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PER INTERPRETI E TRADUTTORI

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Università degli Studi di Trieste

The 'Interpreters' Newsletter

Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne
per Interpreti e Traduttori
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Editorial

At the preparation stage of this editorial, we decided we would have a rather nostalgic look back to our very first editorial and then to those of Numbers Two and Three. What struck us most about these first three issues was that, without actually having done a word count, there is a very high recurrence of words like 'new', 'initiative', 'innovation' and the like. But, apart from one notable exception that we shall be coming back to shortly, there is very little that is new in the present issue. What we have today instead is a rather more in-depth consolidation of research into the 'burning' issues of interpretation theory and practice, a response to the 'gauntlet' thrown down by us in Number Two asking for serious work to be carried out in certain areas and also in response to Franco Crevatin's request in Number One to have the help and contributions of colleagues from all over the world to achieve an aim that is bound to be of an interdisciplinary nature. Indeed, many questions have been asked in a variety of areas like, for example shadowing, clozing, aptitude testing in general, neurophysiological research, the application of text linguistics, to name but a few. Now, however, the discussion is becoming more intense and more consolidated, albeit very diverse in some cases, in our search for answers for which we thank you all. Thanks must once again go to all of you, (especially our 'regulars', Daniel Gile, Sylvie Lambert, Nancy Schweda-Nicholson, Sergio Viaggio and others) who have contributed over the years either with articles, bibliographies, reviews, comments or advice - the success of The Interpreters' Newsletter is mainly yours.

Now, however, let's have a look at what we have for you this year by starting with what is new and then moving on to the continuation of previous discussions. There are, in fact, two changes to The Interpreters' Newsletter - the first of which is, we feel, extremely important and a very positive development in interpretation research, namely the introduction of Special Issues of The Interpreters' Newsletter that deal with highly specific and restricted problems of

interpretation theory and practice. The other piece of news is rather less happy and so we have decided not to include it in this Editorial but rather as the first letter in the Letters to the Editors section.

The Special Issue

The editors are very pleased to announce the beginning of a new series of special issues of The Interpreters' Newsletter on specific problems related to our profession, the first of which, as you will have doubtless already seen, accompanies this present number. Number One of the Special Issue of The Interpreters' Newsletter is entirely devoted to problems of language, translation and interpretation both to and from Japanese. We must say that we are most happy to welcome such an initiative (and in future other similar ventures) especially in today's ever-shrinking world in which cross-cultural communication is of fundamental importance. We feel that this Special Issue gives our readers particular insight into an area which for many Western researchers and interpreters alike is quite unknown.

Apart from the obvious unique aspects of Eastern languages such as Japanese, particularly problems of expression, intonation and register quite foreign to languages that we are familiar with here in the West, what we found most interesting in the various contributions to this Special Issue was the fact that the Japanese also have many problems similar to those we have in the West, particularly with certain language combinations (for example, one thinks immediately of having to wait for the end of the sentence in German in order to catch the main verb, etc.).

Similarities and differences apart, we feel that this initiative is a most important one in the process of widening our horizons and of increasing our knowledge of the multiform aspects of simultaneous interpreting. From a purely non-linguistic point of view, it has also given our colleagues in the Far East the opportunity to air their views and to talk about their own problems and, at the same time, we can learn much more about our fellows on the other side of the world. Once again, a special word of

thanks to Daniel Gile for having arranged this contact for us with our colleagues in Japan and at Queensland University, Australia and also very special thanks must go to Dr. Ng Bee Chin for her invaluable and painstaking work as editor of this Special Issue as well as to all its contributors.

The Present Issue

We are particularly pleased to see that The Interpreters' Newsletter is increasingly becoming a vehicle for scientific research and analysis, as indeed is exactly what it was founded for in the first place, rather than simply a means for airing personal, subjective views on the profession, no matter how picturesque or amusing these anecdotes might be. Of course there will always be a place for personal opinion, especially if based on personal experience, but the shift in emphasis away from the impressionistic towards objective observation is most welcome. We strongly feel this means that The Interpreters' Newsletter is fulfilling its original aim as outlined in Franco Crevatin's declaration of intent expressed during the Trieste Symposium in 1986 and in the Editorial of our first issue, namely that it should represent an exchange of information, a forum of discussion on testing theories, replicability and the observation of practical experience compared and contrasted to pure theory.

The interaction between theory and practice, as both John Dodds and Catherine Stenzl were at great pains to stress during the Trieste Symposium, should never be neglected. An excellent example of just this has been provided by Susana Malchik in her article on the difficulties a translator has to face in trying to become an interpreter. From her own experience, she throws light on various factors that we professional interpreters tend to neglect or even forget. Her article is indeed most enlightening and we are sure that readers will appreciate it as much as we did.

Even though some colleagues still strongly resist research and the academic side of the profession, or at least consider these as less than 'top priority', the professional associations and particularly AIIC, the most prestigious among them, are re-elaborating their views on research and training. Of course not all colleagues are

interested in the academic side of the profession, as was sardonically pointed out by one colleague at the recent AIIC conference which aimed at a redefinition of the aims and objectives of the Association in view of the extremely rapid changes taking place in the profession today. In fact, AIIC, apart from its traditional role of protecting the conference interpreter's conditions and status, has now set up a Training Committee and a Research Committee of which Jenny Mackintosh is convenor and Laura Gran member. This clearly shows awareness on the part of AIIC of the need to pay much greater attention to these aspects of the profession that up until recently were considered of minor importance or of no importance at all. Of course, ideally research into the field should be carried out in a university environment but the fact that a professional association like AIIC is showing interest can only be considered very positive.

