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INTERPRETING SOCIAL ROLES AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS: A CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON ADDRESS FORMS IN FILM TRANSLATION

This article explores the way address forms have been dealt with in cross-cultural communication and, more particularly, in film translation. Address forms and their meaning are highly culture-specific, as a look at the meaning contrast of even rather similar languages/cultures – English and German – confirms. This poses specific problems for the transfer of meaning in translation, and especially in audio-visual media where the source-culture context is rather transparent. A close analysis of selected film dialogues shows that the difficulties of address translation lie not only in the different pronominal patterns (“TV versus non-TV”) but also in the situative context particular nominal address forms would be used in English versus German. It is argued here that the transfer of Anglo-American address norms in popular culture products such as film have an effect on changing address patterns in German. This can be seen in a larger framework of a globalization of discourse norms.

Key Words: discourse norms, globalization, address patterns, pronouns, cultural translation.

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1. Film translation and the globalization of discourse norms

Watching films with a different cultural background is an activity which involves the translation and negotiation of linguistic and cultural norms between the audio-visual text and the viewer. This may become particularly evident when the viewer is not familiar with the meaning of certain communicative forms of the target culture. For a Western audience, the meaning of the smile in a Japanese drama, the use of gestures in the Nigerian soap opera, the communicative function of silence in a Chinese film may all be subject to mis-interpretation. As Döring (1995: 1) points out with regard to a similar cross-cultural activity – the reading of post-colonial literatures – “[...] our efforts, difficulties, or failures in making sense of such texts can be and must be understood as efforts, difficulties or failures in the translation of culture.” The complexity of this task should not be underestimated, nor should “culture” be mistaken as a stable entity where meanings are fixed and may be deciphered according to a set of keys which easily reveal the significance of the culturally other signs. Rather, a semiotic view of culture holds it as:

a textual construct, or more precisely, as a complex of interpenetrating texts, composed of seriously contested codes and representations [...] and always semantically loaded, because always inherently concerned with the transfer of meaning and the reconstruction of sense. (Döring 1995: 4)

The contextualization of these semiotic signs in the audio-visual medium film may be helpful in reflecting one's own culture-specific expectations as to their social meaning and, consequently, readjusting one's interpretation of their signification. To put it differently: watching films with a different cultural background can also be a lesson in the translation of culture.

Watching Hollywood movies and tv productions is an activity which has brought Anglo-American linguistic and cultural forms into the living rooms all over the world. In fact, the medium film is itself so much shaped by Hollywood narrative norms that its plot models and structures, its stock characters and rituals have had global influence on the production of film and tv formats. As a consequence, even in some of the remotest areas of this globe, American forms of greetings, dating rituals or conversation routines at service encounters are well known. In many countries, formulas like “hi, how are you?”, “can I help you?” and “are

you being served?" (cf. also Cameron 1997) have entered the respective languages in its translated form in public service situations and have thus replaced more local established modes of speech and behaviour in these contexts. In Germany, for instance, one may often hear an almost literal German translation of such formulas where, formerly, the customer may have been met with silence or a brisk *Ja?*.

Such globalization of public discourse norms has been referred to as "Englishization" in the recent work of Deborah Cameron (2000a: n.p.), "whereby the discourse norms of (a certain kind of) English may be exported even without exporting the English language itself". She claims that:

in many organizations, including commercial, educational and cultural ones, globalization has generated a "postmodern" rhetoric of openness to linguistic/cultural diversity. This, however, frequently coexists with a prescriptive commitment to a particular way of 'communicating' – that is, a discourse style – whose norms are presented by experts as universally applicable to the conduct of interpersonal exchanges (Cameron 2000a: n.p.).

The effects of such Englishization may be particularly felt in those aspects of communication where there is an actual or imagined interaction between local and global norms, e.g. in intercultural business communication and in the media. The world-wide appeal and export of Anglo-American popular media, and, in consequence, its translation to other languages and cultures has certainly done its share to contribute to this development.

In this paper I want to focus on one particular aspect of such a translation of cultural norms and its possible effects on the target culture: on the use of Anglo-American forms of address in films and their translation for a German audience. German film and tv translation makes a particularly good case in point, since customarily all foreign film and tv productions are dubbed in the target language – a fact which makes the translation process much less "visible" than would be the case with subtitles.¹ The difference between subtitling and dubbing and their effect in stressing or erasing the source culture is made clear by George Lang, when he writes

¹ For a more general analysis of film synchronization and the linguistic and cultural problems attached to it, cf., for instance, Herbst 1994, Whitman-Linsen 1992.

Subtitling is synecdochic; only a part of the dialogue is copied over to stand in place of the original, which any spectator possessing both target and source languages can attest. Cinematic dubbing is, conversely, metaphorical. The new version totally replaces the old, subsumes it, eliminating all trace of alterity present in the sounds of the alien source language, though there is always the insurmountable problem of those unsynchronized lips, which apparently do not bother the general publi. (Lang, 2000: 173-4).

Address forms are a highly culture-specific linguistic phenomenon and thus not easily transferrable from source language/culture to target language/culture. This is especially conspicuous in the translation of languages which have very dissimilar systems of honorification in language, for instance, English versus Japanese or Chinese (cf. Hung 1993). In comparison, the cultural and linguistic differences between English and German do not seem to feature as particularly large. However, as shall be seen in the course of this paper, such relative cultural vicinity may often be misleading.

The questions discussed in this contribution will deal with the following issues: What are the main differences in socio-pragmatic meaning attached to address forms in the two languages, English and German? How do translators of Anglo-American film and tv productions deal with these differences in their translation of address forms for a German audience? And, finally, to what extent has the continuous contact with American address forms also influenced German address forms and helped in the creation of new norms?

2. Social indexicality in address forms

Why should there be any difficulty in translating address forms? Generally speaking, terms of address are “the linguistic forms speakers use to refer to their collocutor(s)” (Braun 1998: 1) during the course of a verbal interaction. The syntactic and semantic inventory of referring to and addressing a person varies from language to language, and so is the social meaning that is created in the act of addressing by the speaker and the acceptance or rejection of this act by the addressee.

