Studia Translatorica

herausgegeben von / edited by
Anna Małgorzewicz & Michał Gąska

Studia Translatorica

17

ZWEI DISZIPLINEN – EIN ERKENNTNISRAUM. LINGUISTIK UND TRANSLATIONSWISSENSCHAFT IM DIALOG

TWO DISCIPLINES – ONE SPACE OF ENQUIRY. LINGUISTICS AND TRANSLATION STUDIES IN DIALOGUE

herausgegeben von / edited by
Marco Agnetta, Rossella Resi & Astrid Schmidhofer

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Zwei Disziplinen – ein Erkenntnisraum. Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft im Dialog

ABSTRACT

Two Disciplines – one space of enquiry.
Linguistics and Translation Studies in dialogue

The present volume is dedicated to the interface between linguistics and translation studies. It brings together a series of articles that examine linguistic phenomena through the lenses of both disciplines, demonstrating that such an interdisciplinary perspective makes for rich and multilayered analyses. To this end, the authors draw on translation studies, lexicography, terminology, contrastive linguistics, literary studies and higher education research to examine differences between languages at the levels of *langue* and *parole*. The articles address word formation in different languages and its impact on the search for equivalents in translation; the translation of highly polysemous words and of metaphors; the integration of automation tools into translation processes; the design of audience-specific dictionaries; and pedagogical approaches to literary translation and language learning. The contributions are written versions of selected papers presented at two panels of the Österreichische Linguistiktagung (ÖLT): "New Perspectives on the Relationship between Linguistics and Translation Studies" (2023), convened by Marco Agnetta and Astrid Schmidhofer, and "Linguistics and Translation Studies in Dialogue" (2024), convened by Rossella Resi and Astrid Schmidhofer.

1. Zur Einführung

Das Übersetzen ist – sieht man von bestimmten Formen des intersemiotischen Transfers, z. B. zwischen Bild und Musik, ab – immer ein sprachliches Phänomen;

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seine Erforschung ist somit unweigerlich auf ein Mindestmaß an Kenntnissen zur Struktur und Funktionsweise von Sprachen angewiesen. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, dass der Erwerb von linguistischen Kenntnissen nach wie vor ein grundlegender Aspekt der translationswissenschaftlichen Ausbildung ist, um kognitive Prozesse beim Sprachhandeln und die Beschaffenheit von Kommunikaten zu verstehen und die Manipulation von Texten im Übersetzungsprozess präzise beschreiben zu können.

Viele Vertreter der heutigen Übersetzungswissenschaft erachten jedoch den linguistischen Ansatz, der die Frühphase dieser vergleichsweise jungen Disziplin prägte (vgl. Siever 2010: 46–87), als überholt, weil es in diesem hauptsächlich um eine mechanische Transkodierung aus der einen in die andere Sprache gehen soll (vgl. hierzu auch Malmkjær 2011: 61) und weil hier z. T. scheinbar überkommene Vorstellungen zu Äquivalenz und Invarianz dominieren sollen (vgl. Siever 2010: 36). Bei Siever, der mit seiner historiographischen Untersuchung alte und neue wissenschaftliche Zugänge der Translationswissenschaft seit 1960 beschreibt, bildet der linguistische Ansatz das erste der von ihm beschriebenen Paradigmata (vgl. Siever 2010: 46–87). Hinsichtlich seiner Rede von der „Abfolge der verschiedenen Übersetzungs*theorien*" (ebd.: 27) und der sich ereignenden Paradigmenwechsel (vgl. ebd.: 28) kann – wie bei jeder Untersuchung, die reale Fachgeschichte simplifizierend auf (geisteswissenschaftliche) *turns* zurückführt – leicht der Eindruck entstehen, frühere Forschungsansätze seien heute als obsolet einzustufen.[1] Kann die Linguistik im translatologischen Kontext heute also keine neuen Fragen, Probleme und Aporien mehr aufwerfen?

Entkräftet werden kann eine solche Perspektive durch einen disziplinhistorischen Ansatz, der von der Gleichzeitigkeit legitimer Herangehensweisen an den eigenen Untersuchungsgegenstand ausgeht. Schließlich existiert unabhängig vom ‚Ende' des *linguistic turn* eine bis heute ununterbrochene Serie an Arbeiten in der linguistisch orientierten Übersetzungsforschung. Es ist wahr, dass die Linguistik nicht die einzige Disziplin sein kann, deren Erkenntnisse das inter- und transdisziplinäre Feld der *Translation Studies* befruchten. Gleichzeitig ist es aber auch legitim, auch heute noch die prinzipielle und unverändert bestehende Bedeutung linguistischer Impulse für die translationswissenschaftliche Theoriebildung festzustellen und anzuerkennen, dass für bestimmte Fragestellungen eine translationslinguistische Herangehensweise durchaus als „übersetzungsadäquat" (Siever 2010: 86 in Anlehnung an Stein 1980: 11) bezeichnet werden kann. Angesichts dessen, dass die Linguistik jene geisteswissenschaftlichen *turns*, denen auch die Translationswissenschaft ausgesetzt

1| Selbiges gilt für Sievers Hinweis auf die „*Notwendigkeit einer neuen paradigmatischen Grundlegung* der Übersetzungswissenschaft" (Siever 2010: 27) und seinen dahingehenden Vorschlag einer semiotisch-interpretationstheoretisch fundierten Übersetzungstheorie.

war, genauso rezipiert hat, wäre jegliche künstliche geschaffene Trennung von Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft das Ergebnis einer statischen Auffassung dessen, was beide Disziplinen und ihre Geschichte ausmacht. Dies gilt umso mehr, wenn man bedenkt, dass seit der Jahrtausendwende auch ein *translatorial turn* die geisteswissenschaftliche Produktion bestimmen bzw. bestimmt haben soll (vgl. Bassnett 2003; Bachmann-Medick 2009).

2. Zum heutigen Verhältnis von Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft

Die im vorliegenden Heft zusammengetragenen Beiträge illustrieren, dass die Linguistik für die Translationswissenschaft nach wie vor eine hilfreiche Mutter-, Schwester- oder Co-Disziplin ist. Zugleich machen sie deutlich, dass Translation nicht lediglich einen potenziellen Gegenstand linguistischer Beschreibung oder eine Anwendung linguistischen Wissens darstellt, sondern der linguistischen Forschung ebenso als heuristisches Instrument, empirische Datenquelle und Prüfstein für Hypothesen und Theorien dienen kann. Die wechselseitige Produktivität beider Disziplinen bildet dabei den zentralen Gedanken des Bandes. Das Translat ist die Probe aufs Exempel: Es vermag aufzuzeigen, welche Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede sprachpraktisch so relevant sind, dass sie von einer vermittelnden Person in einem gewissen diskursiven und historischen Kontext berücksichtigt wurden. Umgekehrt ist die Linguistik für die Translationswissenschaft nicht nur Lieferant sprach- und textbezogener Termini, sondern auch ein Fundus an anwendbaren Forschungsmethoden und einzel- und übereinzelsprachlichen Modellen jedweder Natur, welche seit jeher die notwendige Basis für eine wissenschaftliche Evaluierung von Übersetzungsleistungen darstellen. Aus diesem Grund ist linguistisches Wissen als Hintergrundwissen auch aus dem heutigen Übersetzungsunterricht nicht wegzudenken und gewinnt gerade durch fortschreitende Automatisierungsprozesse und neu definierte und zu definierende Rollen von Humanübersetzern wieder an Bedeutung.

Die Translationswissenschaft ist ein eigenständiges Untersuchungsgebiet, dessen Fragestellungen und die von ihr angewandten Methoden nicht vollständig auch in den Bereich der (kontrastiven) Linguistik fallen. Hierauf weist in jüngerer Zeit z. B. Sinner (2024) hin, für den Linguisten zuweilen als Laientranslatologen zu betrachten sind. Und doch sind die Untersuchungsgebiete von Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft wesensverwandt, weswegen es sich nur als vorteilhaft erweisen könnte, die Diskurse in der jeweils anderen Disziplin aktiv mitzurezipieren. Der Blick auf die jeweils andere Disziplin erweitert den eigenen Gegenstand, das eigene methodische Inventar und bringt Erkenntnisse hervor, die für beide Forschungsbereiche von Nutzen sind. Dann

bilden Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft einen gemeinsamen Erkenntnisraum, in dem sprachliche Strukturen, kommunikative Praktiken und translatorische Prozesse aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven untersucht werden.

Seit der Herausbildung der modernen Translationsforschung Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts stellt sich ergänzend hierzu die Frage, ob diese nicht vielmehr in der Semiotik, also der allgemeinen Zeichenlehre, besser verortet ist (als bspw. in der Linguistik) – eine These, die Siever mit der Propagierung eines interpretationstheoretisch-semiotischen Paradigmas, in das er seine Ausführungen münden lässt, zu befürworten scheint. Dies resultiert aus der Beobachtung, dass die auf bereits *gestalteten* Kommunikaten basierende Kommunikation mit einer bestimmten Zielgruppe auf Ausdrucksmittel rekurriert, die auch nonverbaler Natur sind. Semiotische Modelle des Übersetzens, die Nonverbalia explizit berücksichtigen, haben bekanntlich Jakobson (1959/1974, vgl. hierzu auch Steiner 1975/2014: 279–281) und Gottlieb (2005) vorgelegt.

Auch das Verhältnis zwischen Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft lässt sich unter semiotischen Gesichtspunkten beschreiben. Aufbauend auf der von Ferdinand de Saussure eingeführten Unterscheidung zwischen *langue* und *parole* sowie ihrer späteren Erweiterung um den Begriff der *Norm* (vgl. Coseriu 1970) können beide Disziplinen auf diesen Ebenen sprachlicher Beschreibung miteinander in Beziehung gesetzt werden. Auf der *langue*-Ebene interessieren ganze Zeichensysteme. Seitens der Linguistik werden vornehmlich Einzelsprachen systematisch beschrieben, wobei schon Ferdinand de Saussure darauf aufmerksam machte, dass eine Kenntnis möglichst vieler Sprachen für den Linguisten unabdingbar ist:

> […] [428]ce qui nous est donné, ce sont les langues. [429]Le linguiste est obligé d'en connaître le plus grand nombre possible, pour tirer de leur observation et de leur comparaison ce qu'il y a d'universel en elles (Saussure 1916/2013: 96).

> […] [428]Was uns gegeben ist, das sind die Sprachen. [429]Der Linguist ist verpflichtet, eine möglichst große Zahl von ihnen zu kennen, damit er aus ihrer Betrachtung und ihrem Vergleich erschließen kann, was sie an Universellem enthalten (Übers. v. Peter Wunderli, ebd.: 97).

Nur auf dem Wege des Vergleichs erhält der Linguist die notwendige Kenntnis darüber, was Sprache im Allgemeinen zu leisten vermag und was die Einzelsprachen zu (mehr oder weniger) geschlossenen Systemen macht. Dass Einzelsprachen sich u. U. erheblich voneinander unterscheiden, ist hier keine laienlinguistische Binsenweisheit, sondern methodisches Instrument zur Kartierung sämtlicher sprachlicher Dimensionen und ihres Stellenwerts innerhalb einer Sprachgemeinschaft. Programmatisch ist dieser methodische Zugang für die kontrastive Linguistik, in der zwei oder mehrere Sprachsysteme einander gegenübergestellt und u. U. bis ins kleinste Detail miteinander verglichen

werden. Dass aber die Beschreibung von Sprachsystemen ohne den Verweis auf (paradigmatische und damit normkonforme) Beispiele undenkbar ist, beweist die tatsächliche Verschränktheit der von Saussure unterschiedenen Dimensionen von *langue* und *parole* und ist Grund für die Ambivalenz, die frühen linguo-semiotischen Grundlegungen der Übersetzungstheorie – allen voran etwa der *stylistique comparée* (vgl. Malblanc 1944; Vinay/ Darbelnet 1958/1968) – eigen ist (vgl. hierzu Agnetta 2020: 3f.). In solchen Theorien von meistens präskriptiver Stoßrichtung werden Übersetzungslösungen von übereinzeltextlicher Gültigkeit gesucht. Gerade hier eröffnet Translation einen besonderen Erkenntnisgewinn, weil sich sprachliche Kategorien erst im Vergleich verschiedener Sprachsysteme präzise bestimmen lassen. Übersetzungsäquivalente machen sichtbar, welche Ausdrucksmittel in unterschiedlichen Sprachen vergleichbare Funktionen übernehmen und wo sich kategoriale Unterschiede zeigen. So untersucht ten Hacken (in diesem Heft) die Komposition als sprachübergreifendes Wortbildungsverfahren, während Millán Vidal und Schmidhofer die funktionale Vielfalt des deutschen Modalverbs *sollen* zum Ausgangspunkt einer Evaluation maschineller Übersetzungssysteme machen. Clasmeier und Hennecke analysieren hingegen vor dem Hintergrund unterschiedlicher systembedingt gegebener Strategien die Übersetzung komplexer Nominalkonstruktionen. In diesen Fällen dient Translation dazu, linguistische Kategorien sprachvergleichend zu überprüfen und zu schärfen.

Auf der *Norm*-Ebene untersucht werden all jene sprachlichen Gesetze, Gebote und Verbote, die in einer bestimmten Sprachgemeinschaft, die nicht zwangsläufig mit einer Nationalkultur in eins zu setzen ist, kursieren und als angemessen gelten. Hierzu zählen grammatikalische und stilistische Regeln genauso wie Textsorten- und Genrekonventionen. Befasst wird sich mit diesen sprach- und kulturspezifischen Regularitäten u. a. im Rahmen einer „Kontrastiven Textologie", wie sie von Pöckl (1999) skizziert wird. Diese Ebene bildet einen zentralen Berührungspunkt zwischen Linguistik und professioneller Übersetzungspraxis, da Übersetzer regelmäßig zwischen unterschiedlichen Normsystemen vermitteln müssen und diese – wie z. B. in ‚kreativeren' Formen des Übersetzens – zuweilen auch ausreizen. Heinisch und Resi zeigen dies am Beispiel terminologischer Ressourcen und ihrer Integration in KI-gestützte Übersetzungsprozesse, während Rebosio anhand elektronischer Wörterbücher verdeutlicht, wie sprachliche und visuelle Wissensrepräsentationen gemeinsam zur Kodifizierung und Vermittlung lexikalischer Bedeutung beitragen.

Auf der *parole*-Ebene schließlich rücken konkrete kommunikative Ereignisse und individuelle Sprachverwendung in den Mittelpunkt. Übersetzen und Dolmetschen erscheinen hier als sprachliches Handeln unter spezifischen situativen Bedingungen. Geisl analysiert die Behandlung politischer Metaphern im Simultandolmetschen und zeigt, wie Dolmetscher unter Zeitdruck zwischen

semantischer Präzision, rhetorischer Wirkung und kommunikativer Funktion abwägen. Kubaszczyk untersucht literarische Übersetzungen als Rekonstruktion individueller Wahrnehmungs- und Sinnbildungsprozesse, während Seidl den Erwerb kritischer Sprachbewusstheit bereits im translationsorientierten Fremdsprachenunterricht verortet. Auf dieser Ebene tritt besonders deutlich hervor, dass translatorisches Handeln nicht allein auf der Anwendung sprachlicher Regeln beruht, sondern stets interpretative, kommunikative und situationsgebundene Entscheidungen voraussetzt.

3. Zum Band

Die hier zusammengeführten Texte stellen die verschriftlichten Fassungen von ausgewählten Redebeiträgen zu zwei Sektionen der Österreichischen Linguistiktagung (ÖLT) 2023 („Neue Perspektiven auf das Verhältnis von Sprach- und Translationswissenschaft", Leitung: Marco Agnetta und Astrid Schmidhofer) und 2024 („Linguistics and Translation Studies in Dialogue", Leitung: Rossella Resi und Astrid Schmidhofer) dar.

Den Themenband eröffnet **Pius ten Hacken** (Universität Innsbruck) mit seinem Beitrag „Translation as a tool in the cross-linguistic investigation of compounding". Der Autor sieht die Betrachtung gängiger Übersetzungsäquivalente – wie sie als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden können bzw. in bilingualen Wörterbüchern stehen – als valides methodisches Instrument für die sprachvergleichende Erforschung des Wortbildungsverfahrens der Komposition an. Im Mittelpunkt seiner korpusgestützten Untersuchung stehen nominale Komposita im Englischen, Deutschen und Französischen. Ten Hacken beobachtet, dass es keine allgemeingültigen sprachübergreifenden Richtlinien zur Definition des Wortbildungsverfahrens gibt. Schließlich würden im Deutschen und im Englischen z. B. Nominalkomposita (N+N) und im Französischen in den gleichen Kontexten präpositionale Formen, also etwa Mehrwortwendungen mit den Präpositionen *de*, *à* oder *sur* bevorzugt werden. Er macht hierdurch auf den für diesen Band relevanten Umstand aufmerksam, dass durchaus relevante Fragen zur Definition und Beschreibung linguistischer und translatologischer Phänomene überhaupt erst in einem kontrastlinguistischen Kontext aufgeworfen werden. Die Komposition ist dem Autor zufolge ein „general phenomenon"; gewisse Eigenheiten dieses Phänomens besitzen sicher eine „cross-linguistic validity", und diese gelte es anhand von Übersetzungen zu rekonstruieren. Eine systematische Gegenüberstellung mehrerer Sprachen ermöglicht es also überhaupt erst, diejenigen Eigenschaften zu identifizieren, die für die Komposition sprachübergreifend als konstitutiv erachtet werden können. Hierbei dient die Sammlung prototypischer, d. h. sprachsystembedingt nächstliegender Übersetzungen von Komposita bzw. – umgekehrt – eine Menge

zielsprachlicher Komposita als interlinguale Allonyme für ausgangssprachliche (Nicht-)Komposita als heuristische Aufhängung zur Entwicklung einer übereinzelsprachlich validen und validierbaren Theorie des hier interessierenden Wortbildungsverfahrens.

In ihrem Beitrag „Semantic simplification and structural interference: Complex nominal constructions in Polish original and Czech and French translated texts" beschäftigen sich **Christina Clasmeier** (Universität Münster) und **Inga Hennecke** (Universität Tübingen) sprachkontrastiv mit komplexen Nominalkonstruktionen („complex nominal constructions", CNC) im ersten Kapitel eines polnischen Originaltexts (Andrzej Sapkowski: *Krew elfów*, 1994) sowie seiner tschechischen (Stanislav Komárek: *Krev elfů*, 1995) und französischen Übersetzung (Lydia Waleryszak: *Le sang des elfes*, 2008). Die Autorinnen gehen demnach von tatsächlichen (und nicht von punktuellen, apriorisch vorausgesetzten) Übersetzungen aus. Insbesondere wird folgenden Fragen nachgegangen, die sich aus der translatologischen Universalienforschung ergeben: Stimmt es, dass Übersetzungen einen Hang zur semantischen Simplifizierung aufweisen? Weisen Zieltexte aufgrund der Präsenz struktureller Interferenzen augenfällige Spuren ihres Übersetzungscharakters auf? Komplexe Nominalkonstruktionen (n = 275) eigneten sich Clasmeier und Hennecke zufolge zur Beantwortung beider Fragen. Hierbei können die Antworten für unterschiedliche Sprachen verschieden ausfallen – sofern man die beobachteten Verteilungen im analysierten Korpus als repräsentativ oder zumindest als Indiz für entsprechende sprachliche Präferenzen betrachtet. Der Beitrag zeigt, dass sowohl Vereinfachung als auch Interferenz keine sprachübergreifend einheitlichen Übersetzungsphänomene darstellen, sondern wesentlich von den typologischen Beziehungen zwischen den beteiligten Sprachen beeinflusst werden. Auch hier kann der sprachübergreifende Ansatz zur Bestätigung oder – wahrscheinlich interessanter – zur Relativierung allzu pauschaler Theoreme über die Universalität bestimmter Tendenzen führen. Gleichzeitig verdeutlicht die Studie den Erkenntnisgewinn einer korpusgestützten Verbindung von kontrastiver Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft. Übersetzungen werden als empirische Datengrundlage verstanden, anhand derer sich sprachstrukturelle Präferenzen, Übersetzungsstrategien und sprachvergleichende Generalisierungen gleichermaßen untersuchen lassen.

Auch für **Jesús Millán Vidal** und **Astrid Schmidhofer** (Universität Innsbruck) bietet die (funktionale) Linguistik „Grundwerkzeuge für die Beschreibung und Vergleichbarkeit der analysierten sprachlichen Phänomene über Sprachgrenzen hinweg". In ihrem Beitrag „Die Übersetzung des deutschen Modalverbs *sollen* ins Spanische mit generativer KI und MT" rücken die Autoren in den Fokus, dass Mensch und Maschine unterschiedliche Wissensbestände zu Sprachsystemen, Sprachnormen und Sprachgebrauch aufweisen und

diese beim ‚Übersetzen' verschiedentlich mobilisieren. Als Beispiel untersuchen sie die Übersetzung des deutschen Modalverbs *sollen* ins Spanische durch maschinelle Übersetzungssysteme (Google Translate und DeepL) sowie generative KI (ChatGPT und Gemini). Ausgangspunkt ist die besondere semantische Komplexität des Modalverbs, mit dem je nach Kontext sehr unterschiedliche propositionale Einstellungen – etwa Berichten, Glauben oder Wollen – verbunden sind und das deshalb vom Standpunkt der Übersetzung(-swissenschaft) als anspruchsvolle Einheit gilt. Die Kenntnisse zum Feld der Modalität und die linguistische Standortbestimmung des Modalverbs *sollen* werden als Folie für eine Bewertung von Übersetzungslösungen betrachtet. Ziel dieser Studie ist es zu überprüfen, inwieweit heutige MT- und KI-Systeme diese funktionale Vielfalt angemessen erfassen und wiedergeben können. Hierzu wurden deutsch-spanische Beispiele aus dem Parallelkorpus PaGeS verwendet. Die Leistungsfähigkeit von MT- und KI-Systemen lässt sich nun u. a. daran ablesen, ob sie nicht nur die stark konventionalisierten, sondern auch die semantisch komplexeren und pragmatisch stärker kontextabhängigen Funktionen des Modalverbs erkennen und entsprechende Wendungen in der Zielsprache anbieten. Während die ersten beiden Beiträge Übersetzung als Erkenntnisinstrument für linguistische Fragestellungen verstehen, untersucht dieser Beitrag, wie gut aktuelle MT- und KI-Systeme ein besonders komplexes translationsrelevantes Phänomen der Lexikogrammatik bewältigen. Damit verbindet er klassische linguistisch orientierte Übersetzungswissenschaft mit aktueller KI-Forschung.

Barbara Heinisch richtet in ihrem Beitrag „Leveraging large language models in lexicography, terminology and specialized translation" den Blick auf die professionelle Praxis, die gegenwärtig durch die Verfügbarkeit von KI-Systemen umwälzende Veränderungen durchläuft. Im Mittelpunkt steht nicht die Frage, ob Large Language Models (LLMs) ‚übersetzen' können, sondern wie die in Sprachberufen Tätigen LLMs sinnvoll, verantwortungsvoll und nachhaltig in ihre Arbeitsprozesse integriert werden können. Die Autorin untersucht die Potenziale großer Sprachmodelle (LLMs) für drei eng miteinander verbundene Arbeitsfelder: Lexikographie, Terminologiearbeit und Fachübersetzung. Ausgangspunkt ist die Beobachtung, dass die systematische Arbeit mit separaten sprachlichen Einheiten eine wesentliche Voraussetzung für eine präzise Fachkommunikation über Landes- und Kulturgrenzen hinweg darstellt. Ziel des Beitrags ist es, einen systematischen Überblick darüber zu geben, wie LLMs die Arbeitsprozesse in diesen Bereichen unterstützen können, welche Grenzen bestehen und welche ethischen Fragen sich daraus ergeben. Kernelemente einer erfolgreichen Zusammenarbeit zwischen Mensch und Maschine sind hierbei eine professionelle Gestaltung der zu verwendenden Prompts und die lückenlose Revision des maschinellen Outputs durch den (Fach-)Übersetzer. Ein eigenständiger Schwerpunkt des Beitrags liegt zudem auf den ethischen

Dimensionen des Einsatzes von LLMs. Heinisch diskutiert ökologische Nachhaltigkeit, hohen Energie- und Ressourcenverbrauch, Verzerrungen in Trainingsdaten, mangelnde Transparenz, Fragen des Urheberrechts sowie mögliche Auswirkungen auf sprachliche Vielfalt und die Zukunft sprachbezogener Berufe. Die Autorin plädiert dafür, den Einsatz von LLMs stets kritisch abzuwägen und gegebenenfalls kleinere Sprachmodelle oder klassische Werkzeuge einzusetzen, wenn diese für eine Aufgabe geeigneter oder ressourcenschonender sind. Die Zukunft von Sprachberufen liegt daher weniger in der Ablösung durch KI als in einer reflektierten Kombination etablierter Methoden mit neuen KI-gestützten Werkzeugen.

Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass die linguistische Analyse fachsprachlicher Domänen einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der Terminologiewissenschaft darstellt, widmet sich auch **Rossella Resi** (Universität Padua) in ihrem Aufsatz „Terminology Work in Evolving Translation Workflows" der Interdependenz besagter Bereiche. Die Autorin zeichnet die Affinität der in diesem Feld Arbeitenden für die technische Optimierung von Terminologiesystemen und deren Verfügbarkeit im Rahmen von (notwendigerweise) computergestützten Übersetzungsprozessen nach. Ausgangspunkt ist die Feststellung, dass Terminologiearbeit seit jeher eng mit technologischen Entwicklungen verbunden ist. Mit dem Übergang von regelbasierten Systemen über CAT-Tools und neuronale maschinelle Übersetzung bis hin zu großen Sprachmodellen verändert sich jedoch nicht nur die technische Umsetzung, sondern auch und vor allem die Rolle der Terminologie innerhalb des Übersetzungsprozesses grundlegend: Viele CAT-Tools reduzieren die Terminologie weiterhin auf einfache Termlisten und verzichten weitgehend auf die Einbindung konzeptueller Beziehungen oder umfangreicher Metadaten. Sie wird überwiegend als Instrument zur Vor- oder Nachbearbeitung verstanden und nur eingeschränkt in den eigentlichen Übersetzungsvorgang integriert. Mit der Integration neuronaler maschineller Übersetzung in CAT-Tools verschiebt sich die Terminologiearbeit zwar näher an den Übersetzungsprozess heran, bleibt jedoch überwiegend reaktiv. Den eigentlichen Innovationsschub sieht Resi im Einsatz großer Sprachmodelle. Im Unterschied zu klassischen NMT-Systemen können LLMs Terminologie flexibel über Prompts, Systemanweisungen, In-Context-Learning oder agentenbasierte Verfahren berücksichtigen. Terminologie wird größtenteils nicht mehr nachträglich überprüft, sondern beeinflusst die Übersetzung bereits während ihrer Entstehung. Sie ist zu einem integralen Bestandteil KI-gestützter Übersetzungsprozesse geworden. Resi spricht sich daher für eine grundlegende Neuausrichtung zukünftiger Übersetzungsumgebungen aus: Bewährte Funktionen klassischer CAT-Tools – etwa Translation Memories, Qualitätskontrolle oder Dokumentverwaltung – sollen mit vollständig integrierten Terminologiemanagementsystemen verbunden werden. Terminologische Metadaten sollen

nicht mehr nur als Hilfsmittel dienen, sondern als zentrale Wissensquelle die Ausgabe großer Sprachmodelle aktiv steuern. Damit gewinnt linguistisches und terminologisches Wissen trotz zunehmender Automatisierung wieder eine zentrale Bedeutung für die Entwicklung moderner Übersetzungstechnologien.

Laura Rebosio (Universität Innsbruck) rückt in ihrem Beitrag „The presentation of word meaning through ostensive aids in (electronic) dictionaries" die lexikographische Wissensrepräsentation selbst in den Fokus. Ausgangspunkt ist die Frage, wie elektronische Wörterbücher durch visuelle Elemente ergänzt werden können, um Bedeutungen präziser zu vermitteln sowie das Fremdsprachenlernen und translatorische Entscheidungsprozesse zu unterstützen. Hiermit erweitert die Autorin die bisherigen linguistischen Ansätze um eine allgemeine semiotische Herangehensweise. Sie untersucht den Einsatz sogenannter *ostensive aids* – also visueller Hilfsmittel wie Illustrationen, Photographien, Diagramme, Animationen oder Videos – in elektronischen (Lerner-)Wörterbüchern. Rebosio argumentiert, dass rein sprachliche Definitionen in vielen Fällen nicht ausreichen, um Bedeutungsunterschiede vollständig zu erfassen. Gerade als Hilfsmittel im Übersetzungsprozess können visuelle Informationen entscheidend dazu beitragen, semantische Unterschiede zwischen den Sprachen sichtbar zu machen und die Auswahl der passenden zielsprachlichen Wendung zu erleichtern. Rebosio entwickelt eine Typologie ostentativer Hilfsmittel. Sie unterscheidet unter anderem Photographien, Zeichnungen, Diagramme, taxonomische Darstellungen, semantische Felder, Szenenbilder, Animationen, GIFs und Videos und diskutiert für jede Darstellungsform typische Einsatzbereiche, Vor- und Nachteile. Ziel ist u. a. die Entwicklung eines systematischen Kriterienkatalogs für den Einsatz visueller Hilfsmittel. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet sie dem phraseologischen PAD-Modell (*Phrase-based Active Dictionary*). Im Gegensatz zu traditionellen Wörterbüchern, die einzelne Lexeme und ihre Bedeutungen beschreiben, versteht PAD typische Gebrauchsmuster als eigentliche lexikalische Einheiten. Dadurch lassen sich visuelle Informationen wesentlich präziser an konkrete Verwendungskontexte koppeln. Rebosios Artikel verdeutlicht damit, dass elektronische Wörterbücher sich von textzentrierten Nachschlagewerken zu multimodalen Wissenssystemen entwickeln, die sprachliche, visuelle und kulturelle Informationen miteinander verbinden und dadurch sowohl Übersetzungsprozesse als auch den Fremdsprachenerwerb unterstützen.

Die inhärente Bildlichkeit von Sprache nimmt **Christiane Geisl** in ihrem Aufsatz „Metaphors we get infected by. Political metaphors in simultaneous interpreting: A German-Spanish corpus analysis" als Ausgangspunkt. Die Autorin untersucht die Prozesse rund um das Dolmetschen politischer Metaphern und verbindet kognitive Metapherntheorie mit Methoden der Korpusanalyse.

Im Vordergrund steht die Frage, wie die unter erheblichem zeitlichem und kognitivem Druck arbeitenden Simultandolmetscher mit diesem sprachlich-konzeptuellen Element umgehen. Untersucht werden hierzu politische Reden während der COVID-19-Pandemie, in denen Metaphern als Träger von Bewertungen, Emotionen und ideologischen Rahmungen fungieren. Untersucht wird, ob Simultandolmetscher die kommunikativen Funktionen dieser Metaphern in der Zielsprache erhalten können. Geisl unterscheidet fünf Dolmetschstrategien: Beibehaltung, Auslassung, Demetaphorisierung, Explizitierung und Intensivierung. Ergänzend bewertet sie, ob die kommunikative Funktion der Metapher vollständig, teilweise oder gar nicht erhalten bleibt. Geisl widerspricht der in der Dolmetschforschung verbreiteten Annahme, Metaphern seien grundsätzlich ungeeignet für das Simultandolmetschen; sie zeigt in ihrem Beitrag vielmehr auf, dass Dolmetscher trotz erheblicher Transferschwierigkeiten metaphorische Strukturen keineswegs systematisch vermeiden, sondern sie – soweit es die Verarbeitungssituation erlaubt – bewusst zu erhalten versuchen. Daher plädiert die Autorin dafür, metaphorische Kompetenz stärker in die Dolmetscherausbildung zu integrieren. Darüber hinaus schlägt sie vor, künftige Studien mit Interviews, Lautdenkprotokollen oder experimentellen Designs zu kombinieren, um die kognitiven Entscheidungsprozesse der Dolmetscher unmittelbar untersuchen zu können.

Die abschließenden zwei Beiträge zur Sprach- und Translationsdidaktik vertreten einen unmittelbar angewandten Bereich der linguistisch orientierten Translationsforschung. In ihrem Beitrag „‚Stellen wir uns vor …' – zur literarischen Übersetzung im Lichte des Erbes von Roman Ingarden: Implikationen für den Übersetzungsunterricht" entwickelt **Joanna Kubaszczyk** (Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Poznań) auf der Grundlage von Roman Ingardens Phänomenologie ein Modell, das theoretische Reflexion unmittelbar mit der Übersetzungsdidaktik verbindet. Ausgangspunkt des Beitrags ist die Frage, unter welchen Bedingungen sprachliche Kommunikation bewirken kann, dass Rezipienten nicht nur denselben begrifflichen Inhalt verstehen, sondern auch dieselben Vorstellungen, Empfindungen und Bedeutungsdimensionen aktivieren. Kubaszczyk greift hierfür auf Roman Ingardens Übersetzungstheorie zurück und systematisiert dessen Überlegungen zur literarischen Übersetzung für die heutige Translationswissenschaft. Ziel des Beitrags ist es, die Relevanz von Ingardens phänomenologischer Perspektive aufzuzeigen und daraus konkrete Konsequenzen für den Übersetzungsunterricht abzuleiten. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit widmet sie dabei Ingardens Sprachfunktionsmodell. Sie zeigt, dass Ausdrucksfunktion, emotionale Einwirkungsfunktion und imaginative Darstellung eng mit der lautlichen Gestalt sprachlicher Zeichen verbunden sind. Da jede Übersetzung zwangsläufig die Lautgestalt verändert, können diese Funktionen nie vollständig unverändert erhalten bleiben. Daraus ergibt

sich für literarische Übersetzungen die besondere Herausforderung, nicht nur semantische Äquivalenz, sondern möglichst ähnliche ästhetische und emotionale Wirkungen anzustreben. Im Fokus der Analyse stehen hierbei Übersetzungen von Gedichten Jan Twardowskis und Stanisław Młodożeniecs durch Karl Dedecius. Dabei zeigt sie, wie einzelne lexikalische Entscheidungen nicht nur Bedeutungen verändern, sondern auch Lautsymbolik, haptische Vorstellungen oder emotionale Wirkungen abschwächen können. Kubaszczyks Ziel ist es, eine phänomenologische Unterrichtsmethode zu entwickeln, die Studierende systematisch für die imaginative Dimension literarischer Texte sensibilisieren soll. Kernstück ist eine mehrstufige Perspektivierungsübung, bei der die Studierenden zunächst ihre eigenen Wahrnehmungen, Vorstellungen und Emotionen beim Lesen reflektieren, anschließend die Perspektive der literarischen Figur übernehmen, danach die sprachlichen Mittel identifizieren, welche diese Vorstellungen hervorrufen, und schließlich zwischen textgesteuerten und subjektiv ergänzten Bedeutungen unterscheiden. Ziel dieser Übung ist es, Übersetzungsentscheidungen stärker auf bewusste Wahrnehmungs- und Verstehensprozesse zu gründen.

Im letzten Beitrag mit dem Titel „Zur Bedeutung kritischer Sprachbewusstheit in der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre“ fragt **Eva Seidl** (Universität Graz) danach, wie sprachwissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse und translationswissenschaftliche Ziele bereits in der universitären Sprachlehre zusammengeführt werden können. Die Autorin argumentiert dafür, dass bereits in den ersten Semestern eines Translationsstudiums eine spezifische Form sprachlicher Reflexionskompetenz entwickelt werden sollte. Ausgangspunkt ist die Beobachtung, dass sich die Translationswissenschaft zwar seit den 1980er Jahren von der Sprachwissenschaft emanzipiert hat, die Rolle der Sprachlehre innerhalb der Übersetzerausbildung dadurch jedoch lange Zeit aus dem wissenschaftlichen Fokus geraten ist. Vor diesem Hintergrund plädiert die Autorin für eine stärkere theoretische Fundierung der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre. Zentral ist dabei das Konzept der kritischen Sprachbewusstheit (*Critical Language Awareness*, CLA). Sprachunterricht soll sich nicht auf den Erwerb sprachlicher Strukturen beschränken, sondern Studierende dazu befähigen, Sprache als gesellschaftliches, kulturelles und machtbezogenes Phänomen zu reflektieren. Für angehende Übersetzer und Dolmetscher bedeutet dies, Sprache nicht nur korrekt zu verwenden, sondern ihre Funktionsweise, ihre Veränderbarkeit und ihre Rolle in kommunikativen Aushandlungsprozessen bewusst wahrzunehmen. Kritische Sprachbewusstheit wird damit zu einer wesentlichen Grundlage professioneller translatorischer Handlungskompetenz. Zur theoretischen Fundierung verbindet Seidl den CLA-Ansatz mit Konzepten des Translanguaging. Aus dieser Perspektive erscheinen Sprachen nicht als starre, voneinander getrennte Systeme, sondern als dynamische

Ressourcen, die Sprecher kreativ und situationsabhängig einsetzen. Sprachlernende sind demnach nicht bloße Anwender sprachlicher Normen, sondern tragen selbst aktiv zur Weiterentwicklung von Sprache bei. Diese Sichtweise stärkt zugleich die Agency zukünftiger Translatoren, die Erst- und Zweitsprache(n) nicht lediglich reproduzieren, sondern bewusst in und mit ihnen leben und mit dieser besonderen Kompetenz täglich kommunikative Prozesse aktiv mitgestalten. Wie diese Kompetenz erworben und ausgebaut werden kann, illustriert die Autorin anhand verschiedener Beispiele aus der universitären Lehre.

4. Zusammenfassende Diskussion

Die vorgestellten Beiträge zeigen Folgendes: Die Nähe von Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft manifestiert sich zunächst in den sprachlichen Phänomenen, denen beide Disziplinen ihre Aufmerksamkeit widmen. Untersucht werden vielfach dieselben linguistischen Einheiten, deren Beschreibung jedoch unterschiedlichen Erkenntnisinteressen dient. Gemeinsam ist ihnen, dass ihre Analyse eine präzise Bestimmung ihrer Stellung im Satz- und Textgefüge sowie ihrer syntaktischen, semantischen und pragmatischen Eigenschaften voraussetzt. Gerade diese semiotischen Größen fungieren im Sprachvergleich und im Übersetzungsprozess als *tertium comparationis*. Dies gilt etwa für die Untersuchung von Komposita (ten Hacken), komplexen Nominalkonstruktionen (Clasmeier/Hennecke), Modalverben (Schmidhofer/Millán Vidal) oder Metaphern (Geisl). Während die Linguistik diese Phänomene hinsichtlich ihrer systematischen Eigenschaften beschreibt, untersucht die Translationswissenschaft, wie sie sich unter den Bedingungen interlingualer Kommunikation übertragen, verändern oder funktional äquivalent realisieren lassen.

Ebenso eng überschneiden sich die methodischen Zugänge beider Disziplinen. Korpuslinguistische Verfahren bilden heute sowohl in der Linguistik als auch in der empirischen Übersetzungsforschung einen zentralen methodischen Zugang. (Große) Parallelkorpora ermöglichen nicht nur fundierte Aussagen über Sprachsysteme und Sprachgebrauch, sondern zugleich die Analyse translatorischer Entscheidungen und Übersetzungsstrategien. Hinzu kommen klassische lexikographische Ressourcen wie Wörterbücher und andere Nachschlagewerke, die Aussagen über Sprachsystem (*langue*), Norm und tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauch (*parole*) miteinander verbinden. Wie der Beitrag von Rebosio zeigt, beschränkt sich diese Wissensrepräsentation längst nicht mehr auf sprachliche Zeichen, sondern schließt zunehmend auch piktoriale und andere multimodale Elemente ein.

In ihren Aufsätzen weisen ten Hacken, Heinisch, Resi und Rebosio zudem darauf hin, dass beide Disziplinen gewinnbringend mit bestimmten Hilfsmitteln

wie Wörterbüchern und anderen lexikographischen Ressourcen, mit Parallel- und Referenzkorpora, mit literarischen Texten und ihren Übersetzungen sowie mit authentischen Dokumenten translatorischer Arbeitsprozesse arbeiten. Gleichzeitig erweitern neuere Forschungsrichtungen dieses Spektrum um bislang weniger beachtete Datenquellen, etwa Unterrichtssituationen der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre (Seidl), digitale Terminologieressourcen und Dokumente computergestützter Übersetzungsprozesse (Heinisch, Resi). Gerade diese Vielfalt gemeinsamer Untersuchungsgegenstände macht deutlich, dass Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft vielfach auf denselben empirischen Grundlagen aufbauen und diese aus unterschiedlichen wissenschaftlichen Perspektiven erschließen.

Obwohl die Linguistik seit den Anfängen der modernen Translationswissenschaft zu deren wichtigsten Bezugsdisziplinen zählt, unterlag ihre Bedeutung im Fach durchaus Konjunkturen. Während sie zeitweise hinter kulturwissenschaftlichen, soziologischen oder kognitionswissenschaftlichen Ansätzen zurücktrat, scheint sich gegenwärtig erneut eine stärkere Annäherung abzuzeichnen. Millán Vidal und Schmidhofer vermuten, dass insbesondere die rasanten Entwicklungen im Bereich der neuronalen maschinellen Übersetzung und großer Sprachmodelle das Interesse an kontrastlinguistischen Fragestellungen sowie an linguistisch fundierten Analysemethoden neu beleben. Die zunehmende Notwendigkeit, menschliche und maschinelle Übersetzungsleistungen anhand sprachwissenschaftlicher Kategorien zu beschreiben, zu vergleichen und zu evaluieren, verleiht der Zusammenarbeit von Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft derzeit neue Aktualität. Mit Geisls Überlegungen zur Bedeutung metaphorischer Kompetenz für die Dolmetscherausbildung sowie den dezidiert didaktisch ausgerichteten Beiträgen von Kubaszczyk und Seidl endet das Themenheft mit einem zukunftsorientierten Blick auf die Ausbildung der nächsten Generation von Übersetzern und Dolmetschern und unterstreicht zugleich den zentralen Gedanken des gesamten Bandes: Linguistik und Translationswissenschaft stehen nicht in einem Konkurrenzverhältnis, sondern ergänzen sich in Forschung, Methodik und Lehre auf vielfältige Weise.

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Two Disciplines – one space of enquiry. Linguistics and Translation Studies in dialogue

ABSTRACT

Two Disciplines – one space of enquiry.
Linguistics and Translation Studies in dialogue

The present volume is dedicated to the interface between linguistics and translation studies. It brings together a series of articles that examine linguistic phenomena through the lenses of both disciplines, demonstrating that such an interdisciplinary perspective makes for rich and multilayered analyses. To this end, the authors draw on translation studies, lexicography, terminology, contrastive linguistics, literary studies and higher education research to examine differences between languages at the levels of *langue* and *parole*. The articles address word formation in different languages and its impact on the search for equivalents in translation; the translation of highly polysemous words and of metaphors; the integration of automation tools into translation processes; the design of audience-specific dictionaries; and pedagogical approaches to literary translation and language learning. The contributions are written versions of selected papers presented at two panels of the Österreichische Linguistiktagung (ÖLT): "New Perspectives on the Relationship between Linguistics and Translation Studies" (2023), convened by Marco Agnetta and Astrid Schmidhofer, and "Linguistics and Translation Studies in Dialogue" (2024), convened by Rossella Resi and Astrid Schmidhofer.

1. Introduction

Translation—leaving aside certain forms of intersemiotic transfer, e.g. between image and music—is always tied to language. Research in translation is

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therefore inevitably dependent on at least a minimum degree of knowledge about the structure and functioning of languages. Hence, it is hardly surprising that the acquisition of knowledge in linguistics remains a fundamental aspect of translation studies programmes, in order to understand the cognitive processes involved in language use and the nature of communication, and to be able to precisely describe the manipulation of texts in the translation process.

Many representatives of contemporary translation studies, however, regard the linguistic approach that characterised the early phase of this comparatively young discipline (cf. Siever 2010: 46–87) as outdated, on the grounds that it is said to be concerned primarily with a mechanical transcoding from one language into another (cf. also Malmkjær 2011: 61) and that it is, in part, dominated by seemingly outmoded notions of equivalence and invariance (cf. Siever 2010: 36). In Siever's work, whose historiographical study describes old and new scholarly approaches within translation studies since 1960, the linguistic approach constitutes the first of the paradigms outlined in his book (cf. Siever 2010: 46–87). With regard to his presentation of a "succession of different translation theories" (ibid.: 27, translation by the authors) and the paradigm shifts that are said to occur (cf. ibid.: 28), one can easily gain the impression—as with any study that simplistically reduces the real history of the discipline to (humanities-style) turns—that earlier research approaches are to be classified as obsolete today.[1] Can new questions, problems, and aporias, then, no longer be raised from a linguistics perspective in contemporary translation studies?

Such a standpoint can be countered by a disciplinary-historical approach that assumes the coexistence of legitimate approaches to one's own object of study. After all, regardless of the 'end' of the linguistic paradigm, an ongoing series of works in linguistically oriented translation research has continued to be published to this day. It is true that linguistics cannot be the only discipline whose insights enrich the inter- and transdisciplinary field of translation studies. At the same time, however, it is equally legitimate to recognise, even today, the fundamental and unchanged relevance of linguistic impulses for the development of translation studies theory, and to acknowledge that, for certain research questions, a translation-linguistic approach can indeed be described as "translation-adequate" (Siever 2010: 86, following Stein 1980: 11). Given that linguistics has undergone the same turns to which translation studies has likewise been subjected, any artificially created separation between linguistics and translation studies would be the result of a static conception of what constitutes

1| The same applies to Siever's reference to the "necessity of a new paradigmatic foundation for translation studies" (Siever 2010: 27, translation by the authors) and his corresponding proposal for a translation theory grounded in semiotics and interpretation theory.

the two disciplines and their history. This holds all the more true when one considers that, since the turn of the millennium, a translatorial turn is also said to have shaped—or to be shaping—research in the humanities (cf. Bassnett 2003; Bachmann-Medick 2009).

2. On the present-day relationship between linguistics and translation studies

The articles compiled in this issue illustrate that linguistics remains a helpful parent, sister, or co-discipline for translation studies. At the same time, they manifest that translation is not merely a potential object of linguistic description or an application of linguistic knowledge, but can equally serve linguistic research as a heuristic instrument, an empirical data source, and a touchstone for hypotheses and theories. The mutual productivity of the two disciplines forms the central idea of this issue. The translated text can reveal which similarities and differences are so relevant in language practice that they were taken into account by a mediating individual within a particular discursive and historical context. Conversely, linguistics does not merely supply translation studies with language-related and text-related terminology, but also offers a wide range of research methods and language-specific as well as cross-linguistic models of every kind, all of which have always constituted the necessary basis for the scholarly evaluation of translation performance. For this reason, linguistic knowledge as background knowledge remains indispensable in translator training even today, and is gaining renewed significance precisely through advancing automation processes and the newly (re)defined roles of human translators.

Translation studies is an independent field of study whose research questions and applied methods do not fall entirely within the domain of (contrastive) linguistics either. Sinner (2024), for instance, has recently pointed this out, regarding linguists as at times amounting to lay translation scholars. And yet the fields of study of linguistics and translation studies are cognate in nature, which is why actively engaging with the discourses of the respective other discipline can only prove advantageous. Looking to the other discipline broadens one's own object of study and one's own methodological inventory, and yields insights that are beneficial to both fields of research. Linguistics and translation studies then form a shared space of enquiry in which linguistic structures, communicative practices, and translational processes are examined from different perspectives.

Complementing this, ever since the emergence of modern translation research in the mid-twentieth century, the question has arisen as to whether this field might not be better situated within semiotics, i.e. the general theory of

signs (than, for example, within linguistics)—a thesis that Siever appears to endorse by advocating an interpretation-theoretical-semiotic paradigm, and which is featured in the conclusion of his deliberations. This stems from the observation that communication addressed to a particular target audience, based on *gestalt* communicative products, draws on means of expression that are also non-verbal in nature. Semiotic models of translation that explicitly take non-verbal elements into account have, as is well known, been put forward by Jakobson (1959/1974; cf. also Steiner 1975/2014: 279–281) and Gottlieb (2005).

The relationship between linguistics and translation studies can likewise be described from a semiotic point of view. Building on the distinction between *langue* and *parole* introduced by Ferdinand de Saussure, as well as its later extension to include the concept of *norm* (cf. Coseriu 1970), the two disciplines can be related to one another at these levels of linguistic description. At the level of *langue*, it is entire sign systems that are of interest. In linguistics, individual languages are primarily described systematically, whereby Ferdinand de Saussure himself already drew attention to the fact that knowledge of as many languages as possible is indispensable for the linguist:

> […] [428]ce qui nous est donné, ce sont les langues. [429]Le linguiste est obligé d'en connaître le plus grand nombre possible, pour tirer de leur observation et de leur comparaison ce qu'il y a d'universel en elles. (Saussure 1916/2013: 96)

> […] [428]we have to work with languages. The linguist is obliged to acquaint himself with the greatest possible number of languages in order to determine what is universal in them by observing and comparing them. (Translation by Wade Baskin 1959: 23)

It is only by way of comparison that the linguist gains the necessary knowledge of what language in general is capable of achieving and of what turns individual languages into (more or less) closed systems. That individual languages may differ considerably from one another is, in this context, not a lay-linguistic truism, but rather a methodological instrument for mapping out the full range of linguistic dimensions and their relevance within a given speech community. This methodological approach is programmatic for contrastive linguistics, in which two or more language systems are set against one another and, where possible, compared down to the smallest detail. However, the fact that the description of language systems is inconceivable without reference to (paradigmatic, and thus norm-conforming) examples demonstrates the actual interweaving of the dimensions of *langue* and *parole* distinguished by Saussure, and accounts for the ambivalence inherent in the early linguo-semiotic foundations of translation theory—first and foremost the *stylistique comparée* (cf. Malblanc 1944; Vinay/Darbelnet 1958/1968) (cf. also Agnetta 2020: 3f.).

In such theories, which are mostly prescriptive in orientation, translation solutions of validity beyond the individual text are sought. It is precisely here that translation offers a particularly beneficial insight, since linguistic categories can only be precisely determined through the comparison of different language systems. Translation equivalents make visible which means of expression take on comparable functions in different languages and where categorial differences emerge. In this vein, ten Hacken (in this volume) examines composition as a cross-linguistic word-formation process, while Millán Vidal and Schmidhofer take the functional diversity of the German modal verb *sollen* as the starting point for an evaluation of machine translation systems. Clasmeier and Hennecke, by contrast, analyse the translation of complex nominal constructions against the background of different system-conditioned strategies. In these cases, translation serves to test and sharpen linguistic categories through cross-linguistic comparison.

At the level of norm, what is examined are all those linguistic laws, prescriptions, and prohibitions that circulate within a particular speech community—which is not necessarily to be equated with a national culture—and are regarded as appropriate. These include grammatical and stylistic rules just as much as text-type and genre conventions. These language-specific and culture-specific regularities are addressed, among other things, within the framework of a "Contrastive Textology" as outlined by Pöckl (1999). This level constitutes a central point of contact between linguistics and professional translation practice, since translators must regularly mediate between different systems of norms and, at times—as in 'more creative' forms of translation, for instance—also push the boundaries of these. Heinisch and Resi demonstrate this using the example of terminological resources and their integration into AI-assisted translation processes, while Rebosio, drawing on electronic dictionaries, illustrates how linguistic and visual knowledge representations jointly contribute to the codification and conveyance of lexical meaning.

Finally, at the level of *parole*, the focus shifts to specific communicative events and individual language use. Translation and interpreting appear here as linguistic action under specific situational conditions. Geisl analyses the treatment of political metaphors in simultaneous interpreting and shows how interpreters, under time pressure, weigh semantic precision, rhetorical effect, and communicative function against one another. Kubaszczyk examines literary translations as a reconstruction of individual processes of perception and meaning-making, while Seidl locates the acquisition of critical language awareness already within translation-oriented foreign-language teaching. It is at this level that it becomes particularly evident that translatorial action is not based solely on the application of linguistic rules, but always presupposes interpretive, communicative, and situation-bound decisions.

3. On the content of this volume

The texts compiled here comprise the written versions of selected papers presented at two sessions of the *Österreichischen Linguistiktagung* (ÖLT) in 2023 ("New Perspectives on the Relationship between Linguistics and Translation Studies", convened by Marco Agnetta and Astrid Schmidhofer) and 2024 ("Linguistics and Translation Studies in Dialogue", convened by Rossella Resi and Astrid Schmidhofer).

