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**CROSS-CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS:
A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS OF
AMERICAN AND GERMAN TEXTS FOR BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS
TAKEN FROM *WIRTSCHAFTSWOCH*E AND *BUSINESS WEEK***

By

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ABSTRACT

CROSS-CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS OF AMERICAN AND GERMAN TEXTS FOR BUSINESS AND ECONOMICS TAKEN FROM *WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE* AND *BUSINESS WEEK*

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This dissertation deals with a contrastive analysis of a subset of written news discourse, i. e., business and economics texts taken from the German business news magazine *WirtschaftsWoche* and its American counterpart *Business Week*.

The overall objective of this study is to examine how authors of articles published in these general business magazines typically organize their discourse. The goal of examining the organizational patterns of these texts is to find out whether they display specific differences which can be ascribed to their cultural backgrounds.

Its methodological approach consists of contrastively analyzing the organizational patterns of a total corpus of 30 written journalistic texts. 15 articles were selected per language, and one German text was matched with one English text by their specific content. In order to prevent subjective analyses of the texts, two outside analysts were asked to perform independent analyses of the

German and English articles according to specific criteria which are determined to indicate topic boundaries. After identifying these topic-shifts within all 30 texts, the contents of each subtopic was summarized in the form of short captions, and they were the basis for determining the underlying outline of each text. They provided an overview of the texts' dependency relationships. The outlines of each text were then transposed into tree-diagrams, which revealed whether a text showed discourse subordination or discourse coordination.

Thus the organizational structure of written journalistic discourse was studied. In addition, a detailed examination of the linguistic markers which supported the topic-shifts was conducted. Two discourse markers in English (*also* and *but*) and in German (*doch* and *auch*) were selected for closer analysis of their functions in each language. The overall result of the analyses of the 15 texts samples taken from each language and the statistical tests applied to the data show no conclusive evidence that the German texts display a more subordinated and, therefore, less coordinated organizational structure than the English texts, and vice versa.

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TO MY PARENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The analysis of discourse has broadly been defined as the analysis of both written and spoken language in use (Brown/Yule 1983: 1). As such, discourse analysis examines the functions or purposes of a language in conjunction with its formal properties; it studies what language is used for and how its forms are used in communication. The history of discourse analysis can be traced back to ancient treatises of rhetoric and poetics of more than 2,000 years ago. The modern development of discourse studies however dates from the mid-1960's, and the cross-cultural aspect did not emerge until the 1980's. Also relatively new is the application of discourse analysis in mass communication research.

Generally, the research area of news analysis has not received much attention in the past. The Dutch linguist Teun van Dijk (1980, 1981, 1984, 1985, 1988) has been at the forefront of the linguistic analysis of news. Recently, Roger Fowler (1991) contributed to this field with an interesting account on language in the news, and Allan Bell (1991) published a sophisticated sociolinguistic analysis of the language of news media. On the other hand, there are many publications concentrating on various how-to-approaches for students of journalism (e.g. Click et al., 1990; Grunwald, 1988;

Gussow, 1984; Hartley, 1982; Hubbard, 1982; Kirsch, 1978; Rivers et al., 1988). They contain interesting details regarding the writing, editing and publication process of magazine articles in general, yet they provide little, if any, information on the composition process and the organizational patterns of articles.

Detailed discourse analyses on language in the business press have recently been performed by Lindell/Piirainen (1980), Piirainen/Airismäki (1987), and Prachner/Schmatzer (1993). While Prachner/Schmatzer (1993) concentrate on aspects of translation, Lindell/Piirainen (1980) deal with the language of the German business magazine *Capital* on a sentence and word-level. Piirainen/Airismäki (1987) carried out a similar analysis of the language of the German *Handelsblatt*.

Among the major contributors to the field of discourse analysis across cultural boundaries are Robert B. Kaplan (1972, 1980), and Robert de Beaugrande (1980).

The approach of this research project is to combine some of the different facets of discourse analysis mentioned above: it will deal with a contrastive analysis of a subset of written news discourse, i. e., business and economics texts taken from the German business news magazine *Wirtschaftswoche* and its American counterpart *Business Week*. The overall objective of this study is to examine how authors of articles published in these general business magazines typically organize their discourse. The goal of examining the organizational patterns of these texts is to find out whether they display specific differences which can be ascribed to their linguistic environment, i. e., cultural backgrounds. Its methodological

approach consists of contrastively analyzing the organizational patterns of a total corpus of 30 written journalistic texts. 15 articles were selected per language, and one German text was matched with one English text by their specific content, i. e., their topics. The discourse analyses of the selected German and English language texts are performed and presented in detail in chapter 3 after a discussion of their theoretical framework in chapter 2. Concluding remarks and suggestions for further research will close the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

2.1. Determination of the Theoretical Framework

2.1.1. Aspects of Contrastive Analysis

Contrastive analysis is concerned with the comparison of two or more languages in order to determine both the differences and similarities between them (Fisiak 1981: 1). It is founded on the assumption that languages can be compared and contrasted (James 1980: 3).¹

The approach of contrastive analysis has been a popular pedagogical device providing valuable insights into areas such as error analysis, translation theory and bilingualism. In the 1960's, it was claimed that "a comprehensive description of the similarities of any pair of languages was the best basis for teaching the learner of either [language]" (Hartmann 1980: 26). This hypothesis spurred a vast number of contrastive analyses published for pedagogic purposes.² Though it seemed to be a perfectly sensible conjecture, this pedagogic interest in contrastive analysis declined only a decade later. Generally, two main reasons are given for this development:

¹Hartmann (1980: 24) supports this notion and states: "Comparative linguists must assume by definition that languages can be contrasted as completely independent systems."

²For contrastive phonology see: William Moulton. The Sounds of English and German. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. Also: R. P. Stockwell and J. D. Bowen. The Sounds of English and Spanish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. For contrastive syntax see: Herbert Kufner. The Grammatical Structures of English and German. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962. Also: R. P. Stockwell, J. D. Bowen and J. W. Martin. The Grammatical Structures of English and Spanish. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975. F. B. Agard and R. J. DiPietro The Grammatical Structures of English and Italian. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.

In his preface to James' Contrastive Analysis, Candlin (1980) classifies one reason as descriptive linguistic and the other as psycholinguistic-pedagogic. Linguistically, he claims, models of analysis and theoretical approaches which are constantly altered or emended are too unstable as foundations of contrastive description. Psycholinguistically and pedagogically, Candlin argues, contrastive descriptions were sometimes only able to predict part of the learning problems encountered by language learners. In addition, those points of potential difficulty which were identified seemed to cause various and variable problems among different learners. Hartmann (1980) concurs that language learners had difficulties with structures which were not predicted by contrastive analysis, yet easily mastered some that were supposed to lead to error. Strategies applied to learning a language are not primarily guided by the degree of difference between the linguistic systems of the mother tongue and the target language: "Learners do not simply transfer isolated elements of linguistic structure to replace one code by another, but use the phonological, grammatical and lexical repertoires of the respective language in ways that are pragmatically appropriate, and not structurally programmed" (Hartmann 1980: 26). While contrastive analysis lost some of its pedagogic impact, its value goes far beyond practical language teaching terms.

In his comprehensive study of contrastive analysis, James (1980) discusses contrastive analysis against the background of microlinguistics and macrolinguistics. Microlinguistics concentrates on the narrower perspective of linguistics, which sees as its goal the

description of the linguistic code,³ without making reference to the uses to which the code is put, or how messages carried by this code are modified by the contexts in which they occur. Since modern 20th century linguistics has taken this approach, consequently, contrastive analysis has followed suit. Recently however, an increased amount of attention has been given to the broader perspective, macrolinguistics, which examines the contextual determination of messages and their interpretation (James 1980: 27).⁴

Fillmore (1984) provides several explanations for this relative rarity of pragmatic studies in contrastive linguistics in the past. The most prevalent reason he mentions is that the knowledge concerning language use "has looked like knowledge that could freely cross linguistic boundaries and that could vary arbitrarily among speakers of the same language" (Fillmore 1984: 126). This knowledge was therefore regarded as depending more on the nature of people and cultures than on that of language. Generally, he describes pragmatics as a vast field incorporating topics such as, for example, genre type, topic marking, markers of cohesive links, word order variation, activity-bound speech acts, indirectness, devices for emphasis or downplaying, etc. (Fillmore 1984: 126). In arguing for

³Microlinguistics concentrates on the following levels of language: phonology, lexis, morphology, and syntax (James 1980: 28).

⁴Pragmatic contrastive analysis is a fairly new field of macrolinguistics. Interesting examples thereof are: Thomas A. Lovik. "Pragmatic Pitfalls of Learning/Teaching German", Die Unterrichtspraxis, Spring 1987, pp. 36-44. Also: Charles J. Fillmore. "Remarks on Contrastive Pragmatics", Contrastive Linguistics. Prospects and Problems, ed. Jacek Fisiak. Berlin/New York/Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984, pp. 119 - 141. See also: Gabriele Kasper, and Shoshana Blum-Kulka. Interlanguage Pragmatics. Oxford: OUP, 1993. And: Wieslaw Oleksy, ed. Contrastive Pragmatics. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1989.

a contrastive pragmatics, he adds that "from the reality that all of the items in this list do indeed vary across languages, they obviously make up an important part of what needs to be considered in contrastive linguistics" (Fillmore 1984: 126). In order to organize his approach to pragmatics, he makes the distinction between general pragmatic patterns (or large facts) and special pragmatic practices (or small facts). Under the category of large issues, he subsumes topics like politeness systems, patterns of indirectness, repertoires of registral differences, patterns in the rhetorical organization of discourse, the special devices languages use for constructing narrative texts, and so on. The special issues, or small pragmatic facts, are things that "are best learned one piece at a time" (Fillmore 1984: 128). To exemplify his notion of small pragmatic facts, he quotes the use of negative why-questions, which English speakers would find perfectly natural for formulating suggestions, as in 'Why don't we go to the opera tonight?', while a structurally identical question in German would sound offensive. Small differences therefore cover item-to-item issues, while large differences deal with systematic features of the pragmatic practices of different linguistic communities.

Like Fillmore, Hartmann (1980) also provides an explanation for this contemporary interest in the broader aspects of language. He interprets it as a result of a "restlessness in many linguistic quarters which can be interpreted as an urge to get to grips with the realities of language as interaction, as social, communicative discourse between real speakers in real situations" (Hartmann 1980: 9). He traces the historical development of structural linguistics in

the 20th century from the study of sounds through words and sentences to texts. The development within contrastive analysis, then, can be regarded as an expansion from contrastive phonology through contrastive lexicology and contrastive grammar to contrastive textology. Yet, while the first three areas within contrastive analysis possess a fairly well accepted set of terms,⁵ methods, and techniques, there are no standard procedures in the study of textual discourse (Hartmann 1980: 34/5). The following section will explore some possible approaches to textual discourse analysis.

2.1.2. Approaches to Textual Contrastive Analysis

Since all interlinguistic contrasts are manifest in texts, Hartmann (1980) suggests selecting parallel texts for interlingual comparisons at all levels and with any method. Parallel texts "document contrasts between discourse types within and across languages" (Hartmann 1980: 39).

Krzeszowski (1989) argues similarly and concludes his discussion of the approach to textual contrastive studies as follows: "[...] in order to prevent comparisons of incomparables one has to establish a TC [tertium comparationis]. The TC will at the same time *restrict* the class of texts that can undergo comparisons. Therefore,

⁵Hartmann (1980: 34/5) refers in this context to "agreed ways of segmenting the flow of speech into hierarchically ranked units" such as phonemes and syllables within phonology; lexemes and lexical fields within lexicology; morphemes, words, phrases and sentences within grammar.

it may be necessary to require of the constituent texts that they be written in the *same register* or deal with the *same topic* or represent the *same literary genre*. Whatever requirements on the 'sameness' of the constituent texts are imposed, they will determine the TC relevant for these texts" (61).

In order to ensure a "common platform of reference" (Krzeszowski 1989: 60), Hartmann (1980) developed a system of three main groups of parallel texts: in class A, parallel texts are typically the result of a professional translation arrived at by conscious approximation processes in which the original message of the source-language text becomes a situationally appropriate target-language text. Examples are bible translation, literary and technical translation, and conference interpreting.

Class B parallel texts are typically the result of a deliberate adaptation of a message in the respective conventions of two languages for the purpose of conveying an identical message to receivers of sometimes very different cultural backgrounds. Correspondences between the texts are primarily conditioned by the need to produce similar reactions in the reader, as in the case of the production of advertisements for different countries, for example.

Texts within class C are independently created and typically unrelated except by the analyst's recognition that the original circumstances that led to the creation of the two texts have produced accidental similarities. Therefore, they achieve their equivalence through similar contexts, and achieve their mediation by comparison. Examples are samples of texts from corresponding

registers of different languages, such as the texts selected for the present study; i. e., English and German articles taken from comparable business magazines, which were paired by topic.

While Hartmann distinguishes between three classes of texts for a contrastive textology, James identifies three comparable, possible approaches to textual contrastive analysis: translated texts, textual characterization, and text type (James 1980: 113/14).

Translated texts are the most obvious basis for textual contrastive analyses: their main limitation is their potential for translation-distortion, i. e., the target-language text can show signs of interference from the source-language (James 1980: 117).

The approach of textual characterization concentrates on the examination of large stretches of text in each of a pair of languages according to the type(s) of cohesive devices used to achieve textual cohesion, their frequencies, and their contexts. Presenting research results from Wonderly (1968) and Newsham (1977) as well as his own after contrasting cohesive devices in English and French (1980: 114/5), James concludes that while every language has at its disposal a set of devices for maintaining textual cohesion, different languages have preferences for certain devices and neglect others.

James' third approach to textual contrastive analysis is text typology. Despite the differences which may exist between the respective cultures and languages, and though some cultures may lack text-types cultivated in others,⁶ it is claimed that there are types of texts in each language which perform approximately the

⁶An example of this is "Ehewünsche", a very popular section in German newspapers, yet hardly ever published in British newspapers. (James 1980: 117)

same function. Examples of similar text-types can be found in newspapers and magazines, such as letter-to-the-editor, commentaries, reports, advertisements, etc. These text-types perform certain conventional functions and can be labelled as more or less institutionalized. Within James' approach, then, the texts selected for this study belong to the third category described.

Before continuing with a closer description of the criteria for the selection of the magazines and the texts for this study, it is necessary to discuss and define critical theoretical terms such as genre and text-type. Their understanding will determine the terminological framework for the texts selected.

2.1.3. Definitions

In an attempt to tackle the issue of defining the concept of genre, John M. Swales (1990) examines what other scholars have contributed to the definition of the term genre in the four disciplines linguistics, literary studies, rhetoric, and folklore. Swales (1990) summarizes their individual contributions, and comes to the following definition of genre: "A genre defines a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes.⁷ [...] Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a

⁷Following Miller (1984) and Martin (1985), Swales (1990) discusses the placement of genre-membership on shared purpose rather than on similarities of form or some other criterion. The decision is based on the assumption that in most cases genres are communicative vehicles for the achievement of goals (Swales 1990: 46).

genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience" (Swales 1990: 58).⁸ A communicative event is regarded as one in which language plays a significant as well as indispensable role; the term neglects therefore non-verbal activities (e. g. while engaging in physical exercise, or driving) as well as activities in which talk is incidental (e. g. at a football-game). In addition, a communicative event is conceived of as comprising not only the discourse itself and its participants, but also the role of that discourse and the environment of its production and reception, including its historical and cultural association (Swales 1990: 46).

The importance of context is also addressed by Brown/Yule who state that "in order to construct a notion of 'genre', it is necessary to generalise across experience and determine what is common to fairy stories, chats, news broadcasts, epic poems, debates or salesmen's routines which enable us to recognise one as being a token of the generalised type" (61/2).

Within news discourse, Fowler (1991) is one of the few researchers addressing the issue of genre. In his mind, it is intuitively obvious to the reader that there are distinct genres within newspapers, such as editorials, reviews, financial reports, sports, etc. Fowler concludes his attempts at a definition of genre with this

⁸Engel (1991) argues similarly and defines "Textsorte" as "Klasse von Texten, deren sprachliche Merkmale mit Kommunikationsziel und Textkonstellation korrelieren" (884).

general statement: "Genre is one kind of intertextuality: a text is of a genre because it relates to others of the type" (227).⁹

Within literary theory, the term genre has traditionally defined various kinds of literary forms such as drama, poetry, short story, or novel.¹⁰ In our context however, texts will not be grouped by their formal characteristics, but primarily by their communicative goal, or purpose. Engel (1991) classifies texts according to specific criteria: a "Textsorte" comprises groups of texts which share the same goal or communicative purpose ("Textziel"), such as e. g. to inform, to persuade, or to convince. The primary goal, or primary purpose, of the texts in our study is to inform their readers; they therefore belong to the overall category of informational texts. It is important to mention, however, that while articles in *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Business Week* are explicitly informational, they at the same time contain implicit elements of persuasion and convincing. It is therefore problematic to categorize these texts as purely informational when the implicit message is often for the purpose of persuading or convincing to the reporters' (or editors') opinions.¹¹

Other types of texts with primarily informational character are interviews, letters, instruction manuals, etc. which also mainly have informational character. In order to discriminate between them, we need to consider additional distinguishing characteristics such as

⁹Fowler apparently does not clearly distinguish between the two terms genre and text-type, but uses them interchangeably.

¹⁰In a literary context, the term genre is usually translated into German as "Gattung". The appropriate term in the present context however is considered to be "Textsorte".

¹¹Lüger (1983) deals with this issue in detail and his arguments will be presented below.

the so-called textual configuration ("Textkonstellation"), or more specifically the degree of involvement, and the degree of availability ("Öffentlichkeitsgrad"): news reports are usually written by one or several journalists; their authors are classified as active in that they write the articles, while the readers are regarded as the passive recipients of the texts. In addition, news reports are not private but public documents, and they are generally available to every interested reader. However, the same characteristics could be assigned to texts like recipes, or phone books. Therefore, news reports, recipes, and phonebooks all belong to the same overall "Textsorte" or category of informational texts, yet they are each individual types of texts.

A fairly recent German publication on the language of the news by Heinz-Helmut Lüger (1983) gives a very detailed account of a classification of journalistic texts.¹² Lüger (1983: 64-6) also discusses the problem of clearly assigning texts to a single category, and assigns journalistic texts according to their primary goals, purposes, or intentions. He therefore discriminates between primarily informational texts (e. g. hard and soft news, announcements, reports, eyewitness account, weather report); opinion-centered, persuasive texts (e. g. commentary, review); instructional-directive texts (e. g. instructions, tips); and two-centered texts (e. g. interview).¹³ For the purposes of this study,

¹²In Lüger's terminology, our definition of "Textsorten" corresponds with his term "Textklassen", while our "Texttypen" are his "Textsorten". This is just another example of the overall confusion among researchers within the field who apply a multitude of terms and definitions to the same phenomena.

¹³The original German terms used by Lüger are: informationsbetonte Texte, meinungsbetont-persuasive Texte, instruierend-anweisende Texte, und bizentrierte Texte (Lüger 1983).

closer attention will be paid to the text-type "report" which is part of the overall category of informational texts.¹⁴

Lüger defines reports, or "Berichttexte", as "auf Ganzlektüre konstituiert, [...] das zugrundeliegende Hauptgeschehen wird als chronologisch geordnete Folge von Handlungssequenzen dargestellt. [...] der chronologische Aufbau [kann] mehrfach von Zitaten, kommentierenden Stellungnahmen oder eingefügten Hintergrundinformationen unterbrochen sein [...]. Der Berichtstext wird normalerweise durch Zwischenüberschriften, die graphischer Auflockerung und rascher inhaltlicher Orientierung dienen, unterteilt." (1983: 74/5). In the following sections, it will become evident how the theoretical issues raised above were applied to the selection of the magazines and texts for this study.

2.2. Selection of the Magazines

Today's magazine industry in both the United States and Germany is as varied as its readers, and the broad selection of magazines reflects the interests of the readers. Business magazines, in addition, reflect the entire spectrum of American and German industry, and their market changes as new industries or businesses emerge. Within their overall classification as special interest magazines, business magazines are commonly divided into

¹⁴In his introduction, Lüger argues that there is a discussion as to whether the title "Pressesprache" only pertains to the language of newspapers, or to magazines alike. He concludes that although there are differences between the two, there are just as many similarities, which therefore justify his overall approach.

specialized and general business publications. While the specialized publications are prepared for limited groups with a narrowly defined area of interest (examples are magazines such as *MacWorld*, *Medical Economics*, or *Chemical Week*), general business magazines are designed for the general consumer audience with commercial interests. Among this group, we find magazines such as *Forbes*, *Fortune*, *Business Week*, *Money*, *Nation's Business*, etc.

For the purpose of the present study, one American and one German business publication was chosen. The choice was based on the comparability of their overall informational intent, their content and readership, so that a valid contrastive study of their articles could be performed. A reference guide entitled *Business Publications Rates and Data*¹⁵ was a very useful resource for editorial information on business publications, and it was used to help determine their comparability. This guide is published on a monthly basis for businesses and companies interested in data such as readership, rates and specifications related to advertising, circulation, and distribution. For the reasons discussed below, the American magazine *Business Week* and the German *Wirtschaftswoche* were chosen for this study.¹⁶

In *Business Publications Rates and Data*, McGraw-Hill gives the following editorial profile for its magazine *Business Week*: "[It] is

¹⁵There are several other useful sources such as Standard Periodical Directory, Gale Directory, Simmons Market Research Bureau New York, and Ulrich's Directory, which contain a wealth of statistical information on national and foreign magazines.

¹⁶As the German business publication *WirtschaftsWoche* is the magazine often used as a textual source for the business German foreign language classroom, it was a matter of finding an appropriate American counterpart to it. *Business Week* was found to be comparable.

published for management. Each week it reports the news, the ideas and the trends that have an impact on the economy or on an industry - or that can provide new insights for the business executive in the operation of their [sic] own business." (199) *Business Week* was established in 1929, and has reached a circulation of ca. 884,000 issues (June 1994).