Any address system has both referential and pragmatic functions, i.e. the choice of address does not only designate the addressee but also “indexes” or points to particular aspects of the relationship or to the social

context in which this act of reference occurs. Thus, the same person may be addressed by a whole range of forms which include nouns, pronouns and verb inflections, such as shown in the following table on examples of address terms in English and German – it is by no means exhaustive, nor is it meant as a gender-specific comparison or a direct evaluation of the address potential in English and German.:

Examples of address forms in English and German		
Nominal address: e.g. names, titles, occupational roles, kinship terms, terms of endearment or abuse, abbreviations of names, «nicknames», etc.	Elizabeth Jones Mrs. Jones Ms Jones Liz Lizzy Sweetheart Dr. Jones Ma'am Miss Jones Mom	<i>Herr Weber</i> <i>Thomas</i> <i>Tom</i> <i>Papa</i> (dad) <i>Ober</i> (waiter) <i>Weber</i> <i>Liebling</i> (darling) <i>Idiot</i> <i>Onkel</i> (uncle) <i>Thomas</i> <i>Junger Mann</i> (young man) <i>Kumpel</i> (mate)
Pronouns:	You Your	<i>Du</i> (2sg, informal sg) <i>Dein</i> (poss2sg) <i>Dir</i> (dat2sg) <i>Dich</i> (acc2sg) <i>Sie</i> (3pl, polite sg) <i>Ihr</i> (poss3pl) <i>Ihnen</i> (dat3pl) <i>Sie</i> (acc3pl)
Verb forms:	Come	<i>Komm</i> (imperative sg) <i>Kommst</i> (2sg.) [& pron.] <i>Kommen</i> (3pl & polite sg) [& pron.]

It is clear, however, that the choice between “Dr. Jones”, “Elizabeth” or “sweetheart” or between *Herr Weber*, *Ober* (waiter) and *Idiot* (idiot) reveals more than some fixed identity of the respective persons addressed.

While the referent remains the same in each case, the specific choice of address gives evidence about speakers' relations, the formality or informality of the setting, the degree of intimacy or deference between speakers, attitude of the speaker towards the addressee.

This capacity to index or point to these characteristics is what Michael Silverstein (1992) has described as different orders of social indexicality. In a more general outline of honorification in language, the multiple dimensions of indexicality involve at the first order "a strong ideological component expressed in a metapragmatics of appropriateness to addressee-focused context (presupposition)" (1992: 317). But not only the person addressed and the environment in which this act occurs plays a role. At the second order, so Silverstein, indexicality also focuses on the speaker him- or herself, a dimension which was largely neglected in early research on address forms.

The four main socio-pragmatic functions of address (Braun 1998: 10-11) may be summarized as follows:

- to define a relationship both in a given state and in its further development (*definition of relationship*);
- to evoke some kind of desired behaviour on the part of the addressee (*addressee manipulation*);
- to signal speakers' attitudes and feelings (*expressive function*), and,
- to position the speaker, e.g. to signal his or her political convictions (*self-presentation*).

Ever since Brown and Gilman's (1960) classic study on the pronominal address systems of various European languages, the focus of scholarly interest in address forms and behavior has shifted from a more "semantic approach" to a "socio-pragmatic approach".

While the former sees address choice as a reflection of static orders of relationships – power and solidarity –, the latter also emphasizes strategic uses of address forms in the specific situation and context to particular effects.

While power and solidarity may still be seen as guiding principles for address choice, they may also be negotiated anew in different situations, they may be influenced by ideological factors, they may be subverted for ironic effects, and they may be emphasized or neglected to achieve certain goals much in the sense of what has become known as face work and strategies of politeness in Brown and Levinson (1987) – a milestone for address research which had immense influence on subsequent scholarly work in the field.

Ultimately, the socio-pragmatic meaning of a term of address may also change, i.e. a particular form may experience a shift in its indexing quality.

In both the inventory of forms and in their pragmatic function, terms of address are highly culture specific. As earlier research has shown (cf. Braun 1988), there are ultimately few, if any universals in address. Rather, contemporary patterns of address and the longer-term historical evolution of such patterns form a complex system, which cannot be seen independently from a larger meta-pragmatic framework in the individual language which also includes strategies of politeness.

Therefore, one might conclude, it does not really make sense to contrast such systems *per se* – one language does it this way, the other language does it that way, – so what? The significance of such a comparison, however, lies at those points where the two linguistic systems interact with one another, for instance, in intercultural communication, in second language acquisition, and, finally, in translation as a particular form of intercultural communication.

2.1. T/V versus non T/V systems: The evolution of pronominal distinction

In many European languages pronominal address differentiation plays a considerable role in the reflection and definition of the relationship between interlocutors. English and German developed a so-called T/V distinction, i.e. the use of the second person plural for deferential address for a singular person under the influence of courtly French in the medieval period. In English this happened considerably later than in German because from the 11th century onwards, a French/English diglossia marked the language situation for most of the ME period. In both languages, *du* or *thou* respectively, remained the unmarked form, whereas *Ihr* or *you* became the polite form of address, both in their reciprocal and non-reciprocal distribution between speaker and addressee.

They were thus influenced by a development which started with the Latin distinction of *tu* and *vos* to address first the emperor, then other persons of power. The plural form of address may be seen in line with a general metaphor in which sociopolitical power is equated with size, which is, in turn, equated with plurality. This plurality is metonymic, i.e. a whole stands for a part. Thus, the collective group construed through plural stands for the individual with whom the speaker is interacting.

At the beginning of the Early Modern Period, a time where the existing social order underwent many changes, the T/V-distinction shifted in both languages, albeit in different directions. Both *you* and *Ihr* had spread down the social scale, so that even commoners and peasants addressed each other with the polite plural.

While this leads to a gradual disappearance of the 2nd person singular *thou* in English, the “worn out” honorific *Ihr* is replaced by new forms which for some time exist side by side. Thus, *Ihr* gives way to abstractions, most notably with the 3rd person singular *er/sie* address. Abstract address forms evoke social and spatial distance, almost an “absentness” of the interlocutor. Plurality and distance are combined to a 3rd person plural *Sie*, as the singular form of *er/sie* loses its function as a deferential form towards the end of the 17th century. The unusually frequent shifts of what is essentially a syntactic pattern (even though the motivation for the shift is a social one) must have been rather confusing for contemporary users.

