of textual integration. Firstly, the cited text may be merely inserted into the current dialogue, as in a quotation in direct speech. Secondly, the cited text may be somewhat paraphrased and adapted to the current speaker's dialogue ('assimilated'), as is the case in indirect speech. The choice of one option instead of the other may have an impact on how the cited text is perceived by the recipient:

> [W]e are concerned with whether the writer purports to offer the reader the actual words of the attributed source or whether these have been reworked in some way, often with the result that the wording is more like that of the text than that of the original speaker/writer (White 2001: n.pag.).

As with the endorsement parameter, the parameter of textual integration also links intertextual and intersubjective positioning. However, Martin and White (2005) regarded the latter as secondary to the former. As stated by these authors, this is due to their focus on dialogism and the forward-looking nature of texts in terms of readership projection. Accounts emphasising issues of textual integration are, by contrast, seen as primarily backward-pointing "in that they look backwards to the origin of the proposition in some prior utterance" (Martin and White 2005: 135). Notwithstanding the latter, the parameter of textual integration is likely to also play a certain role in reader positioning. Thus, when the projected clause is merely inserted, the current speaker transfers responsibility for the proposition to some external source ('extra-vocalisation'). This maximally opens up room for alternative positions. In the case of assimilation, by contrast, the space projected for alternative positions is slightly more contracted ('intra-vocalisation').

In this regard, it should also be said that the above twofold distinction is a simple one that cannot account for all cases and types of textual integration, even when concentrating on the linguistic modality only. Some in-between-types and translation shifts have been reported on in our prior research conducted on the *TfA* corpus (Falbe 2014, in prep.). Note, however, that the intertextual references under discussion all occur in character speech. That is, intertextual allusion is used for purposes of characterisation, (to show how certain characters endorse or dis-endorse certain other

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[300] In addition, the cited words are reported in the conjunctive mood which also may be taken as signalling a distanced position. Note that, while the conjunctive mood still is the default choice in standard (written) German in this regard, the indicative mood is gaining ground in reported speech in colloquial German. So, it would be a more natural choice in the context of a colloquial telephone conversation between Yagmur and her father Metin, but would signal a less dis-endorsing stance of Yagmur towards the reported words of Doris.

characters' or celebrities' points of view). Strictly speaking, this is linked to character-based viewer alignment rather than to viewer alignment through the creation of direct bonds via intertextual allusion. For this reason, readers are referred to the abovementioned studies, with the present discussion moving to the closely related issue of intertextual allusions created through discursive voice.

b) Intertextual allusions through discursive voice

The incorporation of intertextual voices in texts is not confined to voices in the traditional sense of the term. Elaborating on conceptions of dialogic engagement through intertextual voices as proposed by appraisal theory, Feng and Wignell (2011) offered a more comprehensive account that included intertextuality through discursive conventions that reverberate throughout a text. The scholars explained the different perspective of their account as follows:

> First, it departs from the perspective of recontextualization and argues that every discourse is the intertexual recontextualization of social practices and further points out that the process is ideologically motivated to manipulate readers' attitude and behaviour. Second, it extends the 'voice' system to include the *discursive voi*ce of the styles and social practices typically associated with other discourse types, thus complementing the engagement system in Appraisal Theory with *discursive engagement*. Third, unlike the investigation of interdiscursivity, which mainly concerns linguistic text [...], the current approach is explicitly multimodal, taking visual resources into consideration (Feng and Wignell 2011: 566, italics in the original).

Developing the ideas of appraisal theory further then means adapting the coding categories offered in this framework to the description of discursive engagement. The first parameter to be discussed in this regard is the endorsement of discursive voices. It is clear that if this point is to be elaborated upon, the notion of discursive voice must be defined more clearly. As stated in the above quotation, in Feng and Wignell's (2011: 566) view, 'discursive voice' refers to "the styles and social practices typically associated with other discourse types". The discourses associated with these styles and structures embody certain social practices. This is most evident when the structure or style of a certain discourse type is carried over to another (Feng and Wignell 2011).

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) has recently put this kind of metaphorical blending of text types onto a more thorough theoretical basis. Together with the realisation cline (the stratification in levels such as lexical-grammatical or discourse semantics, see section 2.8) and the individuation cline (the stratification on an individual basis), SFL proposes to account for texts in terms of instantiation. The instantiation cline allows for changing perspectives on individual texts and the systems these embody (thus on 'language' and 'parole' in Saussurean terms). As Martin (2010) put it:

> In SFL the cline relating system and text is termed *instantiation*. Unlike realisation, which is a hierarchy of abstraction, instantiation is a hierarchy of generality. It relates the systems of meanings as a whole to their specialization as registers and genres; at the same time, it generalizes recurrent patterns of meaning across instances as text types. [...] Overall, what we are looking at is a scale of potentiality – we're considering all of the meanings a semiotic system allows in relation to their sub-potentialization as instances of language use (Martin 2010: 17, italics in the original).

The instantiation cline is thus stratified (from top to bottom) into system, genre and register, text type, text and reading. Now, when a certain discourse type borrows the styles and structures conventionally associated with another, a generalisation up the instantiation cline occurs. The process at stake here was termed 'distanciation' by Martin (2006: 286): "[M]oving up the hierarchy, opening up the meaning potential as we move, and then taking advantage of this under-specification of meaning to reinstate 'the story' in a novel text". In this way, a certain coupling of discourse types takes place, and one may be reinstated in the other.

This process is likely to be at the origin of discursive endorsement as proposed by Feng and Wignell (2011). According to the authors, as far as TV advertisements are concerned, there are either highly general structures to be found in many different discourse types, such as problem-solution patterns, or even more basic structures such as the fundamental 'change in time' pattern of narratives are used this way. As shown by Feng (2012), similar recurrent conventional syntagmatic patterns occur in film texts: The broad textual phasing is principally made up of (recurrent) setting–problem–solution phases.

However, whereas in TV advertisements discursive voices are mainly employed to endorse the product, in films they are likely to endorse, for instance, the author's (that is, the filmmaker's) perspective. Intertextual references are then inserted into the dialogue to create opportunities for the viewer to bond with the perspective presented. Thus, a 'compliant' viewer who is able to understand the intertextual reference and to possibly bond with the forwarded perspective is projected in addition to other viewers who are not 'in the know' (Caple 2010: 127). In order to engage the film viewer through bonding, interpersonal meaning such as is crystallised in bondicons (e.g. an interpersonally charged quote) must be transmitted to new discourse contexts. Here, the above mentioned coupling of different discourse types may come into play. Remember that SFL suggests that textual, ideational and interpersonal dimensions of meaning making are always simultaneously at play in semiotic acts. Thus, the above mentioned textual subdivision of film texts in (recurrent) setting–problem–solution phases is coupled with field choices related to characters' goals (ideational dimension) and corresponding neutral, negative or positive emotions (interpersonal dimension, Feng 2012). Then, by the coupling of different textually parallel discourse types, both source and target types are simultaneously kept in view. The ideational and interpersonal dimensions may now shift. Thus, field shift (that is shift in ideational texture) occurs when one discourse type is instantiated in another. As far as interpersonal meaning (such as is realised in an interpersonally charged quote as a bondicon) is concerned, this may be simply carried over to the target discourse. However, it may also be the case that interpersonal meaning is discharged and ideational meaning recharged in the coupling process. Discussion of examples from *TfA* below will shed more light on this issue, as well as on the implications for the translation of interpersonal layers of meaning.

Before turning to the discussion of examples, however, let us examine how the account of discursive engagement is able to account for a second parameter, one that is somewhat parallel to that of textual integration found in appraisal theory. Textual integration is concerned with the degree to which external (human) voices are formally integrated or assimilated into a certain utterance or text. In the case of discursive endorsement, the crucial question is how external discursive voices in the earlier defined sense are likely to be accommodated by the text in a way that supports the message (the purpose of bonding). Feng and Wignell (2011) built on Lim's (2004) proposal concerning the creation of intersemiotic relationships by suggesting that one specific semiotic modality is able to accommodate another by means of

contextualisation. According to Feng and Wignell (2011: 578, italics in the original), in discursive engagement "the degree of engagement is the degree in which the external discourse *contextualizes* the current one [...]". The authors proposed three subtypes of contextualisation. The first is minimum engagement, which is when the external discourse is just placed side by side with the current one (co-occurring), so that no contextualisation whatsoever can occur. An example would be the broadcasting of TV news immediately before or just after a series such as *TfA*. In this case, there would be no real connection between the two discourse types. The second is medium engagement, which is likely to take place when the external discourse creates a situational context in which the current discourse can take over (situating). By contrast, maximum engagement is likely to occur when the external discourse is no longer recognisable as such because it has become fully integrated into the plot. However, these cases are less relevant here, because in order for bonding to work, at least a small percentage of the audience must be able to recognise the intertextual allusion in the form of an external, discursive voice.

The parameters for the coding of the discursive voice may become clearer in the discussion of examples from *TfA* in the next section.

With the aid of the theoretical parameters developed in the last section, we may now be able to start the description of discourse engagement in two scenes from *TfA*.

The first scene is taken from the second episode of the first season, called 'Die, in der ich keine Schwester will'. Overall, the episode revolves around the rejection of balanced, harmonious relationships by the family's teenage siblings that stand in marked contrast to the harmonious way of life proposed and embodied by their parents. While one plot strand features the conflicts flaring up between Lena and her new sister Yagmur, a second one shows the lovesick Cem and contrasts Cem's macho attitude with the vision of romantic love defended both by his father and by the beloved girl Ching.