The three leading German general business magazines are *Manager Magazin*, *Capital*, and *Wirtschaftswoche*. As the editorial profile will show, *Wirtschaftswoche* can be considered as the German counterpart to *Business Week*. Its publisher, Handelsblatt Verlagsgruppe GmbH, provides the following information: "*Wirtschaftswoche* reports on domestic and international business and finance and provides comprehensive background information on the economy, industry, trade, banks and corporations, capital and commodity markets. It combines topical with analytical coverage for executives and decision-makers in Germany and German speaking Europe." (1661) *Wirtschaftswoche* was established in 1926, and has reached a circulation of ca. 173,000 issues (June 1994).

Business Week and *Wirtschaftswoche*, therefore, can be considered comparable: both magazines have a known and similar audience, i. e., business executives, managers, and decision-makers.¹⁷ They pursue similar overall purposes, and together they provide the overall "common platform of reference" Krzeszowski

¹⁷The noticeable difference in their circulation can be explained by their difference in distribution area, which is specifically pointed out by *Wirtschaftswoche*, and the fact that there are fewer German speakers.

(1989: 60) was referring to. The next section will explain the selection of the texts from these two business magazines.

2.3. Selection of the Text Corpus

Due to the nature of this project, the characteristics of the texts are predetermined, i.e. their type (written journalistic texts), their primary purpose (informational texts), and their intended audience (readerships of the selected business magazines). The entire corpus consists of 30 articles, i. e., 15 articles are taken from each magazine. In order to minimize the variables, three major criteria were applied in the selection of these texts:

Topic: The texts were selected in pairs. For each German text a corresponding English text covering the same topic was selected.

Author: Each text selected was written by a different author in order to minimize the influence of personal style on the results of the analyses.

Length: Each pair of texts was of similar length in order to create a comparable amount of data for their analyses.

During the selection process, it was no problem to find articles published in both magazines dealing with the same topic or describing the same events. However, after having selected the first five pairs of texts, it became apparent that it would be very difficult to apply the second criterion - variation of authors - to the selection of the rest of the text corpus. The reason for this problem lies in the fact that both magazines only employ one or two journalists

reporting from a foreign country. In order to fulfill the first criterion - paired texts which are matched by topic - mostly international themes come into question, which, in turn, are submitted by a limited number of foreign correspondents. Therefore, the selection of appropriate articles was narrowed considerably, and a repetition of authors could not be avoided completely. In one incident, John Templeman, senior journalist reporting from Germany for *Business Week*, appears twice in the table of articles selected. However, this should not influence the results of the analyses in any significant manner, since he is listed as a co-author of one of the articles (Text 2E), while being the main author of the other (Text 6E).

An overview of the texts selected and analyzed is presented in Table 1. It shows the titles of the article, the overall topic of the articles, their author/s and the date of publication.

Table 1: Texts Selected for Analysis

NO.	TITLE OF ARTICLES	TOPIC OF ARTICLES	AUTHOR/AUTHORS	DATE
1E	Beijing Starts Pumping The Brakes	China's financial crisis	Joyce Barnathan in HongKong w/ Matt Forney in Beijing	July 19, '93
1G	Sanfte Landung		Henrik Bork	July 16, '93
2E	Why Mercedes is Alabama Bound	Mercedes' move to Alabama	David Woodruff in Detroit and John Templeman in Stuttgart	Oct. 11, '93
2G	Detroit im Dixieland		Bolke Behrens	Oct. 1, '93
3E	How Badly Will Yen Shock Hurt?	Economic consequences of the rising Japanese Yen	Robert Neff in Tokyo w/ Owen Ullmann in Washington and William Glasgall in New York	Aug. 30, '93
3G	Bitte um Diskretion		Adam Satori	Sept. 3, '93
4E	Sudden, Stealthy - and Crazy	Russia's ruble call-in and political consequences	Peter Galuszka in Moscow w/ Roma Ignatowyz in Kiev	Aug. 9, '93
4G	Rußland: Wer ist wer?		Jakob Sarpotas/Susanne Rohmund	Aug. 13, '93
5E	France Wants Out Of Business	Privatization of France's state-owned companies	Bill Javetski in Paris	June 7, '93
5G	Tödliche Falle		Ruth Berschens	June 4, '93

Table 1 (cont'd):

NO.	TITLE OF ARTICLES	TOPIC OF ARTICLES	AUTHOR/AUTHORS	DATE
6E	The Roaring Subminis	New generation of tiny cars	John Templeman in Frankfurt, with bureau reports	Sept. 20, '93
6G	Locker am Stau vorbei		Ruth Henke/Herbert Fuchs	Sept. 17, '93
7E	A Countercoup In Telecom	Reordering of the global telecom. market	Jonathan B. Levine in Paris, with bureau reports	Nov. 15, '93
7G	Telekom: Sturm laufen		Stefan Wichmann/ Ruth Berschens	Nov. 12, '93
8E	Nafta: Let's Make A Deal	Clinton's campaign for Nafta	Douglas Harbrecht, Richard S. Dunham and Susan B. Garland in Washington	Nov. 8, '93
8G	Einfach aussteigen		Christian Deysson	Nov. 12, '93
9E	Time To Leave The Cocoon?	Disputes between IG-Mctall & Gesamtmetall	Gail E. Schares in Bonn	Oct. 18, '93
9G	Im selben Boot		Annette Rucß/Michael Sauga	Oct. 8, '93
10E	The Cleanup of Italy Inc.	Status and consequences of corruption in Italy	John Rossant in Milan	March 1, '93
10G	Traumjob Richter		Friedhelm Gröteke/Lorenz Wolf-Doettinchem	March 5, '93

Table 1 (cont'd):

NO.	TITLE OF ARTICLES	TOPIC OF ARTICLES	AUTHOR/AUTHORS	DATE
11E	This Spice Could Be Golden	Telecom. Market: Merger of EDS and BT	Paula Dwyer in London and Wendy Zellner in Dallas	Feb. 8, '93
11G	Längst zementiert		Friederike Meier	Feb. 5, '93
12E	Northern Disorder	Pol. troubles in Canada	William C. Symonds in Toronto	Nov. 9, '92
12G	Weiterer Zerfall		Joachim Moskau	Nov. 6, '92
13E	Pushing Plastic Is Still One Juicy Game	Competition within Credit Card Market	John Meehan in New York, with Joseph Weber in Philadelphia, Chuck Hawkins in Atlanta, and bureau reports	Sept. 21, '92
13G	Nur eine Nische		Eco	Sept. 18, '92
14E	Even Lufthansa Is Carrying Too Much Baggage	Lufthansa's financial problems and possible solutions	Igor Reichlin in Bonn and Andrea Rothman in NY, with Steward Toy in Paris & bureau reports	Sept. 7, '92
14G	Lufthansa: Trumpf verspielt		Andreas Werb	Sept. 11, '92
15E	Sweating Out The HDTV Contest	Global competition of HDTV market	Mary Lewyn in Washington & Lois Therrien in Chicago, with Peter Coy in NY & bur. reports	Feb. 22, '93
15G	Die digitale Wende		Thomas Münchner/Wolfgang Kempkens/Herbert Fuchs	March 5, '93

2.4. Criteria for the Analysis of Organizational Patterns

The purpose of this section is to propose a framework for the analysis of organizational patterns of magazine articles written on topics within business and economics. Within that broad framework, the analysis will concentrate most heavily on different aspects of the sentence- and text-level of discourse analysis. However, the word-level will also be taken into account at a later stage.

As mentioned above, the overall goal of this study is to examine how authors of articles published in general business magazines typically organize their discourse. When discussing the organization of discourse, we mean its thematic structure, i. e., the overall organization of the topic of the article.

The dominant approach to the analysis of news discourse has been proposed by van Dijk (1980, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1988). He assigns topics to the global, macrolevel of discourse description, and suggests a thematic or topical analysis against the background of a theory of semantic macrostructures. Macrostructures are organized sets of propositions, with propositions being defined as "the smallest, independent meaning constructs of language and thought" which "are typically expressed by single sentences or clauses" (van Dijk 1988b: 31). Yet unlike propositions, macrostructures formally represent the global content of a text, and they are only expressed indirectly by larger stretches of talk or text. Furthermore, van Dijk determines that propositions which are part of macrostructures are called macropropositions, and it is assumed

that each topic of a text can be represented as such a macroproposition. Longer texts contain several subtopics, and therefore have a macrostructure consisting of several macropropositions. Some of these topics are more general than others, so the entire macrostructure has a hierarchical organization, in which each sequence of macropropositions can be subsumed under a higher level macroproposition.

This hierarchical organization of the macropropositions of a text and their dependency relationships can be represented by means of a tree-diagram. These tree-diagrams will reveal whether a text shows discourse subordination or discourse coordination. In order to determine the degrees of sub- and/or coordination of the articles, an appropriate statistical method will be chosen and applied. Generally however, it can be determined that if a text progresses fairly linearly from one starting point, and the subsequent macrostructures follow the others directly and chronologically, the organizational structure is subordinated. Discourse coordination occurs if the text shows several macrostructures which each have their own branching macropropositions.¹⁸

The first step of the analysis, then, involves the determination of their propositional structure. However, the crucial questions when deciding upon the propositional structure of a text are:

¹⁸In his contrastive study on the organizational patterns of German and English academic texts, Michael Clyne (1987) applied these definitions to his research. However, for the present study, his definitions are considered to be too vague and subjective. They therefore serve only as a means to gain an initial impression of the data collected.

- What criteria are applied when doing so?
- How do readers assign topics?
- What is a topic?
- How are topic boundaries determined?

Teun van Dijk argues that "the topic of a text is a strategically derived subjective macroproposition, which is assigned to sequences of propositions by macroprocesses (rules, strategies) on the basis of general world knowledge and personal beliefs and interests" (1988b: 34). De Beaugrande (1980: 30) adds: "The question of how people know what is going on in a text is a special case of the question of how people know what is going on in the world at all." In other words, different people may read a text, or parts of a text, differently, and they may derive slightly varying macropropositions and macrostructures. Determination of topic, therefore, may be subjective.

Van Dijk, however, is not the only researcher within the field of discourse analysis stressing the subjectivity involved in assigning topics to parts of texts. Schiffrin has dealt extensively with questions such as those posed above within the realm of spoken discourse. She defines topic and subtopics as "what is being talked about" (1987: 26). However, she is not sure how to identify topics and subtopics, "although it often seems intuitively very clear, especially when topics shift" (1987: 26). Schiffrin favors a definition of topic proposed by Brown and Yule (1983) by stating that "topic is a summary of the important parts of discourse content - like a title" (Schiffrin 1987: 26).

In their review of topic, Brown and Yule (1983) state that " 'topic' could be described as the most frequently used, unexplained, term in the analysis of discourse" (70). Neglecting the influence of 'form', their discussion of topic concentrates mainly on aspects of 'content'. However, the interpretation of what a speaker is saying, or a writer is writing, is based on how s/he structures what s/he is saying or writing. Brown and Yule suggest that instead of "undertaking the difficult task of attempting to define 'what a topic is', we should concentrate on describing what we recognize as topic-shift" (94). It is claimed that if a reader or speaker intuitively notices a topic-shift between two consecutive pieces of discourse, then there should be a formal marker indicating this shift from one topic to the next. If we can identify this marking of topic-shift, we will obtain a structural basis for separating stretches of discourse into a series of smaller units, each on a separate topic (Brown/Yule 1983: 94/95).

For the purpose of the present study, paragraphs are suggested as surface manifestations of a macroproposition, and as indicators for topic-shifts. However, Brown and Yule point to a problematic aspect when applying this approach: "Those who use the term 'paragraph' to describe a unit in the structural analysis of written discourse go through some trouble to point out that they are not describing the orthographic paragraph" (95). They argue that an orthographic paragraph can result from a writer's stylistic concerns, or from printing conventions. Thus, the beginning of an orthographic paragraph may, but need not necessarily be an indication for a point in topic-shift (Brown/Yule 1983: 95).

However, it can be argued that indenting of the first line of a paragraph is more than just a cosmetic device; it is an indication by the author of what s/he intends the reader to treat as the beginning of a new part of the text. In order to minimize this ambiguity, it is imperative to look at formal linguistic markers of the beginning and end of paragraphs. These markings can be in the form of discourse markers¹⁹ or advanced organizers.²⁰ They can also be adverbial expressions initially in the first sentences of new parts of the text. Therefore, if this indentation of paragraphs is to serve as an indication of topic-shift given by the author, **and** it is supported by linguistic markers, there is evidence that the author is marking a 'topic-shift'.

In his study on discourse patterns of German and American academic texts, Michael Clyne examines the types of sentences which are used to indicate the beginning of a paragraph. According to his definition, topic sentences as introductory sentences set the topic for the following paragraph, while bridge sentences refer back to the previous paragraph or to another paragraph (1987: 232). The evidence as to which type of sentence was used to begin a paragraph, however, is mostly embedded in the content.²¹ Therefore, if we used the type of sentences employed by the author of a text as the sole indicator for the beginning of a new topical paragraph, or macroproposition, we would again be confronted with

¹⁹Schiffrin (1987) operationally defines discourse markers as elements which bracket units of talk. Units of talk are sometimes sentences, and sometimes they are propositions, speech acts, or tone units. (p. 31 - 35)

²⁰The term advanced organizer refers to functional elements such as discourse markers.

²¹For examples of topic and bridge sentences, please refer to the detailed text analyses provided in section 2.5.

the problem of the subjectivity of the person performing the analysis.

Van Dijk (1981) deals with this issue in an earlier publication on episodes as units of discourse analysis. Defining an episode as a semantic unit of discourse, and a paragraph as the surface manifestation of such an episode (1981: 177f), he suggests that certain markers such as paragraph indentations, time change markers, place change markers, and 'cast' change markers may be expected for the beginning of episodes and therefore also at the end of a previous one (1981: 181).

Since none of the criteria for determining topic boundaries appears to be entirely reliable, this study will therefore be based on the application of a combination of the following three criteria, i.e. (1) indentation of texts, (2) topic and bridge sentences, supported by (3) formal linguistic markers such as discourse markers (e. g. particles such as *but, also, yet, auch, doch, dennoch*, etc.), complements of time (e. g. *jetzt, nun, damals, for decades, meanwhile, last spring*, etc.), complements of place or scene (e. g. *in Berlin, nebenan in South Carolina*, etc.), or the introduction of individuals or reintroduction of individuals mentioned previously.

Though the analysis is primarily based on these formal criteria, it still cannot claim objectivity; if the analyst claims to be able to produce the propositional set-up of a text, that proposition-set necessarily represents only one single interpretation. It cannot really be tested, it can only be challenged by another analyst who will either obtain the same or similar, or different results. Van Dijk also acknowledges this and states in regard to news discourse that

its structure "is ultimately the one assigned to the text by the reader" (1983: 29).

Because of the ambiguity and the subjectivity involved in this study, two outside analysts²² were asked to perform independent analyses of the German and English articles according to the criteria as described above. One external analyst was a native speaker of German with near native fluency in English, the other a native speaker of English, with near native fluency in German. Both analysts were asked to analyze all articles selected, and not just the ones written in their native language. It was intended that this procedure provide insights into the possible influence of cultural differences in assigning structures to the (native and foreign language) texts.

In summary, it was the task of the analysts to apply the following criteria to the analyses of the texts. Indications for the beginning of a new macroproposition, i. e., a topic-shift, are:

- paragraph indentations as given in the text;
- types of sentences: topic- or bridge sentences (TS, or BS);
- complements of time (CoTi);
- complements of place (CoPl);
- change of tense (ChTe);
- discourse markers (DM);
- introduction of a new individual or reintroduction of individuals already mentioned (Ini).

²²Both outside analysts were generously funded by the College of Arts and Letters at Michigan State University.

2.5. Application of the Criteria to Two Sample Texts

The analysis of the texts consisted of several phases: the goal of the first phase was to determine the propositional structure of the texts. This was achieved by marking each anticipated topic-shift while reading through the texts. It was determined that whenever the analysts thought they noticed a topic-shift between two consecutive pieces of discourse, it could not be considered a topic-shift for the purposes of this study unless a topic or bridge sentence, ideally supported by a formal marker, was also present. These formal indicators, or linguistic markers, were then underlined in the texts. After identifying these topic-shifts, the analysts were asked to summarize the contents of each subtopic addressed in between the topic-shifts in the form of short captions. As per definition, each topic, or in this case subtopic, since the main topic of each article is narrowly defined already, is represented by a macroproposition. Therefore, the brief summaries of each subtopic represent macropropositions, which in turn serve as a basis for determining their dependency relationships in the text. Finally, the underlying outline of each text could be determined. These outlines, then, provide an overview of the texts' dependency relationships.

The next part of the analysis involved the representation of these dependency relationships by tree-diagrams. They revealed whether a text showed discourse subordination or discourse coordination. These tree-diagrams were used to determine the

amount of coordination and/or subordination displayed by the English and German texts.

Thus overall organization of written discourse on the text-level was studied in the first two steps. It is the objective of the third step to examine lower-level discourse phenomena, which might also exhibit cross-cultural differences, or similarities. This part of the analyses of the texts involves a detailed examination of the linguistic markers which supported the topic-shifts.²³ The following English text (Text 10E) was randomly chosen from the text corpus to demonstrate the application of the underlying methodology. Its German equivalent (Text 10G) will also be analyzed in detail.²⁴ Both texts represent a set and, therefore, deal with the same topic. The English text is entitled "The Cleanup of Italy Inc." by John Rasant, published in *Business Week* on March 1, 1993.

²³They are provided in the column next to the outlines given for each text.

²⁴Due to copyright restrictions, only the English text will be presented in the text body. For all other texts of the corpus, please refer to their original place of publication as specified in detail in Table 1.

International Business

ITALY

THE CLEANUP OF ITALY INC.

The business-political alliance is over. What will replace it?

In a cold, foggy day in Milan last winter, 10 plainclothes carabinieri barged in on Mario Chiesa, a political hack who headed the city's biggest public charity for the elderly. It was a sting designed to nab Chiesa just as he was pocketing a \$5,000 kickback from a businessman. That evening, Paolo Pillitteri, a Socialist Party politician in Milan, noted the arrest in his personal diary: "I don't think there will be a domino effect."

2. Those words spoken by Pillitteri, a former Milan mayor now facing multiple corruption charges, will probably go down as one of the bigger misjudgments of the year. That first arrest 12 months ago, in what became known as Operation Clean Hands, has snowballed into the biggest criminal investigation in modern Italy. Scores of politicians are under investigation for corruption, including 34 members

of Parliament and three Cabinet ministers. It's not only politicians who are under fire. Also implicated are more than 200 businessmen, from officials of state-controlled ENI, Europe's No. 2 energy group, to dozens of top managers at blue-chip companies that form the very heart of Italian capitalism—auto giant Fiat, chemical group Montedison, the Ferruzzi agricultural empire, and others. Judges are warning that this may be only the beginning. The companies declined to comment.

3. SYMBOLIC END. The outlines of a new Italy are uncertain at best. But beyond the drama of the nightly television news, now watched by millions of Italians with the same fascination and anger with which Americans once followed Watergate, a profound transformation is taking place. The tight collusion between politics and business that has set Italy apart from its Euro-

pean neighbors

for almost four decades looks as if it has been shattered permanently: "An entire system, a Mafia-style system, is ending, and it is ending rapidly," says Luciano Benetton, the managing director of \$1.6 billion Benetton fashion group. "It's a system in which you had to pay the political parties to get work."

4. The symbolic end of that system came on Feb. 11, when former Prime Minister Bettino Craxi was forced to step down as Socialist Party chief in the face of more than 50 charges of alleged corruption and abuse of office. The autocratic politician had been at the epicenter of Italian political life for some 20 years. He denies any personal wrongdoing. Gianni Di Michelis, former Foreign Minister and Socialist Party official, is also suspected of kickback scheming. He also denies any wrongdoing. Now,



SOME OF ITALY'S TOP NAMES IN BUSINESS COULD BE DRAWN IN

GIOVANNI AGNELLI/FIAT	GABRIELE CAGLIARI/ENI	GIANNI DE MICHELIS FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER	FRANCO NOBILI/IRI	RAUL GARDINI EX-CHIEF, FERRUZZI
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An entire class of leaders is being drawn into the scandal. Cagliari is under investigation. Nobili may be implicated. De Michelis has been indicted. And while Agnelli and Gardini are not implicated, some of their companies are

TOP PHOTOGRAPH BY LEO MULLER/CONTRASTO; CAGLIARI, DE MICHELIS, AND GARDINI PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIANFRANCESCO MONTI; AGNELLI PHOTOGRAPH BY LEO MULLER/CONTRASTO; NOBILI PHOTOGRAPH BY LEO MULLER/CONTRASTO; CRAXI PHOTOGRAPH BY LEO MULLER/CONTRASTO

dozens of businessmen are testifying how party aides negotiated multimillion-dollar kickbacks on contracts for state-owned cleaning to nuclear power plant construction.

Craxi personified the immense power wielded by Italian politicians over almost every aspect of the postwar Italian economy. The Italian government, after all, controls a greater chunk of the economy—more than 50% of output—than any other big Western industrial power. In Rome's web are most of commercial banking, steel, telecommunications, and energy—even ice-cream plants, groceries, and vineyards.

1. For Italian political parties, such activities were giant spoils machines. Much of the private sector—from Fiat, the country's largest industrial group, to small construction outfits—had no choice but to come to terms with what Italians call *la partitocrazia*, or rule by the political parties. Even though business groups would regularly criticize government policy, many were in collusion with politicians to cut deals. "It's all been pure theater when Italian companies attack the government," says Paolo Bernasconi, a leading Swiss criminal lawyer who is an expert on Italian money-laundering in Switzerland.

2. MOSTLY GAMES. The system that kept the national machinery oiled also cost it dearly. Indirectly, of course, Italy's weakened moral climate has helped to cultivate organized crime. But the direct tax for a country already burdened with huge public deficits is enormous, too. Just running Italy's parties costs about \$1 billion a year. Actual corruption adds vastly more. A Turin-based think tank estimates that kickbacks since 1980 have added as much as \$75 billion to Italy's enormous public debt.