This brief comparison of the evolution of pronominal patterns of address in English and German is meant to illustrate two more general points which will also become important when we look at the effects of address translation: firstly, that social norms in address forms, such as the T/V distinction, may spread from a culturally dominant language to other languages (here: the influence of French) and secondly, that social changes may lead to insecurity about the social indexicality of an address form. In the case of English changes of pronominal address, this reads: «to be on the safe side, use the more polite form», in the case of German, it initiated a different development: “to be on the safe side, find a new polite form for the social interaction with social superiors”.

2.2. Contemporary patterns of address in English and German: Selected issues

The fact that English does not have a pronominal distinction in address whilst German does, increases the differences in indexing formality of setting, speaker-addressee relationship, position of addressee, as well as intention of speaker – which is not to claim that this may simply be transferred between two T/V languages like French and German.² A basic

² In Brown & Gilman’s (1960) early comparisons of the solidarity semantic across different languages, for instance, they found that the German T was used mainly for family

contrasting of English and German as two linguistic systems which also necessarily neglects variation and, indeed, much could be pointed out about differences in various national (British/American/ Australian or German/GDR/Austrian) and numerous regional varieties³ of English or German. Even though some of these differences may also be important for film translation (e.g. American versus British English), this paper, however, will concentrate on just a few points of comparison with regard to the most dominant variety in popular media as the source language, standard American English, and German *Hochdeutsch* usage as the target language.

There are quite a number of interesting issues which one might want to look at from a contrastive perspective, such as the vocative form (addressing an unknown person, e.g. "Sir", or "Ma'am") – which is almost obsolete in contemporary German.⁴ Certainly one of the most relevant issues, however, is the various indexes of intimacy or distance in the two languages and the transition procedures that accompany them.

2.2.1 Indexing intimacy versus social distance

The capacity of a pronominal shift in indexing a shift either in setting or in a social relationship, from a more distant one to closer intimacy, has already been pointed out above. In German, the pronominal shift from *Sie* to *Du* is usually accompanied by a nominal one, from Title + Last Name – "TLN" (e.g. *Frau Schumann*) to First Name – "FN" (*Stefanie*).

relations, whereas French *T* expresses a «shared fate» or cameraderie. This estimation is certainly outdated today – at least the German *T* has undergone quite a number of changes of usage – but it shows that there is no easy one-to-one transfer of pronominal form with socio-pragmatic function.

³ Of course, some varieties of English like US Southern speech as well as Caribbean English lexicon Creoles have a 2nd person plural distinction – in the American English of the South this is the famous 'y'all' – and it is indeed subject of a long-standing debate whether or not the plural may also be used in polite singular address.

⁴ Nobody, with the possible exception of an Austrian waiter, uses the old form *gnädiger Herr* or *gnädige Dame* ('gracious gentleman', 'gracious lady') anymore. Instead, a greeting or a contact word often replaces such a vocative address. Other solutions, the use of *junger Mann* ('young man'), *junge Frau* ('young woman') for persons of all age are regionally based.

Address Transition in German:

TLN = Title + Last Name

FN = First Name

Option 1: formal to informal

<i>Sie</i>	⇒	<i>Du</i>
TLN	⇒	FN
<i>Frau Schumann</i>		<i>Stefanie – Du</i>

This pattern allows certain social and regional variation, as can be seen in some special cases outlined below.⁵

Social variant: “department store TLN + Du”

<i>Du</i>	<i>Du</i>
TLN	↔
<i>Frau Mayer – Du</i>	<i>Elfie – Du</i>

Regional variant: “Southern German ‘ihr’ (2pl) address”

<i>Ihr (2pl)</i>	<i>Du</i>
–	FN
<i>Avoidance of N – Ihr</i>	<i>Michael – Du</i>

An alternative to option 1 which is becoming more and more popular is the collocation of FN + *Sie* as a compromise between formality and informality in particular environments. This is also the option which will become most important in the discussion of address forms in film translation.

⁵ TLN + *Du* address is restricted to certain work environments (like department stores); the 2pl *ihr* address which can be found in the South of Germany is different from the historical *Ihr* address in that the contemporary version remains a plural really and is employed for singular address in a rather vague mode of indirectness.

Option 2: semi-formal to informal (increasing)

<i>Sie</i>	➡	<i>Du</i>
<i>FN</i>	➡	<i>FN</i>
<i>Beate – Sie</i>		<i>Beate – Du</i>

With the possible exemption of the “department store” variant,⁶ the above transitions of address forms are uni-directional, i.e. they are not reversible. Once the more intimate set of codes for address is established, it would be rather offensive to move back to the more formal and distant one.

In adult communication in many parts of the United States, the role of nominal address in indexing intimacy versus social distance or formality versus informality of setting seems greatly diminished (cf. Murray 2002a). With the exception of professional titles such as “Dr.”, “Prof.”, “Miss” (e.g. as teacher address) or “Detective Sergeant”,⁷ etc., TLN is hardly ever heard. This does not only apply to private social acquaintances but is also quite common at the workplace, in business relations and in public intercourse. In the service sector, employee and customer are often on first name basis throughout, both in address and in self-reference (Murray 2002: 51). A small-scale structured field observation, for example, done at various *Starbucks* coffeeshops in Los Angeles⁸ showed that when customers were asked for their names to write the orders down, 98% presented themselves with their first name.