This special volume opens with an article by **Pius ten Hacken** (University of Innsbruck) entitled "Translation as a tool in the cross-linguistic investigation of compounding". The author regards the consideration of common translation equivalents—such as can be presupposed as well known or as found in bilingual dictionaries—as a valid methodological instrument for the cross-linguistic study of the word-formation process of compounding. His corpus-based study focuses on nominal compounds in English, German, and French. Ten Hacken observes that there are no generally valid, cross-linguistic guidelines for defining this word-formation process. After all, German and English, for instance, tend to favour nominal compounds (N+N), whereas French, in the same contexts, favours prepositional forms—that is, multi-word expressions with the prepositions *de*, *à*, or *sur*. In doing so, he draws attention to a circumstance highly relevant to this volume: that many pertinent questions concerning the definition and description of linguistic and translatorial phenomena often only arise within a contrastive-linguistic context. According to the author, compounding is a "general phenomenon"; certain particularities of this phenomenon certainly possess "cross-linguistic validity", and it is this validity that needs to be reconstructed by means of translations. A systematic comparison of several languages is thus what first makes it possible to identify those properties that can be regarded as constitutive of compounding across languages. Here, the collection of prototypical translations of compounds—i.e. those that are closest given the constraints of the respective language system—or, conversely, a set of target-language compounds functioning as interlingual allonyms for source-language (non-)compounds, serves as a heuristic anchor for developing a theory of the word-formation process in question that is valid, and can be validated, beyond the level of the individual language.

In their article "Semantic simplification and structural interference: Complex nominal constructions in Polish original and Czech and French translated texts", **Christina Clasmeier** (University of Münster) and **Inga Hennecke** (University of Tübingen) engage, from a contrastive-linguistic perspective, with complex nominal constructions ("complex nominal constructions", CNC) in the first chapter of a Polish source text (Andrzej Sapkowski: *Krew elfów*, 1994) and its Czech (Stanislav Komárek: *Krev elfů*, 1995) and French translation (Lydia

Waleryszak: *Le sang des elfes*, 2008). In this way, the authors work with actual translations, rather than isolated, a priori assumed ones. In particular, they pursue the following questions arising from research on translation universals: Is it true that translations exhibit a tendency towards semantic simplification? Do target texts display conspicuous traces of their translational character owing to the presence of structural interference? According to Clasmeier and Hennecke, complex nominal constructions (n = 275) proved well suited to answering both questions. Here, the answers may vary across different languages—provided one regards the distributions observed in the analysed corpus as representative, or at least as an indication of corresponding linguistic preferences. The article shows that neither simplification nor interference constitute uniform translation phenomena across languages, but are instead substantially influenced by the typological relationships between the languages involved. Here too, the cross-linguistic approach can lead either to the confirmation, or—probably more interestingly—to the relativisation of overly sweeping theorems concerning the universality of certain tendencies. At the same time, the study illustrates the analytical gain to be obtained from a corpus-based combination of contrastive linguistics and translation studies. Translations are understood as an empirical data basis, on the grounds of which linguistic-structural preferences, translation strategies, and cross-linguistic generalisations can be examined alike.

For **Jesús Millán Vidal** and **Astrid Schmidhofer** (University of Innsbruck) too, (functional) linguistics provides "basic tools for the description and comparability of the linguistic phenomena analysed across language boundaries". In their article "The translation of the German modal verb *sollen* into Spanish with generative AI and machine translation", the authors highlight the fact that humans and machines possess different bodies of knowledge regarding language systems, linguistic norms, and language use, and mobilise these in various ways when 'translating'. As an example, they examine the translation of the German modal verb *sollen* into Spanish by machine translation (MT) systems (Google Translate and DeepL) as well as by generative AI (ChatGPT and Gemini). Their starting point is the particular semantic complexity of this modal verb, which, depending on context, is associated with very different propositional attitudes—such as reporting, believing, or wanting—and which is therefore regarded, from the standpoint of translation (studies), as a demanding unit. Knowledge of the field of modality and the linguistic positioning of the modal verb *sollen* are regarded as a backdrop against which translation solutions can be assessed. The aim of this study is to examine to what extent present-day MT and AI systems are able to adequately capture and render this functional diversity. To this end, German–Spanish examples from the parallel corpus PaGeS were used. The performance of MT and AI systems can be gauged, among

other things, by whether they recognise not only the strongly conventionalised functions of the modal verb, but also its semantically more complex and pragmatically more strongly context-dependent functions, and offer adequate expressions in the target language. Whereas the first two articles understand translation as a tool of insight for linguistic research questions, this article examines how well current MT and AI systems cope with a particularly complex, translation-relevant phenomenon of lexicogrammar. It thereby connects classical, linguistically oriented translation studies with current AI research.

In her article "Leveraging large language models in lexicography, terminology and specialised translation", **Barbara Heinisch** turns her attention to professional practice, which is currently undergoing sweeping changes as a result of the availability of AI systems. The focus is not on the question of whether large language models (LLMs) can 'translate', but on how those working in language professions can integrate LLMs into their working processes in a sensible, responsible, and sustainable manner. The author examines the potential of large language models (LLMs) for three closely interrelated fields of work: lexicography, terminology work, and specialised translation. Her starting point is the observation that the systematic handling of discrete linguistic units constitutes an essential prerequisite for precise specialised communication across national and cultural boundaries. The aim of the article is to provide a systematic overview of how LLMs can support working processes in these fields, what limitations exist, and what ethical questions arise in this context. Key elements of successful collaboration between humans and machines here are the professional design of the prompts to be used and the thorough revision of machine output by the (specialised) translator. A distinct focus of the paper lies on the ethical dimensions of using LLMs. Heinisch discusses environmental sustainability, high energy and resource consumption, biases in training data, a lack of transparency, questions of copyright, as well as possible effects on linguistic diversity and the future of language-related professions. The author argues in favour of always critically weighing up the use of LLMs and, where appropriate, employing smaller language models or classical tools when these are more suitable for a given task or more resource-efficient. The future of language professions therefore lies less in being replaced by AI than in a thoughtful combination of established methods with new AI-assisted tools.

Starting from the assumption that the linguistic analysis of specialised-language domains constitutes an essential component of terminology research, **Rossella Resi** (University of Padua) devotes her article "Terminology work in evolving translation workflows" to the interdependence of these fields. The author outlines the endeavour of those working in this field for the technical optimisation of terminology systems and their availability within the framework

of (necessarily) computer-assisted translation processes. Her starting point is the observation that terminology work has always been closely tied to technological developments. With the transition from rule-based systems through CAT tools and neural machine translation to large language models, however, it is not only the technical implementation that changes, but also, and above all, the role of terminology within the translation process that is fundamentally transformed: many CAT tools continue to reduce terminology to simple term lists and largely dispense with the integration of conceptual relations or extensive metadata. Terminology is predominantly understood as a tool for pre-editing or post-editing and is only integrated into the actual translation process to a limited extent. With the integration of neural machine translation into CAT tools, terminology work is more strongly intertwined with the translation process, yet remains predominantly reactive. The true innovation in the use of large language models lies, according to Resi, in that unlike classical NMT systems, LLMs can take terminology into account flexibly by means of prompts, system instructions, in-context learning, or agent-based approaches. In this manner, terminology is, in most cases, no longer checked retrospectively but already influences the translation while it is being generated and has become an integral component of AI-assisted translation processes. Resi therefore argues in favour of a fundamental reorientation of future translation environments: proven functions of classical CAT tools—such as translation memories, quality control, or document management—should be combined with fully integrated terminology management systems. Terminological metadata should no longer serve merely as an auxiliary resource, but should actively shape the output of large language models as a central source of knowledge. In this way, linguistic and terminological knowledge regains central importance for the development of modern translation technologies, despite increasing automation.

In her article "The presentation of word meaning through ostensive aids in (electronic) dictionaries", **Laura Rebosio** (University of Innsbruck) brings lexicographic knowledge representation itself into focus. Her starting point is the question of how electronic dictionaries can be supplemented with visual elements in order to convey meanings more precisely and to support foreign-language learning and translational decision-making processes. In doing so, the author extends existing linguistic approaches to include a general semiotic perspective. She examines the use of so-called ostensive aids—that is, visual aids such as illustrations, photographs, diagrams, animations, or videos—in electronic (learner's) dictionaries. Rebosio argues that purely linguistic definitions are, in many cases, insufficient to fully capture differences in meaning. Precisely as an aid within the translation process, visual information can make a decisive contribution to highlight semantic differences between languages

and to facilitate the selection of the appropriate target-language expression. For this purpose, Rebosio develops a typology of ostensive aids. She distinguishes, among others, photographs, drawings, diagrams, taxonomic representations, semantic fields, scene depictions, animations, GIFs, and videos, and discusses, for each form of representation, its typical areas of application, advantages, and disadvantages. Among her aims is the development of a systematic set of criteria for the use of visual aids. She devotes particular attention to the phraseological PAD model (Phrase-based Active Dictionary). In contrast to traditional dictionaries, which describe individual lexemes and their meanings, the PAD treats typical patterns of use as the actual lexical units. This allows visual information to be linked far more precisely to concrete contexts of use. Rebosio's article thus makes clear that electronic dictionaries are evolving from text-centred reference works into multimodal knowledge systems that combine linguistic, visual, and cultural information, thereby supporting both translation processes and foreign-language acquisition.

Christiane Geisl takes the inherent figurativeness of language as her starting point in her article "Metaphors we get infected by. Political metaphors in simultaneous interpreting: A German-Spanish corpus analysis". The author examines the processes surrounding the interpreting of political metaphors and combines cognitive metaphor theory with methods of corpus analysis. The central question is how simultaneous interpreters, working under considerable temporal and cognitive pressure, deal with these linguistic-conceptual elements. To this end, she examines political speeches delivered during the COVID-19 pandemic, in which metaphors function as carriers of evaluations, emotions, and ideological framings. The study investigates whether simultaneous interpreters are able to preserve the communicative functions of these metaphors in the target language. Geisl distinguishes five interpreting strategies: retention, omission, de-metaphorisation, explicitation, and intensification. In addition, she assesses whether the communicative function of the metaphor is preserved fully, partially, or not at all. Geisl challenges the assumption, widespread in interpreting research, that metaphors are fundamentally unsuited to simultaneous interpreting; rather, her article shows that, despite considerable difficulties of transfer, interpreters by no means systematically avoid metaphorical structures, but instead—insofar as the processing situation allows—consciously attempt to preserve them. The author therefore argues in favour of integrating metaphorical competence more strongly into interpreter training. She further suggests combining future studies with interviews, think-aloud protocols, or experimental designs in order to investigate interpreters' cognitive decision-making processes directly.

The final two articles, both of which focus on language and translation pedagogy, represent a directly applied domain of linguistically oriented translation

research. In her article "'Let us imagine…' – On literary translation in the light of Roman Ingarden's legacy: Implications for translation teaching", **Joanna Kubaszczyk** (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań) develops, on the basis of Roman Ingarden's phenomenology, a model that directly connects theoretical reflection with translator education. The paper raises the question under which conditions linguistic communication can achieve that recipients not only understand the same conceptual content, but also activate the same mental images, sensations, and dimensions of meaning. To this end, Kubaszczyk draws on Roman Ingarden's translation theory and systematises his considerations on literary translation for present-day translation studies. The aim of her article is to demonstrate the relevance of Ingarden's phenomenological perspective and to derive from it concrete consequences for translation teaching. She devotes particular attention to Ingarden's model of language functions and shows that the expressive function, the function of affective impact, and representation of images are closely connected with the phonic form of linguistic signs. Since every translation inevitably alters this phonic form, these functions can never be preserved entirely unchanged. This gives rise, for literary translation, to the particular challenge of striving not only for semantic equivalence but also for aesthetic and emotional effects that are as similar as possible. In this paper, the analysis focuses on translations of poems by Jan Twardowski and Stanisław Młodożeniec by Karl Dedecius. The author shows how individual lexical choices can not only alter meanings but also weaken sound symbolism, haptic imagery, or emotional effects. Kubaszczyk's aim is to develop a phenomenological teaching method designed to systematically sensitise students to the imaginative dimension of literary texts. Its core element is a multi-stage perspective-taking exercise in which students first reflect on their own perceptions, mental images, and emotions while reading, then adopt the perspective of the literary character, subsequently identify the linguistic means that evoke these mental images, and finally distinguish between text-driven and subjectively supplemented meanings. The aim of this exercise is to ground translation decisions more firmly in conscious processes of perception and understanding.

In the final article, entitled "On the significance of Critical Language Awareness in Translation-Oriented Language Teaching", **Eva Seidl** (University of Graz) asks how linguistic insights and translation-oriented aims can already be brought together in university language teaching. The author argues that a specific form of linguistic reflective competence should be developed as early as in the first semester of a translation degree programme. Her starting point is the observation that, as translation studies has emancipated itself from linguistics since the 1980s, the role of language teaching within translator training has, as a result, long dropped out of scholarly focus. Against this

background, the author argues in favour of a stronger theoretical grounding of translation-oriented language teaching integrating the concept of Critical Language Awareness (CLA). According to Seidl, language teaching should not be confined to the acquisition of language structures, but should enable students to reflect on language as a social, cultural, and power-related phenomenon. For prospective translators and interpreters, this means not merely using language correctly, but consciously perceiving how it functions, how it can change, and what role it plays in communicative negotiation processes. Critical language awareness thus becomes an essential foundation of professional translatorial competence. For its theoretical grounding, Seidl combines the CLA approach with concepts from translanguaging. From this perspective, languages appear not as rigid, mutually separate systems, but as dynamic resources that speakers employ creatively and situation-sensitively. Hence, language learners are not mere appliers of linguistic norms, but contribute actively to the further development of language. At the same time, this view strengthens the agency of future translators, who do not merely reproduce their first and second language(s) but consciously live in and with them, actively co-shaping communicative processes on a daily basis through this particular competence. The author illustrates, by means of various examples from university teaching, how this competence can be acquired and further developed.

4. Concluding discussion

The contributions presented in this issue show that the close relationship between linguistics and translation studies manifests itself, primarily, in the linguistic phenomena to which both disciplines devote their attention. In many cases, the same linguistic units are examined, though their description serves different epistemological interests. What they have in common is that their analysis presupposes a precise determination of their position within the structure of sentence and text, as well as of their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties. It is precisely these semiotic entities that function as the *tertium comparationis* in cross-linguistic comparison and in the translation process. This applies, for instance, to the study of compounds (ten Hacken), complex nominal constructions (Clasmeier/ Hennecke), modal verbs (Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal), or metaphors (Geisl). Whereas linguistics describes these phenomena with regard to their systematic properties, translation studies examines how they can be transferred, altered, or realised in a functionally equivalent way under the conditions of interlingual communication.

The methodological approaches of the two disciplines likewise overlap closely. Corpus-linguistic methods today constitute a central methodological

approach both in linguistics and in empirical translation research. (Large) parallel corpora not only allow researcher to formulate well-founded statements about language systems and language use, but also to analyse translational decisions and translation strategies. In addition, there are classical lexicographic resources such as dictionaries and other reference works, which combine statements about the language system (*langue*), norm, and actual language use (*parole*). As Rebosio's contribution shows, this knowledge representation is by no means confined to linguistic signs alone, but increasingly also includes pictorial and other multimodal elements.

In their articles, ten Hacken, Heinisch, Resi, and Rebosio further point out that both disciplines work productively with certain resources, such as dictionaries and other lexicographic tools, parallel and reference corpora, literary texts and their translations, as well as authentic documents from translational working processes. At the same time, more recent lines of research extend this spectrum to include data sources that have so far received less attention, such as teaching situations in translation-oriented language pedagogy (Seidl), digital terminological resources, and documents from computer-assisted translation processes (Heinisch, Resi). It is precisely this diversity of shared objects of study that makes clear how extensively linguistics and translation studies draw on the same empirical foundations, exploring them from different scholarly perspectives.

Although linguistics has, since the beginnings of modern translation studies, ranked among its most important reference disciplines, its significance within the field has certainly been subject to fluctuations. While it temporarily receded behind cultural-studies, sociological, or cognitive-scientific approaches, a renewed and closer convergence currently appears to be emerging once again. Millán Vidal and Schmidhofer surmise that it is, in particular, the rapid developments in the field of neural machine translation and large language models that are reviving interest in contrastive-linguistic research questions and in linguistically grounded methods of analysis. The growing need to describe, compare, and evaluate human and machine translation performance by means of linguistic categories currently provides fresh momentum to a combined perspective between linguistics and translation studies. With Geisl's reflections on the significance of metaphorical competence for interpreter training, together with the decidedly pedagogically oriented contributions by Kubaszczyk and Seidl, the special issue closes with a forward-looking view of the training of the next generation of translators and interpreters, and at the same time underscores the central idea which connects the texts of the entire issue: linguistics and translation studies do not exist in a relationship of competition, but complement one another in manifold ways in research, methodology, and teaching.

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Translation as a tool in the cross-linguistic investigation of compounding

ABSTRACT

Translation as a tool in the cross-linguistic investigation of compounding

In this paper, the role of translation in the methodology for the study of compounding is explored. The linguistic question under investigation is how to determine whether an expression is a compound or not. In a monolingual perspective, it is not clear which properties of compounds are essential and which are circumstantial. A cross-linguistic approach leads to a much deeper insight. However, an expression that can be used as the translation of a compound is not automatically a compound itself. It is well known that lexical translation is complex and that it is not always possible to find an exact equivalent at word level.

In the research reported here, English, German and French are compared. The scope of the investigation is limited to compounds with a nominal head. N+N compounds are quite common in English and German, but less so in French. Many English and German compounds are rather translated into French constructions with a preposition. Three prepositions are studied in more detail, *de*, *à*, and *sur*. In compounds, the relationship between the two components is not determined by the construction, but emerges as a result of naming (onomasiological coercion). In the case of *de*, the function of the preposition is only to connect the two components. As such, its role is similar to that of the genitive in English compounds and the linking element in German compounds. In the case of *sur*, the preposition determines the nature of the relationship. Although nouns with a modifier introduced by *sur* can be used as translations of compounds, they are not compounds themselves. In the case of *à*, the preposition is used to express more relations than *sur*, but fewer than *de*. As such, the translation of French nouns with modifiers introduced by *à* constitutes a good area to investigate the variability of the relationship in compounds.

Keywords: compounding, preposition, genitive, translation equivalence

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1. Questions about compounding

In many languages, compounding is a well-known phenomenon in word formation. There is an extensive literature on compounding,[1] but there is no general consensus about which properties compounds share and which expressions are compounds. Much of the literature on compounding focuses on their use in individual languages, especially Germanic languages, but if we want a theory of compounding as part of a theory of language, compounding needs to be treated as a general phenomenon. I will argue here that the judicious use of translation contributes to a notion of compounding with a cross-linguistic validity. My argument will be based on data from English, German and French.

As a starting point for understanding a concept and the questions it evokes, we can turn to general dictionaries. In (1) two definitions of *compound* from English dictionaries are given.

(1) a. a word made up of two or more existing words
b. a word formed from two existing words or combining forms

The definition in (1a) is from COED (2011), the one in (1b) from Collins (2014). The difference between them and some of the questions they raise can be illustrated by the forms in (2).

(2) a. without
b. computer game
c. encephalogram

In (2a), we have a word that can be divided into two other words. As such, it seems to satisfy the condition in (1a). For (1b), this is not sufficient, because it must be "formed from" these words. In the case of (2a), this condition is not satisfied if we interpret it as requiring a rule that can be used to form new words. In (2b), the question is whether we are dealing with a word. The two components are not written together, but the definitions in (1) are vague as to whether this is necessary. In (2c), we have a neoclassical compound, consisting of two combining forms. As these do not exist as words, (1a) excludes it, whereas (1b) includes it as a compound.

In order to choose between definitions such as (1) and resolve the questions they do not answer, it is useful to take a cross-linguistic perspective. We find dictionary definitions of corresponding concepts also for German and

1| Lieber & Štekauer's (2009) handbook discusses the treatment of compounding in a number of linguistic theories and gives an overview of the issues in a selection of languages with a different typological structure. Ten Hacken (2020) gives a concise overview of the main issues in current research of compounding.

French. Duden (2023: *Komposition*, sense 3) gives the definition in (3), Robert (1986: *mot*, sense 1) gives (4) as the explanation of *mot composé*.

(3) Zusammensetzung eines Wortes aus selbstständig vorkommenden Wörtern (als Art od. Vorgang der Wortbildung)
'assembly of a word from independently occurring words (as a way or procedure of word formation)'
(4) formé de plusieurs éléments lexicaux
'formed from several lexical elements'

Duden (2023) gives an explanatory definition for the process *Komposition*, but not for the resulting expression *Kompositum*. The definition in (3) combines the condition of "existing words" in (1a) with the idea of "formed from" in (1b), the latter as an explicit reference to word formation. In French, the expression *mot composé* is not obviously a word itself, unlike English *compound* in (1) or German *Komposition* in (3). Robert (1986) explains it as a collocation with *mot* ('word'). In (4), this expression is characterized in a way reminiscent of (1b) in its reference to formation and it distinguishes *mot* and *élément lexical* in such a way that also combining forms can be accommodated. Whereas both definitions in (1) specify two components, neither (3) nor (4) refers to this number.

When we want to get a more precise understanding of how and to what extent compounding is similar in English, German and French, we need to find a set of properties that compounds in the three languages share and that distinguishes them from other expressions. Considering several languages facilitates the identification of properties that are significant. If they are relevant in more languages, this makes it less likely that they are accidental properties. In the following discussion, I will show in what way translation can contribute to answering such questions.

2. Compounds and syntactic categories

Dictionary definitions such as (1), (3) and (4) do not distinguish between components of different syntactic categories. However, a brief exploration of German compounds in the sense of (3) shows the relevance of making such a distinction. In (5), we have some German compounds with a noun as their right-hand component.

(5) a. Kaffeemaschine ('coffee machine')
b. Nähmaschine ('sewing machine')
c. Nationalspeise ('national dish')
d. Nachspeise ('desert')

The left-hand components in (5) have different syntactic categories. In (5a), *Kaffee* ('coffee') is a noun, in (5b), *näh-* ('sew') is the stem of a verb, in (5c), *national* ('national') is an adjective and in (5d), *nach* ('after') is a preposition. These differences do not affect the way the two components contribute to the meaning of the compound. In all cases, the right-hand element is a hyperonym of the entire compound and the left-hand element determines its semantic differences from other hyponyms. In German, the right-hand element is the head. When we consider compounds with a head of a different syntactic category, the meaning of the compound is determined in a different way. In (6), we have examples of adjectival heads and in (7) of verbal heads.

(6) a. produktspezifisch ('product-specific)
b. haargenau ('exactly')
(7) a. Treppensteigen ('climbing stairs')
b. staubsaugen ('vacuum$_v$')

The two examples in (6) illustrate the two main types of adjectival compounds. In (6a), the adjective *spezifisch* ('specific') has an argument role and the non-head fills it. In (6b), *Haar* ('hair') modifies the adjective *genau* ('precise'), but its only function is to reinforce the adjective. There are many German adjectives that can be reinforced in this way by a specific noun. The choice of the noun depends on the adjective, but the referential meaning of the noun is not evoked. In (6b), we are not talking about hair.[2] In German, compounds with a verb as the head are rare. They appear typically as nominalized infinitives, as in (7a). Inflected forms sometimes evolve, as in the case of (7b), which has *Staub* ('dust') and *saugen* ('suck') as its components, but they are usually considered backformations. Ten Hacken (1994: 106–108) argues for such an analysis of verbs of this type in Dutch.

As indicated by the discussion of the examples in (5) to (7), nominal compounds, i.e. compounds with a noun as the head, are the most common type in German. They share semantic properties that differ from adjectival compounds. Verbal compounds tend to be dependent on nominal counterparts. Therefore, I will focus here on nominal compounds only.

3. Some translation examples

In (8), we have corresponding compounds in three languages.

(8) a. Filterkaffee DE
b. filter coffee EN
c. café filtre FR

2| In German, adjectives and adverbs are not formally distinguished. As (6b) is more commonly used as an adverb, it is glossed as such.

The compounds in (8) can be used as translations of each other. They are also cognates. The orthographic property of being written together or not is language-specific. The most striking difference is that in (8c) the order of the components is reversed. It would be arbitrary to say that (8a) and (8b) are compounds and (8c) is not, because the meaning of the entire expression is built up from the meaning of its components in the same way. Therefore, we conclude that French has left-headed compounds whereas German and English compounds are right-headed. Compounds such as (8c) are not as common in French as their counterparts in German and English, but Arnaud (2016) analyses a fairly large set of them.

In (9), we have the expressions with the same components in reverse order.

(9) a. Kaffeefilter DE
b. coffee filter EN
c. filtre à café FR

The meaning of (9a) is different from that of (8a) in the way we can predict from the right-headedness in German. Whereas (9a) refers to a type of filter, (8a) refers to a type of coffee. The English examples are parallel to German, but in French, (9c) includes the preposition *à*. This raises the question whether (9c) should be analysed as a compound or not. In order to address this question, we should first have a closer look at the role of prepositions in such nominal constructions.

4. Genitives and prepositions in compounds

The most common preposition that we find in French translations of German and English compounds is *de*. An example is (10).

(10) a. Olivenöl DE
b. olive oil EN
c. huile d'olive FR

The expressions in (10a) and (10b) are parallel to the German and English examples in (8) and (9), but in French (10c), there is a preposition *de* where (9c) has *à* and (8c) no preposition at all. The preposition *de* can often be translated as *of*. As illustrated in (11), it tends to correspond to a genitive in English.

(11) a. Kinderbuch DE
b. children's book EN
c. livre d'enfant FR

In English, the genitive often occurs in compounds such as (11b) when the non-head refers to a human being. In German, *-er-* in (11a) is a linking

element. The sequence of elements in (11b) is syntactically ambiguous as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. a children's book
b. these children's book

In (12a), the determiner is singular, so that it must be related to *book*. This means that *children's book* is a word here. In (12b), however, the plural determiner must be combined with *children* to form a constituent. The genitive marker is attached to the phrase *[these children]* and the resulting genitive modifier makes the entire noun phrase definite. The indefinite article in (12a) shows that the genitive in this example does not have such a definiteness effect. On this basis, we can conclude that *children's book* is a compound in (12a) but not in (12b).

The connection between genitive modifiers and compounds has been commented on a lot. Paul (1886: 274–298) ascribes the origin of compounding to a generalization of genitive modifiers. A suggestive triple of examples is (13).

(13) a. Friedensvertrag DE
b. peace treaty EN
c. traité de paix FR

In (13a), the German form *Friedens* has a linking element which makes it identical to the genitive form of *Frieden* ('peace'). In French (13c), the preposition *de* is used, as in (10c) and in (11c). We can see it as a periphrastic expression of the genitive on a par with the periphrastic comparative in *plus vite* ('more fast', i.e. faster).

On the basis of (10) to (13), there are good reasons to consider *de* in French as similar to the linking element in German and the genitive marker in English compounds such as (11b). In the same way as the English genitive, French *de* is ambiguous between a syntactic use and a use in naming expressions that can be analysed as compounds. On the basis of a set of translations of English compounds, ten Hacken (2013a) argues that naming expressions of the type N+*de*+N in French can be seen as compounds. The question is, then, to what extent this reasoning can be extended to other prepositions.

5. Prepositional modifiers in the translation of compounds

In (14), we have an example from COCA (2020) which contains three compounds marked by underlining.

(14) Diane Sawyer mentioned the immigration vote in Arizona, the abortion vote in Mississippi, and the collective bargaining vote in Ohio but neglected to mention the vote on Obamacare in Ohio.

In English, there is no significant barrier against the formation of new compounds. In German, compounding is also very frequent. It is possible to translate the underlined compounds in (14) by means of the German compounds in (15).

(15) a. Einwanderungsabstimmung
b. Abtreibungsabstimmung
c. Tarifverhandlungsabstimmung

The compounds in (15) all have *Abstimmung* ('vote$_N$') as their head and a non-head that translates the non-head of the compounds in (14). DeReKo (2026) gives a small number of occurrences for (15a) and (15b), but none for (15c). There is little doubt, however, that (15c) is a possible word that may be used. The low frequency of (15a–b) and the non-occurrence of (15c) may well be due to the American context in which the concepts they refer to occur. That they are perceived as a concept is relevant, because when a compound is used, it is suggested that we are dealing with an established concept, as argued by ten Hacken (2013b: 38–41). In (14), a fourth vote is described as "the vote on Obamacare" rather than referring to it by a compound *Obamacare vote*. Descriptions are more explicit, because they specify the relationship between the two elements that are combined.

When we translate the underlined expressions in (14) into French, we can use the expressions in (16).

(16) a. vote sur l'immigration
b. vote sur l'avortement
c. vote sur la négociation collective

The expressions in (16) all have *vote* ('vote$_N$') as the head, followed by the preposition *sur*, used here in the sense of 'on', and a noun phrase with a definite article rendering the non-head of the English compounds. For (16a) and (16b) it is not difficult to find examples of use in the intended sense, for (16c) a web search did not return any exact matches. Interestingly, this corresponds to the observations on the German expressions in (15). The lack of attestations for (15c) and (16c) may be due to the greater degree of specificity. On one hand, this may be a matter of the political context, on the other, the specificity is reflected in the fact that the non-head is itself a complex expression.

A comparison of the German translations in (15) and the French translations in (16) shows two systematic differences. First, in (16), the relation between the nouns is expressed by the preposition *sur*. In (15), the compounds leave this relation unexpressed. It can be inferred from the meaning of the components and our knowledge of the world, but it is not made explicit. Secondly, the expressions in (16) contain a definite article, for which there is no formal equivalent in (15). Therefore, although the expressions in (16) can be

used to translate the underlined compounds in (14), their meaning is not determined in the same way. The expressions in (15) are not only usable as translations of the compounds in (14), but also get their meaning in the same way.

The question is what exactly determines the difference in status between the construction exemplified in (16) and the corresponding compounds in (14) and (15). Three hypotheses are formulated in (17).

(17) a. The difference is due to the fact that there is a preposition in (16).
b. The difference is the result of the selection of the preposition *sur* in (16).
c. The difference depends on the use of the definite article in (16).

The hypotheses in (17a) and (17b) are alternative formulations for the first difference. In (17a), any preposition is supposed to have the same effect, whereas in (17b), the effect depends on the choice of the preposition. The second difference is addressed in (17c).

In order to distinguish between (17a) and (17b), we can compare (10c) and (16a). In (10c) we have the preposition *de* and in (16a) the preposition *sur*. In English (10a), the meaning of the expression is determined mainly by the two components *olive* and *oil*. The fact that (10a) is a compound does not indicate the relation between these two components. Its contribution to the meaning is only that it determines *oil* as the head. The exact meaning of the compound is a result of the use of the expression for naming a particular concept. Ten Hacken (2019: 64) calls this *onomasiological coercion*. In naming, we start from a concept and the meaning of the name that is selected is the concept we started from. In French (10c), the contribution of *de* is similar in nature to the contribution of compounding in English (10a). *De* expresses a dependency relation, i.e. it indicates that *huile* is the head and *olive* is dependent on it, but it does not restrict the nature of the relationship between them. This is illustrated by the different relationships in the examples in (18).

(18) a. huile d'olive ('olive oil')
b. huile de table ('table oil')
c. huile de lampe ('lampe oil')

In (18a), *olive* is the source of the oil, in (18b), *table* indicates where the oil is served and in (18c), *lampe* indicates the function of the oil. As such, the N+*de*+N constructions in (18) are like compounds and unlike (16), where *sur* specifies the relation between the two nouns to a much greater extent. The comparison of *de* and *sur* suggests that (17b) is a viable hypothesis.

In the French morphological tradition, it is rather (17a) that is maintained. Thus, Fradin (2009) analyses cases such as (16) and (18) as instantiations of the structure $[\text{N PP}]_{\text{NP}}$. One of the expressions he discusses is *pied-à-terre*. We can compare the examples in (19).

(19) a. Il vit en province et dispose d'un pied-à-terre à Paris.
'he lives in (the) province and has a pied-à-terre in Paris'
b. Le cavalier mit pied à terre.
'the horseman put foot on ground', i.e. the horseman dismounted

The example in (19a) is from DAf (2024: *pied-à-terre*), the one in (19b) is from Fradin (2009: 418). The fact that Fradin uses (19b) as an argument that *pied-à-terre* cannot be a compound in (19a) shows that his concept of *compound* is independent of any semantic considerations. In (19b), *pied* ('foot') is the object of the verb *mit* ('put') and *à terre* is a separate constituent. In (19a), *pied-à-terre* refers to a concept. The only similarity between the two occurrences of *pied à terre* in (19) is the sequence of elements. This is reminiscent of the case of *children's book* in (12). Therefore, I do not consider this a strong argument for the hypothesis in (17a).

The question of the definite article raised in (17c) is quite complex. In French, the definite article is used for generic noun phrases as in (20).

(20) À l'état sauvage, le lion vit principalement dans les savanes africaines.
'in the state wild, the lion lives mainly in the savannahs African'
i.e. In the wild, lions live mainly in the African savannah.

Whereas the generic interpretation of *lion* is expressed by the indefinite plural in English, French has the definite singular. In compounds, the non-head is interpreted generically, so that it is not surprising that we find such examples as (21).

(21) a. virus de la grippe ('virus of the flu', i.e. influenza virus)
b. virus de la rage ('virus of the rabies', i.e. rabies virus)
c. virus Ebola ('virus Ebola', i.e. Ebola virus)

As shown by the translations, the three types of virus in (21) are designated by compounds in English. In (21a–b), we have a construction with *de* and a definite article in French, in (21c) a compound comparable to (8c). As there seems to be no semantic correlation with the occurrence of the definite article, the role of the latter appears to be of a similar type to that of the linking element in German. It occurs in some but not all compounds and is semantically empty (Fleischer/ Barz 2012: 186). As indicated by Koliopoulou (2014), the main function of the linking element in German is to strengthen the perception of the expression as a compound, but neither its form nor its occurrence expresses any contrast. For French examples such as (21a–b), the best analogy to the German linking element might then be the combination of the preposition *de* and the definite article *le* or *la*. The latter corresponds to genericity and the former to the genitive, both notions that have a strong affinity to compounding.

6. The status of the preposition à

In (8), *filtre à café* is presented as the French translation of English and German compounds. There is no question about the adequacy of this translation. It designates a clearly identifiable category of objects for speakers of English, German and French, and the equivalence is beyond doubt. The question is whether the French expression in (8c) should rather be considered a lexical expression parallel to these compounds or a descriptive expression with a syntactic basis. In section 5, the difference between *de* and *sur* in similar constructions was explored. In the cases considered, *de* only indicates the existence of a relationship, whereas *sur* specifies the nature of the relationship. At first sight, *à* seems to be somewhere in between *de* and *sur*.

An approximation of the strength of the meaning of a preposition can be derived from its treatment in a large general dictionary. Such dictionaries describe the way words are used in general language by classifying examples found in corpora. The hypothesis can be formulated as "the more space devoted to a preposition and the more different senses identified in a dictionary, the less focused the lexical meaning of the preposition".

For French, the nine-volume Robert (1986) is an important resource. In four volumes, DAf (2024) is less extensive, but it is also more recent. Table 1 summarizes some measures for the entries of *de*, *sur* and *à* in DAf (2024).

Table 1: Length and complexity of dictionary entries in DAf (2024)

DAf (2024)	Senses	Subsenses	Length	
de	5	18	3105	100
sur	4	11	2046	66
à	11	33	3896	125

In Table 1, the length is measured in words. The right-most column gives the proportion compared to *de*. DAf (2024) uses two levels of sense distinctions. The higher level is summarized at the start of the entry. The number of subsenses in Table 1 is the sum of the lower-level senses. The measures in Table 1 do not support the view that *de* and *sur* determine a continuum on which *à* is located. Instead, *à* is more complex than both *de* and *sur*.

For Robert (1986), Table 2 (p. 51) gives measures for the entries of the same prepositions. Robert (1986) is a paper dictionary. Therefore the length is measured in centimetres of running columns rather than in words. This dictionary uses a complex tree structure of senses involving many different levels. The senses counted in Table 2 (p. 51) are the ones preceded by ◆. If a higher-level

sense is not divided into senses with ◆, it is also counted as one sense. The number of senses indicates that the level corresponds more or less to that of the subsenses in DAf (2024), but the correspondence is not absolute, which suggests that there is no unambiguous analysis. Also Robert (1986) gives the impression that *à* is semantically more complex than *de*. The overall length of the articles shows remarkably similar proportions. As Robert (1986) numbers the examples in an entry, the number of examples can also be used as a measure of the complexity of a word's meaning. This measure is higher for *de* than for *à*.

Table 2: Length and complexity of dictionary entries in Robert (1986)

Robert (1986)	**Senses**	**Examples**	**Length**	
de	16	106	145,7	100
sur	8	25	80,6	55
à	35	75	177,8	122

The treatment in large monolingual dictionaries indicates that the meaning of *à* is at least as complex as the meaning of *de*. At first sight, this suggests that the contribution of *à* to the overall meaning of expressions where it introduces the modifier of a noun is probably not more specific than that of *de* in such expressions. However, the question is to what extent the variety of meanings that are available for the preposition is actually used in the cases where they introduce the modifier of a noun.

7. The preposition à in nominal constructions

Although Table 1 (p. 50) and Table 2 show that *à* has a larger variety of meanings than *de* and *sur*, the range of meanings that we find in constructions in which *à* modifies a noun is much more limited. At the highest level of organization, Robert (1986) divides the article on *à* into five sections. Let us look at these in more detail. One example of each of the first four sections is given in (22).

(22) a. À qui est ce manteau?
('PREP who is this coat?', i.e. whose coat is this)
b. Arriver à Londres
('arrive PREP London', i.e. arrive in London)
c. donner quelque chose à quelqu'un
('give some thing PREP someone', i.e. give someone something)
d. Ce désert est difficile à traverser
('this desert is difficult PREP $cross_V$', i.e. … difficult to cross)

In (22a) the function of *à* can be described as possessive and in (22b) as locative. In (22c) it is rather a periphrastic dative and in (22d) it corresponds to infinitival *to* in English. In (22a), *à* is used in combination with copulative *être*. The locative and dative modifiers in (22b) and (22c) take verbs as the head they modify and the infinitival modifier in (22d) an adjective. What all of these senses have in common is that they do not give rise to expressions that can be used to translate nominal compounds. Robert (1986) treats the use of *à* in such expressions in the fifth and final section of the entry. In (23), a selection of examples is given.

(23) a. moulin à café ('mill PREP coffee', i.e. coffee grinder)
b. machine à laver ('machine PREP $wash_v$', i.e. washing machine)
c. bateau à voiles ('boat PREP sails', i.e. sailing ship)
d. tapis à fleurs ('carpet PREP flowers')

In Robert (1986), section 5 of the entry for *à* is divided into three senses at the level recorded in Table 2 (p. 51). The first of these is divided according to whether *à* is followed by a noun or an infinitive verb, as in (23a) and (23b). The other two senses are illustrated in (23c) and (23d). Two related questions to be addressed here are whether we are dealing with lexicalized expressions referring to a concept and what is the contribution of the preposition to the meaning of the entire expression.

Let us first focus on (23a–c). As for the first question, the English equivalents suggest that the expressions refer to a concept. In German, the corresponding expressions are the compounds in (24).

(24) a. Kaffeemühle ('coffee mill')
b. Waschmaschine ('$wash_v$ machine')
c. Segelboot ('sail boat')

In compounds, the relationship between the head and the non-head is not expressed. In (24a), we only have the two component nouns. Lieber (2004: 98) considers three ways in which this relationship can be determined. The first is by the context. Lieber (2016: 8) calls this *Contextual Coercion*. The second way is lexicalization, i.e. the recording of a specific meaning in the (mental) lexicon. Finally, Lieber mentions the possibility that the expression is "predisposed pragmatically towards [a] particular interpretation" (2004: 98).

As noted by ten Hacken & Panocová (2024: 122–124), the factors identified by Lieber take the interpretation by the hearer or reader as their point of departure. In fact, however, it is the speaker who determines what is the actual meaning of an expression. The hearer tries to retrieve it. In order to make the communication successful, the speaker will in general take into account what the hearer can do in this respect, but if we want to settle the actual meaning of

an expression, it is the meaning intended by the speaker that we focus on. Once the speaker identifies the need to name a concept, the meaning of the expression will be determined by the concept. In that case, the question is whether the expression serves as the name for a concept or as a description of a particular instantiation of a concept.

In the example of French (23a) and its German equivalent (24a), the question is whether we are dealing with the name of a concept or with a description of a particular instantiation and how *à* in (23a) influences the way this meaning is arrived at. An N+N compound such as (24a) suggests that we are dealing with a name for a concept, because it presents itself as a word. Robert (1986) gives (25) as the description of the senses in section 5 of the meanings.

(25) a. La préposition *à* sert à construire le complement d'un nom […]
'The preposition *à* serves to construct the complement of a noun'
b. Correspondant à l'idée de destination […]
'Corresponding to the idea of destination'
c. La préposition *à* introduit le complément de moyen d'un nom […]
'The preposition *à* introduces the complement of means of a noun'

The general description of the class of meanings in section 5 starts with (25a). The sense covering (23a) and (23b) is described as (25b) and the one covering (23c) as (25c). This suggests that *à* has a much more restricted range of senses than *de* when it occurs in the construction that can serve as a translation of German and English compounds. As a measure of the complexity of the meaning of *à*, the figures in Tables 1 (p. 50) and 2 (p. 51) are misleading in the sense that most of the variety of senses recorded for *à* is irrelevant in this construction.

Let us now turn to (23d). Robert (1986) gives it as an example of the third sense in section 5 of the entry for *à*. This sense is described as (26).

(26) La préposition *à* introduit un compl. d' « accompagnement » et équivaut à « qui a un, des… ».
'The preposition *à* introduces a complement of "accompaniment" and is equivalent to "which has a, some …"'.

For this sense, Robert suggests *avec* ('with') as a paraphrase and notes that there are fewer *syntagmes figés* ('fixed phrases') than for the ones described in (25b–c). A closer look at the translation equivalents in (27) shows how this affects our issue.

(27) a. Blumenteppich DE
b. flower carpet EN
c. tapis à fleurs FR
d. tapis de fleurs FR

In (27), the example in (23d) is repeated as (27c) and contrasted with English and German equivalents as well as an alternative French expression. The German and English compounds in (27a–b) have two interpretations. One is a carpet with images of flowers on it, the other an arrangement of flowers that produces an image resembling a carpet. The former has no real flowers, the latter is no real carpet. A famous example of (27d) is the biannual event in which a large image composed of flowers is laid at the Grote Markt in Brussels (Ville de Bruxelles, 2024). The French expressions in (27c–d) divide these two senses up between them. Whereas (27c) tends to refer to real carpets with images of flowers, the flower carpet in Brussels is designated by (27d). This implies that the prepositions are meaningful in the sense that they constrain the relationship between the two nouns.

The idea that the sense of *à* described in (26) is less prone to lead to fixed phrases is also illustrated by the expressions in (28).

(28) a. sac à trois étoiles FR
b. Tasche mit drei Sternen DE
c. bag with three stars EN

The most straightforward interpretation of (28a) is as a bag which has three stars on it, for instance as a decoration. For (28b–c), we can also think of a bag containing three stars. In German, it is possible to form a compound *Dreisternentasche* ('three-star-bag'), but when we do this, it has the suggestion of a type of bag, for instance a brand marked by three stars or a bag of three-star quality. In French, such an interpretation is possible for (28a), but in German the two senses are divided between the descriptive (28b) and the type-designating compound. In (28), we see the imperfection of translational equivalence at phrase level.

In conclusion, we can say that in nominal constructions, *à* has a much more limited range of meanings than it has in general. In some of these meanings, the resulting construction corresponds to compounds in German and English, but even here *à* is sometimes in semantic contrast with other prepositions, as in (27c–d), and sometimes introduces a descriptive modifier rather than a type, as in (28a).

8. Conclusion: The contribution of translation

In the discussion about the properties that determine whether an expression should be seen as a compound or not, translation can play a significant role. A first observation in this respect is that a characterization of compounding that is cross-linguistically valid is more interesting than one that can only be used in a particular language. Only by means of translation can we establish

that we are dealing with the same phenomenon in different languages. However, it is not sufficient that an expression can be used as a translation of a compound for it to be a compound itself. We need to take a different perspective than when translating a text. The discussion of prepositional expressions in French illustrates this perspective. In German and English, compounding does not specify the relationship between the two components. In the definition of compounding proposed by ten Hacken (2021), the property of leaving the nature of the relationship between the components open is taken as a necessary condition for compounding. Considering in detail the semantics and the translation of prepositions introducing modifiers of nouns in French, as in sections 4–7, illustrates the way I propose to use translation at the lexical level as a method of establishing whether N+Prep+N constructions are compounds in this sense or not. It was shown that individual prepositions behave differently. For *de*, there are good arguments to see it as a parallel to the genitive in English and linking elements in German, so that the N+*de*+N construction in cases such as (10c) and (11c) is a compound. For *sur*, it was concluded that, although it can sometimes be used to translate compounds, this does not make the N+*sur*+N construction a compound, because *sur* determines the relationship between the two nouns it connects. For *à*, the discussion in section 7 showed that it is in between these two. In this case, a more profound study based on a larger set of data will be necessary to reach a conclusion. The question will be how the variety of relationships illustrated in the discussion based on dictionary entries is used in the practice of naming and describing referents.

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Semantic simplification and structural interference. Complex nominal constructions in Polish original and Czech and French translated texts

ABSTRACT

Semantic simplification and structural interference: Complex nominal constructions in Polish original and Czech and French translated texts

Translated language is known to differ systematically from the original language of both the source and the target languages. (Target-oriented) simplification and (source-oriented) interference seem to be universals of translation. In the present study, we analyze both phenomena with respect to complex nominal constructions (CNC) of different structural types from a Polish original text and their translation equivalents in Czech and French. We observe semantic simplification in nearly one-fifth of all the translation equivalents in Czech, but very seldom in French. Instead, the French translator often modified the analyzed constructions both formally and semantically. Interference processes with respect to CNC are not present in French; however, in the Czech translation, compared to a Czech original text, we observed an increased use of genitive constructions (e.g., *léta dětství* 'years of childhood') that might result from the frequent use of this construction type in Polish. We attribute the differences between the Czech and French translations of Polish CNC at least partly to the different degrees of relatedness of these languages to Polish.

Keywords: complex nominal constructions, semantic simplification, interference, translation universals, Polish, Czech, French

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1. Introduction

Complex nominal constructions (CNC), such as the Polish *wytwórca artykułów żelaznych* 'manufacturer of ferrous goods' occur in almost all languages but differ greatly cross-linguistically in (qualitative) structural and (quantitative) distributional aspects. Thus, they are a promising research object for contrastive linguistics (e.g., Clasmeier/ Hennecke 2024) and translation studies. For translation studies, CNC are of particular interest, as their often language-specific and complex structure represents an ideal object for investigating typical features of translated texts, the so-called *translation universals*. At least two well-known translation universals can be targeted simultaneously as regards CNC. Due to their complex structure, CNC can be used to test the universal *simplification* at both formal and functional levels. Furthermore, each language has its own "fingerprint" in terms of language-specific CNC types (and tokens), which, in translation, is likely to be the source of *interference* phenomena (Fabricius-Hansen 2004: 327).

In this paper, we pursue two research objectives. First, we aim to investigate whether the semantic simplification of CNC occurs when fiction is translated from the original Polish into Czech and French. Second, we study whether structural and distributional features of Polish CNC influence their translation into the two target languages.

In the following, we give an overview of translation universals (section 2.1.) and CNC (section 2.2.). Then, we formulate our research objectives and put forward the hypotheses (section 2.3.), before presenting our study of CNC in original Polish as well as translated (and parallel) Czech and French fictional texts (sections 3. Methodology and 4. Results). We discuss the results in section 4 and conclude with prospects for further investigations in the field (section 5).

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Translation universals

Translation universals have been a prominent research topic in translation studies since in the 1980s (e.g., Toury 1980) and 1990s seminal works claimed that there exist "universal features of translation, that is features which typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems" (Baker 1993: 243). Based on individual observations from previous studies, Baker (1993: 243–245) named tendencies to explicitness, disambiguation, simplification, and avoiding repetitions as potential candidates for translation universals. Importantly, these features do not indicate poor translation quality; rather, they are a statistical phenomenon, which Gellerstam (1986) called *translationese*. For

example, Blum-Kulka and Levenston (1983) focused on simplification, and Laviosa (1998) studied lexical and frequency-related properties of translated texts. Big electronic corpora, which started becoming available for linguistics in the 1990s, were considered to offer the potential to systematically investigate these and other translation features.

Translation universals are especially important for linguistically based translation studies, as translations are argued to represent "hybrid language" (Trosborg 1997; Schäffner/ Adab 2001) or a "third code" (Frawley 1984) and thus constitute a unique translatological research object. However, the topic is controversial: some scholars question the translation-specific character of universals (House 2008) or state that "the very idea of making claims about universals in translation is inconceivable since we have no way of capturing translations from all times and all languages" (Mauranen/ Kujamäki 2004: 1–2). Others argue that the phenomena that fall under the label "translation universals" can be traced back to "general characteristics of human cognition" (Halverson 2003: 197). The latter point is not incompatible with the postulated existence of translation universals, as it rather adds explanatory power and cognitive anchoring for the underlying processes.

Since the broad uptake of the possibilities of machine translation and machine learning, the topics of machine translation and translation universals have been interconnected. Numerous studies investigate whether and how reliably translated texts can be identified and differentiated from original texts by machines. Volansky et al. (2015) test the contribution of a wide range of claimed translationese features to the successful classification of translated and original texts based on supervised machine learning. Their study uses the proceedings of the European Parliament (EUROPARL) and focuses on English as the language of original texts and target language of translations and on ten other languages as source languages.

In contrast to Baker (1993), Volansky et al. (2015: 100) follow Chesterman (2004) by differentiating between T-universals and S-universals and state that the latter are "features that can be traced back to the source text", such as the reduction of repetitions and interference. They further state that "interference operates on different levels, from transcribing source language words, through using loan translations, to exerting structural (morphological and syntactic for example) influence" (Volansky et al. 2015: 107). T-universals, on the other hand, can be studied independently of the source texts but in comparison with non-translated texts in the target language. Examples of T-universals are simplification and under-representation of target-language-specific items. One of the most striking results of Volansky et al.'s (2015) study concerns the S-universal "interference," that is, the "fingerprints" of the source on the target language: when the machine learning algorithm used in their study relied on this

feature, it gave the most accurate results in terms of classifying texts as original or translated. As interference is, by its nature, not independent of individual source languages, the authors therefore question the universal status of translation universals.

Furthermore, Volansky et al.'s (2015) investigation is of importance for our study because the authors list specific features that indicate simplification: lexical variety (type–token ratio), mean word length, syllable ratio (syllables per word), lexical density (content word–token ratio), mean sentence length, mean word rank, and most frequent words. Interestingly, these features are exclusively formal or structural in nature. This is not surprising, considering that translationese is normally investigated in quantitative studies that need formally applicable criteria. However, the question arises of how far these formal-structural simplification features accompany semantic simplification. This question is explorative in nature, as a range of hypotheses can be derived from existing research. Reduced lexical variety in translated texts, for example, should inevitably entail semantic loss; however, shorter mean sentence length and less complex syntactic structures in translated texts (cf. Bao 2025) could, but do not necessarily, involve semantic loss. Due to spatial limitations, we can only touch on the controversial issue of semantic equivalence in translation and translation equivalence in general here. We operationalize semantic equivalence for our empirical purposes in section 3 (Methodology) and refer the interested reader to overviews such as those by Koller (2011) and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2004).

2.2. Complex nominal constructions

We analyze CNC in terms of their semantics and structure in original and translated texts, as they offer the opportunity to investigate simplification and interference processes simultaneously. In this section, we present linguistic approaches to this construction type and define the term CNC as applied in our own study.

CNC, such as the French *brosse à dents* "toothbrush" or *timbre-poste* "stamp"; lit. "stamp-post" have sparked controversy in the academic debate on compounding in Romance languages. The discussion is characterized by both considerable terminological confusion and inconsistent classifications along with delimitations. This topic is discussed in a similar way in literature on various Romance languages and will therefore be addressed from a comparative and cross-linguistic perspective here (for a detailed discussion, see Hennecke 2021). The current literature on word formation often refers to CNC as *syntagmatic compounds* (Buenafuentes de la Mata 2010), but also as *phrasal compounds* (Bisetto/ Scalise 2005), *syntactic compounds* (Rio-Torto/ Ribeiro 2009), *phrasal lexemes* (Masini/ Scalise 2012), and *phrasal nouns* (Cetnarowska 2019).

The terminology is inconsistent because several classifications have been proposed and attempts made to differentiate between lexical and syntactic units. On the one hand, the mentioned CNC syntactically resemble syntactic units, as they consist of more than one lexical constituent and, in many cases, obey syntactic rather than morphological rules of word formation. On the other hand, many CNC semantically resemble lexical items, in that they form a (more or less) fixed or even lexicalized semantic form-meaning pair or "naming unit" (Štekauer 2001). While some approaches include CNC in the definition of compounding (e.g., Buenafuentes de la Mata 2010; Ten Hacken 2021), others do not. For instance, Villoing (2012: 35) excludes "lexicalized syntactic constructions that behave like lexical units" and "NPs of the structure of NN," such as *fil de fer* 'iron wire' and *avocat ami* 'lawyer friend' from her description of French compounding. She states that "a sequence of words is a morphological compound if it is a lexeme (noun, verb or adjective) constructed from other lexemes, according to a non-syntactic mode of organization" (ibid); therefore, no kind of CNC satisfies her definition of compounding.