The scene under discussion begins after Cem has just spoilt his first 'date' with Ching. Seeking refuge in his own room, he is challenged by his father Metin because of his macho behaviour while on the date. This is presented in the form of an educational discourse in which Metin alludes to opposing Turkish values, such as coolness and passion. In this way, Metin seeks to convince Cem to calm down and to use his passionate side to write a love letter to Ching revealing his true feelings for her. This would mean abandoning his habitual macho attitude and probably adopting the somewhat exaggerated love letter manner of speaking and writing that is associated with Metin's speech in this episode. Metin finally provides his son with a CD by singer Céline Dion. Shifting his gaze between his father and the CD, Cem reacts by drawing his eyebrows together and standing with an open mouth – the latter being a prototypical sign of surprise (Horstmann 2002). This is accompanied by the following words:

ger. [Cem:] *Céline Dion?*
cat. [Cem:] *La Céline Dion?*
fr. [Cem:] *Aoua, Céline Dion.*

In line with the overall textual phase structure (ideationally: disruption[301] of Cem's overall goals), the interpersonal meaning attached to the sequence is expected to be a negative one. Cem's facial expression does indeed point in this direction, but the facial expression of surprise is usually not specific in terms of whether it is of the positive or negative kind. Thus, both the German ST and the Catalan TT use intonation to convey the negative evaluation by means of a voice conveying incredulity. The French TT, by

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[301] It is a phase of goal disruption because Cem's goals are obstructed, since his father does not leave him in peace.

contrast, explicates the negative evaluation by means of an interjection related to pain (fr. *aoua*). The image then cuts to another plot strand.

When the image cuts back to Cem after some time, we see the boy inserting the CD of Céline Dion into the CD player and lighting a candle before shaking his head, with the latter most probably being interpreted as a sign of disapproval.[302] He simultaneously reassures himself that Metin's prior suggestion is an act of idiocy – at least in the German ST and in the Catalan TT:

ger. [Cem:] *Schwachsinn, ey.*

cat. [Cem:] *Semble idiota.*

fr. [Cem:] *Ça va être un ouvrage.*

However, as can be seen, the French translation, rather than replicating the backward-pointing negative evaluation of the German ST, opts for a forward-pointing solution that paints the letter-to-be-written and hence Cem's ability to do so in positive light. While this is consistent with Cem's later positive self-evaluation of his capacities as an author, it does not entirely fit the plot line here which, in the ST, features the boy's last-gasp attempt to prevent himself from doing something against his will and principles. Note that the precise kind of evaluation is important here because Cem's future way of acting will be understood by the viewer against the foil of his evaluation of Céline Dion's 'romantic' music and the related action of writing romantic love letters.

In what follows, Cem finally sets out to write the love letter with his imagination being fired by the CD in question. It is here that the multimodally rendered intermedial allusions, which are the true target of the discussion here, set in. The first clue steering the identification of the later intermedially allusive passages is the diegetically motivated music, that is Céline Dion's love song *My heart will go on* from the film *Titanic*. The music can be said to be diegetical, because it is an element of the story world at this moment. However, when the visual code later shifts away from the portrayal of Cem in his room to a dream-like sequence reminiscent of both Dion's music video and scenes from the film, the viewer can no longer be fully certain whether the music is still diegetically motivated or not. The ambiguity between the diegetic or non-diegetic nature of the musical code has some interesting implications for the degree of discursive engagement in the sequence at hand. Due to this ambiguity in the otherwise continuous musical code, the boundaries between the external discourse alluded to in the dream-like sequence and the internal discourse of the sitcom become somewhat blurred. In other words, median to high engagement occurs, because the external discourse has become integrated into that of the sitcom to a high degree. In this regard, it should be said that the musical code may own such an interpretative ambiguity, with the play between music anchored in Cem's reality or outside that reality, to the play between reality and dreams or dream-like memories associated with the music video and film. In the film *Titanic,* the female character Rose is shown as remembering the events and the love story she experienced on the Titanic in her youth. It conveys the message that "the lines between past and present are more liquid than we sometimes think" (Rushing and Frentz 2000: 13). Then, just as the film overblends and intermingles images of past and present, the *My heart will go on* music video overblends and intermingles images from the film with those from the realm of the singer Céline Dion.

Featuring lines such as *Every night in my dreams I see you, I feel you* the song's lyrics, are, of course, also responsible for such a play between reality and dreams. There is thus no surprise that this song has been chosen for the particular instance of intertextual

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[302] See Kendon (2002) with regard to lateral head shakes as indicators to an underlying negative evaluation.

allusion in the outer form of a dream-like sequence that we are now going to discuss in greater detail.

In the sitcom, Cem, inspired by the music, turns his gaze to the room's door, which we subsequently see fading out. The image now makes room for a depiction of the adored Ching in an almost supernatural fashion. Placed on the upper part of the shot, the image occupies a position conventionally associated with unrealistic renderings such as in dreams (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). The girl Ching is portrayed from a low angle, dressed in light colours. Viewers are thus made to look up to the woman shown in an elevated position. This is reminiscent of both the *Titanic's* famous flying scene and of those scenes featuring Céline Dion in the *My heart will go on* music video. Similarly, the portrayal of the woman, bathing in light, wearing a white dress and moving sensually in concert with the music while the breeze blows through her long hair also evokes the portrayal of Céline Dion in the music video. However, this sensual portrayal also relies on the viewer's knowledge of some earlier scenes in the episode where Ching was introduced as an object of Cem's gaze, moving sensually on a swing. Overall, the images give the viewer ample opportunity for uncovering cross-references and submerged allusions in their medial models. In order to bond with these intertextual allusions, the viewer must be able to recognise them as such and appreciate the filmmaker's attempts to play with their meanings. From the filmmaker's perspective, by providing these intertextual cues, the filmmaker offers the viewers a piece of discourse charged with a certain interpersonal meaning (a bondicon) to rally around. The coupling of the external discourse type (music video, film sequence) with the internal one (the specific passage in the sitcom *TfA*) is due to the conventional features they have in common. Here, it is particularly the social action embodied by both discourse types, that is "the feminine as a projection of male desire" (Rushing and Frentz 2000: 5), that is at stake. Thus, while the movie *Titanic* portrays Rose as the object of Jack's desire, and the music video featuring Céline Dion ultimately replicates the composition of the film, in *TfA* Ching becomes the object of Cem's desire. In their paper on discursive engagement in TV advertisements, Feng and Wignell (2011: 577) suggested that "[t]he choice of character should be seen as closely related to the choice of social practice because the character constitutes the participant in the social practice". Clearly, choosing the macho Cem and the female, romantic Ching[303] as observer and observed in the target discourse has been an apt choice in this regard. Then, once the source and target discourses are coupled, the viewer 'in the know' does not just map the pertinent features from the source to the target discourse, but also possibly accepts the filmmaker's offer to bond and enjoys participating in the shared activity of uncovering the intermedial allusions. In each case, he or she has been assigned a certain reading position by means of discursive engagement.

From the point of view of translation, the discussion of precise ways of coupling is, of course, particularly interesting when verbal modalities, such as in the song text, are involved. In addition to their overall contribution to the identification of the external discourse, the lyrics may be significant in another way: The current images may re-instantiate the lexis of the lyrics (the literal reference to the act of dreaming of a desired person may be activated by the images). In this way, the interpersonal meaning may become somewhat discharged while the lexis becomes recharged with ideational meaning. However, while the shift between ideational and interpersonal meaning is of general interest for the present study, it is of secondary importance in the present case because the lyrics are not translated.

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[303] It should be added that with her straight long hair Ching somewhat ressembles singer Céline Dion in the music video.

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So far, we have identified two ways in which the translation of interpersonal texture matters with regard to interpersonal allusions. Firstly, there may be significant shifts in the broader thematic patterns in the co-text of such allusions. Secondly, there may be shifts between ideational and informational texture in the translation of intertextual allusions themselves that are likely to result in a major renegotiation of discursive engagement. The latter is perhaps even better illustrated with the next example of intermedial reference.

The scene to consider in the following occurs in the third episode of the first season ('Die, in der ich abstürze'). This is the episode in which Lena, after finally having made peace with her new sister Yagmur in the last episode, suggests cementing their new friendship by sharing activities such as going to the disco. However, in the disco, the situation gets out of control: Lena gets drunk and an equally drunken boy is about to drive her home, with Yagmur not being able to dissuade him from doing so. In this situation, the girls' older brother Cem, multimodally constructed in reminiscence of the heroes of action films, comes to the rescue. At first, it is only Cem's voice that calls the drunken boy to order and communicates Cem's determination to act. Visually, only Yagmur's head movement and shifting gaze in Cem's direction announces the older brother's presence, while the approaching Cem himself remains off-screen.

When Cem is finally introduced visually, the sitcom adopts a format borrowed from the aesthetics of science fiction and action films. In other words, another external cinematographic text type contextualises the current one. As we will see, in so doing, the filmmakers make use of a highly conventionalised allusive form; even so, the parallel in the textual phasing of source and target discourses (both feature the introduction of the hero) that is likely to be at the root of their coupling remains evident. In the sequences at hand, intertextual allusion to action films is made by means of the musical code in concert with slow-motion photography and, to a lesser extent, a low viewing angle.

The music theme that begins when Cem is shown on-screen is reminiscent of the title theme of *Star Wars* (1977). The choice of theme has, in fact, implications regarding the extent to which the series is able to identify with a range of audience types: The Star Wars theme's composer John Williams, also famous for the music for *Superman: The Movie*, has in fact "established a formula for scoring his fantasy action heroes" (Halfyard 2013: 171) that is easily recognisable. Halfyard (2013) described this well-known sonic formula as follows:

> The basic characteristics include a major-key march that gives the principal melody to the brass section, with a fanfare-like introduction followed by a bold statement of the main theme from the brass, punctuated by timpani and accompanied by a rhythmic ostinato from low brass and strings. What gives the formula its heroic character is largely the harmonic stability created by the use of tonic-dominant harmony and corresponding melodic intervals such as prominent open fifths, alongside the energetic character of the march rhythms. The punchy, confident, militaristic scoring of th*e Star Wars* an*d Superman* main titles constructs the sense of action and optimism that is central to their main characters (Halfyard 2013: 171f., italics in the original).