Even though there certainly are exceptions of this rule, for instance in telemarketing where “Sir”, “Ma’am” or, if known, TLN are used to approach the prospective customer, the norm of first names in business has become so dominant that the *Wall Street Journal* recently had a first page article on the fact that the drugstore chain *Walgreen Co.* sticks with a “tra-

⁶ The shift between TLN + *Du* and FN + *Du* may be more of an indicator of public versus private persona in a customer-related environment rather than a shift between intimacy versus social distance

⁷ In fact, professional titles seem to play a much larger role in American address than they do in German. Surprisingly, non-reciprocity, for instance in doctor-patient relations (‘Dr. Johnson’ versus ‘Deborah’) is a rather common phenomenon which has been discussed extensively in medical journals (e.g. Chinn 1997)

⁸ The structured field observation was conducted at *Starbucks* in Santa Monica, Burbank and Westwood in 2001 with 50 customers each. Out of these 150 customers of various age groups, only 3 gave TLN (two Japanese tourists in Santa Monica and one elderly woman in Burbank).

ditional greeting policy" (which also seems to include the possibility of asymmetrical address):

The drugstore chain may employ cutting-edge technology, but its personal greetings policy retains the formality of earlier times. At headquarters in Deerfield, Ill. vice president and above and plenty of people below are addressed by all as Mr., Mrs. or Ms. (Miller, *Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2000: 1)

Thus, while in principle, the options of address in American English, as outlined by Brown and Ford (1964), may still involve a transition from TLN to FN to abbreviations of the name, last name only, or a combination of these (MN), in actual practice, option 2 and 3 have become much more common today.

Address Transition in American English

TLN = Title + Last Name

FN = First Name

MN = Multiple Names (combination of abbreviation, last name only, etc.)

Option 1:

TLN \Rightarrow	FN \Rightarrow	MN
<i>Mr. Henderson</i>	<i>Ashley</i>	<i>Ash, Henderson</i>

Option 2:

FN \Rightarrow	MN
<i>Robert</i>	<i>Rob, Bob, Robbie</i>

Option 3: (no transition)

MN
<i>Debbie</i>

Instead of using address distinction for signalling intimacy/distance or authority, such relations and positions are negotiated much more in the conversations themselves, e.g. by the right to speak, interrupt or end a conversation, by the range of topics covered, etc. This is, of course, also done in other languages like German. However, in contrast to contemporary American (and British) English usage, both pronominal and nominal forms of address in German are highly relevant in determining the formality of the setting or the relationship between speakers. Reciprocal TLN + *Sie* is much more common in German public discourse, even among long-standing colleagues, at your doctor's or your local shop, while in private social situations, First Name + *Du* may be introduced right away.

2.2.2 Transition Points

Such basic classifications notwithstanding, address choice in German is more complex than can be captured in a straightforward domain analysis or explained by a simple dichotomy of public and private situations. In a preliminary survey conducted with more than 60 students at the University of Frankfurt in Germany, the vast majority of respondents reported instances of insecurity about appropriate first address. Among the factors deciding whether to use *Du*-FN or *Sie*-TLN in a first encounter with another adult person, age, obviously, played an important role. Other influencing factors, which at times became more decisive than age, were cited as attitude towards speaker, the way the speaker was introduced to the addressee (either by speaker or by a third party), even dress codes and other cultural characteristics.

While for speakers of American English, first address choice may be a problem at times, the greatest difficulty seems to recognize the transition points, especially in relationships that start out on a non-reciprocal basis such as adolescents with parents of friends, university teachers and students, etc. While the transition can be made explicit («call me Bob»), this is much less common than in German where it used to be common to even have a little ceremonial ritual (*Briüderschaft trinken*) to accompany the shift.⁹

⁹ This may seem a little outdated nowadays but, as the results of my Frankfurt survey suggests it is still done, for instance in cases like «parents of boyfriend offer the reciprocal *Du* to girlfriend».

3. Translation of English-German address in film

Address forms have been labeled “untranslatable” (Lyons 1980, Anderman 1993) in the few small scale studies on address translation in literature. And true: Because of the indexical nature of address forms, it is extremely difficult to transfer the socio-pragmatic meaning that is expressed with it from target to source language. In cases like English and German, where a T/V language interacts with a non T/V language, one of the problems the translator is faced with is finding the a “contextualization cue”¹⁰, a point where the transition from *Sie* to *Du* is most convincing in the target language.

This is eminently more problematic in film than in literature, where a translator might have the freedom to insert an explicit transition where it is not there in the source language. Examples of this can be found, for instance, in the later translations (Swedish-German) of Henning Mankell’s mystery novels. Since in the source language Swedish, polite pronominal address exists, but has become almost obsolete in the last few decades, the pronominal use had to be adapted to suit the formality or informality in German situations.¹¹ To make the transition more plausible, the translator simply added sentences to the character speech like *Können wir uns nicht duzen?* (“Can we say *Du* to each other?”). For obvious reasons, such strategies cannot be used in film translation. Here, the translator is not only more closely tied to the structure of the original dialogues (including sentence length), but also faced with audio-visual clues (tone of voice, visual characterization of protagonists, etc.) which may makes film situations much more specific and fixed than they would be on the page.

In English-German film translation, nominal address forms are almost always transferred directly from target to source language, i.e. FN remains FN, professional titles like “detective sergeant” are used in their English

¹⁰ The term is associated with John Gumperz’s work on interactional sociolinguistics (cf. Gumperz 1982)

¹¹ In fact, the translations of his early books experimented with transferring the Swedish norms into German and used FN + Du throughout, but this translation strategy did not win acceptance with the German readership. In the German translation of *De femte kvinnan* (German: *Die fünfte Frau*) the translator Wolfgang Butt explains his strategy in a foreword: “Der mit den schwedischen Verhältnissen vertraute Leser wird in der vorliegenden Übersetzung das in Schweden durchgängig gebrauchte Du als Anredeform vermissen. Es wurde, soweit es sich nicht um ein kollegiales oder freundschaftliches Du handelt, durch das den deutschen Gepflogenheiten entsprechende Sie ersetzt, auch wenn damit ein Stück schwedischer Authentizität des Textes verlorengeht.“

form (not *Kriminalkommissar*), “Sir” or “Ma’am” do not become *mein Herr*, or *meine Dame*, “Mr. Smith” remains Mr. Smith and does not turn into *Herr Schmidt*. Because of the different social meanings of First Name address in English and German, we thus often have First Names used in situations where, in German, one would expect TLN address. As a compromise between formality and informality, FN address is then coupled with the formal pronoun *Sie* – a combination which is now rather overwhelmingly heard in translated Anglo-American media imports.