In the academic debate on CNC, the criteria used to differentiate between morphological composition and syntactic structures remain controversial. While some authors, such as Villoing (2012: 35), consider the morphosyntactic structure to be the most important criterion, others, such as Val Álvaro (1999: 4827), argue that the absence of compositional meaning in syntagmatic compounds is the most important distinguishing feature.

According to Fernández-Domínguez (2019: 190), complex lexemes can be distinguished from free syntactic structures by specific (semantic or syntactic) criteria. The first criterion is their referential uniqueness with an extralinguistic referent (e.g., the French *brosse à dents* 'toothbrush' refers to one specific extralinguistic referent). The second criterion refers to the inability to insert other lexemes ("atomicity") (e.g., the French *salle de bain* 'bathroom' and **salle de mon bain* 'room of my bath'). The third criterion concerns the inability to replace the semantic head without loss of meaning ("semantic fixity") (e.g., in the French *guerre froide* 'cold war' vs. **conflit froid* 'cold conflict'). These criteria can be applied to many, primarily (semi-)idiomatic and fixed, complex lexemes, but the referential uniqueness ("naming function") is particularly difficult to verify in concrete classification processes. Cetnarowska (2019: 279) summarizes the discussion by stating that complex constructions "show phrase-like syntactic complexity yet they resemble morphologically complex words (such as affixal derivatives and compounds) in exhibiting the naming function."

According to Van Goethem and Amiot (2019: 148f.), the differentiation between French compounds and syntactic structures is far from clear; therefore, they opt for a constructionist approach to CNC. From their perspective, a constructionist approach can deal with structurally complex and ambiguous

structures. In that sense, "both compounds and phrasal structures with a naming function can act as conventionalized form-meaning pairings or 'constructions' and we should accept the existence of what Booij (2010: 109) calls 'lexical phrasal constructions'" (Van Goethem/ Amiot 2019: 149). Cetnarowska (2019: 285) takes the same approach for Polish complex constructions, also called "phrasal nouns" or "juxtapositions," such as NN_{gen} (e.g., *mąż stanu* 'statesman'), N prep N (e.g., *chustka do nosa,* literally, 'cloth for the nose', i.e., 'handkerchief'), NA_{rel} (e.g., *drukarka laserowa* 'laser printer'), $A_{rel}N$ (e.g., *nocna zmiana* 'night shift'), and NN (e.g., *poeta-tłumacz* 'poet-translator')[1]. In her approach to Polish complex constructions, Cetnarowska (2019: 300f.) establishes construction schemes based on Construction Morphology, which can account for the discrepancy in their complex syntactic and semantic structure.

For this contribution, we adopt Cetnarowska's approach and base our analysis on the five mentioned Polish complex constructions ("phrasal nouns"), with a focus on nominal constructions with at least two constituents and the formal structure NN_{gen}, NA_{rel}, $A_{rel}N$, N prep N, and NN. Therefore, since we are applying a purely structural criterion, our study is not directly related to word formation. CNC with two nominal constituents have also been referred to as binominal constructions (see Pepper et al. 2023 for a detailed discussion). Pepper et al. (2023) define binominal constructions on a functional level as complex constructions including two nominal concepts and on a formal level as complex constructions consisting of two "thing-morphs" (Pepper et al. 2023: 10; also Pepper 2020: 104, Pepper 2023: 30). This definition thus excludes deverbal derivations, such as the Polish *przewód elektryczny* 'electric line' (from the Polish *przewodzić* 'to guide'), or compounding through derivational suffixes, such as the French *saladier* 'salad bowl' (see Clasmeier/ Hennecke 2024 for a more detailed discussion).

In this contribution, we avoid theoretically clear but empirically problematic concepts such as "naming unit" and "thing-morph" and base our analysis on structural aspects of the complex construction. Importantly, we consider "phrasal nouns" as well as syntactically related nominal phrases with the abovementioned constituents. This decision is justified by our research question, which focuses on possible simplification and interference phenomena during the translation process. For this purpose, it is not relevant whether the analyzed construction is considered a naming unit or consists of "thing-morphs."

The table below summarizes the underlying classification of CNC for the corpus analysis. Note that the first and second columns are directly aligned with the Polish examples that illustrate the corresponding CNC type. For Czech,

1| We use the following abbreviations: N=noun, A=adjective, Gen=genitive, Prep=preposition, Rel=relational.

French, and English, we provide translation equivalents[2] of the Polish CNC. The CNC type of the translation equivalents is not coded in Table 1.

Table 1: Types of analyzed complex nominal constructions and examples

CNC type	Polish	Czech	French	English
N N_{gen}	kąt oka	oční koutek	coin de l'œil	corner of the eye
N prep N	nóż do chleba	nůž na chléb	couteau à pain	bread knife
N A_{rel}	czepiec kucharski	kuchařský klobouk	toque de cuisinier	chef's hat
A_{rel} N	drewniany talerz	dřevěný talíř	assiette en bois	wooden plate
NN	farmer niziołek	půlčík farmář	fermier lutin	farmer-halfling

2.3. Research question and hypotheses

As discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2, comparing translations of CNC could shed light on both source-text-oriented and target-text-oriented translation phenomena. Therefore, we set out to answer the following research question: how are the CNC from an original Polish text translated into a closely related language from the same language family, namely Czech, and into a more distantly related one from another language family, that is French? More precisely, does semantic simplification occur, and if so, to what extent? And does the CNC type of the Polish original influence the choice of CNC types for the Czech and French translation equivalents?

As the latter two questions require different levels of analysis, we formulate two hypotheses. The first is the simplification hypothesis. Simplification is a frequently reported process in translation, and some of the observed features at the formal and lexical levels might be associated with semantic loss as well. Therefore, we expect translation equivalents for Polish CNC to show a certain degree of semantic simplification. For this purpose, we compare the Polish original text with its Czech and French translations.

The second is the interference hypothesis. The three languages share most CNC types but fundamentally vary in the distribution of these types in language use (token frequency). We expect to observe an influence of the source language on the choice of CNC type for the translation equivalents; thus, the distribution of CNC types in the Czech and French translation equivalents

2| Here and in the following we use the term "translation equivalent" to refer to a construction in the translated text that corresponds to a CNC in the original text.

should resemble that in the Polish original. We expect this effect to be bigger in the closely related Czech than in the more distantly related French. For this purpose, we compare the CNC distributions in the translated Czech and French texts with the distributions in original texts from these languages, on the one hand, and with the original Polish text, on the other.

3. Methodology

3.1. Corpus

We analyzed 275 CNC from the first chapter of the original Polish fantasy novel "Krew elfów" (1994, "Blood of Elves") from the "Wiedźmin" ("The Witcher") series by Andrzej Sapkowski and their Czech and French translation equivalents. We chose this novel as it represents modern Polish and has been translated into numerous languages. The analyzed Polish original text contains 10,361 word tokens, the Czech translation (1995 by Stanislav Komárek) 10,351, and the French translation (2008 by Lydia Waleryszak) 15,947.

Furthermore, we analyzed Czech and French original texts with regard to CNC as baselines for the investigation of the interference hypothesis. For Czech, we analyzed the story "Poslední návrat" ("The Last Return") by Jan Cimický (1988), containing 17,460 tokens. For French, we chose "Journal du dehors" ("Diary of the Outside World") by Annie Ernaux (1993), with 15,626 tokens.

While we compiled the "Krew elfów" translation corpus ourselves, based on the web corpus Sketch Engine (sketchengine.eu), we chose the Czech and French original texts from the Czech national corpus kontext (https://www.korpus.cz/kontext) and the French database Frantext (https://www.frantext.fr). The decisive criteria for selecting these texts were their availability and date of origin, which had to be comparable to the original Polish text.

3.2. Procedure

For the purpose of our study, we investigate CNC ("phrasal nouns" as well as syntactically related nominal phrases) based on the theoretical considerations laid out in section 2.2. In addition, we made the following operationalizations: CNC consist of at least two nominal components, that is, nouns or relational adjectives in their relational function. We define nouns grammatically; thus, we consider prototypical nouns denoting objects, such as *drzewo* 'tree' and deverbal and deadjectival derivations, such as *zderzenie* 'clash' or *białość* 'whiteness' (Lehmann 2013: 308–309). Only common nouns were considered; no proper nouns were included.

Relational adjectives frequently develop secondary qualifying meanings; for example, the Polish *metaliczny* 'metal-' can also mean 'metallic' as in *metaliczny*

głos 'metallic voice'. In these polysemous cases, context analysis revealed the actual meaning of the adjective. Constructions containing polysemous adjectives with a qualifying function were excluded from the analysis.

The procedure outlined above leads to the five basic CNC types: noun + relational adjective (NA_{rel}), relational adjective + noun ($A_{rel}N$), noun + nominal genitive attribute (NN_{gen}), noun + preposition + noun (N prep N), and noun + congruent noun (coordinative compounds; NN) in Polish (see Table 2, p. 66, for examples).

We also analyzed constructions that consist of more than two nominal components, for example, N prep N constructions with an additional attribute accompanying the second noun. An example is cp. *wełniane szaliczki w kolorze zgniłej zieleni* 'woolen scarves in the color of rotten green'. We name these further attributed CNC types *complex*, yielding NA_{rel} complex, NN_{gen} complex, and N prep N complex (NN and $A_{rel}N$ do not occur in complex form). Importantly, we considered only additional nominal components. Syntactic attributes in the form of qualifying adjectives, participles, or pronouns were not taken into account.

The decision to include more complex units originated from the underlying research question of this contribution, as complex constructions are particularly suitable for investigating processes of simplification in translation. For the same reason, our analysis focuses on semantically compositional constructions only. We exclude idiomatic expressions (e.g., *kawał chłopa* literally 'piece-of-a-peasant' meaning 'a giant of a man') as well as exocentric compounds with a semantic head outside the compound structure, such as the English word *blackcap*, as they do not allow for semantic simplification or interference processes.

Note that in the CNC described above, proper names may occur "by chance." However, such occurrences are not constitutive of these CNCs; rather, they appear incidentally in the analyzed phrase. Finally, we labeled complex CNC based on their head, thus, *otchłań (ciemnych) bocznych przejść* 'abyss of (dark) side passages' is classified as "NN_{gen} complex", leaving aside the fact that *bocznych przejść* 'side passages' is also a basic AN construction.

To test the simplification hypothesis, we classified translation equivalents for Polish CNC regarding the semantic relationship of the original and the translation as follows:

1. The semantics of the original CNC is **retained** in the translation (denotative equivalence, Koller 2011: 230–243).
2. The semantics of the original CNC is not fully retained in the translation; at least one semantic component is missing; the translation is semantically **simplified**.
3. The semantics of the original CNC is **modified**; at least one semantic component is replaced by a semantically different component in the translation, or at least one semantic component is added.

Importantly, we did not consider formal parameters of simplification here. If a Polish CNC such as *sklep jubilerski* 'jewelry shop' is translated by a formally simple, but semantically appropriate derivate in Czech or French (e.g., the French *bijouterie*), no case of simplification is attested.

Paraphrases of original CNC can occur with simplified semantics (e.g., pl. *ludzie pokroju tego Rience'a* 'People of the Riences breed' → cz. *lidé, jako je rience* 'people like rience'), but this is not always the case (e.g., pl. *(spojrzał) w oczy czarodziejki* '(looked) into the eyes of the sorceress' → fr. (*regardait) la magicienne droit dans les yeux* '(looked) the sorceress straight in the eyes').

To test the interference hypothesis, we classified Czech and French translation equivalents for Polish CNC with regard to their CNC type (cf. Table 3, p. 67). As described above, we differentiated between basic CNC (e.g., N prep N) and further attributed CNC (e.g., N prep N complex). Finally, three other types of translation equivalents occurred: if the equivalent was not a CNC but a simple lexeme, we classified it as a "lexeme". If it was paraphrased, for example, translated with a verbal construction, we coded it as "other". If the original CNC was not translated at all, it was coded as "omitted".

4. Results

We analyzed 275 CNC from the Polish original text (OT) and classified them by their CNC type (cf. Table 2). English translations here and below are provided by the authors.

Table 2: CNC types from the Polish original text

CNC type	Absolute number	Proportion (%)	Example from Polish OT	English
NN_{gen}	119	43.3%	antałek piwa	beer keg
NN_{gen} complex	33	12.0%	brak szacunku dla wszelkich wartości	lack of respect for any values
N prep N	35	12.7%	arras z nimfą	tapestry with a nymph
N prep N complex	15	5.5%	aksamitny kaftan w kolorze sepii	velvet kaftan in sepia color
NA_{rel}	22	8.0%	artykuły żelazne	article of iron
A_{rel} N	46	16.7%	czarodziejski pierścień	wizard's ring
NN	5	1.8%	dziecko niespodzianka	surprise child
	275	100%		

The distribution of CNC types in Table 2 (p. 66) clearly shows that genitive constructions are by far the most frequent CNC basic type in the Polish original text. Furthermore, and surprisingly, AN constructions clearly outweigh NA constructions, although NA (i.e., the postposition of the adjective) is typical in Polish, especially with relational adjectives. However, this result is consistent with recent observations from Clasmeier/ Hennecke (2024) and Clasmeier (2023).

As the focus of the present paper is on translation phenomena, we now turn to the analyses of Czech and French translation equivalents of the Polish CNC and report the results with regard to our two hypotheses separately.

4.1. Simplification hypothesis

The equivalents of the Polish CNC were analyzed in the Czech and French translated texts (TT). The translation equivalents were then classified with respect to their semantics, as described in section 3 outlining the procedure.

Table 3 illustrates each category with examples from our translation corpus.

Table 3: Illustrative examples for the categorization regarding the CNC semantics in translation

Polish (OT)	**EN**	**Czech (TT)**	**EN**	**French (TT)**	**EN**
1. Semantics retained					
antałek piwa	'beer keg'	sud piva	'beer keg'	tonnelet de bière	'beer keg'
2. Semantics simplified					
odblask światła	'light glare'	světlo	'light'	–	–
czarodziejski pierścień	'magic ring'	–	–	bague	'ring'
3. Semantics modified					
muzyka lutni	'music of the lute'	zvuk loutny	'sound of the lute'	le son d'un luth	'the sound of a lute'

As Figure 1 (p. 68) below shows, the semantics of the original Polish CNC is retained in more than two-thirds of the cases. However, one-third of the translations in the two languages clearly differ. The "semantics simplified" category appears significantly more often in the Czech translation (17.1%) than in the French (5.1%). Conversely, "semantics modified" appears more frequently in the French version (27.6%) than in the Czech (13.5%).

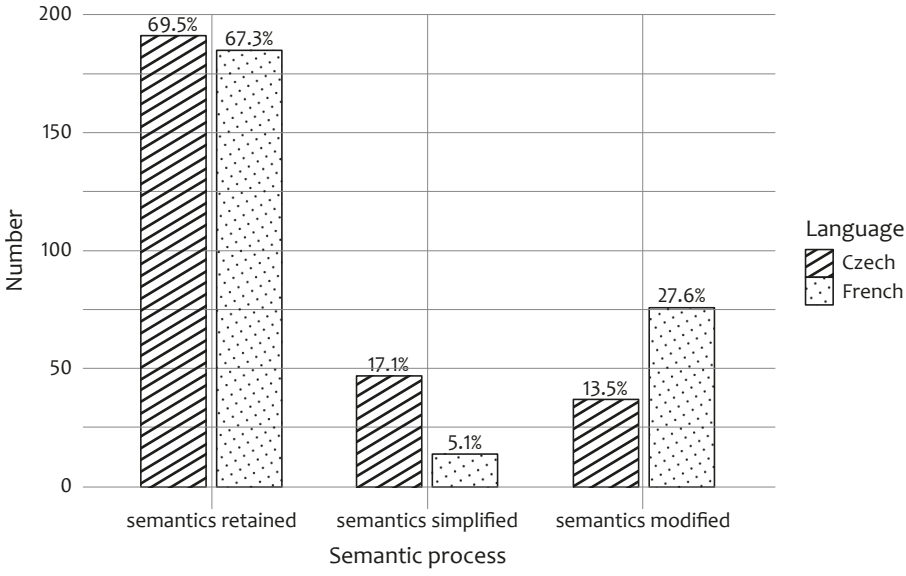


Figure 1: Semantic processes in Czech and French CNC translations

A chi-square test revealed that the differences between Czech and French in the distribution of each of the three semantic processes are highly significant, $X^2(2, N = 275) = 31.408$, $p < .001$.

Semantically simplified CNC belong to structurally different types, essentially, semantic reduction and total omission. The reduction of the original CNC in the Czech translation is illustrated in example (1):

(1) Polish original: *Chłopiec spuścił głowę i wrócił do cichego brzdąkania na* ***strunach*[3] *lutni***.
'The boy lowered his head and returned to quietly strumming on **the strings of his lute.**'
Czech translation: *Hoch kvapně couvl a pokračoval dál v tichém brnkání na* ***loutnu***.
'The boy backed away hastily and continued to strum quietly on his **lute**.'

Total omission rarely occurs in Czech, and not at all in French, and is represented in example (2):

(2) Polish original: *Hej, grajku – powiedziała Mama Lantieri, wkraczając do izby bez pukania, pchając przed sobą* ***woń hiacyntów, potu, piwa i wędzonki***. *– Masz gościa.*

3| We have underlined the words that were omitted in the translation in the original text.

"'Hey, player," said Mama Lantieri, entering the chamber without knocking, pushing **the scent of hyacinths, sweat, beer and smoked meat** in front of her. – You have a visitor.'
Czech translation: *„Hej, šumaři," řekla Máma lantieri, vcházejíc bez zaklepání do světnice. „Máš hosta."*
"'Hey, musician," said Mama Lantieri, entering the room without knocking. "You have a visitor."'

Modification also occurs in different forms, as illustrated by an example from the French translation:

(3) Polish original: *Czarodziejka odstawiła kubek, sięgnęła po **rożen z kurczakami**.*
'The sorceress put down the cup, reached for the **chicken spit**.'
French translation: *La magicienne reposa son gobelet et empoigna **une broche sur laquelle rôtissaient des poulets**.*
'The sorceress put down the cup and reached for **a spit on which chicken roasted**.'

4.2. Interference hypothesis

The Czech and French translation equivalents for Polish CNC were analyzed regarding their own CNC type. The categories were identical to those used with the Polish original text (cf. section 2). Additionally, we analyzed CNC types and frequencies in one Czech and one French original text.

4.2.1. Czech

We analyzed 206 translation equivalents for the 275 Polish CNC in the Czech translation. Note that the total numbers differ, as for this step of the analysis, we excluded cases of omitted translations (9), translations with a simple lexeme (30), and paraphrases (30) that did not meet the definition of CNC. Table 4 (p. 70) gives an overview of the absolute numbers and the proportions of each CNC type and examples with translations into English.

Furthermore, CNC in Cimickýs story "Poslední návrat" (N = 461) were analyzed similarly to the analysis of the Polish original text. Figure 2 (p. 70) demonstrates the proportions of CNC types in the Polish original text (left) and the Czech translation (middle) as well as the Czech original text (right). As Figure 2 (p. 70) shows, in Cimický, the same CNC categories appear as in the Czech translated text, except for NN.

A chi-square test revealed that the differences between the proportions of CNC types in the Polish original and Czech translation are highly significant ($X^2(7, N = 481) = 31.169$, $p < .001^{***}$). Even though the chi-square test for differences between the Czech translation and Czech original text (Cimický) also reveals significant differences, the X^2 is much lower, indicating that the

Table 4: CNC types in the Czech translation

CNC type	Absolute number	Proportion (%)	Example from Czech TT	English
N N_{gen}	71	34.5%	dcerka krále	the king's daughter
N N_{gen} complex	34	16.5%	díry očních jamek	holes of the eye sockets
N prep N	22	10.7%	nechuť vůči záletníkům	aversion to philanderers
N prep N complex	11	5.3%	žena v mužském oděvu	woman in men's clothing
N A_{rel}	2	1.0%	věci obecné	general things
A_{rel} N	62	30.1%	milostný příběh	love story
A_{rel} N complex	3	1.5%	prkenná stájová přepážka	plank stall partition
NN	1	0.5%	půlčík farmář	farmer-halfling
	206	100%		

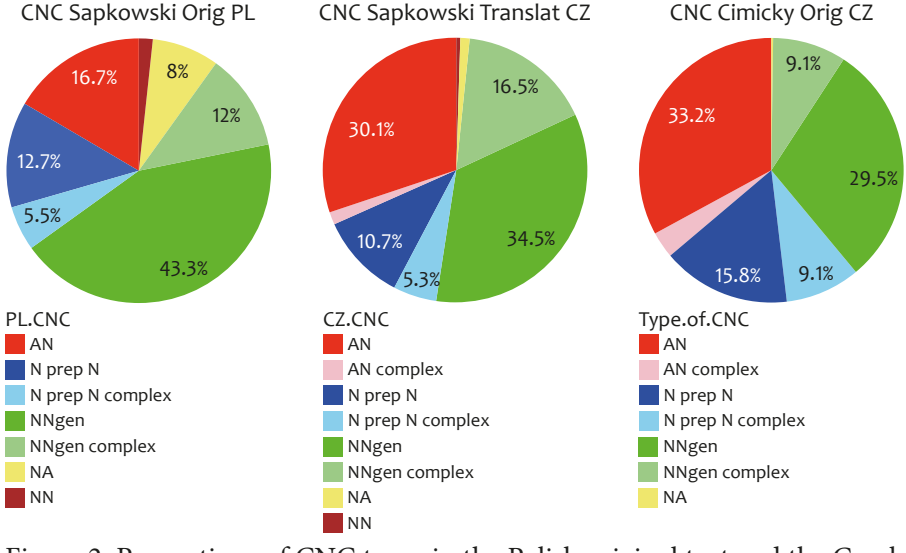


Figure 2: Proportions of CNC types in the Polish original text and the Czech translation and original text

differences are smaller: $X^2(7, N = 667) = 19.023$, $p < .01$**. Figure 2 (p. 70) shows that the CNC in the Czech translated text share proportional features with both the Polish original and the Czech original text; thus, they seem to represent an intermediate state between the two. This is especially true and interesting for $A_{rel}N$ and NN_{gen} constructions: $A_{rel}N$, on the one hand, is the most frequent CNC type in the Czech original text (33.2%), used almost twice as often as in the Polish original (16.7%) and occurring in 30.1% of cases in the Czech translation. On the other hand, the most frequent CNC type in the Czech translation is NN_{gen} (34.5%). In this respect, the translation is similar to the Polish original, of which NN_{gen} is very typical.

4.2.2. French

We analyzed 207 translation equivalents for the 275 Polish CNC in the French translation. Again, the total numbers differ between the original and the translation, as we excluded non-CNC equivalents, that is, lexemes (17) and paraphrases (51). There were no cases of complete omission in the French translation. Table 5 gives an overview of the absolute numbers and the proportions of each CNC type and examples with translations into English.

Table 5: CNC types in the French translation

CNC type	Absolute number	Proportion (%)	Example from French TT	English
N prep N	125	60.4%	cri de rage	cry of rage
N prep N complex	51	24.6%	chef du groupe des nains	leader of the group of dwarves
N A_{rel}	21	10.1%	ruelle boueuse	muddy lane
N A_{rel} complex	1	0.5%	fariboles poétiques sur la destinée	poetic nonsense about destiny
NN	9	4.3%	couteau papillon	butterfly knife
	207	100%		

CNC in Ernaux's story, "Journal du dehors" (N = 482), were analyzed in the same manner as in the Polish and Czech original texts. Figure 3 shows the distribution of CNC types in the Polish original text (left), the French translation (middle), and the French original text (right). As Figure 3 (p. 72) shows, the CNC types NN_{gen} and NN_{gen} complex do not occur in the French texts, as morphological case marking does not exist in French, and case is generally expressed via prepositions, as in *la maison de mon père* 'My dad's house'.

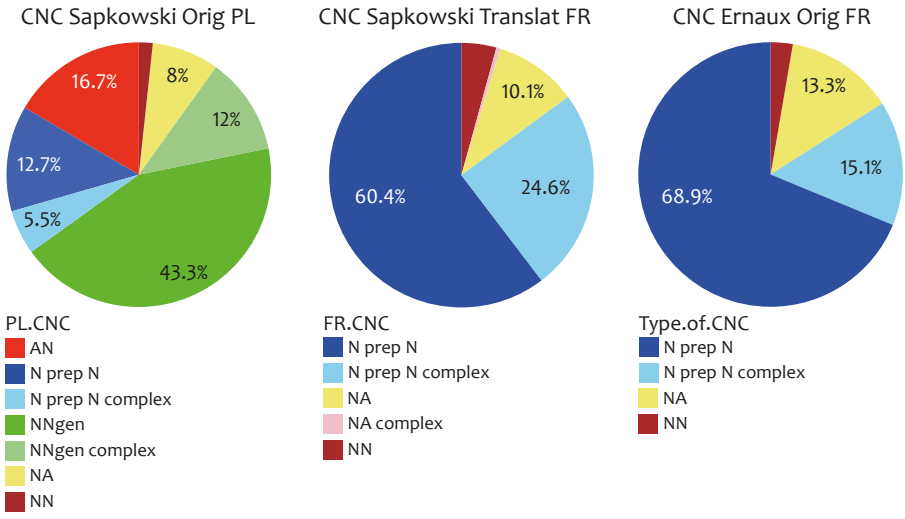


Figure 3: Proportions of CNC types in the Polish original text and the French translation and original text

As shown in Figure 3, the distribution of CNC in the French translation resembles the distribution of the French original text more than that of the Polish source text. This first impression is confirmed statistically: a chi-square test revealed that the differences between the proportions of CNC types in the Polish original and the French translation are highly significant ($X^2(8, N = 483) = 261.68$, $p < .001^{***}$). The extremely high X^2 indicates that the differences are fundamental. Again, even though the chi-square test for differences between the French translation and the French original text is also significant, the X^2 is much lower, indicating that the differences are much smaller: $X^2(5, N = 690) = 19.238$, $p < .01^{**}$. Both the descriptive distribution in Figure 3 and the statistical analysis indicate that interference is not a global characteristic of the French translation. The translation, as such, does not show clear evidence of interference phenomena in the CNC. Instead, the general characteristics of the French translation resemble the French original text. In the French translation, N prep N, including complex N prep N constructions, is by far the most frequent CNC type, followed by NA and NN. The French translation does not show a higher proportion of NA and NN constructions than the original French text. In that sense, our analysis does not show evidence for interference that may be caused by the higher frequency of AN, NA, and NN_{gen} constructions in the Polish text. The distribution of CNC in the French translation corresponds to the French original text and is also consistent with the general preference of French for N prep N and NA constructions (see Clasmeier/ Hennecke 2024).

5. Discussion

We analyzed CNC from the first chapter of a Polish fantasy novel and their Czech and French translation equivalents to answer two research questions: First, does semantic simplification occur in the translation equivalents (simplification hypothesis)? Second, are the Czech and French translation equivalents structurally influenced by the CNC types typical of Polish (interference hypothesis)? With respect to the interference hypothesis, we expected the effect to be bigger in Czech, which is closely related to Polish, than in the more distantly related French.

5.1. Simplification hypothesis

Interestingly, in both translated languages, the proportion of semantically full equivalent translations is almost the same (69.5% for Czech, 67.3% for French). However, they differ with respect to the processes of simplification and modification. Simplification of the Polish CNC is relevant in the Czech (17.1% of cases) but not in the French translation (5.1%). The opposite is true for modification, which occurs in more than one quarter of the French translation equivalents (27.6%) but seldom in Czech (13.5%).

This difference is possibly due to higher similarity in CNC types and their frequency distributions between Polish and Czech (see next section). However, it may also be caused by different translators' strategies and preferences. Note that the Czech translated text is a few words shorter than the Polish original (Czech: 10,351 word tokens, Polish: 10,361), even though Czech is more analytical with respect to auxiliaries in first and second persons' verbal forms (Polish *byłem* > Czech *byl jsem* 'I was'), which separately count as word tokens. This hints that the Czech translator used a tightening translation strategy.

The high number of modifications in the French translation might be caused by structural differences between Polish and French. As the translator more often needs to deviate from the original structure of the Polish source text, this leads to further internal modifications of the constructions. These modifications include semantic enrichment rather than semantic simplification. The French translation frequently shows structurally more complex constructions that slightly modify the semantic meaning, such as in the translation of the Polish AN construction *kolczą siatką* ('chainmail'), translated as the French complex N prep N construction *brassards de mailles armés de pointes* ('chainmail bracers armed with spikes'). It is further striking that the French translation regularly adds descriptive adjectives to the translated CNC, as in the translation *le parois de l'étroit couloir* ('walls of the narrow corridor') in comparison to the Polish original *ściany korytarzyka* ('corridor walls') or in *la gorge de la jeune personne* ('the young person's throat') as a translation of pl. *gardło*

postaci ('the figure's throat'). This may, on the one hand, be explained by the stylistic choices of the translator. On the other hand, it may be partially caused by the highly analytical nature of French, which allows for more stylistic insertion. The particularly analytical nature of French and its possibly more advanced stage of grammaticalization, also in comparison to other Romance languages, has been postulated by various authors based on different morphological and syntactic phenomena (for discussion, see e.g. Carlier et al. 2012; Haspelmath/Michaelis 2017).

5.2. Interference hypothesis

Polish and Czech share most CNC types and, to some extent, their proportions in language use. Constructions with relational adjectives and genitive nouns (NN_{gen}) are very common. With regard to relational adjective constructions, the post-position of the adjective (NA_{rel}) is known to be a typical feature of Polish (e.g., Cetnarowska 2019; for a literature overview, see Clasmeier 2020). However, NA_{rel} occurs surprisingly seldom in the analyzed Polish original text (8%). Constructions with adjectives ($A_{rel}N$) in the pre-position are more than twice as frequent (16.7%). Though this finding is fundamentally in line with recent empirical work on the flexible character of word order in Polish adjective noun constructions (Clasmeier 2023), the clear predominance of $A_{rel}N$ is unexpected. We can only speculate about the cause of this result. Genre peculiarities may be one explanation; however, it may also be due to language change in this syntactic domain. In Czech, the pre-position of the adjective is the default; NA_{rel} is possible in two cases. First, it occurs for information structural reasons when the adjective must be explicitly stressed. Second, it is the default word order in several terms for plant and animal species, such as *zvonek*$_N$ *český*$_A$ 'czech bellflower', *zajíc*$_N$ *polární*$_A$ 'polar hare'. This is presumably due to Latin influence,[4] as seen in the Latin terms with postponed adjective *campanula bohemica* and *lepus arcticus* for the above terms. However, this explanation is speculative and must be left to future systematic empirical investigation. NA_{rel} occurs only once in the Czech original text (Cimický): *akce*$_N$ *srdeční*$_A$ 'cardiac activity' and twice in the Czech translated text: *věci*$_N$ *obecné*$_A$ 'general things' and *milost*$_N$ *boží*$_A$ 'the grace of God'. While *věc*$_N$ *obecná*$_A$ might have occurred under the influence of the Polish *sprawa*$_N$ *uniwersalna*$_A$, *milost*$_N$ *boží*$_A$ is not possible in the reverse order, as *boží*$_A$ *milost*$_N$ is the name for a sort of Czech Easter cookie.

Though the Czech translated text shares most CNC features with the Czech original text, there is one interesting deviation: the most frequent CNC type

4| The immense language contact between Polish and Latin in the Middle Ages is supposed to have caused the development of the predominant adjective postposition in Polish as well (Rospond 2000: 197).

is NN_{gen}, a feature shared with the Polish original text. This result could be attributed to structural interference from Polish. To determine whether genitive constructions in translated Czech occur as direct equivalents for Polish genitive constructions, we analyzed the latter and their Czech equivalents in direct correspondence and found that most cases (86%) are indeed translated with a Czech (complex) genitive construction, for example, *lata dzieciństwa* > *léta dětství* 'years of childhood' (note that the correspondent Czech $A_{rel}N$ is also common: *dětská*$_A$ *léta*$_N$). In the remaining 14% of cases, Polish genitive constructions are translated with Czech $A_{rel}N$ constructions, for example, *mury zamku* > *hradní*$_A$ *zdi*$_N$ 'castle walls'. Interestingly, there are no cases in which a Czech genitive construction would be used as an equivalent for a non-genitive construction in the original.

Last, there are comparable proportions of N prep N in all three analyzed texts.

French shows quite different structural preferences for the formation of CNC from those of Polish and Czech. N prep N is by far the most frequent structural type of CNC, followed by constructions of the NA and NN type. Constructions of the AN type primarily occur with qualifying adjectives in French and only rarely with relational adjectives (Hennemann/ Plötner 2015). Here, French differs from other Romance languages, such as Spanish or Italian, that show a more frequent use of relational adjectives preceding the noun (see Clasmeier/ Hennecke 2024 for a more detailed discussion). Therefore, it is not surprising that the French translation only contains two constructions of the AN type compared to a rather higher number in the Polish original text (16.7%). However, these two constructions, *grandes occasions* ('special occasions', translated from the Polish *okazjach wyjątkowych*) and *énorme éperon* ('enormous spur', translated from the Polish *olbrzymią ostrogą*), do not include a relational adjective in the French translation and were therefore excluded from the analysis of the French CNC. In the same sense, the original French text does not contain any AN constructions with a relational adjective, as relational adjectives are usually postponed in French (Hennemann/ Plötner 2015). The infrequent use of AN constructions in French can also explain the overall higher number of NA constructions in the French texts than in the Polish text. Furthermore, it is striking that only 28% of the Polish AN constructions and 25% of the Polish NA constructions are translated into an NA construction in French. Most Polish constructions including an adjective are hence translated by other means, such as N prep N and paraphrases. This usage can be seen, for example, in the translation of the Polish *kara boża* 'divine punishment' into the French *châtiment des dieux* 'punishment of the gods' or in the translation of the Polish *śpiewam o sprawach uniwersalnych* 'I sing about universal issues' into the French paraphrase *les themes de mes chants sont*

universels 'the topics of my songs are universal'. Thus, we cannot see any influence of the number of NA and AN constructions in the Polish original text. This view is also supported by the fact that the number of NA constructions is even higher in the French original text than in the French translation (cf. Figure 3, p. 72).

While the Polish source text only includes 18.2% of (complex) N prep N constructions, these constructions make up a large part of the French texts. While the number of N prep N constructions is larger in the French original text, the number of complex N Prep N is higher in the translation. As mentioned above, French lacks a grammatical case system, and case is generally expressed via prepositions. This might explain why 84% of the Polish NN_{gen} and 82% of the Polish NN_{gen} complex constructions are translated into French as a (complex) N prep N, for example, the Polish *mury zamku* 'castle walls' as the French *murs du château* 'walls of the castle'. However, despite these structural differences between French and Polish, the French translation does not show an overall higher number of (complex) N prep N constructions or NA constructions than the French original text. Therefore, we cannot see any clear signs of interference in the French translation. It is nevertheless noteworthy that the French original text contains fewer complex N prep N constructions than the translation. This may be due to the fact that verbal constructions and paraphrases are generally preferred over complex nominal structures in French.

6. Conclusion and outlook

In the present study, we combined qualitative and quantitative methods for a comparative investigation of CNC in a Polish original text and their translation equivalents in Czech and French. We observed a relevant number of simplification processes and a possible influence of Polish on the choice of the CNC type in the Czech translation, but not in the French translation. These observations confirm our hypotheses, especially with respect to the different behaviors seen in Czech, which is closely related to Polish, and in the more distantly related French.

However, any generalization of our results would be premature, as the number of languages involved—and, more importantly, the number of items analyzed—is limited. Another limitation is that our data stem from only one text genre (fantasy novel) and two translators and could thus be biased by individual features of those. Furthermore, the Czech and French original texts (Cimický and Ernaux) are fictional but do not belong to the fantasy genre.

Another limitation relates to the structural analysis of CNC in original and translated texts. An important further step would be to determine the degree of lexicalization or range of alternative constructions with an identical meaning

for a specific CNC. This is probably an important factor, as interference phenomena may only occur in non-lexicalized cases with at least one nearly synonymous alternative construction (e.g., in the Czech NN_{gen} and $A_{rel}N$ constructions *léta dětství* and *dětská léta*, both of which mean 'years of childhood').

As a next step, we would like to consider different text types, namely, fictional but non-fantasy texts and non-fictional texts. We also aim at integrating other languages, such as Ukrainian, Russian, and Spanish, to verify the cross-linguistic causes of the observed different translation phenomena. Finally, we are interested in the Romance-to-Slavic direction of translation, for example, in the analysis of a French original text and its translation into Spanish and Polish.

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Die Übersetzung des deutschen Modalverbs *sollen* ins Spanische mit generativer KI und MT

Abstract

The translation of the German modal verb *sollen* into Spanish with generative AI and machine translation

This study focuses on the translation of the German modal verb *sollen* into Spanish with machine translation (MT) and generative artificial intelligence (GenAI). This German modal verb poses difficulties in translation owing to the wide range of functions covered by it. The theoretical framework used for the present studies combines aspects from translation studies and linguistics. The topics from translation studies include linguistically-oriented translation studies, the use of parallel corpora for translation analysis, and quality assessment in translation; from linguistics we took into account lexicogrammar and research on mode and modal verbs. Additionally, we reviewed all major works on the translation of *sollen* into Spanish or Romance languages spoken in Spain. The analysis used in the present study comprises a dataset of 89 originally German sentences extracted from the parallel corpus PaGeS. We had them translated into Spanish by the two freely available MT systems: Google Translate and DeepL, as well as two GenAI tools: ChatGPT and Gemini. The translations rendered by these tools as well as the human translations provided by the corpus were evaluated manually on a four-point Likert scale. The results show that at a general level, human translators performed significantly better than all systems and that among systems ChatGPT outperformed all others. Results vary among individual categories, depending on the frequency of the function and the level of conventionalisation. In our conclusion we outline recommendations for the use of these tools in translation practice and teaching.

Keywords: German modal verbs, sollen, MT, GenAI, translation assessment

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1. Einleitung

Es wird viel darüber spekuliert, ob und wann der Übersetzungsvorgang so weit automatisiert werden kann, dass auch für qualitativ hochwertige Übersetzungen kein menschliches Eingreifen mehr erforderlich ist. Hierbei besteht mittlerweile der Konsens, dass dies bei Texten mit hohem Standardisierungsgrad, insbesondere in Sprachkombinationen und Textsorten, für die große Korpora und/oder große Mengen an fertigen Translationsdaten vorliegen, in hohem Maße möglich ist. Weit schwieriger gestaltet sich dies abseits von Sprachkombinationen mit Englisch, bei kreativer oder idiosynkratischer Sprachverwendung und semantisch komplexen Lexemen. Für letztere ist das deutsche Modalverb *sollen* ein Paradebeispiel, weshalb wir es als Thema für eine Reihe von Studien (vgl. bspw. Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal 2025) gewählt haben. Dieses Modalverb deckt eine große Bandbreite an kommunikativen Funktionen ab und stellt deshalb Deutschlerner, aber fallweise auch professionelle Übersetzer, vor Herausforderungen.

In der vorliegenden Studie untersuchen wir die Übersetzungsleistung von MT und GenAI-Tools bei der Übersetzung von *sollen*, um herauszufinden, inwieweit diese Tools die semantische Vielschichtigkeit dieses Verbs bewältigen können. Dafür haben wir ein Datenset mi 89 Items aus dem Korpus PaGeS[1] erstellt und dieses von zwei MT-Tools (Google Translate und DeepL) und zwei GenAI-Tools (ChatGPT und Google Gemini) ins Spanische übersetzen lassen. Anschließend wurden die Übersetzungen auf einer vierstufigen Likert-Skala von beiden Autoren bewertet. Die Ergebnisse wurden insgesamt und aufgeschlüsselt nach Kategorien statistisch analysiert. Die Analyse zeigt, dass die Humanübersetzung der automatischen Ausgabe signifikant überlegen ist, dass sich jedoch Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Kategorien zeigen, die auf die Häufigkeit der Funktion sowie ihren Konventionalisierungsgrad zurückgeführt werden können.

2. Stand der Forschung

Der theoretische Rahmen dieser Arbeit kombiniert Aspekte aus der Translationswissenschaft und der Linguistik, wobei letztere die Grundwerkzeuge für die Beschreibung und Vergleichbarkeit der analysierten sprachlichen Phänomene über Sprachgrenzen hinweg bietet. Relevante Ansätze aus der erstgenannten Disziplin sind insbesondere die linguistisch orientierte Übersetzungswissenschaft, die Verwendung von Parallelkorpora, Grenzen und Möglichkeiten von MT und GenAI und die Qualitätsbewertung in der Übersetzung (2.1); aus

1| https://www.corpuspages.eu/corpus/about/about?lang=es (Zugriff: 13.02.2025).

der zweiten haben wir die Lexikogrammatik und Perspektiven auf Modus und Modalität herangezogen (2.2). Abschließend werden Arbeiten, die sich mit der Übersetzung von *sollen* in iberoromanische Sprachen beschäftigen, aufgearbeitet (2.3).

2.1. Perspektiven aus der Translationswissenschaft

2.1.1. Die linguistisch orientierte Übersetzungswissenschaft

Das erste große Paradigma der Übersetzungswissenschaft war das linguistische, das die Ausrichtung dieser Disziplin bis in die 1980er Jahre hinein prägte (Siever 2015: 43–82). Dabei wurde Übersetzen als eine Operation zwischen Sprachen, sprachlichen Elementen und Texten verstanden. Vergleichbarkeit wurde anhand von *Äquivalenz* konzeptualisiert, die auf verschiedenen Ebenen hergestellt werden kann (Koller 1979: 228–266, Wotjak 1997: 148–166). Ausgehend davon wurde analysiert, welche Ressourcen die verschiedenen Sprachen zur Verfügung haben, um das Gemeinte auszudrücken. Dabei ging man prinzipiell von Funktionskonstanz zwischen Ausgangstext und Zieltext sowie dem Vorhandensein einer vom Subjekt unabhängigen Bedeutung aus; Funktionsvarianz wurde ursprünglich eher als Sonderfall betrachtet. Obwohl in der Spätphase des linguistischen Paradigmas die Textebene die wichtigste Größe für die Beurteilung von Äquivalenz darstellte, wurde Äquivalenz auch weiterhin auch auf niedriger Ebene, z. B. auf Ebene des Satzes oder einzelner Satzglieder angestrebt, da gerade im Übersetzungsunterricht der Text als Bezugsgröße sich nicht immer als praktikabel erwies (Nord 1998: 69), wobei jedoch Formen der Kompensation über Satzgrenzen hinaus eine Rolle spielten. So ist die gängigste Übersetzungseinheit in der Übersetzungsdidaktik auch heute nach wie vor der Satz; dies gilt weitgehend auch für zahlreiche Korpora und MT-Systeme. Obwohl die linguistisch orientierte Übersetzungswissenschaft ab den 1990er Jahren langsam an Bedeutung verlor, liefert sie nach wie vor das Werkzeug für deskriptive Übersetzungsanalysen und scheint in den letzten Jahren dank der Verfügbarkeit von Übersetzungskorpora sowie von MT und GenAI-Daten neuen Aufschwung zu erleben.

2.1.2. Die Verwendung von Parallelkorpora

Die Nutzung von Parallelkorpora bietet vielfältige Möglichkeiten, Translate, die für authentische Übersetzungsaufträge angefertigt wurden, für Analysen zu nutzen. Wichtigste Voraussetzung für die Wahl eines geeigneten Korpus ist, dass Ausgangs- und Zielsprache eindeutig identifizierbar sind und die Übersetzungen nicht über eine Drittsprache durchgeführt wurden (vgl. Lefer 2020). Viele Analysen untersuchen das Vorhandensein von sogenannten *translationese*, d. h. „distinct features that distinguish them from original, non-translated texts", welche „either from the effect of the translation process on the

translated outcomes, or from ‚fingerprints' of the source language on the target language product" rühren (Rabinovich/ Wintner 2015: 419, vgl. auch Baker 1993: 243–245; Toury 2012: 207–212), das Erkennen von Übersetzungsnormen oder Analysen der Übersetzungspraxis. Letztere zielen auf die Identifikation von Äquivalenten, von Besonderheiten des Sprachtransfers und von Übersetzungsstrategien und -techniken ab (Hu 2016: 26–29; Marco 2019). Dabei bieten große Korpora die Möglichkeit, die Analyse auf bestimmte grammatikalische oder lexikalische Phänomene zu fokussieren und umfangreiche Datenbestände auch für Phänomene mit geringer Häufigkeit zu generieren. Die Ergebnisse solcher Analysen bieten nicht nur Einblicke in die übersetzerische Praxis, sondern können auch im Unterricht im Sinne des entdeckenden Lernens mit authentischen Translationsdaten gewinnbringend eingesetzt werden.

2.1.3. Grenzen und Möglichkeiten von MT und GenAI in der Übersetzung

Über die Grenzen und Möglichkeiten der MT wurde in den letzten Jahren schon sehr viel geschrieben. Positiv hervorgehoben wurde dabei häufig die Zeitersparnis, die vor allem bei informativen und stark genormten Textgenres (vgl. z. B. Läubli et al. 2019) sowie narrativen Texten erheblich ist (die gemessenen Werte liegen zwischen 30 und 40 Prozent) (Toral et al. 2018: 1). Weit geringer fällt der Nutzen bei Texten mit starker sprachlich-kreativer Komponente (vgl. Bawa-Mason 2018: 76) sowie Textbausteinen mit geringer Häufigkeit aus (Schmidhofer 2024: 133–134). Ebenso haben Tests ergeben, dass MT-Systeme oft gesellschaftliche Stereotype reproduzieren (Prates/ Avelar/ Lamb 2019; Stanovsky/ Smith/ Zettlemoyer 2019) sowie Schwierigkeiten haben, gendergerechte Sprache adäquat zu nutzen (Mair/ Schmidhofer 2024).

Bezüglich des Einflusses auf kognitive und emotionale Aspekte beim Übersetzen deuten Studien darauf hin, dass die Arbeit mit bereits vorliegenden Übersetzungsvorschlägen möglicherweise einen geringeren kognitiven Aufwand für den Übersetzer bedeutet (Jia/ Carl/ Wang 2019: 69–71), andererseits aber zu Trägheit oder Widerstand führen kann, den vorliegenden Text weiter zu verbessern (Schmidhofer/ Mair 2018: 177–178) sowie die Kreativität negativ beeinflussen kann (Guerberof-Arenas/ Toral 2022). Ein weiterer Nachteil, der von Übersetzern immer wieder genannt wird, ist die Entfremdung vom entstandenen Produkt und ein damit einhergehender Motivationsverlust.

Das Literaturaufkommen zur Nutzung von GenAI für das Übersetzen ist derzeit noch um vieles geringer, wird jedoch in absehbarer Zeit stark anwachsen. Erste Ergebnisse zeigen, dass ChatGPT beim Übersetzen von kompletten Absätzen bessere Ergebnisse bereitstellt als MT-Systeme (Karpinska/ Iyyer 2023: 1), insbesondere bei Kohärenz und Kohäsion jenseits der Satzgrenzen (T. Lee 2023: 6–12). Des Weiteren deuten Studien darauf hin, dass Ergebnisse durch geeignete Prompts, die eine Art Übersetzungsauftrag enthalten (Informationen

zu Texttyp und -genre und Rezeptionskontext), verbessert oder durch entsprechendes Reprompting verfeinert werden können (Koh 2023: 10–12). Die in diesen Studien angedeutete Überlegenheit von GenAI (in den meisten Fällen ChatGPT) gegenüber MT-Systemen wurde jedoch nicht allumfänglich bestätigt, wie die Studie von Zhang (2024) zeigt, bei der ChatGPT zwar bei automatischer Evaluierung besser abschnitt als Google Translate and DeepL, bei Bewertungen durch Menschen jedoch unterlegen war.

2.1.4. Qualitätsbewertung von Übersetzungen

Bei der Qualitätsbewertung von Übersetzungen wird grundsätzlich zwischen menschlicher (z. B. mit MQM) und maschineller Bewertung unterschieden, wobei Systeme, die zu zweiterer gehören (BLEU, TER) meist mit Referenzübersetzungen arbeiten. Die Vor- und Nachteile beider Vorgehensweisen liegen auf der Hand und müssen hier nicht im Detail wiederholt werden (vgl. Dorr/ Snover/ Matnani 2010; S. Lee et al. 2023: 1–2). Während Bewertungen durch Menschen im Gegensatz zu automatischen den Kontext, intertextuelle oder kulturelle Bezüge in Betracht ziehen und auch die relative Eignung von vorgeschlagenen Lösungen evaluieren können, ist es möglich, dass sich die Resultate zwischen einzelnen Bewertern aufgrund subjektiver Einschätzungen unterscheiden. Für die automatische Evaluierung spricht die Kosteneffizienz sowie die Anwendung der gleichen Kriterien in allen Bewertungen. Eine weitere neue Form der Bewertung ist der Einsatz von GenAI (z. B. Jiang/ Jiang/ Han 2024).

2.2. Perspektiven aus der Linguistik

2.2.1 Lexikogrammatik

Das *tertium comparationis* beim Vergleich von Originalsätzen mit ihren Übersetzungen ist die kommunikative Funktion, die erfüllt werden soll. Im Fall des Modalverbs *sollen* wird diese durch das Zusammenspiel der Bedeutung des Verbs und der es umgebenden Elemente sowie seiner grammatikalischen Form materialisiert. Dieses Verständnis von Lexis und Grammatik als zwei ineinander übergehende komplementäre Systeme speist sich aus der funktionalen Grammatik von Halliday (2004), der diese als zwei Pole eines Kontinuums betrachtet, wobei Grammatik als geschlossenes System verstanden wird, das allgemeine Bedeutungsstrukturen bereitstellt, während Lexis offen und für spezifische Bedeutungen verantwortlich ist. Auf allgemeiner Ebene erachtet Halliday Sprache als ein komplexes System mit fünf Schichten (Kontext, Semantik, Lexikogrammatik, Phonologie und Phonetik), von denen die zweite und dritte die Inhaltsebene ausmachen (2004: 24–25). Dabei ist Lexikogrammatik „the stratum which handles the wording of a text" (Morley 2000: 21).

Das Konzept der Lexikogrammatik scheint für das vorliegende Projekt als besonders passend, da die Funktionen von *sollen*, die im Schema von Milan

(2001, vgl. Abschnitt 2.3.) aufgelistet sind, nur durch ein Zusammenwirken von grammatikalischer Form und der semantischen Bedeutung der verwendeten lexikalischen Einheiten erreicht werden kann. Da der Vergleich über diese Funktion erfolgt, ist die Berücksichtigung lexikalischer sowie grammatikalischer Aspekte (Tempus, Modus, Person) erforderlich.

2.2.2. Modalverben und Modi als Ausdruck der Modalität auf Deutsch und Spanisch

Modalität ist eine komplexe, zugleich übereinzelsprachliche wie einzelsprachliche Kategorie: Sie kommt (möglicherweise) in jeder Sprache vor, und wird in den einzelnen Sprachen durch eine heterogene Vielfalt sprachspezifischer Ausdrucksmittel realisiert. Guzman (2016: 136) bezeichnet Modalität als „una categoria semàntica, pragmàtica i gramatical relacionada amb la subjectivitat en el llenguatge o, el que és el mateix, amb el posicionament de l'emissor respecte a l'enunciat i respecte al seu interlocutor".[2] Im Deutschen wird Modalität außer als Modus (Indikativ, Konjunktiv und Imperativ) oder Verbaladjektiv (Gerundiv(um)) auch durch spezielle Verblexeme (Modalverben und Modalitätsverben) ausgedrückt, ferner durch Lexeme verschiedener anderer Wortarten (Modalwörter, Modalpartikeln, Modaladverbien sowie Modaladjektive und Modalsubstantive), durch die Konstruktionen des Typs *sein* und *haben* mit Infinitiv (die sog. modalen Infinitive), durch adjektivische Wortbildungsmorpheme wie *-bar*, *-lich*, *-wert*, *-würdig* etc. oder durch Tempora (Futur, *futurum in praeterito*) (Milan 2001).

Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen und anderen anglogermanischen Sprachen, in denen Verbalperiphrasen mit Modalverben eine zentrale Rolle beim Ausdruck der Modalität spielen, neigen das Spanische und die anderen romanischen Sprachen dazu, diese durch Verbflexion (und nicht durch Periphrase) oder andere Mittel wie bspw. Adverbien auszudrücken, obwohl es auch den germanischen Sprachen vergleichbare Modalverben gibt. Eine besondere Bedeutung kommt dabei im Spanischen dem *subjuntivo* zu, dessen Formen sich durch Vokalwechsel vom Indikativ unterscheiden. Dieser wird oft durch lexikalische Elemente wie Adverbien (z. B. *ojalá*, *tal vez*) verstärkt, um Eindeutigkeit herzustellen, ein Charakteristikum von „lenguas como el español que, habiendo conservado el sistema modal latino, nunca desarrolló un tipo de verbo modal como el del inglés o alemán" (Jiménez Juliá 1989: 177). Der heutige *subjuntivo* reflektiert die subjektive Haltung des Sprechers gegenüber dem Gesagten, die auf zwei Hauptfunktionen, nämlich Unsicherheit oder Irrealität,

2| „eine semantische, pragmatische und grammatikalische Kategorie, die mit der Subjektivität in der Sprache, oder anders gesagt, mit der Positionierung des Senders bezüglich des Gesagten und einem Gesprächspartner zu tun hat" (Übersetzung durch die Autoren).

abstrahiert werden kann. So bemerkt Palmer (1986: 107–144), dass Spanisch durch den Gebrauch von Indikativ versus Subjunktiv unterscheidet, *was als wahr angesehen wird* von dem*, was bezweifelt wird* (*Creo que viene ahora* vs. *Dudo que venga ahora).*

Laut Palmer (1986: 88–92) wird die epistemische Modalität auch durch das verbale Futur ausgedrückt. Besonders charakteristisch ist die Verwendung des Futurs zur Markierung von Vermutungen oder Schlussfolgerungen über gegenwärtige oder zukünftige Sachverhalte. Es handelt sich hierbei nicht um eine echte Futurhandlung, sondern um eine modale Deutung, bei der das Futur eine Annahme des Sprechers ausdrückt. Veranschaulichen lässt sich das durch das Beispiel *Carlos estará en el despacho*, wobei der Sprecher die Wahrscheinlichkeit seiner Aussage aus Erfahrungswerten zum Tagesablauf der genannten Person ableitet.

Ergänzend zu den Flexionsformen setzt das Spanische modale Periphrasen und Adverbien ein. Wichtige modale Periphrasen sind etwa *tener que + Infinitiv* oder das historisch ältere *haber de + Infinitiv*, die beide funktional *haben zu* bzw. *müssen* bedeuten. Weitere Verbalperiphrasen wie *deber (de) + Infinitiv* vermitteln Verpflichtung bzw. Wahrscheinlichkeit. Auch *ir a + Infinitiv* gilt als futurale Konstruktion und wird teils als Aktionsmodalisierung („beabsichtigen") gewertet. Daneben gibt es eine Reihe modaler Adverbien, die epistemische Modalität ausdrücken: Beispielsweise kennzeichnen *quizás*, *tal vez* oder *a lo mejor* Möglichkeits- und Vermutungsmodalität, während *probablemente*, *seguramente* oder *ciertamente* eine hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit oder Gewissheit signalisieren. Diese Adverbien modifizieren die Aussageebenen im Sinne einer Bewertung und können ein Verb im Indikativ oder *subjuntivo* begleiten, wodurch die Gewissheit bzw. Ungewissheit der Handlung noch stärker betont wird.

2.3. Das Modalverb *sollen* und seine Übersetzung in iberoromanische Sprachen

Das komplexeste aller deutscher Modalverben ist zweifellos *sollen*, da dieses Verb eine ganze Reihe an unterschiedlichen Funktionen abdeckt. Diese Funktionen wurden von Milan (2001) in drei Haupt- und insgesamt neun Unterkategorien klassifiziert (Tabelle 1, S. 88). Diese Klassifizierung wurde für die Übersetzung von *sollen* ins Italienische (Milan 2001), ins Galicische (Montero Küpper 2004) und ins Spanische (Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal 2025) angewandt. Auch im vorliegenden Beitrag nutzen wir dieses Schema als Grundlage.

Die Übersetzung von *sollen* in die iberoromanischen Sprachen erfordert ein Gleichgewicht zwischen semantischer Treue und pragmatischer Natürlichkeit. Die Studien von Guzman (2016, Deutsch-Katalanisch) und vor allem von Montero Küpper (2004, Deutsch-Galicisch) zeigen, dass Übersetzer trotz der

Nützlichkeit semantischer Klassifikationen wie jener von Milan dazu neigen, aufgrund von Einflüssen der Ausgangssprache oder des Fehlens idiomatischer Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten in den jeweiligen Sprachen auf feste Äquivalenzen zurückzugreifen.

Tabelle 1: Kategorisierung der Funktionen von *sollen* (Milan 2001)

Kategorie	**Klasse und Unterklasse**	**Beispiel**
(1) Propositionale Einstellungen des Sagens	(1a) berichtend	Die Firma soll hohe Gewinne gemacht haben.[3]
	(1b) antizipierend	Diese Aussage sollte ihm noch zum Verhängnis werden.
(2) Propositionale Einstellungen des Glaubens	(2a) subjektiv-bewertend	Ich hätte dich nicht anrufen sollen. Für diese Projekte sollten ausreichend Mittel vorhanden sein.
	(2b) deliberierend	Sollte er meine Nachricht nicht bekommen haben?
	(2c) eventiv	Wenn sie doch noch anrufen sollte, können wir sie ja am Bahnhof abholen.
(3) Propositionale Einstellungen des Wollens	(3a) pragmatisch	
	(3a1) beabsichtigt	Mit diesem Gesetz soll der Drogenhandel eingeschränkt werden.
	(3a2) erwünscht	Der Teufel soll ihn holen.
	(3a3) gefordert	Der Chef sagt, ich solle das heute noch fertigmachen.
	(3b) deontisch	Du sollst nicht töten!

Sowohl Montero Küpper als auch Guzman heben den übermäßigen Gebrauch der Entsprechung *deber + Infinitiv* hervor. In ihrer Dissertation verwendet Montero (2004) den Begriff „calco léxico" für diese Entsprechung, die sie in 30 % der Fälle mit dem Ausdruckswert einer Aufforderung im Rahmen der pragmatischen Kategorie (3 im Schema nach Milan) sowie in 53 % der Fälle insgesamt in der evaluativ-subjektiven Modalität (2a) feststellt. *Deber + Infinitiv* tritt in allen Modalitäten auf, mit Ausnahme der deliberierenden (2b), obwohl diese Struktur laut Montero Küpper im Galicischen nur als Entsprechung

3| Die Beispiele wurden von den Autoren auf Grundlage jener von Milan (2001) erstellt.

des evaluativ-deontischen *sollen* gelten kann. Der Gebrauch von *deber* + *Infinitiv* bewirkt jedoch bei den Interrogativsätzen des pragmatischen *sollen* einen Modalitätswechsel zu einem evaluativen Ausdruck im Galicischen (25 Fälle) und führt in 125 Fällen zu unangemessenen Entsprechungen.

In unserer ersten Studie (Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal 2025) konnten wir die Ergebnisse und Schlussfolgerungen von Montero Küpper für das Spanische bestätigen, da unsere Ergebnisse einen übermäßigen Gebrauch der Strukturen *tener que* + *Infinitiv* und vor allem *deber* + *Infinitiv* aufweisen. Ausgenommen davon ist die Kategorie 1, in der die Übersetzer durchwegs korrekte und idiomatische Ergebnisse nutzten (vgl. HU in Tabellen 6 und 7). Im Einzelnen zeigt sich für den evaluativ-subjektiven Typus, der 45 % der ausgewerteten Einträge ausmacht (147/250), dass *sollen* bevorzugt mit *deber* + *Infinitiv* in seinen verschiedenen Zeitformen und Modi übersetzt wird, gefolgt von *tener que* + *Infinitiv* (24/250) und *ser* + *mejor/bueno* + *que* (14/250). Die volitive Forderungskategorie (Kategorie 3 nach dem Schema von Milan) umfasste in unserer Studie 36 % des Samples (197/553). Dabei ließen sich drei Hauptübersetzungstendenzen ausmachen: *tener que* + *Infinitiv*, *deber* + *Infinitiv* und Aufforderungsverben. Bei letzteren tritt in 42 Fällen *decir que* + *subjuntivo* auf, gefolgt von *pedir que* + *subjuntivo* (9 Fälle) und *rogar que* + *subjuntivo* (3 Fälle). Ebenso kommen andere Verben vor, die einen Nebensatz mit *subjuntivo* einleiten, z. B. *exigir*, *gritar*, *advertir*, *aconsejar* oder *ordenar*. Hervorzuheben ist außerdem der Einsatz der Finalstruktur *para que* + *subjuntivo* in weiteren 3 Fällen sowie der Gebrauch des Imperativs (bejahend und verneinend) in 5 Fällen. In der deontischen Kategorie beziehen sich nahezu alle Beispiele auf archaisierende religiöse Formeln, die entweder im entsprechenden archaischen Spanischen wiedergegeben oder durch andere von den Übersetzern gewählte Formulierungen ersetzt werden. Mit 6 Fällen tritt im Original in fast der Hälfte der gefundenen Sätze das Präsens Indikativ auf und wird ins Spanische mit dem *futuro simple* übersetzt.

3. Methodik

Die hier vorgestellte Studie baut auf einer vorhergehenden auf, in der die Übersetzung von *sollen* ins Spanische analysiert wurde, (Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal 2025). Dafür wurden aus dem Korpus PaGeS (Doval et al. 2019) 553 relevante Einträge nach dem Zufallsprinzip ausgewählt. Diese wurden anhand des Schemas von Milan (2001) kategorisiert; anschließend wurden die Übersetzungslösungen analysiert.

Für diese Folgestudie wurde ein Subset erstellt, für das aus den größten Kategorien (2a, 2c, 3a1, 3a3) nach dem Zufallsprinzip 14–15 Einträge ausgewählt wurden. Das Subset sieht demnach, wie folgt, aus (Tabelle 2, S. 90):

Tabelle 2: Zusammensetzung des verwendeten Subsets

Kategorie	Typ und Subtyp	Anzahl
(1) Propositionale Einstellungen des Sagens	(1a) berichtend	9
	(1b) antizipierend	5
(2) Propositionale Einstellungen des Glaubens	(2a) subjektiv-bewertend	15
	(2b) deliberierend	1
	(2c) eventiv	14
(3) Propositionale Einstellungen des Wollens	(3a) pragmatisch	
	(3a1) beabsichtigt	15
	(3a2) erwünscht	3
	(3a3) gefordert	15
	(3b) deontisch	12
Insgesamt		89

Die im Datenset enthaltenen Sätze wurden am 13. und 14. Oktober 2024 mit zwei MT-Systemen (Google Translate und DeepL) und zwei GenAI-Tools (ChatGPT und Google Gemini) ins Spanische übersetzt. Bei letzteren wurde der einfache Prompt „Übersetze folgende Texte ins Spanische!“ verwendet. Bei der Übersetzung mit Gemini waren mitunter mehrere Durchgänge erforderlich, da immer wieder Sätze ausgelassen bzw. zusammengefügt wurden. Dies wurde erst nach mehreren Hinweisen korrigiert. Ebenso offerierte Gemini bei zwei Kategorien eine „wörtliche“ und eine „idiomatische“ Übersetzung; aufgrund der schlechten Qualität ersterer wurde in allen Fällen zweitere gewählt.

Die Ergebnisse wurden in einer Excel-Tabelle erfasst und gemeinsam von beiden Autoren nach unten stehendem Schema evaluiert. Dabei wurden Sessionen von maximal 90 Minuten anberaumt, um der Gefahr der Saturation vorzubeugen. Bei der Evaluierung wurde das von Schmidhofer (2024) angewandte Evaluierungsschema in folgender angepasster Form eingesetzt (Tabelle 3, S. 91).

Die Bewertung beschränkte sich auf die Übersetzung von *sollen* sowie alle direkt davon abhängigen Elemente. Zwischen den Autoren abweichende Bewertungen wurden im Team analysiert und gelöst. Nach Abschluss der Bewertungsphase wurde eine quantitative statistische Analyse zuerst für das gesamte Subset und anschließend nach einzelnen Kategorien durchgeführt.

Tabelle 3: Bewertungsskala (basierend auf Schmidhofer 2024: 131)

Bewertung	Kategorie	Beschreibung
1	Übersetzung korrekt und brauchbar	bedeutungsgleich und idiomatisch
2	Übersetzung verständlich, aber nur eingeschränkt brauchbar	leichte Einschränkungen bei Bedeutungsgleichheit und/oder Idiomatizität
3	Übersetzung nicht korrekt und nur sehr eingeschränkt brauchbar	mit erheblichem kognitivem Aufwand verständlich, jedoch relevante Bedeutungsabweichung
4	Übersetzung unbrauchbar	bedeutungsfern, unverständlich oder nicht vorhanden

4. Ergebnisse

Für die statistische Analyse wurde der Friedman-Test, ein parameterfreies Verfahren für ordinalskalierte Daten, angewandt.

4.1. Allgemeine Ergebnisse

Für das Gesamtsample zeigt die statistische Analyse signifikante Unterschiede ($p < ,001$) mit Chi-Quadrat: 31,38 (Tabelle 4). Dabei gilt, dass die Qualität der Übersetzung mit steigendem Mittelwert abnimmt.

Tabelle 4: Statistische Ergebnisse des Gesamtsamples

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	89	1	4	1,82	0,83
DeepL	89	1	4	1,81	0,74
ChatGPT	89	1	3	1,65	0,71
Gemini	89	1	4	2,02	0,99
Humanübersetzung (HU)	89	1	4	1,44	0,66

Der paarweise durchgeführte Vergleich (Tabelle 5, S. 92) zeigt, dass alle Gegenüberstellungen zwischen MT- und KI-Systemen einerseits und den Humanübersetzungen andererseits signifikant zugunsten der Humanübersetzung ausfallen. Beim Vergleich der Systeme untereinander ist ein signifikanter Unterschied

zugunsten von ChatGPT in allen Gegenüberstellungen mit anderen Systemen zu beobachten. Bei allen anderen Vergleichen war kein signifikanter Unterschied auszumachen; auffällig war dabei allerdings das fast identische Resultat der beiden MT-Systeme Google Translate und DeepL.

Tabelle 5: Ergebnisse des paarweise durchgeführten Vergleichs des Gesamtsamples

	Google Translate – HU	DeepL – HU	ChatGPT – HU	Gemini – HU	DeepL – Google Translate	ChatGPT – Google Translate	Gemini – Google Translate	ChatGPT – DeepL	Gemini – DeepL	Gemini – ChatGPT
Z	-3,416	-3,437	-2,363	-4,269	-,181	-2,118	-1,795	-2,140	-1,949	-3,419
Sig. (zweiseitig)	<,001	<,001	,018	<,001	,857	,034	,073	,032	,051	<,001

4.2. Ergebnisse nach Kategorien

Im Anschluss werden nun die Ergebnisse nach Kategorien dargestellt; ausgenommen davon sind die Kategorien 2b und 3a2, da diese zu wenige Items umfassen.

4.2.1. Propositionale Einstellungen des Sagens: berichtend (1a)

In der Kategorie 1a ergab die statistische Analyse ein signifikantes Ergebnis mit Chi-Quadrat 22,20 und $p < ,001$ (Tabelle 6). Die Humanübersetzer boten durchgehend korrekte und idiomatische Übersetzungen, während die Textvorschläge der verschiedenen Tools stark variierten. Schlechte Bewertungen sind vor allem auf die fehlerhafte Verwendung von *deber* zurückzuführen, das in dieser Kategorie nur in Ausnahmefällen zu einem korrekten Ergebnis führt.

Tabelle 6: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 1a

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	9	1	3	1,78	0,83
DeepL	9	1	3	2,00	0,87
ChatGPT	9	1	3	2,11	0,93
Gemini	9	2	4	3,00	0,50
HU	9	1	1	1,00	0,00

Folgendes Beispiel ist illustrativ für die Unterschiede zwischen den Systemen.

Beispiel 1:

Original: *Hunderttausend Menschen sollen gestorben sein.* (0090-06643[4])

Google Translate: *Se dice que han muerto cientos de miles de personas.* (Bewertung: 1)

DeepL: *Se supone que murieron cien mil personas.* (Bewertung: 1)

ChatGPT: *Cien mil personas habrían muerto.* (Bewertung: 2)

Gemini: *Cien mil personas debieron haber muerto.* (Bewertung: 3)

Humanübersetzung: *Se dice que han muerto cientos de miles de personas.* (Bewertung: 1)

4.2.2. Propositionale Einstellungen des Sagens: antizipierend (1b)

Auch in der Kategorie 1b schnitt die Humanübersetzung durchgehend besser ab; die Ergebnisse der statistischen Analyse sind jedoch weit vom Signifikanz-Schwellenwert entfernt: 1,33; p = ,856 (Tabelle 7). Bemerkenswert ist hier die Deckungsgleichheit der vier automatischen Tools, die jedoch zweifelsohne auf die geringe Anzahl der Items zurückzuführen ist.

Tabelle 7: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 1b

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	5	1	3	1,60	0,89
DeepL	5	1	3	1,60	0,89
ChatGPT	5	1	3	1,60	0,89
Gemini	5	1	3	1,60	0,89
HU	5	1	2	1,20	0,45

Im folgenden Beispiel wird deutlich, wie sehr sich die Lösungen der unterschiedlichen Tools ähneln.

Beispiel 2:

Original: *Ähnlich äußert er sich in einem Brief an Betty Jacobi: Zwar steht geschrieben: An ihren Früchten sollt ihr sie erkennen.* (0073-01808)

Google Translate: *Se expresó de manera similar en una carta a Betty Jacobi: Escrito está: Por sus frutos los reconocerás.* (Bewertung: 1)

4| Code im Korpus PaGeS.

DeepL: *En una carta a Betty Jacobi expresaba sentimientos similares: En efecto, está escrito: Por sus frutos los conoceréis.* (Bewertung: 1)

ChatGPT: *De manera similar, él se expresa en una carta a Betty Jacobi: Está escrito: Por sus frutos los reconoceréis.* (Bewertung: 1)

Gemini: *En una carta a Betty Jacobi expresó sentimientos similares: De hecho, está escrito: Por sus frutos los conoceréis.* (Bewertung: 1)

Humanübersetzung: *De manera parecida se manifiesta en una carta a Betty Jacobi: Es cierto que está escrito: por sus frutos los conoceréis.* (Bewertung: 1)

4.2.3. Propositionale Einstellungen des Glaubens: subjektiv-bewertend (2a)

Auch in der Kategorie 2a ergab die statistische Analyse kein signifikantes Resultat mit Chi-Quadrat: 2,86 und p = ,581 (Tabelle 8). Auffällig ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass alle fünf Mittelwerte niedrig sind und eng beisammen liegen und ChatGPT sogar besser als die Humanübersetzung abschneidet, was jedoch auf einen Ausreißer in letzterer zurückzuführen sein könnte.

Tabelle 8: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 2a

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	15	1	4	1,53	0,92
DeepL	15	1	4	1,67	0,90
ChatGPT	15	1	3	1,40	0,63
Gemini	15	1	4	1,67	0,90
HU	15	1	4	1,53	0,83

Das folgende Beispiel zeigt die Vergleichbarkeit aller Tools und der Humanübersetzung in der Kategorie 2a.

Beispiel 3:

Original: *Du solltest nach jemand anderem suchen, der meinen Job macht*. (0019-08394)

Google Translate: *Deberías buscar a alguien más para hacer mi trabajo*. (Bewertung: 1)

DeepL: *Deberían buscar a otra persona para hacer mi trabajo*. (Bewertung: 2)

ChatGPT: *Deberías buscar a alguien más que haga mi trabajo*. (Bewertung: 1)

Gemini: *Deberías buscar a alguien más para este trabajo*. (Bewertung: 1)

Humanübersetzung: *Deberías buscarte a otro para hacer mi trabajo*. (Bewertung: 1)

4.2.4. Propositionale Einstellungen des Glaubens: eventiv (2c)

Auch in dieser Kategorie sind die Unterschiede zwischen den Mittelwerten statistisch nicht signifikant mit Chi-Quadrat 6,24 und p = ,182 (Tabelle 9). Ebenso wie in Kategorie 2a schneidet ChatGPT etwas besser ab als die Humanübersetzer. Auffällig ist hier auch, dass gleich zwei Systeme (DeepL und Gemini) in keinem einzigen Satz die Höchstnote erhielten, obwohl DeepL im Vergleich der automatischen Systeme an zweiter Stelle liegt.

Tabelle 9: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 2c

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	14	1	4	2,14	0,66
DeepL	14	2	3	2,07	0,27
ChatGPT	14	1	2	1,79	0,43
Gemini	14	2	4	2,29	0,73
HU	14	1	3	1,86	0,54

Unterschiede zwischen einzelnen Tools und der Humanübersetzung werden im folgenden Beispel deutlich.

Beispiel 4:

Original: *In Gottes Namen. Aber ich wünsche, dass du Marie wie eine Angestellte behandelst, falls ihr Bekannte treffen solltet*. (0085-04836)

Google Translate: *En el nombre de Dios. Pero quiero que trates a Marie como a una empleada si conoces a gente que conoces*. (Bewertung: 4)

DeepL: *En el nombre de Dios. Pero quiero que trates a Marie como a una empleada si te encuentras con algún conocido*. (Bewertung: 2)

ChatGPT: *En el nombre de Dios. Pero deseo que trates a Marie como a una empleada, si llegáis a encontrar conocidos*. (Bewertung: 2)

Gemini: *Por favor! Pero quiero que trates a Marie como a una empleada*. (Bewertung: 4)

Humanübersetzung: *—Por Dios, Kitty, me gustaría que, si os encontráis con algún conocido, trataras a Marie como a una empleada*. (Bewertung: 1)

4.2.5. Propositionale Einstellungen des Wollens: pragmatisch/beabsichtigt (3a1)

In Kategorie 3a1 divergieren die Mittelwerte wieder stärker, was sich in einem statistisch signifikanten Ergebnis niederschlägt: Chi-Quadrat: 9,83; p < ,05 (Tabelle 10, S. 96). In dieser Kategorie weist die Humanübersetzung erneut

deutlich bessere Werte auf als die automatischen Systeme, die sich aber ihrerseits wieder sehr stark voneinander unterscheiden.

Tabelle 10: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 3a1

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	15	1	4	2,40	0,74
DeepL	15	1	3	2,00	0,76
ChatGPT	15	1	3	1,93	0,70
Gemini	15	1	4	2,47	0,99
HU	15	1	4	1,80	0,78

Übersetzungen unterschiedlicher Güte werden an folgendem Beispiel deutlich.

Beispiel 5:

Original: *Don Estéban küßte ihm die Hand und sagte: »Du sollst dich nicht zu beklagen haben, Don Alfonso.«*[5] (0060-01187)

Google Translate: *Don Estéban le besó la mano y dijo: „No debería quejarse, don Alfonso".* (Bewertung: 3)

DeepL: *Don Esteban le besó la mano y le dijo: «No debe quejarse, don Alfonso».* (Bewertung: 3)

ChatGPT: *Don Estéban le besó la mano y dijo: „No tendrás motivo de queja, Don Alfonso."* (Bewertung: 1)

Gemini: *Don Esteban le estrechó la mano y dijo: „No debes quejarte tanto".* (Bewertung: 3)

Humanübersetzung: *Don Esteban le besó la mano y dijo: –No tendrás motivo alguno de queja, Don Alfonso.* (Bewertung: 1)

4.2.6. Propositionale Einstellungen des Wollens: pragmatisch/gefordert (3a3)

Auch in dieser Kategorie erzielt die Humanübersetzung einen klar besseren Mittelwert als die automatischen Systeme, wobei das Ergebnis erneut signifikant ist: Chi-Quadrat: 18,26; $p < ,01$ (Tabelle 11, S. 97). Auffällig in dieser Kategorie sind die im Allgemeinen niedrigen Mittelwerte und das überraschend gute Abschneiden von Gemini, das Ergebnissen in anderen Kategorien zuwiderläuft.

5| Die Schreibweise dieses Beispiels folgt jener des Originals.

Tabelle 11: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 3a3

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	15	1	3	1,60	0,63
DeepL	15	1	3	1,80	0,78
ChatGPT	15	1	2	1,40	0,51
Gemini	15	1	2	1,33	0,49
HU	15	1	2	1,13	0,35

Beispiel 6:

Original: *Wissen Sie, ich habe als junge Frau auch viel genäht… Polly! Du sollst nicht so ziehen!* (0006-04332)

Google Translate: *Sabes, yo también cosía mucho cuando era joven… ¡Polly! ¡No deberías tirar así!* (Bewertung: 2)

DeepL: *Sabes, yo también cosía mucho cuando era joven… ¡Polly! ¡No deberías tirar así!.* (Bewertung: 2)

ChatGPT: *¿Sabe? Yo también cosía mucho cuando era joven…¡Polly! ¡No tires así!»* (Bewertung: 1)

Gemini: *¿Sabe? Cuando era joven, también cosí mucho… ¡Polly! ¡No tires tanto!.* (Bewertung: 1)

Humanübersetzung: *¿Sabe?, yo de joven también cosí mucho… ¡Polly, mala, no tires así!* (Bewertung: 1)

4.2.7. Propositionale Einstellungen des Wollens: deontisch (3b)

Bei Kategorie 3b finden sich erneut sehr gute Mittelwert in allen Systemen, die im Vergleich keinen statistisch signifikanten Unterschied zeigen: Chi-Quadrat: 9,21; p = ,056. Wie in Kategorie 1a erreicht die Humanübersetzung auch in diesem Fall die höchstmögliche Punkteanzahl. Bei den automatischen Systemen ist ein großer Abstand zwischen Gemini und den anderen drei Systemen zu bemerken (Tabelle 12).

Tabelle 12: Statistische Auswertung für die Kategorie 3b

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mittelwert	Std.-Abweichung
Google Translate	12	1	2	1,08	0,29
DeepL	12	1	2	1,25	0,45
ChatGPT	12	1	3	1,17	0,58
Gemini	12	1	4	1,92	1,2
HU	12	1	1	1,00	0,00

Die Ähnlichkeiten in der Übersetzung von Sätzen deontischen Charakters werden am folgenden Beispiel deutlich.

Beispiel 7:

Original: »*Du sollst den Blinden nicht irreführen*«, *mahnte die Schrift.*

Google Translate: *"No engañarás al ciego", amonestaba la Escritura.* (Bewertung: 1)

DeepL: «*No extraviarás a un ciego*», *amonestaba la Escritura.* (Bewertung: 2)

ChatGPT: „*No engañarás al ciego*", *advertió la escritura.* (Bewertung: 1)

Gemini: „*No engañarás al ciego*", *advertía la escritura.* (Bewertung: 1)

Humanübersetzung: –«*Maldito quien lleve al ciego fuera de su camino*», *advertían las Escrituras.* (Bewertung: 1)

5. Diskussion

Die in Abschnitt 4 dargestellten Ergebnisse zeigen, dass in der behandelten Textsorte und der gewählten Sprachkombination die Humanübersetzung den analysierten MT und GenAI-Tools signifikant überlegen ist. Die Unterschiede zwischen der Humanübersetzung und der automatischen Übersetzung sowie der verschiedenen Tools untereinander variiert jedoch stark zwischen einzelnen Kategorien. Demgemäß schneidet die Humanübersetzung in den Kategorien *Sagen* (1) und *Wollen* (3) eindeutig besser ab als alle Tools, wobei jedoch die Unterschiede nicht in allen Unterkategorien statistisch signifikant sind. Anders ist dies in der Kategorie *Glauben* (2), in der die Humanübersetzung ChatGPT sogar leicht unterlegen ist. Zurückzuführen ist dies unserer Ansicht nach auf zwei Faktoren. Erstens ist die Kategorie 2a (*subjektiv-bewertend*) besonders häufig (vgl. Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal 2025), wodurch für diese Kategorie eine große Anzahl an Translationsdaten vorliegen. Zweitens ist die Kategorie 2c (*eventiv*) durch ihre Struktur als (verkürzter) Nebensatz besonders schematisch, was die Mustererkennung durch die Tools vereinfachen dürfte. Ähnliches gilt auch für Kategorie 3b (*deontisch*), die formelhafte Sprache enthält, für die großteils etablierte Korrespondenzen vorliegen, weshalb in dieser Kategorie auch die automatische Übersetzung im Großen und Ganzen gute Ergebnisse zeigt.

Im Vergleich der unter den hier zu Rate gezogenen automatischen Tools schneidet ChatGPT eindeutig am besten ab. Es ist auch das einzige Tool, das in einzelnen Kategorien die Humanübersetzung übertrifft. Am unteren Ende der Skala befindet sich Google Gemini, während die beiden MT-Systeme DeepL und Google Translate in der kategorienübergreifenden Bewertung fast den gleichen Mittelwert aufweisen. Dieses Ranking zeigt somit, dass Differenzen nicht auf Unterschiede zwischen MT und GenAI als solche zurückgeführt werden können.

ChatGPT und Google Gemini sind KI-basierte Übersetzungssysteme, greifen jedoch nicht unbedingt auf dieselben Trainingsdaten zurück. ChatGPT

basiert auf dem GPT-Modell von OpenAI, das mit einer Vielzahl öffentlich zugänglicher Texte trainiert wurde, jedoch keine exklusiven Daten von Google oder DeepMind enthält. Gemini hingegen verwendet Googles eigene Datenquellen, darunter Suchdaten, Webseiten-Crawls und andere Dienste, auf die OpenAI keinen Zugriff hat.

ChatGPT übersetzt in vielen Fällen zunächst ins Englische (Pivot-Sprache), bevor der Text in der Zielsprache generiert wird – es sei denn, für ein bestimmtes Sprachpaar existieren genügend direkte Trainingsdaten. Da die meisten Trainingsdaten auf Englisch vorliegen, ist Englisch in der KI-Welt eine Art *lingua franca* (ChatGPT 4.o, persönliche Mitteilung, 5. Mai 2025). Google Gemini hingegen nutzt häufig direkte Übersetzungsrouten, da Google Translate über viele Jahre hinweg Sprachenpaare direkt modelliert hat. Die Verwendung einer Pivot-Sprache könnte sonst dazu führen, dass insbesondere idiomatische Ausdrücke bei einer Relais-Übersetzung über eine dritte Sprache an Präzision verlieren (Gemini, persönliche Mitteilung, 5. Mai 2025).

Die vorliegende Studie bietet interessante Erkenntnisse für die Nutzung von MT- und GenAI- Tools für die Übersetzung im Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Spanisch, war jedoch auch mit einigen Schwierigkeiten verbunden und unterliegt einigen Einschränkungen. Die größte Schwierigkeit bei der Analyse lag darin, dass diese auf Satzbasis und ohne größeren Kontext durchgeführt wurde, was durch die Struktur des Korpus bedingt war. Daraus resultierten stellenweise Schwierigkeiten bei der Bestimmung der Funktion von *sollen* (diese Fälle wurden im Zuge der ersten Studie ausgeschlossen, vgl. Schmidhofer/ Millán Vidal 2025). Ebenso ergibt sich daraus ein Vorteil für die Humanübersetzer, die für die Übersetzung einen weiteren Kontext zur Verfügung hatten, was das bessere Abschneiden der Humanübersetzer etwas relativiert. Andererseits könnte es fallweise vorkommen, dass bei den humanübersetzten Werken die Funktion von *sollen* in einem nachfolgenden Satz wiedergegeben wird und somit im analysierten Item fehlt. Eine weitere Beschränkung liegt darin, dass wir bei den beiden GenAI-Tools sehr einfache Prompts benutzten und Ergebnisse eventuell durch elaboriertere Prompts oder Reprompting verbessert werden könnten. Dies würde allerdings wieder die Vergleichbarkeit mit MT-Tools einschränken. Schließlich sind Bewertungen fast immer bis zu einem gewissen Grad subjektiv. Wir haben jedoch versucht, diese Einschränkung durch das Vier-Augen-Prinzip und die Beschränkung von Bewertungen auf kurze Sessionen zu reduzieren.

6. Fazit

Die vorliegende Studie legt trotz der genannten Einschränkungen nahe, dass in der gewählten Sprachkombination die Humanübersetzung den am häufigsten

verwendeten frei zugänglichen MT- und KI-Tools überlegen ist. Die Tools zeigten gute Leistungen bei häufigen Funktionen, syntaktisch starren Strukturen und formelhafter Sprache, konnten jedoch andere Funktionen nur eingeschränkt zufriedenstellend wiedergeben.

Diese Ergebnisse haben Implikationen sowohl für die Praxis als auch für die Translationsdidaktik. Für erstere bedeutet die variierende Leistung der Tools in der Übersetzung von *sollen*, dass Übersetzer im Post-Editing bei diesem Verb besonders genau auf eine korrekte Wiedergabe der im Ausgangstext intendierten Funktion achten müssen; Ähnliches gilt auch für die Translationsdidaktik, wo anhand dieses Modalverbs die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der automatischen Übersetzung besonders gut gezeigt werden können. Ebenso kann durch Übungen mit MT- oder GenAI-übersetzten Texten das Erkennen der Funktionen von *sollen* durch spanischsprachige Studenten geübt und so ein sicherer Umgang mit diesem vielseitigen Modalverb gefördert werden.

Die Studie bietet auch Ansatzpunkte für weitere Forschung. So könnte beispielsweise die Leistung von den genannten Tools in einzelnen Kategorien untersucht werden; ebenso könnte die Studie auf weitere Sprachen (bspw. aus verschiedenen Sprachfamilien oder mit unterschiedlicher Internetpräsenz) erweitert und die Leistung der Tools dabei verglichen werden.

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Leveraging large language models in lexicography, terminology and specialized translation

Abstract

Leveraging large language models in lexicography, terminology and specialized translation

The advent of large-language models (LLMs) such as GPT-5 has opened new avenues for research and practice in lexicography, terminology work and specialized translation. Terminology connects these three fields, serving as a backbone for precision and clarity in professional (multilingual) communication. This contribution explores how professionals can use LLMs to transform the management and application of terminology while addressing ethical and sustainability challenges.

In lexicography, LLMs can facilitate the creation and maintenance of specialized dictionaries by extracting and defining lemmas, identifying usage patterns and providing contextual examples. The contribution also examines how text-generative LLMs might reshape corpus design and challenge traditional notions of what constitutes 'authentic text' as more content is generated by means of LLMs.

In specialized translation, LLMs can support terminology management by suggesting equivalents and usage examples across languages, potentially improving efficiency and accuracy.

In terminology work, LLMs can process large datasets, identify patterns provide definitions, find variants, visualize concept systems and assist in building and updating (multilingual) terminology databases.

Overall, LLMs offer professionals new ways to approach their work, but professional expertise, critical judgment and established tools remain essential.

Keywords: dictionaries, terminology resources, terminology work, domain-specific terminology, language technology

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1. Introduction

Large language models (LLMs), such as GPT-5, and particularly their chatbot interfaces, such as ChatGPT or DeepSeek, have revolutionized human-computer interaction and access to language-based AI, as they enable users to engage with complex models through natural language in an intuitive and user-friendly manner (Rudolph et al. 2023). Due to their capability of generating human-like texts (in addition to images, videos and sound, among others), they have impacted several fields and professions, including lexicography, terminology management and specialized translation.

Although the recent emergence of LLMs offers numerous new possibilities and modes of work, the integration of technology is by no means a novel phenomenon for lexicographers, terminologists or specialized translators. Technology was, and is, crucial in lexicography, specialized translation and terminology work. Terminologists rely on a set of tools, including corpus analysis tools (Picht 2001) for finding occurrences or frequencies of terms or for finding definitions or contexts, terminology extraction tools to extract candidate terms from texts (Zielinski/ Ramírez Safar 2005) or terminology management systems (Drewer/ Schmitz 2017) to compile, edit, store and disseminate terminology. Translators rely on a variety of tools as well (Bowker/ Corpas Pastor 2015), including computer-assisted translation tools, which are interoperable with a wide range of components, including terminology recognition, machine translation systems, alignment tools, but also quality assurance/checkers, project management and workflow tools (Bowker/ Corpas Pastor 2015: 872). Similar to translators and terminologists, also lexicographers use a wide range of tools in their work, and automation is (and was) an important aspect in (corpus-based) lexicography (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 518; Klosa 2007: 106–115). This encompasses the creation of large corpora and the development of tools and methods for the automatic generation of word lists, example sentences or collocations. These tools were typically designed for specific tasks and were employed individually or in combination to support the drafting of complete dictionary entries, thereby enhancing the efficiency of the dictionary-making process (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 518). Compared to LLMs, whose output is usually unpredictable (Herrera-Poyatos et al. 2025: 2), each of these systems, due to their "deterministic approach guarantees consistent and predictable outputs" (Massion 2024: 86).

Lexicography, specialized translation and terminology work are inherently interconnected through their shared focus on the analysis, organization and mediation of language (and domain-specific knowledge). While lexicography documents and structures lexical information (usually in general language), terminology work focusses on the language of a specialized domain, thereby working with terms in a concept-oriented manner. Specialized translators, in

turn, rely heavily on lexicographical and terminological resources to ensure accurate and contextually appropriate transfer of texts across languages. In addition, they also create these resources for themselves and take on the role of lexicographers or terminologists in individual steps throughout the translation process, e.g. when researching the meaning of (general) language words or trying to locate terms in the concept system of a domain.

The boundaries between (specialized) lexicography and terminology are blurred and debated (Bowker 2017: 138). While lexicography (mainly) deals with 'words', terminology focusses on 'terms'. Whereas lexicography (usually) targets lay people as users, terminology (often) addresses domain experts (Bowker 2017: 139). Another major difference between lexicography and terminology is their approach: Although terminology work (mainly) has an onomasiological approach ("starting from the analysis of concepts and then assign terms as designations of these concepts," Kageura 2015: 57), lexicography follows a semasiological one ("starting from the analysis of words and look for the senses or meanings", Kageura 2015: 57). The outputs provided also differ; while terminology work provides terminology databases (among others) in one or several specialized fields, the products of lexicography are dictionaries that focus on general language (Bowker 2017: 139).

As both address words (or terms) in context, corpus-based approaches are applied in both disciplines in order to obtain linguistic information from a body of text, which also means that both use the same tools (to a certain extent), e.g. corpus analysis tools (Bowker 2017: 143). According to Costa et al. (2023), lexicography and terminology are closely related disciplines, both concerned with the study of 'terms' and their meanings to support the understanding and dissemination of knowledge. While they share the same objects of study, they differ in methodology and underlying frameworks, as each responds to distinct social needs and produces lexical resources tailored to specific users and purposes (Costa et al. 2023: i18). Especially the user needs have led to "the rapprochement between lexicography and terminology" (Bowker 2017: 144).

Specialized translators must not only engage with the products of lexicography and terminology but are often required to undertake lexicographic and terminology work themselves to produce a translation. Moreover, they must possess knowledge of the relevant institutional and cultural systems, as well as an awareness of differences between countries and the historical evolution of terms. As Edelmann (2014: 200) argues, this complex interplay of linguistic and conceptual expertise necessitates that specialized translators also assume the role of terminologists, with a thorough understanding of terms and concept systems in both the source and target languages.

More broadly, the integration of LLMs offers new opportunities for professionals in lexicography, specialized translation and terminology work to enrich

their work by supporting tasks such as domain-specific research, terminology extraction and knowledge organization. When used critically, only when really necessary and in combination with established methods and tools, these technologies can enhance the quality, efficiency and scope of professional practice when supported by expert knowledge (of lexicography, terminology and specialized translation). At the same time, their use raises ethical considerations, including questions of sustainability and responsible use. Addressing these concerns requires practitioners to engage with LLMs thoughtfully and reflexively, ensuring that technological assistance remains aligned with professional standards and values.

The advent of LLMs has prompted a wave of experimental applications across various disciplines, including lexicography, specialized translation and terminology work. This study provides an overview of key insights emerging from these initial explorations and assesses the implications for current practices in these three fields. It should be noted, however, that the scope of documented studies likely represents only a fraction of the experiments currently being conducted in practice, many of which remain unpublished or are ongoing.

2. LLMs for lexicography, specialized translation and terminology work

Central to the effective use of LLMs is the design of prompts, which shape the model's output and determine its alignment with linguistic, domain-specific and communicative requirements. Apart from the LLM and the specific version used, the quality of the prompt is decisive for the quality of the LLM output. Effective prompt selection requires a nuanced understanding of user intent, model capabilities and domain specificity (Ekin 2023: 5). Crafting clear and precise prompts, tailored to the task and incorporating any necessary constraints, is essential for guiding the model toward producing more accurate and relevant outputs (Ekin 2023: 5). This gave rise to the development of prompting principles (Bozkurt 2024; Chen et al. 2023; Saleem 2024), ranging from general guidelines to prompt design frameworks (that might change from one model to the next). In the following, the results of studies focusing on the use of LLMs for purposes of lexicography, terminology work or specialized translation are discussed.

2.1. LLMs and lexicography

With the advent of LLMs, lexicographers have been evaluating the usefulness of ChatGPT and other LLMs for lexicographic purposes, leading to a wide range of results. According to Rundell (2024: 7–12), LLMs offer promising

applications for lexicography, particularly in generating definitions for straightforward or technical terms and in lexical profiling. Thus, writing dictionary definitions works well for simple (and common) terms but not for polysemous ones. However, the usefulness of LLMs is currently limited by issues such as inaccurate examples, poor handling of polysemous words, grammatical inconsistencies and hallucinated sources. While LLMs may assist in drafting dictionary content, their lack of transparency and unreliable output make them unsuitable as standalone tools for lexicographic work without rigorous post-editing and access to verifiable data sources.

Jakubíček and Rundell (2023) also used ChatGPT (GPT3.5 and GPT4) for a range of lexicographic tasks including generating definitions, identifying syntax patterns, handling grammatical information, determining word class and transitivity, providing example sentences and distinguishing marked items (e.g. formal or archaic words). ChatGPT demonstrated strong performance in distinguishing between antonyms and synonyms (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 515). It performed relatively well in producing definitions (particularly for technical terms, which supports Rundell's (2024: 7–8) and Lew's (2023: 1) findings) but struggled significantly with example generation (since it produced examples following monotonous structures and subject areas), syntactic pattern identification (with mixed results) and word-sense disambiguation (which is one of the hardest activities in lexicography). Regarding word-sense disambiguation, the authors found "a similar tendency to split one sense unnecessarily while completely missing another common meaning" (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 516). They also used ChatGPT for grammatical categorization (where some words were categorized in the wrong word class) and handling of nuanced or intransitive uses. Overall, while ChatGPT shows potential in certain areas, especially definition drafting (despite using obsolete styles), it lacks the precision and contextual sensitivity required for more complex lexicographic tasks (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 517).

Among lexicographers, concerns regarding the use of LLMs in lexicography are related to the 'hallucinations' (fabrications) produced by LLMs and the fact that LLMs are a black box because "with the current tools for dictionary compilation, [lexicographers] can always go back to the corpus, which is not possible with ChatGPT" (Rundell in Schryver 2023: 366). Other concerns are related to the LLMs' non-deterministic output (since the LLM output can change for the same prompt), the English bias (in the training data) and the prompting strategies (Schryver 2023: 377). The major disadvantages of LLMs for lexicography as outlined by Jakubíček/Rundell (2023) revolve around the issues of using Google or GPTs as sole sources of references. *Googleology* and *GPTology* (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 520) are problematic because tools like ChatGPT use unknown, non-deterministic data sources with limited stability

and reproducibility, making them unsuitable for academic research as a general-purpose search system. Furthermore, the data used by GPT models is often outdated and may reflect outdated lexicographic styles and methods, as the system has learned from publicly available, not necessarily high-quality or current dictionaries. Moreover, relying entirely on GPT for dictionary creation eliminates critical human roles, as GPT models do not allow for the verification of evidence, undermining the lexicographic process of checking and analyzing corpus data for accuracy. In contrast, advantages of using LLMs in lexicography are that they are user-friendly, cost-effective, continuously evolving and easily integrable into dictionary writing systems via programming interfaces (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 518–519).

In conclusion, with appropriately crafted prompts, an LLM like ChatGPT can either independently generate a dictionary or, more reliably, assist in the process by producing high-quality draft entries that lexicographers can review and refine (Schryver 2023: 377).

2.2. LLMs and terminology

LLMs offer a broad range of possibilities for terminology work, for both terminologists and specialized translators supporting various stages from initial preparation to finalization. This includes domain identification, which can be particularly helpful when specialized translators are uncertain about the field of specialization of a source text and need to determine the appropriate specialized language (Łukasik 2023). Beyond extraction, LLMs can support terminologists in drafting definitions, selecting preferred terms, identifying synonyms or developing concept systems (Reineke 2023: 25).

Unlike traditional tools though, LLMs can provide additional information such as definitions and usage contexts, particularly when integrated with real data sources and functioning as both search engine and chatbot (Heinisch 2026: 109). However, caution is needed: if the LLM-generated definitions and contexts are not drawn from verifiable sources, they may be unreliable or inappropriate for the domain in question. Even when real sources are used, there is no guarantee that they are relevant in the domain or context, making expert consultation advisable. Consequently, LLM outputs should be supplemented with traditional terminology resources, as domain knowledge is essential for validating the reliability of definitions. Some LLMs can also integrate client-provided or external terminology databases (e.g. via Model Context Protocol), enabling more controlled and accurate translation workflows (Heinisch 2026: 107–112), including retrieval augmented generation or terminology augmented generation (Fleischmann/ Lang 2025: 90–94), which allow to generate texts in accordance with the preferred terms in a terminology database. Additional tasks for which terminologists may use LLMs include suggesting target-

language equivalents, outlining concept relations, recommending sources, generating data categories for terminology databases and exporting structured formats such as TBX files (Reineke 2023: 25; Heinisch 2026: 110–111) as well as terminology verification and validation in addition to suggestions for sources (Heinisch 2025: 16–20).

In conclusion, LLMs can support both terminologists and specialized translators in researching, preparing or managing terminology throughout the terminology and translation workflow. However, competences in terminology work, domain knowledge and LLM literacy are required to prepare useful prompts, but also to assess and revise the LLM output for the task at hand.

LLMs can also process and generate files in formats needed by lexicographers, terminologists or specialized translators, including structured XML, JSON, CSV, TEI XML used in the production of dictionaries, as well as TBX files relevant for terminologists and TMX and XLIFF files used in translation (Schryver 2023: 360). While there are also LLMs that are either fine-tuned to the fields mentioned above (including translation), users may also develop their own LLMs (or rather small or very small language models) and train them with their data. Nevertheless, LLMs are not always the best solution, which will be discussed later.

2.3. LLMs and specialized translation

While (specialized) translators have long incorporated machine translation engines into their workflows, LLMs represent a novel and transformative development within the field of translation technologies. Although both neural machine translation (NMT) systems and LLMs are typically based on transformer architectures, a key distinction lies in their training data: While NMT systems mainly use curated parallel corpora, LLMs are often trained on monolingual data with a strong bias towards English data (Hendy et al. 2023: 1). Another major difference is that NMT systems can only be used for translation, while LLMs "can be prompted to solve arbitrary tasks" (Guerreiro et al. 2023: 1501).

Several studies have compared the performance of NMT systems and LLMs for translation purposes, and often, LLMs are capable of generating translations that are comparable in quality to those produced by supervised machine translation models (Hendy et al. 2023: 14; Peng et al. 2023: 3–7). Basically, the results for high-resource languages, such as English or German are better than for low-resource ones, even with zero-shot prompting (Hendy et al. 2023: 1). Moreover, hallucinations remain a persistent issue in LLM-based translation (Guerreiro et al. 2023: 1501), particularly for low-resource language pairs and when translating from English, often reflecting biases in the training data. Smaller distilled models may hallucinate less than larger ones, possibly due to architectural features that constrain output generation. Unlike traditional

systems, LLMs exhibit distinct hallucination patterns (such as off-target translations and overgeneration) that are difficult to mitigate within similarly trained models. As the occurrence of hallucinations cannot be predicted, they might not be present in the next LLM output for the same task (Guerreiro et al. 2023: 1501). Moreover, the performance of LLMs can be improved through few-shot situations allowing for in-context learning (Hendy et al. 2023: 4).

The linguistic features (Sizov et al. 2024: 1183) employed by NMT systems and LLMs, as well as the 'errors' they make in translation tasks, are therefore also different (Guerreiro et al. 2023: 1505; Hendy et al. 2023: 4). This means that the translation output by an LLM requires more than traditional machine translation post-editing (MTPE). Although both the outputs of LLMs and NMT systems might be of good quality for high-resource languages, they "still differ from texts originally written by native speakers" (Sizov et al. 2024: 1183).

At present, no genuine multilingual models exist that can deliver equally strong performance across the full range of the world's languages (or even across a small portion of them). Evaluations reveal inconsistencies in performance across tasks, even within the same language. While the goal of training such models is broad and includes multilingual and multitasking competences, achieving this requires extensive and diverse data, raising challenges related to scalability, inclusivity and fairness (Hendy et al. 2023: 23).

Apart from the general translation capabilities of LLMs, recent studies assessed different prompting strategies for translation tasks in different language directions. A study exploring prompt design for ChatGPT's translation performance from English into Chinese Mandarin for an article in the field of popular science (He 2024: 7) evaluated four prompt types: a basic prompt (translation command, target language and purpose), a prompt based on a translation brief (including contextual factors such as function, target audience and medium) and prompts assigning the persona of either an *author* or a *translator*. Results showed that assigning ChatGPT the *translator* persona yielded the highest-quality translations, outperforming both the basic prompt and the *author* persona. Surprisingly, the prompt based on the translation brief (typically central to professional translation practice) resulted in the lowest performance. These findings suggest that, contrary to expectations, supplying detailed translation brief information does not necessarily enhance LLM translation output, whereas role assignment (specifically the translator persona) significantly improves results. However, due to the vast development of LLMs, this might already be outdated. Related work by Yamada (2023) investigated the use of ChatGPT for translating marketing texts from English into Japanese, focusing on how prompting strategies based on dynamic equivalence and user-centered translation affect output quality. The findings by Yamada (2023: 9) indicated that explicitly incorporating communicative intent

and audience considerations into prompts notably improved the overall quality of translations, especially in handling culturally nuanced and idiomatic expressions, aligning the results more closely with professional industry standards.

In the context of Chinese–English translation, Siu (2023) evaluated ChatGPT's effectiveness across various translation-related activities, including the clarification of expressions within specific contexts, the interpretation of culturally embedded elements and the explanation of terminology. Furthermore, ChatGPT was assessed for its utility in simplifying complex texts, generating multiple raw translation outputs and serving as a source of inspiration for translators' own translations. In the realm of quality assurance, the model was employed for error detection, grammatical correction, overall quality assessment and stylistic editing. Siu (2023) also explored ChatGPT's potential in interactive translation workflows, where iterative user interaction leads to progressively refined outputs.

In contrast to conventional machine translation tools, such as DeepL or Google Translate, which offer limited opportunities for users to input additional information regarding the translation task, LLMs enable the incorporation of extensive context information (Timothy 2023). Users can specify critical parameters such as the source and target languages (including language varieties), the intended perspective, the distinction between general-language and specialized texts, the text type (e.g. annual report, medical certificate, blog article), the target audience (e.g. domain experts or the general public) and the author's communicative intent. Furthermore, users can request alternative forms of output, such as a summarized translation rather than a full rendering of the source text. Providing translation examples within the prompt can further align the model's output with the stylistic and textual expectations of the translator. Although some machine translation systems now offer limited customization options (such as selecting a formal, informal or academic style), the capacity of LLMs to incorporate a comprehensive translation brief within the prompt represents a significant advancement, offering enhanced flexibility and a closer alignment with client-specific requirements.

In conclusion, the major advantage of LLMs compared to NMT systems is that they allow users to provide additional context, including a translation brief or a persona, which can improve the translation output of the LLM. The adaptation to the purpose and target audience as well as the consideration of the language variety or corporate language can increase the efficiency of translators. Also, the summarization or simplification of the source text, brainstorming while translating or revision of the translation can support translators in the translation process.

The growing integration of LLMs into lexicography, specialized translation and terminology work not only creates new methodological possibilities but

also raises ethical questions. While this contribution explores how these technologies can support professionals in managing and applying (specialized) knowledge, their adoption must also be considered in relation to broader societal, environmental and professional implications. Issues such as their negative environmental impact, the potential influence of LLMs on language use and norms and concerns about job displacement highlight the need for a critical and responsible approach to their use. The following section therefore situates the practical use of LLMs within an ethical framework, examining how technological innovation in these fields can be balanced with professional responsibility and expertise as well as sustainability considerations.

3. Ethical aspects of LLMs

An aspect too often overlooked and ignored is the ethics underlying the use of LLMs (not only for lexicography, terminology work or translation but also their ecological, social and economic implications), which can be broadly subsumed under sustainability. Since the integration of LLMs into professional language practices affects not only how these tasks are performed but also the conditions under which they are performed, their broader implications need to be considered alongside their practical benefits. This perspective is particularly relevant when assessing the role of professionals and their responsibility in deciding when, how and to what extent LLMs should be used.

3.1. Sustainability

As LLMs require vast resources, including raw material for producing hardware, the energy for training, deploying and prompting the systems and water to cool down the server farms, concerns about the use of LLMs (in lexicography, terminology work and specialized translation) span multiple dimensions. Environmentally, their operation significantly increases energy and water consumption (McKean/ Fitzgerald 2024: 19) and requires vast amounts of raw materials (Crawford/ Joler 2018). The energy usage throughout the LLM lifecycle is coupled with enormous carbon emissions arising from the training and operation of LLMs (Singh et al. 2025: 11). Thus, the rapid proliferation of AI technologies is expected to impose considerable environmental burdens, with estimates indicating that AI may contribute as much as 5% of global greenhouse gas emissions by 2030 (Andrae 2020: 55).