3. Nothing better illustrates how business Italian style has worked than recent revelations about ENEL, the state-owned national electricity authority. The second-largest utility in Europe, Rome-based ENEL is also the largest single purchaser of natural gas in the world. It employs 15,000 people and yields a juicy \$6 billion-a-year annual capital investment budget.

It is also, as Operation Clean Hands is now alleging, a deep pit of corruption. Testimony of Valerio Bitetto, a Milanese Socialist Party organizer who was a leading figure in ENEL from 1980 to 1992, alleges that as a company board member, he worked out alleged kickback schemes with some of the biggest engineering groups in Europe on billions of dollars' worth of power-generation construction. State-owned Ansaldo, Fiat, Bellini—a prominent Mantua-based contractor—and Franco Tosi, now a unit of Swiss-Swedish group ABB Asea Brown Boveri (Holding) Ltd., are all alleged to have paid out millions of dollars to Bitetto and officials from other parties. Fiat's engineering managing director confessed to making kickback payments. The other companies declined to comment.

According to police records, the kick-

backs were often paid by foreign subsidiaries of the companies concerned to confuse the money trail, and proceeds allegedly went into numbered bank accounts, held abroad by party officials (chart). The testimony of Bitetto and other ENEL officials has now led to multiple arrests.

4. It's a similar story with dozens of big public-works projects. Roman and Milanese magistrates now believe that almost all the contracts comprising the \$11 billion in Italian road construction between 1989 and 1992 included kickbacks of 7% to 8%.

5. Why has Italy Inc.'s dirty secret emerged now? There have been myriad scandals in Italy before Operation Clean Hands. This time, things are different.

The Columbia University-trained Prime Minister is a member, after all, of the discredited Socialist Party and has been a key Craxi aide for a decade. Most agree Rome will now try to modernize Italy's outmoded electoral laws and then face voters in new elections in the next few months.

6. HARSH LESSONS. Meanwhile, the revelations about the extent of corruption will no doubt harm the country's image. Fiat, for example, is already fighting to resist increasingly tough competition from rival auto makers. Its future now depends on a high-stakes, \$27 billion investment on new models due to roll off assembly lines by year-end. Now, says one senior Fiat executive in Turin: "I'm really worried by the



7. During the four decades of the cold war, Italy, with its homegrown Communist Party the largest in the West, was on the ideological front line. A majority of Italian voters supported a coalition of parties led by the anti-Communist Christian Democrats and Socialists. Now, with no communist threat, voters are deserting the traditional corruption-ridden parties in droves.

8. Paradoxically, the decapitation of Italy's traditional postwar leaders has allowed the eight-month-old government of law professor Giuliano Amato to pass some of the most far-reaching legislation in decades. Without interference from the parties, Amato is privatizing huge industrial and financial properties. His deficit-slashing budget is one of the toughest ever passed.

9. The next step will be the toughest. Amato is a kind of Gorbachev figure, an innovator still attached to the old system.

fact that countries and products are usually identified. If your country is corrupt, then somehow your products are, too."

10. But cleaning up the mess will ultimately make Italy a more open, and probably tougher, international competitor. That's why many in the Italian industrial world applaud the spreading investigation. True, it's a difficult time. Because of the political paralysis caused by Clean Hands, government spending has all but dried up, just as the worst recession in 20 years batters the country. Industrial unemployment has slumped by more than 6% in the past year, while consumption is falling drastically. And the political transition barely under way promises to be bruising. "But whatever the cost," says Stefano Micossi, a leading economist, "these investigations must go on." Italy can only benefit.

By John Rosenthal in Milan

DAVID L. ROSEN

The overall topic of Text 10E is corruption in Italy, and the clean-up efforts by the new government to end underground alliances between politicians and the business-world. The entire text is divided into three major parts with the first part devoted to an introduction. In this text, the introduction (part I) familiarizes the reader with some background information regarding the politicians and businessmen under investigation. The second part (II) goes further into the background of the Mafia-style system itself, and operation 'clean hands'. The third part (III) then describes the long-term benefits of the investigative activities.

The text starts out with a lead-in story, which is designed to catch the reader's attention; it has informal character.²⁵ The introductory sentence is labeled as a topic sentence and complemented by an indication of time: "On a cold, foggy day in Milan last winter [...]" (line 1). The next topic shift is indicated by the beginning of a new paragraph (line 12), and is supported by a bridge sentence ("Those words [...]") which stands in reference to the quote which ended the previous paragraph. This bridge sentence is a commentary by the author and it relates to the lead-in story of the first paragraph (I.1.). In line 23, the topic shifts to background explanations regarding the corruption and the politicians under investigation (I.2.), followed by a paragraph which describes the businessmen under fire. This topic shift is indicated by an orthographic indentation and is supported by a bridge

²⁵It would be intriguing to perform a separate narrative analysis of the beginnings of the articles selected for this study. It has been observed that many authors use this narrational technique at the beginning of their articles.

sentence, which refers back to the topic of the previous paragraph: "It's not only politicians who are under fire." (line 23).

Regarding the next topic shift, the analysts agreed that it occurs at line 34, however, a discussion among the analysts ensued when the conversation turned to where the division to the second section would take place. Two possibilities were argued: either with the paragraph starting on line 34, or with the one beginning on line 51. Although the bold-faced caption "Symbolic End" at line 34 could be taken as a very strong indication for a section division at this point, it cannot be assumed that this visual device was employed as an organizational device by the author. Quite to the contrary, it is more than likely that these bold-faced captions are chosen and implemented by the editor in order to capture the attention of the reader. It can also be seen as a pre-organizational device, i. e., as a means to prepare the reader for what is coming up in the text, however, not necessarily in the following paragraph.

There are more convincing arguments for a section division at line 51: Not only is it at this point where the caption is repeated at the beginning of the first sentence in the paragraph, but it is also obvious that the attention then turns to details about the cleanup of the corrupt system, personified by the election defeat of former Prime Minister Craxi.

The second topic shift in this part (II.2.) is marked at line 77, when the focus is moved from the involvement of Craxi and his government to the benefits for the political parties as a whole. This shift was supported by a bridge sentence: "For Italian political parties, such activities were giant spoils machines. [...]" (line 77).

The next paragraph, again, is preceded by a bold-faced caption. At this point, the emphasis shifts towards the financial aspects of the corrupt system. The shift is formally marked by a topic sentence and supported by the discourse marker "also" (line 93, section II.3.). It is at line 104 that the reader is provided with examples to illustrate the corruption mechanisms (II.4.). Since the author employs two different examples, this section is divided into two subsections, II.4.1. and II.4.2.: the first (starting at line 104) deals with ENEL, the state-owned electricity authority, the second section (starting at line 140) deals with other public-works projects.

It was a unanimous decision between the analysts to set the break for part III of the text at line 146. It starts out with the question: "Why has Italy Inc.'s dirty secret emerged now?" (line 146/7). Overall, this part is divided into four subsections, each with a different emphasis. Section III.1., beginning with line 150 and, after a short preceding introductory paragraph, deals with the influence of the decline of communism on the election results in Italy, and the voting patterns. The topic shift to section III.2. is marked by a bridge sentence, which moves the emphasis from the historical aspects mentioned in III.1. to Italy's new Prime Minister. Section III.2. is itself subdivided into two subsections: first, Amato's opportunities, the passing of new legislation and the privatization of parts of the industry (III.2.1.) are addressed, and second, the modernization of the electoral laws (III.2.2.). The last two sections of part III describe the consequences of this disclosure for Italy's image as illustrated by Fiat (III.3.), and the long-term benefits for Italy (III.4.).

Following is the outline of Text 10E, and the linguistic markers supporting each topic-shift.²⁶

²⁶The outlines of all English and German texts are located in Appendix A.

Table 2: Outline of Text 10E and Topic-Shift Indicators

Text 10E: The Cleanup of Italy Inc. by John Rossant in Milan, <i>Business Week</i> , March 1, 1993, pp. 50-51.	Linguistic Marker
(I.) ²⁷ Introduction	
I.1. Lead-in story	TS + CoTi
I.2. Background explanations regarding corruptions; politicians under investigation	BS
I.3. Businessmen under investigation	BS
I.4. Outlook on cleanup and new Italy	TS
(II.) Background	
II.1. End of the system; example Craxi	BS + CoTi
II.2. Benefits for political parties	BS
II.3. Financial consequences of the system	TS + DM
(II.4.) Examples: How did corruption work?	
II.4.1. ENEL	TS + Ini
II.4.2. Other public-works projects	BS + Ini
III. Why cleanup now?	TS + CoTi
III.1. Decline of communism - support of anti- communists	TS + CoTi
(III.2.) Opportunities for Amato	
III.2.1. New legislation, privatization of industry	BS + Ini
III.2.2. Modernization of electoral laws	BS + CoTi
III.3. Consequences for Italy's image; example Fiat	BS + CoTi
III.4. Benefits of cleanup	TS + DM

²⁷These number designations mark topical units within the text which consist of the subsections which follow them immediately. Some are set in parentheses, because they are only expressed indirectly. Therefore, no linguistic marker is supplied in the column on the right; however, since they comprise a thematic unit, they are taken into consideration when levels of subordination are concerned. This will become important for the statistical analysis in section 3.1.2.

The outline of Text 10E and its dependency relationships are then represented by the following tree-diagram:²⁸

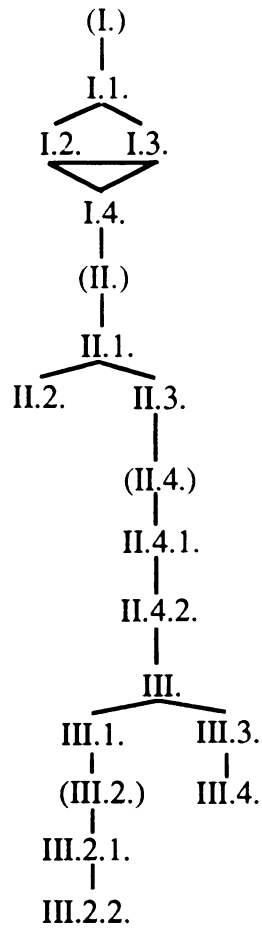


Figure 1: Representation of Text 10E as Tree-Diagram

²⁸The tree-diagrams of all English and German texts are located in Appendix B.

The diagram for Text 10E shows a powerful subordination of parts I, II, and III, which in themselves only display two coordinated elements each. Sections I.2. and I.3. are considered parallel to each other since both deal with the same aspect of the topic, i. e., the people under investigation: politicians on the one hand, and businessmen on the other. The text continues in a subordinated manner. The subordinating intention of the author is often indicated by the use of cohesive markers such as "Those words [...]" (line 12; I.2.), "The symbolic end of that system [...]" (line 51; II.1.), or "For Italian political parties, such activities [...]" (line 77; II.2.).

Sections II.2. and II.3. are arranged in a coordinated manner, however, rather than displaying the same kind of coordination as in sections I.2. and I.3. where both branches lead into I.4., branch II.2. provides additional information linked to section II.1., but is not followed up or continued in section II.3. Instead, section II.3. deals with a new subtopic.

The last coordinated pair in the text is III.1. and III.3. This is indicated at the beginning of section III.3.: "Meanwhile, the revelations [...]" (line 178), which is seen in figuratively temporal relation to III.1. which reviewed the reasons for the disclosures of the corruption for the reader.

All tree-diagrams are drawn in this manner: A close look at the dependency relationships in the text shows whether one macroproposition is subordinated or coordinated to the previous one. The dependency relationships are determined by the context as well as the cohesive devices between the identified macropropositions. Each macroproposition is then represented by a

branch in the tree. If one macroproposition shows signs of subordination in its context, the branch is drawn under the previous one, and if a macroproposition shows signs of coordination, the branch is drawn parallel to the previous one. Triangles in the tree-diagrams indicate that the following section summarizes the previous ones.

Some number designations in the outlines as well as in the tree-diagrams are set in parentheses, because they are only expressed indirectly. These parts or sections comprise a thematic unit, or a higher level macroproposition, which are not explicitly but implicitly obvious to the reader. They are very important when levels of subordination are concerned, and thus play a significant role for the statistical analysis performed in section 3.1.2.

The corresponding German text (Text 10G) is entitled "Traumjob Richter" by Friedhelm Gröteke and Lorenz Wolf-Doettinchem published in *Wirtschaftswoche* on March 5, 1993. This text, too, deals with a discussion of the corruption in Italy, and Italy's chances for political renewal. It is divided into three main sections: Section I is the introduction, section II discusses the details and effects of the corruption scandal, and section III provides an outlook to the future.

The introduction consists of three sections. The text-opening sentence arouses curiosity in the reader in that it refers to the consequences for Italy due to the lowering of the ratings for foreign currency investments by Moody's Investors Service: "Für Moody's Investors Service ist es Routine, für den italienischen Staatspräsidenten Oscar Luigi Scalfaro Anlaß zu scharfer Kritik:

[...]." (line 1-4). After this opening statement, the author provides the background information necessary to put this remark into its proper context. The context is given in a very efficient and factual manner: "Das politische System ist durch Korruption verrottet, die Lage der Staatsfinanzen desolat, die Wirtschaft steckt in einer Rezession, und die Lira erreicht an den Devisenmärkten immer neue Tiefstände. Kein Zweifel: Die Zukunft des Landes steht auf dem Spiel." (line 12-18). At the same time, this functions as a summary of what is going to be discussed in the article, and, therefore, it leads to the next subtopic (I.2.). The summary character of these previous sentences serves as an indication to the reader that a topic-shift is taking place. The transition into the next subtopic (I.2.) is provided by a bridge-sentence and supported by the introduction of a new individual, Prime Minister Amato: "Die Korruption reicht bis in die unmittelbare Umgebung des Ministerpräsidenten Giuliano Amato." (line 19-21) Section I.2. deals with the consequences of the corruption for members of the government, while I.3. talks about the extent of the corruption within the opposition. Section I.3. is introduced by *sogar*, a conjunction acting as an intensifier: "Sogar die Opposition ist betroffen: In der vergangenen Woche mußte Giorgio La Malfa, Chef der republikanischen Partei zurücktreten." (line 29-32) *Sogar* gives special emphasis to that particular sentence unit, and its use depends primarily on the subjective attitude of the writer towards his statement (Lederer 621/2). These three sections (I.1., I.2., and I.3.) comprise the introduction, and the reader is now ready to learn more about the details and effects of the corruption scandal.

The second part, section II.1., begins with a topic-sentence supported by a complement of time: "Was vor einem Jahr in Mailand mit der Aufdeckung einer Schmiergeldzahlung von sieben Millionen Lire (damals rund 9000 Mark) begann, [...]" (line 38-40). II.1 serves as an introduction to this analytical part of the article. From thereon, the reader is provided with details of the corruption. Section II.1 informs us what the group "mani pulite" exposed, and how the term "echter Wettbewerb" (real competition) was to be understood.

Section II.2. begins at line 60 and addresses the effects of free competition ("freier Wettbewerb") on the industry as a whole, and the construction industry in particular. Its topic-shift is determined to be a bridge-sentence referring back to the previous paragraph. In addition, its beginning: "Freier Wettbewerb ..." (line 60) is contrasted with the beginning of the immediately preceding paragraph : "Echten Wettbewerb ..." (line 49).

Subsection II.2.1. starting at line 78 provides an example as to how the lack of newly-elected local politicians affects the bidding on construction projects, and is therefore considered as a subsection to II.2. The lack of construction contracts, in turn, adds to the unemployment rate, which has already been affected by crises in other sectors of Italian industry. This is the topic of II.3. The topic-shift from II.2.1. to II.3. is introduced by a bridge-sentence, which establishes cohesion to the previous paragraph by using a metaphor of the red traffic light meaning cessation: "Rotes Licht für die Aufträge an die Bauwirtschaft [...]" The metaphor is referring to the lack of renewals of service for traffic lights at the end of the

previous paragraph (II.2.1.): "In Neapel, ebenfalls auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Bürgermeister, wird nicht einmal mehr die Ausschreibung für den Service an den Verkehrsampeln erneuert." (line 81-85).

Section II.4. addresses the rise of the unemployment rate, and the weak prognosis for an increase of Italy's gross domestic product. The transition to II.4. is achieved by a bridge-sentence which is supported by a complement of time ("Bereits im vergangenen Jahr [...]") (line 94).

Sections II.5. and II.6. each deal with recent positive and negative developments: increased international competitiveness on the one hand (II.5.) and increased national debt on the other (II.6.). Section II.5. starts out with a topic-sentence: "Einziges Lichtblick: Die Exporte sollen um 6,6 Prozent steigen." (line 105/6). The bridge-sentence at the beginning of II.6. relates to II.5.: "Weniger erfolgreich war der Ministerpräsident beim Kurieren der anderen italienischen Krankheit: der Staatsverschuldung." (line 117-120). The national debt is discussed further in the following paragraph (II.6.1.). Because it exemplifies the consequences of the national debt, it is considered as a subsection to II.6. The transition is indicated by a bridge-sentence and supported by a complement of time: "In diesem Jahr werden die Staatsschulden [...]" (line 125).

The break between the second and third part of the text occurs in line 134. The discourse marker *doch* plays an important role in this final segment: it is strategically positioned at the beginning of each of the three paragraphs in section III. The topic-sentence introducing the first section of this part (III.1.) reads:

"Doch Italiens Wirtschaft will die Reform trotzdem." (line 134/5). Here, *doch* and *trotzdem* support and strengthen each other's meaning and function. At the same time, they frame the sentence. Both are used in contexts of a contrastive, yet assertive nature (Lederer 415). According to Engel, *doch* signals a contrastive idea and connects ideas in an adversary manner (742).²⁹ He also points out that when stressed on the first syllable, *trotzdem* functions as an intensifier of opposite matters (729). It can be stated, then, that *trotzdem* at the end of the sentence supports *doch* at the beginning of the sentence. The paragraph which is introduced in this manner (III.1.) deals with the actions required in order to change Italy's public image. Interestingly enough, these conditions are all packed into one long sentence and each condition is prefaced by the conditional conjunction *wenn*. The double conjunction *nur wenn* at the beginning of the sentence increases the conditional nature of the dependent clause and indicates its limiting meaning (Lederer 464).

As mentioned above, section III.2. also starts with *doch*: "Doch so weit ist es noch nicht: [...]. (line 150). Again, we have a situation in which additional information is introduced to the reader in an adversary manner. The positive outlook conveyed in the previous paragraph is being restricted by the facts which are presented in this paragraph.

At the beginning of section III.3., *doch* introduces the text's final paragraph: "Doch der Neuanfang ist schwer." (line 176) It should be noted here that its function in this context does not

²⁹The discourse markers *doch* and *auch* will be examined more closely in section 3.3.

appear to be as strong as in the previous two instances. The reasons for this are, first, that its repetitive use has a tiring effect on the reader and seems stylistically inappropriate, and second, it functions not so much in contrast to the statement made in the previous sentence, but rather provides additional information to the two previous paragraphs.

Following is the outline of Text 10G, and the linguistic markers supporting each topic-shift.

Table 3: Outline of Text 10G and Topic-Shift Indicators

Text 10G: Traumjob Richter by F. Gröteke and L. Wolf-Doettinchem, <i>Wirtschaftswoche</i> , March 5, 1993, pp. 36-37.	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Italy's image	TS
I.2. Corruption within Government	BS + Ini
I.3. Corruption within Opposition	BS + DM
(II.) Details and effects of corruption scandal	
II.1. Results of "mani pulite"	TS + CoTi
II.2. Effects on economy without rules of corruption; example construction industry	BS
II.2.1. Lack of local politicians - no contracts for construction industry	BS + Ini
II.3. Lack of contracts - rising unemployment	BS
II.4. Unemployment and economic predictions	BS + CoTi
II.5. Positive development: increased competitiveness	TS
II.6. Negative development: increased national debt	BS
II.6.1. Consequences of national debt - inability of government to reform	BS + CoTi
(III.) Outlook	
III.1. Actions required in order to change public image	TS + DM
III.2. Obstacles to reach this goal	BS + DM
III.3. Conclusion: How to deal with corruption; dreamjobs	TS + DM

The outline of the dependency relationships in Text 10G is then represented by the following tree-diagram:

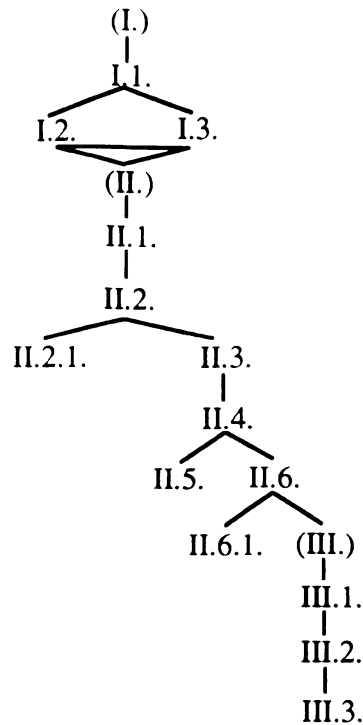


Figure 2: Representation of Text 10G as Tree-Diagram

The tree-diagram for text 10G contains 12 levels of subordination, and 8 coordinated elements. Part I consists of three sections. Sections I.2. and I.3. are both preceded by I.1., and they are arranged in a coordinated manner: both deal with the same aspect of the topic, i. e., the extent of the corruption within the government (I.2.) and within the opposition (I.3.). They lead into the second part of the text. It contains 6 sections, which are mostly subordinated to each other. Sections II.2.1. and II.3. are drawn parallel to each other, yet the topic of the article is continued through II.3. into II.4., whereas subsection II.2.1. consists of

additional information provided in form of an example which complements section II.2., but is not followed up. Sections II.5. and II.6. are also coordinated: they describe positive (II.5.) and negative (II.6.) developments for Italy since the corruption scandal was revealed. Section II.6. is followed by II.6.1., which continues to address the consequences of the national debt; a topic which was brought up in section II.6. Part III., then, is entirely subordinated in itself.

CHAPTER 3: DISCOURSE ANALYSES OF GERMAN AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTS

3.1. Analyses of the Organizational Structure

3.1.1. Evaluation of the Tree-Diagrams

Based on the framework for analysis demonstrated in the previous chapter, this study sets out to analyze 15 texts in German and 15 texts in English to determine the organizational patterns displayed by the two languages.