3.1. When does Sie turn to Du: Contextualization cues and address shift

But the problem of pronoun shift remains. While the semi-formal FN-*Sie* may be appropriate (while not always convincing) for more distant relations, intimate relationships require the informal pronoun *Du*. Ever so often in translations of Hollywood movies, a transition from this semi-formal FN-*Sie* to a more intimate *Du*-address is not accomplished before the first kiss of the characters or the first night spent together – a rather unlikely transition point in a real German situation. On the other hand, First Name address abounds in situations where they would not be found in the German counterpart. Of course, a translation is not meant to reproduce the authentic situation in the target language but also exposes the reader or the audience to the linguistic and cultural norms of the source language. Therefore, my interest is not in a judgement of whether the translator is «right» or «wrong» in his or her translation of address forms from English to German but, rather, on the larger effect this has on the creation of new norms of address in German, especially this FN + *Sie* combination which is becoming more and more popular in public discourse.

In film, as in real life, address forms may shift when there is a change in relationship. Therefore, the following examples for address shifts and their translation are taken from films where the protagonists move from social distance to intimacy, as is often found in romantic comedy.

3.2. Groundhog Day (1993)¹² – Und täglich grüßt das Murmeltier

The 1993 movie *Groundhog Day* is a good case in point here. In this romantic comedy, weather man and misanthropist Phil Connor is doomed to relive a particular day over and over again until he finally becomes a

¹² Screenplay by Dany Rubin and Harold Ramis.

better human being and wins the heart of good-natured Rita. Phil's relationship with his producer Rita starts out as an involuntary professional relationship when they go on a tour together to do a feature of a small-town festival on the occasion of the 2nd of February, of "groundhog day". The film is particularly interesting for our topic because of the recurring variation of the same day, each with different results for the relationship between Rita and Phil. There are three switches from *Sie* to *Du* in *Groundhog Day*, each on a different "day". The first shift occurs when Phil invites Rita to come to his place after an evening spent together:

Groundhog Day, Example 1 (min. 50)		
English Original ¹³	German Translation	Address in T.
Scene: Inside. In Phil's hotel room		
Rita: Just lovely.	Rita: Es ist wirklich zauberhaft hier. <i>They wander around the room.</i>	
Phil: Would you like to sit down and stare at the fake fire?	Phil: Wollen <u>Sie</u> sich setzen und ins echte ¹⁴ [sic] Kaminfeuer sehen?	3pl verb infl., "polite sg" = 3pl pronoun <i>Sie</i>
Rita: Ok. It's really a wonderful room.	Rita: Ok. Das ist wirklich ein wunderbares Zimmer.	
Phil: It is now. <i>He kisses her.</i>	Phil: Erst jetzt. <i>He kisses her.</i>	
TRANSITION		
Rita: You know, I don't think we should do this.	Rita: Ich weiss nicht, Phil. Ich finde nicht, dass wir das tun sollten.	
Phil: I don't either. <i>Kisses her again.</i>	Phil: Finde ich auch nicht. <i>Kisses her again.</i>	
Phil: No, on second thought, I think we should.	Phil: Weisst <u>Du</u> , wenn ich darüber nachdenke, sollten wir doch.	2sg. verb infl., "informal sg" = 2sg. pronoun <i>Du</i>
Rita: Hmm, hmm.	Rita: Hmm, hmm.	

¹³ All examples, both in the original and in the translation, have been transcribed from the video version.

¹⁴ The translation of 'fake' with *echt* (= 'real') could either be a mistranslation or it could be understood ironically.

In this scene, we can see that the switch from *Sie* to *Du* does not take place before the actual kiss is performed, even though the degree of intimacy had already increased during the “day spent together” – as pointed out above, an almost stereotypical film translation choice.

The second shift of pronoun is less obvious, because it does not occur *within* a scene but *between* two scenes, with an imagined time lapse and a change of setting from public to very private. Phil confides in Rita and tells her about his fate, of having to relive the same day time after time. She is incredulous but decides to test him. The switch in pronominal address here takes place with the change from public setting (walk in the streets) to intimate setting (sitting on Phil’s bed and playfully throwing cards into a hat). The use of the *Du* in scene B is justified by the intimacy of the setting and by the time lapse: the viewer might imagine that a transition from *Sie* to *Du* has occurred in between the two scenes:

Groundhog Day, Example 2 (min. 67)		
English Original	German Translation	Address in T.
Scene A: Street. Rita and Phil are taking a walk		
Rita: Maybe it really is happening. I mean, how else could you know so much.	Rita: Vielleicht ist es ja so, wie <u>Sie sagen</u> . Ich mein, wie könnten <u>Sie</u> sonst soviel wissen.	3pl pron., 3pl verb infl., 3pl verb infl., 3pl pronoun
Phil: There is no other way. I’m not that smart.	Phil: Es ist die einzige Möglichkeit. So intelligent bin ich nicht.	
Rita: Maybe I should spend the rest of the day with you. As an objective witness, just to see what happens.	Rita: Ich bleib vielleicht ein paar Stunden mit <u>Ihnen</u> zusammen. Als neutrale Beobachterin, nur um zu sehen, was passiert.	3pl dat. pron.
Phil: Jee, this sounds like a science project.	Phil: Ah, das klingt, als wär’s ein Schulprojekt.	
<i>Rita laughs.</i>	<i>Rita laughs.</i>	
TRANSITION	TRANSITION	

Scene B: Bedroom. Rita and Phil are sitting on the bed, fully dressed		
Phil: Concentrate. You gotta want it, you gotta want it, Rita. C'mon, it's more in the wrist than the fingers, you've gotta pff...	Phil: Konzentrier Dich. <u>Du</u> musst es wollen, <u>Du</u> musst es wollen Rita. Na <u> komm</u> schon. Es ist mehr aus dem Handgelenk heraus als aus den Fingern, man muss pff...	2sg. imp. verb infl., 2sg. refl. pron., 2sg. pronoun (2 x), 2sg. imp. verb infl.
<i>Phil makes a sound that accompanies the movement of his hand. Rita repeats the sound and giggles.</i>	<i>Phil makes a sound that accompanies the movement of his hand. Rita repeats the sound and giggles.</i>	
Phil: Be the hat, c'mon, go, be the hat.	Phil: <u>Du</u> musst der Hut sein, <u>komm</u> los, <u>Du</u> <u>bist</u> der Hut.	2sg. pron., 2sg. verb infl., 2sg. imp. verb infl., 2sg. pron., 2sg. verb infl.
Rita: It would take me a year to be good at it.	Rita: <u>Hör</u> auf, das dauert Jahre, bis ich das kann.	2sg. imp. verb infl.
Phil: No. Six month. 4 to 5 hours a day and you'd be an expert.	Phil: Nein. 6 Monate. 4 bis 5 Monate pro Tag und <u>Du</u> <u>bist</u> spitze.	2sg pron., 2sg verb infl.
Rita: Is that what you do with eternity?	Rita: Und das stellst <u>Du</u> mit der Ewigkeit an?	2sg verb infl., 2sg pron.
Phil: Now you know.	Phil: Jetzt weisst <u>Du</u> 's.	2sg pron.