The march-like formula is crucially linked to the hero's moments of action, as the example of Superman shows: "While the music's construction encodes ideas of the heroic, its close connection to moments of action articulates the idea that Superman's heroism lies not in what he is so much as in what he *does* and the decisions he makes" (Halfyard 2013: 173, italics in the original). The same can be said of the *TfA* scene

under consideration, where the music underscores Cem's actual rescue action and not heroism as one of Cem's general character traits.

Another feature exploited in concert with music to grant Cem the status of a determined and violent action hero is slow motion. Originally introduced in fight scenes in films by the Japanese director Kurosawa, it was filmmakers such as "Sam Pekinpah and Arthur Penn, whose *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) [...] made slow motion a permanent feature of the look of cinematic violence in Hollywood" (Nochimson 2010: 216). Among the films helping to further establish slow motion as a conventional cinematographic device in action films is James Cameron's *Terminator*: "From a low camera position, the Terminator is shown invading the house, the camera ahead of the character as it walks forward aggressively, its menace emphasised by the use of slow-motion" (Clarke 2014: 48).

In the current scene of *TfA* also featuring an aggressively forward-walking hero Cem from a somewhat low angle perspective, slow-motion photography is used in similar ways.

Having established the parallels between the musical and visual constructions of the heroic, powerful body in fantasy and action films and in the current discourse, it remains to be discussed how the intertextual allusion at hand may create occasions for the viewers to bond.

When intramedial references occur in series and films, the viewers must essentially know where the references come from before they can feel the satisfaction of having spotted the connections and appreciate the allusions.[304] Thus, from the outset, the allusions introduced by the filmmaker act as bondicons that are charged with interpersonal meaning. The process of coupling, which is essential for keeping both discourse types in view simultaneously, then potentially allows certain operations of decharging and recharging of meanings to take place. In the current example, decharging of interpersonal meaning, for instance, takes place in the ST version in the dialogue featuring Cem's heroic deed of rushing to the rescue and carrying the drunken Lena away from the scene. In this sequence, Cem's agreessive walk, followed by violent behaviour such as clenching his fist in front of Lena's drunken companion, is set against a dialogue sequence of menace:

ger. [Cem:] *Lass meine Familie zufried'n! Und erzähl deinen Freunden vom Geschmack meiner Faust!*

cat. [Cem:] *La meva família, deixa-la en pau. I explica als teus amics de què té gust el meu puny.*

fr. [Cem:] *Ça, c'est pour t'apprendre la vie. Et si tu… touches encore une fois ma famille, je t'éclate ta sale petite gueule!*

Here, the German ST features a multimodal metaphor: The threatening gesture (clenched fist) is also alluded to verbally in an exaggerated manner (ger. *Und erzähl deinen Freunden vom Geschmack meiner Faust!*). However, instead of issues of verbal–visual redundancy and correspondence, it is the way in which the intertextual allusion is overrun by literal allusion in the dialogue that is important here. In the German ST, intertextual allusion is backgrounded while the dialogue lexically instantiates an aspect that is also conveyed nonverbally. That is, the interpersonal meaning is decharged and the sequence is recharged with literal (ideational) meaning. While the Catalan TT closely follows the ST in this regard, the French TT opts to re-encode the passage, omitting the metaphor in a way that is perhaps seen as more appropriate in the target language. However, this time, it may have been considerations of visual-verbal

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[304] The choice of more or less conventional references therefore has implications concerning the extent to which the programme is able to identify with a range of audience types.

redundancy and not considerations of politeness that may have led the French translator to reformulate: The French TT is as direct, colloquial, violent and exaggerated as the ST. Whatever the reasons for reformulation, we can say that the French TT sequence under consideration remains more interpersonally charged than that of the ST.

c) Culture-specific intermedial allusions as specific cases of intertextual allusions

In the above cases of multimodal intermedial references, differences in viewers' knowledge caused by the culture-specificity of allusions were likely to play a minor role in translation. This is because intermedial references were made to the specific composition of internationally well-known music videos or Hollywood-style romantic and action films.

The distinction between more culturally universal and more culture-specific is also at stake when considering the bonding potential proposed by translations of shorter linguistic references to specific media personas, music groups, authors and the like. The above mentioned reference to singer Céline Dion is a case in point. Alluding directly to Céline Dion by means of her name, or indirectly by citing some of the singer's famous songs may, of course, technically make a difference. For instance, direct references may potentially be spotted by far greater audience groups than are indirect ones. However, by presenting the viewers with opportunities for deciphering meaning through new frames of reference, this both attracts and strikes a chord with those 'in the know' – which is an important prerequisite for bonding.

Given these commonalities, the challenges translators encounter when seeking to transfer these types of references appropriately into the target culture context are also somewhat similar. Thus, with regard to allusions to internationally well-known items in both cases the challenges are minor: The ST's references are usually reproduced in the TT in the same linguistic form as in the source text. In the corpus under consideration, examples of direct references to 'media people and products' treated this way include those to singers such as Céline Dion and Britney Spears, actress Sara Jessica Parker, films and TV series such as *Dirty Dancing* and *Sex and the City*, famous movie and literary characters like Miss Marple and Tom and Jerry, top model Heidi Klum, German authors Goethe and Schiller and so on. Only on one occasion does such a reference feature in the TTs in slightly modified form: This is when Doris, in an attempt to buddy up with her teenage daughters, adopts their teenage manner of referring to singer Jennifer López as ger. *Jaylo* in the ST. While the reference marked for group specificity is carried over without changes in the French TT, the Catalan TT relocates it into the target culture frame by choosing cat. *la López*. This specific choice should be seen in relation to the specific function of the item, replicating the sense of closeness and alignment Doris wishes to attach to her dialogue.

However, problems for the translator are likely to increase when references to stronger national cultural characteristics are used in the ST. Occasionally, such culture-specific references are treated like their more universal counterparts: They are replicated in the TTs without any changes. Given that the target audience is most likely not able to fully understand the reference, the references feature in the translated texts as calques. The following utterance from a debate about opposing German and Turkish values between Lena and Cem illustrates this point.

(Context: Lena ironically agrees with Cem's position, addressing Cem using the name of a German film character *Erkan* as an icon of Turkish-Germanness):

ger. [Lena]: *Ja sicher, Erkan!*

cat. [Lena]: *Sí, és clar, Erkan!*

fr. [Lena]: *Si tu le dis, regarde!*

Here, the rationale behind the Catalan TT's preservation of this culture-specific reference remains unclear. It is quite conceivable, though, that the TT here proceeds in tandem with what may occur in the translation of multilingualism (when there are references to other languages and dialects such as 'Kanak sprak' are inserted in the ST). In these cases, the ST's terms of address and the like are often kept in translation in order to lend a certain foreign flavour to the otherwise domesticated text.

Whatever the true reasons behind this specific choice here, examples such as this accurately and succinctly encapsulate the characteristics of culture-specific direct references to media figures as frequently found in *TfA*. Thus, culture-specific references to media figures are often used as vocatives or in other positions in which the reference to self or others is made by direct or indirect comparison between the interlocutor and the referenced person. They are thus creative metaphors, relating a source and a target domain and thereby drawing attention to parallel aspects between the interlocutor and the referenced person the speaker wishes to highlight at this specific moment. Generally, the less frequent self-references are positive and the more frequent altero-references are negative in tenor.

These specific characteristics and functions have some impact on the treatment of such culture-specific references in translation. It is here that some differences in the treatment of more indirect verbal or discursive intertextual references become noticeable.

Translation studies have approached culture-specific references from a variety of different perspectives, usually trying to categorise the references or the way they are transferred according to some specific criteria. Together with semantic or thematic groupings, categorisation according to the translation strategies used in their transfer is a particularly promising scenario for the investigation of such references. This is especially true when such strategies are grouped according to the degree of the translator's active intervention. Thus, the above mentioned reproduction of the reference in its ST form is the less interventive translation strategy. Both the adaptation to the TT's target conventions with regard to pronunciation, orthography and so on and calque translation are slightly more interventive. The translator's role is even more active when neutralisation or substitution of the cultural reference by means of a hyperonym takes place, or in the event information is added in the form of explicitation or through metatextual interventions (such as the addition of explanatory notes and so forth). Furthermore, a translator may even take more 'liberties' by transplanting the reference in the target cultural realm (for example, by the substitution of an example in the target text, the replacement of the expression with an idiomatic expression in the target language, or replacement of the expression with an example of compensatory humour elsewhere) or by omitting it altogether. Very roughly, the cline of those translation strategies in terms of degrees of translators' intervention parallels the cline running from the strongest preservation of source culture elements (foreignisation) towards the strongest target cultural appropriation (domestication).

When comparing the different strategies the Catalan and French TTs use in order to transfer the ST's culture-specific verbal references to media products and personas, the overall picture is not particularly surprising: In accordance with what has been found several times previously in this study, the French TT appears, on the whole, more domesticating than does the Catalan one. However, the stronger degree of textual adaptation to meet cultural expectations in the French TT does not mean that it is less adept in adequately transferring the essence of interpersonal texture offered by the ST. In fact, references in the French TT are sometimes even better construed so as to reveal

the text's inherent bonding potential than are the Catalan ones. Thus, from the most frequent translation strategies found in the transfer of such elements in the present corpus (neutralisation or substitution through a hyperonym, addition of information, cultural transplantation and omission), it seems that cultural transplantation is the most effective in replicating the inherent bonding potential, at least when there is no way of just reproducing the ST's original reference because of its culture-specificity.