Generally, a text can be determined to display a subordinated organizational pattern, if it showed a fairly linear development from one starting point, with the subsequent macrostructures following the others directly and in a chronological order. Discourse coordination, on the other hand, can occur if the text shows several macrostructures which each have their own branching macropropositions.³⁰

These definitions however are considered to be too vague and subjective when applied to the text corpus. A numerical system is needed in order to apply appropriate statistical tests which will help determine whether a text shows a subordinated or a coordinated structure, or a combination of both. Therefore, three rules have been set up which will be applied to each tree-diagram.³¹

³⁰This definition was applied by Michael Clyne for the interpretation of his research data on cross-cultural differences of German and English texts for academic purposes.

³¹Again, please refer to Appendix B for the tree-diagrams.

Rule # 1: Number of coordinated elements - levels of
subordination

Rule # 2: Amount of subordination

Rule # 3: Dominance of coordination

The application of these rules to all tree-diagrams will quantify the amount of coordination and the levels of subordination displayed by each text. According to rule #1, each branch of coordination is assigned a +1, and each level of subordination is assigned a -1. This technique is equal to adding up the total amount of coordinated elements and subtracting the levels of subordination. Rule #2 and rule #3 are only applied in cases where the application of rule #1 created ties between two or more tree-diagrams, i. e., if the calculation resulted in the same number designation for two or more tree-diagrams.

It is the objective of this technique to assign each text to a specific rank on a numbered scale, where the higher the number, the greater the amount of coordination displayed in the text. At the other end of the spectrum, the lower the number, the more subordinated the structure of the text. This method will provide the basis for statistical tests, which will determine whether the organizational structures displayed by the German texts are significantly different from the ones exhibited by the English texts.

The following example will illustrate the application of these rules: The first rule requires that the levels of subordination be subtracted from the number of coordinated elements within each text. Text 2E, for example, shows 12 levels of subordination, and 8 coordinated elements, resulting in the number -4. Our example text

10E shows 6 coordinated elements and 14 levels of subordination.

Thus, the number assigned will be $6 - 14 = -8$.

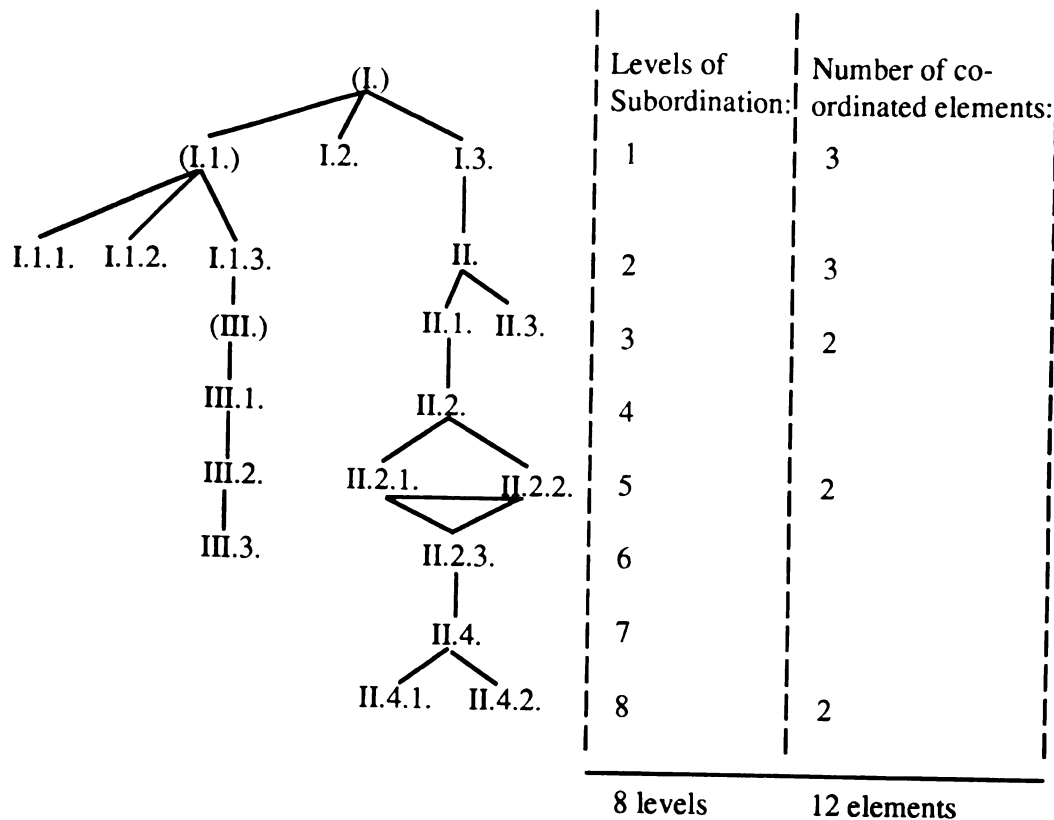


Figure 3: Representation of Text 2E as Tree-Diagram

All tree-diagrams are analyzed in this manner, and the results of this operation are recorded in the left column of Table 4 below.

However, as can be seen by the results in the table, several texts end up with the same number designation, for example texts 5G, 7G, 12E and 15E receive the number -7.

In order to discriminate between those texts showing the same number, rule #2 is applied: this rule considers the amount of

subordination, i. e., the higher the number of subordination-levels displayed in a tree-diagram, the more subordinated the overall organizational structure of the text. As mentioned above: Texts 5G, 7G, 12E, and 15E all received the number -7 after applying rule #1. However, they differ in their levels of subordination: Text 5G shows 12 levels, text 7G shows 9 levels, text 12E shows 10 levels, and text 15E shows 13 levels of subordination. Therefore, text 7G has the lowest number of subordination levels among these four texts, and is thus assigned the highest rank within the order of this set of texts. The ranking order, which is reflected in Table 4, is: 7G is more coordinated (and less subordinated) than 12 E, which in turn is more coordinated than 5G, which is more coordinated than 15E. These two rules will isolate most of the cases encountered in the analyses.

Finally, the third rule will help resolve the remaining ambiguities between the texts. It focuses on the dominance of coordination, i. e., it addresses the following question: At what level of subordination does the first coordination of two or more macrostructures in the text occur?

A look at the tree-diagrams of texts 6E, 10G, and 14E will illustrate how the second and third rules are applied to distinguish between representations with the same number. Applying rule #1, text 6E shows 4 coordinated elements and 8 levels of subordination; therefore we obtain a result of $4 - 8 = -4$. Text 10G shows 8 coordinated elements, and 12 levels of subordination. Again, applying rule # 1, i. e., subtracting the levels of coordination from the number of coordinated elements results in: $8 - 12 = -4$. Like

text 6E, text 14E also shows 4 coordinated elements, and 8 levels of subordination, therefore resulting in the same number designation, i. e., -4, just like texts 6E and 10G. As this point, rule # 2 has to be applied in order to discriminate between results with the same number after the application of rule # 1. Rule # 2 considers the amount of subordination. While texts 6E and 14E both display 8 levels of subordination, text 10G shows 12 levels. On the linear scale in order of increasing coordination, Text 10G, therefore, will be ranked below texts 6E and 14E.

Rule #3, dominance of coordination, has to be employed for texts 6E and 14E, because rule #2 is not sufficient in distinguishing between the two: both texts show 4 coordinated elements and 8 levels of subordination. In text 6E, the first coordinated element starts at the fourth level of subordination, while the first coordinated element in text 14E starts at the third level of subordination. As coordination occurs at a higher level in text 14E, it will be considered slightly more coordinated than 6E, and will therefore be ranked above text 6E. These three examples are marked in bold-face in Table 4 below. It shows the results of the application of these rules as stated above to all the texts in the study:

Table 4: Compilation of the Results of the Analyses

Increasing coordination	Texts analyzed	Ranking order of the texts	Rank assigned
13	4E (19-6)	4E	30
12	1E (16-4)	1E	29
11		2E	28
10		3E	27
9		4G	26
8		7E	25
7		12G	24
6		5E	23
5		11E	22
4	2E (12-8)	1G	21
3	3E (9-6) 4G (10-7)	15G	20
2	7E (8-6)	3G	19
1		2G	18
0	12G (3-10)	8E	17
-1	5E (6-7) 11E (7-8)	14E	16
-2	1G (5-7) 3G (7-9) 15G (6-8)	6E	15
-3	2G (5-8) 8E (9-12)	10G	14
-4	6E (4-8) 10G (8-12) 14E (4-8)	9E	13
-5	9E (2-7) 11G (7-12)	14G	12
	13G (6-11) 14G (2-7)	13G	11
-6	6G (5-11) 13E (9-15)	11G	10
-7	5G (5-12) 7G (2-9)	6G	9
	12E (3-10) 15E (6-13)	13E	8
-8	10E (6-14)	7G	7
-9		12E	6
-10	9G (6-16)	5G	5
-11	8G (0-11)	15E	4
		10E	3
increasing subordination		9G	2
		8G	1

The ranking numbers in the right column in Table 4 will be important for the application of two statistical tests which will determine the significance of the differences between the organizational patterns displayed by both sets of texts. These tests will be explained in detail in the next section.

3.1.2. Application of the Statistical Tests

The Wilcoxon test for matched-pairs lends itself to two-sample situations where the data are in the form of so-called 'matched-pairs' (Neave et al. 1988: 160). Since the criterion of 'topic' was used in order to select and match the English and German texts, we have a situation where there is some kind of pairing between the two samples. According to Neave et al. (1988: 161), the only valid way to deal with data that are in the form of matched pairs is to regard each matched pair as a single sampling unit, and to represent it by an appropriate summary of its original pair of values. It is then that the data will indeed consist of just one sample. In our case, there is a total of 15 English and 15 German texts, which are matched by their content, or topic. Therefore, for the purposes of the statistical test, the sample does not consist of two sampling units, i. e., the German set and the English set, but due to their matching in pairs they are considered as one sampling unit, consisting of a total of 15 pairs.

A cursory analysis of sample texts taken from *WirtschaftsWoche* and *Business Week* showed an apparently higher

degree of coordination displayed by the English texts as compared to the German texts. Therefore, the hypotheses of the test are determined as follows: Evidence is being sought to show that the English texts in the sample display a higher degree of coordination than the German counterparts. This will therefore define H_1 , with H_0 representing no significant difference between the organizational structure of the German and English texts:

H_0 : There is no difference in the organizational patterns of the English and the German texts selected for this study.

H_1 : The English texts are more coordinated than the German texts.

As mentioned above, each text was assigned a rank according to its degree of discourse coordination and/or discourse subordination. These ranks are shown in the right column in Table 4, and they are listed in Table 5 directly under the set number. The Wilcoxon test requires these rankings to be compared for each English and German pair. This will be achieved by calculating the differences between each pair: the rank assigned for the German text is subtracted from the one assigned to its English counterpart.

As can be seen in Table 5, this operation resulted in several differences which are equal to each other, e.g. sets #5 and #7 both resulted in number 18. In addition, due to the nature of the Wilcoxon test, the negative and positive signs of the differences obtained by subtracting the rank assigned for the German text from the one assigned to its matched English text will be ignored in determining their final ranks. This procedure increases the number of equal differences, e. g. number 18 will now be taken by sets #5,

#7, and #12, therefore creating a three-way tie. In addition, there are 4 instances of a two-way tie: sets # 1 and 3 both show a difference of 8; sets #4 and #14 show a difference of 4; sets #8 and #15 show a difference of 16; and sets #9 and #10 show a difference of 11. The problem then, of course, is that the ranks will not be uniquely defined. The solution is to average the ranks that would have been taken by these tied observations if we had been able to discriminate between them, and then allocate this average to each of the tied values. For example: the smallest difference exists between the English and German texts of set # 13: -3; set # 13 therefore receives the assigned rank of 1. The next highest difference between the English and German text is 4 and it is shown in sets #4 and #14. They would normally have been assigned ranks 2 and 3, but now will receive the average of both ranks, 2.5. Similarly, sets #9 and #10 share the difference 11, remembering that signs are ignored. They would have taken ranks 8 and 9, and due to their tie receive the average of both ranks, 8.5. The same procedure is applied to sets #4 and #14, #8 and #15, and sets #5, #7, and #12.

Once all these ambiguities are resolved, we may test H_0 against H_1 using the Wilcoxon signed-rank statistic. The statistic T is defined as either the sum of ranks of positive differences, or the sum of ranks of negative differences, according to which choice would be expected to be the smaller if H_1 were true. The appropriate choice in our problem is the rank sum of the negative differences, because the minus-figures indicate all cases in which a German text was more coordinated than its corresponding English

text. Therefore, adding up the minus-figures will show the significance of the evidence disproving H_1 .

Negative differences were found in only four sets of texts, i. e., set number 10, 12, 13, and 15. The rank sum of the negative differences (ignoring signs) is therefore

$$T = 8.5 + 14 + 1 + 11.5 = 35.$$

Table 5: The Application of the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Test

Set #	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Engl.	29	28	27	30	23	15	25	17	13	3	22	6	8	16	4
Ger.	21	18	19	26	5	9	7	1	2	14	10	24	11	2	20
Diff.	8	10	8	4	18	6	18	16	11	-11	12	-18	-3	4	-16
Ranks	5.5	7	5.5	2.5	14	4	14	11.5	8.5	8.5	10	14	1	2.5	11.5

Critical values are obtained from a table for the Wilcoxon signed-rank test with α_1 significance levels.³² For our set of texts with $n=15$, the critical region³³ for $T \leq 30$ is $\alpha_1 = 5\%$. The value $T = 35$ obtained in the present study, therefore, is far beyond the 5%

³²This table is provided in Neave et al. *Distribution-free Tests*. London: Unwin, 1988. 373.

³³A critical region is defined as a collection of values of T . It indicates what kind of values of T will most strongly point to H_1 being true rather than H_0 being true. (Neave et al. (1988), p. 50.

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significance level, and so it is found that there is no significant evidence for H_1 to be true. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the English texts are significantly more coordinated than the German texts in this sample, or that the German texts show significantly higher levels of subordination than their English counterparts.

At this point, it could be argued that this test is far too powerful and restrictive, in that it requires the German and English texts to be matched according to the principle of topicality. But why should topic play such an overwhelming role in determining the organizational pattern of a text in a particular language? In order to alleviate this concern, a second test was applied. The Mann-Whitney test lends itself for situations with two independent samples (Neave et al.: 109ff). The English and German texts are therefore not considered as matched-pairs any more, but as data independent from each other. The hypotheses and data are the same as applied in the Wilcoxon matched-pairs test. For the purposes of the Mann-Whitney test, we will denote the data on the English texts as sample E and the data on the German texts as sample G. The sizes of the samples will be denoted n_E and n_G , so that $n_E = 15$ and $n_G = 15$. The Mann-Whitney test compares every item in sample E in turn with every item in sample G. In all, there are then $n_E n_G$ comparisons to be made. The method applied to carry out this computation is fairly efficient. The first task is to arrange all the data into ascending order, though with the samples still retaining their separate identities. The ascending order is determined from most subordinated texts at the left end of the scale to most coordinated texts at the right end of the scale.

8G 9G 10E 15E 5G 12E 7G 13E 6G 11G 13G 14G 9E 10G ----->

-----> 6E 14E 8E 2G 3G 15G 1G 11E 5E 12G 7E 4G 3E 2E 1E 4E

The next step is to write down a list of E's and G's corresponding to the origins of the texts in the ordered sequence, thus obtaining the following letter sequence:

G G E E G E G E G G G G E G E E E G G G G E E G E G E E E E

This indicates that the two lowest readings, i. e., the two most subordinated and hence least coordinated texts come from sample G, the next two readings come from sample E, and so on. Next, we write under each G the number of E's that precede it in the sequence:

<u>G G E E G E G E G G G G E G E E E G G G G E E G E G E E E E</u>																
0	0		2	3	4	4	4	4	5		8	8	8	8	10	11

The numbers recorded show how many of the E values are exceeded by the G value, i. e., the number of cases in which the English texts were more subordinated than the German texts. In order to determine how many of the G values exceed the E values, we add together the figures obtained, giving a value which is denoted by the statistic U:

$$U = 2 + 3 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 5 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 8 + 10 + 11 = 79$$

The critical values for U are given in the table for the Mann-Whitney test.³⁴ For our sample size, the critical region for significance level $\alpha_1 = 5\%$ is $U \leq 72$. The U -value obtained in our test ($U=79$) is therefore well beyond the critical region, thereby rejecting H_1 to be true.

In summary, it can be stated that the results of the Mann-Whitney test confirm the results obtained in the Wilcoxon matched-pairs test. Both tests determine that there is no conclusive evidence that the German texts display a more subordinated and, therefore, less coordinated organizational structure than the English texts, and vice versa. It also became evident that the results of the statistical tests are not affected by the treatment of the samples as matched or single items.

3.2. Analyses of the Topic Shift Indicators

While it has been found that there is no significant evidence of linguistically and therefore culturally determined discourse patterns on the overall text level, it remains to be examined whether this also applies to lower-level discourse phenomena on the sentence- and word-level. In the following two sections, the data obtained for the English and the German texts will be compiled and interpreted with emphasis on their mechanisms of topic-shift.

³⁴This table is provided in Neave et al. *Distribution-free Tests*. London: Unwin, 1988. 375/6.

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3.2.1. The English Text Corpus

As could be seen in the sample analysis of Text 10E, each topic shift was justified by sentence types such as topic or bridge sentences. They were often supported by linguistic markers such as discourse markers (DM), a sudden change of tense (ChTe), complements of time (CoTi), complements of place (CoPl), and/or the introduction or reintroduction of a new individual (Ini). Following is a frequency compilation of the number of topic shifts occurring in all English texts. Also shown are the number of topic shifts which were introduced by a sentence involving sentence-element variation (SEV).³⁵

³⁵In addition, Table 4 shows the number of topic-shifts which were preceded by a direct quotation. These figures will not be followed up by a separate analysis. However, they could provide an interesting basis for further research which is suggested in chapter 4.

Table 6: Topic-Shifts in the English Text Corpus

Text#	#of topic-shifts	#of topic-shifts with SEV	# of quotes preceding a topic-shift
1	13	8	5
2	18	11	2
3	13	5	3
4	18	5	3
5	10	4	-
6	10	6	3
7	9	4	3
8	14	7	6
9	9	4	2
10	15	6	4
11	12	5	4
12	13	6	2
13	18	12	7
14	10	5	1
15	15	8	4
Total	197 (100%)	96 (49%)	49 (25%)

There were a total of 197 topic-shifts in all 15 English texts. In 96 cases, or 49% of all cases, a topic-shift was supported by the technique of sentence-element-variation (SEV) as its indicator, and in 49 cases, or 25% of all cases, a topic-shift was preceded by direct quotations. Table 7 shows the categories and their combinations with linguistic markers:

Table 7: Breakdown of all Topic-Shifts in the English Text Corpus

	TS	BS	Total
TS	38	-	38 (19%)
BS	-	39	39 (20%)
DM	6	24	30 (15%)
Ini	16	31	47 (24%)
CoTi	18	17	35 (18%)
ChTe	2	4	6 (3%)
CoPl	-	2	2 (1%)
Total	80 (40%)	117 (60%)	197 (100%)

Out of the total amount of 197 topic-shifts in all English texts, 80, or ca. 40%, were indicated by topic sentences (TS), while 117, or ca.

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60%, were marked by bridge sentences (BS). A total of 77 (or 39%) topic-shifts initiated by topic or bridge sentences were not supported by any linguistic markers. A combination with discourse markers as indicators for a topic-shift was recorded in 15% of all cases, while 18% were supported by complements of time. 24% of all topic-shifts were combined with the introduction or reintroduction of an individual, or a group of people. The combinations of topic and bridge sentences with discourse markers and/or complements of time as indicators for a topic-shift are shown in Tables 8 and 9.

Table 8: Complements of Time as Linguistic Markers

	TS	BS	Total %	as SEV
Precise Calendar Dates	4	1	14	1
Days/Months/Years	3	3	17	5
Seasons	3	-	9	1
Prepositional Phrases	4	2	17	6
Adverbs:	4	11	43	-
[now	3	3]		5
[meanwhile	1	3]		4
[already	-	2]		2
[next	-	1]		-
[since	-	1]		-
Total	18	17	100	24

It is striking here that 43% of all topic-shifts were complemented with adverbs of time such as *now*, *meanwhile*, *already*, *next*, and *since*. 31% of these were positioned in initial position when a topic-shift occurred, i. e., in situations of sentence element variation. Examples of precise calendar dates are *on May 25* (Text 5E), or *Oct. 25* (Text 8E). The category "Days/Months/Years" includes *in October* (Text 15E), *in late June* (Text 1E), or *by 1991* (Text 2E), etc. Seasons mentioned include *last winter* (Text 10E), *this fall* (Text 5E), and *last spring* (Text 15E). Examples for prepositional phrases are *in the end* and *for decades* (Text 2E), or *for years* (Text 13E).

Table 9: Discourse Markers as Linguistic Markers

	TS	BS	Total %
b u t	3	1 2	5 0
a l s o	2	7	3 0
i n d e e d	1	2	1 0
t o o	-	1	3
a s w e l l	-	2	7
T o t a l	6	2 4	1 0 0

Table 7 showed that 15% of all topic-shifts in the English text corpus are supported by discourse markers. In Table 9, it is noticeable that 50% of all topic-shifts indicated by a topic- or bridge sentence were accompanied by the discourse marker *but*. It is followed by *also* which occurs in 30% of all cases that show a combination of a topic or bridge sentence with a discourse marker.³⁶

The variation of sentence elements can be employed as an effective stylistic and organizational device to alter and improve the flow of a text, and to retain the interest of the reader. It also places additional emphasis on the element which is located in sentence- and paragraph-initial position. According to Ulrich Engel, the variation of sentence elements is used by a speaker/writer in order to indicate his/her communicative intent, i. e., it has the purpose of causing a specific effect in the listener/reader (329). He states that the arrangement of certain elements in sentence-initial position calls special attention to this specific element. However, Engel also points out that it is very important not to overuse the variation of sentence elements as it would otherwise lose its special effect (331). As seen in Table 6, this technique was used by the English authors in 49% of all topic-shifts. Table 10 shows that 31% of sentence-element variation was achieved by conjunctions, with *but* being the conjunction employed most.