Ethically, LLMs risk amplifying bias, as their training data underrepresent marginalized groups, potentially reinforcing stereotypes in dictionary content (McKean/ Fitzgerald 2024: 20) or translations. Technically, issues like confabulation, hallucination, lack of transparency and non-reproducibility undermine trust and reliability (McKean/ Fitzgerald 2024: 19–23). Professionally,

the rise of LLMs threatens to devalue human linguistic expertise, potentially endangering the profession itself (McKean/ Fitzgerald 2024: 21). Finally, unresolved intellectual property and copyright questions raise serious legal and ethical challenges, particularly around data memorization and authorship of AI-generated content (McKean/ Fitzgerald 2024: 21–23).

Singh et al. (2025: 11–12) propose several solutions to these issues. These include implementing sustainable practices such as energy-efficient training, sustainable hardware, eco-friendly data centers and lifecycle assessment. Nevertheless, it is worth critically examining whether LLMs represent the most appropriate solution in the first place. For the tasks outlined above, the use of small or very small language models (capable of running locally on personal computers) may offer a more efficient and sustainable alternative (Schick/ Schütze 2020: 9) in addition to traditional tools, such as corpus analysis tools (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 518).

3.2. Job displacement

The rise of LLMs brings significant concerns regarding job displacement and the devaluation of human expertise, as their increasing use in fields like lexicography and translation risks automating roles traditionally conducted by skilled professionals. Beyond economic implications, this shift also reflects broader challenges, including the opacity of model outputs, diminished human oversight and growing inequality in access to advanced technologies, issues that demand critical reflection and informed governance to ensure ethical and equitable integration (Tokayev 2023: 17).

3.3. Language change

Language, both general and specialized, is constantly changing. With the emergence of new domains, new terms are also evolving. The question arises what influence LLMs will have on (specialized) language in the future. While Massion (2024: 86) argues that an "[o]ver-reliance on AI-generated content can lead to a loss of originality, diversity and authenticity in language and communication," others observe that some phrases (such as "meticulous" and "commendable") have become more popular in academic (PubMed records) publications since the advent of LLMs (Matsui 2024: 2). It has to be noted that the usage frequency of these words and phrases had already been rising for several years prior to the release of ChatGPT, indicating that while ChatGPT may have accelerated their popularity, these expressions were already gaining momentum (Matsui 2024: 2). Another observation in the medical field is that human-written medical texts tend to be more concrete, diverse and context-specific, whereas ChatGPT-generated texts prioritize fluency and coherence but often rely on general terminology with less context-relevant detail (Liao

et al. 2023: 1). While the frequency of certain terms (in academic literature) changes according to research trends (some terms being more popular at certain times), the change in the frequency of adjectives, as well as the decreased use of 'are' and 'is' are likely to be related to LLM-generated texts (Geng/ Trotta 2024: 3). Therefore, the proliferation of ChatGPT may subtly lead to the decreased use of certain words or phrases without necessarily recognizing it (Matsui 2024: 12).

As mentioned above, using LLMs for the creation of dictionaries, terminology resources or specialized translation raises several concerns, including that LLMs are a black box and do not provide real sources (Schryver 2023: 366) (unless prompted to do so; and even then, also not reliably). For language professionals, this is an issue because they need to access the source, i.e. the authentic text. However, since more and more texts are produced (and post-edited) by means of LLMs, the corpora that these language professionals will (be able to) use in the future will change. The boundaries between 'synthetic'/ 'artificial' data and 'authentic' data might become blurred.

Furthermore, due to the English-centered training of LLMs "prompts formulated in other languages than English are answered using also (and mainly) English data" (Jakubíček/ Rundell 2023: 512). This also means that outputs in languages other than English are "thus patterned onto the (linguistic) characteristics and structures of the English language" (Schryver 2023: 364). For languages or language varieties that are not well-represented in LLMs, there is the risk of linguistic (and cultural) "homogenization as these technologies may promote dominant cultures at the expense of local or minority perspectives" (Tokayev 2023: 17). However, the positive impact of LLMs on academic writing (in fields where English is the lingua franca) is that they 'level the playing field' (to some extent) because "they help non-English native writers to improve the quality and flow of their text, as well as to translate into English from their mother tongue or vice versa" (Geng/ Trotta 2024: 10).

3.4. Dictionaries and terminology resources of the future

The question arises whether traditional dictionaries and terminology resources will continue to be (relevant and) needed as the reference works they are today. Therefore, the above-mentioned studies primarily focused on evaluations of the ability of LLMs to support their production. Nonetheless, Schryver raises the question that future dictionaries might be subsumed into (or entirely overtaken by) other digital tools: "we should have asked ChatGPT to produce the type of lexical analysis that will be needed in the future, rather than mimic the past" (Schryver 2023: 380). Furthermore, the question emerges as to who the primary users of dictionaries and terminology resources will be in the future: humans or machines (Schryver 2023: 380), such as LLMs.

4. Conclusion

LLMs like ChatGPT can be promising tools in lexicography, terminology work and specialized translation by accelerating (or augmenting) certain steps in the workflow and assisting with the detection of patterns and structures across languages, language varieties, text types and domains. When used critically, they can support professionals in various steps of their work and in generating outputs that can then be refined through expert analysis. However, critical limitations remain: LLMs lack transparency in data sourcing, cannot reliably reproduce results and currently do not support evidence-based validation through corpus back-linking, which is essential in both lexicography and terminology work. For this reason, the expertise of professionals, such as lexicographers, terminologists and specialized translators, remains central to creating useful prompts, as well as to assessing, contextualizing and revising LLM-generated output in the fields of lexicography, terminology work and specialized translation. Overreliance on these models risks perpetuating certain (outdated) language norms, homogenizing language and marginalizing professional expertise, making it essential that LLMs be used as supportive tools rather than standalone systems. Terminologists, lexicographers and specialized translators therefore play a key role in shaping how these technologies are applied in practice, combining them with established tools and methods. It is crucial that terminologists, lexicographers, specialized translators and even non-experts avoid relying solely on LLMs, as traditional tools like corpus analysis software and well-maintained terminology databases remain more reliable, less resource-intensive and better suited for many tasks.

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Terminology work in evolving translation workflows

ABSTRACT

Terminology work in evolving translation workflows

This work provides an overview of the evolving role of terminology work at the interface with translation, focusing in particular on its interaction with translation technologies and the broader implications for the language industry. It begins by examining the structure of terminology management systems (TMS) and outlines both past and current challenges in achieving seamless integration with translation tools, particularly with regard to the conceptual dimension of terminology and its formal representation. The development of interoperability standards TMF and TBX is reviewed, highlighting their foundational importance for structured terminology management. However, their effective implementation remains limited due to inadequate structuring in many receiving technologies. An excursus explores first limited integration in CAT-tools as well as attempts to integrate terminology work into translation workflows outside traditional CAT-tools and into NMT and LLM-based translation systems, providing context for emerging approaches that aim to invert both the sequence and the logic of the integration into the translation process. The study emphasizes a current trend toward the use of terminological metadata, which shifts terminology work from a pre- or post-processing task to a real-time component of output generation and holds the potential to promote terminological awareness and restore the perceived value of linguistic data.

Keywords: terminology management, translation workflow, CAT-Tools, LLM

1. Introduction

While terminology might be considered an independent science, it also involves a distinct level of interaction with other disciplines. It relies heavily on dialogue with experts in the various domains in which terminology is defined

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and studied. Moreover, it draws inspiration from, and serves, a range of adjacent academic fields, such as linguistics and translation studies (Cabré 2010: 357; Thelen 2015: 348; RaDT 2020: 5). Terminology work informs but is also shaped by related workflows. Both as an independent practice and through this interdependence, terminology and terminology work have evolved in parallel with technological advancements, continuously adapting their methods, resources, and applications to emerging digital infrastructures. In light of this interdisciplinarity, terminology work must be capable of interoperating with a variety of tools and systems, supporting seamless integration across workflows such as translation.

This paper examines the historical and contemporary interplay between terminology and translation technologies, with particular emphasis on the architecture of standalone terminology management systems (TMS), the evolution of interoperability standards, and the integration of terminology into computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, neural machine translation (NMT) workflows, and, more recently, LLM-based systems. Building hereon, this paper highlights the shifting role and temporal positioning of terminological workflows in relation to translation processes, which is also illustrated through graphical representations.

Past and current challenges in achieving seamless integration are examined, with particular attention to the conceptual dimension of terminology and its representation within translation technologies. Finally, the paper argues that emerging approaches based on LLMs offer promising avenues for integrating terminology work more effectively into translation workflows without reducing its multidimensionality. By functioning as a real-time component of output generation, terminological metadata can also contribute to restoring the relevance of linguistic and conceptual information in automated translation.

2. Technology-driven terminology work

The rise of terminology in the function of a scientific discipline and a practical field is closely linked to the emergence of computer science, as the management and updating of terminological collections in paper-based formats were labor-intensive and often inefficient (Magris et al. 2001). Since then, terminology management has evolved in parallel with the development of digital technologies, progressively enhancing the efficiency and accuracy with which terminological data are created, stored, and processed across all stages of the terminology workflow. This evolution can be structured according to a functional division based on the technological tools required at each stage (see Figure 1, p. 125).

Corpus building and related tasks, as well as data representation, constitute two distinct phases of terminology work. Because the tools supporting these

steps differ and remain only partially integrated, they are represented in Figure 1 as two sequential and separate pillars.

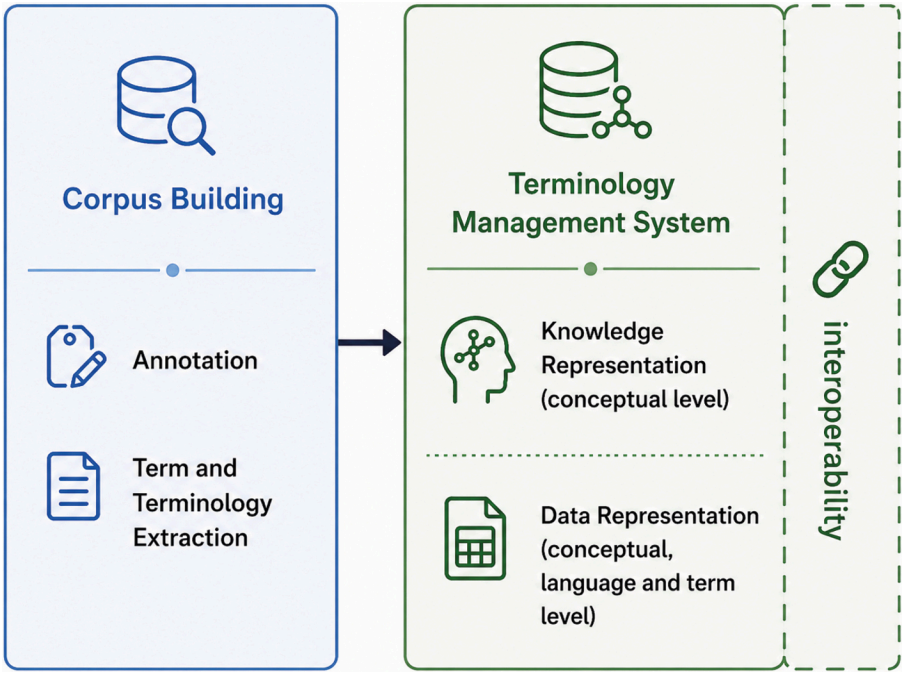


Figure 1: Terminological process based on the division dictated by the required technological tools

A major development has occurred in the first pillar, where digital tools for corpus building and compilation have enabled the systematic collection, analysis, and management of language corpora, which are essential for identifying terminological patterns (Bowker/ Pearson 2002; Rundell/ Kilgarriff 2011; Messina 2018). Term and terminology extraction belong to this phase, as corpus-processing tools typically include functionalities for the automatic extraction of terms and keywords and, more recently, through the application of LLM, the identification of broader concept-related information. However, an in-depth discussion of technologies associated with this phase falls outside the scope of this article, since direct interaction with translation processes primarily occurs in the two downstream phases.

Knowledge representation has likewise benefited from advances in digital environments and increasingly sophisticated structured formats, such as knowledge graphs, taxonomies, ontologies, and terminological data records, which facilitate precise and standardized encoding of terminological information (Kageura 2012; Durán Muñoz/ Bautista-Zambrana 2013). These so-called

Terminology Management Systems (TMS) support the continuous updating and wide dissemination of terminological resources, ensuring that databases remain current and accessible to a broad user base. The effectiveness of dissemination and reuse, particularly in external processes such as authoring systems, content management systems, and translation workflows, depends largely on both the internal structuring of the data and the interoperability of these systems.

2.1. Separation and interconnection of terminology work and translation

The translation workflow has also undergone a profound structural transformation driven by technological advancements, reflecting a broader paradigm shift within translation studies (Cronin 2003; Millán/ Bartrina 2013; Zhang et al. 2024). Contemporary translation processes cannot be adequately analyzed without accounting for the technological ecosystems in which they are embedded, particularly CAT-tools, whose primary component, the translation memory (TM), has fundamentally reshaped both the cognitive and operational dimensions of translation practice (Gough 2017: 44).

Empirical research indicates that translators routinely engage in terminological tasks during translation workflows, including consulting corpora, analyzing comparable texts, and managing ad hoc terminology resources (Zanettin 2012: 200; Bowker/ Pearson 2002: ch.11; O'Brien 2012: 105). However, the systematic use of fully separate, dedicated TMS remains limited in actual translation workflows. This can be explained by the distinction between terminological work conducted by professional terminologists, who employ specialized TMS and follow standardized protocols, and that performed by translators, who often rely on less formalized approaches and remain within the framework of CAT-tools. This divide has been largely attributable to the use of separate technological tools (Bowker 2015: 312).

An additional distinction in this panorama concerns the degree and manner in which translators engage in terminology tasks depending on the scale of translation operations. In large-scale translation environments, particularly in institutional settings such as translation agencies and multinational corporations, the separation between terminology management and translation workflows is more pronounced. In such contexts, distinct professionals, terminologists and translators typically function as complementary but separate specialists, with terminology management preceding or running parallel to translation tasks. Conversely, in individual translation projects or freelance settings, translators frequently manage terminology within their own workflows.

Despite the close interconnection between translation and terminological tasks, the interoperability of the supporting tools, such as corpus management systems, TMS, and CAT-tools, remains only partially realized.

3. Terminological standards

Standards have been developed to support all three phases and groups of digital tools.

(1)

ISO 5078:2025 sets standards for the compilation of text corpora, terminology extraction tools, selection of term candidates, and tool characteristics. Although not explicitly aimed at terminology, other standards for annotation and compiling are highly beneficial, as they are prerequisites for carrying out automated term or keyword extraction, such as ISO 24617:2017 and the upcoming ISO/PRF 24635. These standards are not discussed in detail in this article, as they pertain primarily to the initial phase of terminology work, which focuses on information retrieval rather than dissemination. Furthermore, while interoperability between corpus analysis tools and downstream phases (e.g., the population of TMS) remains an important issue within the overall terminological workflow, it does not directly affect the interface with target-group technologies, which constitutes the main focus of this study.

(2)

Standards have been developed that facilitate the structured representation of terminological data. The methodological framework employed in terminology work significantly influences the development of tools designed for terminology management. Central to this framework is the ISO 1087:2019 standard, which defines key terminology concepts and establishes a shared vocabulary for the discipline. According to ISO 1087, terminology begins with the identification of an "object," which may be material, immaterial, or imaginary. This object serves as the starting point for a dual-layered analysis: the conceptual and the linguistic dimensions. The conceptual dimension involves the abstraction and cognitive modelling of the object, thereby capturing expert knowledge and shared understanding, which are formalized through concepts. Each concept is understood as a unit of knowledge, formed by the unique combination of characteristics abstracted from the properties of the object (Cabré 1999: 110). In contrast, the linguistic dimension focuses on the terms used to verbalize these concepts, with "semes" representing the minimal units of meaning within terms.

A central method in terminology work related to the conceptual dimension involves the creation and analysis of concept systems, in which individual concepts and their interrelationships are identified and structured (Sager 1990; Auger 2020). These relationships are integral to TMS. Once a coherent concept system is established, the focus shifts to the lexical dimension. At this stage, the terms used to verbalize the concepts, including variants and synonyms

within and across languages, are mapped either into lexical networks (in graphical form) (Vezzani/ di Nunzio 2002) or into a more standardized format, namely: multilingual lexical datasheets (Temmerman 2000). Graphical representations and structured datasheets facilitate the visualization of these networks, highlighting the necessity of integrating language-level elements into concept systems and, more importantly, embedding conceptual structures within language systems. This bidirectional integration ensures terminological coherence and improves usability across linguistic and technological contexts.

The practical implementation of these terminology management methodologies is operationalized through adherence to international standards, notably ISO 16642:2017 (revising earlier versions), which delineates the Terminological Markup Framework (TMF). TMF provides a structured metamodel for representing Terminological Data Collections (TDCs), promoting interoperability and consistency across various systems. For more details on the foundational principles and historical context of this model, see van Campenhoudt (2017; 2019), Romary (2002); for a practical application example, see Vezzani/ di Nunzio (2020: 30–31).

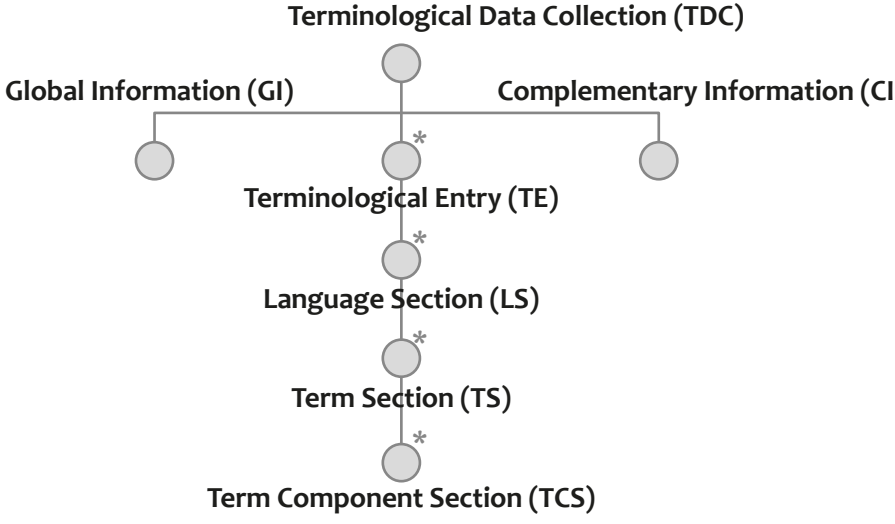


Figure 2: The meta-model of a terminological database according to Romary (2002)

Within this framework (Figure 2), a Terminological Data Collection (TDC) consists of multiple terminological entries (or concept entries) (TEs), each representing a distinct concept. Each TE corresponds to a unique, distinct node in the knowledge graph, explicitly outlining relationships with other TEs.

Ideally, nodes in the knowledge graph and datasheets are linked to support integration of conceptual and linguistic levels, as well as data navigation. Each TE includes language sections (LSs) for different languages (identified by a language code as defined by ISO 639:2023), and within each LS, term sections (TSs) contain specific terms used to express the concept in that language. For complex or multiword terms, term component sections (TCSs) provide detailed descriptions of individual components, enabling precise linguistic analysis and processing. TMF's hierarchical structure ensures that terminological data is organized to support both human interpretation and machine processing. Data categories, which are classes of data items closely related by form or meaning like *image, definition*, *context*, *variation, grammar* etc., can be distributed across different levels, a distribution known as the Data Category Specification (DCS). For instance, *image* typically appears at the concept level, while *grammar* is noted at the term level. *Definition* may appear at either the concept or term level, depending on the theoretical approach and target audience of the terminology work (ISO 1087:2019).

(3)

This standardized structure is particularly beneficial when integrating terminology into translation tools. The ongoing revision of ISO 16642:2017, expected to be soon replaced by ISO/DIS 16642, aims to address emerging needs in terminology management, such as enhanced support for multilingualism and alignment with other standards like ISO 30042:2008 and ISO 30042:2019, which specifies the XML-based format for the representation and exchange of terminological data, facilitating interoperability with CAT-tools and promoting reusability. The TBX format is built on two interacting components: a core structure reflecting the TMF metamodel and a formalism for defining TBX modules that specify which data categories are included in the database and to which levels these categories should be assigned, a concept known as multidimensionality (Melby 2015: 403, ISO 12620-1:2022). The combination of these components defines a specific dialect, an XML markup language compliant with the TBX standard (Vezzani/ di Nunzio 2020: 4906-4907; Vezzani 2022: 86). A limited set of categories is available as downloadable public dialects, or private dialects can be created for specific needs (TBXinfo.net n.d.). ISO 12620-2:2022, promotes the collection of a Data Category Repository (DCR) such as DatCatinfo (DatCatinfo n.d.), that aggregates category specifications to promote consistent naming, as well as improved findability and accessibility of both data and metadata.

TBX serves as the reference structure adopted by most computer-assisted translation software since its inception, promoting compatibility across different terminology systems and facilitating the operability of terminology work

```
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  <conceptGrp>
    <concept>1</concept>

    <transacGrp>
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      <date>2025-06-05T18:06:41</date>
    </transacGrp>

    <descripGrp multimedia="16952">
      <descrip type="image">Stift.jpeg</descrip>
    </descripGrp>

    <descripGrp>
      <descrip type="domain">Bauindustrie</descrip>
    </descripGrp>

    <languageGrp>
      <language type="German" lang="DE" />

      <descripGrp>
        <descrip type="definition">
          Mechanisches Verbindungselement, was aus einem künstlich hergestellten
          länglichen, zylindrischen oder konischen Körper aus Metall – wie ein
          Nagel ohne Kopf und Spitze – besteht.
          Sie dient zum Verbinden, Befestigen, Mitnehmen, Halten, Zentrieren,
          Fixieren, Sichern, Verschließen u. dgl. von Maschinenteilen in radialer Richtung.
          Ein Stift ist für das Übertragen kleiner, stoßfreier und möglichst nicht
          wechselnder Drehmomente geeignet.
          Ein Stift kann nur fest ausgeführt sein.
        </descrip>
        <descripGrp>
          <descrip type="source">
            http://doczz.net/doc/5803874/bolzen--und-stiftverbindungen; pdf
          </descrip>
        </descripGrp>
        <descripGrp>
          <descrip type="source">
            https://maschinentechnik.iq-technikum.de/application/userUpload/tinymce/5.2.1.3_SchraubenBolzenStiftverbindungen
          </descrip>
        </descripGrp>
      </descripGrp>

      <descripGrp>
        <descrip type="context">
          Durch Stifte werden zwei oder mehr Bauteile formschlüssig in radialer Richtung
          der Stifte miteinander verbunden, indem in eine durch alle Teile gehende
          Bohrung ein Stift gesteckt wird.
        </descrip>
        <descripGrp>
          <descrip type="source">
            https://maschinentechnik.iq-technikum.de/application/userUpload/tinymce/5.2.1.3_SchraubenBolzenStiftverbindungen.pdf
          </descrip>
        </descripGrp>
      </descripGrp>

      <descripGrp>
        <descrip type="convergence">
          Teilkonvergenz mit der englischen Benennung „pin“ und mit der
          italienischen Benennung „spina“, die sowohl beweglich als auch
          fest ausgeführt sind.
        </descrip>
      </descripGrp>

      <termGrp>
        <term>Stift</term>
        <transacGrp>
          <transac type="origination">Terminologist</transac>
          <date>2025-06-05T18:06:41</date>
        </transacGrp>
        <transacGrp>
          <transac type="modification">Terminologist</transac>
          <date>2025-06-05T18:06:41</date>
        </transacGrp>
        <descripGrp>
          <descrip type="grammar">Substantiv, maskulin</descrip>
        </descripGrp>
        <descripGrp>
          <descrip type="termType">full form</descrip>
        </descripGrp>
        <descripGrp>
          <descrip type="usage">standard</descrip>
        </descripGrp>
      </termGrp>
    </languageGrp>
  </conceptGrp>
</mtf>
```

Figure 3: TBX format with Concept, Language and Term level for the entry Stift [pin] in the domain building industry

with translation tools. (Bowker/ Fisher 2010; Bowker 2002; Rodríguez Vázquez/ Rico 2020). Despite these technological advancements, integrating terminology management fully into translation workflows remains a challenge due to issues such as tool compatibility and workflow disruptions.

4. Interoperability with CAT-tools

CAT-tools are integral to translation workflows, offering features such as translation memory, various quality assurance checks, project management functionalities, including review processes, as well as specific tools for handling terminology. This latter functionality continues to face significant limitations. One core issue is that CAT-tools were not originally designed to handle multidimensionality of terminology. While their technological structure has been adapted to new market demands and translation workflows (such as the integration of MT, post-editing and interaction with AI), they continue to rely on a terminology function that remains largely limited to the term level. Originally labelled "glossary" (e.g. Wordfast classic, Trados 2015) and later as "term base" (Phrase and memoQ), "termbase" (SDL Trados), "terminology" (Wordfast Pro), this functionality lacks a formal representation of conceptual relationships and provides only limited access to metadata. Although the 2019 revision of ISO 30042 introduced the *conceptEntry* category in the TBX format, suggesting an intention to incorporate the conceptual dimension of terminology into the serialization format, the actual integration of this dimension into CAT-tools has not been fully realized.

Wordfast Pro's glossary functionality consists primarily of term-level entries with minimal support for structured metadata categories. The user interface allows for the creation and management of glossaries, intended as lists of equivalences in the source and target languages, as well as the post-translation *Transcheck* function, which detects terms in source segments and verifies whether the corresponding glossary equivalents are present in the target segments, issuing errors or warnings where necessary. Wordfast Pro 5 rebranded its *Glossary List* as *Terminology List* (Figure 4). However, this change appears to be largely nominal, as it does not introduce substantial enhancements in functionality or support for comprehensive terminological data management. The glossaries remain primarily term-based, lacking the structured, concept-oriented approach characteristic of dedicated TMS (Wordfast 2017).

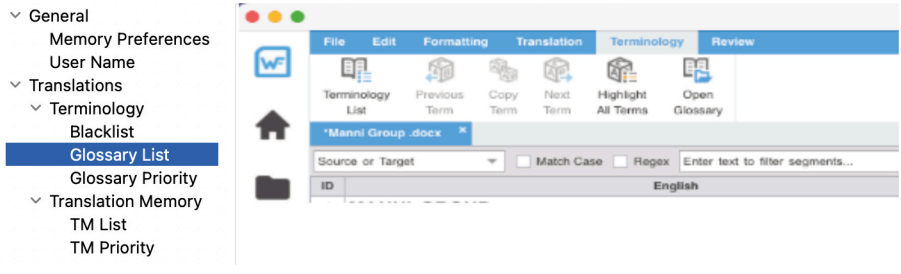


Figure 4: Wordfast Classic Glossary List was replaced by Terminology List in Wordfast Pro

Phrase (formerly Memsource) has made notable strides toward aligning with ISO 1087:2019 by distinguishing between "*concept entries*" and "*term entries*" within its term base functionality (Figure 5). This approach facilitates a more structured organization of concepts and terms, enabling, for example, the representation of terminological gaps across multiple languages, thereby supporting consistency in translation projects. However, two limitations remain: relationships among concepts cannot be explicitly modelled, and metadata is not immediately accessible during translation. In some CAT-tools only term equivalents without additional metadata are suggested while typing. Both features are essential for enabling informed and contextually appropriate translation strategies.

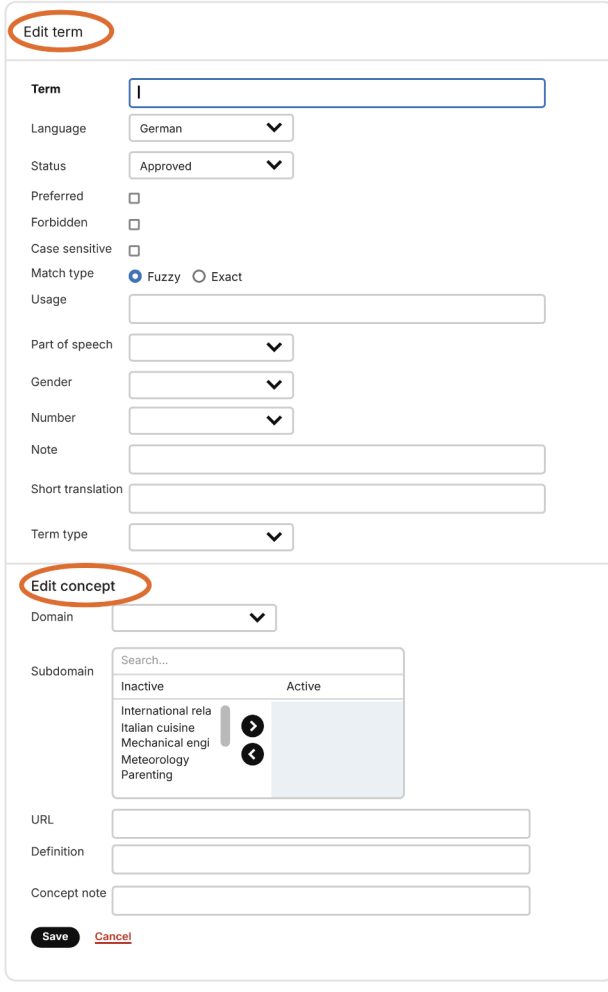


Figure 5: Differentiation of concept and term level in Phrase

A similar structuring of term bases can also be found in other CAT tools such as MemoQ (Subhi 2024) and Classroom (Bilic 2020). SDL, one of the leading companies in the language industry, offers a dedicated tool for terminology management, **MultiTerm,** while simultaneously providing a term base feature within its translation environment, **SDL Trados**. This dual architecture reflects a **structural separation between concept-oriented terminology management and translation-oriented term retrieval,** where the former is handled in a specialized system and the latter is integrated into the CAT tool interface. As a result, while **conceptual richness may be maintained at the level of the standalone system,** the interaction within the translation environment often remains **predominantly term-centered**, reinforcing a semasiological mode of access during the translation process.

4.1. Terminology work as pre- and post-process in translation workflow

The traditional approach to terminology management in CAT environments assumes that terminology research, systematization, and resource creation constitute a **distinct preparatory phase**, while quality assurance based on these resources (e.g., glossaries and term bases) is performed **primarily after** the translation process (Popiołek 2015: 342; Petrova 2019: 91; Seljan et al. 2021: 253). This separation is further reinforced by the **limited availability of dedicated terminology management tools within CAT environments and the insufficient integration of concept-oriented functionalities,** which constrains real-time interaction with terminological knowledge.

From a process-oriented perspective, translation has commonly been described as comprising three main phases: pre-processing, translation production, and revision or post-processing (Englund Dimitrova 2005; Jakobsen 2002; Mossop 2000). Although different terminology is used across theoretical frameworks, these three macro-phases are well established. Against this background, the present study examines the positioning of terminology work within the translation process, with particular attention to how technological developments shape this interaction.

In institutional and agency settings (Figure 6a, p. 134), terminology work may be centrally managed and maintained through TMS. However, the resources made available to downstream users, typically translators, are lists of source terms and their equivalents in the target language, in the form of glossaries which substantially and structurally differ from term bases. In fact, in most cases, access to metadata, such as definitions, contextual usage notes, and other metadata, during the translation process and within the editor interface is either restricted or entirely absent. In those CAT-Tools that enable the integration of such fields into glossaries, references to metadata at the conceptual

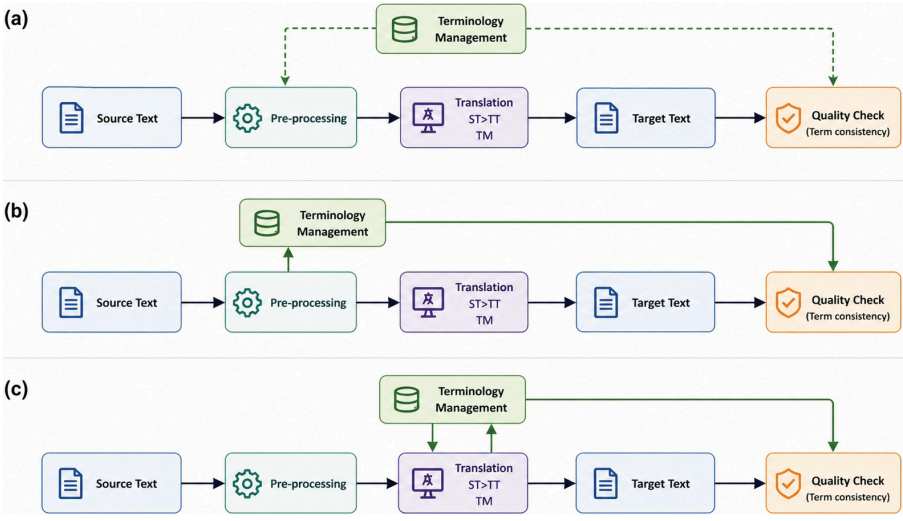


Figure 6: Position of Terminology Management in Translation Workflow with CAT-tools. Typical example with Translation Agencies (a) and (b) and with Freelance Translators (c)

level are nevertheless lacking. Instead, translators must interrupt their workflow to retrieve this information, for example by contacting project managers, requesting access to external TMS or conducting individual research. Such interruptions reduce efficiency and disrupt the translation workflow. In addition, the lack of access to metadata and/or conceptual information increases the risk of inconsistencies or errors due to the insufficient understanding of the underlying concepts (Thelen 2015: 375; Muthu 2023: 87). It also complicates the identification of effective translation strategies for addressing terminological gaps between languages (Resi 2024: 69).

Standard workflows in language service providers like translation agencies may otherwise involve the creation of ad hoc, text-specific glossaries (Figure 6b). These glossaries, often constructed without a formal conceptual framework, primarily consist of paired source and target terms. Their focus is on ensuring surface-level consistency during translation, but they lack reusability across projects and systems. The substantially different approach between concept-oriented and term-list resources hinders the integration into TMS (Bowker & Pearson 2002: 143).

In the context of freelance translation, terminology management tends to occur concurrently with the translation process, rather than as a distinct preparatory activity (Figure 6c). Freelancers often engage in ad hoc terminology research as the need arises, reflecting an implicit onomasiological approach,

albeit one that is still driven by the source text. While this involves starting from a concept or meaning and identifying the corresponding term, the process is seldom formalized into structured concept systems. As a result, conceptual relationships "stays where it was first stored, namely in the terminologist's head" (Nuopponen, 2022: 66–67) and therefore undocumented and unavailable for future reuse.

As a consequence of this lack of seamless integration of comprehensive terminology work within translation workflow, quality checks related to terminology coherence are often postponed until after translation is complete. This delay in quality assurance increases the risk of unresolved errors. Bridging this gap would require the integration of fully concept-oriented terminology systems, compliant with standards such as ISO 16642 and ISO 30042, thereby enabling more dynamic and context-aware support for translators throughout the translation process.

5. Integration of machine translation into CAT-tools

Initially, Machine Translation (MT) systems and CAT-tools followed two separate paths of development although some attempts were made at integrating CAT tools with MT in the early 1990s. Around 2006 the barrier between the two approaches began to fade (Garcia 2009: 206).

Despite the initial challenges of hybrid post-editing where translation tasks involve both post-editing MT output and editing translation memory matches, MT has become a standard component in most CAT-tools. It is traditionally used for the pre-translation of source texts (Hutchins 1997; Doherty 2016; Nzuanke/ Chinaka 2018; Han 2020). Several CAT tools now offer more advanced features, such as the automatic repair of TM matches using MT output and MT-based predictive typing. These developments make it increasingly difficult to distinguish between different types of human intervention in the translation process. Moreover, recent studies highlight the **progressive convergence** of post-editing and TM editing, driven by improvements in MT quality as well as a productivity boost (Sánchez-Gijón 2019: 40).

With respect to terminology, the handling of domain-specific terms in both statistical and neural MT remains a persistent weakness. Unadapted MT systems generally fail to process specialized terminology accurately, and constrained decoding research treats faithful reproduction of domain terminology as an open problem in NMT (Hasler et al. 2018: 506; Post/ Vilar 2018: 1314–1315). The goal is to enable the MT system to handle previously unseen terminology while maintaining translation accuracy and fluency (Moslem et al. 2023: 902) but the integration of prepared glossaries into, or prior to, the automated translation process has proven to be effective for specific translation

tasks (Arcan et al. 2014: 64). This process typically requires the reformulation of glossary structures and their conversion into machine-readable representations, which is often not economically justifiable for many translation scenarios (Resi/ Lang 2026: 248). This limitation has had significant implications for terminology work, which continued to be treated as an isolated process, largely decoupled from real-time translation. As a result, terminological resources were typically developed independently of MT systems rather than being dynamically integrated into them (Figure 7).

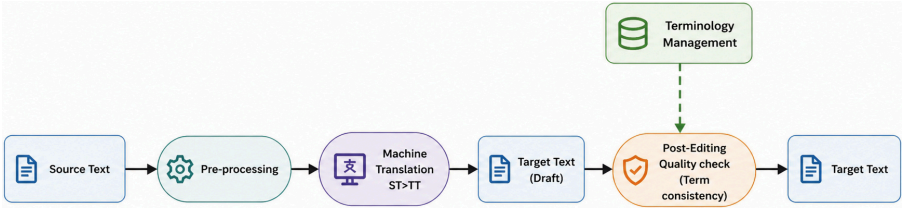


Figure 7: Position of Terminology Management in Translation Workflow with CAT-tools and MT

Consequently, terminology verification occurs during the post-editing phase, where translators systematically check the alignment of MT output with approved terminology lists. The automated identification of terminological mismatches against resources imported into the CAT-tools, for example *Transcheck* (Wordfast) or *Quality Assurance* functionalities (Phrase, memoQ, and SDL Trados), represents reactive rather than proactive solutions. This underscores that comprehensive terminology work remains a parallel and largely disconnected activity, rather than an integrated component of the translation process. Glossaries (or term bases) are therefore used **primarily as ad hoc instruments for consistency checking,** rather than as embedded, concept-driven frameworks guiding the MT process itself. Once terminological errors are identified, translators must implement the necessary corrections. This process often extends beyond simple term substitution: it may require syntactic adjustments (e.g., agreement in grammatical gender or number) or even the rephrasing of entire sentences to preserve semantic integrity and fluency.

6. MT/LLM-driven approaches to Terminology Enforcement

The position of terminology integration within the translation process has evolved in response to emerging market demands and the parallel development of new technologies in automated translation. These developments include:

- significant advances in NMT and LLMs;
- increased integration of MT, requiring alignment and interoperability between MT systems and TM;
- growing demands for the adaptation of texts to project-specific style and terminology;
- the influence of multiple stages within the document creation lifecycle;
- and the expanding scope and complexity of post-editing tasks (see ISO 18587:2017).

NMT has made substantial progress in producing fluent and contextually appropriate translations. Its end-to-end architecture enables the direct modelling of correspondences between source and target texts, while leveraging full-sentence context to capture syntactic and semantic patterns. However, despite these advances, the integration of terminology into NMT remains a significant challenge. NMT systems are difficult to control with respect to specific terminological or stylistic requirements. Introducing such constraints at the project level is often impractical within the time constraints of standard translation workflows. Moreover, errors in NMT output are frequently difficult to trace, and their correction typically requires model retraining or fine-tuning, which is both time- and resource-intensive. **As a result, the pre-translation integration of structured terminological resources remains limited.**

Numerous approaches have therefore sought to incorporate terminology directly into the translation process in order to reduce reliance on post-translation quality assurance. This paradigm, referred to as *Terminology Enforcement* (Resi/ Lang 2026: 249), aims to ensure that predefined terms are consistently applied during, or immediately after automated translation, thereby improving terminological accuracy and reducing manual revision effort.

The integration of Terminology Enforcement was developed later than the incorporation of MT into CAT-tool architectures (Dinu et al. 2019). The initial conception of glossaries in CAT-tools was primarily oriented toward **human reference during translation,** rather than toward automated integration into machine-generated output. As a result, glossaries in their standard CAT-tool formats often require substantial cleaning and adaptation to become suitable for automated processing, a task that entails significant preparatory effort.

Even when terminological constraints are available in an appropriate machine-readable format, the automatic substitution of terms frequently introduces grammatical errors, particularly in language pairs with complex agreement systems (e.g., gender, number, or case). Furthermore, effective integration of a term often requires contextual reformulation, as the surrounding sentence may need to be adapted to accommodate the inserted term in a pragmatically and syntactically coherent manner. These challenges cannot be reliably addressed by simple term-replacement algorithms.

Consequently, Terminology Enforcement often represents a pragmatic compromise: it seeks to enforce predefined terminological choices while minimizing disruption to the surrounding context, but without fully resolving the deeper interaction between terminology, syntax, and semantics in automated translation.

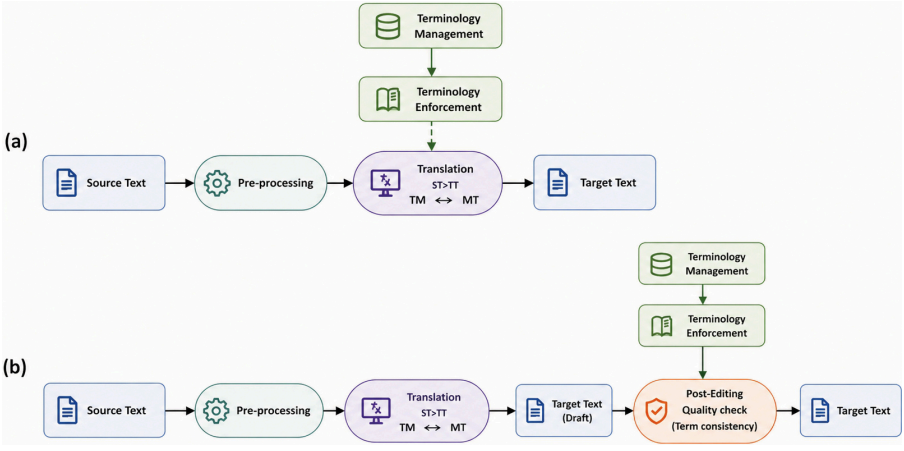


Figure 8: Position of Terminology Management in Translation Workflow with CAT-tools with MT and Terminology Enforcement

Even though the aim of Terminology Enforcement is to replace terminology quality checks in the post-processing phase, substantial post-editing is still typically required (Figure 8). Since the effectiveness of this balance is highly dependent on the structural and lexical differences between the source and target languages, Terminology Enforcement is not purely a technical solution but a process that must incorporate linguistic and translational expertise to be truly effective.

Further attempts beyond glossary-based constraint preparation have been made to improve Terminology Enforcement, address its limitations, and evaluate outputs: Placeholder approach (Crego et al. 2016: Sections 4.1–4.3); Alignment-based method (Dinu et al. 2019: 3064); Constrained decoding method (Chatterjee et al. 2017: 159; Hasler et al. 2018: 506; Hokamp/ Liu 2017: 1537; Post/ Vilar 2018: 1315; Exel et al. 2020: 275), Factorization (Dinu et al. 2019: 3064); Annotation with special tokens (Exel et al. 2020: 274; Ailem et al. 2022: 446; Bergmainis/ Pinnis 2021: 3106); Human and Automated Evaluation of Terminology Accuracy and Text Fluency with different methods of Terminology Enforcement (Bane et al. 2023: 348; Scansani/ Dugast 2021: 80). While NMT approaches (excluding LLM-based systems) tend to provide more consistent terminology, this often comes at the expense of fluency. In contrast,

LLM-based methods generate more fluent outputs but may introduce **sporadic and difficult-to-detect terminological errors, as well as hallucinations**. Limited insight processes and error origins and the consequent inability to directly correct outputs remain a challenge. In addition to that, there is the problem of high costs, effort, and energy demands (Ailem et al. 2022).

7. Change of perspective

A substantial transformation introduced by LLMs in the field of translation is the integration of terminology optimization directly into the translation process. This development shifts terminology management from rigid, constraint-based enforcement toward flexible, context-aware integration and agentic refinement. Consequently, the process more closely approximates human translation practices, which naturally accommodate variation, nuance, and contextual appropriateness in terminological usage.

NMT systems have traditionally been constrained in their ability to incorporate specialized lexicons, as adapting to new terminology typically required extensive retraining or modifications to model embeddings. In contrast, LLMs enable more flexible and efficient integration of terminology through structured prompts and contextual instructions, allowing for real-time updates and adaptation to evolving domain- and market-specific requirements. As a consequence, terminology optimization is no longer treated as a one-shot generation problem but rather as an iterative and dynamic process.

At the core of this approach are prompt-based strategies (see Gundam/Mandadhi 2026: 4 for a categorization). With respect to translation tasks, these strategies include prompt engineering and system-level instructions, where optimization is achieved through detailed guidance (e.g., glossaries, prescribed term substitutions, and preferred variants) that shapes model behaviour rather than with externally imposed constraints (Zhu et al. 2025: 1286). In addition, in-context learning (ICL) improves performance mainly by regulating the model's output (Long 2024: 10). It leverages few-shot examples, often retrieved from development datasets, to demonstrate appropriate term usage during inference (Rios 2024: 2). Another technique, code-switched prompting, involves substituting source-language terms within the prompt with their target-language equivalents, thereby creating hybrid inputs that encourage correct terminological usage (Jaswal 2025, 1345; Zhang et al. 2023: 6030). Collectively, these approaches enhance the model's ability to produce terminologically accurate outputs at inference time.

Beyond prompt-level control, more advanced architectures introduce iterative refinement through multi-agent pipelines in which specialized agents identify terminology violations (Kim 2025: 2). These agentic workflows not

only improve translation quality but also enhance resource efficiency, enabling smaller models to perform effectively in specialized domains without requiring large-scale fine-tuning on parallel corpora. Similarly, LLM-in-the-loop pipelines extend this paradigm by automatically extracting, aligning, and validating terminology from source and reference materials prior to or during translation.

Another key development is the integration of external knowledge sources through approaches such as Terminology-Augmented Generation (TAG), which builds upon Retrieval-Augmented Generation (RAG) (Di Nunzio 2025: 98; Lackner et al. 2025: 31). In this framework, terminological resources (e.g., glossaries or term bases) are embedded within vector databases, and relevant entries are dynamically retrieved and injected to guide translation. This approach is exemplified by systems such as LARA from Matecat (Matecat 2025) and WIDN.AI (Widn 2024). Within this framework, the idea of terminological "context" (not yet defined in ISO/IEC 22989) encompasses not only the input text but also metadata, such as terminological instructions or semantic information. The idea is that context can include terminological metadata, which are already modelled in an interoperable way within TMS. These metadata, that can be standardized in TMS according to the TMF model, can be encoded in machine-readable formats such as JSON. They can be updated dynamically and modulated for specific translation tasks. The advantage is that this process supports bidirectional interaction: user input can influence translation in real time, while generated outputs can feed updated metadata back into a TMS, enabling continuous improvement of terminological resources (Gupta 2024: 4; Lackner et al. 2026: 6).

7.1. Terminology work as real-time process within translation workflow

To leverage the advantages of LLMs for translation-oriented terminology and ensure their feasibility within real-world translation constraints, two key requirements emerge: (1) runtime optimization rather than reliance on prolonged training phases, and (2) seamless integration of LLM-based optimization methods into the translation process.

The first requirement is addressed through prompt-based strategies and system-level instructions. The second requirement presupposes, first and foremost, the availability of interoperability standards, such as ISO 16642 (TMF) and ISO 30042, to support the complex metadata structures required by LLM-driven workflows, as well as the development of conversational or agent-based interfaces enabling real-time interaction with LLMs.

Moreover, the typical segment-based structure of CAT-tools does not fully align with the evolving notion of context. A transition from sentence-level to

document-level processing is therefore necessary, as recent LLM developments demonstrate a shift toward more adaptive and context-aware language modelling. In addition, translators require interfaces that expose computational processes without demanding deep technical expertise. This entails tools that allow users to visualize concept relationships extracted by the model, validate or refine automatically generated term-concept mappings, access and edit metadata produced through AI-assisted extraction, and interpret confidence levels or underlying reasoning behind system suggestions.

Within this emerging paradigm, the focus is no longer on enhancing TMs with MT or LLM capabilities, but rather on augmenting LLM-based translation systems with external data sources. These include TM (in augmented MT scenarios) and TMS resources, as in TAG. This inversion enables TMs and terminological resources to influence translation dynamically during generation, rather than retrospectively.

Consequently, terminology no longer functions as a supplementary resource applied after translation; instead, it becomes an active, real-time component shaping the generated output (Figure 9).

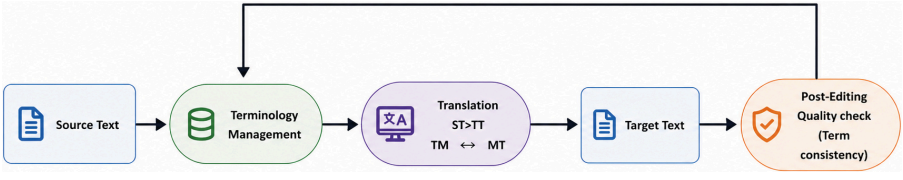


Figure 9: Position of Terminology Management in Translation Workflow with TAG communicating with CAT-tools

These emerging processes significantly enhance the role of terminological metadata, reinforcing the notion that it is not merely the quantity of data that determines effectiveness, but the quality of linguistic data, specifically, terminological data enriched with conceptual and cognitive knowledge. This perspective underscores the function of terminology as a critical interface between machine capabilities and human expertise.

A recent example of such integration in translation environments can be observed within the Federal Administration, where the CAT tool Star Transit is employed. Through the use of an application programming interface (API), translators are provided with direct access to validated TERMDAT entries stored in TMS (Wymann 2025: 519). Furthermore, terminological datasets are made available as linked open data, enabling broader interoperability via the Linked Data Services (LINDAS) interface of the Federal Administration.

8. Conclusion

Terminology work has always had a technological dimension, but this aspect is becoming increasingly central. Effectively carrying on terminology work where it is needed during translation now depends on integration with modern technologies more than ever. Terminology's role as a bridge between human cognition and machine processing is gaining prominence, particularly as the focus shifts from the quantity of data to the quality of linguistic data, especially terminological metadata, including the conceptual level.

A fundamental transformation concerns the shift from reactive to proactive approaches. Traditional terminological quality check operated largely as a post hoc mechanism, correcting inconsistencies in machine translation output during post-editing. In contrast, LLM-driven methods integrate terminology directly into the generation process, enabling real-time guidance of translation outputs. Closely related to this shift is the expansion of the notion of context: in LLM-based systems, context encompasses not only surrounding text but also structured metadata, such as domain, audience, and preferred variants. These elements can be dynamically encoded and adapted to specific projects without requiring costly retraining procedures.

At the same time, a conceptual inversion has taken place. Rather than enhancing TMs with MT or LLM capabilities, current approaches increasingly focus on augmenting LLM-based translation systems with validated terminological and linguistic data, as exemplified by TAG. Within this paradigm, terminology is no longer treated as a constraint to be satisfied but as a contextual signal that actively shapes output generation, supporting both semantic fidelity and natural fluency.

These developments also expose the need to rethink translation tools. Future systems must preserve the established strengths of CAT environments, such as format support, quality assurance, post-editing functionalities, and text visualization, while enabling deeper and more flexible integration with TMS. This includes granting translators full access to terminological metadata at the conceptual, linguistic, and term levels, and supporting informed decision-making regarding the reuse, adaptation, or exclusion of such data. A clearer distinction between project-specific resources (e.g., stored for example in TMs) and generalizable terminological knowledge (maintained in dedicated but integrated TMS) will be essential for ensuring both efficiency and sustainability.

This approach reasserts the importance of linguistic data in the development of language technologies, an importance that has been diminished with the rise of MT and LLMs. Unlike traditional MT, deep learning models, particularly encoder-decoder architectures with attention or Transformer models

do not segment language into linguistically meaningful units, such as morphemes or words, but operate on vectors that lack clear linguistic boundaries. This may be the moment to reestablish the role of linguistic knowledge in making technologies more efficient. By doing so, they offer a path to reintegrate linguistic expertise into technological innovation, ensuring that terminology once again plays a central role in shaping the future of language technologies.

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The presentation of word meaning through ostensive aids in (electronic) dictionaries

ABSTRACT

The presentation of word meaning through ostensive aids in (electronic) dictionaries

This article explores the integration of visual elements (ostensive aids) into electronic lexicographic resources, focusing on their role in enhancing the description and understanding of word meanings, particularly crucial during the translation process. While traditional lexicography primarily relies on text-based definitions, visual aids (such as illustrations, photographs, videos, and diagrams) can offer additional, non-verbal information that enriches the user's comprehension of the concepts underlying each word, and clarify the semantic distribution of a given concept across several lexemes. An analysis of the semantic field WATERCOURSE shows that the selection of a proper equivalent in the target language is influenced by the semantic distinctions peculiar to a language. This exploratory study investigates the conditions under which a lexical unit in a dictionary should be accompanied by a visual aid, explaining in each case its relevance and purpose. By formulating a utility criterion, the conditions that should be met in order to fulfil it are being specified. These conditions encompass several cases, such as the representation of concrete entities, cultural elements, prototypes, and actions, as well as polysemous words. They further establish the foundation for a preliminary methodology that aims to systematically integrate visual aids into lexicographic resources and will be finalized in future research. This methodology is currently being tested on the PAD model (Phrase-based Active Dictionary), and should identify *when* and *how* ostensive aids provide meaningful, pragmatic information that verbal definitions alone cannot convey.