In the final romantic showdown, the last (and lasting) switch from *Sie* to *Du* takes place just before the kiss, when Phil finally declares his love to Rita: outside, in the winter landscape, Phil is carving an ice-sculpture of Rita's face:

Groundhog Day, Example 3 (min. 90)		
English Original	German Translation	Address in T.
Scene: Outside. Phil is carving an ice-sculpture of Rita's face		
Phil: I just wanna give you your money's worth. You paid a top dollar for me.	Phil: Ich möchte <u>Ihnen</u> nur etwas für <u>Ihr</u> Geld bitten. <u>Sie haben</u> einen Spitzenpreis für mich bezahlt.	3pl dat. pron., 3pl poss. pron., 3pl pron.

Rita: I think you're a bargain.	Rita: Naja, ich finde, <u>Sie</u> waren ein Schnäppchen.	3pl. pron., 3pl verb infl.
Phil: Sweet of you to say. You're probably right.	Phil: Süß, dass <u>Sie</u> das sagen. <u>Sie</u> haben vermutlich recht.	3pl. pron., 3pl. verb infl., 3pl pron., 3pl. verb infl.
<i>Rita laughs.</i>	<i>Rita laughs.</i>	
Rita: Is it finished yet?	Rita: <u>Sind</u> <u>Sie</u> endlich fertig?	3pl verb infl., 3pl. pron.
Phil: Almost. I still have to put some cherry syrup on the top, and then we can eat it.	Phil: Ja, fast. Muß nur noch etwas Kirschsirup drauf schütten und dann können wir's essen.	
Rita: C'mon, Phil, I'm freezing.	Rita: <u>Kommen</u> <u>Sie</u> , Phil, ich erfriere.	3pl imp.verb infl., 3pl pronoun
Phil: One second, one second. Let me turn it to the light.	Phil: Sekunde, ok - erstmal ins Licht drehen	
Rita: Amazing (0.2). It's beautiful. How did you do that?	Rita: Das ist unglaublich (0.2), wundervoll. Wie haben <u>Sie</u> das nur gemacht?	3pl verb infl., 3 pl. pronoun
Phil: I know your face so well, I could have done it with my eyes closed.	Phil: Ich kenne <u>Ihr</u> Gesicht so gut - ich hätt's mit geschlossenen Augen machen können.	3pl poss. pron.
Rita: It's lovely. I don't know what to say.	Rita: Es ist zauberhaft, ich weiss nicht, was ich sagen soll.	
TRANSITION		
Phil: I do. No matter what happens tomorrow, or for the rest of my life: I'm happy now and I love you.	Phil: Ich aber: Egal, was morgen passieren wird, oder den Rest meines Lebens: In diesem Moment bin ich glücklich - weil ich <u>Dich</u> liebe.	2sg acc. pron.
Rita: I think I'm happy, too.	Rita: Ich glaube, ich bin auch glücklich.	
<i>Long kiss. Fade out.</i>	<i>Long kiss. Fade out</i>	

3.3. Meet the Parents (2000)¹⁵ - Meine Braut, ihr Vater und ich

If “Groundhog Day” is a good illustration of how necessary yet difficult a pronominal address shift in film translation can be, the next example may give a lesson in how, in the source language American English, intimacy versus distance is negotiated rather independently from terms of address. The basic story of the screwball comedy “Meet the Parents” (2000) is the first encounter of male nurse Greg Focker with the conservative middle class parents of his girlfriend Pam Byrnes. The weekend spent together results in a series of disasters which eventually leads to a fall-out between Greg and Pam’s dominant father and, in the final turn towards the happy end, to the father proposing marriage to his prospective son-in-law.

In real life, a first encounter between parents and boyfriend of daughter may result in a shift from initial distance to gradual intimacy, which, in German, might require an offer from the parents’ side to use reciprocal *Du* instead of an initial TLN. Greg and Pam’s parents, Jack and Dina Byrnes, use reciprocal FN address from the beginning. A hint of such an initial distance might be given by the father’s self-reference of FN + LN, though. In the translation, this results in the already familiar FN + *Sie* address:

Meet the Parents, Example 1 (min. 7-8)		
English Original	German Translation	Address in T.
Scene: Outside. In front of the parents’ house. Pam is greeted with hugs (mother) and exaggerated in-group rituals (father). Greg watches this from a distance. Eventually, he is called forward.		
Pam: Mom, Dad, this is Greg.	Pam: <u>Mom</u> , <u>Dad</u> , das ist <u>Greg</u> . ¹⁶	T, T, FN
Jack: I’m Pam’s father, Jack Byrnes.	Jack: Ich bin Pam’s Vater, <u>Jack</u> <u>Byrnes</u> .	FN + LN
Greg: It’s great to finally meet you.	Greg: Es freut mich, <u>Sie</u> endlich einmal kennenzulernen.	3pl acc. pron.

¹⁵ Screenplay by Jim Herzfeld, written by John Hamburg, from the (short film) screenplay and story by Greg Gliemma and Mary Ruth Clarke.

¹⁶ ‘Greg’ as a person reference from a third party, as well as the subsequent ‘Jack’ and ‘Dina’ as self-references are not address forms in a strict sense. However, in such a first encounter, they serve as an indicator of how the persons involved want to be or should be addressed.