In this regard, it is imperative to point out again that the treatment of such references in terms of the above translation strategies is likely to differ from that of other, more indirect intertextual references, because of their specific characteristics and functions in the present text.

Some examples will be in order to prove our point. The first stems from a scene that has already been analysed several times in this study. When Lena, waking after the first night in the new home and seeing Metin tickling Yagmur to wake her, she makes the following depreciative comment in a voice-over:

ger. [Lena:] *[...] Hilfe, die türkischen Waltons!*

cat. [Lena:] *[...] La família feliç en turc.*

fr. [Lena:] *[...] Au secours, les Simpsons turques!*

As explained earlier, even though it is ultimately referring to the characters in an originally North American TV show, the ST's reference to Yagmur and Metin as ger. *die türkischen Waltons* is a highly culture-specific one. The reference is rendered into Catalan by means of the combined strategy of substituting the reference to the Waltons through a hyperonym (cat. *família*) and the explicitation of what the metaphor roughly stands for (a very affective and hence happy and content family, cat. *feliç*). Even if in this way, technically speaking, the Catalan TT adds an instance of inscribed affect to the text, this interpersonal texture is first and foremost of informational value for the viewer. That is, it does not represent interpersonal texture from an extradiegetic point of view, because it does not provide the viewer with an opportunity to bond, because there is no longer an intermedial reference as there is in the ST. The French translator, by contrast, takes more liberties and replaces the source text solution by allusion to the characters of another North American TV show, *the Simpsons*. This is a domesticating solution because, even if the intermedial reference is not to a French TV format, the reference has been relocated in a target text frame, using an imagery that the French viewers will recognise. Of course, reference to the Waltons is not the same as reference to the Simpsons. In the German ST, the Waltons metaphor immediately connects Metin and Yagmur with the American family known for its highly affectionate behaviour; the Simpsons metaphor is more unspecific in this regard. In each case, bonding opportunities are not destroyed as they would be in the case of explicitation of the intermedial reference. The strategy of cultural transplantation as used here is, in fact, a preferred strategy in the audio-visual translation of verbally conveyed humour (Chiaro 2006). This is not without reason: As with intertextual references, and often even intertwined with the latter, humour provides the viewers with the opportunity to bond, and no longer works when the humorous passages are explained.

We will close our brief considerations about intertextual references to media people and products with a last, somewhat different but nevertheless very interesting example. The context of the situation can be described as follows. Immediately after Cem has spoilt his first date with the girl Ching, his father Metin seeks to encourage him to stop behaving like a macho man. This is countered by Cem in the following way:

ger. [Cem:] *Wenn du dich vor Doris aufführst wie'n kastriertes Schoßhündchen, heißt noch lange nicht, dass ich meinen männlichen Stolz auch vergesse. Kapiert, Kai Pflaume?*

cat. [Cem:] *Que tu et comportis com un gos castrat, no vol dir que també hagi de perdre la virilitat. A mi no em van els fleumes.*

fr. [Cem:] *C'est pas parce que toi tu fais le petit toutou devant Doris, que je dois en faire autant et oublier que je suis un mec viril et que suis pas prêt de m'épiler.*

Here, the ST again draws a comparison between a character in the show, Metin, and a German media persona, TV presenter Kai Pflaume. Among other things, Kai Pflaume is notorious for being the host of the German TV show *Nur die Liebe zählt* where he tries to pair other people. Not only because of his occupation, but also because of his soft voice and his caring, understanding and supportive manner, Kai Pflaume is likely to be considered a softie. Therefore, the Kai Pflaume metaphor embodies the larger contrasts between Cem's macho attitude and Metin's and Ching's romantic attitudes to love and relationships. As far as the TTs are concerned, we will refer to the French one first. In the French TT, the passage is domesticated by omitting the reference altogether. Of course, it is not merely left out, as some substitution has taken place: There is a second complement in the form of a subordinate clause inserted into the French TT. However, information that is not expressed in the ST is freely added to the TT version here: The added information makes reference to the macho Cem himself (it literally says that he is not ready to shave his own legs) and not to Kai Pflaume. Therefore, with regard to the reference, omission occurs and bonding opportunities are lost.

The Catalan TT's solution is more interesting with regard to the translation of the culture-specific reference. From a general point of view, the translation is less domesticating than is the French one, employing the translation strategy of neutralisation or substitution by means of a hyperonym. The type of man the referenced TV presenter is likely to embody (that of someone soft in character and without backbone[305]) is then chosen as a substitution. As in the previously discussed cases of neutralisation, substitution through hyperonym or explicitation of the reference, it is a common feature emerging from the linking of the ST's metaphor source and target domain that is verbalised here. However, the TT solution is interesting in some other ways: The Catalan translator's choice of cat. *fleumes* is very close to the pronunciation of the TV presenter's original last name, and thus meets the requirements of lip synchronisation. It should be added that one of readings of the presenter's last name in German is, in fact, semantically similar to the Catalan solution: Besides making reference to a fruit, ger. *Pflaume* may be used deprecatingly in colloquial speech to refer to an incompetent person or a person weak in character.[306] In this sense, we can say that it has been appropriately transferred to the TT's new context of culture, even if the direct reference to Metin in the ST has given way to a more indirect allusion to the group of weak people to which Metin is supposed to belong.

However, on the extradiegetic level, the interpersonal texture and thus the offer to bond with the intertextual reference has been erased. Overall, translation seems to have a valuable role to play in fully bringing out the potential of bonding. When it comes to bonding, the adequate transfer of the interpersonal semantics of the references at hand is likely to either involve the simple importation of the ST item or its cultural transplantation. The next best thing seems to be strategies linked to the median intervention of the translators, with some kind of humour often attached to the reference being preserved. The strategies chosen are then often in line with the specific

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[305] See the lexical entry for cat. *fleuma* in the Diccionari de la llengua catalana: "adj. i m. i f. [LC] Que és fluix de caràcter, mancat de fermesa, fàcilment entabanable. No en faràs res, d'aquest xicot: és un fleuma i un gandul" (fleuma n.d.).

[306] See the lexical entry for ger. *Pflaume* in the Duden dictionary: "(salopp abwertend) unfähiger, schwacher [manipulierbarer] Mensch" (Pflaume n.d.).

characteristics and functions of the chosen referential elements. Such strategies may, for instance, account for the fact that the references are metaphorical by spelling out the metaphor's essence, or the common core of the source and the target domains, to the viewer. At the same time, such references are often hyperbolic, with extremely positive or extremely negative evaluations attached to the items. Here, it is often the eliciting conditions of these evaluations that are spelled out. The evaluations themselves are more likely to be expressed by the accompanying prosody, gestures, facial expressions and so forth, as it is usually also the case in the ST.

6 Summary

Our present study was designed to examine the role of interpersonal layers of meaning associated with communicative immediacy as reintroduced in the current media culture of distance. The overall purpose was to describe the choices concerning interpersonal meaning in an audio-visual corpus consisting of the initial episodes of the German TV series *Türkisch für Anfänger* and its dubbed versions in Catalan and French.

A number of different hypotheses concerning the investigation of interpersonal texture in general and the specific realisation of interpersonal meaning in our corpus in particular have been presented in the introduction to this study.

Firstly, we proposed a very general hypothesis:

Hypothesis A (related to the first aim of study):

The principle of 'polyfunctionality' (semiotic items are meaningful both with regard to diegetic and extradiegetic interlocutors) is a core principle to account for in the analysis of interpersonal texture in cinematographic texts, as is the way in which it triggers audience engagement.

Evidence in favour of this hypothesis comes from the analysis of character-based engagement. Thus, we analysed the example of a video message that, in the diegesis of the film, was directly addressed to a diegetic character and simultaneously to the extradiegetic viewer placed in the same addressee position during film viewing. Due to the multi-layered semiotic structure of the dialogue, the textual functions on the diegetic and extradiegetic level were then found to differ somewhat. Thus, whereas the section had a mainly interpersonal, contact-establishing function on the diegetic level, it served both ideational and informational functions on the extradiegetic one, and the latter even more so in translation. Furthermore, the multi-layered structure seems to be a decisive variable for the creation of viewer judgement about characters ('allegiance'): This judgement seems to be largely elicited by clues (including evaluative ones) emanating from the characters, and is thus generated on the diegetic level of communication.

Secondly, with regard to the investigation of interpersonal meaning in general, a hypothesis concerning the semiotic processes at work in specific practices of interpersonal meaning making has been suggested:

Hypothesis B (related to the first aim of study):

Stance-taking practices such as 'stylisation' are a special case of interpersonal meaning making. Thus, even when the semiotic surface items used in these practices become linked to specific (proximal) contexts of occurrence, the relationship is a constructed rather than a 'natural' one. That is, the choice of such items is not always determined by situational conditions of production associated with communicative immediacy, as proposed by Koch and Oesterreicher (1990).

The abovementioned practices have been found at various points in our corpus when characters, deliberately or not, echo the speech style of their fellow characters or some well-known variety, with the medialised variety 'Kanak sprak' certainly being a prime example in this regard. The artificiality of the latter variety, and the way it has become indexically related to a hypertype of Turkish-German male characters in German media, have been described in several previous studies. However, in our corpus, the constructedness of the variety in terms of linguistic surface features becomes evident.

For instance, in contrast to its corresponding real-world realisation, 'Kanak sprak', as indexically linked to the Cem character in our corpus, selectively uses some salient features such as the marked spelling of the palatal /ç/ as [ʃ] in the pronoun ger. *ich* (pronounced and transcribed as *isch*), or typical lexical items like the interjection *ey* or the typical greeting formula *was geht?* In translation, the selectivity and perhaps exaggeration of certain features is even more pronounced. For example, the Catalan TT only makes use of some typical lexical items such as cat. *tío/tía* and the typical interjection cat. *ei/eh* in the initial position in order to render Cem's speech, whereas other items such as ger. *ey* in the final position are systematically omitted. The latter is also true of the French translation. On the whole, this means that these items are largely disembedded from the situational contexts that would normally lead to their selection. Clearly, their selection as forms of stance-taking, as well as non-standard ones, is thus not determined by the situational conditions of production associated with communicative immediacy.