³⁶Because of their significance, *but* and *also* will be analyzed in more detail later in section 3.3.

Table 10: Sentence Element Variation as Organizational Device

Participle Phrases	8
Prepositional Phrases	17
Infinitive Phrases	6
Complements of Place	2
Adverbs	9
Conjunctions:	30
[but	13]
[if	4]
[when	3]
[while	3]
[other	7]
Complements of Time	24
Total	96

3.2.2. The German Text Corpus

In the following, the same data analysis is applied to the German text corpus. Table 11 shows the number of topic-shifts occurring in each text, and their significance in combination with the variation of sentence elements and preceding quotes.

Table 11: Topic-Shifts in the German Text Corpus

Text#	#of topic-shifts	#of topic-shifts with SEV	# of quotes preceding a topic-shift
1	1 1	7	1
2	1 1	5	-
3	1 1	5	-
4	1 4	7	2
5	1 5	6	2
6	1 8	1 1	2
7	8	5	2
8	9	3	4
9	1 6	1 2	4
1 0	1 4	8	-
1 1	1 4	7	-
1 2	1 2	4	1
1 3	1 4	7	-
1 4	9	5	2
1 5	1 1	6	-
Total	1 8 7	98 (52%)	20 (11%)

There were a total of 187 topic-shifts in all 15 German texts. In 98 instances, or 52% of all cases, the readers' attention for a topic-shift was gained by sentence element variation. In 20 instances, or 11% of all cases, a topic-shift was preceded by a quote. Table 12 shows the combinations of topic and bridge sentences with linguistic markers:

Table 12: Breakdown of all Topic-Shifts in the German Text Corpus

	TS	BS	Total
TS	29	-	29 (15.5%)
BS	-	30	30 (16%)
DM	10	38	48 (26%)
Ini	9	40	49 (26%)
CoTi	6	22	28 (15%)
ChTe	1	-	1 (.5%)
CoPl	-	2	2 (1%)
Total	55 (29%)	132 (71%)	187 (100%)

71% of the total number of all topic-shifts occurring in the German texts were indicated by bridge, and 29% by topic sentences.

While 31.5% of all topic-shifts were not supported by any linguistic markers, it is noticeable that 26% of all topic-shifts were supported by discourse markers. A combination with the introduction or reintroduction of an individual, or a group of people in support of a topic-shift was also noticed in 26% of all cases, while 15% were supported by complements of time. The figures also show that the role of change of tense as well as complements of place in support of a topic-shift can be disregarded. Tables 13 and 14 display the combinations of topic and bridge sentences with complements of time and discourse markers.

Table 13: Complements of Time as Linguistic Markers

	TS	BS	Total %	as SEV
Precise Calendar Dates	-	-	-	-
Days/Months/Years	3	7	3 6	6
Prepositional Phrases	1	9	3 6	6
Adverbs:	2	6	2 8	4
[nun	1	2]		5
[jetzt	-	2]		4
[damals	-	1]		2
[derzeit	1	-]		-
[zunächst	-	1]		-
Total	6	2 2	1 0 0	1 6

As mentioned in Table 12, 15% of all topic-shifts were supported by complements of time. The breakdown in the individual categories is as follows: Complements of time embedded in a prepositional phrase were employed in 36% of topic-shift and complement of time combinations. Examples in this category are *innerhalb weniger Monate* (Text 1G), *bereits im vergangenen Jahr* (Text 10G), or *in jüngster Zeit* (Text 6G). Adverbs like *nun*, *jetzt*, *damals*, *derzeit*, and *zunächst* were used in almost 28% of all cases. Interestingly enough, 57% of topic-shifts which were supported by complements of time occurred in paragraph-initial position, i. e., in situations of sentence element variation.

Table 14: Discourse Markers as Linguistic Markers

DM	TS	BS	Total %
auch	-	6	12.5
doch	5	4	19
jedoch	-	3	6.5
zwar	-	4	8
sogar	-	2	4
damit	-	2	4
so	1	1	4
other	4	16	42
Total	10	38	100

In the German set of data, it is striking that discourse markers occurred far more often in combination with bridge sentences (almost 80% of all cases) than with topic-sentences. The discourse marker *doch* was employed most (almost 19%), followed by *auch* (12.5%). The category *other* comprises discourse markers such as *dann*, *dennoch*, *zudem*, *dagegen*, *ebenfalls*, etc. which were each used only once, and either in combination with a topic or a bridge sentence.

Table 15: Sentence Element Variation as Organizational Device

Subjunkturen (DM)	8
Konjunkturen (DM)	11
Partikeln (DM)	10
Adverbs (DM)	5
Adjectives	6
Verbs	6
Prepositional Phrases	22
Direct Object	9
Indirect Object	1
Complements of Time	16
Complements of Place	4
Total	98

German authors used the variation of sentence elements as a stylistic device in over 50% of all topic-shifts. Subordinating and coordinating conjunctions were used in almost 20% of all topic-shifts in initial position of a paragraph. 22% started the new topic with prepositional phrases such as "In den chinesischen Medien ..." (Text 1G), "Auf der Liste der privatisierbaren Unternehmen..." (Text 5G), or "In ihrer Not versuchen die Hersteller ..." (Text 6G). As mentioned above, complements of time were also important additions to bridge and topic sentences; ca. 16% of all variations of sentence elements were achieved with complements of time.

3.3. Comparison of the English and German Sets of Data

It is the purpose of Table 16 to provide an overview of the topic-shift occurrences and their supporting linguistic markers in both the English and the German text corpus.

Table 16: German and English Texts in Comparison

German Text Corpus					English Text Corpus			
	TS	BS	Total	%	TS	BS	Total	%
TS	29	-	29	15.5	38	-	38	19
BS	-	30	30	16	-	39	39	20
DM	10	38	48	25.5	6	24	30	15
Ini	9	40	49	26	16	31	47	24
CoTi	6	22	28	15	18	17	35	18
ChTe	1	-	1	.5	2	4	6	3
CoPl	-	2	2	1	-	2	2	1
Total	55	132	187	100 ³⁷	80	117	197	100

In Table 16, it is noticeable that the English sets of texts show a slightly higher amount of topic shifts which are indicated solely by topic or bridge sentence without support from any linguistic markers as compared to the German set (English set: TS 19%, BS 20%, resulting in a total of 39%; German set: TS 15.5%, BS 16%, resulting in a total of 31.5%). Categories like the introduction of a new individual or the reintroduction of an individual, or a group of people (Ini) are comparable in both sets; the English set shows 24% of all cases of topic-shift, the German text set shows 26%. This also

³⁷Due to a rounding error, these figures do not add up to 100% but 99.5%.

applies to the Complements of Time (CoTi) as topic-shift supports (18% in the English set, 15% in the German set). The change of tense (ChTe), and complements of place (CoPl) in support of a topic-shift do not even play a significant role. A closer look at the combinations of topic and bridge sentences with the linguistic markers reveals, however, that the biggest difference between the two sets of data occurs in their use of discourse markers (DM): Whereas in the English set, 15% of all shifts are supported by discourse markers, the German shows their support in 25.5% of all cases of topic-shifts.

In order to claim the significance of the difference between the figures obtained for the German text corpus in comparison to the English text corpus, a chi-squared test was applied to the data. The original hypotheses are adapted to this test and read as follows:

H_0 : There is no difference in the use of topic-shift indicators between the English and the German texts selected for this study.

H_1 : There is a difference in the use of topic-shift indicators between the English and the German texts selected for this study.

The chi-squared test revealed that the value of χ^2 for the category discourse markers is 4.14. This value lies in the 1% - 5% significance level, which means that there is considerable evidence to support the hypothesis that German uses more discourse markers to initiate a topic-shift than English. Thus, H_1 has proven to be true in the category discourse markers. The values of χ^2 for all other categories of topic-shift indicators are beyond the 5% critical

region, and therefore do not provide significant evidence for H_1 to be true.³⁸

A combination of Tables 9 and 14 will reveal which discourse markers are preferred in each of the languages and within the present framework.

Table 17: Comparison of the Use of Discourse Markers

English Text Corpus				German Text Corpus			
DM	TS	BS	Total %	DM	TS	BS	Total %
but	3	12	50	auch	-	6	12.5
also	2	7	30	doch	5	4	19
indeed	1	2	10	jedoch	-	3	6.5
too	-	1	3	zwar	-	4	8
as well	-	2	7	sogar	-	2	4
				damit	-	2	4
				so	1	1	4
				other	4	16	42
Total	6	24	100	Total	10	38	100

³⁸The χ^2 values obtained for the other categories are: TS: $\chi^2 = 1.2$; BS: $\chi^2 = 1.16$; Ini: $\chi^2 = 0.04$; CoTi: $\chi^2 = 0.76$. Since the expected frequencies for the categories ChTe and CoPl are very small, they were combined into one category. The value obtained for $\chi^2 = 2.27$, which also lies well beyond the critical region of 5%.

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A comparison of the discourse markers employed in each language shows the following: English authors clearly favor the discourse markers *but* and *also* in support of topic-shifts, while German authors employ the discourse markers *doch* and *auch* overwhelmingly. In addition, the Germans use a wider variety of discourse markers, subsumed under the category *other*. As mentioned above, this category includes discourse markers such as *dann*, *dennoch*, *zudem*, *dagegen*, *ebenfalls*, etc. which are each only used once.

In order to understand this preference of some discourse markers over others, *but* and *also* will be examined more closely in their respective contexts in the English texts, and *auch* and *doch* were selected for a closer analysis within their respective German contexts.

The Discourse Markers *but* and *also*

In Table 9, the significance of *but* as a formal marker supporting a topic shift became quantitatively evident. It is the purpose of the following discussion to examine the qualitative contribution of *but* to the organization of the English texts. In her publication on discourse markers, Schiffrin (1987)³⁹ assigns *but*

³⁹Though Schiffrin's work on discourse markers primarily focuses on spoken discourse, her findings regarding *but*, *and*, *because*, and other discourse markers are considered to be equally relevant when extended to written discourse. Naturally, this extension is not relevant to discourse markers such as *y'know*, *I mean*, *oh*, and *well*, which are predominately used as conversational devices and do not have the same significance in written discourse.

along with *and* and *or* to the category of discourse coordinators; however, it has the effect of marking an upcoming unit as a contrasting action (152). Several examples will illustrate the functions of *but* as an organizational and cohesive device.

In general, it is striking that *but* is the discourse marker used in 50% of all topic-shifts which were supported by discourse markers. In addition, in 43% of these cases *but* was positioned in paragraph- and sentence-initial position. It was therefore also used as an important element for sentence variation. In our sample text 10E, *but* is used only once at the beginning of the last paragraph of the text. In this part of the text, it is also used as an indicator for the last topic-shift of the text, leading into its concluding section. In the context of Text 10E, *but* is employed as a point-making device, suggesting that what follows is an idea which contrasts with the prior discourse. In this case, the author is making the point that the revelations about the extent of the corruption in Italy will certainly affect the country's image, and the image of its products. However, he also wants to point out the opposite side of the coin, i. e., that the cleanup will undoubtedly have its positive effects in the long run. This counter-argument is prefaced by *but*. In addition to that, the contrasting meaning and point-making function of *but* in this context is increased by the fact that it is directly preceded by a quote. In this quote, a senior Fiat executive expresses his fears for the reputation of his company's product due to the corruption disclosures. Thus, *but* fulfills not only the function of a discourse connector, but positions the upcoming discourse to the previous discourse in a contrastive and counter argumentative manner.

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Text 3E shows *but* in two interesting situations: in one case, *but* is used in sentence-initial position and as a device in support of a topic-shift. However, it is not placed in paragraph-initial position, where its function would have been supported by orthographic indentation. In this particular instance, *but* is so powerful as to signal to the reader without the visual support of paragraph indentation that a contrasting aspect is being addressed next:

- I. Just back from a 10-day vacation in New England, Koitsu Tsuchiya figures he couldn't have timed his trip much better. With the yen surging relentlessly against the dollar, the board member at Nikkei Business Publications Inc. in Tokyo spent a lot less in the U.S. than he would have earlier in the year. [...]
- II. Globe-trotting and import-buying Japanese may love *endaka*, or the rising yen, which has finally hit 100 yen to the dollar, down from 125.8 yen in January.
 - II.1. **But** the gravity-defying currency is giving Japanese executives and government officials vertigo. In the midst of its worst economic slump in two decades, the last thing the country needs is a dearer currency that dampens exports, which account for 14% of gross national product. Economists are already lowering their growth estimates, some to 1% for this year.
 - II.2. The unexpectedly rapid *endaka* is also hammering exporters' profits, which were set for a healthy gain this year. [...]⁴⁰

The overall topic of the text is the currency crisis in Japan, and its various effects. Part II deals in general with the consequences of the rising yen. In the excerpt above, it can be seen that the first four

⁴⁰This excerpt is taken from "How badly will yen shock hurt?" by Robert Neff et al., *Business Week*, August 30, 1993, pp. 52-53.

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lines are devoted to an overall introduction to part II, which is subsequently divided into four sections.⁴¹ The first section of part II. is marked by the sentence-initial *but*. In doing so, the authors indicate that the upcoming discourse is presenting a contrasting point of view. This upcoming argument stands in contrast to the content of the lead-in anecdote at the beginning of the text (Part I.), followed by the bridge-sentence which takes the reader into the second part.

In the same text, *but* is also used later in mid-sentence as a conjunction between two main clauses. It initiates the topic-shift from section II.3. to II.4. While sections 1 through 3 discuss the negative aspects connected to the rising yen, starting with section II.4., the authors discuss some of its positive effects: "[...] *Endaka* may look like all pain, but there are some benefits that could outweigh exporters' cries. [...]" Again, *but* is used to indicate an upcoming contrasting point of view. It can therefore be concluded that whether positioned at the beginning of a paragraph, in mid-paragraph at the beginning of a sentence, or in mid-sentence, the discourse marker *but* is employed as a connecting device prefacing ideas of contrasting content. Since it is the goal of a well-balanced article to provide the reader with all aspects of a topic, *but* lends itself as a device to introduce opposing viewpoints.

The discourse marker *also* is used in 30% of all topic-shifts which were supported by discourse markers. Quite contrary to the discourse marker *but*, however, *also* can mostly be found in mid-

⁴¹Please refer to the outline of entire text in Appendix A which will give a broader overview of the topical and organizational structure of the text.

sentence position. It is therefore not used as a device for sentence element variation. In her book on discourse markers, Schiffrin does not include *also* in her discussions. This can be attributed to the notion that *also* is a device which may be more common in written than spoken discourse. This does not imply that *also* is not or hardly ever employed in conversational discourse, however the findings in this study lead us to believe that it is a fairly powerful organizational device for written discourse.

In Text 10E, *also* is embedded in a topic sentence initiating the topic-shift from section II.2. to II.3. Like *but*, *also* can be categorized as discourse connector, though it does not indicate an upcoming contrastive idea, but rather points the reader to an upcoming, additional point of view. In our example, the topic shifts from the benefits of corruption for Italy's political parties to the financial consequences of the system: "[...]The system that kept the national machinery oiled also cost it dearly.[...]" (lines 92/93).

In Text 4E, we encounter the only case, in which *also* is used in sentence- and paragraph-initial position: "[...] Also hovering in the wings is Arkady Volsky, the former Communist Central Committee member who is leader of Civic Union, an influential centrist group of Russian industrial managers.[...]"⁴²

Whether in sentence- or paragraph-initial position, or in mid-sentence position, *also* is employed as a device to connect additional viewpoints to the arguments which have already been made.

⁴²This excerpt is taken from Text 4E entitled "Sudden, stealthy - and crazy" written by Peter Galuszka et al., *Business Week*, August 9, 1993, pp. 38/39.

The Discourse Markers *doch* and *auch*

While it is noticeable that in 42% of all cases a different discourse marker was used each time in support of a topic shift in the German texts, the significance of *doch* (used in almost 19% of all cases) and *auch* (used in 12.5% of all cases) should not be ignored. Ulrich Engel assigns different classifications to *doch* depending on its structural position and its intended meaning. Since in all our cases *doch* is positioned in initial position, we can eliminate his classification which regards *doch* as an unstressed particle with the specific purpose of moderation, or down-toning ("Abtönungspartikel") of the statement in which it was embedded (Engel: 233).⁴³ In all 9 instances in the sample, *doch* is located in paragraph and sentence-initial position. Therefore, we can adopt Engel's classification of *doch* as a textual organizer which is defined to connect ideas in an adversary manner. In addition, *doch* is said to signal a contrasting idea between two arguments (742). Therefore, it seems to have a similar function to *but* in the English texts.

The following examples illustrate this situation: Text 1G deals with the financial crisis in China. *Doch* is used in sentence- and paragraph-initial position for the last topic-shift in the text: "Doch die wirklichen Hintergründe des Skandals dürften von den gleichgeschalteten Medien nicht berichtet werden.[...]"⁴⁴ This

⁴³An example of the use of *doch* for down-toning, i. e. as an "Abtönungspartikel" is: "Das ist doch Unsinn!"

⁴⁴This quote is taken from Text 1G entitled "Sanfte Landung" written by Henrik Bork, *WirtschaftsWoche*, July 16, 1993, p. 27.

paragraph is in response to the previous paragraph, in which the author deals with the subjectivity of the Chinese media, and its biased way of reporting the news. It is in this last paragraph of the text, where the author comments on this in a contrasting manner, and he then concludes the article with speculations regarding the future of the Chinese financial market. In Text 4G, *doch* is used also as a marker of an upcoming adverse viewpoint: "Doch die wirklichen Probleme umschreibt das Programm nur: zum Beispiel das Stocken der 'Massenprivatisierung'. [...]"⁴⁵

After careful examination of all cases in which *doch* was employed in the German texts, and those cases where *but* was used in the English texts, it can be concluded that both are positioned in the same kind of textual context with comparable meanings.

Auch is the other discourse marker which is used often in the German texts as an indicator for a topic-shift. Whenever *auch* was used in our text corpus, it was in support of a bridge sentence. Engel classifies *auch* as a particle, which is used to intensify the upcoming idea (765). In addition to that, Lederer writes that *auch* also functions as an attribute of intensification giving special emphasis to that particular sentence unit (621-22). Text 4G shall again serve as an example: "Auch für die Produktion kündigt die Regierung Großes an. [...]"⁴⁶ The usage of *auch* implies here that this idea was added to other ideas, some of which had already been mentioned. Similar to *also*, then, *auch* is used as a device which

⁴⁵This quote is taken from Text 4G entitled "Wer ist wer?" written by Jacob Sasportas et al., *WirtschaftsWoche*, August 13, 1993, pp. 22 + 25.

⁴⁶ see previous footnote.

lends itself to be used in cases where additional information is being provided.

In conclusion, it can be stated that both the English and the German texts use discourse markers in support of their topic-shifts indicated by topic-sentences or bridge-sentences. In addition, the discourse markers which were employed overwhelmingly in both sets of texts are comparable not only regarding their function, but also concerning their individual meanings. Within the wider scope of the study it is very interesting to find that the devices used by German and English authors to initiate and support topic-shifts are fairly similar. However, the fact that there is no statistically significant evidence for the truth of H_1 ("The English texts are more coordinated than the German texts.") does not allow us to automatically conclude that H_0 ("There is no difference in the organizational patterns of the English and German texts selected for this study.") is true. Accordingly, the finding of this study, i. e., that there is no statistically significant evidence of specific organizational discourse patterns which can be attributed to a difference in cultural background, does not necessarily lead to the general conclusion that both Germans and Americans employ the same techniques.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS AND OUTLOOK

This research project set out to examine the organizational patterns of texts taken from two leading German and American general business publications *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Business Week*. The goal of the study was to find out whether there are differences between the discourse patterns primarily on the text level which can be ascribed to their cultural backgrounds. The results of the analyses of the 15 text samples taken from each language and the statistical tests applied to the data do not allow us to draw this conclusion. No statistically significant difference was found regarding the organizational patterns displayed by German and American texts taken from *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Business Week*.

Possible explanations for the research results obtained could be sought in the following areas:

First, there is the influence of the editor and multiple authorship. Editors take a very active role in shaping an article for their magazines. J. T. W. Hubbard writes that the editor "must be able to take the finished manuscript and edit it so that it meets the readers' interest without, if humanly possible, crushing the writer's style" (33). This statement implies that the editor plays a very significant role in the revision and correction of a magazine article. For articles published in *Wirtschaftswoche*, for example, each article is revised and corrected by at least two editors.⁴⁷ Furthermore, many articles list several people as their authors. It is unclear to the

⁴⁷This information was obtained through a personal letter from the editor-in-chief of the *WirtschaftsWoche*, Volker Wolff, dated December 14, 1993.

reader who is responsible for the main composition of the article, how much each listed author contributes to the article, and how the article has been affected by editorial policies.

Secondly, comparability of magazines: In order to validate the results of the analyses of the texts taken from these two specific magazines, it would be necessary to analyze additional texts taken from other leading German and American business publications such as *Capital*, *Manager Magazin*, *Fortune*, and *Forbes*. This method would eliminate possible peculiarities of text organization ascribable to the editorial practices of *Wirtschaftswoche* and *Business Week*.

Thirdly, there is the phenomenon of the convergence of international business culture, and the possible close interrelation of the field of journalistic business reporting as a whole and on an international level. Therefore, this notion seeks its explanation in the social and institutional contexts rather than only cultural contexts per se. Topics such as the ones addressed in the articles of our text corpus and which generally deal with international business are often generated from one major news source, or from the same information source, which might influence the overall organization of an article. In order to substantiate this suggestion, it would be necessary to examine the different news sources which supply magazines such as *Business Week* and *Wirtschaftswoche* with information.

Fourthly, there is the impact of culture-specific composition theory. How are Germans and Americans taught to write? Are there culture-specific composition norms? Information regarding these

questions is scarce and focuses predominantly on very specific "how to" approaches rather than the wider concepts of writing specific to each culture. Michael Clyne, in his contrastive study of German and English organizational patterns of academic texts, mentions that essay-writing norms are less rigid in Germany than in Britain and Australia (1987: 212). However, in what ways can essay-writing norms be applied to journalistic writing?