<i>They shake hands.</i> Dina: And I'm Dina, welcome to Oyster Bay. Greg: Thanks. <i>Greg attempts to embrace her, she is reluctant, the embrace is awkward.</i> <i>Silence.</i> Jack: What are you driving there, a Ford?	<i>They shake hands.</i> Dina: Ich bin <u>Dina</u> , willkommen in Oyster Bay. Greg: Danke. <i>Greg attempts to embrace her, she is reluctant, the embrace is awkward.</i> <i>Silence.</i> Jack: Was fahren <u>Sie</u> da, einen Ford?	FN 3pl pron.
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In this initial greeting scene, the distance is made clear by a number of signals which are not necessarily connected to address, such as the unsuccessful embrace between Greg and Dina, the awkward silence, or the father's choice of the "safe topic" car.

Do we have here just another example of how, in the American English of the original, address form are obsolete as a means of signalling the emotional status of relationship? In "Meet the Parents", FN is used most of the time by all major characters in "private situations".¹⁷ Occasionally, however, other terms are used, such as Last Name (which can also be a rather intimate form in American address, especially among males) or 'Sir' (which, when used in alternation with FN, confirms the non-committal nature of FN-address in English). The differences between nominal address forms may be more subtle than shifts between pronominal forms, but they are still there. Thus, what might seem as reciprocal address is rather asymmetrical when we look at the range of forms the protagonists employ to address each other: While First Name remains the unmarked form for both Jack and Greg, Jack uses LN, Greg uses "Sir" at times.

Dad → Greg, Focker

Greg → Jack, Sir

There are no cases where Greg uses LN with Jack or Jack uses Sir with Greg. Of course, the use of Greg's LN has an additional purpose: very obviously, it is meant to evoke humour because, when spoken, it sounds like "Fucker", a crude term of abuse. Nevertheless, this choice of address

¹⁷ TLN or 'Sir' is used in "public and official situations", such as, for instance, between Greg and members of airport staff.

would not work if the use of LN would not generally be a plausible option in the type of relationship described.

The fact that nominal forms can be alternated back and forth – something that would not be possible with the (generally unreversible) pronoun shift that is used in German – makes the use of different terms particularly suitable for expressing the attitudes and emotions of the speaker (*expressive function*) and or for evoking some desired behaviour from the addressee (*addressee manipulation*, cf. also section 2).

The first time Jack uses LN (Focker) for Greg is in a conflict situation, but even here it is alternated with FN address.:

Meet the Parents, Example 2 (min. 19)		
English Original	German Translation	Address
Scene: In Jack's car. This is the first time that Jack and Greg are alone with each other. By way of making conversation, Greg clumsily stumbles over a misleading interpretation of the Peter, Paul & Mary song "Puff, the magic dragon"		
Jack: Are you a pothead, Focker?	Jack: <u>Sind Sie</u> ein Kiffer, <u>Focker</u> ?	3pl verb infl., 3pl pronoun, LN
Greg: No, nononono. I pass on grass, Jack. All the time. I mean...	Greg: Nein, neineinein. Ich hab kein' Spass an Grass, <u>Jack</u> .	FN
Jack: Yes or no, Greg?	Jack: Ja oder nein, <u>Greg</u> ?	FN

Again, the socio-expressive meaning of LN depends greatly on the context it is used in, the purpose it is used for, and whether it is used (or can be used) reciprocally. As a term of address between two old school pals, for instance, LN may be a special way of signifying closeness. Between Jack and Greg, however, its employment certainly increases the asymmetry in their relationship. The questioning schoolmasterly or almost military tone it is used in is also present in other situations where Jack uses LN:

Meet the Parents, Example 3 (min. 47)		
English Original	German Translation	Address
Scene: Jack corners Greg in a dressing room. Because of a misunderstanding, Jack thinks that Greg has been smoking marijuana.		
Greg: Jack, I don't know what you're talking about.	Greg: Ich hab keine Ahnung, wovon <u>Sie</u> reden.	3pl pron.

Jack: Now look, Focker. I'm a patient man. This is what 19 months of Vietnamese prison camp will do to you. But I'll be watching you, studying your every move. And if I find that you're trying to corrupt my first-born child, I will bring you down, Baby, I will bring you down to Chinatown.	Jack: Jetzt hören <u>Sie</u> zu, <u>Focker</u> . Ich bin ein geduldiger Mann, das lernt man in 19 Monaten vietnamesischer Gefangen-schaft. Aber ich behalte <u>Sie</u> im Auge und beobachte alles, was <u>Sie</u> vorhaben. Und wenn ich feststelle, dass <u>Sie</u> versuchen, meiner Erstgeborenen etwas anzutun, dann mache ich <u>Sie</u> fertig, <u>Baby</u> , dann mache ich <u>Sie</u> zum Clown von Chinatown.	3pl pron., LN 3pl acc. pron. 3pl pron. 3pl pron. 3pl acc. pron. gen. title, 3pl acc. pron.
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But it is not only the use of LN which confirms Greg's position as an outsider in the wider circle of family members and friends. Rather, it is the way this form of address stands out in comparison to terms used among other members. Greg notices with some irritation that his girlfriend Pam and her ex-fiancé Kevin use old in-group terms with each other ("Ice-man" and "Maverick") which recall their intimate relationship of bygone days. Kevin is also allowed to call Jack jocularly "Mr. B", who in turn calls him 'big old boy'. In the greeting scene between Kevin and Pam's sister's future husband and in-laws, a point is made to use their professional titles together with their First Name, a combination which had also been used to refer to them earlier¹⁸:

Meet the Parents, Example 4 (min. 40)		
English Original	German Translation	Address
Scene: At the breakfast table. The family is sitting there fully dressed, when Greg walks in in his pyjamas. He is introduced to Pam's sister, her fiancé Bob and his parents Linda and Larry Banks.		
Pam: Let me introduce you, Greg, this is my sister Debbie.	Pam: Darf ich vorstellen, <u>Greg</u> , ¹⁹ das ist meine Schwester <u>Debbie</u> .	FN FN
Deb.: Hi, nice to meet you.	Deb.: Hi, schön, <u>Sie</u> kennenzulernen.	3pl acc. pron.

¹⁸ For the development and use of this combination (Title + FN), cf. also Murray 2002a: 45 and 2002b.