Another example of such an elimination of realism occurs when the Turkish-German character's code-switching into Turkish is not translated in the Catalan TT, but is rendered via German subtitles as in the ST. Apparently, the content of the Turkish contributions is no longer important, and it is only the opposition to the default language that is significant (see Bleichenbacher 2008: 147 for a similar observation regarding multilingual film dialogue). Similarly, the translation of items related to the binary contrast between native culture and immigrant culture in our corpus often seems to focus on the mere projection of an opposition, whereas more specific characteristics of one or the other of the opposing poles are more or less freely substituted, especially when they do not carry narrative importance.

Another group of hypotheses formulated at the beginning of this study concerned the more precise (multimodal) construction of interpersonal texture in both untranslated and translated audio-visual texts found in our corpus.

The first, including a sub-hypothesis, reads as follows:

Hypothesis A (related to the second aim of study):

Audience engagement through the deployment of interpersonal texture may be character-based. In such a case, the viewer is invited to make evaluations on the basis of a character's attributes and verbal and material actions, or of a character's expression of emotions and evaluations.

Sub-hypothesis A:

Interpersonal meaning and corresponding semiotic choices exploited for the creation of character-based engagement differ according to the phases of engagement in which they occur. In the first phase (when a character's identity is revealed), the interpersonal texture chosen is likely to introduce the viewer to the character's status and/or close or distant relationships with other characters. In the closely interrelated second phase ('alignment'), interpersonal texture that serves to evaluate other characters from the main characters' perspectives and to create common ground with viewers is likely to be exploited. In the third phase ('allegiance'), interpersonal texture, especially choices for the expression of emotion and evaluation for purposes of altero- and self-characterisation, of various characters is likely to be chosen.

The analysis of our data has largely supported this hypothesis. Firstly, in the cases of 'revelation' of some characters' identities 'prior to attribute' (that is, before they

actually made their first visual appearance on the screen), clues to the close or distant relationship between the protagonist Lena and these characters abound. Thus, in addition to proximal kinesic clues such as kissing or approaching the camera, Lena's fictive video messages to her female friend Kati feature several linguistic forms associated with closeness (terms of endearment, group-specific language and so on). Metin, Lena's mother's boyfriend, by contrast, is introduced to the viewer in the same video messages by distant cues, such as distant demonstrative pronouns that simultaneously convey a negative judgement about him. Proximal and distant cues may then play an important role for the alignment with and judging of characters shortly after their initial introduction, because they allow the viewer to learn about the interpersonal character relations surrounding the main character(s) quickly.

The latter brings us to the second stage of 'alignment', for which we hypothesised that interpersonal texture, especially those resources that establish common ground with the viewer and are used to evaluate characters, is typically exploited from the main characters' perspectives. Again, we found ample evidence for this hypothesis. For instance, textual phasing in narratives often involves an orientation phase that "orients the viewer to the domestic and psychological situation of the main character" (Macken-Horarik 2003a: 289). This is also the case in *TfA*, where the viewer's spatio-temporal alignment with the teenage protagonist Lena and the creation of a bond with the viewer is at stake. Thus, the series *TfA* employs highly elliptical series titles that evoke similar senses of closeness, common ground and perspectivisation by the protagonist-focaliser Lena via the verbal-visual construction of the introductory video messages. The latter are reminiscent of diary-like introductions in autobiographical literature and other TV series. Because of the viewer's placement in the position of the friend, an unusually direct engagement with the protagonist is enforced on the viewers in these messages: They are likely to become aligned with the protagonist's viewpoint from the outset and may even establish a parasocial relationship with her. Common-ground indicators, such as group-specific language and the use of gossip were frequent in these passages. As far as the use of evaluation targeted at other characters was concerned, such evaluative forms also abounded (for instance, negative judgements passed on Metin).

For the closely interrelated 'allegiance' stage, it was then suggested that evaluation is more evenly distributed; that is, it is based on all the characters, and not predominantly the main one(s). Given that we addressed the evaluation of different characters as mainly occurring in encounters with the main character Lena in this study, this hypothesis is somewhat difficult to prove. Tentatively, however, examples such as Doris' evaluation in terms of 'capacity' by different characters show that possibilities of evaluation may indeed become more plentiful once the viewer has become aligned with the protagonist' positions.

The following hypothesis has been suggested with regard to non-character-based engagement as complementary to the abovementioned character-based one:

Hypothesis B (related to the second aim of study):

Audience engagement through interpersonal texture may also rely on non-character-based engagement. In this case, the use of certain semiotic items is likely to inspire bonding between (imagined and real) 'communities' of audiences.

It should have become clear in the course of this study that the underlying appraisal theoretical framework may also be extended to the study of non-character-based viewer engagement whereby viewers are induced to become involved into the story by creating opportunities for bonding. References to native culture versus immigrant culture or the

intertextual reference to media persons and products have been identified as items that may elicit group-specific positioning, inviting viewers to rally round in communities of in- and out-groups or those who are 'in the know' and those who are not.

The next hypothesis in this larger group is the following:

Hypothesis C (related to the second aim of study):

In line with the principle that every semiotic item has a role to play with regard to the cinematographic text's semiotic system, some evaluative categories attached to broader plot strands or the portrayal of certain characters are likely to be overrepresented in comparison to others in such texts.

In this regard, one must point to the recursive patterns of characterisation in cinematographic discourse in general and in sitcoms that encourage stereotypicality in particular, and which necessarily foster simplification. The multimodal construction of cinematographic texts may further encourage redundant cueing of a few character traits for the sake of the viewer's understanding. Thus, even in the few scenes described in the present study, such simplification of character portrayals and attached evaluations is palpable: The mother Doris, for instance, is repetitively portrayed through her somewhat odd psychological jargon and behaviour ('normality'), her lack of tenacity when confronting her daughter Lena, and her incapacity as a housewife. A number of important aspects that would probably elicit more individual evaluations of people like Doris in real-life contexts have thus been neglected. Such a reduction to a few redundantly cued character traits and attached evaluative categories can also be observed for the other characters: Lena's brother Nils is mainly characterised in terms of tenacity, whereas Metin is portrayed as overly affective and thus far from normal from the protagonist Lena's point of view, and so on. Because of their repetition and often redundant cueing in several modalities, these character traits are often self-evident and are not necessarily directly thematised in the verbal modality. However, together with more indirect realisation, such as through metaphor (cf. ger. *die türkischen Waltons* evaluating Metin and Yagmur as overly affective), more direct forms of evaluation through direct judgement or the recounting of eliciting conditions (cf. ger. *Mann, Nils, du lässt dich immer breitquatschen, [...]!* evaluating Nils as lacking tenacity) are also found. Clearly, more research is needed to eventually connect more direct and indirect types of evaluation with typical types of discourse in which these occur.

The latter, that is the establishment of a certain relationship between particular types of evaluation and a typical context of occurrence, is made in the next hypothesis to a certain degree:

Hypothesis D (related to the second aim of study):

The closest verbal-visual-audial connection and redundancy concerning interpersonal texture is likely to occur in subjective passages (such as those rendered through point-of-view shots), and in those featuring intertextual references conveyed via more than one modality.

Again, the analysis of interpersonal choices in our corpus provides sufficient evidence for this hypothesis, especially with regard to subjective passages. In fact, several variables at play in the linguistic encoding of emotions and evaluations may simultaneously be proposed for the cinematographic code in these passages. Thus, sequences of point of view shots have come to be a conventional expression of variables such as the evaluating person ('appraiser') and the trigger or target of

emotion/evaluation in their point-glance and point-object sections. In addition, the precise nature and the positive or negative valence of the emotion/evaluation is often conveyed in such shots by the facial expression of the appraiser. The visual code is then likely to restrain, support and redundantly cue the corresponding evaluation in the verbal code (see the discussion below with regard to translation).

As far as intertextual references are concerned, these include the borrowing and integration of textual 'voices' from other discourse types, as conveyed multimodally ('discursive engagement'). The borrowing of a march-like musical theme, slow-motion photography and a somewhat low camera angle recognisable from the introduction of certain violent action film heroes for the introduction of Cem in a specific scene is a case in point. The fact that such passages of intertextual reference must have a medium degree of endorsement (that is, the external discourse is likely to accommodate the current one by creating a situational context in which the latter can take over) is clear proof of the very close connection of the multimodally conveyed discourse types in such sequences. Cases in which one code, usually the verbal one, also foregrounds literal readings of the text (cf. the literal self-reference to the hero's fist as one element of Cem's depiction as a violent hero in *TfA*) are then clear instances of redundancy in those passages.

A final hypothesis in this group relates to the kinesic code that was a focus of this study in addition to the verbal and cinematographic one.

Hypothesis E (related to the second aim of study)

In order to guide the viewer's interpretation of interpersonal texture, cinematographic texts are likely to rely heavily on the prototypical rendering of emotions and corresponding evaluations in the kinesic code. This also includes the expression of evaluation through somewhat conventional (emblematic) gestures. In line with Feng (2012), the relation between the expression of emotion and corresponding evaluations in cinematographic texts is likely to entail the following: The evaluation often serves as the eliciting condition of the expressed emotion.