Keywords: visual aids, ostensive aids, semantic fields, word meaning disambiguation, polysemy, multimedia elements in lexicographic resources

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1. Introduction

There are cases in which "a picture is worth a 1000 words" and others in which linguistic descriptions are most appropriate for grasping the gist of a word or of a sentence. In lexical resources for translation, pictures, illustrations (drawings), schemes, terminological diagrams, frames, videos, and other visual aids (like GIFs or other types of animations) are of prime importance and, in several cases, they are the only useful tool for finding the proper correspondence in the target language. This is particularly true for technical vocabulary for specialized translations; however, even common words display in many cases a different semantic distribution that needs to be taken into consideration when translating into a target language lacking these differences or some of them (cf. Coseriu 1978/1973: 25). Understanding the differences in the concepts behind words is a key process for language learning too, and also in this case, visual aids enhance vocabulary comprehension and memorization (cf. Paivio's *Dual Coding Theory* 2010: 211; Svensén 2009: 298–299; Dziemianko 2022: 219). Despite the usefulness of visual elements during the translation and language learning process, users can currently only rely on some multilingual visual printed dictionaries and a few online resources which are not always conceived and built in a systematic, ontologically coherent way for these purposes.

Against this background, I argue why and in which cases ostensive aids (i.e. visual representations) are required for word meaning disambiguation (in Section 2). I then survey selected current resources available to the users and outline their limitations (Section 3), and explain what the theoretical and practical challenges of the use of visual aids are (Section 4). Section 5 sets out preliminary conditions for integrating visual aids into lexicographic resources, with specific reference to the *Phrase-based Active Dictionary* (PAD), a new kind of advanced learner's dictionary developed by Giacomini and DiMuccio-Failla as one of the three components of the PhraseBase project (cf. Giacomini 2025; DiMuccio-Failla 2025; DiMuccio-Failla/ Giacomini 2022). I conclude by summarizing the observations, discussing their implications within the broader context of (learner's) lexicography, and addressing outstanding challenges (Section 6).

2. On the relevance of a multimedia approach in lexicographic resources for translation and language learning

In Section 2.1., I justify the selection of resources referenced in this article. Section 2.2. shows how multimedia elements support the disambiguation

of concepts within a given word field and deepen semantic understanding. Section 2.3. examines the role of multimedia aids in understanding cultural concepts and considers their implications for translation and language learning.

2.1. Selection of lexicographic resources

Before discussing the question of the relevance of multimedia elements in lexicographic resources, it is necessary to define which resources I refer to in this article. A wide range of resources is available for translation, spanning from lexicographic reference works to virtually any information that can aid in finding the appropriate equivalent in the target language. Even pictures or illustrations, with or without captions, found on the internet can be considered valuable sources of information. Lexicographic resources can comprise bilingual dictionaries, monolingual dictionaries, specialized dictionaries, terminological databases, glossaries, encyclopedias and visual dictionaries (for a detailed overview see Albrecht 2013/2005: 60–76). In this article, I will not address specialized language use, and concentrate solely on general language, focusing particularly on the treatment of highly frequent words with a different semantic distribution in two or more given languages, as this topic has not yet been addressed in the context of visual cues. I will not analyze bilingual dictionaries, but concentrate on monolingual ones, in particular on monolingual learner's dictionaries for English. I will also analyze BabelNet®, a multilingual lexical information system initiated by Navigli and Ponzetto (cf. Navigli/ Ponzetto 2012; Navigli et al. 2021) and based on WordNet®, Wikipedia, and Wiktionary (among other lexical and ontological resources), because it distinguishes itself through its integration of lexical and encyclopedic knowledge, its multilingual coverage, and its network-based structure. Accordingly, a comparison of the approach to the use of multimedia elements in traditional dictionaries and this non-traditional lexical resource, BabelNet®, is warranted to see how different designs influence information retrieval and semantic understanding.

Although language learning and translation are fundamentally different activities—language learning being primarily acquisitional and translation being an act of bilingual mediation—they share several cognitive and practical processes. Both require a deep engagement with lexical, syntactic, and pragmatic aspects of the language. Advanced learner's dictionaries provide explicit definitions, usage notes, collocations, and example sentences that aid not only in comprehension but also in production, especially in the target language of translation. These features can be particularly beneficial for novice translators or those working into a non-native language. Translators, even at an advanced level, frequently encounter production challenges that learner's dictionaries can help resolve.

A monolingual dictionary for translation should fulfill a range of specific criteria that meet translators' needs (see on this topic Giacomini, forthcoming). The translator, on the one hand, looks up information relative to the use of words in context and, on the other hand, to possible discrepancies in the conceptual structure of a given word, comparing it to the one in their L1/source language. The discrepancies in the conceptual structure concern, for example, semantic extensions of the core meaning through metonymic and metaphorical shifts. A monolingual dictionary intended for translation should deliver information that is to a higher degree *contrastive* in comparison to monolingual dictionaries for native speakers: the lexicographers should opt for displaying a more detailed presentation and explanation of semantic differences, including those among similar words belonging to a given semantic field, placing greater emphasis on cultural information, and contrasting synonyms semantically with respect to their contexts of use (see Bergenholtz/Tarp 1995: 60–63 for a discussion on encyclopedic information and comparative descriptions in *bilingual* dictionaries, and ten Hacken 2016 for an overview of theoretical perspectives on compiling monolingual versus bilingual dictionaries).

In this regard, the PAD model is an exception. The PADs constitute a group of monolingual online dictionaries for advanced learners (C1–C2) that are fully phraseologically based—thus prioritizing first and foremost the typical context of use of a lexeme; each lexical unit in the PAD is a *phraseological usage pattern* (cf. DiMuccio-Failla 2025: 20). Creating cross-references could make the translation orientation even more explicit and thereby yield a multilingual resource. The PADs can therefore be regarded as dictionaries that address hybrid needs: language learning and translation.

With respect to encyclopedic information and visual aids, Klosa (2016: 520; 530–531) notes that there is a long tradition of incorporating illustrations in printed general language dictionaries, but problematic aspects—concerning the number and types of illustrations to use—remain challenging for electronic dictionaries as well. Although this statement dates back to ten years ago, it still largely holds today: there is no documented guidance on practical conventions and criteria for illustration use in lexicography, and current practices often address core issues such as polysemy, interpretive ambiguity, connotations, cultural nuances, and gender neutrality insufficiently. For example, the picture of body in OALD10 and OALDo (2025) is identical and unchanged, depicting a young white male body. A picture of *scone* (a small round cake typical of the British and American culinary culture) appears in CALDo (2025) but not in OALDo (2025): from a learner's perspective, such an illustration is extremely helpful and supports understanding. The use of illustrations has not yet been *systematically* implemented in online versions (where space constraints are not

an issue), and a more extensive use of more modern aids (animations, GIFs, videos, AI-generated multimedia aids) remains underexplored.[1]

It is worth investigating why ostensive aids still receive limited attention in both practical and theoretical lexicography. Practical lexicography seems to overlook the actual benefits of a systematic use of visual aids: even when illustrations are used, entries rarely accommodate multiple illustrations paralleling a word's polysemy, and photographs predominate, despite calls by some researchers for drawings.[2] In theoretical lexicography, little research is dedicated to this topic in comparison to verbal definitions, overlooking the power of visual language in meaning explanations.

2.2. Ostensive aids for disambiguating concepts in a given word field

How can monolingual learner's dictionaries benefit from multimedia elements? Multimedia elements can help clarify semantic differences of lexemes within a given semantic field. A word field is a DE "Bedeutungszone", i.e. EN 'semantic zone': its meaning is distributed or scattered across various lexemes, each having a different semantic trait but sharing some core ones with the others (cf. Coseriu 1978/1973: 25). The semantic structure of a word field can differ between languages, thus having an impact on translation. Coseriu (1978/1973: 74) noted that: "[…] Sprachen sich nicht dadurch unterscheiden, was sie sagen *können*, sondern dadurch, was sie *unterscheiden müssen*."[3] This can be illustrated by the contrasts in (1).

1. a. DE *Blume* and *Blüte* ↔ IT *fiore*
   b. DE *Sprache* and *Zunge* ↔ IT *lingua*
   c. DE *gehen* and *fahren* ↔ IT *andare a piedi* and *andare con un mezzo*

In (1a), DE *Blume* refers to a flower as a whole, and DE *Blüte* refers to the blossom or the flowering part of a plant, which includes the colored upper part of a flower. It can also refer to flowers on trees, particularly when describing blossoms collectively. The semantic difference is compulsory in DE and there is no equivalent for *Blüte* in IT, since IT *fiore* covers both meanings (EN 'flower/

1| If space constraints are not an issue anymore in electronic dictionaries, costs still are. A more modern approach with a different variety of multimedia aids implies higher costs.

2| For example, through a controlled experiment, Dziemianko (2022) compares the effectiveness of color pictures, greyscale pictures, and line drawings against entries with no visual aids. The results indicate that line drawings are the most effective tool, as they lead to the highest levels of both immediate and long-term retention while reducing the time needed to understand a definition.

3| EN 'Languages do not differ in what they can say, but in the distinctions they have to express' (my translation, LR).

blossom'). In (1b), IT *lingua* in the sense of DE *Sprache* (EN 'language') may be specified by the adjective *parlata/scritta*, but this only in the cases in which it should be intralinguistically contrasted (EN 'spoken/written language'). Otherwise, in the general sense of *speaking a language*, IT *parlare una lingua* (DE *eine Sprache sprechen*), the adjective is omitted. In (1c), DE *gehen* means 'to go on foot' and DE *fahren* 'to go by using any means of transport'. Here, prepositional phrases are needed to specify the two lexemes in DE, since in IT this distinction is not lexicalized, even though it is possible to express both concepts by using additional specifiers (in EN it is the same).

The contrasts in (1) illustrate the language-specific differences in the semantic distribution of some semantic traits in DE and IT. As Coseriu (cf. 1978/1973: 75–77) observed, there are semantic differences whose expression is compulsory in one language but not in another (e.g. DE *Blüme/Blüte* vs. IT *fiore*); there are semantic traits that may or may not be specified (e.g. DE *Sprache/Zunge* vs. IT *lingua* [parlata/scritta]); and there are cases in which the semantic difference must be marked with other means (e.g. IT *andare a piedi* / *andare con un mezzo* vs. DE *gehen/fahren*).

For (1), the integration of multimedia elements presenting the meaning of the lexemes would enhance the exemplification of the meaning contained in otherwise solely verbal definitions. For (1a), when translating into German, *Blume* and *Blüte* must be used distinctively and, in order to do so, a picture of a flower, accompanied by a caption and with labelled flower's parts (among which: *Blüte*) is the most immediate tool for understanding the semantic difference at the base and choose the proper equivalent in the target language accordingly.[4] It could be argued that this difference pertains to specialized language use only. However, the contrastive use of *Blume/Blüte* is typical of common language use too. In Figure 1 (p. 157), we see an example of DE *Blume*, EN *flower* and IT *fiore*.[5] In Figure 2 (p. 157), we see an example of DE *Blüten* (pl.), EN *blossoms* (pl.), and IT *fiori* (pl.).[6]

Italian learners of German have to draw a lexical distinction every time they see or refer to a blossoming tree like the one in Figure 2. For language learning, the general consensus is that visual elements facilitate the learning process and augment the retention of vocabulary (see Heuberger 2017: 303–304 on the relevance of illustrations in a monolingual learner's dictionary, and Dziemianko 2024: 34 for the use and usefulness of pictures in e-dictionaries).

4| In a good dictionary, illustrations come with a caption (more in Section 4). Only captions can ensure the correct interpretation of an illustration.

5| © https://www.schoener-wohnen.de/einrichten/garten-terrasse/schoene-blumen-fuer-vase-topf-wintergarten-balkon-und-beet-12636168.html (accessed: 11.04.2025).

6| © https://www.dingers-blog.de/2023/03/31/was-ist-eigentlich-die-kirschbluete-und-was-macht-sie-so-schoen/ (accessed: 11.04.2025).



Figure 1: DE Blüten (pl.), EN blossoms (pl.), IT fiori (pl.)



Figure 2: DE Blume, EN flower, IT fiore

As Hupka (1989: 193) rightly points out, the presence of pictures not only provides the users with informational clues but also raises their awareness of certain semantic difficulties, thereby sensitizing them to the topic. Stein (1991: 116) highlights the use of "differentiating labels" in the 2nd print edition of the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE2) and the 4th print edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary* (OALD4) for lexical items where "there is a real or assumed relation of contiguity between the different objects shown and labelled in the picture". For example, she reproduces an illustration in OALD4 captioned "glove" that shows three types of gloves, each with a differentiating label: *glove*, *mitten*, *gauntlet* (cf. Stein 1991: 116). In effect, the semantic field "glove" is displayed with a selection of its instantiations. In this way, learners of EN are informed about three lexemes belonging to the semantic field of GLOVE (SMALL CAPITALS indicate a concept), are able to identify their referents in the real world through the mediation of the illustration, and can immediately determine whether their L1 draws the lexical distinctions, or if there is, for example, only a single word for *glove* and *gauntlet*. Even though Stein's analysis does not directly address the indirect benefits of this practice for translation or cross-linguistic correspondence, it is noteworthy: her overview of some well-established lexicographic practices used in the past for illustrations in printed dictionaries reminds us of how valuable these could still be today.[7]

7| Today, only OALDo (2025: *glove*) displays an illustration of the semantic field with tree types of gloves: *fingerless gloves, mitten, glove*. CALDo (2025: *glove*) has a single photograph of a pair of leather gloves (with no caption); COBUILDo (2025: *glove*) has a single (pixelated) photograph of a pair of wool gloves (with the caption "image of *glove*"); LDOCEo (2025: *glove*) has a single photograph of a pair of ski gloves (with no caption); MWALEDo (2025: glove) displays no illustration.

2.3. Ostensive aids for understanding cultural concepts

Another area in which ostensive aids are of major relevance is the one of cultural elements. Cultural elements encompass a wide range of items and processes (e.g. rituals). They can concern food, clothes, gestures, living spaces, means of transport, special tools, festive occasions, beliefs, rituals, traditions, political and educational systems etc. In translation theory, *realia* refer to cultural elements that have no equivalents in the target language and target culture, so being particularly challenging to deal with when translating (cf. Markstein 1999). Realia are therefore difficult to understand when the translator/language learner cannot come up with any mental representation of the word because they lack either the necessary linguistic or encyclopedic knowledge (Siever 2022/2015: 111). Giacomini et al. (2022: 7) demonstrated that online English monolingual dictionaries for learners—the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* online (CALDo), the *Collins Cobuild Learner's Dictionary* online (COBUILDo), the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* online (LDOCEo), and the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALDo)—predominantly offer definitions for culture-specific entities/concepts from a native-speaker-centered perspective, keeping encyclopedic information to a minimum, which is, on the contrary, exactly what users of a foreign culture need in order to grasp their meaning. With few exceptions, pictures/multimedia visual aids are not systematically provided in these resources. This study highlights the fact that the treatment of cultural elements in lexicographic resources for learners of English is not carried out in a systematic way considering the needs of a foreign user, who needs a more detailed contextualization and more pragmatic information than a native speaker. In this article, I will analyze another domain relevant to non-native speakers: the one of semantic fields, which I define as groups of lexemes sharing one or more sememes.

3. State of the art of selected current online lexical resources

In this section I give an overview of some current online lexical resources available to the users and outline their limitations. I focus on four monolingual online dictionaries, and in particular, on English monolingual learner's dictionaries (viz. CALDo, COBUILDo, LDOCEo and OALDo). For German and Italian, there are at the moment of writing no learner's dictionaries available online for free (in particular, for Italian, the format "learner dictionary" does not exist yet; there are "edizioni minori" of general dictionaries, i.e. 'abridged/concise editions,' or dictionaries explicitly compiled for school kids or younger

students).[8] For this analysis, I also take into account another online resource: BabelNet® (v5.3, 2025), a multilingual encyclopedic dictionary and semantic network freely available online because it is particularly interesting for its use of illustrations.

In order to show how these resources perform in employing multimedia elements to enhance meaning disambiguation for a given semantic field, I looked up the entries of the following lemmas: *river*, *stream*, *brook* and *torrent*. This semantic field is particularly interesting because, without a visual aid, it is difficult to understand how the descriptive adjectives contained in the definitions (e.g. *large*, *small*) are to be interpreted in relation to these watercourses: the concepts corresponding to the denotations are difficult to evoke unambiguously. The semantic field of WATERCOURSES is admittedly bigger than the one I analyze here: it may include lexemes such as *waterfall*, *creek*, *dam*, *channel*, *wetland*, and even *lake* (if it is considered as the part of a watercourse where a river "rests" before flowing further as an *outlet*). For the purpose of this analysis, I have narrowed the semantic field to the set of lexemes listed above because the sememes that constitute their meanings are challenging to conceptualize. Differences regarding the location of the watercourse, its extent, its source, its mouth and its flow can determine its naming.

In Table 1 (pp. 160–161), I list the definitions of the selected lemmas available on CALDo, COBUILDo, LDOCEo, OALDo, and BabelNet®, and give information about the availability of visual elements and their effectiveness. I report only the definition for the BE variant.

From all the resources listed in Table 1 (pp. 160–161), only CALDo provides appropriate, high-quality pictures that helps the user to fully grasp the semantic differences between the given lexemes. However, it does not provide a picture of *torrent* (nor do the other dictionaries). From the definition it is not clear if *torrent* can also apply to refer to STREAM or BROOK.

The pictures delivered by COBUILDo are pixelated and only up to a certain point of help: the picture related to *stream* could easily also apply for *brook*. LDOCEo does not provide any visual elements.

OALDo adopts a different medium: an illustrated frame (i.e. a scene, in this case a landscape of a prototypical countryside), where different elements/participants to the scene are depicted and numbered (e.g. besides *river* and *stream*, I found *hill*, *farm*, *farmhouse*, *field* etc.).[9] This is particularly useful to understand the difference in extent between RIVER and STREAM. The

8| Cf. *Lo Zingarelli Minore* (2021), il *Dizionario medio di italiano Garzanti* (2024), *Il Devoto-Oli minore* (2025). For German, the app *Netzverb* (https://netzverb-dictionary.app) is specifically designed for learners, but it is not relevant for my analysis since it does not contain any illustration for the lemmas I chose.

9| OALDo itself does not label this visual element as "frame".

Table 1: Watercourses in English monolingual learner's dictionaries and BabelNet®

Dictionary and lemmas	*Definitions*	*Visual elements*
CALDo		
river	A natural wide flow of fresh water across the land into the sea, a lake, or another river.	Yes, picture (high resolution).
stream	Water that flows naturally along a fixed route formed by a channel cut into rock or ground, usually at ground level.	Yes, picture (high resolution).
brook	A small stream.	Yes, picture (high resolution).
torrent	A sudden large or too large amount, especially one that seems to be uncontrolled.	No.
COBUILDo		
river	A river is a large amount of fresh water flowing continuously in a long line across the land.	Yes, picture (low resolution).
stream	A stream is a small narrow river.	Yes, picture (low resolution).
brook	A brook is a small stream.	No.
torrent	A torrent is a lot of water falling or flowing rapidly or violently.	No.
LDOCEo		
river	A natural and continuous flow of water in a long line across a country into the sea.	No.
stream	A natural flow of water that moves across the land and is narrower than a river.	No.
brook	A small stream.	No.
torrent	A large amount of water moving very quickly and strongly in a particular direction.	No.
OALDo		
river	A natural flow of water that continues in a long line across land to the sea.	Yes, illustrated frame of *countryside* with several numbered elements, including a river (nr. 20).
stream	A small, narrow river.	Yes, same frame of *countryside* (*stream* is nr. 34).

Continuation of Table 1

Dictionary and lemmas	*Definitions*	*Visual elements*
OALDo		
brook	A small river.	No.
torrent	A large amount of water moving very quickly.	No.
BabelNet®		
river	A large natural stream of water (larger than a creek).	Yes, 28 pictures (including maps), but some of them do not meet the definition or are patently incorrect.
stream	A natural body of running water flowing on or under the earth.	Yes, 30 pictures (including maps); some of them do not meet the definition, are patently incorrect or identical with the ones for *river*.
brook	A natural stream of water smaller than a river (and often a tributary of a river).	Yes, 12 pictures; some of them do not meet the definition, are patently incorrect or identical with the ones for *river* or *stream*.
torrent	A violently fast stream of water (or other liquid).	Yes, 12 pictures identical with the ones of *brook*.

illustrated stream flows into the river and it has a lower discharge than the river. In CALDo, on the contrary, the picture of *stream* shows a prototypical mountain stream (that can be also valid for *brook* (!)), which evokes another kind of prototype than the one illustrated in OALDo. In this regard, the OALDo expedient of an illustrated frame is most unambiguous, since it evokes a concept both for *river* and *stream* and, in addition, it delivers implicit information about the relation between the two (i.e. the stream being smaller than the river and flowing into it). The advantage of an illustrated frame is that it evokes a prototypical scene which, though being hard to find as it is in the real world, provides symbolic information about relations and roles that are always stable, no matter if reality is slightly different than the one depicted. In this sense, drawings and illustrated frames are more adequate than pictures (i.e. photographs) because they are naturally symbolic (and thus evoking more flexible concepts) and at the same time truthful in displaying functions, roles and relations. Pictures/photographs, portraying real entities, evoke rather rigid

concepts that tend to suggest identity (A [stands for] A) rather than symbolic value (A [stands for a similar] A) (more in Section 4 and 5).

Moving to BabelNet®, the strategy of delivering multiple pictures/photographs for a single lexeme/concept helps convey the idea that they do have a symbolic value, precisely because they are a group of possible instantiations of a single concept. Two problems are, however, linked to this strategy. The first is related to the actual output: several pictures do not fit the definition. For instance, among the pictures delivered for *brook* we find: two close-up photos showing clear water from above, one from the front (so that it is impossible to see the extent); one showing a glacial stream (which is not labelled as such); one showing wetland/a sort of swamp; one showing a ditch in a field; one showing a creek (a *creek* in AE means 'small stream or river', cf. COBUILDo 2025: *creek*). It is clear that this selection is not accurate. The second problem is logical and it mirrors the difference between intensional and extensional definitions. In intensional definitions, the shared properties of the instantiations of the concept are listed in the definition to make it distinguishable from other (similar) entities. Translated into visual language, this corresponds to giving a prototype representation (picture or drawing) of the entity, visually enhancing the properties of the given entity, e.g. by photoshopping it in case of photographs, or by drawing these properties manually in case of drawings. In extensional definitions, entities sharing the same necessary and sufficient features are listed as the extension of the concept itself, the problems in this case are, firstly, making sure to cover the whole range of entities, and, secondly, keeping this range up to date. Transposing this into visual language, it means that delivering a group of pictures may suggest that these and only these depicted entities are the sole possible instantiations of the concept evoked by the given lexeme, like in the case of BabelNet®. This strategy should be avoided if the pictures delivered here are randomly selected or if no information is given about their nature (i.e. how they were selected) or about their role in the entry of a given lemma (e.g. explicitly stating that the selection is not exhaustive or it contains also several other pictures that do not directly correspond to the specific meaning).

Each of the online resources I analyzed exhibits problems concerning the systematic or ontologically coherent use of visual elements. The User Guides on the dictionaries' websites provide no information on the criteria for selecting visual elements or deciding whether to display or omit them.

In the translation process of the semantic field WATERCOURSE, the presence of pictures accompanying the definitions is helpful for disambiguating the meaning and facilitates the selection of the most appropriate equivalent in the target language. During the translation process, the presence of a visual element is essential in understanding whether the semantic differences have

a distinctive value in the target language too or whether they are irrelevant. For instance, in Italian, *stream* can be translated with *ruscello* and *fiume*; at the same time, IT *ruscello* corresponds to EN *brook*. EN *brook* can, on the other hand, also be translated with a variant: IT *fiumiciattolo* (EN ~*small stream*). Moreover, IT *torrente* (EN *stream*) has a partial semantic overlap with EN *torrent*. In German, the semantic distribution of the lexemes *Fluss* (EN ~*river*), *Bach* (EN ~*stream*, *brook*), *Wildbach* (EN ~*brook*) is similarly difficult to understand and may lead to translation problems.

4. Problems related to the integration of ostensive aids in lexicographic resources

Not every lexeme can be visually represented. For example, abstract concepts like PHILOSOPHY cannot be represented intrinsically but could instead be depicted through a semiotic element that is somehow related to PHILOSOPHY, such as a picture of an edition of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (which would be reductive or even misleading anyway). Furthermore, even when a lexeme can be visually represented, the depiction may not always be relevant for word meaning disambiguation. For instance, pictures of spices do not reveal much about their actual taste, and the difference between *sweet paprika* and *harissa* is better described than depicted. From these observations, the questions that arise are:

1. What kind of ostensive aid is most appropriate for a given concept?
2. What theoretical and practical issues related to the integration of visual elements need to be addressed?

Beginning with (1), it is useful to enumerate the types of ostensive aids currently available and examine their application.

There are several types of ostensive aids: In Table 2 (p. 164–165) I list those identified by Svensén (2009), but I add some multimedia elements that he did not consider, because his focus is restricted to print dictionaries (my additions are marked with an asterisk). I also provide their scopes, their advantages, and limitations in respect of their integration into electronic dictionaries. Ilson (1987) offers finer distinctions among types of illustrations. He adopts a broader understanding of "illustration," a concept that for him also includes tables, diagrams, and "all forms of non-linear presentation" (Ilson 1987: 193). For example, he distinguishes among *partonomies*, *chains*, *networks*, *paradigms*. These distinctions are not yet relevant for this research.

Considering the scopes listed in Table 2, it could seem straightforward to assign each type of ostensive aid to a given part of speech: for instance, pictures for nouns, and animations for verbs. However, such a one-to-one correspondence cannot be established. Even a static picture depicting a "frozen movement"

Table 2: Types of ostensive aids for electronic dictionaries

types of ostensive aid	*scope*	*advantages*	*limitations*
Illustration/ drawing: in b/w in color hyper realistic (hand or digital)	To represent especially concrete entities.	It shows more typical features than a description; One can choose what most typical properties should be particularly represented/ highlighted.	It concerns appearance rather than function; It does not conceive all conceivable varieties of the object.
Picture/ photograph: in b/w in color	To represent especially concrete entities; To show an object in its authentic surrounding.	More realistic; It shows the object in its natural surroundings.	Typical properties cannot be chosen: The picture (non-photoshopped) shows everything as it is; It does not conceive all conceivable varieties of the object.
*Icon/symbol/ sign/logo (drawn or photographed)	To reproduce actual icons, symbols, signs and logos and make them recognizable.	More effective than a description.	–
*Smiley/emoji	To represent typical emotions in a visually coded way.	Controlled and limited range of types to choose from.	Lack of precision; Interpretation of a smiley/emoji is context driven.
*Cartoon drawing	To represent people's actions in a playful way.	More entertaining and engaging for younger users.	Graphic illustrators (or valid AI image-generators) needed.
*Illustrated taxonomy	To represent concrete entities and their components (meronymy).	More accessible and approachable than a description.	Phenotypic variability cannot be captured; Scale accuracy must be ensured.
Illustrated diagram	To represent processes in a schematic way.	It summarizes in a schematic way longer descriptions; Visually impactful.	Risk of oversimplification.

Continuation of Table 2

types of ostensive aid	*scope*	*advantages*	*limitations*
*Illustrated semantic field	To represent entities that share some features and belong to the same conceptual category.	Faster comprehension; Reduced ambiguity; Visual mapping of the category.	Draw the boundaries of the category.
Illustrated setting/scene (frame)	To represent participants and their roles in a given situation.	It shows all the entities involved in a specific situation and not in isolation.	Complex to design.
*Animated frame	To represent participants, their roles, their functions and their movements in a given situation.	It shows all the entities involved in a specific situation and not in isolation; It combines visual and kinesthetic cues.	Complex to design and animate.
*GIF/ animation	To represent short functions and short movements. To represent emotional/facial expressions.	Less data capacity required than videos (= less megabytes); It combines visual and kinesthetic cues.	Lack of contextualization.
*video	To represent action verbs, complex/long movement, complex functions. To include noises of the surroundings.	Detailed and realistic demonstration; It combines visual, auditory and kinesthetic cues.	More data capacity required than videos (= more megabytes); Expensive (= complex to film).

(e.g. a hairdresser cutting hair) accompanied by an underlying caption featuring the given verb (e.g. *to cut*) could be as effective as an animation (see also Stein 1991: 110–111 on the representation of verbs by means of illustrations). As a general rule, visual elements should always be accompanied by captions, as captions are essential to elicit the right interpretation by the user. In certain

instances, arrows are also necessary to further clarify the reference. However, captions containing single lexemes isolated from the context can lead to ambiguity (e.g. the verb *to cut* without an object versus *to cut* with an object, such as in *to cut hair*). This issue is connected to the broader theoretical question of how polysemy is treated in "traditional" dictionaries.

In traditional dictionaries, the different meanings of a word are usually displayed in hierarchical order, with a limited number of main senses to which groups of sub-senses are attached (cf. Svensén 2009: 211–212). The main sense and the sub-senses are constituted by isolated lexical units or by a lexical unit embedded in a very general argument structure (e.g. *to cut something* vs. *to cut something by…*, where "something" is not specified, and the dots after "by" suggest that pretty much any kind of semantic type is allowed, cf. OALDo 2025: *cut*). The examples listed under each sense undoubtedly help contextualize the word, but the word senses per se consist of unspecified and often isolated lexical units. This approach has some drawbacks. In fact, in the case of the verb *to cut*, the different possible types of direct objects determine the type of cutting tool and thus the underlying picture. For instance, in OALDo (2025: *to cut*) the third sense indicated by the disambiguator "hair/nails/grass" unifies three different concepts, in which one involves the use of scissors or clippers as a cutting tool for cutting hair; the second, the use of a pair scissors or a nail clipper for cutting nails; and a third, the use of a (push) mower or a lawn trimmer for cutting grass.

In the PAD, on the contrary, not isolated words, but words in their "contextual patterns of normal usage" (Sinclair 2004: 133) are considered the core lexical units of language and are thus treated as such. This means that the LUs of the PAD are formulated taking into consideration the common types of subject and the common types of objects occurring in the argument structure of verbs (and of adjectives, nouns, etc.) (cf. DiMuccio-Failla/ Giacomini 2017a; 2017b for a detailed description of the theoretical basis of the project, which integrates insights of John Sinclair and Patrick Hanks). This leads to the formulation of *normal word usage patterns* that are the actual lexical units of the dictionary each corresponding to a different sense (cf. DiMuccio-Failla 2025: 19–23), and thus disambiguating meanings and concepts in finer details (more in Section 5).[10]

A further issue that is connected to a theoretical problem of linguistic and cognitive nature is: what is the prototypical concept evoked by the meaning of a word? Necessary and sufficient conditions do not always make it possible to

10| For the verb *to cut*, in the PAD there would be two different lexical units (among others): The lexical unit *somebody cuts (somebody's) hair/nails [using scissors or clippers]* and the lexical unit *somebody cuts the grass [using a (push) mower or a land trimmer]*.

unambiguously identify or classify a given entity (cf. Labov 2004/1973). In some cases, information regarding typicality, function, purpose, and context of usage is necessary to develop a prototype/prototypical concept (cf. Labov 2004/1973, Rosch/ Mervis 1975, Rosch 1978). Representing prototypes is challenging. Pictures refer to a concrete entity in the real world and can carry several connotations that may or may not be intentional. Some of the intentional or unintentional connotations that must be considered carefully include gender, body language, color usage, stereotypes, power dynamics, and the general composition of the representation itself (in which environment should the represented entity be depicted? From what perspective should it be depicted?) (see also Kress/ van Leeuwen 2021/1996 for the notion of *social semiotic*). Additionally, cultural connotations related to clothing, styling, architecture, religious and historical (national) symbols, myths, etc. must be considered too.

From a practical point of view, one of the issues is keeping the visual elements up to date.[11] This issue encompasses not only contemporary entities that may get out of date, such as floppy disks in the 1990s and USB sticks in the present, but also entities that have undergone redesign while maintaining the same function, such as sports equipment like the vault in artistic gymnastics. Additionally, even ostensive aids paired with seemingly stable concepts may become outdated in terms of quality, fashion of representation, or photography techniques.

Another factor is a change in the perception of depicted entities. What is currently perceived as neutral can potentially evolve over time, acquiring controversial connotations. When incorporating visual elements into a lexicographic resource, it is essential to have a systematic plan for dealing with the inevitable development over time. This aspect can be time- and resource-consuming for lexicographers until it is fully automated. The potential benefits of incorporating AI for the automation of specific tasks should be considered; however, a human review of the output will always be necessary to ensure accuracy and reliability.

A further practical problem is related to the position of visual elements within the microstructure of the entries. To facilitate contrastive comparisons and better understand the relations between words belonging to the same semantic field, cross-references to visual elements associated with similar or synonymic words should be provided. As illustrated in the case of WATERCOURSE, visualizing the differences between the different watercourses is crucial, making the display of their contrasts and relations indispensable.

In this section, I have outlined the issues related to the integration of visual elements in electronic lexicographic resources. The range of visual elements

11| It should be noted that definitions are also affected by this issue, since the prototype may shift with age.

currently available has certain advantages and disadvantages that must be considered when selecting the most appropriate visual aid for a given lexeme. Dealing with lexemes in isolation generates further issues related to polysemy. It is challenging to pair, for example, a verb with a single visual element that encompasses all its polysemous senses. In order to enhance word meaning disambiguation, it is preferable to deal with words in their contextual patterns of normal usage—an approach which has been concretized in the design of the PAD.

5. Delineating conditions and a methodology

In this section, I outline the conditions and a preliminary methodology for systematically integrating ostensive aids into lexicographic resources, with the aim of determining when a lexical unit (LU) should be paired with a visual element to enhance word meaning disambiguation.

The purpose of delineating the conditions and a preliminary methodology for systematically integrating ostensive aids is to determine the cases in which a lexical unit should be accompanied by a visual element such as those listed in Table 2 (p. 164–165). These conditions stem from the work on the data of the PAD model, and the methodology is currently being tested in this framework. The goal is to finalize a comprehensive model that incorporates ostensive aids augmenting word meaning disambiguation.

A first utility criterion can be derived from the question of when to pair a LU with a visual element:

I. The visual element should be relevant for word meaning disambiguation, i.e. the visual element actually conveys *additional* (pragmatic) information—not contained in the definition—that is *necessary* for word meaning disambiguation.

This criterion can be fulfilled if one of the following conditions is met:

a) If a concrete entity must be recognizable in the outside world.

   Examples: symbols, logos, emblems, signs, gestures, tools, instruments, styles. In this case the visual element is more referential than a verbal description.

b) If cultural elements are being defined and these are representable (religious beliefs are better described: e.g. *nirvana*, *karma*).

   Examples: food, clothes, gestures, living spaces, means of transport, special tools, festive occasions, rituals (representable with videos), traditions (representable with videos), political and educational systems (representable with diagrams).

c) If verbal descriptions hardly succeed at conveying a full and precise representation of the meaning.

Examples: the definition/description of troponyms is not as effective as an ostensive representation (Giacomini et al. 2022 illustrate the LU *somebody staggers around/in a certain direction* with a video); or, more generally, movement verbs are better understood if the manner of the execution is visually demonstrated, such as in the case of *somebody nudges somebody else*.

d) If the definition defines a prototype but does not contain optional attributes that convey important information of some kind (e.g. cultural connotation).

Example (following Dobrovoľskij/ Piirainen 2022/2005: 241, mentioning the different connotational value of HOUSE): The prototype of *casa popolare* in Italy is architecturally different from the one of *Sozialwohnung* in Austria (EN 'council house'), even though they fulfil the same function.[12,13] The architectural aspect is not mentioned in the definition, but it can be delivered through an illustration.



Figure 3: Prototype of IT *casa popolare*



Figure 4: Prototype of AT *Sozialwohnung*

e) If a meaning is distributed across several lexemes within a given semantic field, these lexemes being similar, but differing from each other through language-specific sememes.

Examples: the lexemes belonging to the semantic field of WATERCOURSES analyzed in Section 3; or the semantic differences of *cookie* and *biscuit* in BE and AE (not mirrored in other languages, e.g. Italian and German, not distinctive); or the semantic distribution of *Kern* (EN '*seed* as a reproductive function') and *Same* (EN '*seed* a structural aspect [of an object]') which is different in EN and IT, where this distinction is not lexicalized (e.g. DE *Kürbiskerne* is in EN *pumpkin seeds* and in IT *semi di zucca*; DE *Sesamsamen* is in EN *sesame seeds* and in IT *semi di sesamo*).

12| © https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_popolare.JPG (accessed: 22.04.2026).

13| © https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gemeindebau#/media/Datei:Karl-Marx-Hof_2009.jpg (accessed: 22.04.2026).

f) If encyclopedic information has a distinctive function in word meaning disambiguation.

Example: EN *to chop onions* and *to chop wood* are two actions carried out by different means, in the first case with a knife, in the second, with an axe. In Italian, the tool marks a semantic difference, that is, in Italian the verb is different: IT *tagliare le cipolle* (with a knife) and *spaccare la legna* (with an axe). If you say, IT *tagliare la legna* (EN 'to cut wood'), you mean that you are using a saw or an axe. If you say IT *fare la legna* (EN 'to make wood'), you refer to the activity in general to collect and prepare wood for the winter time or for heating.

g) If a LU contains an entity that is involved in an interaction with the environment or other entities (cf. Boas 2013 on the employment of frames for translation).

Example: the descriptions of roles in given settings can be best exemplified by illustrated frames/scenes (e.g. doctor/patient in a hospital).

h) If the LU is an idiomatic expression that needs to be contextualized (pragmatic indications regarding the purpose of uttering the expression in a given context must be exemplified).

Example: EN *the time is ripe* means that it is a suitable point for a particular activity (CALDo 2025: *the time is ripe*). When uttering this expression, you implicitly encourage someone to take action (this is your intention). A brief video showing a typical chat between two people in which the expression is used helps to contextualize it concretely.

This list of conditions may be extended or modified through further research. Two important specifications concerning all conditions listed above are that:

- Each ostensive aid should be accompanied by a caption (in case of pictures/illustrations, arrows should be added to guide interpretation, if necessary)
- If pictures/photos are meant to represent a prototype, this should be explicitly stated, as the picture will have a symbolic value only.

6. Conclusion

In this article, I have explored the integration of visual aids into electronic lexicographic resources, particularly focusing on their role in enhancing word meaning disambiguation so as to be helpful during translation and language learning. Visual elements, such as pictures/photographs, illustrations, and videos, offer substantial potential for enriching the understanding of entries in a dictionary, but their integration has not been approached systemically yet (as the analysis carried out in Section 4 has shown). The visual aids must be

relevant, purposeful, and contextually appropriate to convey meaningful and pragmatic information that is not easily encapsulated through verbal definitions alone. In Section 5, I have delineated several conditions for the systematic integration of visual aids with respect to the PAD model, a new learner's dictionary grounded in phraseological and cognitive principles (cf. Giacomini 2025; DiMuccio-Failla 2025).

A nuanced understanding of the relationship between words and their contextual use allows for more effective and accurate lexical resources that are sensitive to language-specific nuances, especially when dealing with semantic fields like the one of WATERCOURSE, where distinctions are important for accurate translation and understanding.

Moving forward, the research will continue testing these principles within the PAD model, ultimately contributing to the development of an integrated system. The inclusion of visual aids is not just a technical enhancement, but a step towards creating a more intuitive, culturally aware, and user-friendly approach to modern lexicographic practices.

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Metaphors we get infected by. Political metaphors in simultaneous interpreting – A German-Spanish corpus analysis

Abstract

Metaphors we get infected by. Political metaphors in simultaneous interpreting – A German-Spanish corpus analysis

This article investigates the treatment of political metaphors in simultaneous interpreting between German and Spanish during plenary debates of the European Parliament in 2020, the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. The study is grounded in cognitive and traditional metaphor theories and examines whether interpreters preserve the metaphor's function and imagery when transferring it from the source to the target language. The analysis is based on a corpus of 142 speeches, comprising 64 selected metaphorical expressions. The research applies both qualitative and quantitative methods to assess functional consistency and categorize interpreting strategies such as omission, demetaphorization, retention, intensification, and explicitation. One third of the metaphors was retained with full functional consistency, while another third was omitted or demetaphorized. The findings suggest that ontological and conventionalized metaphors are more likely to be preserved, whereas coherence-preserving or emotionally charged metaphors are often lost in interpretation, likely due to cognitive constraints or the fast-paced nature of parliamentary debates. Contrary to earlier claims that metaphors are particularly problematic in simultaneous interpreting, this study finds evidence of interpreters' strategic awareness and efforts to maintain metaphorical meaning when possible. The results support the integration of metaphor competence into interpreter training and indicate that further research combining corpus analysis with interviews or real-time observations would be beneficial to understand decision-making processes in depth.

Keywords: metaphor analysis, simultaneous interpreting, conceptual metaphor, interpreting quality, COVID-19

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1. Introduction

The present article is a condensed version of a Master's thesis, the results of which were presented at the Austrian Linguistics Conference in December 2023 at the University of Graz during the workshop "New Perspectives on the Relationship between Linguistics and Translation Studies." The thesis emerged from the intention to develop a linguistically oriented research project within the framework of Translation Studies, focusing on a topic that would allow for empirically grounded and practically observable results. The COVID-19 discourse was chosen because hardly any other event has had such a profound impact on our lives in recent years. Interpreting is a highly complex activity in itself. Various complicating factors such as high speech rate or syntactic complexity are frequently discussed in the course of interpreter training. However, aesthetic aspects such as metaphors seem to receive more attention in (literary) translation courses than in interpreting classes.

This study analyses how interpreters deal with metaphors in a particularly demanding interpreting setting, namely the plenary sessions of the European Parliament, in the language pair German–Spanish. The relative cultural and linguistic proximity between German and Spanish can be seen as an advantage, but it might also increase the risk of interference. The aim of the study is to investigate whether interpreters succeed in transferring the function of the respective metaphor from the source text to the target text, and how they deal with metaphorical expressions more generally. In addition, the study examines how interpreting influences the degree of metaphoricity in the target-language expression.

The article is structured accordingly: the first part outlines the theoretical foundations necessary to frame and understand the phenomenon of metaphor and to ensure the comprehensibility of the findings (see sections 2 to 5), while the subsequent section presents the corpus analysis based on a series of representative examples (see section 8).

The definition of the phenomenon of metaphor and the history of the scientific debate on the subject will be briefly outlined, in order to then analyze metaphor against the background of the COVID-19 discourse. Analyzing authentic linguistic data appeared to be the most appropriate method for the research objective and was facilitated by the European Parliament's publicly available Multimedia Centre. The initially monolingual conceptualization and description of the metaphor phenomenon is linked with a characterization of political language. Metaphors are frequently employed in political discourse and the outreach to the general public have been described by a number of academic disciplines as fruitful tools for its analysis. Although the topic concerned a public health crisis and medical aspects of the pandemic, the discourse in the European Parliament in 2020 was framed primarily in political terms. The metaphor, as a multifaceted communication tool, which has numerous functions

and can be categorized in various ways, is examined on the basis of two key works in the field of interpreting studies that are of particular relevance for the present article.

2. Metaphor as a phenomenon

The present chapter provides a historical and theoretical overview of the phenomenon of metaphor. It aims to explain the inherent and definitional dynamic of transfer, which forms the basis for the dual conceptualization of metaphor adopted in this study. The chapter also addresses the categorization and identification of metaphors, both of which are fundamental to the empirical part of the study.

The 2000-year academic debate on the concept of metaphor can be described in three stages: the stylistic-semantic understanding of metaphor, the pragmatic approach, and finally the cognitive-scientific perspective (Endruschat/ Ferreira 2010: 13–28). With their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* Lakoff and Johnson (1980) initiated a paradigm shift, that relocated the phenomenon of metaphor to the cognitive level and has since been regarded as a starting point for the cognitive study of the phenomenon (Beaton 2007: 285). Scholarly reflection on metaphor and its theoretical conceptualization has existed since antiquity. However, these approaches have often considered metaphor as deviant language use or discourse ornaments (Endruschat/ Ferreira 2010: 13–28). From a cognitive perspective, metaphorical transfer does not occur at the word level but rather at the conceptual level (Cameron 1999b: 14, 19; Low 1999; Schäffner 1991: 79, 88). The core principle of metaphor is that a concrete, familiar, and (physically) experienced source domain is transferred to a generally abstract target domain (Kövecses 1986; Schäffner 1991). The metaphor is interpreted through the conceptual frame(work) set by the choice of metaphor (Schäffner 1991: 79, 88), whereby certain characteristics can be highlighted or downplayed depending on the selected source domain (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 10). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10) describe the human conceptual system as "metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 4), thus, metaphors are essential not only for how we speak, but also for how we think and subsequently perceive and categorize reality, which in turn influences how we act (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 3–9).

This study adopts an understanding of metaphor that encompasses both conceptual metaphor structures and their linguistic realizations, in line with the dual analytical framework outlined below (Deignan 1999: 184). Based on the findings of Vuorikoski (2004) and Beaton (2007), who both compiled corpora from European Parliament discourse, it can be assumed that combining different analytical perspectives may prove fruitful for the present corpus analysis. The dual approach adopted in this study therefore operates on two

complementary levels: first, a conceptual-cognitive perspective that identifies underlying metaphorical mappings, and second, a traditional descriptive framework that classifies and analyzes individual metaphorical expressions as they occur in discourse.

Accordingly, the working definition encompasses both conceptual metaphors manifested in speech and conventionalized metaphorical expressions, including culturally established metaphors originating from sources such as Greek mythology or the Bible (Vuorikoski 2004). The two theoretical foundations drawn upon are cognitive metaphor theory (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980) and the traditional classification model proposed by Van den Broeck (1981).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 61) distinguish three types of conceptual metaphors: structural, orientational, and ontological metaphors. Structural metaphors structure one complex concept in terms of another by mapping a systematic set of relations from a source domain onto a target domain. This structuring process, like conceptual metaphor more broadly, results in the "highlighting and hiding" of particular aspects of the target concept (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 61). Orientational metaphors structure concepts through spatial oppositions such as UP-DOWN or CENTRAL-PERIPHERAL and serve, among other functions, to organize and quantify abstract concepts (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 14). Ontological metaphors, in contrast, render abstract concepts tangible by representing them as concrete entities, for example in the form of CONTAINER metaphors or personifications (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 25). While Lakoff and Johnson's framework focuses on conceptual metaphor structures, Van den Broeck's (1981) classification, as presented in Koller (1992: 254), approaches metaphor from a different analytical perspective rooted in literary studies. Rather than distinguishing types of conceptual mappings, it categorizes metaphors according to their degree of conventionalization or lexicalization. Three categories are distinguished along a continuum: lexicalized or "dead" metaphors, which are only recognizable as figurative from a historical-linguistic perspective; conventionalized metaphors, which are still perceived as figurative; and creative or so-called occasional metaphors. The latter are speaker-specific and exhibit the highest degree of metaphoricity.

The identification of a metaphor is achieved by revealing domain incongruity (Cameron 1999a: 118). By determining the literal meaning of each lexical unit and relating it to its immediate context, metaphorical, that is, transferred language use is made visible (Group Pragglejaz 2007: 3).

3. Metaphor functions and political discourse

This section aims to further illustrate the scope of the metaphor phenomenon by first discussing general metaphor functions and then focusing on the specificity of political discourse and how metaphors lend themselves to its

analysis. The presentation of five domain-unspecific metaphor functions—which may overlap or occur in combination (Schäffner 1991, 1995)—is of particular relevance to the empirical part of this study, as one of the research questions directly addresses them. Characterizing political discourse and its analysis also serves to provide a conceptual bridge to the following chapter, which focuses on the discourse surrounding COVID-19.

The most important function is considered to be illustration or visualization: metaphors transfer familiar, concrete source domains onto abstract target domains, which makes complex content more comprehensible (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980: 5; Schäffner 1991: 79–80; Schmitt 2017: 49; Vuorikoski 2004: 163). Metaphors thus serve as heuristic and cognitive tools (Chilton/ Ilyin 1993: 9; Schäffner 1991: 88–89). The persuasive or manipulative effect of metaphors, which can be strategically employed in political discourse to evoke emotions, mobilization or appeasement, for example, is considered another central function (Beaton 2007: 277f; Rentel 2019: 5, 7; Schäffner 1991: 76). The choice of metaphor influences which aspects are highlighted or hidden (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980), thus allowing for the transmission of ideological content or the motivation of actions. Metaphors also fulfill a structural function within the text. They create coherence and help organize discourse (Beaton 2007: 277f; Schäffner 1991: 89). Furthermore, metaphors can reflect the speaker's attitude. The selection of the source domain leads to a selective portrayal of reality (Rentel 2019: 4; Wehling 2016: 18). Accordingly, metaphors can serve as diplomatic tools, enabling speakers to address sensitive topics indirectly (Chilton/ Ilyin 1993: 9, 16; Vuorikoski 2004: 163). Finally, metaphors can constitute a means of expressing creativity, particularly in the case of novel or occasional metaphors (Chilton/ Ilyin 1993: 10; Koller 1992: 254; Pérez-Sobrino et al. 2022: 127).

The corpus analysis indicates that the metaphor functions discussed in the literature are clearly observable in political discourse and serve specific communicative purposes within this institutional context. In particular, metaphors contribute to framing issues, structuring arguments, and performing euphemistic or face-saving functions. Rather than functioning merely as stylistic embellishment, they play a central role in shaping meaning and perspective.

Vuorikoski (2004: 153) emphasizes that in political discourse, interpreting the propositional meaning of a statement alone is insufficient, as ideological content must also be taken into account. Similarly, Schäffner (1991: 76) argues that political language serves to assert interests that are conveyed linguistically, often in subtle ways.

Some of the most common conceptual metaphors used in political discourse are the PATH METAPHOR underlying linguistic expressions like "steps on the way", "a long way ahead", "standing at the crossroads of", "having a roadmap", the BALANCE METAPHOR; the WAR or (FIST)FIGHT METAPHOR; the CONTAINER

METAPHOR and many more (Schäffner 1991: 81, 85–86, 1995: 82f; Schmitt 2017: 319).

There is a strong consensus among scholars who, because of what has been outlined in the present section, consider metaphors a central tool of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Vaughan 1995: 64). Just as it is the aim of Critical Discourse Analysis to uncover power relations in discourse (Charteris-Black 2004; Schmitt 2017), Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), developed by Charteris-Black (2004: 34–40), aims to reveal their underlying ideological framing and political conceptualizations. The three steps of Critical Metaphor Analysis are to first identify metaphors in political discourse, then proceed to interpret them by taking into account their cognitive and pragmatic context. The last step consequently consists in revealing the metaphors' implicit meanings.

Understanding metaphor functions and the motivations underlying the selection or avoidance of specific metaphors allows for a more precise analysis of metaphor use in COVID-19 discourse. As Chiang and Duann (2007: 587, 597) argue, discourse surrounding COVID-19 in institutional contexts must be understood as political discourse. However, this political discourse frequently draws on medical source domains. For this reason, the features of political language outlined above are complemented by a description of medical and COVID-19-related metaphors in order to account for the interaction between political framing and medical conceptualization.

4. Metaphors in the COVID-19 discourse

Medical discourse is generally characterized by WAR metaphors such as INVASION or COLONIZATION, alongside other source domains that are common to both political and health discourses (Escribano Hernández 2022: 22; Schmitt 2017: 280, 283). According to Schmitt (2017: 271), spatial and objectifying metaphors dominate the European conception of health, portraying illness as an object and conceptualizing the human body as a machine that can be repaired, with medical professionals framed as technicians intervening in malfunctioning parts (cf. Warner 1976). The discourse surrounding the SARS epidemic in the early 2000s was likewise dominated by WAR metaphors, supplemented by concepts such as DISASTER, NATURAL CATASTROPHE, or CRISIS (Chiang/ Duann 2007: 587, 597). Recognizing these source domains enables a systematic comparison with metaphor use in COVID-19 discourse.

A growing body of research has examined the use of metaphor in COVID-19 discourse. Escribano Hernández (2022: 23) observes that similar or even identical metaphors were employed worldwide during the pandemic. COVID-19 has frequently been conceptualized through WAVE-LIKE MOVEMENT, referring both to infection rates and to waves of disinformation (Craig 2020: 1028). In addition,

Craig (2020: 1026) identifies MILITARY metaphors as particularly dominant in public discourse. Pérez-Sobrino et al. (2022: 128) further highlight the use of MACHINE metaphors such as "restart" or "activate" in economic contexts and note that even the term "lockdown" carries metaphorical meaning.