¹⁹ The same restriction apply as in example 1.

Greg: The bride-to-be. Congratulations.	Greg: Die glückliche Braut, herzlichen Glückwunsch.	
Pam: And this is her fiancé, Dr. Bob.	Pam: Und das ist ihr Verlobter, <u>Dr. Bob</u> .	Title + FN
Bob: Call me Bob – <u>MD</u> .	Bob: Nennen <u>Sie</u> mich <u>Bob</u> – <u>Medizinmann</u> . ²⁰	3pl pron., FN, gen. title
<i>Laughter.</i>	<i>Laughter.</i>	
Pam: Meet his parents, Linda Banks...	Pam: Und das sind seine Eltern, <u>Linda Banks</u> ...	FN + LN
Linda: Hi, how are you.	Linda: Hi, wie geht's <u>Ihnen</u> .	3pl. Dat.
Pam: ... and the world-famous plastic surgeon Dr. Larry.	Pam: ... und der weltberühmte plastische Chirurg <u>Dr. Larry</u> .	Title + FN
Larry: Ah, cut that out...	Larry: Ah, das schneiden wir wieder raus...	

In the translation, this discrepancy between “in-group members” and Greg is even increased as he uses the formal pronoun and is in turn addressed with it, while everyone else uses *Du*. (The use of *Sie* between Greg and Pam’s younger sister Debbie seems somewhat exaggerated in the translation).

Unlike in “Groundhog Day”, pronominal shift does not play a large role and is performed only once between the main protagonists,²¹ in a conversation between Greg and Pam’s ex-fiancé Kevin Rawley:

²⁰ Since the title ‘MD’ is not known in German and there is no equivalent, the translator chose ‘medicine man’ as a humorous term in the translation. This does not really capture the half-joking, but also half-serious insistence of Bob to uphold his professional title in front of Greg.

²¹ Except for a scene where an exasperated Greg gets into an argument with a flight attendant. In the ultimate exchange of abusive terms, the translation also shifts from *Sie* to *Du*.

Meet the Parents, Example 5 (min. 53)		
English Original	German Translation	Address
Scene: The whole family is at Kevin's house. They are having a barbecue and a swim in the pool.		
Kev.: <i>(looking after Pam):</i> She's great, congratulations, man.	Kev.: <i>(looking after Pam):</i> Sie ist klasse, herzlichen Glückwunsch, Mann.	
Greg: Thanks. (0.1) And, by the way: She just had the nicest things to say about you.	Greg: Vielen Dank (0.1). Und, übrigens: Sie hat nur das Allernetteste über <u>Sie</u> gesagt.	3pl. acc. pron.
Kev.: Really?	Kev.: Wirklich?	
<i>Greg nods.</i>	<i>Greg nods.</i>	
Kev.: Gosh, yes, we had some good times together. Gosh, she is a tomcat.	Kev.: Oh, wir hatten eine tolle Zeit miteinander. Mann, sie ist 'ne starke Nummer.	
<i>Kevin sighs. He is rather unself-consciously absorbed in the memory. Greg looks a bit embarrassed</i>	<i>Kevin sighs. He is rather unself-consciously absorbed in the memory. Greg looks a bit embarrassed.</i>	
Kev.: So, let me hook you up with some trunks, <u>Gregory</u> .	Kev.: Also, dann helf ich <u>Dir</u> mal mit 'ner Badehose aus, <u>Greg</u> .	2sg Dat. FN
Greg: I'm not gonna swim, no.	Greg: Nein, nein, ich kann mir keine Badehose von <u>Dir</u> ausleihen.	2sg Dat.
Kev.: I'm not taking no for an answer.	Kev.: <u>Komm</u> schon, ich lass kein Nein gelten.	Imp. sg. infl.

Apparently, lending someone one's swimming trunks seemed such an intimate gesture to the translator that he or she felt Greg and Kevin could not go on using *Sie* with each other after this. Curiously, Kevin's first use of the informal pronoun also coincides with using the (assumed) full version of Greg's first name "Gregory"²² – a form with, in Brown and Ford's (1960) evaluation of address forms, would be a less intimate form than the abbreviation. This may also illustrate the changes of indexicality in

²² Kevin's assumption is wrong – Greg's full first name is not 'Gregory'.

nominal address, too: Throughout the film, most FNs are conventionalized abbreviations ('Pam', 'Greg', 'Bob'...), which do not seem to encode a special intimacy between speaker and addressee any more. Thus, the use of the full FN "Gregory" may be seen as something special, a deviation of the norm, to highlight a special intimacy between the speakers. This subtlety of nominal address is lost in translation, the German version simply ignores this distinction and sticks with "Greg" as term of address.

4. Changing norms in German address as cultural translation

Of course, film dialogues are not natural speech situations and the dialogues cited here should not be mistaken for real life data. There is, however, a certain osmotic exchange between real life situations and film dialogues in that, on the one hand, the author will use the semantic inventory and the discourse strategies in a convincing way to make the dialogues work. On the other hand, the language used in film dialogues may be assumed to have considerable influence on the way people talk.

Mediated by translation, this may also reach users of other languages and cultures. The establishment of the First Name & *Sie* as a fully accepted form of address in German media discourse is one of the consequences of such intercultural translation. This particular combination of address forms is also increasingly heard in German productions of particular tv formats, for instance in talk shows, game shows or between newscasters. This transfer of formerly informal and private terms to more formal and public situations is also taking place in many intercultural business interactions. Here, however, it is not uncommon to perform a reversible address switch between languages – for instance, *Herr Meier + Sie* in German and with German colleagues becomes a temporary *Harald* in the presence of English-speaking business partners.

Will the influence of Anglo-American discourse norms then eventually result in a loss of the informal pronoun *Du*? This is, after all, what happened historically with pronominal address in English. Such drastic shifts are highly unlikely for German in the foreseeable future, since the informal *Du* is more than ever established in private situations, while the use of FN & *Sie* is still very much restricted according to setting. In nominal address, however, one may predict an increasing amount of flexibility, with FN losing its socio-expressive meaning as a purely intimate form. Whatever the long-term effects, film translation will play to continue an influential part in such a cultural transfer of discourse norms between languages.

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