The close analysis of the kinesic code in the present study has, in fact, provided some evidence in favour of this hypothesis. For example, expressions of surprise often involved showing characters with a gaping mouth as one of the most prototypical indicators of surprise (Horstmann 2002; Mendolia 2007). Fear was prototypically expressed by a paralysed position, covering movements (such as Lena covering herself with the duvet), wide open eyes, raised and furrowed eyebrows and a somewhat rectangular open mouth (see Atkinson et al. 2004; Mendolia 2007 regarding the prototypicality of these cues). Disgust was expressed in conventional form by turning away from the interlocutor as well as by lowered brows, nose wrinkling and lip rounding or upper lip raising (see Atkinson et al. 2004; Magno Caldognetto et al. 2004; Mendolia 2007 regarding the prototypicality of these cues). Embarrassment was, for instance, signalled by the conventional sign of eye-rolling (Zastrow and Kirst-Ashman 2007). In our corpus, the interpretation of such kinesic clues to emotion/evaluation was often helped by additional and somewhat conventional cues from other codes, and not necessarily merely verbal ones. Thus, surprise was occasionally accompanied by the sound of a tape stopping, with the interruption conveyed by this acoustic sign described as typical for the arousal dimension involved in the expression of surprise (Mendolia 2007). The expression of fear was not only reinforced by threatening music, but also by a sequence of POV shots in which a low camera angle was used to portray Metin as

imposing and Lena in a victim position, which is similar to that which was proposed earlier for Asterix comics (Eerden 2009).

With regard to the expression of interpersonal texture, especially evaluation through gestures, we identified some highly conventional (emblematic) gestures such as the thumbs-up gesture used with the purpose of evaluation in our corpus. However, given the small number of instances found, evidence as to whether highly conventional gestures are preferred over others in order to convey evaluation in cinematographic texts remains inconclusive. With regard to the relationship between the expression of emotion and the corresponding evaluation, some instances of expression of emotion that do, in fact, entail evaluation (judgement) have been found. Thus, the expression of disgust as described above and additionally rendered in the verbal code was likely to be a clue to underlying negative judgements of normality and morality when Lena and Nils reacted with disgust to her their mother's shift to the topic of her sexual relationship with Metin.[307] Similarly, emotional displays such as the abovementioned eye-rolling to convey embarrassment also entail an underlying negative judgement about the normality and appropriateness of another person's behaviour. The same is true for expressions of pride (for example, Lena's pride after having defeated Cem) that may point to underlying positive judgements of capacity or tenacity, or an expression of surprise in (false) compliments paid to Doris when judging her capacity as a housewife. The list is not exhaustive and could be extended, but it clearly shows that the expression of emotion and evaluation (judgement) are closely interrelated.

We now turn to a third group of hypotheses concerning interpersonal texture as rendered in the translated texts. With regard to character-based engagement, we suggested the following:

Hypothesis A (related to the third aim of study):

Given the conventional encoding of some dimensions, such as the evaluating characters, the eliciting condition or target of emotion/evaluation, and the nature and valence of emotion/evaluation in the images in subjective passages, these dimensions are less likely to be subject to alteration in the translation of these passages than are others. It is therefore expected that dimensions such as the intensity of emotion/evaluation, the standard or norm against which a target is evaluated, the stereotypicality and so on are more likely to be adjusted in translation than are the abovementioned, visually encoded ones.

The analysis of our corpus has shown that variables such as the evaluating person and the nature and valence of the emotion/evaluation as visually encoded in sequences of POV shots are indeed likely to remain relative stable in corresponding verbal encodings. This is also true for translations. However, the picture is somewhat different when considering the encoding of the eliciting condition or target of evaluation. For instance, verbal reference to and evaluation of Cem's outfit featuring as an eliciting condition in a sequence of POV shots was found to vary according to different levels of generalisation (from very specific reference to a part of the outfit in the German ST to a general reference to Cem's style of dress in the Catalan TT). In addition, occasional comparison with the Italian TT has shown that other items featuring even more marginally in the images may become verbalised as eliciting conditions for negative judgements of Cem in translation. Thus, the Italian TT chose the cardboard boxes carried by Cem and Yagmur in the images to elicit conditions of the negative evaluation in the verbal code.

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[307] See also research by Schnall et al. (2008) proposing a close relationship between people's moral judgements and the expression of disgust.

Moreover, the cultural stereotype on which the evaluation was based changed with the alteration of the eliciting condition. Whereas in the German ST the stereotype evoked by Cem's tracksuit trousers was that of a sexually active, lower-class male, the Catalan TT eliminated the allusion to a stereotype completely, and the French TT focused on only one aspect – Cem's depiction a womaniser. The Italian TT, by contrast, appears to have played on a culture-specific poor immigrant stereotype as evoked by the cardboard boxes.

We can say that the quite severe reworking of the abovementioned passage seems not to be due to different culture-specific stereotypes evoked by the images. Instead, the reworking is likely to be due to the difficulties posed by the translation of a creative composite in which the evaluation of Cem was expressed in German.

The latter will now be discussed in more detail with regard to the second hypothesis and sub-hypothesis of this group.

Hypothesis B (related to the third aim of study):

Choices of 'inscribed' (directly expressed) emotion/evaluation are more likely to be preserved in translation than are more indirectly conveyed ones. Similarly, choices related to the expression of bare statements and other monoglossic utterances are more likely to remain unaffected by translation shifts than are those related to heteroglossic ones. By contrast, resources of graduation that up- or down-scale the abovementioned dimensions are likely to be subject to considerable adjustments in translation.

Sub-Hypothesis A:

With regard to specific linguistic resources for the expression of interpersonal meaning, situation-specific nominal compounds with an evaluative component and non-core verbs that have a component of manner infused in their meaning are likely to change in the translation from German into Romance languages.

Tested against the data from our corpus, on the whole, this hypothesis and sub-hypothesis have been confirmed. The results for the expression of inscribed (direct) evaluation will be summarised first. We observed that while, in general, inscribed choices of emotion and evaluation that are not culture-specific are in fact likely to be preserved in translation (see also Munday 2012), their redundant expression in the kinesic code may lead to their omission or replacement by interjections and other, more indirect expressions. One of the reasons for this is that both interjections and similar tokens, and visual clues, may be more effective in conveying affect bursts than are explicit tokens of affect. With regard to visual clues, this seems especially true for emotions such as disgust, for which highly prototypical and conventional bodily representations exist (see above).

Shifts in attitude subcategories principally occurred between the appreciation and judgement subcategories. Compliments about food, for example, were either encoded as positive appreciation (paying compliments to the food as being delicious, and so on) or as judgement (paying compliments to the activities of the person making the food). Another minor shift between attitude subcategories without modification of directness of expression was that between affect and appreciation, as occasionally observed in the corpus. The 'normalisation' of some odd deixis so that the speaker no longer referred to him- or herself by means of 3rd person reference in the Catalan TT, for instance, caused a shift in the expression of 3rd person affect/appreciation in the ST towards affect as a feeling typically originating in the speaker. With reference to word classes,

emotion/evaluation encoded in adjectives (+ copula) in the ST were sometimes rendered by verbs in the translations into Romance languages.

In contrast to inscribed tokens of attitude, interjections as more indirect, symptomatic expressions were more likely to be subject to change in translation. In addition to their complete omission, shifts towards the thematisation of the expressed affect were also observed. In the context of compliment acts, for instance, the affect of surprise and counter-expectation expressed by a speaker before he started paying false compliments has been thematised in the response by the compliment receiver in translation. As in other cases observed in this study, such shifts are likely to occur in places where the linguistic construction of an utterance, together with the preference organisation and turn-taking structure of the sequence, does not yield a clear perspective on the speech act to be conveyed. In those places, translators are likely to draw from meaning that was expressed in the co-text in the ST. Thus, translators may compensate for earlier omissions of affect-expressing interjections by thematising the affect here, or they may add instances of intersemiotic explicitation in which interpersonal and other meanings conveyed in the visuals are verbalised.

As tokens of indirectly expressed attitude, (culture-specific) metaphors are also somewhat prone to undergoing some variation in translation. In addition to the direct explicitation of the attitudinal value, as in the case of interjections, circumscription of the situation-specific meaning, with the preservation of the indirect expression of attitude, is another possibility. In explicitation, the parallel quality that relates the source to the target domain is likely to be spelled out.

We now turn to the above hypothesis regarding instances of engagement, or the supposition that monoglossic utterances are likely to remain stable in translation. In fact, categorical assertions such as those frequently found in Yagmur's speech in *TfA* seem to be relatively stable in this regard.

Arguably, this might be related to the fact that more heteroglossic utterances are often mitigated by choices of graduation that, in general, are subject to alteration. We therefore now consider the latter in more detail.

Even if we were to consider only a few instances, we found a considerable shift in choices of graduation in the TTs in our corpus. This general finding largely corresponds with that of Munday (2012). Tokens of intensified force were the most frequent form of graduation in our corpus. With the exception of force attached to non-core items (see below), such intensified tokens were, however, least subject to shift, and were often intensified in translation to a greater degree. This is not surprising, since such intensified tokens are likely to play a core role in conveying Lena's hyperbolic speech style, and the teenage characters' heightened emotions in general. Moreover, such tokens were important in injecting the teenager's arguments in conflictual settings with a more persuasive force, with the up-grading of attitudes in value constraining the interlocutor's potential to respond. Yagmur's somewhat categorical argumentation position, for example, was conveyed by the combination of monoglossic engagement, inscribed affect and intensified force.

In Catalan, then, in addition to more archetypical forms of realisation such as intensifiers, less common forms of realisation were found (intensification through particles inserted at the beginning of an utterance and exclamations). In the French TT, tokens of intensification were often added after the modified items. In addition, the TTs sometimes opted for choices of force from a different conceptual domain than that in the ST. The French TT, for example, employed resources of graduation as 'extent' and so on.