5. Metaphors in translation studies

Having described and situated the phenomenon of metaphor monolingually in the first part of the present article, the focus now shifts to the transcultural and interlingual perspectives on the subject. The engagement with metaphor began quite early on in translation studies, leading to the existence of two opposing schools of thought, namely the prescriptive, represented for example by Newmark (1980) and the descriptive, represented, among others, by Toury (1995). In interpreting studies and interpreter training, however, metaphor is mostly discussed in terms of the particular challenges it poses.

For a transcultural or interlingual discussion of metaphor, the language pair in question is of great relevance: The present study examined original texts that were interpreted from German into Spanish and vice versa. Despite the structural and cultural proximity between the two languages, differences such as Spanish's tendency toward verbalization and German's tendency toward nominalization and compound formation can complicate translation (cf. Endruschat 2010: 61ff). Superficial equivalence or conceptual similarities can be deceptive, since the source domain of a metaphor can carry different cultural connotations (Chilton/ Ilyin 1993: 13, 23). Even grammatical details, such as the use of articles, can influence metaphorical meaning, making direct comparability problematic despite conceptual similarities (Osthus 2010: 175).

In addition to linguistic similarities and differences, the interpreting mode and setting in which interpreting takes place can have a significant impact on the challenges and expectations involved. For this reason, the simultaneous mode and the European Parliament as the interpreting setting will now be characterized, serving as a transition to the empirical part of this study. Simultaneous interpreting is characterized by the parallel processing of psycholinguistic operations, occurring simultaneously with the divided attention required for reception and production (Pöchhacker 2016: 119–122). The ephemeral nature of the source text and the lack of time make certain (compensatory) strategies available in translation impossible when handling metaphors in interpreting settings (Bachmann-Medick 2004: 157; Newmark 1980: 95–97; Prunč 2005: 244; Toury 1995: 82). In principle, it can be inferred from the requirement profiles outlined by organizations such as AIIC (Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence), researchers, and universities that metaphors present in the source text should also be rendered in an adapted and target-language-

appropriate form in the target text (Dejean Le Féal 2008: 155; Pöchhacker 2016: 135; Vuorikoski 2004: 18). According to Vuorikoski (2004: 42), factors that complicate interpreting in the European Parliament and can increase susceptibility to errors include the written nature of speeches, complex syntax, high speech rates, prosodic features, creative or occasional metaphors, and atypical language use, legal terminology, high information density and complexity of source texts, frequent abbreviations, and (political) proper names (Pöchhacker 2016: 122–124; Vuorikoski 2004: 42, 183, 208, 236).

This study draws on two analyses of European Parliament interpreting that approach metaphor from different analytical perspectives. Vuorikoski (2004), focusing on interpreting quality, observes that metaphorical expressions – particularly less conventionalized ones – are often not fully preserved in simultaneous interpreting and emphasizes the primacy of meaning transfer under processing constraints. In contrast, Beaton (2007) examines the use of specific metaphors in interpreted discourse and links them to interpreters' individual degrees of ideologization. Her findings suggest that interpreters may strategically reproduce or select metaphors and that metaphor use should not automatically be categorized as an error.

While Vuorikoski highlights the challenges metaphors may pose in the simultaneous mode, Beaton foregrounds interpreters' agency and the ideological implications of metaphor choice. The two studies therefore differ less in opposition than in their analytical focus.

Taken together, the studies by Vuorikoski (2004) and Beaton (2007) illustrate both the challenges metaphor poses in simultaneous interpreting and the potential agency involved in metaphor selection. Building on these perspectives, the present study examines metaphor in interpreted political discourse in the European Parliament, drawing on a dual analytical framework that combines conceptual and traditional approaches (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980; Van den Broeck 1981).

Given that COVID-19 discourse is politically framed and characterized by recurring metaphorical patterns such as WAR, CRISIS, and MACHINE metaphors (Craig 2020; Escribano Hernández 2022), the European Parliament provides a particularly demanding context in which interpreters must process dense, metaphor-rich language under time pressure. By analyzing metaphor functions and their transfer in this setting, the study seeks to assess both interpreting performance and the potential reproduction or modification of ideological content.

6. Research questions

Having established the necessary theoretical foundation, the presentation of the research questions and methodological approach now marks the beginning of

the empirical, second part of this study. The methodological approach adopted here draws on Beaton's (2007: 285) examination of metaphor use in European Parliament interpreting, especially her interest in how metaphor choice may reflect interpretive decision-making and ideological positioning. They were formulated as follows: (1) How do interpreters in the European Parliament handle (political) metaphors? (1a) Does the metaphor in the source text fulfill the same function as the metaphor in the target text? (1b) Are metaphors omitted, demetaphorized, retained, intensified, or made more explicit during interpreting? Research question 1a investigates the functional consistency between the source text and the target text metaphor, addressing the qualitative level of analysis. Research question 1b aims to quantify interpreter behavior, assigning the handling of each source text metaphor to one of the five quantitative categories specified. The study does not aim to systematically compare degrees of conventionalization (e.g., innovative vs. highly conventionalized metaphors), as the analysis focuses on less conventionalized and contextually salient metaphors selected from the source text.

7. Methodology – data collection, corpus, transcript

A corpus analysis was conducted for this study. The *European Parliament Multimedia Centre* provided access to 15 explicitly Covid-19-related plenary debates between March and December 2020, the first year of the pandemic, in German and Spanish. These debates were transcribed, including the corresponding interpretation into the other language. The corpus consists of 142 speeches, 81 delivered in German and 61 in Spanish, along with their respective interpretations. Each speech is assigned a code composed of the debate date and the speech number. "a" at the end of the code denotes the source text, "b" the target text. For the present research interest, explained in more detail below, a rough or purely lexical/orthographic transcript was sufficient (Niemants 2012: 180).

The unidirectional analysis followed these steps: First, the source text is reviewed and a metaphor is identified. Metaphor identification was guided by principles similar to those underlying the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz Group 2007), in that expressions were considered metaphorical when their contextual meaning contrasted with a more basic meaning but could be understood in comparison to it. However, a strict step-by-step MIP protocol was not applied, as the study did not aim at exhaustive metaphor identification across the corpus but focused on contextually salient and less conventionalized instances. The identified source text metaphor is analyzed according to its analytical relevance. When a metaphor reflects an underlying conceptual mapping that structures discourse, it is examined using the cognitive

framework of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). When the metaphor constitutes a conventionalized or culturally fixed expression (e.g. references to Greek mythology), the analysis focuses on its degree of conventionalization following Van den Broeck (1981). The two approaches therefore address different analytical dimensions rather than representing competing frameworks. Subsequently, one or more functions are assigned to the metaphor. The analysis then proceeds to the target text. The corresponding passage is identified and examined to determine whether the source text metaphor is retained, modified, demetaphorized, or omitted. If a metaphorical expression is present in the target text, it is categorized according to the cognitive or traditional framework outlined above and assigned one or more functions. Finally, the research questions are addressed: (1a) Is there functional consistency between the source and target text? (1b) Was the metaphor omitted, demetaphorized, retained, intensified, made more explicit? Although the research questions distinguish between qualitative (functional consistency) and quantitative (retention, omission, etc.) parameters, these dimensions are analytically interrelated, as will be discussed in the analysis section.

8. Analysis

The initial corpus contained several hundred metaphorical expressions, many of which were conventionalized or lexicalized. In a pilot analysis, the repeated examination of lexicalized expressions whose metaphorical origin is no longer salient proved analytically unproductive and was therefore not pursued further. For reasons of analytical feasibility and to allow for in-depth qualitative examination, the number was reduced to 64 cases. The selection was conducted exclusively on the basis of the source text; the treatment of these metaphors in the target text was not known at the time of selection. Consequently, the present study does not aim to systematically compare degrees of conventionalization but instead focuses on less conventionalized and contextually salient metaphors in order to examine their functional transfer in interpreting. While the research questions distinguish between qualitative (functional consistency) and quantitative (retention, omission, etc.) parameters, the analysis revealed that these dimensions are analytically interdependent. Demetaphorization means that, in contrast to omission, a corresponding target text segment could be clearly identified, but the metaphor from the source text was rendered without metaphorical content in the target text. Retention refers to instances in which the metaphorical nature of the source-text expression is maintained in the target text. However, retention is not automatically synonymous with successful interpreting, as its adequacy depends on whether the communicative function, conceptual domain, and pragmatic effect are preserved.

The category of intensification includes instances in which the metaphorical salience was increased, for example through the use of a more vivid or less conventional expression, the addition of metaphorical elements, or the activation of a more explicit source-domain mapping. Explicitation, by contrast, refers to cases in which metaphoricity was weakened, for instance through increased conventionalization, partial demetaphorization, or reduced imagery in the target text. The assessment of metaphorical salience was conducted qualitatively and comparatively, based on the relative degree of conventionalization and perceptible source-domain activation in the source and target texts. The metaphor functions outlined in the theoretical section (e.g., illustrative, persuasive/emotionalizing, structural, and ethos-related/self-representational functions) served as the basis for categorizing the metaphors in order to determine whether the respective communicative function was preserved in the target text. Table 1 presents the qualitative parameters vertically alongside with the quantitative analysis parameters arranged horizontally and shows clear, logical clustering. For instance, if no corresponding target text segment can be identified for a source text metaphor or the source text was demetaphorized, the question of functional consistency becomes obsolete. Conversely, if a target text metaphor is categorized as retained, it likely aligns with the qualitative

Table 1: Analytical framework for metaphor transfer in simultaneous interpreting

	Total		**Omitted**	**Demeta-phorized**	**Retained**	**Intensified**	**Made more explicit**	**Interpreting error**
Full functional consistency	**33**	German	–	–	13	–	4	2
		Spanish	–	–	10	–	4	–
		Total	**–**	**–**	**23**	**–**	**8**	**2**
Partial functional consistency	**3**	German	–	–	1	–	–	–
		Spanish	–	–	1	–	1	–
		Total	**–**	**–**	**2**	**–**	**1**	**–**
No functional consistency	**28**	German	6	6	–	1	–	–
		Spanish	7	8	–	–	–	–
		Total	**13**	**14**	**–**	**1**	**–**	**–**
Total	**64**		**13**	**14**	**25**	**1**	**9**	**2**

category of full functional consistency, as in fact was the case in 23 of 64 in-detail analyzed metaphors. The analysis is first presented from the perspective of functional consistency. The examples provided aim to illustrate the overlap described above; accordingly, for each qualitative analysis parameter, representative examples of the quantitative categories are discussed.

The question of functional consistency (1a) aims to determine whether the target text preserves not only the propositional content of the source text but also the communicative function of the metaphor, including its persuasive, illustrative, structural, or ethos-related effect within the discourse. Of the 64 metaphors analyzed in detail, 33 demonstrated full functional consistency, 28 showed no consistency, and 3 displayed partial consistency. The distribution was similar in both languages.

The metaphors classified under full functional consistency were very close renderings, mostly involving ontologization of the virus (Example 1), of history (Example 2), or of the EU member states, as well as metaphors with a similar degree of conventionalization. Example 1 consistently fulfilled the functions of ensuring coherence and emotionalization.

Table 2: Example 1

Source text (26.03.2020_7a)	**Target text (26.03.2020_7b)**
***[este virus]* habrá infectado letalmente nuestra democracia** y no nos lo podemos permitir	dass ***dieser Virus* nicht tödlich unsere Demokratie infiziert** das dürfen wir nicht zulassen
***[this virus]* will have lethally infected our democracy** and we cannot afford	that ***this virus* lethally infects our democracy** we must not allow that

Example 2 was also classified as consistently "emotionalizing," since the ontologization of history increases the pressure to act in a politically responsible manner.

Table 3: Example 2

Source text (26.03.2020_1a)	**Target text (26.03.2020_1b)**
die Geschichte schaut auf uns	***la historia*** nos está observando
history is looking at us	***history*** is watching us

Linguistic images that display similarities due to the described cultural and linguistic proximity are also found in the group of full functional consistency. Example 3 illustrates an occasional ontologizing metaphor in which the

interpreter adds the metalinguistic marker "sozusagen" ("so to speak"). While such markers can serve various pragmatic functions, including signaling figurative awareness or guiding interpretation, in this instance the addition reduces the immediacy and rhetorical force of the metaphor. Functional consistency is therefore maintained, yet on the quantitative level the case is categorized as "made more explicit," as the metaphorical framing is marked rather than directly enacted.

Table 4: Example 3

Source text (17.06.2020_35a)	**Target text (17.06.2020_35b)**
sector del transporte han sido los sectores **más castigados**	*Verkehr und Tourismus* sind vor der Pandemie **am meisten** sozusagen **bestraft** worden
the transport sector has been **the most punished** sector	*transport and tourism* were **punished** the most before the pandemic, so to speak

In Example 4, the improved, new version of the Schengen Area was expressed through the technical metaphor "2.0," which was retained thanks to the expression's international character.

Table 5: Example 4

Source text (18.06.2020_56a)	**Target text (18.06.2020_56b)**
fordern **Schengen 2.0**	piden un sistema **Schengen 2.0**
call for **Schengen 2.0**	call for a system **Schengen 2.0**

Partial functional consistency concerned 3 out of 64 metaphors analyzed in detail. Example 5 illustrates that although the target text metaphor was consistently categorized as "illustrative," the emotionalizing effect of the source text metaphor was lost due to the use of a technical metaphor.

Table 6: Example 5

Source text (21.10.2020_100a)	**Target text (21.10.2020_100b)**
Covid-19 ist ein **Brandbeschleuniger** der Armut	el covid 19 es un **catalizador** para el crecimiento de la pobreza
Covid-19 is a **(fire) accelerant** of poverty	Covid 19 is a **catalyst** for poverty growth

As previously indicated, when considering the overall speech (rate) and factoring in elements that determine interpreting at the European Parliament, one can surmise why metaphors are or were omitted or demetaphorized under certain conditions, thus falling into the category of "no functional consistency." For 13 out of the 28 metaphors in the "no functional consistency" category, no corresponding target text passage could be identified. They were therefore classified as "omitted" at the quantitative analysis level. Another subgroup comprises source text metaphors that apparently were not transferred into the target language because their primary function was to ensure coherence or cohesion. The interpreters therefore—often, presumably, due to the high speech rate and the information density of the speeches—prioritized conveying the gist of the original text.

In speech 26.03.2020_7a (Example 6), the economy is framed as a living organism. While this conceptual framing is conventional in political-economic discourse, the lexical realization "tejido sano" ("healthy tissue") represents a more marked and vivid instantiation of the organism metaphor. The interpreter omits this expression and instead opts for condensation and explicitation.

Table 7: Example 6

Source text (26.03.2020_7a)	**Target text (26.03.2020_7b)**
[tampoco tenemos vacunas para evitar la infección en nuestra economía pero sí que estamos a tiempo de aprobar medidas que permitan atenuar su efecto y] evitar que destruya **tejido sano** de nuestra economía [destruya empresas y empleos]	wir haben aber Impfstoffe gegen die Verheerungen die sozioökonomisch geschehen können wir müssen dafür sorgen, dass Arbeitsplätze bestehen bleiben und Unternehmen überleben
[we do not have vaccines to prevent infection in our economy either, but we do have time to adopt measures to mitigate the effect and] prevent it from destroying the **healthy tissue** of our economy [destroying companies and jobs].	but we have vaccines against the socio-economic devastation that can occur we must ensure that jobs remain and businesses survive

In Example 7 (p. 189), an instance of an occasional metaphor that was demetaphorized by the interpreter is presented.

Table 8: Example 7

Source text (26.03.2020_3a)	Target text (26.03.2020_3b)
tenemos que salir de esta **hibernación** económica y productiva	wir wollen dass die Wirtschaft produktiv bleiben kann
we have to get out of this economic and productive **hibernation**	we want the economy to remain productive

Examples 8 and 9 illustrate how linguistic differences can lead to demetaphorization. Example 8 features a metaphor commonly used in German to describe an EU (financial) stability mechanism. In Spanish institutional discourse, the metaphorical expression "Rettungsschirm" (rescue parachute) is often rendered in non-metaphorical terms such as "rescue fund" or "stability fund." This may explain why the demetaphorized interpretation in Example 8 is unsurprising, as the German "Rettungsschirm" is translated in the target text as a "large set of measures."

Table 9: Example 8

Source text (16.04.2020_22a)	Target text (16.04.2020_22b)
Rettungsschirm für Bürger für Unternehmen **gespannt**	gran cantidad de medidas tanto para los ciudadanos como para los Estados miembros
open a **rescue parachute** for citizens for companies	a large number of measures for citizens and Member States alike

In Example 9, the economy is conceptualized as a machine.

Table 10: Example 9

Source text (23.11.2020_124a)	Target text (23.11.2020_124b)
erste Schraube im Bankenbereich haben wir schon erfolgreich **festgezurrt**	nosotros eh ya hemos adoptado medidas
we have already successfully **tightened the first screw** in the banking sector	we have already taken measures

In 23 out of 25 target text instances where the metaphoricity of the source text was retained, full functional consistency was also achieved. Conversely, if a source text metaphor is omitted or demetaphorized in the target text, its

original function cannot be conveyed – this explains the clustering of quantitative categories within the qualitative description categories, a point that was already noted at the beginning of the previous chapter.

Only one of the 64 metaphors (Example 10) was categorized as "intensified." In this case, both the source and target texts draw on the domain of physics by referring to "forces." However, the term "Fliehkräfte" (centrifugal forces but more literally translated from German "fleeing forces") in the German source text seems to be used more literally and refers to forces fleeing from EU bureaucracy. This likely led the interpreter to opt not for the translation "fuerza centrífuga" which would have been theoretically correct, but rather to slightly intensify the meaning by rendering it as "rebellious forces." This results in a functional shift from illustration to an emotionally charged connotation of rebellion.

Table 11: Example 10

Source text (23.11.2020_125a)	**Target text (23.11.2020_125b)**
je mehr wir auf europäischer Ebene regeln desto stärker erfahren wir die **Fliehkräfte** einer nur noch mühsam zusammenhaltenden EU	cuanto más regulamos vemos que que hay muchas **fuerzas eh que que se rebelan**
the more we regulate at European level, the more we experience the **centrifugal forces** of an EU that is struggling to hold itself together	the more we regulate, the more we see that there are many **forces that are rebelling**

The category of explicitation represents a weakened form of retained metaphoricity. As shown in Example 3, this category typically includes metaphors that interpreters supplemented with explanatory additions.

A certain systematicity appears to underlie the combination of specific types of metaphor and particular quantitative analysis categories. For instance, the category of explicitation frequently includes occasional metaphors, while the omissions often involve metaphors that could clearly be classified as "coherence-preserving." Among the metaphors categorized as "retained," there is a notable presence of highly conventionalized or even lexicalized metaphors. Ontologizations, which can likewise be considered lexicalized and thus less metaphorical to some extent, were also often categorized as "retained."

9. Discussion and conclusion

The corpus confirms the prominence of established metaphorical framings identified in previous research, particularly WAR, DISASTER, and MACHINE metaphors (Craig 2020: 1026–1028; Escribano Hernández 2022: 22, 30; Pérez-Sobrino et al.

2022: 127–139). However, the primary contribution of this study lies not in identifying these frames, but in examining their functional transfer in simultaneous interpreting.

The analysis shows that while many metaphors were retained with full functional consistency, instances of demetaphorization, explicitation, and condensation also occurred. These shifts reveal how interpreters navigate metaphor-rich political discourse under processing constraints, occasionally modifying the rhetorical intensity or framing effect of the source text.

Professional guidelines and interpreter training programs (cf. Vuorikoski 2004: 18) generally emphasize the preservation of communicative intent and rhetorical effect in interpreting. From this perspective, successful transfer would ideally involve maintaining not only the function of a source-text metaphor but also its degree of metaphoricity. In the present corpus, this was observed in 23 out of 64 cases. In more than one third of the analyzed cases, the target text maintained both the communicative function and the metaphorical framing of the source text, and can therefore be regarded as functionally consistent. Vuorikoski (2004: 150) hypothesizes that metaphors in source texts may constitute a source of interpreting errors. The findings of the present study suggest a more differentiated picture. Although instances of omission and demetaphorization were observed, a substantial proportion of metaphors were rendered with functional consistency. Rather than systematically leading to errors – depending, of course, on how "error" is defined – the analysis indicates a discernible tendency among interpreters to preserve metaphorical framing by using metaphorical expressions in the target language whenever possible.

The question of why 41 out of the 64 metaphors analyzed in detail could not be categorized as "retained" while preserving full functional consistency, and were handled differently by interpreters, is highly complex and cannot be definitively answered. Only the factors discussed in the first part—which likely influenced the interpreters' decisions—can be identified. The interpreting situation, characterized generally by the ephemeral nature of source texts and the simultaneity of multiple psycholinguistic processes, combined with factors that further complicate interpreting in the European Parliament, directly impacts interpreter behavior. High speech rates, the high degree of scriptedness of speeches, high information density, the resulting complexity of source speeches, EU jargon, etc., all apply to the speeches analyzed here. For this reason, it might be interesting to compare the corpus analyzed for this study with another corpus examining speeches in a different simultaneous interpreting setting. Another way to explore interpreters' motivations could involve a research design that combines corpus analysis with interviews or a questionnaire study.

During the first year of the pandemic, another factor that potentially made interpreting in the European Parliament more difficult was the remote

participation of some speakers via streaming. It is unclear from the Multimedia Centre whether the same number of interpreters and languages was available during lockdowns, whether interpreters were on-site or also had to rely on remote solutions, and when and how often relay interpreting was used—factors that would be worth incorporating into future similar analyses.

The linguistic differences between German and Spanish that were discussed could be partially observed in the analyzed corpus. One key factor seems to be the differing degrees of metaphor conventionalization in each language. However, it was also observed that metaphors with a similar degree of conventionalization in both languages were sometimes still demetaphorized or omitted. Thus, conventionalization appears to be only one of many influencing factors. What became apparent, however, is that certain similarities between metaphors seem to affect the interpreting strategies chosen by interpreters. The correlation between metaphor types and the way they were handled was hinted at the end of the quantitative analysis. To confirm this, further research projects that systematically examine this correlation would be necessary. This study was able to confirm that interpreters seem, for example, to favor explicitation—often in the form of explanatory or attenuating insertions like "so to speak"— when dealing with creative, occasional metaphors, and tend toward omission when handling coherence-preserving metaphors. This could again be related to time constraints or to Vuorikoski's (2004: 153) postulated primacy of conveying the essential message. Regarding linguistic differences between German and Spanish, the German-specific phenomenon of recursion—which lends itself well to ad hoc metaphors like "Rettungsschirm" (rescue parachute)—could be a factor. Compound nouns in general pose a challenge for interpreting into Spanish.

Nevertheless, the findings of the corpus analysis conducted for this work do not support Vuorikoski's (2004: 172, 183, 234) claim that metaphors are generally unsuitable for the simultaneous interpreting mode, since otherwise, demetaphorization would have had to occur far more frequently.

As mentioned, 33 of the 64 metaphors showed full functional consistency, while 28 did not. One reason for this balanced result likely lies in the limited distinctiveness between functions, as metaphors almost inherently serve to illustrate—to make something conceptually graspable through language. Nevertheless, more target text metaphors were found to exhibit full functional consistency with their corresponding source text metaphors, allowing the first research question to be answered in the affirmative.

The second research question, concerning the quantitative dimension of the analysis conducted for this study, has been partially answered. One third of the metaphors were retained—either through equivalent metaphors resulting from a similar degree of lexicalization in both languages or through a different metaphor. Roughly one third of the analyzed metaphors were classified as

either "omitted" or "demetaphorized." Nine metaphors were explicated, for the previously discussed potential reasons, and one metaphor was intensified. The fact that more metaphors were not intensified suggests a heightened awareness among interpreters to refrain from interfering with the source text, which aligns with the quality standards set by professional associations and universities.

Demetaphorization, however, does not appear to be perceived by interpreters as a particularly invasive alteration, as conveying the gist of the source text is considered the minimal requirement for a successful interpretation. This could also be attributed to a sense of responsibility toward the target audience. Interpreters, in this sense, aim to ensure that the interpretation is understood, and consciously reduce the (metaphorical) complexity of the source text. Even in the case of omissions, it was shown that these are not to be seen per se as errors but rather, at most, as discontinuities in the transmission of the aesthetic content of the source text. Therefore, none of the analyzed examples can be classified as failed interpretations.

In conclusion, while the results provide meaningful insights into the functional transfer of metaphors in simultaneous interpreting, further refinement of functional and typological distinctions would enhance analytical precision. Moreover, the cognitive and strategic decision-making processes of interpreters in the booth remain beyond the scope of the present corpus-based analysis and would benefit from complementary methodological approaches, such as interviews, think-aloud protocols, or experimental designs.

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„Stellen wir uns vor…" – zur literarischen Übersetzung im Lichte des Erbes von Roman Ingarden: Implikationen für den Übersetzungsunterricht

ABSTRACT

"Let us imagine…" – On literary translation in the light of Roman Ingarden's legacy: Implications for translation teaching

A question that concerns not only philosophers and communication theorists but also translators and scholars of translation studies is how one might ensure that the Other, in the communicative act, engages in a form of co-thinking such that they apprehend the same object of thought and simultaneously intend the same meaning as that conveyed by the words addressed to them (cf. Ingarden 2013: 87). This article revisits and systematises Roman Ingarden's insights into literary translation, focusing in particular on the distinction between 'imaginative' object presentation and strictly 'conceptual' or 'notional' representation.

According to Ingarden, it is insufficient to render the designations of the literary source text in a manner that reproduces solely their abstract–conceptual semantic component; they must also be conveyed in their imaginatively concrete and affectively apprehensible dimension. Because imaginative presentation is intimately bound up with the sound-shape of the utterance, any transformation of sound in translation inevitably diminishes this function. Moreover, the expressive function and the function of affective impact play a substantial role in literary texts and must be treated as such in translation.

The article concludes by proposing a phenomenological exercise that may be integrated into translation pedagogy with the aim of sensitising students to these issues and thereby enhancing the overall quality of their translations.

Keywords: imaginative representational function, vividness, perspectivization, literary translation, phenomenology

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1. Einleitung

In Lems Erzählung „Aus den Erinnerungen Ijon Tichys I", begegnet die Hauptfigur, Tichy, einem Sonderling, Professor Concoran, Kybernetiker, welcher Geräte konstruiert hat, die infolge der elektromagnetischen Impulse in ihren elektrischen „Gehirnen" Projektionen der Welt „erleben":

> Wenn Sie die Hülle der Trommel hochheben, sehen Sie nur glänzende Bänder, bedeckt mit weißen Zickzacklinien, wie Schimmel auf Zelluloid, aber das sind, Tichy, die *heißen* Nächte des Südens und das *Rauschen* der Wellen, die *Formen* tierischer Leiber und Schießereien, Begräbnisse und Zechereien und der *Geschmack* von Äpfeln und Birnen, Schneewehen, *Abende, die man im Familienkreis am brennenden Kaminofen* verbringt, und das *Geschrei* an Deck eines untergehenden Schiffes und die Konvulsionen einer Krankheit. Das sind *Gipfel der Berge und Friedhöfe* und die Halluzinationen *Phantasierender* – Ijon Tichy: Dort ist die ganze Welt! (Lem 2002: 362, meine Hervorhebung).

Obwohl diese Erzählung vordergründig von Leibniz'schen Monaden, Perzeption und Repräsentanz der Welt in diesen künstlich geschaffenen Anlagen und letztendlich von Gott handelt, lassen sich die Trommeln und Kisten im Labor des Wissenschaftlers als Metaphern für Bücher und Texte deuten. In ihnen finden wir ebenfalls Zeichenfolgen, welche in unseren Gehirnen Bilder und Empfindungen evozieren können. Dadurch wird ein Hineinversetzen in fremde Vorstellungswelten ermöglicht. Diese Bilder sind dabei nicht nur visueller Art, sondern können auch auditiv (*Schrei*), taktil, haptisch (*heiße Nächte*), gustatorisch (*Geschmack von Äpfeln*), olfaktorisch (*brennendes Holz im Kaminofen*) sein. Auch die Vergegenwärtigungen der Gefühle können hervorgerufen werden wie etwa positive Gefühle des Glücks und der Geborgenheit durch die Beschreibung der „Abende, die man im Familienkreis am brennenden Kaminofen verbringt" oder negative Gefühle wie Trauer, die mit den Begräbnissen verbunden sind.

Wir empfinden, denken, träumen und phantasieren. Dann kleiden wir unsere Gedanken und mentale Bilder in Worte, drücken Gefühle und Empfindungen aus, um sie anderen Menschen mitzuteilen. Diese Worte werden von anderen wahrgenommen (oder auch nicht), gedeutet, verstanden oder missverstanden, mitgedacht, weitergedacht, manchmal auch erwidert. Kognitives und Sprachliches ist hier eng miteinander verflochten, worauf viele bereits hingewiesen haben, wie Wygotski, nach dem die Wortbedeutung

> gleichzeitig ein sprachliches und intellektuelles Phänomen [ist]. Die Wortbedeutung ist nur insofern ein Phänomen des Denkens, als der Gedanke mit dem Wort verbunden und im Wort verkörpert ist – und umgekehrt: sie ist nur insofern ein Phänomen der Sprache, als die Sprache mit dem Gedanken verbunden und durch ihn erhellt ist (Wygotski 1964: 293).

Wie kann man jedoch erreichen, dass bei der Mitteilung der Andere mitdenkend an das Gleiche denkt und gleichzeitig das Gleiche, was die an ihn gerichteten Worte bedeuten, meint (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 87)? Das ist eine Frage, die sich nicht nur Philosophen und Kommunikationswissenschaftler, sondern auch Übersetzer und Übersetzungsforscher stellen. Es ist daher kein Zufall, dass der polnische Phänomenologe und Husserls Schüler, Roman Ingarden, die Überlegungen darüber in seinem erstmals 1955 erschienen Aufsatz „O tłumaczeniach“ („Über die Übersetzungen“) anstellt, wo er u. a. die Unterschiede zwischen dem Übersetzen wissenschaftlicher (philosophischer) Texte und des literarischen Kunstwerks herauszuarbeiten trachtet.

Um die Unterschiede aufzuzeigen, geht Ingarden von den Bühler'schen Sprachfunktionen aus. Er stellt auch die konventionalistische auf Demokrit zurückgehende Bedeutungstheorie, nach welcher der Zusammenhang zwischen der Lautform eines Wortes und seiner Bedeutung völlig arbiträr ist und auf willkürliche Vereinbarung zurückgeht (diese Auffassung wird auch in Platons *Kratylos* von Hermogenes vertreten), der antikonventionalistischen Bedeutungstheorie, welche in Platons *Kratylos* die Titelfigur verteidigt, gegenüber und beide auf den Prüfstein (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 84f.). Im Folgenden sollen seine Erwägungen und Erkenntnisse in Erinnerung gebracht werden, um deren Relevanz für die Übersetzungswissenschaft aufzuzeigen. Anschließend wird eine phänomenologische Übung präsentiert, die im Übersetzungsunterricht eingesetzt werden kann, um Studierende für die besprochenen Inhalte zu sensibilisieren. Der methodologische Rahmen ist die phänomenologische Übersetzungstheorie (vgl. Kubaszczyk 2013; 2014a; 2014b; 2016a; 2017; 2025; de Bończa Bukowski 2024).

2. Über das Abstrakte und Anschauliche – die Darstellungsfunktion

Roman Ingarden stellt in seinem Artikel „O tłumaczeniach“ unter Bezugnahme auf die Darstellungsfunktion, die allgemein aus dem Organon-Modell von Karl Bühler (1934) bekannt ist, fest, dass diese Funktion in zweierlei Formen realisiert werden kann und, was wichtig ist, dass diese beiden Formen gleichzeitig in ein und demselben Wort aktualisiert werden können (aber nicht müssen). Der Philosoph weist darauf hin, dass die Darstellung eines Objekts entweder rein ‚begrifflich', ‚konzeptionell', nur durch gedankliche „Bedeutungsintentionen“ erfolgen kann wie im Falle der Abstrakta oder ‚imaginativ', indem imaginäre Erscheinungen, Ansichten von Objekten evoziert werden, die durch die Bedeutung des Wortes bestimmt werden (Ingarden 2013: 86). Die „begriffliche“ Darstellungsfunktion kommt dabei vor allem in den Wissenschaftssprachen vor (etwa bei dem Wort *Integralrechnung*), obwohl es auch dort Wörter geben

kann, bei denen beide Funktionen aktiviert werden, Ingardens Beispiel ist *Würfel*, den man sich bildlich vorstellen kann. Wenn nur der begriffliche Inhalt transferiert werden soll, was in den wissenschaftlichen Abhandlungen des abstrakt-deduktiven Typs der Fall ist, ist es relativ einfach eine „treue" Übersetzung herzustellen, zumal die Wissenschaftssprache vor allem durch die Anpassung an neue Entdeckungen und Terminologisierung eine „regulierte Sprache" ist, die „Künstlichkeit" zulässt (Ingarden 2013: 93). Demgegenüber ist die Übersetzung literarischer Kunstwerke eine Herausforderung, denn sogar inhaltlich treue Übersetzungen können künstlerisch total misslungen sein, wenn andere Qualitäten des Werkes im Großen und Ganzen, darunter die Lautebene, missachtet oder vernachlässigt werden (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 102, zur „treuen Übersetzung" vgl. auch de Bończa Bukowski 2024). Darauf haben auch viele andere Theoretiker hingewiesen wie etwa Werner Koller (1992: 253), der zurecht erkannt hat, dass literarische Texte ihre Literarizität verlieren, wenn formal-ästhetische Qualitäten in der Übersetzung abhandenkommen, weil diese Qualitäten für literarische Werke konstitutiv sind.[1]

Bei der „imaginativen" Objektdarstellung durch das Hervorrufen imaginärer Objektansichten (Erscheinungen von Objekten) handelt es sich um die Bedeutung „konkreter Wörter", bei denen die Vorstellungskraft zum Einsatz kommt, weil sie sich auf konkrete Objekte auch durch die mit ihnen verbundenen Vorstellungen beziehen, also durch die „imaginären Ansichten", wie Ingarden sie in der phänomenologischen Sprache bezeichnet. Diese konkreten Wörter sind dabei vor allem für die Umgangssprache charakteristisch, sie sind nach Ingarden „lebendig", „saftig", voll kraftvollen Lebens, wohingegen die Sprache der Wissenschaft abstrakt und rein begrifflich ist. Diese Fähigkeit der

1| Bei literarischen Kunstwerken handelt es sich um selbstreflexive Texte im Sinne von Roman Jakobson (1971), in denen die poetische Sprachfunktion zur Geltung kommt, um Texte also, *„denen wir eine ästhetische Qualität zuerkennen, weil sie nicht nur die sprachliche Substanz, sondern auch die außersprachliche in besonderer Weise relevant machen*" (Eco 2014: 313). Bei Umberto Eco bezeichnet die „außersprachliche Substanz" die Gesamtheit der außersprachlichen Bezüge eines Textes – einschließlich kultureller Kontexte, der Erfahrungsdimension der dargestellten Welt sowie des enzyklopädischen Wissens des Rezipienten –, die durch die sprachliche Struktur aktiviert werden und sowohl die Bedeutung als auch den ästhetischen Wert des Textes mitkonstituieren. Obwohl Eco und Ingarden ihre Konzeptionen im Rahmen unterschiedlicher theoretischer Ansätze entwickelt haben, lassen sich bestimmte Intuitionen und Fragestellungen als konvergent beschreiben, da beide danach fragen, wie der Text über sich hinausweist, wie er ein jenseits des Werkes liegendes Sinnpotential aktiviert bzw. wie er die Aktualisierung nicht vollständig bestimmter Sinneinheiten ermöglicht. Ingarden greift hierbei auf das Konzept der Konkretisation zurück, während Eco von der außersprachlichen Substanz spricht, die kulturelles Wissen, Welterfahrung, Intertextualität sowie ideologische Konnotationen umfasst, sodass Bedeutung in einem Spannungsfeld zwischen dem Text und der kulturellen „Enzyklopädie" des Lesers entsteht.

konkreten Wörter imaginäre Ansichten hervorzurufen, führt herbei, dass die Namen, welche „das Gleiche“ in zwei verschiedenen Sprachen bezeichnen, nicht das Gleiche bedeuten.[2] Es rührt nach Ingarden (2013: 93) davon her, dass die Herausbildung von Wortbedeutungen in einer funktionalen Beziehung dazu steht, wie wir einen Gegenstand oder Sachverhalt wahrnehmen, erfahren und erkennen. Diese Wahrnehmung kann unterschiedlich verlaufen, je nachdem welche Eigenschaft für uns besonders auffällig (augenfällig, ohrenfällig, nasenfällig etc.) ist. Es kann beispielsweise die Farbe, die Form oder der Verwendungszweck sein, welche den Namen motivieren. Diese Motivbedeutung verursacht, dass ein Wort der Ausgangssprache keine richtige Entsprechung in der Zielsprache besitzt, obgleich in der Zielsprache ein Wort vorhanden ist, welches das gleiche bezeichnet. Die einzige Lösung wäre dann künstlich ein Wort zu schaffen, das die gleiche Bedeutung hätte wie das ausgangssprachliche Wort, aber – hier ist Ingarden realistisch – solche Neubildungen werden selten akzeptiert und befremden uns, auch wenn sie systemkonform gebildet werden (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 95).

Resümierend ist bei der literarischen Übersetzung darauf zu achten, dass die verwendeten Bezeichnungen im Rahmen des Möglichen nicht nur gedanklich-abstrakt, sondern auch vorstellungsmäßig-konkret die Bezeichnungen des Ausgangstextes wiedergeben.[3]

2| Ein prägnantes Beispiel liefert Umberto Eco (2014: 113), indem er die Übersetzung des französischen *bouquet* mit italienischem *mazzo* kommentiert: „*bouquet* hat eine Konnotation von feinem Duft, es evoziert Blumen und Blätter, während ein *mazzo* (…) auch aus Brennnesseln, aus Schlüsseln (…) bestehen kann. Daher ist *bouquet* ein edles Wort, während *mazzo* eher gewöhnlich klingt und an grobe Dinge wie *mazza* [Keule], *mazzata* [Keulenschlag] oder *ammazzamento* [Totschlag] denken lässt. Es ist hässlich und klingt wie ein Peitschenhieb”.

3| Dieses Postulat der Wiedergabe mit anschaulich-konkreten Wörtern wird durch neurobiologische Befunde gestützt. Nach aktuellem Stand der neurobiologischen Forschung aktivieren sprachliche Zeichen komplexe, mehrstufige Gedächtnisprozesse. An ihrer Verarbeitung sind nicht nur die klassischen, für die Sprache zuständigen Hirnareale (das Broca-Areal – Sprachproduktion, das Wernicke-Areal – Sprachverständnis) beteiligt, sondern nehmen auch Gedächtnisstrukturen (Hippocampus, präfrontaler Cortex) sowie sensorische und für Emotionen zuständige Hirnareale teil. Daher können durch Wörter ausgelösten Impulse als Zugangsschlüssel zu einem verteilten Netzwerk von Gedächtnis- und Erfahrungselementen verstanden werden, wobei Bedeutung als Effekt der Aktivierung eines Assoziationssystems entsteht, das Wahrnehmung (Sinne), Emotionen und Wissen – einschließlich ihrer kulturellen Einbettung – umfasst. Vgl. auch Barsalou (2008), der im Rahmen des Konzepts der *grounded cognition* zeigt, dass Bedeutungen nicht als abstrakte, amodale Repräsentationen gespeichert sind, sondern auf sensorischen, motorischen und emotionalen Systemen beruhen. Durch die Wahrnehmung sprachlicher Zeichen werden demnach verteilte neuronale Netzwerke aktiviert, die eng mit Wahrnehmungs- und Erfahrungssystemen verbunden sind.

3. Die Appelfunktion

Ingarden schlägt darüber hinaus vor, auch die Appellfunktion aufzuteilen. Erstens versteht er die Funktion als reines Mitteilen, dass auf den anderen Menschen so einwirkt, dass er zum Mitdenken über das Gleiche und an das Gleiche, was die an ihn gerichteten Worte bedeuten, angeregt wird. Zugleich wird aber der Empfänger zu verschiedenen psychischen und psychophysischen Verhaltensweisen angeregt, die über das Mitdenken hinausgehen. Im Falle der ersten Funktion, bei der das verstehende und sich vorstellende Mitdenken aktiviert wird, will Ingarden vom „Mitteilen" sprechen. Er stellt dieses reine Mitteilen dem „Einwirken" gegenüber. Dieses Einwirken erweckt in dem Empfänger Reaktionen emotionaler, volitionaler und begehrender Art bzw. spornt ihn zu konkreten Taten an (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 87).

Ingarden unterscheidet hier folglich das rein intellektuelle Empfangen und Verarbeiten einer Nachricht von der gefühlsmäßigen, psychischen, seelischen und körperlichen Aufnahme und Reaktion. Während das Mitteilen neben dem begrifflichen Darstellen in den wissenschaftlichen Texten vorrangig ist, weil sie für den Leser „deutlich" und „verständlich" sein müssen, spielen die Ausdrucksfunktion, die (emotionale) (Ein-)Wirkungsfunktion[4] und die Funktion der imaginativen Darstellung bei den lyrischen Werken eine gewichtige Rolle, während die Funktion der begrifflichen Darstellung zurücktritt. Ähnlich verhält es sich bei den dramatischen Werken. In den epischen Werken spielt die Ausdrucksfunktion eine untergeordnete Rolle, in den Vordergrund rücken dagegen die beiden Arten der Darstellungsfunktion, die Rolle der (Ein-)Wirkungsfunktion ist hier auch erheblich (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 91).

Ingarden (ebd.) bezieht sich im Weiteren auf die Konventionalismusdiskussion und meint, dass bis auf die Funktion der begrifflichen Darstellung, bei der tatsächlich die Bedeutung einer sprachlichen Einheit zu ihrer phonetischen Form in einem arbiträren Verhältnis steht und auf Vereinbarung beruht, alle anderen Sprachfunktionen in enger Abhängigkeit von dem vollen Klang des Wortes und von der Art und Weise, wie dieses Wort ausgesprochen wird, stehen. Das Ausdrücken gebe beispielsweise den seelischen Zustand des Sprechenden nicht mittels der Bedeutung der ausgesprochenen Worte, sondern durch die Art und Weise, wie sie ausgesprochen werden, etwa den Ton, kund (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 88). Ähnlich sei die Funktion der imaginativen Darstellung

4| Ich verwende bewusst den Terminus statt der etablierten Wirkungsfunktion, um das von anderen Ansätzen zu unterscheiden. Das Einwirken wurde von den Nachfolgern Ingardens, vor allem von W. Iser, im Rahmen der Rezeptionsästhetik untersucht und weiterentwickelt. Sog. „Wirkungstheorie" erforscht die Wirkungsbedingungen einzelner Texte (vgl. Iser 1994: I, IV, 8). Ich werde mich deswegen im Folgenden mit dieser Funktion nicht weiter beschäftigen.

aufs Engste mit bestimmten Eigenschaften der vollen Wortlautung verbunden (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 89).

Daher muss nach Ingarden die veränderte Lautung, die eine notwendige Folge der Übersetzung ist, wesentliche Änderungen in den Funktionen herbeiführen, welche ein Wort in dem Originalwerk erfüllt (vgl. Ingarden 2013: 91). Dies müsse seiner Meinung nach sowohl in den einzelnen Schichten des literarischen Kunstwerkes zu Störungen führen als auch die ganze polyphone Harmonie der ästhetisch wichtigen Qualitäten des Werkes negativ beeinträchtigen. Im Folgenden werde ich kurz seine Theorie des literarischen Kunstwerkes referieren, um zu verdeutlichen, was Ingarden damit meint.

4. Das literarische Kunstwerk

Roman Ingarden hat das Wesen des literarischen Werkes in seiner fundamentalen phänomenologischen Abhandlung „Das literarische Kunstwerk“ ergründet. Dort stellte er fest, dass die „wesensmäßige Struktur des literarischen Werkes“ darin liege, dass „es ein aus mehreren heterogenen Schichten aufgebautes Gebilde ist“ (Ingarden 1972: 25). Diese Schichten sind nach dem Philosophen die folgenden:

- die Schicht der Wortlaute und der auf ihnen sich aufbauenden Lautgebilde höherer Stufe;
- die Schicht der Bedeutungseinheiten verschiedener Stufe;
- die Schicht der mannigfaltigen schematisierten Ansichten und Ansicht-Kontinuen und Reihen;
- die Schicht der dargestellten Gegenständlichkeiten und ihrer Schicksale (Ingarden 1972: 26).

Diese Schichten unterscheiden sich voneinander durch das für sie charakteristische Material und die Rolle, welche sie spielen. Wichtig ist jedoch zu unterstreichen, dass es sich „um heterogene Schichten handelt, die sich gegenseitig bedingen und in mannigfachen Beziehungen zueinander stehen“ (Ingarden 1972: 28–29). Die Aussonderung von den Schichten hat nach der Meinung des Autors eine erstrangige Bedeutung für die Lösung des Form-Inhalt-Problems, denn – wie er argumentiert –

> gerade die Nicht-Beachtung der Vielschichtigkeit des literarischen Werkes hat zur Folge, daß man in der Behandlung verschiedener Probleme nicht zur Klarheit kommen kann. So läßt sich z.B. das viel diskutierte Problem des Unterschiedes zwischen „Form“ und „Inhalt“ (bzw. „Gestalt“ und „Gehalt“) des literarischen Kunstwerkes ohne die Berücksichtigung seines vielschichtigen Aufbaus überhaupt nicht richtig stellen (…). Insbesondere muß jeder Versuch, das Problem der Form des literarischen Werkes zu lösen, mißlingen, wenn man stets nur eine aus den vielen Schichten ins Auge faßt und die übrigen außer Spiel setzt,

> weil man damit übersieht, daß *die Form des Werkes sich erst aus den Formmomenten der einzelnen Schichten und aus ihrer Zusammenwirkung ergibt* (Ingarden 1972: 30, meine Hervorhebung).

Ohne die einzelnen Schichten detailliert zu besprechen, möchte ich nur auf die Schicht der schematisierten Ansichten kurz eingehen, weil sie mir in diesem Kontext besonders wichtig erscheint. Die schematisierten Ansichten sind nämlich mit der Anschaulichkeit verbunden, welche inhärente Eigenschaft des literarischen Werkes ist. Die wichtigste Funktion der schematisierten Ansichten ist nach Ingarden (1972: 294) herbeizuführen, dass die dargestellten Gegenstände in der durch das literarische Werk vorgegebenen Art und Weise anschaulich zum Vorschein kommen.[5] Anschaulichkeit meint die Art und Weise, in der sich ein Gegenstand im Bewusstsein anschaulich zeigt und im Erleben zur Erscheinung kommt.

Wenn von Anschaulichkeit die Rede ist, neigt man häufig dazu, zunächst an das Visuelle zu denken, an bildliche Vorstellungen, an durch die Textelemente evozierte visuelle mentale Repräsentationen, wie sie etwa aus filmischen Darstellungen bekannt sind. Im Zusammenhang mit den schematisierten Ansichten und der daraus resultierenden Anschaulichkeit geht es jedoch um ein viel breiteres Spektrum sinnlicher Eindrücke und deren phänomenale Vergegenwärtigung im Bewusstsein. Anschaulichkeit ist daher nicht auf die visuelle Dimension beschränkt; die dargestellte Welt kann vielmehr nicht nur visuell, sondern auch in akustischen, taktilen, gustatorischen und olfaktorischen Wahrnehmungsformen anschaulich werden, wobei auch emotionale Eindrücke eine Rolle spielen.

Die Übersetzungskunst besteht darin, diese imaginative Bedeutungskomponente eines Textes durch die Wahl und die Kombination geeigneter Sprachmittel zu übertragen. Diese Komponente kann sich in allen zuvor behandelten Sprachfunktionen manifestieren. Zugleich sollte die Lautung nach Möglichkeit so gestaltet werden, dass die Klänge der Zielsprache ähnliche Vorstellungen evozieren.

Der Autor kann bewusst eine bestimmte Art der imaginären Ansichten bei der Gestaltung des literarischen Werkes oder einer Figur vorziehen. Führen wir ein Beispiel an. In dem Gedicht „Niewidoma dziewczynka" („Blindes Mädchen") rekonstruiert Jan Twardowski die Wahrnehmungsweise eines sehbehinderten Menschen. Ein blindes Mädchen streicht mit den Fingern über eine Ikone und „sieht" haptisch, indem es die Struktur der Bildoberfläche ertastet, was ein Auszug aus dem Gedicht illustriert

5| „[D]aß durch sie die dargestellten Gegenstände auf eine durch das Werk selbst *vorbestimmte* Weise zur Erscheinung gebracht werden können" (Ingarden 1972: 294).

(Bsp. 1)

„idę chropowatym brzegiem Twojej sukni // odkrywam (…) szorstkie szczeliny twarzy” (Twardowski 2000: 44)
(ich gehe den kratzigen Saum Deines Kleides entlang // ich entdecke (…) die rauen Furchen des Gesichts).

Karl Dedecius hat diese Stelle wie folgt übersetzt

(Bsp. 1a)

„Ich (…) // gehe am derben Ufer Deines Kleides // entdecke (…) die rauen Ritzen des Gesichts“ (Twardowski 2000: 45).

Das Adjektiv *chropowaty* (*rau*) ruft eine konkrete taktile Vorstellung hervor, was das Adjektiv *derb* nicht dermaßen leistet. Zugleich hat das Adjektiv *chropowaty* durch seine lautlichen Qualitäten einen lautsymbolischen Wert, der seine Bedeutung vorstellungsmäßig noch verstärkt. Die Form des Adjektivs enthält den Reibelaut /x/, den „raue“ Klangqualität kennzeichnet, dessen Rauheit zusätzlich durch den Vibranten /r/ sowie den Plosiv /p/ intensiviert wird. *Derb* wird hingegen zwar in Bezug auf Stoffe durchaus verwendet, gemeint ist dann aber eine eher stabile, grobe bzw. strukturell wenig feine Materialbeschaffenheit[6], die in diesem Sinne auch als rau charakterisiert werden kann. Der Übersetzer hat möglicherweise das Adjektiv *derb* gewählt, weil zwei Zeilen weiter das Adjektiv *szorstki* vorkommt, welches ins Deutsche in der Regel auch mit *rau* übersetzt wird. Durch die Verwendung des Adjektivs *rau* an dieser Stelle schafft er eine gelungene Alliteration (*raue Ritzen*). Um jedoch die haptische und ikonische Vorstellungspotenz des Ausdrucks auch im Zieltext wiederzugeben, wäre ein Adjektiv zu wählen, das eine sinnliche taktile Vorstellung evoziert, wie etwa *rau* oder *kratzig*. Damit soll keineswegs die Qualität der Übersetzung von Karl Dedecius infrage gestellt werden. Vielmehr geht es darum, auf alternative Möglichkeiten der Aktivierung bestimmter ikonischer und sinnlicher Wirkungspotenziale im Zieltext hinzuweisen.

5. Übersetzungspraktische Implikationen

Wie lassen sich die theoretischen Überlegungen Ingardens auf die Übersetzungsdidaktik und -praxis übertragen? Die erste Schlussfolgerung wäre, dass es nicht ausreichend ist, den literarischen Text rein begrifflich zu erfassen und zu verstehen, denn dann entginge uns eventuell die imaginative Komponente der Darstellungsfunktion. Folglich muss die Imagination, die Vorstellungskraft

6| Vgl. die Definition im Duden (online): („fest, stabil, widerstandsfähig beschaffen, derber Stoff“), https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/derb (Zugriff: 8.06.2026).

aktiviert werden, der Übersetzer muss sich die Inhalte bildlich in der Vorstellung vergegenwärtigen. Geschieht das nicht, kann es zu misslungenen Übersetzungen kommen.[7]

Der Aktivierung der Vorstellungskraft können einfache Fragen dienen wie etwa: Was stelle ich mir vor, wenn ich den Text lese/höre, wie wirkt der Text auf mich, was bewirkt das Gelesene/Gehörte in mir? Im Übersetzungsunterricht ist es jedoch sinnvoll, eine phänomenologische Übung mit den Studierenden zu machen, die auf einem stärker ausgebauten Fragenkatalog basiert. Diese Übung soll den Studierenden bewusst machen, wie viele (komplexe) Vorstellungen durch verschiedene Sprachmittel, etwa auf der Lautebene, evoziert werden können und wie wichtig es ist, entsprechende Mittel einzusetzen, um den Effekt in der Zielsprache nachzubilden.

5.1. Perspektivierung

Da die Perspektivierung in der nachgestellten Übung eine zentrale Rolle spielt, möchte ich ihr an dieser Stelle eine kurze Begriffserläuterung voranstellen. ‚Perspektivierung' bezeichnet in der Phänomenologie den Grundsatz, dass ein Gegenstand bei dem Wahrnehmen, Vorstellen oder Denken niemals „als Ganzes" und „an sich" erfasst wird, sondern immer aus einer bestimmten Perspektive, in einem konkreten Modus der Gegebenheit wahrgenommen oder gedacht wird. Es ist ein strukturelles Grundmerkmal aller Erfahrung: Wir begegnen der Welt stets von einem Standpunkt aus, räumlich, zeitlich, leiblich, intentional. Nach Husserl zeigen sich Dinge immer nur in Abschattungen.[8] Ein Objekt, zum Beispiel ein Bus, ist nie vollständig gegeben: Wir sehen den Bus von vorn, dann von der Seite, von oben, von unten – immer perspektivisch, und trotzdem ist es derselbe Bus. Diese Struktur ist konstitutiv für die Erkenntnis. Es gibt kein Objekt, weder physisch noch mental, das uns in der Erfahrung gleichzeitig von allen Perspektiven gegeben wäre.