Though all these explanations for the research results seem valid from a scientific point of view, from a pedagogic point of view, however, the results seem to run counter to both intuition and experience with students in German for Business and Economics classes. The fact that there is no statistically significant evidence regarding differences in the organizational patterns specific to American and German business and economics texts written for business magazines indicates that it is not necessarily the overall topical organization of German versus English texts which is primarily problematic for our students. Some additional findings obtained in the present study point to interesting tendencies:

1) Composition of headlines: A brief comparison of the headlines of the English and German articles in the corpus indicates that the English headlines tend to be more descriptive than their German counterparts. The headlines of the German texts contained in the present study are fairly low in informational content. They are characterized by snappy phrases or quotes, almost all of which are quotes taken from the accompanying article. The English headlines, on the other hand, seem to be more precise and informative. They are also followed by subheads. The major intent

of any headline is, of course, to capture the readers' attention, and to arouse the readers' interest. Once this has been achieved, a second headline, or subhead,⁴⁸ provides more detailed and factual information regarding the topic and the tenor of the article.

Because of the importance of headlines, it is usually the editor's task to write them. According to Hubbard (1982), this task is complicated by the fact that effective heads and subheads generally appeal to the reader on more than one level. He quotes an in-house analysis made for McGraw-Hill Publishing Division's top editors: "Most heads operate on two levels: the descriptive and the evocative. The descriptive element informs the mind in hard factual terms concerning the contents of an article. In contrast, the evocative element appeals to the emotion, the curiosity and the enthusiasm of the reader" (Hubbard 1982: 106). Some examples illustrate the sequencing of head and subheads in English and German, and point to some potential differences in the approach taken in *WirtschaftsWoche* and *Business Week*.

- Text 1G: Sanfte Landung
 Ein neuer Notenbankchef soll den überhitzten Finanzsektor des Landes abkühlen.
- Text 1E: Beijing starts pumping the brakes
 Vice-Premier Zhu takes charge of a plan to slow the economy and rein in the banking system.
- Text 10G: Traumjob Richter
 Die Welle der Korruptionsskandale verschärft die Wirtschaftskrise, schafft aber auch die Chance für einen umfassenden Neubeginn.
- Text 10E: The Cleanup of Italy Inc.
 The business-political alliance is over. What will replace it?

⁴⁸According to J.T.W. Hubbard, the heads or titles consist of the words in the largest typeface. The subhead, or deck, or blurb, "is generally displayed in a type size lying halfway between that of the head and that of the text." (105)

Text 13G: **Nur eine Nische**

US-Banken verlieren das einst gewinnträchtige Plastikgeldgeschäft an neue Anbieter außerhalb der Finanzbranche.

Text 13E: **Pushing plastic is still one juicy game.**

Competition may be heating up, but credit-card issuers aren't exactly racing into a ruinous price war.

2) **Bold-faced signposts:** Directly connected to the composition of headlines is the writing of bold-faced captions which appear within the texts. Interestingly enough, these captions only appear in the English texts. Depending on the length of the article, the editor places either two, three, or four of them in one article. Their location within the text seems sometimes odd, i. e., the captions do not necessarily refer to the paragraph which follows immediately. It can be assumed though that this is a tactical move by the editor, whose primary interest is to retain the readers' attention. This can be achieved by placing provocative captions in unexpected sections of the text. Since they do not appear in the articles published in *WirtschaftsWoche*, the question to be pursued is whether the bold-faced captions within the English texts are intended to function like the snappy headlines in the German texts. Also, what is the reason for this editorial difference?

3) **Correlation of topic-shifts and direct quotes:** The correlation of topic-shifts and the positioning of direct quotes at the end of the paragraph preceding the topic-shift is another issue proposed for further research. In our English text corpus, there were a total of 197 topic shifts, 49 (25%) of which were preceded by a direct quote. The German text corpus, on the other hand, showed a different tendency: of 187 topic-shifts only 20 (11%)

were preceded by direct quotes. How can this difference be explained? Do Germans use more indirect quotations, and if so why?

These issues could be addressed in similarly innovative research projects, and their examination could provide further insights into characteristics within the area of cross-cultural discourse analysis. Beyond that, it could even point us to sociological and anthropological aspects addressing the differences between the German and American business cultures as a whole.

APPENDIX A

OUTLINES OF ALL ENGLISH AND GERMAN TEXTS

Appendix A: Outlines of all English and German Texts

Table 18: Outline of Text 1E

Text 1E: Beijing Starts Pumping The Brakes	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Summary of problems and present financial crisis	TS + CoTi
I.2. Introducing new vice-premier Zhu, his job and its rewards	TS + Ini
(II.) Zhu's plan	
II.1. Measures up to the present	TS + CoTi
II.2. Goals and justification of plan	BS
II.3. Today's situation	BS + DM
II.3.1. Problem of banks	TS + DM
II.3.2. New money-lending business	BS + DM
II.3.3. Ineffective Central Bank	BS + Ini
II.3.4. Challenges in attracting new savings	BS + DM
(III.) Zhu's immediate task and opinions	
III.1. Restore faith in banking system	TS + Ini
III.2. Other measures	BS
(IV.) Zhu's achievements	
IV.1. So far; look back	BS + CoTi
IV.2. Outlook; predictions	BS + ChTe

Table 19: Outline of Text 1G

Text 1G: Sanfte Landung	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Example of consequences of inflationary money market	TS
I.2. Description of program/reaction of government	BS + CoTi
I.3. Initial consequences/failed plans in the past	BS + DM
II. Current plan and economic consequences	TS + DM
II.1. Reactions by Chinese people to "Währungsverfall"	BS + CoTi
II.1.1. Reactions by Government	BS + Ini
II.2. Other reasons for implicating measures; example Shen Taifu	BS + DM
II.2.1. Shen: his strategy	BS + CoTi
II.2.2. Shen: his profit	BS + CoTi
II.2.3. Shen: media reaction/Shen as scape goat	BS + CoTi
II.2.4. Shen only one example; corruption is widespread; real extent of scandal	BS + DM

Table 20: Outline of Text 2E

Text 2E: Why Mercedes Is Alabama Bound	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
(I.1.) Input by Alabama	
I.1.1. Phone call - lobbying journey	TS
I.1.2. First lobbying trip	BS + CoTi
I.1.3. Second lobbying trip	BS
I.2. Output for Alabama	BS + ChTe
I.3. Output for Mercedes-Benz	BS + DM
II. Mercedes' problems and search for solutions	BS
II.1. Mercedes' inefficiency & productivity gap	TS + CoTi
II.2. New Approach	TS + CoTi
II.2.1. MPV	(BS +) ChTe
II.2.2. Rentschler	TS + Ini
II.2.3. Production site in North America	TS
II.3. Factor: Costs	TS
II.4. Decision: US	TS + CoTi
II.4.1. Reason: Transportation costs	BS
II.4.2. Reason: Age distribution and skilled workers	TS + DM
(III.) Course of negotiation meetings/Secrecy of Project	
III.1. Project "Rosenholz"	TS
III.2. Decision Alabama	TS + CoTi
III.3. Reasons why	TS + CoTi

Table 21: Outline of Text 2G

Text 2G: Detroit im Dixieland	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Where (new location Alabama) & Who (Mercedes)	TS
I.2. What (build 4x4s)	BS + CoTi
(I.3.) Why	
I.3.1. External reason: good market potential	TS + Ini
I.3.2. Internal reason: declining market share of C and E class	BS
II. Search process/Advantages	TS + ChTe
II.1. Reasons for selecting sunbelt (Standortfaktoren)	TS
II.2. Other companies located in same area	BS + CoPl
II.3. Specific reason for BMW and Mercedes: savings	TS
II.3.1. Workforce: costs and education	BS
II.4. Japanese car makers as models	BS + DM
II.5. BMW and Mercedes as models for VW?	BS

Table 22: Outline of Text 3E

Text 3E: How Badly Will Yen Shock Hurt	Linguistic Marker
I. Introduction: Example - Story	TS
II. Consequences	BS
II.1. in general	(BS +) DM
II.2. for exporters	BS + DM
II.3. for government	BS + Ini
II.4. for banks and others	BS + DM
(III.) Problems in Government	
III.1. Disagreement in Finance Ministry	TS + Ini
III.2. Agreement of Banks	BS + Ini
(IV.) More consequences/examples	
IV.1. for manufacturers	BS + DM
IV.2. for banks	BS
IV.3. for importers	BS + DM
IV.4. for small and medium-sized subcontractors and suppliers	TS + ChTe
V. Forecast	TS

Table 23: Outline of Text 3G

Text 3G: Bitte um Diskretion	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Profits down for Toyota	TS
I.2. Reason	BS
(II.) Consequences	
II.1. for Japan AG (= in general)	TS + DM
II.2. for Toyota	BS + Ini
II.3. for other car makers (Honda, Mazda, Mitsubishi)	BS + DM
II.4. for other key industries	BS + DM
(III.) Actions by Japanese companies	
III.1. Price increases	TS + CoTi
III.2. Sharing suppliers	BS + DM
III.3. Foreign suppliers	BS + DM
(IV.) Commentary	
IV.1. Yamanouchi: over capacities, less demand	TS + DM
IV.2. Nagano: Unemployment and social unrest	BS + Ini

Table 24: Outline of Text 4E

Text 4E: Sudden, Stealthy - and Crazy	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Yeltsin's achievements	TS
I.2. His enemies' counterreaction	BS + Ini
II. Reactions	TS
II.1. by Russian people	BS + CoPl
II.2. by Clinton/Western World	TS + Ini
II.3. by members of Government	BS + Ini
(III.) Results	
III.1. Political: Who is to blame	TS + Ini
III.2. Economic: Hyperinflation	BS
IV. Various viewpoints	TS
IV.1. Khasbulatov	(TS +) Ini
IV.2. Volsky	BS + DM
IV.3. Geraschenko	TS + Ini
IV.4. Central Bank	TS + Ini
IV.5. Economists	BS + DM
V. Political Damage	TS
V.1. to relations with former Sowjet Republics	BS + Ini
(V.2.) inside russia	
V.2.1. to Russians	BS + Ini
V.2.2. to Geraschenko	BS + DM

Table 25: Outline of Text 4G

Text 4G: Rußland: Wer ist wer?		Linguistic Marker
I.	Introduction: Currency Zone (Russia, Kasachstan, Usbekistan)	TS
II.	"Rubelreform" - Opinions and reactions	BS + DM
	II.1. Tschernomydrin	(BS +) CoTi
	II.2. Chasbulatow	BS + Ini
	II.3. Fjodorow	BS + Ini
	II.4. Chandrujew	BS + Ini
	II.5. Jelzin	BS + Ini
(III.)	New economic program	
	III.1. Strategies	BS
	III.2. Problems/Changes	TS + DM
	III.2.1. Mass privatization	(BS +) CoTi
	III.2.2. Reforms within production	BS + DM
	III.3. Politicians generally unpopular	BS
	III.2.3. Inflation	TS
	III.3.1. Most popular politician : Ruzkoj	TS + Ini

Table 26: Outline of Text 5E

Text 5E: France Wants Out Of Business	Linguistic Marker
I. Introduction: Balladur	(Quote) TS
II. Balladur's politics/actions	TS + CoTi
II.1. Justification by conservatives	TS + Ini
II.2. Justification by author	BS
III. Companies to be privatized	TS
III.1. Companies already managed like private-sector competition	(TS +) CoTi
III.2. Companies not privatized so far	TS
(IV.) Investment analysis	
IV.1. Possible difficulties	TS + ChTe
IV.2. Public enthusiasm	TS + DM
V. Conclusion	BS

Table 27: Outline of Text 5G

Text 5G: Tödliche Falle	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Topic: Privatization of state-owned companies	TS
I.2. Companies involved	TS + Ini
I.3. Motivation for privatization (money)	TS
I.3.1. Impact on Maastricht	BS + DM
II. Economic Crisis/Unemployment	BS
II.1. Economic plan in May	BS
II.2. Economic plan in June	BS + CoTi
III. Analysis of privatization	TS + DM
III.1. Reactions by stock exchange	(BS +) Ini
III.2. Reactions by domestic investors	TS + Ini
III.3. Reactions by foreign investors	BS + Ini
IV. Restrictions	TS + DM
IV.1. by law	(BS)
IV.2. by financial condition of company	BS + DM
IV.3. Commentary	TS (Quote)

Table 28: Outline of Text 6E

Text 6E: The Roaring Subminis	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Story about Volvo visiting Renault	TS
I.2. Movement of autoindustry towards production of small cars; examples	BS + CoTi
(II.) Background information	
II.1. Reasons for attraction to small cars	BS
II.2. Impact on auto industry	BS
II.3. Features of subminis; example Twingo	BS
II.4. Financial hurdles for manufacturers	BS + DM
II.5. Profits by lowering production costs	TS
(III.) Characteristics of subminis' market	
III.1. Customer profiles	BS
III.2. Example Mercedes	BS + Ini
III.3. Commentary by author	BS

Table 29: Outline of Text 6G

Text 6G: Locker am Stau vorbei	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Eureka-Project 742	TS + CoTi
I.2. Some manufacturers are going further; example Volvo and Renault	BS + Ini
I.3. Status report: the case against cars	BS
II. Prospects of the auto industry	TS
II.1. Example Goeudevert (VW) and Niefer (Mercedes)	(TS+) Ini
II.2. Werner's "Vision A"	BS + Ini
II.3. Mercedes' plans in California	BS + DM
II.4. Wrong assumptions?	BS
II.4.1. Clean Air Act might be overturned	(BS +) CoTi
II.4.2. Clean Air in 1988: Data manipulation	BS + CoTi
II.4.3. Status in 1992: LA still smog-capital	BS + CoTi
II.5. Death of electric cars; opinion Schallaböck	BS + DM
II.6. Low fuel consumption; example "Honda Today"	BS + Ini
II.7. Limitations of car of the future	TS + DM
II.7.1. Traffic jams can't be avoided	(BS)
II.7.2. Traffic management; Wissmann's idea	BS + Ini
II.7.3. Implementation in Berlin	BS + CoPl
II.8. Outlook/Concluding comment	TS + Ini

Table 30: Outline of Text 7E

Text 7E: A Countercoup in Telecom	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction: Background, keyplayers and their business relationships	
I.1. BT and MCI	TS
I.2. French and Germans	BS
I.3. AT&T as third partner	BS + Ini
I.4. EC laws	BS + CoTi
(II.) Background to French-German deal	
II.1. Details of plan	TS
II.2. Inclusion of AT&T	BS + DM
(III.) Obstacles/Negative aspects	
III.1. Demands of AT&T	TS + DM
III.2. EC-laws	TS + CoTi
III.3. Options and consequences	BS + DM

Table 31: Outline of Text 7G

Text 7G: Telekom: Sturm laufen		Linguistic Marker
I.	Introduction: Merger plans of German and French telecom	TS
(II.)	Strategies and trends	
	II.1. General climate within industry	TS + CoTi
	II.2. Goals of merger	BS + Ini
	II.3. Privatization and stock exchange	BS + DM
(III.)	Aftermath of BT/MCI-deal	
	III.1. BT & MCI	TS + CoTi
	III.2. Reaction of Germans and French = + AT&T	BS + Ini
	(III.3.) Opposition	
	III.3.1. German telecom industry	BS + DM
	III.3.2. EC-commission in Brussels	TS + DM

Table 32: Outline of Text 8E

Text 8E: Nafta: Let's Make a Deal	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Nafta-campaign/Deal approach/Costs of victory	TS
(I.2.) Costs of defeat	
I.2.1. Consequences for Clinton	BS
I.2.2. Consequences on international scene	BS
(II.) Lobbying efforts	
II.1. Status report	BS
II.2. Lobbying tactics for Nafta	TS
II.3. Scare tactics	BS
II.3.1. by opponents	(BS +) DM
II.3.2. by proponents	BS + DM
II.4. Intensive dealmaking	BS + CoTi
II.4.1. Financial incentives	(BS +) Ini
II.4.2. Favorable trade rules for US products	BS
II.4.3. with Republicans	TS
(III.) Summary/Conclusion	
III.1. Canadian opinion	TS + CoTi
III.2. Bottom line for Clinton	BS

Table 33: Outline of Text 8G

Text 8G: Einfach aussteigen	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Example Thomas Andrews	TS
I.2. Explanation/Background	BS
I.3. Clinton's desperation for support	BS + Ini
(II.) Nafta from Clinton's perspective	
II.1. Tactics in order to win votes	TS
II.2. Consequences of defeat on international trade scene	BS
(III.) Debate around Nafta	
III.1. Arguments of opponents	BS
III.2. Confused argument of job loss and job gain	TS
III.3. Commentary regarding arguments	BS + Ini
IV. Author's conclusion/commentary	TS

Table 34: Outline of Text 9E

Text 9E: Time To Leave The Cocoon?	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Description of conflict IG-Metall vs. Gesamtmetall	TS
I.2. Commentary by author	BS
II. Analysis/Description of conflict	TS
II.1. Background information on labor market and labor costs	(BS)
II.2. Goals of employers	BS + Ini
II.3. Goals of workers' council	BS + Ini
II.4. IG-Metall reactions	BS + Ini
II.5. Reactions by companies; example IBM	BS + CoTi
II.6. Consequences of dispute; concluding commentary by author	(BS)

Table 35: Outline of Text 9G

Text 9G: Im selben Boot	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction: Reactions to cancellation of union contracts	
I.1. by one union member	TS + CoTi
I.2. by representatives of both sides	BS + Ini
I.3. by politicians	BS + DM
I.4. Bottom-line of dispute for German industry	BS
(II.) Background	
II.1. Status of German industry	BS
II.2. Past wage increase: reactions then and now	BS + CoTi
II.3. Consequences	TS
II.3.1. Foreign competitors are cheaper	(BS +) DM
II.3.2. No profits in many industries and reasons	BS + DM
(III.) Present situation	
III.1. Projections for wage increases this year	BS + CoTi
III.2. Opinions of both IG-Metall and Gesamtmetall	BS + DM
III.3. Gesamtmetall arguments	BS
III.4. IG-Metall arguments	BS + DM
(IV.) Conclusion/Commentary by author	
IV.1. Urgency to find a deal; same as in 1984?	TS
IV.2. Potential of a similar deal for both parties	BS + CoTi
IV.3. Consequences of such a deal in combination with positive economic development in general	BS + CoTi

Table 36: Outline of Text 10E

Text 10E: The Cleanup of Italy Inc.	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Lead-in story	TS + CoTi
I.2. Background explanations regarding corruptions; politicians under investigation	BS
I.3. Businessmen under investigation	BS
I.4. Outlook on cleanup and new Italy	TS
(II.) Background	
II.1. End of the system; example Craxi	BS + CoTi
II.2. Benefits for political parties	BS
II.3. Financial consequences of the system	TS + DM
(II.4.) Examples: How did corruption work?	
II.4.1. ENEL	TS + Ini
II.4.2. Other public-works projects	BS + Ini
III. Why cleanup now?	TS + CoTi
III.1. Decline of communism - support of anti- communists	TS + CoTi
(III.2.) Opportunities for Amato	
III.2.1. New legislation, privatization of industry	BS + Ini
III.2.2. Modernization of electoral laws	BS + CoTi
III.3. Consequences for Italy's image; example Fiat	BS + CoTi
III.4. Benefits of cleanup	TS + DM

Table 37: Outline of Text 10G

Text 10G: Traumjob Richter	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Italy's image	TS
I.2. Corruption within Government	BS + Ini
I.3. Corruption within Opposition	BS + DM
(II.) Details and effects of corruption scandal	
II.1. Results of "mani pulite"	TS + CoTi
II.2. Effects on economy without rules of corruption; example construction industry	BS
II.2.1. Lack of local politicians - no contracts for construction industry	BS + Ini
II.3. Lack of contracts - rising unemployment	BS
II.4. Unemployment and economic predictions	BS + CoTi
II.5. Positive development: increased competitiveness	TS
II.6. Negative development: increased national debt	BS
II.6.1. Consequences of national debt - inability of government to reform	BS + CoTi
(III.) Outlook	
III.1. Actions required in order to change public image	TS + DM
III.2. Obstacles to reach this goal	BS + DM
III.3. Conclusion: How to deal with corruption; dreamjobs	TS + DM

Table 38: Outline of Text 11E

Text 11E: This Splice Could Be Golden	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Presentation of EDS and BT	TS
I.2. Benefits/Advantages for EDS and BT	BS + CoTi
I.3. The alleged negotiations	TS
II. Background on industry	BS + ChTe
II.1. Other players in Europe	(BS+) CoPl
II.2. BT & EDS deal	BS + DM
II.2.1. BT	(BS +) Ini
II.2.2. EDS	BS + CoTi
III. Possible problems resulting from merger	BS
III.1. BT	(BS+) Ini
III.2. EDS	BS + Ini
III.3. Other problems	BS + DM

Table 39: Outline of Text 11G

Text 11G: Längst zementiert	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. GM wants to sell EDS	TS
I.2. EDS history	BS + CoTi
I.3. BT interest in EDS	BS + Ini
I.4. BT's competition: Mercury	BS+ Ini
(II.) Telecomputing industry	
II.1. Industry in general	TS
II.2. Decline of national monopolies	BS + CoTi
II.3. Pressures on BT	BS + Ini
II.4. BT's motivation to acquire EDS	BS + DM
II.5. Advantages for BT	BS
II.6. AT&T's interest in EDS	BS + DM
(III.) Consequences for Europeans	
III.1. Deutsche Telekom	BS + Ini
III.2. French Telecom	BS + Ini
III.3. Debis (Daimler-Benz subsidiary)	TS + Ini
III.4. Possible developments for Daimler-Benz	BS + DM