Tokens of down-graded force and focus were less likely to be preserved in translation. However, this is not to say that these tokens did not play an important role in regulating communication. Instances of down-graded force and focus were, for instance, used in the expression of weakened modal commitment and in the modification of certain speech acts according to principles of politeness. Among the various types of elements expressing weakened modal commitment, modal particles were frequently used in German. However, the Romance languages in our corpus, particularly French, were less prone to the use of these modal elements. In addition, concentration on the informational content of utterances is also likely to lead to the elimination of the somewhat weak tokens of down-graded force and focus. The latter can be considered a useful rhetorical strategy for giving the utterances in question a more factual slant.

In addition, instances of down-graded focus played a particular role in the ST's portrayal of the teenager's manner of speaking. The use of vague language and general extenders is a case in point. Although vague expressions are said to be used in several languages in this way, these items were often not replicated in translation.

Some confirmation for the hypothesis concerning the translation of specific linguistic resources was also obtained from the analysis of our corpus.

Firstly, passages featuring situation-specific nominal compounds in the German ST did appear to have undergone considerable modification when translated into Romance languages. As noted by Munday (2012: 147), most of the variation in translation is likely to occur at points "where the translator is forced to interpret the referent and the form of appraisal without being able to rely on a stock of ready-made translation equivalents [...]". This was the case for this type of compound in our corpus: Even if the item were not a creative one, Romance languages would not be very likely to resort to some kind of ready-made equivalent, since they are not prone to summarising situation-specific meaning in compounds. Moreover, the appraisal form simultaneously conveying attitude and graduation and making reference to an (usually also visually expressed) target of evaluation in one lexical item should have made the translation all the more difficult. Thus, in both the Catalan and the French TTs, the nominal compounds were often reworked into some verbal circumscription of the situation. This restructuring of sequences from a more nominal into a more verbal style may then affect the way in which affect and graduation are expressed in the TTs. Choices of graduation (intensified force and softened focus) may come to (pre)modify other clausal elements, and the attitude subcategory that these elements express (judgement or appreciation) may also shift. In another case, the restructuring affected the directness and the precise word class whereby attitude and graduation were conveyed. The negative appreciation inscribed in the compound parts in the ST was then conveyed by such diverse means as interjections, distancing demonstrative pronouns and exclamations in Catalan, while it was somewhat implicit in French. The ST's inscribed intensified force was rendered by means of exclamation and interjection in Catalan, and by exclamative prosody and repetition of parallel sentence structures in French. On the whole, creative compounds are thus counter-examples to the abovementioned general tendency towards the preservation of instances of inscribed attitude in the TTs.

Similarly, the translation of another specific type of linguistic resources, that of non-core items, into Romance languages seems to go against the grain of another general tendency that emerged from our analysis: Intensified force attached to linguistic items is likely to be preserved in translation.[308] However, in the translation of non-core items (usually non-core verbs) to more neutral ones, nuances of both evaluation and

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[308] It is more likely to be preserved than, for instance, is sharpened or softened focus.

intensified force are lost. The latter substitution may be explained by the distinction between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages: As a satellite-framed language, German is very prone to have "in some sense lexicalised a circumstance of manner by infusing it into the core meaning of a word" (Martin and White 2005: 65). Romance languages, by contrast, are more likely to convey 'manner' by an additional argument attached to the verb (if they convey it at all). Thus, they tend towards the normalisation of the 'manner' component that is likely to lie at the root of evaluation and intensification conveyed by these items in German.

The next hypothesis to consider referred to possible shifts in evaluation as attached to speech acts in translation.

Hypothesis C (related to the third aim of study):

Viewer evaluations made on the basis of the situational adequacy of a character's verbal actions (speech acts) remain, on the whole, stable in translation. What is subject to shift is the precise construction of the speech act, because of shifts in the culture-specific standards and norms against which such evaluations are made.

Our findings largely supported this latter point. In fact, viewer judgements elicited on the basis of such a culture-specific realisation of performative acts were found to remain stable in translation. Therefore, variation in the realisation of speech acts is likely to be related to considerations to provide a target text in which the performative structure is perfectly situationally adequate and idiomatic in the target language. As judgements in general, such judgements of adequacy as elicited in the target audience are made according to certain (culture- and situation-specific) standards. Considerations of positive and negative politeness, for instance the shift towards a more interlocutor-oriented style and the explicit expression of sympathy in the Catalan TT, are proof of this adaptation to standards of politeness. However, the shift towards the frequent use of explicit and hedged performatives in the French TT cannot be explained in this way. Language-specific preferences in the use of performatives in speech acts (not confirmed in this study) and explicitating translation shifts may account for such alterations more accurately. With regard to explicitation in translation, this is often related to the passage from speech to writing and to the translator's efforts to bridge the cultural gap. As far as the latter is concerned, the translators seemed to generally prefer to play it safe and to render meaning in an explicit way to ensure that target audiences are likely to draw the correct inferences. Thus, translations are likely to rely on more explicit and standardised ways of realisation (such as the use of explicit and hedged performatives) than are untranslated texts.

Another topic addressed in the present study was interpersonal texture linked with the creation of non-character-based audience engagement and possible adjustments in translation. The following hypothesis was put forward in this regard:

Hypothesis D (related to the third aim of study):

In the analysis of semiotic choices for the creation of audience engagement through bonding, whether these are used from an in-group or out-group perspective in relation to the respective target audience is important.

Group-specific markedness seems, in fact, to take a central position in inviting the viewer to bond around certain concepts and items. A case in point is allusions to the two opposing cultures, the clash of which is a central topic in *TfA*. Allusions to 'Germanness'/native culture in our corpus have been found to be more likely to be

changed in translation than are those to 'Turkish-Germanness'/immigrant culture because of the shift in the target audience that represents the native culture. This affects the way in which the potential alignment/disalignment of audiences with these notions is likely to take place. However, in the series under discussion, the German setting as shown in the images and the fact that narration is often made from the perspective of the German main character also seems to affect the conception of nativeness as presented in the TTs. A wealth of translation strategies is then used in translation to render and substitute for these references. Note that allusions to Germanness in *TfA* are generally unfavourable and are usually made from the out-group perspective of the Turkish-German family members. Particularly in the French TT, these unfavourable allusions, if they do not carry narrative importance or allude to stereotypes of Germanness, are often simply omitted in translation. In addition, spatial deixis is often adapted (absolute references to Germany are replaced by relative spatial deixis without such a reference). Moreover, when contrasts between Germanness and immigrantness are established in the dialogue, the reference to Germanness may be erased. The slight (and perhaps ironic) notion of blame attached to Germans, who are represented negatively in the ST in a series targeted at German audiences, is somewhat lost in the TTs.

By contrast, when it comes to allusions to 'Turkish-Germanness' or immigrant culture (made both from an in-group and an out-group perspective), these are less subject to change. Thus, not only allusions to the Muslim religion and culture but also allusions to 'Turkishness' are generally carried over to the TTs. The Catalan TT, then, shows some variation in the values and qualities attached to the stereotypical depiction of 'Turkishness' or immigrant culture, which are likely to have been adapted to target-cultural values and are in line with the depiction of Cem in the series. However, the general evaluative nuances attached to the stereotype are not affected by these adaptations.

Another issue addressed in this study was the translation of intertextual references to other discourse types. Such references were identified as potential sources of bonding because they are likely to attract and strike a chord with those viewers who are able to decipher the references. Such references are in some sense also 'marked for group-specificity' because the in-group viewers' ability to understand the reference is likely to vary according to the universality or culture- (or even group-)specificity of references. The translation of culture-specific references (here, references to media people and products) is particularly interesting in this regard. It was found that, when the deciphering of a culture-specific ST reference was too demanding for the target audience, cultural transplantation, that is the substitution by a target-cultural reference serving a similar function, seemed to be the next best option. This appears to be one of the few ways of not depriving the audience of the opportunity to bond around the reference. Another way of preserving some of the bonding potential of intertextual items in translation is strategies linked to the intermedial intervention of the translators in the text (such as intervention through the choice of a hyperonym in the TT).

Another hypothesis and sub-hypothesis suggested in the present study concerned explicitation and implicitation shifts in translation.

Hypothesis E (related to the third aim of study)

In line with the explicitation hypothesis, on the whole, explicitating shifts are likely to outnumber implicitating ones in translation. The preservation of implicitness is, however, paramount in the translation of choices that seek to create common ground and audience engagement through bonding.

Sub-hypothesis A:

'Translation-induced' explicitation shifts, that is those that are not due to different language-specific or language preferential patterns, are likely to point to 'critical points' in the translation of interpersonal texture.

As should have become clear in the course of the present study, explicitating shifts are indeed more frequent than are implicitating ones. This is especially true for the French TT and with regard to speech-act-related items: The translation here features many explicit (and hedged) performatives that are not found in the German ST. Before commenting on the places at which such shifts are likely to occur in more detail, a short digression concerning issues related to the preservation of implicitness is in order. As suggested above with regard to intertextual references, the relationship between implicitness and bonding is a crucial one because the creation of in-groups able to bond around certain items is likely to rely heavily on implicit knowledge. This is why, in cases of highly culture-specific intertextual references, 'cultural transplantation' into the target cultural realm is preferable to less domesticating but more explicitating translation strategies (such as the substitution by means of a hyperonym or the spelling out of attached evaluative nuances).

Vague language is also of crucial importance when the communication of shared knowledge and common ground is at stake. Therefore, it would also be less than profitable to attach a more precise meaning to or even to explicate the ST's vague expressions and formulations, because this would utterly destroy the sense of implicitness vital for the allusion to common ground.