Ingarden betont, dass auch kulturelle Gegenstände, etwa literarische Kunstwerke, perspektivisch sind. Daher entfalten sich literarische Texte nur in einzelnen konkreten Lesarten. Die „intentionalen Gegenstände" des Textes zeigen sich immer nur in bestimmten perspektivischen Konkretisationen.

In der Phänomenologie dient Perspektivierung als epistemologisches Prinzip. Sie zeigt, dass Erkenntnis immer situiert ist. Wir erfassen die Welt nicht neutral, sondern von irgendwoher, aus einer bestimmten Perspektive, einem bestimmten Blickwinkel. Als methodisches Instrument macht Perspektivierung sichtbar, wie sich Wahrnehmung konstituiert, wie Bedeutungen entstehen,

7| Zahlreiche Beispiele werden in Kubaszczyk (2014a; 2014b; 2017) besprochen.

8| Vgl. z.B. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abschattung_(Ph%C3%A4nomenologie) (Zugriff 26.02.2026).

wie subjektive Standpunkte Erfahrung formen, wie unterschiedliche Menschen denselben Gegenstand verschieden erleben. Das Verfahren der Perspektivierung kann den Studierenden bewusst machen, dass Texte nur in perspektivischen Deutungsakten erfahrbar sind und dass einzelne Menschen als deutende Subjekte bei den Konkretisierungen jeweils verschiedene Aspekte bemerken, hervorheben und andere Vorstellungen entwickeln, die beispielsweise mit ihren früheren Erfahrungen zusammenhängen. Das Verfahren sensibilisiert sie aber auch und lässt Achtsamkeit und Aufmerksamkeit entwickeln sowie das Eigene von dem Textuellen scheiden.

5.2. Phänomenologische Übung der Perspektivierung

Als literarische Vorlage nutze ich das Gedicht „W drodze“ von Stanisław Młodożeniec und seine deutsche Übersetzung unter dem Titel „Unterwegs“ von Karl Dedecius, weil dieses Gedicht über viele verschiedene Ansichten verfügt und daher für diese Übung bestens geeignet ist.

In diesem Gedicht erzählt uns Młodożeniec eine konkrete Geschichte, von der der Übersetzer nicht abstrahieren kann. Akustische Ansichten gehen hier Hand in Hand mit visuellen – in der dargestellten Welt haben wir einen hilflosen ländlichen Trunkenbold porträtiert, der über Landstraßen und Wildnis von Dorf zu Dorf wandert. Der Tag neigt sich, der Abend naht, es gibt schlechtes Wetter, Wind und Sturm, Schlamm und Matsch. Das Gedicht liefert zahlreiche Beispiele für die Verwendung von Alliterationen und Binnenreimen, Lautmalerei, Klangstilisierung und Klangsymbolik:

(Bsp. 2)

W drodze

Trajda chlajda niedorajda-koślawina
drogą, ścieżką, wąwoziskiem z Biadolina

Pod łachem, pod gałachem wiater psubrat
poskubuje, połechtuje, szczypie w pludrach.

Chlupie słodko ciągłe błotko: – „Ej, człowiecze –
tak wam śpieszno do Nędzowa na odwiecierz?”

Sikawica z nieba cyca w gębę chluśnie:
„Naści, bido, na pociechę i nie bluźnij!”

A z parowa mąciel płowa: – „Przystańcieże –
dyć w Krzywdzicach zrychtowali wam wieczerzę!”

To se trajda niedorajda-koślawina
do Nędzowa przez Krzywdzice z Biadolina.

Die kongeniale deutsche Übersetzung wurde von Karl Dedecius angefertigt. An dieser Stelle wird sie lediglich als Verständnishilfe für die nicht polnischsprachige Leserschaft angeführt.[9]

(Bsp. 2a)

Unterwegs

Humpelt, rumpelt und halunkelt Unkel-Krause
über Straße, Weg und Steg von Jammerhausen.

In den Lumpen, in den Stumpen Winde tosen,
ziepen, zwicken, Hundebrut, in Plunderhosen.

Schwapp und schlapp durch zähen Schlamm und ohne Pause:
„Wollt ihr, Mensch, denn noch nach Elendsdorf, zur Jause?"

Himmelszitzen blitzen spritzen immer fester:
„Armes Luder, nimm das nur da, laß das Lästern!"

In der Schlucht versucht der Dunst ihn anzuhalten:
„Deine Jause ist in Unrechtkirchen, Alter!"

Also humpelt er zur Elendsdorfer Jause
über Unrechtkirchen bis von Jammerhausen.

Die Übung wird in einem Seminar zur Propädeutik des Übersetzens als Klammeraufgabe durchgeführt, nachdem die Studierenden im Unterricht bereits verschiedene sprachliche und literarische Gestaltungsmittel kennengelernt haben. Sie erhalten ein Arbeitsblatt. Anschließend wird das Gedicht von der Dozentin vorgelesen, die Seminarteilnehmer sollen dabei die Augen schließen, damit ihre Vorstellungskraft aktiviert wird und sie nicht abgelenkt werden. Im ersten Schritt haben sie dann folgende Aussagen zu ergänzen, die sich auf ihre persönlichen Empfindungen, Vorstellungen, Gedanken etc. beziehen:

Wenn ich das Gedicht (höre) lese, dann
sehe ich…
höre ich…
spüre ich…
fühle ich…
rieche ich…

Ich stelle mir vor…

9| Für eine Analyse des Originals und seiner Übersetzung siehe Kubaszczyk (2016b: 113–119).

Ich denke…
Ich glaube…
Es erinnert mich an …

Welche eigenen Erfahrungen aktiviert das Gedicht?
An welche eigenen Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen erinnert mich das Gedicht?

Im zweiten Schritt sollen sich die Studierenden in die Hauptfigur einfühlen. Es kommt also zum ersten Perspektivwechsel:

Wenn ich die Hauptfigur des Gedichts wäre, dann
wäre ich
lebte ich
sähe ich
hörte ich
würde ich mich bewegen wie…
würde ich körperlich … empfinden
würde ich … fühlen (würde ich solche Emotionen und Gefühle empfinden wie …)
würde ich mir vorstellen, dass…
würde ich denken…
würde ich hoffen, dass…

Im dritten Schritt werden die Studierenden nach den Sprachmitteln gefragt, um die Verankerung der Eindrücke, Gedanken und Vorstellungen im Text herauszuarbeiten. Hier wird der Text genauestens beobachtet und auseinandergenommen, um die Technik des Dichters aufzudecken. Somit wird auch versucht, die Perspektive des Dichters einzunehmen:

Mit Hilfe welcher Sprachmittel erreicht der Dichter, dass ich das oben Angegebene sehe, höre, spüre, empfinde, mir diese Sachen vorstelle, das oben Beschriebene denke, glaube, dass diese Erinnerungen aktiviert werden? Was trägt dazu bei, dass in mir solche Gefühle, Gedanken, Vorstellungen erweckt werden?

Im letzten Schritt erfolgt die Verifizierung. Hier wird das objektiv Gegebene von dem Subjektiven getrennt, das von Ingarden „Konkretisation" genannt wird (vgl. Ingarden 1972; Kubaszczyk 2013). Hier wird auch eine Frage danach gestellt, welche Elemente des Textes unbedingt bei der Übersetzung zu bewahren sind und welche als zweitrangig betrachtet werden können. Es wird auch die Perspektive des zielsprachlichen Lesers eingenommen:

- Werden meine Gefühle, Gedanken und Vorstellungen durch die im Text verwendeten sprachlichen Mittel begründet? Wenn ja, warum? Wenn nicht, warum nicht?
- Wenn ich dieses Gedicht als Deutscher/Ausländer lesen würde, was würde sich möglicherweise in meiner Wahrnehmung/Vorstellung ändern?

- Was muss ich bewahren, damit ähnliche Gefühle, Gedanken und Bilder durch die im Text verwendeten Sprachmittel hervorgerufen werden können? Welche Textelemente evozieren Bilder, rufen Emotionen hervor, regen zum Nachdenken an und rufen Erinnerungsbilder im Gedächtnis wach?
- Welche Erfahrung/Voraussetzung muss man mitbringen, um den Text ähnlich wahrzunehmen, damit der Text auf einem ZS-Leser ähnlich wirkt?
- Ist ein ähnlicher Empfang ohne ähnliche Erfahrungen möglich?

An dieser Stelle wird bewusst auf eine Analyse des Originals und seiner Übersetzung sowie der von den Studierenden formulierten Kommentare verzichtet, da der Fokus des Beitrags auf der Konzeption und Darstellung der Übung liegt und eine eingehende Analyse den Rahmen des vorliegenden Aufsatzes sprengen würde. Die praktische Erprobung der Übung zeigt jedoch ihren didaktischen Ertrag: Die Studierenden werden für die ästhetische und sinnliche Dimension sprachlicher Ausdrucksmittel sensibilisiert und erkennen, dass sich die Wirkung eines Textes nicht allein aus dem „Worüber", sondern in erheblichem Maße auch aus dem „Wie" des sprachlichen Ausdrucks konstituiert. Sie lernen, dass bei der Wahl von Äquivalenten nicht nur beispielsweise die propositionale Information zu übertragen ist, dass der Schlamm unter den Füßen schmatzt („Chlupie słodko ciągłe błotko"), sondern dass zugleich auch die auditive Vorstellung dieses Geräusches beim Rezipienten hervorgerufen werden sollte. Im Dienste dieser Wirkung werden auch andere Wörter gewählt, wie etwa das Wort *słodko* („süß"), dessen Funktion in diesem Kontext weniger semantischer als vielmehr klanglicher Natur ist. Darüber hinaus erkennen die Seminarteilnehmer, dass sich durch die Häufung bestimmter Vokale die Stimmung und Gefühlslage des Protagonisten literarisch gestalten lassen. Ein Beispiel können etwa dunkle Vokale sein, die in der deutschen Übersetzung stärker präsent sind als im polnischen Original, welche Assoziationen von Depression, Bedrücktheit oder Angst evozieren.

Gleichwohl könnte die hier vorgeschlagene Perspektivierungsübung als Instrument zur Untersuchung konkreter Übersetzungsentscheidungen fruchtbar gemacht werden. Durch den Vergleich der von Ausgangs- und Zieltext evozierten Vorstellungen ließe sich systematisch erfassen, welche Elemente für die Konstitution der Anschaulichkeit besonders bedeutsam sind und auf welche Weise Übersetzer versuchen, diese in der Zielsprache nachzubilden. Dies könnte einen Beitrag zu einer stärker rezeptions- und wahrnehmungsorientierten Übersetzungsforschung leisten, die die Kategorien der Perspektivierung, Konkretisation und imaginativen Darstellung in das Zentrum der Analyse rückt.

Die vorgeschlagene Übung versteht sich nicht als abgeschlossenes didaktisches Verfahren, sondern als eine Möglichkeit, zentrale Erkenntnisse der phänomenologischen Literatur- und Übersetzungstheorie für die Übersetzerausbildung fruchtbar zu machen. Zugleich eröffnet sie Perspektiven für weitere Untersuchungen. Von besonderem Interesse erscheint etwa die Frage, in welchem Maße unterschiedliche Lesergruppen vergleichbare imaginäre Konkretisationen literarischer Texte hervorbringen und welche Rolle dabei kulturelle Prägungen, individuelle Erfahrungen oder translatorische Entscheidungen spielen. Ebenso könnte untersucht werden, wie sich die von Ingarden beschriebenen Funktionen in verschiedenen Textsorten und literarischen Gattungen manifestieren und in welchem Umfang sie durch Übersetzungen bewahrt, modifiziert oder ersetzt werden. Die phänomenologische Perspektive erweist sich damit nicht nur als Instrument der Textanalyse und Übersetzungsdidaktik, sondern auch als theoretischer Rahmen für die weitere Erforschung literarischer Übersetzungsprozesse.

6. Fazit

Die vorangegangenen Überlegungen haben gezeigt, dass Roman Ingardens Reflexionen zur Übersetzung auch heute nichts von ihrer Aktualität eingebüßt haben. Seine Unterscheidung zwischen begrifflicher und imaginativer Darstellungsfunktion eröffnet eine Perspektive auf literarische Übersetzung, die weit über die bloße Übertragung lexikalischer Bedeutungen hinausgeht. Literarische Texte bestehen nicht ausschließlich aus begrifflichen Gehalten, sondern rufen zugleich Vorstellungen, sinnliche Eindrücke, emotionale Reaktionen und komplexe Erlebniszusammenhänge hervor. Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers besteht daher nicht lediglich darin, das Bezeichnete wiederzugeben, sondern auch jene imaginativen und affektiven Dimensionen des Textes zu erfassen und nach Möglichkeit in der Zielsprache zu rekonstruieren. Die von Ingarden hervorgehobene Abhängigkeit der imaginativen Darstellung, der Ausdrucksfunktion und der Einwirkungsfunktion von der Lautgestalt sprachlicher Äußerungen macht deutlich, weshalb literarische Übersetzungen notwendigerweise mit Verlusten verbunden sind und weshalb die Suche nach funktionalen und ästhetischen Äquivalenten zu den zentralen Herausforderungen translatorischen Handelns gehört.

Besonders fruchtbar erscheinen Ingardens Überlegungen für die Übersetzungsdidaktik. Die Analyse literarischer Texte darf sich nicht auf semantische und begriffliche Aspekte beschränken, sondern muss auch die Ebene der Wahrnehmung, Vorstellung und Wirkung systematisch einbeziehen. Die vorgeschlagene phänomenologische Übung verfolgt genau dieses Ziel. Durch die Reflexion eigener Wahrnehmungen, die Einnahme unterschiedlicher Perspektiven

und die anschließende Rückbindung der gewonnenen Einsichten an konkrete sprachliche Mittel lernen die Studierenden, die Mechanismen literarischer Bedeutungs- und Wirkungskonstitution bewusster wahrzunehmen. Zugleich erfahren sie, dass literarische Sinnbildung stets das Ergebnis eines Zusammenwirkens verschiedener Werkebenen ist und dass einzelne sprachliche Entscheidungen weitreichende Folgen für die Konstitution der dargestellten Welt haben können.

Die Perspektivierung erweist sich dabei nicht nur als hermeneutisches Instrument zur Textanalyse, sondern auch als didaktisches Mittel zur Förderung translatorischer Sensibilität. Sie macht sichtbar, dass jede Konkretisation eines literarischen Werkes perspektivisch erfolgt und dass auch Übersetzungen als perspektivische Rekonstruktionen verstanden werden können. Die Studierenden erkennen dadurch sowohl die Grenzen als auch die Möglichkeiten des Übersetzens: Einerseits ist eine vollständige Reproduktion der im Original angelegten Vorstellungs- und Wirkungsdimensionen nicht erreichbar; andererseits eröffnet gerade das Bewusstsein für diese Dimensionen die Möglichkeit, begründete translatorische Entscheidungen zu treffen und kreative Lösungen zu entwickeln.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich festhalten, dass eine phänomenologisch orientierte Übersetzungsdidaktik geeignet ist, die Aufmerksamkeit angehender Übersetzer auf jene häufig übersehenen Aspekte literarischer Texte zu lenken, die für deren ästhetische Wirkung konstitutiv sind. Sie fördert die Fähigkeit, zwischen textgesteuerten und subjektiv-hinzukommenden Vorstellungen zu unterscheiden, sensibilisiert für die Rolle von Klang, Anschaulichkeit und Perspektivierung und trägt damit zu einer vertieften literarischen Kompetenz bei. Gerade vor dem Hintergrund einer zunehmend funktional und pragmatisch ausgerichteten Translationsausbildung kann Ingardens phänomenologisches Erbe daher einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Ausbildung literarischer Übersetzer leisten.

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Zur Bedeutung kritischer Sprachbewusstheit in der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre

Die Sprache verlässt uns nicht im Schweigen,
sie gibt sich bloß einen anderen Modus.
(Maximilian Gottschlich)

Abstract

The importance of critical language awareness in translation-oriented language education

This paper focuses on TILLT (Translation- and Interpreting-oriented Language Learning and Teaching), which, for curricular reasons, is usually offered before students take actual translation or interpreting classes. However, university teachers of both strands, irrespective of their expertise in translation didactics or language didactics, can learn a lot from each other. They just have to engage in a fruitful exchange on higher education pedagogy, on an equal footing and with one common intention: how to best support Bachelor's students in finding their way into their chosen study programme, i.e., translation studies. One option available to TILLT teachers is to promote from the outset critical language awareness among young adults who during their bachelor's degree make their first experience of the academic world of translation. The paper considers students' critical language awareness (CLA) and agency as an explicit learning objective of translation-oriented language education. For a more detailed description of such a teaching approach, CLA pedagogy is discussed in conjunction with translingual practices such as Translanguaging. As one concrete example from the TILLT teaching practice, the paper presents the adoption of the concept of DLC (Dominant Language Constellation) in the language classroom and discusses selected student data. In doing so, it highlights the enormous potential that lies in combining students' critical language awareness with emotionality and creativity.

Keywords: TILLT (Translation- and Interpreting-oriented Language Learning and Teaching), CLA (Critical Language Awareness), translingual practices, translanguaging, DLC (Dominant Language Constellation), translational creativity

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1. Einleitung

Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit dem Lehren und Lernen von Sprachen im Rahmen eines translationswissenschaftlichen, kritisches Denken fördernden Hochschulstudiums. Aus diesem Grund steht ein differenzierter Blick auf das Begriffspaar *Sprache* und *Translation* im Zentrum der folgenden Überlegungen. Beiden Begriffen und den jeweils dahinterstehenden Konzepten wird zugesprochen, allgemeinmenschliche, alltagsbestimmende Tätigkeiten zu umfassen. So gilt Bewusstheit über Sprache als – über den Sprachlehr-/-lernkontext hinausgehende – allgemein anzustrebende Fähigkeit, da Sprache einen zentralen Faktor menschlichen Lebens ausmacht. Wir brauchen Sprache zum Aufbau und zur Aufrechterhaltung zwischenmenschlicher Beziehungen, aber auch als Denk- und Reflexionsinstrument oder um andere oder uns selbst zu bilden bzw. weiterzubilden (Roehr-Brackin 2018: 45). Sprachbewusstheit zeigt sich demnach im Nachdenken über Sprache und in der Fähigkeit, diese Nachdenkprozesse zu artikulieren (ebd.). Auf ähnliche Weise wie Sprache wird auch Translation als nicht wegzudenkender Aspekt menschlichen Lebens betrachtet. Daher argumentieren Dam et al. (2019) im Kontext der Diskussion über den Status der Translationswissenschaft als eigenständiger Disziplin, etwa in Abgrenzung zur Sprachwissenschaft, wie folgt:

> Translation as an activity, a phenomenon, a concept is of course as old as mankind, and has been and will continue to be *part of human life* regardless of the existence or not of a scholarly field (Dam et al. 2019: 231, eigene Hervorhebung).

Der in den 1980er-Jahren erfolgte Abnabelungsprozess der Translationswissenschaft von der Sprachwissenschaft verlief Cerezo Herrero (2023) zufolge als Trennung in Freundschaft, allerdings mit weitreichenden Konsequenzen für das Lehren und Lernen von Sprachen im Rahmen der Translationsausbildung sowie für die Erforschung dieser spezifischen Sprachlehr-/-lernpraxis. „This amicable divorce consigned foreign language teaching for translation into oblivion research-wise, thus belittling the role that languages play in translator and interpreter training" (Cerezo Herrero 2023: 532f.). Zwar wird die translationsorientierte Sprachlehr-/-lernpraxis seit einigen Jahren erforscht, und zwar unter dem Akronym TILLT, d. h. *Translation- and Interpreting-oriented Language Learning and Teaching*, aber die Forschung zu TILLT steckt nichtsdestotrotz nach wie vor in den Kinderschuhen. Folglich nimmt es nicht wunder, dass Hochschullehrende im Bereich TILLT zuweilen kein oder nur ein geringes Bewusstsein über die besonderen Anforderungen dieser Sprachlehre haben und „need to be briefed on the nuts and bolts of TILLT" (Cerezo Herrero 2023: 544).

Da Sprachlehrveranstaltungen im Rahmen einer Translationsausbildung meist in den ersten Studiensemestern angeboten werden, kommt TILLT-Lehrenden

die verantwortungsvolle Aufgabe zu, Studierende im Rahmen translationsorientierter Sprachkurse in eine Fachdisziplin einzuführen, die von ihnen verlangt, höchste Ansprüche an ihr sprachliches Können zu stellen. Dabei geht es nicht nur um ihre Enkulturation in translatorisches Denken und Handeln durch die Entwicklung instrumentaler Kompetenzen wie ausgezeichneter Sprachkompetenz, sondern auch um die Entwicklung einer professionellen Haltung als Sprachdienstleistende, für die Sprache ein berufliches Arbeitsmittel darstellt, das ein (berufliches) Leben lang gepflegt werden muss (Schmidhofer et al. 2022: 101). Studierende müssen mithin dabei unterstützt werden, dass sie nachvollziehen können und einsehen, dass mittelmäßige Sprachkompetenz für ein erfolgreiches Berufsleben im Translationsbereich keinesfalls ausreichend ist. Instrumentalität spielt auch in der Argumentation von Roehr-Brackin (2018) eine Rolle. Sie weist der Sprachbewusstheit einen instrumentalen Zweck zu, zumal diese in Berufsfeldern unumgänglich ist, die effiziente und präzise Sprachverwendung erfordern. Interessanterweise nennt sie dabei zwar die Sprachenlehre, den Rechtsbereich, Vertrieb und Marketing sowie Journalismus, aber nicht den Übersetzungs- und Dolmetschbereich (Roehr-Brackin 2014: 46). Shapiro (2022: 15), die sich ausdrücklich für kritische Sprachbewusstheit stark macht, begrüßt deren Förderung in Disziplinen wie „literary studies, film and media studies, history, theater, psychology, business, political science, environmental studies, and medicine", wobei auch hier Übersetzen und Dolmetschen oder andere, neuere translatorische Berufsfelder keine Erwähnung finden. Ziel des vorliegenden Beitrags ist es daher, aufzuzeigen, welch enormes Potenzial darin steckt, (kritische) Sprachbewusstheit auch bzw. ganz besonders in der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre zu fördern.

2. Sprachbewusstheit in TILLT

Ein zentraler Aspekt translationsorientierter Sprachlehre besteht meines Erachtens im – leider oft zu wenig explizit gemachten – Anspruch an Sprachenlehrende, Studierende dabei zu unterstützen, im Laufe ihres Translationsstudiums ein professionelles Selbstverständnis als angehende Sprachdienstleister:innen zu entwickeln. Eine solche Unterstützung kann unter anderem dadurch erfolgen, dass sich für die Studierenden vom ersten Studiensemester an ihr hochschulischer, translationsorientierter Sprachunterricht merklich und deutlich wahrnehmbar von ihnen jahrelang vertrautem, schulischem Sprachunterricht unterscheidet. Dazu gehört unter anderem die Bewusstmachung, dass die Kontaktstunden einzelner Sprachlehrveranstaltungen bei Weitem nicht ausreichen, um ein Sprachniveau zu erreichen, mit dem sie als Absolvent:innen auf dem Sprachdienstleistungsmarkt reüssieren können (Recio Ariza/Schmidhofer 2023: 33). Genauso wichtig ist es aber auch, bei Studienanfänger:

innen ein Bewusstsein zu schaffen für „the large amount of knowledge about language that cannot be taught within the institutional constraints of the language classroom" (Kramsch 2021: 204). Somit gilt es, in einem auf Sprachbewusstheit abzielenden TILLT-Unterricht autonomes, lebenslanges Sprachenlernen – inklusive der sprachlichen Weiterentwicklung in der (oder den) Erstsprache(n) –, begleitet von bewusster Reflexion des eigenen Sprachgebrauchs und Sprachkönnens in den jeweiligen Arbeitssprachen zu fördern. Dazu merken Recio Ariza und Schmidhofer (2023) an:

> Languages and language learning will accompany them professionally and personally for their whole life if they finally work in one of the professions for which they are trained in TI degrees. Constant contact with the target language will not only enable them to automatise language skills and gain fluency, but also provide opportunities for *reflection on the language and its evolution* and on their own performance as professional language users (Recio Ariza/ Schmidhofer 2023: 43, eigene Hervorhebung).

Die im obigen Zitat genannte Reflexion über die Zielsprache und ihre Weiterentwicklung führt mich von allgemeiner Sprachbewusstheit zu explizit kritischer Sprachbewusstheit in TILLT, und zwar in Verbindung mit dem Konzept des Translingualismus.

2.1. Kritische Sprachbewusstheit und Translingualismus

Shapiro (2022) unterscheidet allgemeine Sprachbewusstheit von kritischer Sprachbewusstheit im Sinne eines stärkeren Fokus bei Letzterer auf Macht und Handlungsfähigkeit. Angestrebt wird dabei, dass Studierende lernen, Sprache dahingehend zu betrachten, „what it looks like, what role it plays in our lives and work, and how we might use it in powerful and agentive ways" (ebd.: 17). Dieser kritische Blick steht auch im Zentrum translingualer Praktiken, wie Zhang-Wu et al. (2023: 3) verdeutlichen: „[I]ntersections of language, identity, power, and privilege have been at the heart of much translingual scholarship, as well as CLA [Critical Language Awareness] scholarship". Translingualismus beschreiben sie jedoch als über kritische Sprachbewussheit hinausgehend, denn „[it] encourag[es] language practices that are transgressive in nature – that challenge some of the ideologies and norms that are typical in academia" (ebd.). Canagarajah und Gao (2019: 2) definieren Translingualismus als „the ways in which multilingual users creatively and strategically renegotiate the norms for voice". Doch welche Rolle spielen diese Konzepte in der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre?

Recio Ariza und Schmidhofer (2023: 43) erinnern daran, wie wichtig es ist, dass Studierende ständigen Kontakt mit ihren Zielsprachen haben. Nur so finden sie zahlreiche Gelegenheiten vor, sich über Sprache und Sprachveränderungen

Gedanken zu machen. Damit sie sich in solchen Sprachveränderungsprozessen aber auch als handlungsmächtig erleben, ist der Einbezug der Translingualismus-Perspektive hilfreich, die Sprachverwender:innen eine bedeutsame Rolle beimisst. So betonen Horner et al. (2011: 307) in ihrem wegweisenden Positionspapier zu translingualen Praktiken, (1) dass wir alle stets Sprachenlernende sind, also auch unsere Erstsprache nie *ausgelernt* haben, (2) dass Sprachenlernen notwendigerweise lebenslang andauern muss, da Sprache ständigem Wandel ausgesetzt ist, und (3) dass Sprachenlernende Sprache nicht nur verwenden, sondern auch neu kreieren. Daraus schließen sie, dass Sprachbeherrschung neu zu definieren ist, „to include the ability to revise the language that they must also continuously be learning – to work with and on, not just within, what seems its conventions and confines" (Horner et al. 2011: 307). So eine Sichtweise impliziert große Verantwortung von uns allen als Verwender:innen und Veränder:innen von Sprachen, wie Horner (2021: 60) verdeutlicht. Sprachenlernende als Sprachverwender:innen sind „responsible through their efforts at speaking and writing for sustaining and revising language, which they continuously remake as they use it". Kramsch (2008) unterstreicht diese diskursive Handlungsmacht von Sprachenlernenden:

> Few of them are aware of the role they play as non-native speakers/actors in the life or death of a language, its development, its usage, its semiotic potential. […] Learning a foreign language, with all the decentration, conflict, and discoveries this brings, is one of the more favorable academic means by which to restore to learners the discursive agency that they think they lack (Kramsch 2008: 322, zitiert in Horner[1] 2021: 60).

Der nächste Abschnitt zeigt anhand ausgewählter Beispiele, wie in der translationsorientierten Sprachlehre diese diskursive Handlungsmacht mit Studierenden thematisiert werden kann.

2.2. Beispiele aus der TILLT-Lehre

Wie Schmidhofer et al. (2022: 106f.) hervorheben, besteht eines der Lernziele des TILLT-Unterrichts darin, Studierende zu befähigen, Texte über ein oberflächliches Textverständnis hinaus in ihrer Tiefenstruktur zu analysieren, um sie daran anschließend weiterzubearbeiten. Will man im Unterricht sprachkontrastiv arbeiten, muss das nicht nur interlingual, sondern kann auch intralingual erfolgen, indem beispielsweise zwischen informellem und formellem Sprachregister hin und hergewechselt werden muss. Zudem müssen Studierende

1| Zitiert nach Horner (2021: 60) in seiner englischen Übersetzung des französischen Originalzitats.

„examine texts through the *cultural prism of native speakers* and understand conceptualisations and references that might not be obvious at first sight" (Recio Ariza/ Schmidhofer 2023: 35, eigene Hervorhebung). Als zukünftige Sprachmittler:innen ist es aber von ebenso großer Bedeutung, dass Studierende bei der Textanalyse ihre eigenen kulturbezogenen Interpretationsschemata hinterfragen, damit diese nicht unreflektiert bleiben und somit unbewusst das Textverständnis beeinflussen (ebd.; Meyer 2023).

In Bezug auf das oben erwähnte *cultural prism of native speakers* habe ich im Sommersemester 2023 in einem Deutsch als Fremdsprache-TILLT-Kurs auf Niveau C1 die Kursteilnehmer:innen, das heißt sechs Studierende, schriftlich dazu befragt, was es für sie bedeutet, Muttersprachler:in bzw. Nicht-Muttersprachler:in zu sein (Seidl 2023). Diese DaF-Studierenden beschrieben Muttersprachler:innen als Personen, die

- die Sprache fließend und akzentfrei sprechen
- selbstbewusst sind, auch wenn sie sprachliche Fehler machen
- korrekt sprechen, ohne nachdenken zu müssen
- Gestik, Mimik, Körpersprache, Denkweisen und Dialekte von Ko-Muttersprachler:innen verstehen
- mit sprachlichen Regeln vertraut sind.

Im Gegensatz dazu charakterisierten die befragten Studierenden Nicht-Muttersprachler:innen als Personen, die

- die Sprache nicht fließend und mit Akzent sprechen
- mit der Sprache pedantisch umgehen
- oft ein Zertifikat als Nachweis ihrer Sprachkenntnis brauchen
- Benachteiligung und sprachlicher Diskriminierung ausgesetzt sein können
- Schwierigkeiten beim Verständnis kulturbezogener Aspekte, der Denkweise von Muttersprachler:innen und deren Witzen, Dialekten sowie kolloquialer Sprache haben.

Der mündliche Austausch im Anschluss an die schriftliche Befragung ermöglichte eine fruchtbare Diskussion über stereotype Vorstellungen von Muttersprachler:innen, die zu überdenken sind.

Dieser schnappschussartige Einblick in die Einstellungen zum Muttersprachen-Konzept von Bachelorstudierenden im zweiten Studienjahr eines translationswissenschaftlichen Studiengangs zeigt meines Erachtens das Potenzial des Translingualismus-Ansatzes für TILLT. Denn kritische Sprachbewusstheit beinhaltet auch das Wissen darüber, dass „language users' spoken fluency with a particular language—even their ‚home' language—will fluctuate in relation to the genre and topic and circumstances of the speech situation" (Horner et al. 2011: 312). Exakt dieses Wissen über den Einfluss von mehreren Variablen auf die Sprachkompetenz demonstriert eine:r der befragten Studierenden

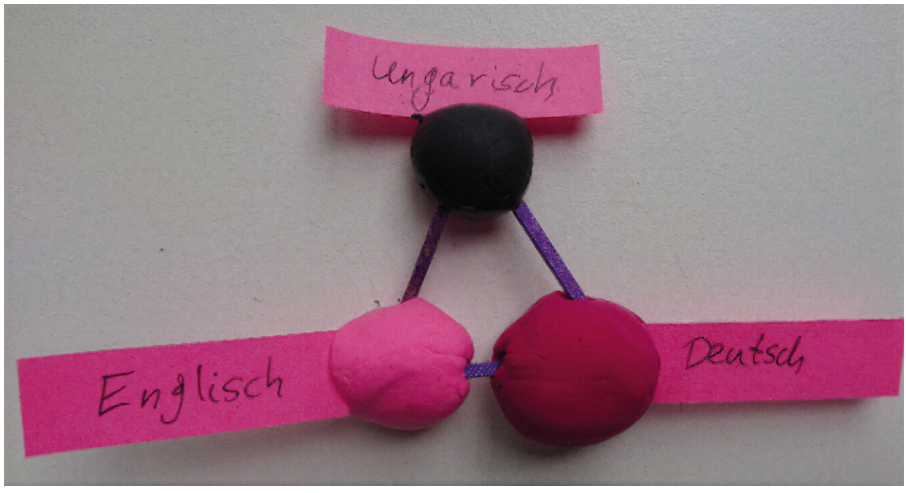


Abbildung 1: Studentisches DLC-Modell (Seidl 2023)

mit Ungarisch als Erstsprache bei der Beschreibung des persönlichen DLC-Modells[2]:

> Deutsch ist zurzeit das Größte. Ungarisch brauche ich zurzeit am wenigsten. *Auf einem höheren Register bin ich auch nicht so gut in Ungarisch*. Deshalb ist es auch weiter weg von den anderen zwei Kugeln und ist auch kleiner. Vielleicht wird Ungarisch aber größer, wenn ich (mehr) in den Bereichen Übersetzen und/oder Dolmetschen arbeiten werde (Person 2, in Seidl 2023, eigene Hervorhebung).

Dieser Person ist also sehr wohl bewusst, dass muttersprachliche Kompetenz nicht zwangsläufig bedeutet, über große Kompetenz auf elaborierterem Sprachregister zu verfügen.[3] Das Zitat zeigt aber auch, dass in mehrsprachigen Studierendengruppen in TILLT-Kursen häufig die Zielsprache, hier Deutsch, im Vordergrund steht und mit den jeweiligen Erstsprachen der Studierenden wenig sprachkontrastiv gearbeitet wird, wie es allerdings Cerezo Herrero et al. (2024) propagieren:

2| Mit derselben Gruppe von DaF-Studierenden fertigten wir im Sommersemester 2023 aus Knetmasse im Unterricht unser individuelles DLC-Modell (Dominant Language Constellation) an. Bei dem von Aronin (2021) entwickelten DLC-Konzept stellt man mit durch Stäbchen verbundene Kugeln eine bewusst getroffene Auswahl aus seinem Sprachenrepertoire dar. Ein DLC stellt eine Einheit aus den – zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt im Leben einer Person – relevantesten Sprachen dar.

3| Ähnlich formuliert eine andere Person aus dieser Kohorte die Tatsache, dass muttersprachliche Kompetenz nicht zwangsläufig immer die am stärksten ausgeprägte ist: „Meine stärkste Sprache ist momentan Englisch, obwohl meine Muttersprache Ungarisch ist“ (Person 4 in Seidl 2023).

> The prevailing language learning approach in TILLT classrooms has largely been anchored in and additional language (AL)-only paradigm. This paradigm, while effective in certain respects, falls short in helping practitioners and students to develop the nuanced competencies required for meaning transfer in translation and interpreting. We posit that a paradigm shift is essential—from an AL-only focus to a more explicit L1–AL paradigm (Cerezo Herrero et al. 2024: 140).

Die in der weiter oben genannten Studierendengruppe im Sommersemester 2023 zusätzlich zur Frage nach der Unterscheidung zwischen Muttersprachler:innen und Nicht-Muttersprachler:innen gestellte Frage nach der Kategorisierung ihrer Sprachen (z. B. in Muttersprache, Erstsprache, Zweitsprache, Fremdsprache etc.) beantwortete die oben zitierte Person wie folgt: Ungarisch = Muttersprache, Deutsch = Zweitsprache, aber zum Teil auch Bildungssprache, Englisch = Drittsprache, aber Deutsch und Englisch auch Fremdsprache (Seidl 2023).[4]

In Bezug auf Kategorisierungsmöglichkeiten der Sprachen innerhalb ihres Sprachenrepertoires habe ich in den vergangenen Studienjahren mit Studierenden aufschlussreiche Diskussionen über den terminologischen Vorschlag von Dewaele (2018) geführt. Er empfiehlt, statt von *native speaker* von *L1 user* zu sprechen und anstelle des Terminus *non-native speaker* jenen des *LX user* zu verwenden. Einerseits weckte in den letzten Jahren meine Präsentation dieser Terminologie bei Studierenden großes Interesse, da sie eine größere Begegnung auf Augenhöhe erleben, wenn ich als ihre Lehrperson und Deutsch L1-Sprecherin genau wie sie als Verwenderin des Deutschen bezeichnet werde. Sie sind Deutsch *LX user* und ich Deutsch *L1 user*, wodurch ich keinen Sonderstatus als einzige Deutsch-Muttersprachlerin im Kursgeschehen habe. Studierende, die Österreichische Gebärdensprache studieren, verwiesen zudem darauf, dass die Bezeichnung *user* auch Menschen inkludiert, die keine Lautsprache *sprechen*, aber Sprache, egal ob als L1 oder LX, sehr wohl verwenden. Andererseits wurde aber auch Skepsis gegenüber Dewaeles (2018) Terminologie ausgedrückt:

> Meines Erachtens ist ‚user' zu verwenden, nicht sinnvoll, da mit der Sprache auch Kultur kommt. Wenn ich meine Muttersprache Russisch ‚use' bzw. verwende, dann fühle ich mich nicht als richtige Vertreterin der russischsprachigen Kultur und des Lebens in Kasachstan, sondern nur als Gast in dieser Sprache oder Kultur (Person 1 in Seidl 2023).

4| Diese begrifflichen Überschneidungen bei der Kategorisierung ihres Sprachenrepertoires zeigten sich auch in einer Untersuchung mit TILLT-DaF-Studierenden im Sommersemester 2021 (vgl. Riedel/ Seidl 2022: 260).

Aussagen wie diese unterstützen Melo-Pfeifers (2019: 39) Argument, wonach das Muttersprachen-Konzept für mehrsprachige Studierende weiterhin relevant ist. Viele haben es im Laufe ihrer Bildungslaufbahn verinnerlicht und auch von außen wird es nach wie vor an sie herangetragen, weshalb es in ihrer Selbstverortung eine ungebrochene Rolle spielt.

3. Kritische Sprachhandlungsfähigkeit als Lernziel

Translationsorientierte Sprachlehre sollte vom ersten Studiensemester an den Grundstein dafür legen, dass aus sprachbegabten Schüler:innen ambitionierte Studierende werden, die das Verwenden von und Nachdenken über Sprache auf höchstem Niveau und mit größter Selbstreflexion betreiben. Schließlich wird von ihnen als Translationsabsolvent:innen erwartet, „to use language accurately, meaningfully and appropriately, producing texts without L1 traces" (Cerezo Herrero et al. 2024: 131). Im Hinblick auf die Reflexionsfähigkeit von Bachelorstudierenden deckt sich mein über 20-jähriges Erfahrungswissen aus der TILLT-Lehre zu einem gewissen Teil mit Pintado Gutiérrez' (2022) Befund:

> While generating rich debates, reflections on the students' own linguistic and cultural repertoire can be difficult as they are not used to deploying critical analysis on their own previously acquired knowledge (Pintado Gutiérrez 2022: 45).

Die hier erwähnte kritische Selbstanalyse geht meiner Erfahrung nach leichter vonstatten, wenn sie in den spielerisch-lustvollen Herstellungsprozess des persönlichen Dominant Language Constellation-Modells mit Knetmasse eingebunden ist, wie in Abschnitt 2.2 ausgeführt.

3.1. Emotionalität

Aronin (2021: 33) beschreibt den sinnlichen Herstellungsprozess eines DLC-Modells als „deeply moving, exciting and often eye-opening". Durch den Einbezug taktiler Reize und haptischer, teils auch olfaktorischer Wahrnehmung verliert das rein kognitive Nachdenken über Sprache und Identität seine dominante Stellung. Die individuellen, zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt im Leben besonders relevanten Sprachen auf anschauliche Weise mit unterschiedlich großen Kugeln in physische Form zu bringen, „where its parts are interconnected and meaningful, raises awareness and leaves cognitive and emotional traces in one's self" (Aronin 2021: 38). Kognition und Emotion in Einklang zu bringen, bildet auch das Herzstück der CLA-Pädagogik (*Critical Language Awareness*). Nach Shapiro (2022: 18) geht es hierbei darum, „[to engage] minds, hearts, and bodies" mittels zahlreicher Gelegenheiten „for mental and emotional processing" (ebd.: 65). Kritisches Denken und kritische Sprachbewusstheit von Studierenden zu fördern, umfasst mithin nicht nur rein rationales

Nachdenken über Sprache und Sprachgebrauch. Vielmehr erfordert die Fähigkeit, sprachbezogene Probleme zu erkennen und bestenfalls zu lösen, den Einbezug aller verfügbaren Ressourcen, anstatt nur Logik und Verstand einzusetzen. Zentral ist außerdem, als Sprachmittler:in die eigene Eingebundenheit in eine Kommunikationssituation zu reflektieren. Für TILLT formulieren dies Recio Ariza und Schmidhofer (2023) folgendermaßen:

> [S]tudents must gradually learn to consider written and oral discourse from the mediator's perspective, take into account their embeddedness in the communicative situation of their original production and translated reception, detect linguistic and communicative problems, and develop problem-solving strategies (Recio Ariza/ Schmidhofer 2023: 24).

Versteht man als eines der Lernziele von TILLT bzw. von darauf aufbauendem Translationsunterricht kritische Sprachhandlungsfähigkeit und ein professionelles Selbstverständnis als Mittler:in oder Mediator:in zwischen Sprachen und Kulturen, so erscheint mir hier wiederum die CLA-Pädagogik als zielführend. Diese „activates students' agency by equipping them with the critical capacities to navigate situations that language and power make complex" (Shapiro/ Lorimer Leonard 2023: 3). In Bezug auf Sprachnormen bedeutet dies, dass „[e]xerting agency may involve resisting these norms, in ways large or small. And choosing to conform may also be an agentive decision" (ebd.: 5). Im Kontext machtkritischer, körperzentrierter Dolmetschdidaktik erläutert Bahadır-Berzig (2024) ein solches Beispiel absichtlichen Normenverstoßes und bewusster Grenzüberschreitung im Kommunaldolmetschbereich. Was Shapiro und Lorimer Leonard (2023) auf Sprachnormen beziehen, diskutiert Bahadır-Berzig (2024: 92) hinsichtlich „two cherished ethical ideas of interpreting, namely neutrality or impartiality as well as correctness and completeness of interpreting, without additions or omissions". Gegen beide wird in ihrem nicht(!)-fiktiven Beispiel bewusst verstoßen, um eine Klientin während der Dolmetschung vor dem manipulativen Sprachgebrauch eines Behördenvertreters zu warnen (ebd.: 92f.).

Auch wenn es im TILLT-Unterricht um hochschulische *Sprach*didaktik und nicht um *Translations*didaktik geht, so können doch bereits ab der ersten TILLT-Lehrveranstaltung im Sinne Gottschlichs (2022) eine empathische Kommunikationskultur und kritische Bewusstheit für Macht im Sprachmittlungskontext propagiert werden. Studierenden muss der Wechsel in ihrem Selbstverständnis von Sprachverwender:innen zu Sprachmittler:innen gelingen, was die Reflexion ihrer Positioniertheit inkludiert. „In jeder sprachlichen Begegnung mit einem anderen", so Gottschlich (2022: 171), „bin auch ich selbst enthalten, begegne ich mir selbst, so wie meine Reaktion auf den anderen diesem wiederum dazu dient, sich selbst zu begegnen". Das transgressive

Fallbeispiel Bahadır-Berzigs (2024) aus der Dolmetschpraxis im Bereich des Kommunaldolmetschens korrespondiert bestens mit diesem Zitat von Gottschlich (2022). Kritische Sprachhandlungsfähigkeit soll hier aber auch im Kontext translatorischer Kreativität diskutiert werden.

3.2. Kreativität

Ein zentrales Anliegen der TILLT-Forschung ist es, empirisch geprüfte Lehr-/Lern-Materialien zu entwickeln, „that specifically target the students' ability to navigate two or more distinct linguistic codes" (Cerezo Herrero et al. 2024: 140). Möchte man TILLT allerdings mit einem translingualen Ansatz in Verbindung bringen, dann müsste man sich konsequenterweise mit Canagarajah (2015: 419) gegen die Vorstellung von voneinander abgrenzbaren Sprachen als linguistischer Entitäten aussprechen. „The prefix [trans] reminds us that communication transcends individual languages, and goes beyond language itself to include diverse modalities and semiotic systems" (ebd.). Sprache und Bedeutung sind im Translingualismus-Ansatz einem ständigen Verhandlungsprozess ausgesetzt und nicht „located in static grammatical structures" (ebd.). Damit geht allerdings kein *Freibrief* einher, eine Sprache nach eigenem Gutdünken und gegen alle Regeln zu verwenden, nur weil Sprachen *nicht* als „distinct linguistic codes" (Cerezo Herrero et al. 2024: 140) verstanden werden.

> [A]dopting a translingual orientation does not entail the acceptance of a free-for-all where people can simply do and say whatever they want. Instead, it emphasizes *the negotiated nature* of all communicative interactions (Flores/Aneja 2017: 445, eigene Hervorhebung).

Darin liegt meines Erachtens der Mehrwert eines translingualen Ansatzes im TILLT-Unterricht, nämlich in der Bewusstmachung, dass Sprache, Kommunikation und Interaktion stets Aushandlungsprozessen unterliegen, in denen einzelne Akteur:innen über mehr oder weniger große Gestaltungsmacht verfügen. Flores und Aneja (2017) verbinden sprachlich-individuelles Handlungsvermögen mit der Entwicklung eines ganz persönlichen Ausdrucksvermögens:

> [A translingual orientation] shifts language learning away from treating language as an object that students must acquire by following correct rules of grammar, and toward treating language as a malleable tool that students can appropriate to develop unique rhetorical styles (Flores/ Aneja 2017: 445).

Sprache als „malleable tool" (ebd.) für kreativen Selbstausdruck zu bezeichnen, erinnert an Kramschs (2008: 322) Verweis auf die diskursive Handlungsmacht von Sprachenlernenden (siehe Abschnitt 2.1.). Womöglich kann durch den Einsatz translingualer Praktiken beim Übergang von TILLT-Kursen zu Translationskursen bei Studierenden „die Fixiertheit auf den Ausgangstext

überwunden, translatorische Kreativität gefördert und die Interferenzresistenz gestärkt werden" (Göpferich 2021: 110). In ihrer – posthum veröffentlichten – Diskussion translingualer Praktiken in der Translationsausbildung unterscheidet Göpferich (2021: 106) zwischen studentischen Endprodukten und Interimsprodukten. Für sprachliche Endprodukte fordert sie eine strikte Sprachenseparierung, für Interimsprodukte und den eigenen Erkenntnisgewinn allerdings sollten Sprachenmischung und Mischsprachen durchaus zulässig sein und sogar gefördert werden (ebd.). Dies deckt sich mit der Forderung von Cerezo Herrero et al. (2024: 131), wonach Studierende lernen müssen, zielsprachliche Texte ohne Spuren der Ausgangssprache zu produzieren.

Einige Autor:innen verfolgen jedoch einen Ansatz, der dieser Auffassung diametral entgegensteht (vgl. Ayash 2020; Sato 2022; Sato/ García 2023). Sie gehen davon aus, dass die Kreativität und das sprachliche Ausdrucksvermögen von Studierenden durch den Einsatz translingualer Praktiken stärker gefördert werden als durch deren Ausschluss. Ayash (2020: 3) definiert als erklärtes Ziel solcher Praktiken, „[to counter] the effects of the treatment of language standards and norms as unquestionable and unchangeable". Im Rahmen translingualer Schreibaktivitäten können sich Studierende als Sprachhandelnde erleben, die dominante Normvorstellungen von Sprache in Frage stellen.

> Based on new, expanded definitions of language as hybridized and always emergent, critical translation is closely connected to a translingual framework in composition studies whereby agentive practices of fashioning and refashioning dominant norms, values, and expectations are part and parcel of translingual writing (Ayash 2020: 4).

In konsequenter Weiterführung dieser Auffassung von Sprachnormen und transgressivem Sprachgebrauch treten Sato und García (2023) dafür ein, dass Zieltexte sehr wohl Spuren von Ausgangstext und Ausgangskultur enthalten sollten. Der dadurch möglicherweise erhöhte Aufwand von Text-Rezipient:innen beim Verstehensprozess solcher Zieltexte „can unveil more meanings" (Sato/ García 2023: 339). Solange Translator:innen auf kreative Weise dafür sorgen, „to make the translation intelligible for its readers" (Sato/ García 2023: 341), stellen ihre „translanguaging practices in translation" kein Verständnishindernis dar (ebd.). Zur Förderung eines derart gestalteten kritischen Zugangs zu Sprache und Translation kann bereits im – expliziten Translationsunterricht curricular vorgelagerten – TILLT-Unterricht einiges beigetragen werden. In ihrem viel zitierten Positionspapier zu Translingualismus stellen Horner et al. (2011) von Anfang an klar, welch großes Potenzial im Einbezug von Translation in die Schreibpraxis von Studierenden liegt.

> We encourage renewed focus by students of writing on the problematics of translation to better understand and participate in negotiations of difference

> in and through language, including those leading to the position that no translation is possible (Horner et al. 2011: 308).

In Fällen, in denen keine Translation möglich ist, wäre Studierenden geholfen, wenn sie bereits in TILLT-Kursen mit kreativen translingualen Praktiken wie Translanguaging vertraut gemacht würden. Für verstärkten Einsatz von Translanguaging in TILLT argumentieren auch Schmidhofer et al. (2022). Ausgehend von der Überzeugung, dass „translation and language educators can learn from each other" (Laviosa 2019: 197) schlägt Laviosa vor, „that the term ‚translanguaging' be introduced in translation studies and become an object of study in its own right" (ebd.). Auch wenn translinguale Praktiken häufig im Kontext von allgemeiner Sprachenlehre oder Schreibforschung diskutiert werden, erweisen sie sich dennoch als ausgesprochen gut geeignet für eine Diskussion und Anwendung im Bereich translationsorientierter Sprachlehre und translationsorientierter Sprachlehr-/-lernforschung.

4. Fazit

Dieser Beitrag versteht sich als Anregung, einem zentralen Anspruch hochschulischer Lehrpraxis nachzukommen, nämlich der Förderung des kritischen Denkens von Studierenden, besonders beim Übergang von der Schule zur Hochschule in den ersten, oft sehr prägenden Studiensemestern. Genau in diesem Zeitraum findet üblicherweise TILLT-Unterricht statt und bereitet Translationsstudierende auf weiterführende Lehrveranstaltungen in Übersetzen und/oder Dolmetschen vor. Translationsorientierte Sprachkurse erweisen sich dabei als bestens dafür geeignet, den sprichwörtlichen Boden zu bereiten, auf dem – bildlich gesprochen – Samen gesät und in weiterführenden Übersetzungs- oder Dolmetschkursen idealerweise geerntet oder zumindest damit weitergearbeitet werden kann. Für Studierende, „who have just advanced from secondary education and are introduced to new areas of knowledge, as well as competences and skills" (Pintado Gutiérrez 2022: 45) findet eine Enkulturation in TILLT statt. Dies kann allerdings nur dann von TILLT-Unterricht behauptet werden, wenn er sich tatsächlich von schulischem Sprachunterricht unterscheidet und dazu beiträgt, laienhafte Vorstellungen von Translation zu hinterfragen (ebd.).

Translationsorientierte Sprachlehre, die hochschuldidaktischen Ansprüchen folgt, strebt danach, bei Studienanfänger:innen kritisches Denken im Allgemeinen und im Besonderen kritische Sprachbewusstheit zu fördern. Der vorliegende Beitrag entwickelte seine Argumentationslinie daher entlang des Dreierschrittes von Sprachbewusstheit über kritische Sprachbewusstheit zu translingualen Praktiken. Konkrete Beispiele aus der Unterrichtspraxis von

TILLT verwiesen auf die Bedeutung von Emotionen beim kritischen Nachdenken über Sprache und Sprachgebrauch. Macht und Grenzüberschreitungen wurden schließlich im Kontext von sprachlichen und translationsethischen Normvorstellungen diskutiert. Bei aller akademisch geprägter Kritik an Vorschriften und Vorgegebenem sollte jedoch keine Verbissenheit dominieren. Wir sollten nicht vergessen, wie viel Freude und Lustvoll-Spielerisches damit verbunden sein kann, Grenzen zu überschreiten, sich sprachlich kreativ auszudrücken und in der Begegnung mit anderen Menschen eine empathische Kommunikationskultur zu praktizieren.

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