Table 40: Outline of Text 12E

Text 12E: Northern Disorder	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Canada - united in sports, divided as a nation	TS + CoTi
I.2. Present Situation: consequences of no-vote	TS + CoTi
I.3. Background information to referendum	TS
I.4. Public reaction to referendum	BS +DM
(II.) Impact of rejection/Casualties	
II.1. Consequences for Mulroney	BS + Ini
II.1.1. Consequences for Progressive Conservative Party	BS + Ini
II.2. Impact on Nafta-vote	BS
II.2.1. Difficulties with Nafta-vote	BS + Ini
(II.3.) Impact on Canadian economy	
II.3.1. Economy/unemployment	TS
II.3.2. Financial stability	BS + DM
II.3.3. Overall	BS
(III.) Political effort	
III.1. Opposition party	TS + CoTi
III.2. Commentary/Conclusion	TS

Table 41: Outline of Text 12G

Text 12G: Weiterer Zerfall	Linguistic Marker
I. Introduction	TS
II. Canadian economy	BS
II.1. Timber and paper industry	(BS +) Ini
II.2. Mining industry	BS + Ini
II.3. Aircraft industry	BS + Ini
II.4. Real estate	BS + DM
II.5. Bottom line: Moody's and S&P	BS + Ini
III. Options: How to prevent further economic decline	TS + Ini
III.1. New economic program	(BS +) DM
III.2. Miracles are necessary; prognoses of Royal Bank of Canada	BS + DM
III.3. Quebecian separatists also affected by economy	BS + DM
III.4. Quebecians would not introduce their own currency	BS + Ini

Table 42: Outline of Text 13E

Text 13E: Pushing Plastic Is Still One Juicy Game	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Increasing competition among credit card issuers	TS
I.2. Attraction for issuers - profits	BS + DM
I.3. Critics against high rates	BS + Ini
I.4. Reaction by issuers: lower rates	TS
I.4.1. Survey low-rate programs	BS
I.5. Reactions by government officials	BS + Ini
(II.) Issuers Perspective	
II.1. Arguments for higher rates	TS + CoTi
II.2. Justification: bad loans	BS + CoTi
II.3. Profit outlook	TS
II.4. Prospects of new players; example AT&T	TS + Ini
II.5. Variable-rate programs	BS
II.6. Example Citi-Corp	TS
II.6.1. Floating-rate program	(TS +) Ini
II.6.2. Commentary: What it really means	BS
II.6.3. Citi-Corp on profit	BS
(III.) Future of credit card business	
III.1. Price cutting will continue; Discover card	TS
III.2. Influence of Congress	TS + Ini
III.3. Conclusion/Outlook	BS + CoTi

Table 43: Outline of Text 13G

Text 13G: Nur eine Nische	Linguistic Marker
I. Introduction: Overview of text	TS
I.1. Spread of credit cards and problems	BS+ DM
I.2. Credit card charges and debts	TS + Ini
I.3. Impact on bank business	BS + Ini
(II.) Increased competition in credit card market	
II.1. Attraction of credit card business and risks	TS
II.2. Congress on interest rates	BS
II.3. Competition increasing: AT&T	TS
II.4. Marketing strategies	BS
II.5. Reactions by banks	BS + Ini
II.6. Commentary by banking analysts	BS + Ini
II.7. Option: Banks sell credit card business	BS + Ini
II.8. Other options for use of credit card	BS + Ini
II.9. Example Wells Fargo; overdraft protection	BS + DM
II.10 Conclusion and outlook	BS + DM

Table 44: Outline of Text 14E

Text 14E: Even Lufthansa Is Carrying Too Much Baggage	Linguistic Marker
I. Introduction	TS
I.1. Lufthansa's losses	BS + DM
I.2. Lufthansa's internal and external problems	BS
(II.) Strategies	
II.1. Partnerships with other airlines	TS
II.2. Weber's program to cut costs	BS + Ini
II.3. Problems with staff reduction	BS
II.3.1. ÖTV's position	(BS +) Ini
II.3.2. DAG's position	(BS +) Ini
II.4. Other union influences	BS + DM
II.5. Consequences if plan fails/Conclusion	BS + Ini

Table 45: Outline of Text 14G

Text 14G: Trumpf verspielt	Linguistic Marker
I. Introduction: Sparprogramm und Tarifvertrag	TS
(II.) Explanations	
II.1. Details regarding Tarifvertrag	BS
II.2. Financial aspects of Tarifvertrag	BS
II.3. Financial outlook for coming year	BS + CoTi
II.4. Lufthansa Express as GmbH	BS + DM
II.4.1. Commentary to decision	BS
II.4.2. How did decision come about	BS
II.5. Impact of AG-Decision	BS
III. Conclusion and Outlook	TS

Table 46: Outline of Text 15E

Text 15E: Sweating Out The HDTV-Contest	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. Description of testing; Zenith and AT&T	TS + CoTi
I.2. Background info on contest and major players	BS
I.3. Information on technical advances and guidelines	TS + Ini
(II.) Technical advances and the competition	
II.1. Breakthrough GI	TS + Ini
II.2. Description of contest; digital system	BS + CoTi
II.3. Reaction to selection of digital system; contest set-up	BS
II.4. Rules of contest	TS
II.5. Contest	BS + CoTi
II.5.1. GI	(BS+) Ini
II.5.2. Zenith and AT&T	(BS+) Ini
II.5.3. Europeans	BS + Ini
II.5.4. MIT	BS+ CoTi
II.6. End of contest	BS + CoTi
(III.) Competition and standards	
III.1. Advantages of new system	BS
III.2. Outlook	BS + Ini

Table 47: Outline of Text 15G

Text 15G: Die digitale Wende	Linguistic Marker
(I.) Introduction	
I.1. HDTV in Europe: Present situation	TS
I.2. Philips and EC	BS + Ini
I.3. Problems with British	BS + DM
(II.) HDTV - international competition	
II.1. HDTV in the US	BS + Ini
II.2. HDTV in Europe	BS+ DM
II.3. Contest; major players	BS + DM
II.4. Results of contest	BS + DM
II.5. Experiments in Wuppertal	BS + Ini
(III.) Outlook	
III.1. Influence of US-technology	BS + Ini
III.2. Lost opportunities in Europe	BS + CoTi
III.3. Impact on German consumer	(BS +) Ini