Turning now to the places in which explicitating shifts are most likely to occur, we suggest that these may be considered as one of the 'critical points' (Munday 2012) for the translation of interpersonal texture. Thus, given their crucial function as points of intersection between diegetic and extradiegetic layers of meaning, shifts between audience-oriented interpersonal and other textures are likely to occur at these points. Simultaneously, such points are often points at which verbal and other (mainly visual) modalities meet, as cases of intersemiotic explicitation at these points attest. That is, when the translation of items at these points is somewhat critical (for instance, because there are no obvious equivalents in the TT, the implicatures attached to the items are likely to be difficult for the target audience to understand, or the items and structures in which they occur are ambiguous or far from 'normal'[309]), these are replaced by items that replicate, verbalise and make explicit information from other codes, particularly the visual one. The latter often amounts to the redundant cueing of the eliciting conditions of an evaluation. Clearly, then, it is the multimodal nature of the audio-visual text that is in contrast to other types of translation, such as literary translation, and which is likely to encourage the translator to seek additional information in the images when the substitution of critical items is at stake.

The last hypothesis advanced in the present study was the following:

Hypothesis F (related to the third aim of study)

On the whole, the degree of active intervention in the translated text is greater when dubbing into French (as a major linguistic culture) than it is when dubbing into Catalan

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[309] Examples are when the ST deviates from projected 'normal' or conventional turn-taking structures, or when there are culture-specific differences in the construction of speech acts and preferred responses and so on.

(as a minor linguistic culture). That is, the French translation is likely to be more domesticating than is the Catalan one.

Evidence obtained from our corpus analysis suggests that this hypothesis can also be supported. The French text has been found to be more domesticating with regard to the translation of several linguistic resources. The first is the representation of non-default and non-standard language (snippets of Turkish language, teen talk, colloquial speech and so on). Whereas the Catalan TT occasionally allows for the full presence of non-default and non-standard varieties (for instance, when not replacing snippets of Turkish language and the corresponding German subtitles), the French TT does not. In addition, the French translation is freer when it comes to the use of lexical features (shortened forms and general extenders) from a teen talk register and other items from familiar and colloquial registers (phraseologisms such as fr. *Bienvenue au club* and the like). Similarly, the adjustment of speech acts by means of explicit and hedged performatives as characteristic of the French TT (but of not the Catalan one) points to greater efforts made towards the domestication of the text. Furthermore, when it comes to references to 'Germanness' or national culture, omission or replacement of absolute spatial references by relative ones is a marked domestication strategy in the French TT. Lastly, the tendency towards the 'cultural transplantation' of culture-specific references as one of the most interventive translation strategies (in comparison to other strategies, such as cultural borrowing, calque, transliteration, neutralisation or substitution through a hyperonym, or the addition of information) is more pronounced in the French TT than in the Catalan one.

However, whether the tendency towards the use of more domesticating strategies has to do with the strength of the French linguistic culture (in contrast to Catalan as a minor linguistic culture) remains to be proven in further research.

To recapitulate, one of the central hypotheses of this study has been that interpersonal texture has an important role to play when it comes to introducing communicative forms associated with communicative immediacy into otherwise distant audio-visual communication. Hopefully, it will have become apparent by now that, despite the technological creation of distance, audio-visual communication does not necessarily have to be alienated, impersonal, 'objective', and focused on the mere transmission of information that may be understood by virtually everyone. During the course of the present study, it was instead observed that the audio-visual text under consideration used a variety of different means to engage the audience through the use of interpersonal meaning.

The findings of the study suggest a number of avenues that research into interpersonal texture in audio-visual texts and their translations might pursue. Therefore, despite the highly detailed analysis of the interplay between verbal and other layers of interpersonal meaning in this study, the observations are only preliminary because they are confined to a limited number of selected passages from our corpus. Thus, more in-depth analysis in several regards would be needed.

To begin with, further research on the basis of additional corpora of audio-visual texts and their translations might inform us whether general tendencies, such as the preservation of tokens of inscribed affect or the various difficulties identified regarding the translation of German creative compounds with an attached evaluation, may become a norm in dialogue dubbed into Romance languages.

Furthermore, given that our principal concern here was the engagement of viewers through the judgement of characters, choices from appraisal subcategories other than affect have necessarily received less attention. However, it emerged from the present

study that choices of graduation, for example, are likely to present considerable variation in translation. Thus, it is imperative to not only assess such choices contrastively in their function as tokens that increase or decrease attitude or that signal increased or decreased engagement in the expressed value position. It would also be interesting to assess the cross-linguistically different conceptual construction of such choices, as languages may consider reality in different ways (such as expressing graduation as 'extent', 'frequency' and so forth).

When it comes to choices of engagement, the focus in this study was on conflictual kinds of speech, and mainly on that of adolescents who are likely to formulate their positions and stances in somewhat unmitigated forms. The observations made here with reference to engagement should be expanded to passages in which there is more variation in this regard.

Moreover, certain issues involved in the creation of audience involvement at later stages of audio-visual texts have merely been touched upon here. We abstained from their due consideration because involvement through the simulation of a characters' goals in later stages is not directly linked to the concrete textual realisation in terms of appraisal choices. However, semantic prosodies colouring textual phases in which the character's goals are at stake in a positive or negative manner are likely to play a role in this regard. The issue of semantic prosodies, as well as the significance of appraisal choices in prominent textual positions for the colouring of larger textual phases, should then receive more attention in future studies.

The same is true for the issue of discursive engagement through intertextual references. In this study, it was only possible to scratch the surface of a phenomenon that is likely to play a more vital role for audience engagement in contemporary series and films in which intertextual references to other series or similar abound.

Apart from issues related to explicitation and implicitation, probably one of the most important findings of this study was the close connection between verbal and cinematographic appraisal choices in passages of character subjectivity that is likely to impose greater restrictions on the choices that may be inserted in this position in translation. In the light of this finding, it would certainly be interesting to pursue this line of research further. This could potentially be done by assessing the translation of passages in which evaluation is tied to a character's visual focalisation in different cinematographic texts.

Appraisal theory proved to be a sound basis for the description of interpersonal texture in different codes, such as the linguistic and the cinematographic ones. There is thus good reason to apply and extend the framework to other codes involved in the creation of multimodal discourse in film as well. One modality treated in this study that comes to mind immediately is the kinesic one. First efforts in this direction have been made by Martinec (2004), who created a taxonomy of lexico-grammatical realisations to explore how the kinesic code co-construes experiential meaning together with speech. However, there are many expressions in body language that might not easily be categorised according to the categories proposed by Martinec, and which mainly capture experiential meaning. Another possible candidate for the extension of appraisal theory is the audial and musical code. In our study, we identified one metaphorical sign (that of a stopped audiotape that is likely to signal surprise or counter-expression) that seems to have acquired a more or less stable interpersonal meaning. There will surely be more of such signs, and their distinctive features could possibly be organised into a taxonomy of lexico-grammatical realisations. Clearly, further research is needed here.

Returning to the findings of the present study, it is also imperative to say that the findings of this study cannot necessarily be extrapolated to all kinds of texts. Instead,

appraisal choices and specific combinations of choices (appraisal 'keys') as used in several languages are highly text type- and context-dependent (see also Munday 2012). As already suggested above with regard to a kind of close 'visual-verbal complex' in subjective passages, there are some types of discourse that lend themselves more easily to comparison with the results of this study than do others. For instance, comparisons could include those with 'diary-like' sequences or personal voice-over recounts that are now quite frequently used in (the initial sequences of) TV series, especially in those in which the story is told from the perspective of a (female) adolescent or a woman. The type of discourse construction of an emotionally coloured recount to an absent person is likely to provide a good basis for comparison with similar recurrent introduction scenes in *TfA*. Ideally, the analysis of choices in translation would then involve the same language pairs.

Another specific type of discourse that lends itself to easy comparison is, of course, discourse featuring Turkish-German characters speaking 'Kanak sprak' (as a speech style that has become imprinted in the minds of German viewers through repeated exploitation in the media).[310]

Moreover, a comparison of appraisal choices according to gender (in gender-specific discourse types) would be another route that could be taken by future research. Given the prominence the above mentioned types may also have in literature (it was probably literature from which both 'diary-like' introductions and 'Kanak sprak' speech style evolved), the comparison between realisations in literature and in filmic adaptations (or vice versa) would be another possibility – when there are also translations available for these adaptations.

Another promising avenue that leads in a somewhat different direction would be the assessment of the potentially historically variable status of different appraisal choices. This would, for instance, involve analysis of the diachronic development in the passage from directly encoded affect towards more institutionalised choices of judgement and appreciation across comparable genres and text types. With regard to film texts, a comparison between texts from the infancy of film (silent films) and later ones might prove interesting.

In this study, we also addressed the conveyance and translation of evaluation attached to stereotypical representations. It is certainly not surprising that the sitcom genre seems to perpetuate such patterns of stereotyping rather than to reduce them. In line with the latter, the translations then either use exoticising strategies (that is, the partial conservation of German terms or concepts in the TTs) to conserve some types of stereotyping, or they adapt incomprehensible references to stereotypes by resituating them in their own cultural realm. Both of these strategies somewhat rework the text in line with the expectations of the target public (even exoticism is foreignisation in terms of what the target public expects, Carbonell i Cortés 2003). However, in less conventional genres and texts, stance may also shift towards a more critical treatment of stereotypes in translation. This would involve translation strategies concerned with the reworking of the target public's taken-for-granted expectations, such as the deliberate addition of a gloss to the otherwise untranslated stereotype, which would question the stereotypical representation in itself (Carbonell i Cortés 2003). It would certainly be interesting to examine how appraisal choices, such as tokens of graduation (focus) associated with the expression of prototypicality, are affected by such critical translation strategies.

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[310] The limitation of space, as well as the fact that there are only a few instances of this style in *TfA*, because Cem does not consistently speak in this way during the series, prevented a more lengthy treatment of this style in the present study.

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