APPENDIX B

TREE-DIAGRAMS OF ALL ENGLISH AND GERMAN TEXTS

Appendix B: Tree-Diagrams of all English and German Texts

Figure 4: Representation of Text 1E as Tree-Diagram

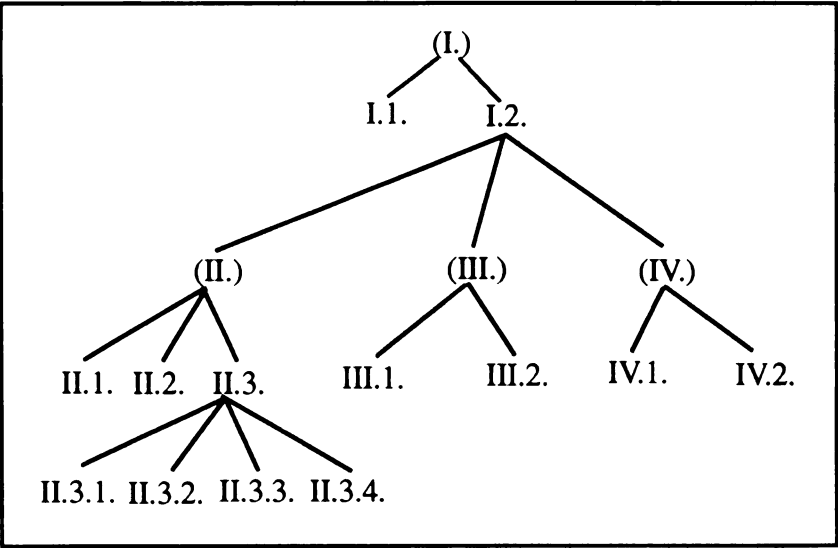


Figure 5: Representation of Text 1G as Tree-Diagram

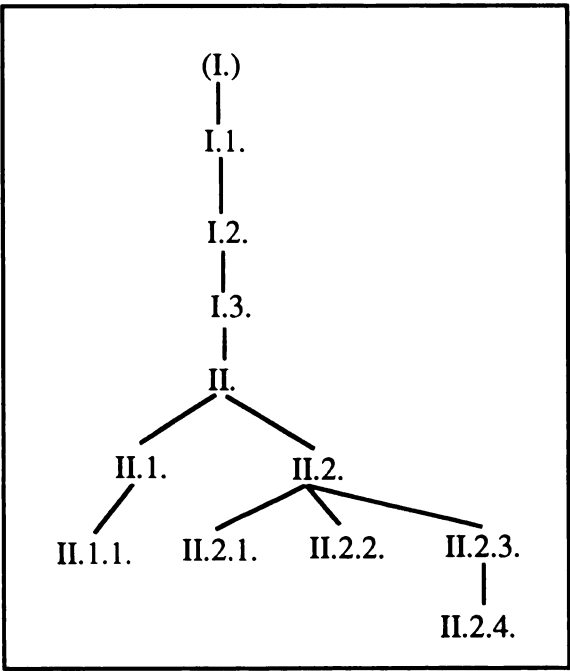


Figure 6: Representation of Text 2E as Tree-Diagram

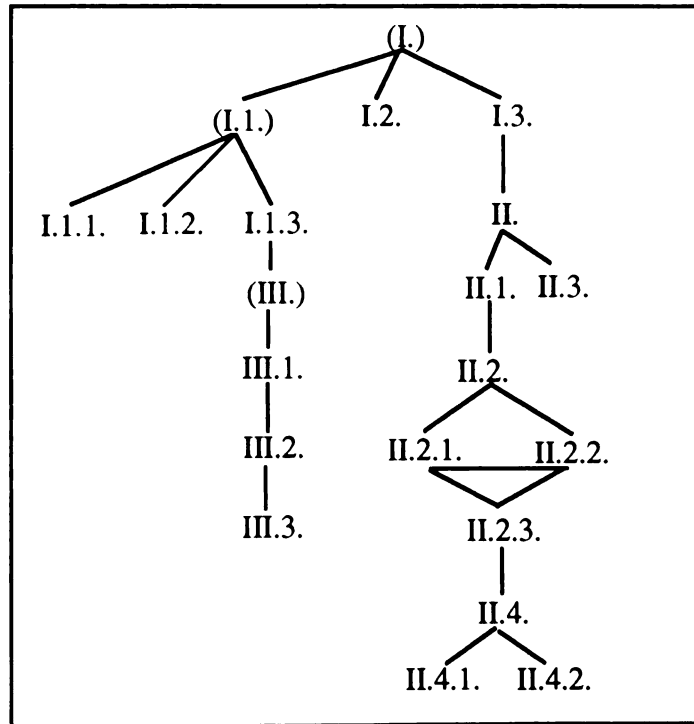


Figure 7: Representation of Text 2G as Tree-Diagram

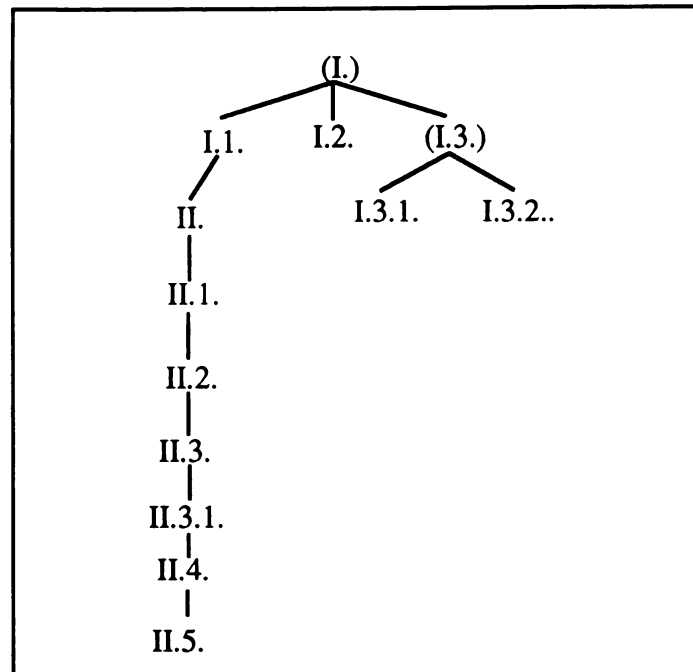


Figure 8: Representation of Text 3E as Tree-Diagram

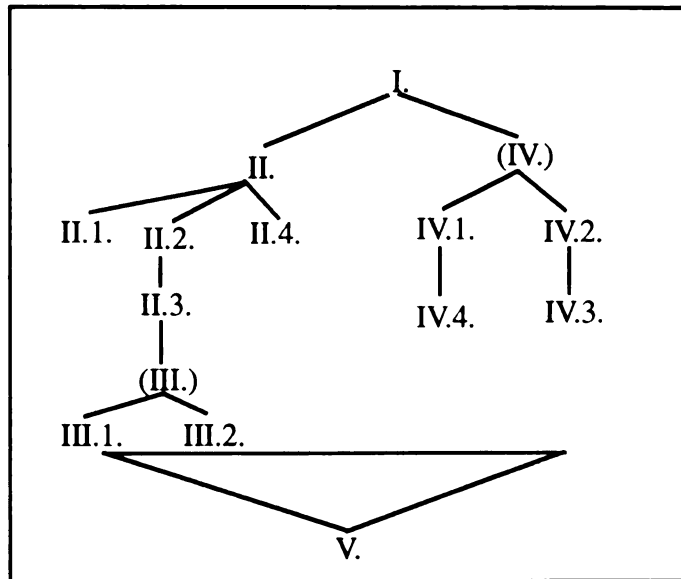


Figure 9: Representation of Text 3G as Tree-Diagram

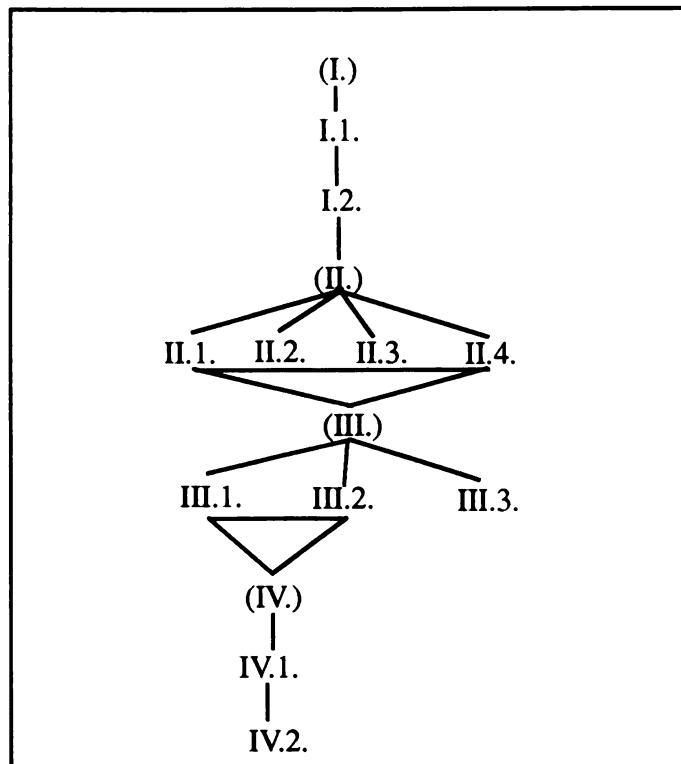


Figure 10: Representation of Text 4E as Tree-Diagram

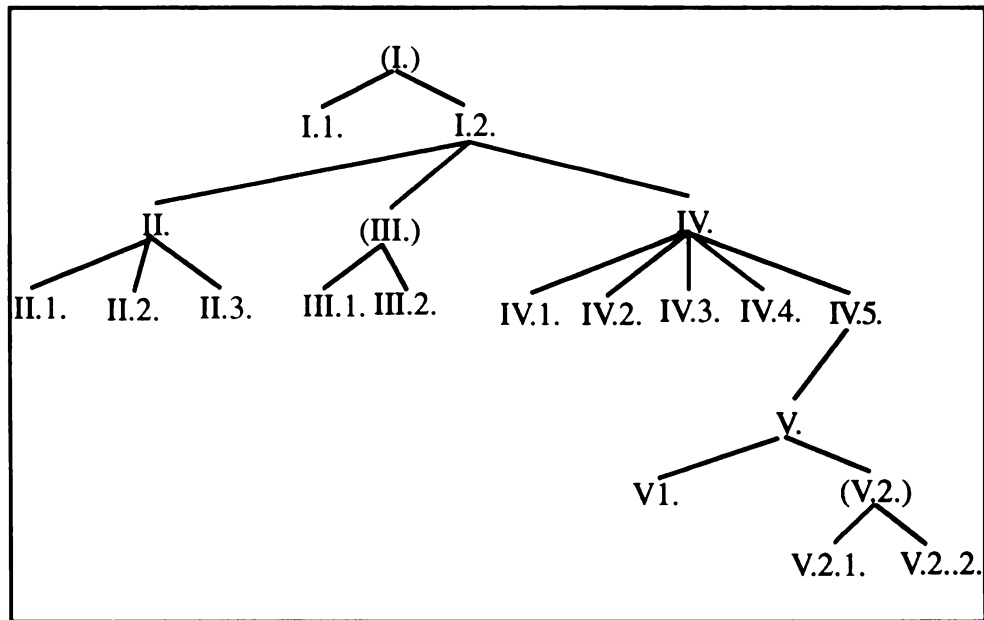


Figure 11: Representation of Text 4G as Tree-Diagram

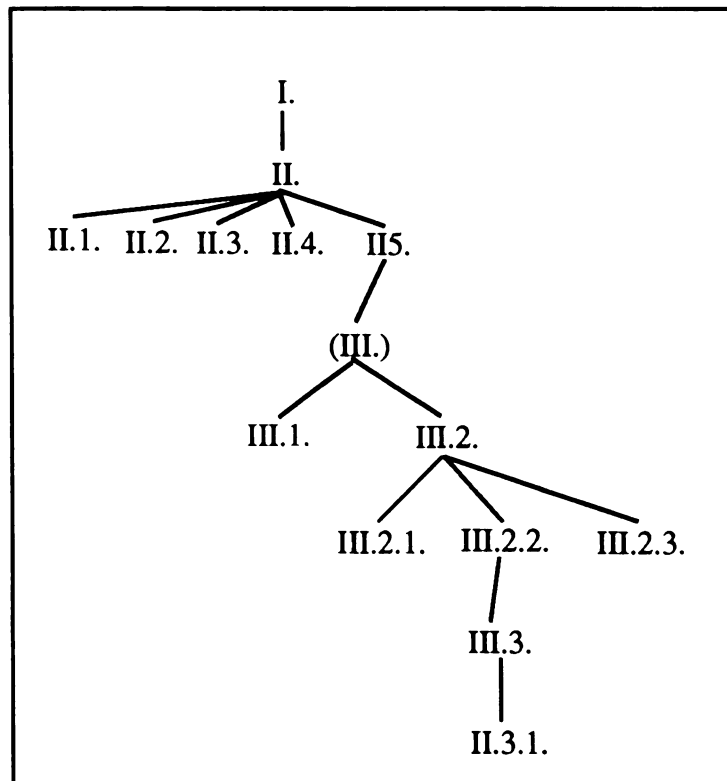


Figure 12: Representation of Text 5E as Tree-Diagram

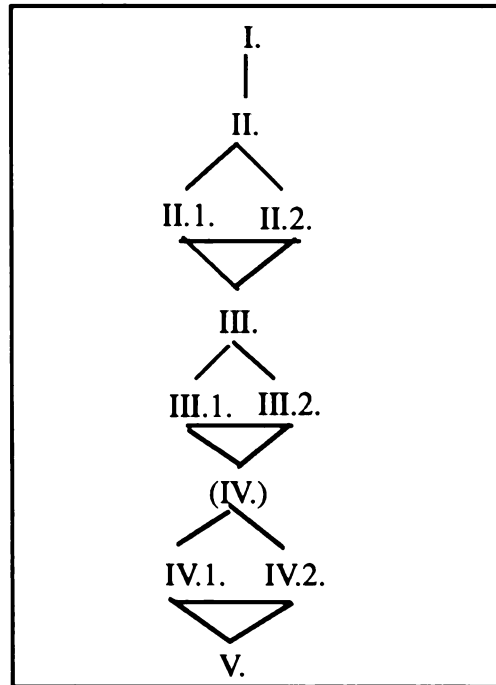


Figure 13: Representation of Text 5G as Tree-Diagram

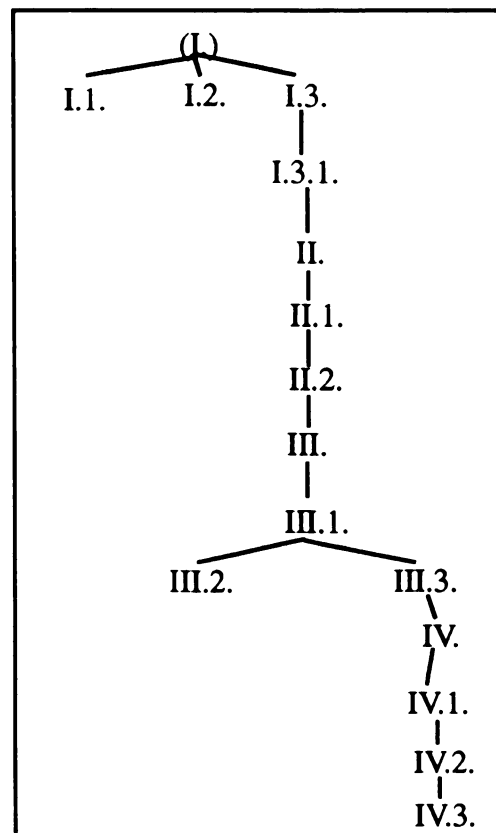


Figure 14: Representation of Text 6E as Tree-Diagram

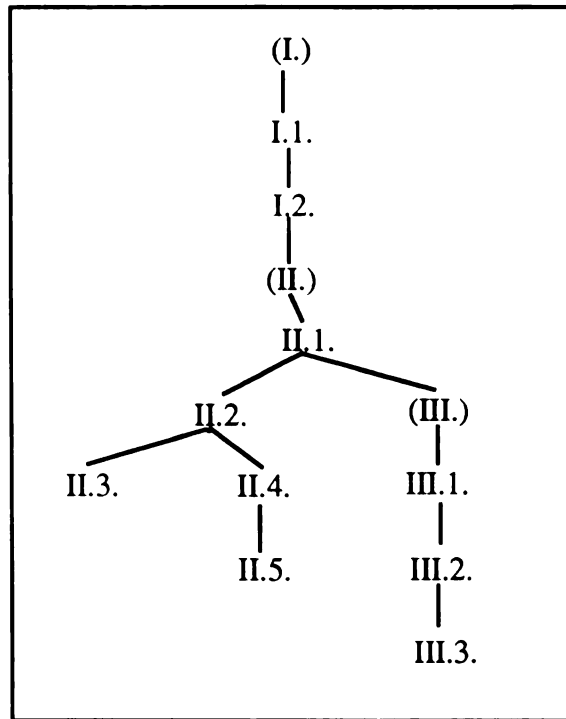


Figure 15: Representation of Text 6G as Tree-Diagram

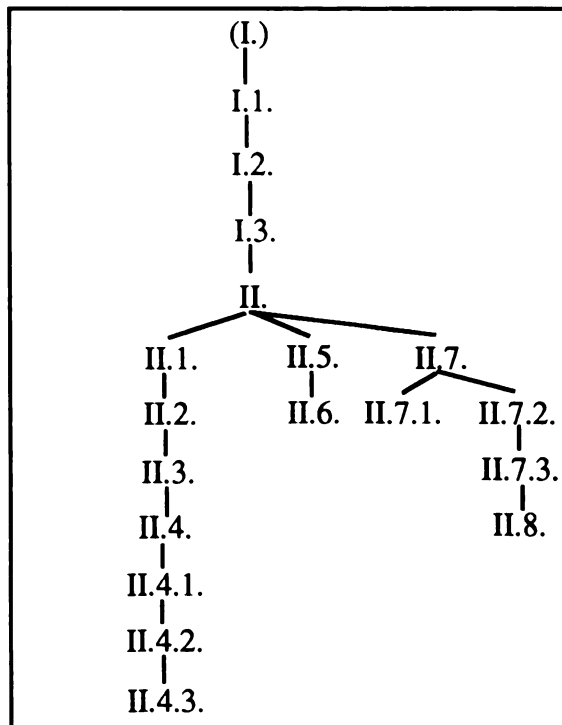


Figure 16: Representation of Text 7E as Tree-Diagram

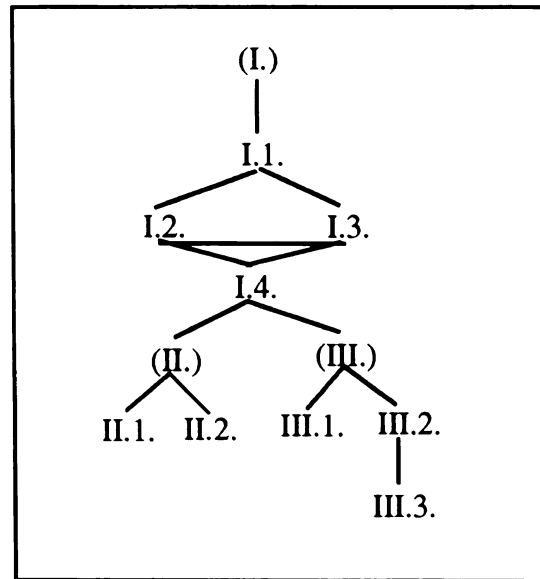


Figure 17: Representation of Text 7G as Tree-Diagram

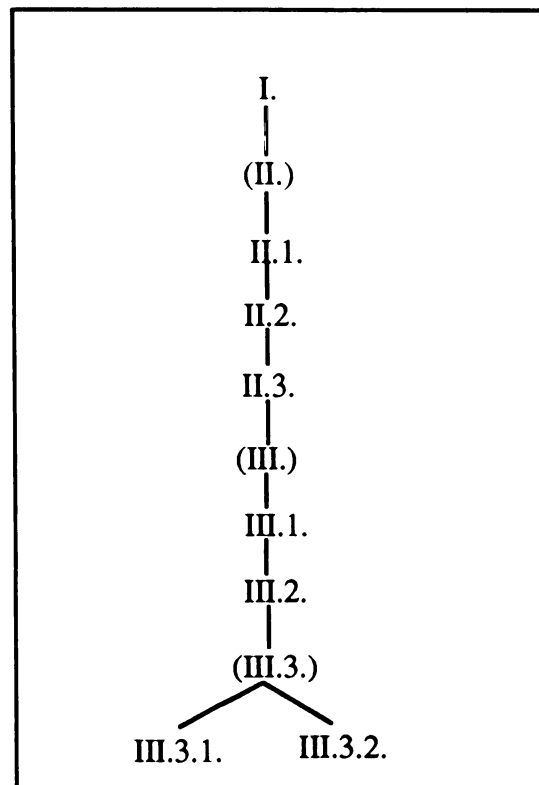


Figure 18: Representation of Text 8E as Tree-Diagram

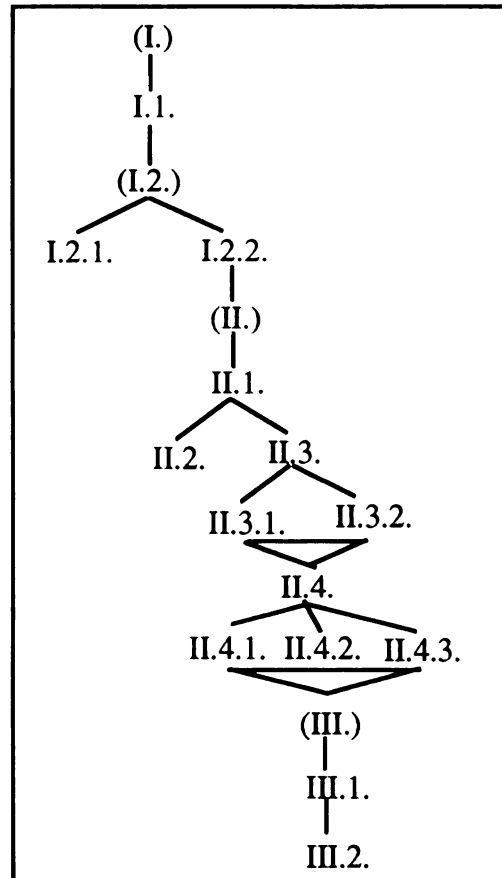
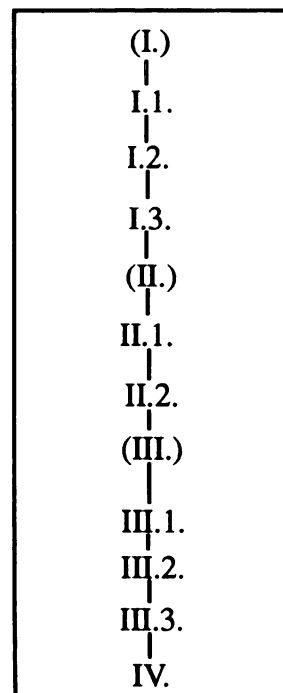
Figure 19:
Representation of Text 8G
as Tree-Diagram

Figure 20: Representation of Text 9E as Tree-Diagram

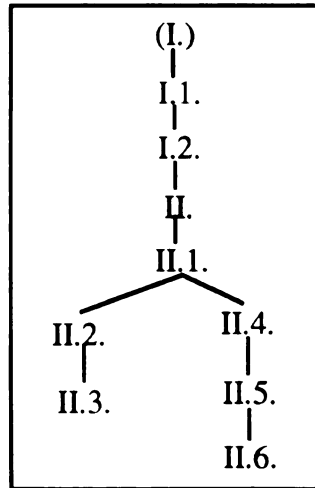
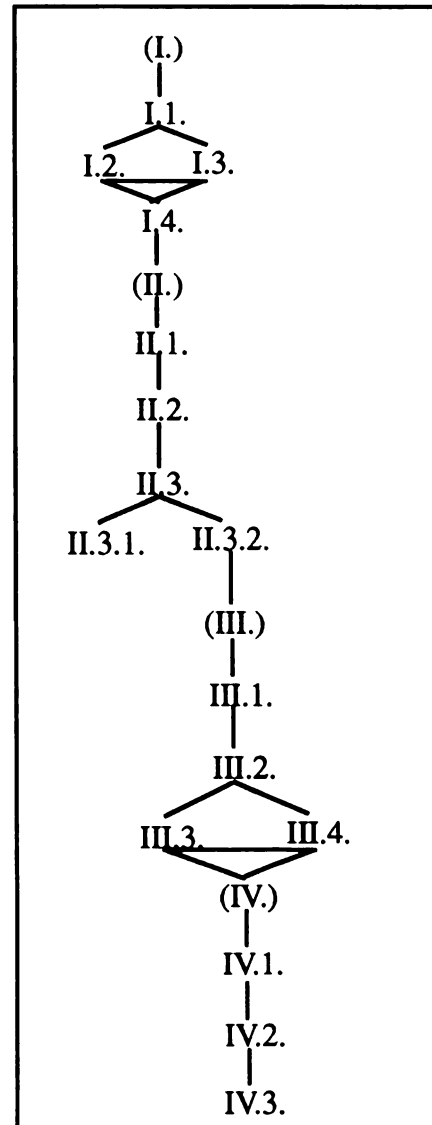
Figure 21:
Representation of Text 9G
as Tree-Diagram

Figure 22: Representation of Text 10E as Tree-Diagram

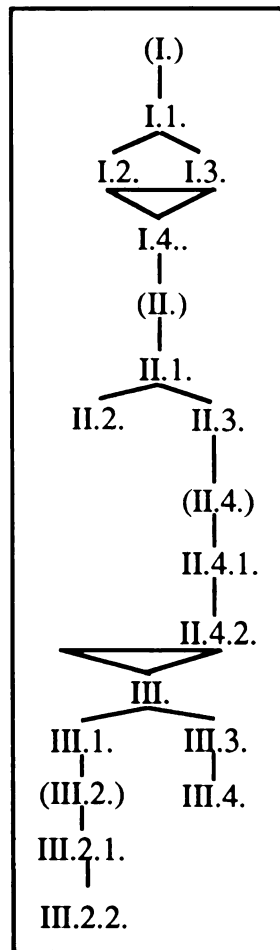
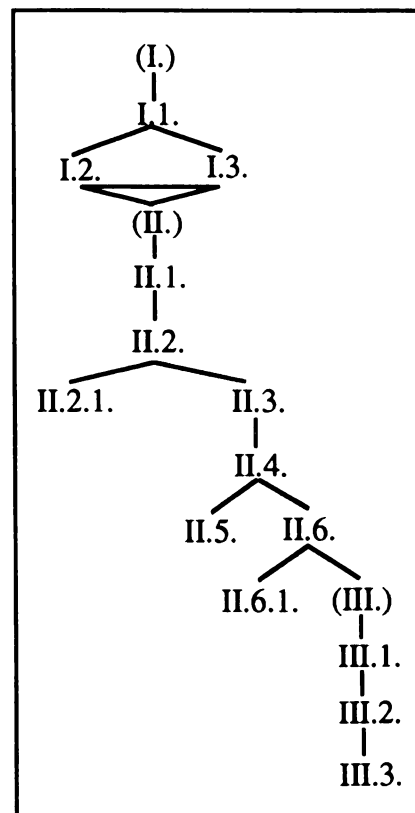
Figure 23:
Representation of Text 10G
as Tree-Diagram

Figure 24: Representation of Text 11E as Tree-Diagram

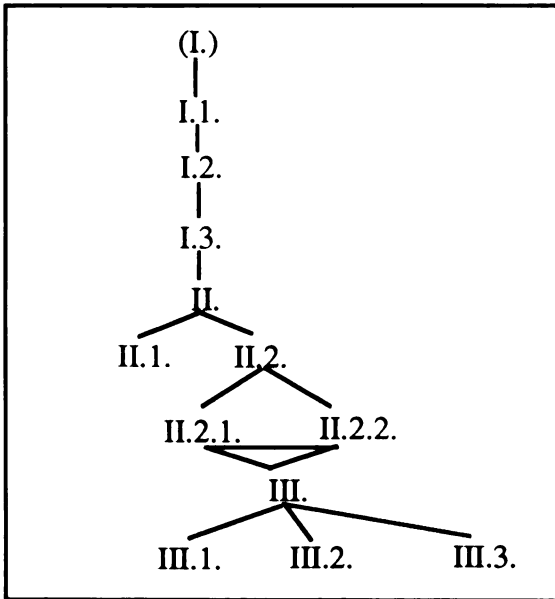


Figure 25: Representation of Text 11G as Tree-Diagram

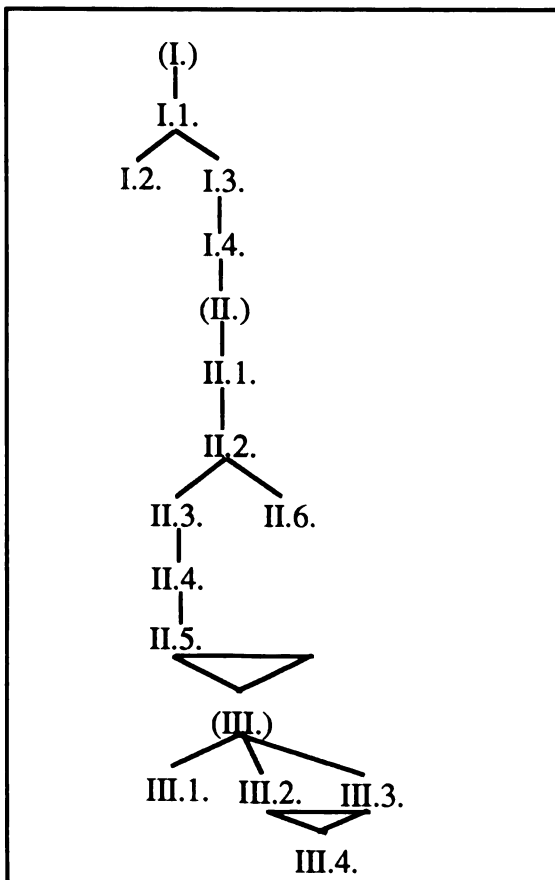


Figure 26: Representation of Text 12E as Tree-Diagram

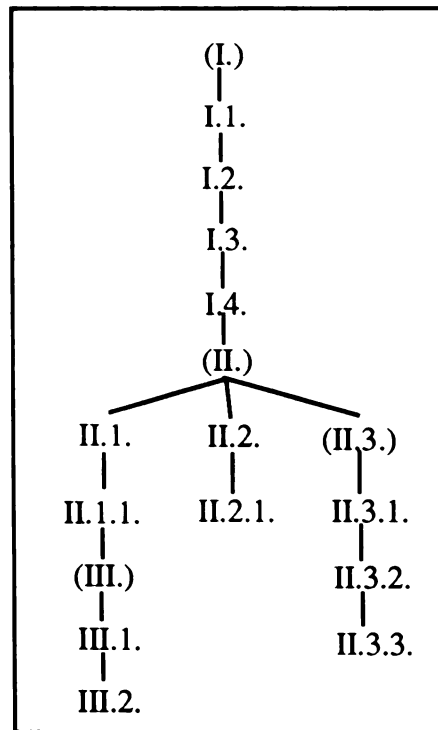


Figure 27: Representation of Text 12G as Tree-Diagram

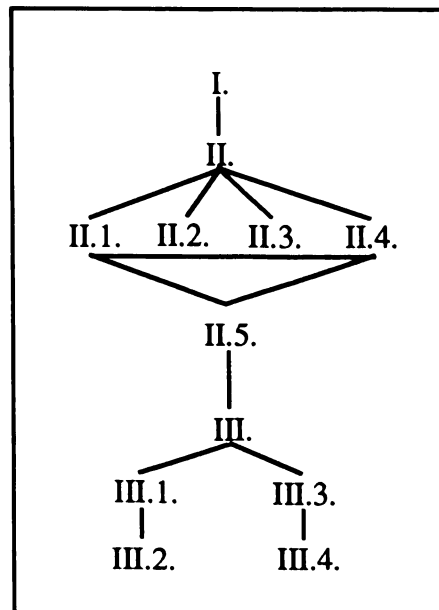


Figure 28: Representation of Text 13E as Tree-Diagram

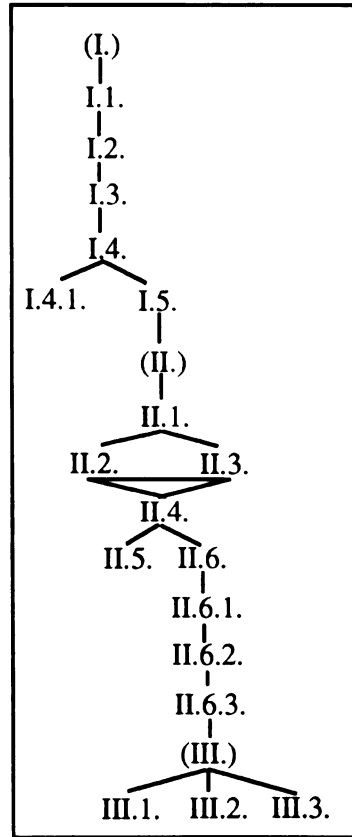
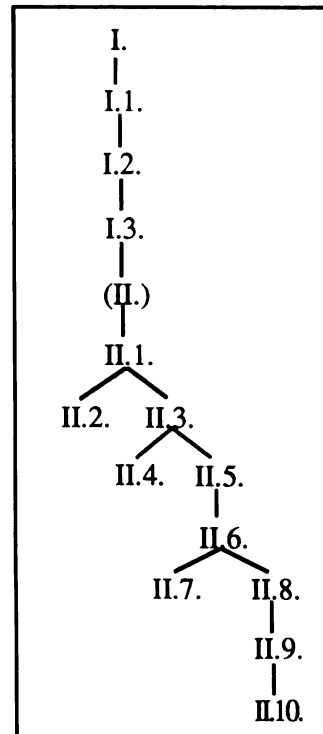
Figure 29:
Representation of Text 13G
as Tree-Diagram

Figure 30: Representation of Text 14E as Tree-Diagram

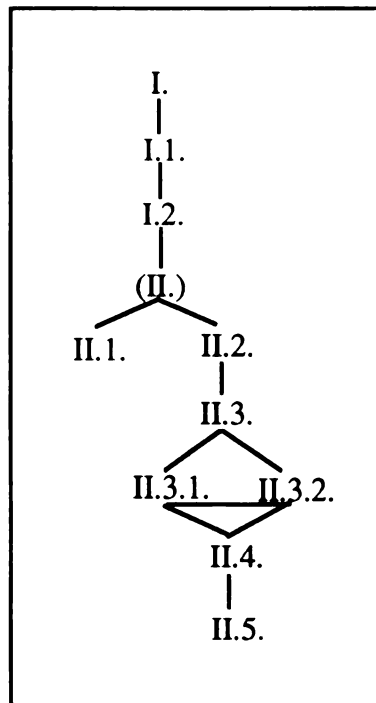


Figure 31: Representation of Text 14G as Tree-Diagram

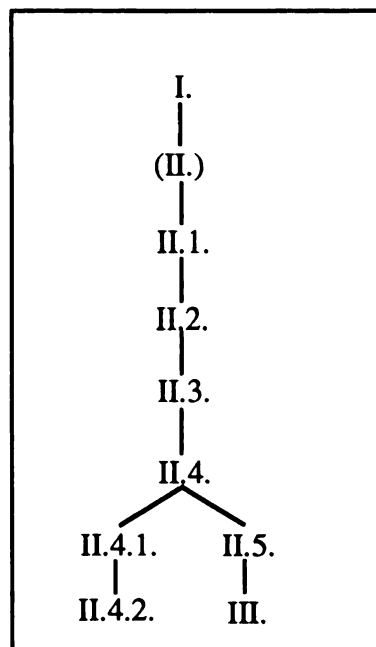


Figure 32: Representation of Text 15E as Tree-Diagram

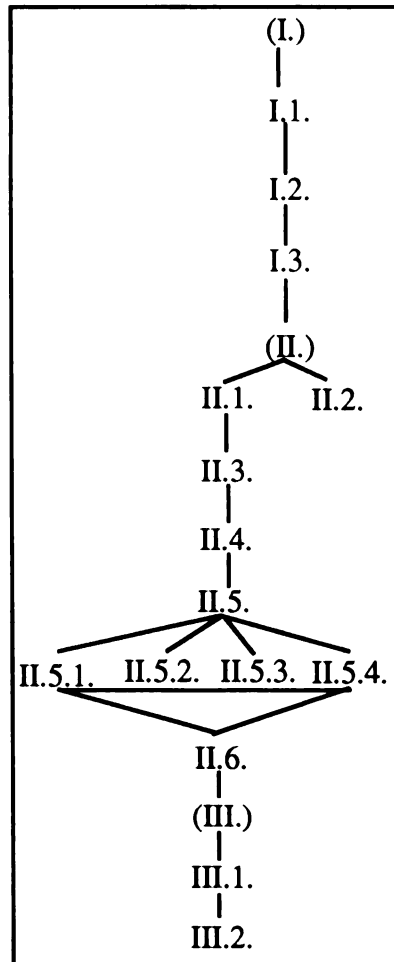
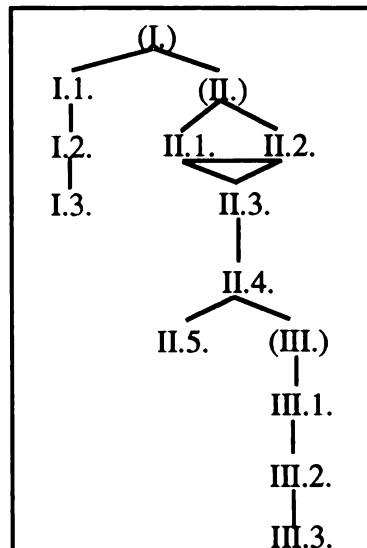


Figure 33: Representation of Text 15G as Tree-Diagram



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