Contributions to this Issue

There are two of the 'burning' issues that we mentioned before that come up in every number, namely Aptitude and Shadowing. Clearly feelings are still very strong over these two questions and the fact that every year we have new observations and new objections, more evidence for as well as more evidence against show that these are probably the most controversial issues to have been dealt with in the Newsletter - and we suspect we still have more to come. Each year, objections are raised but it is no longer enough simply not to be in favour of shadowing when faced with the scientific rigour with which Sylvie Lambert presents the case in favour of it. Next time round, those against shadowing are going to have to show every bit as much rigour based on scientific testing in order to be at all credible.

As regards questions of teaching methodologies, we have included in this issue two articles by Sergio Viaggio, Chief of the Interpretation Section of the United Nations, Vienna. Both articles seemed to us to be of the utmost interest for teachers and trainers of interpreters, especially over the whole question of redundancy, and written in such a lively, light-hearted way that it is a distinct pleasure to read

them. The message, of course, is very serious and the approach scientifically rigorous and his discussion of cognitive clozing is most instructive. Coincidentally, this year for the first time, the entrance examination for the SSLM in Trieste consisted of, among other components, a C-test which is one of the tests recommended by Sylvie Lambert for testing interpreting aptitude.

Very much in line with our principle of The Interpreters' Newsletter involving multi- and interdisciplinary factors in the interpreting process, Edith Spiller Bosatra and Valeria Darò, in collaboration with the School of Otolaryngology of the Faculty of Medicine here in Trieste, have presented interesting paper on the importance of certain acoustic conditions affecting the interpreter's performance and also on the effect of the feedback of the interpreter's voice into the ear. Considerations these which may well have not only repercussions on training conditions but obviously also on our professional working conditions.

Silvia Cellerino, a graduate from the Trieste School, outlines the basic approach of her research on the "theory of terminology".

Sandra Gallina, another graduate from the Trieste School who is now a permanent interpreter at the EC Commission in Brussels, gives us a short account of her lengthy and in-depth study (see Bibliography of Theses in N°2) of the problems of cohesion and coherence in political speeches. In spite of the rather technical sounding title, Gallina explains clearly the concept of textual cohesion, ranging from ellipsis through to repetition and synonymy, and how its various forms are relevant in the interpretation process, for any theory for interpretation must surely draw heavily upon the techniques of text linguistics.

In an article on her research on bilingualism in interpreters, another regular contributor, Anna Giambagli, lecturer at the SSLM in Trieste, has carried out an interesting survey on professional interpreters at the EC Commission in Brussels and has come up with some very thought-provoking data regarding the sort of interpreting to be expected depending on which language the interpreter is working into. The question of bilingualism still remains a very controversial

issue but Giambagli has succeeded in contributing to the little we know about the phenomenon in interpreters.

Another lecturer and indeed regular contributor is Maurizio Viezzi who takes up an article from last year's issue by David Snelling on the simultaneous interpretation of films. Viezzi prefers to equate this form of 'simultaneous' to a sort of sight translation of subtitles. The difference between film sight translation and sight translation proper is of course the extra element of the film itself, the images and the sounds of the original.

Last but by no means least, we have as always included the bibliographical update, which also includes the latest degree theses presented at the SSLM in Trieste. Once again we repeat our invitation to readers to keep us informed about new works on interpreting (even if unpublished) so that we can all have as complete as possible a bibliography on interpretation at our disposal. Once again, we thank Daniel Gile for his invaluable personal help in the compilation of this bibliography as well as having the availability of his International Interpretation Research and Theory Network Bulletin. This initiative, our own and that of the AIIC Research Committee represent the full spirit of cooperation that characterizes our profession and offers a service to professional and student interpreters that is uncommon in other professions.

Many thanks also go to Silvia Cellerino, Valeria Darò and Alberto Severi for their assistance in the editing of this issue.

The Subscription Fee and New Name

Over the last year, we have had numerous replies to our enquiry about having a subscription fee for The Interpreters' Newsletter and as to whether we should change the name since some people (John included) feel that the term Newsletter is a misleading misnomer for what is or at least has become a professional journal of research and training methodology. Some alternative titles were suggested (that of Ng Bee Chin we thought particularly fitting - The Trieste Journal of Interpretation Research) but the vast majority of readers who responded to our enquiry felt that the old name should remain as that is the

name it is known by and any change may be confusing and is certainly unnecessary, despite the semantics of the word Newsletter.

So, in line with the views of the majority and hopefully with the consent of the minority, *The Interpreters' Newsletter* keeps its name and remains free of charge, at least for this year!

The Deadline

As always, we are forced to set an irrevocable deadline by which date we must **receive** your contributions. The date for this year, as indeed it was last year, is the **31st of August 1992**. We hope very much to have as many letters and contributions as possible (on either Macintosh, IBM or IBM compatible diskette) and until then we both wish you all a happy and prosperous new year.

Laura and John

January 1992

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Laura, Consultant Editors and Readers,

it is with very profound regret that I am forced to announce my resignation as co-editor of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*. It has been one of the most difficult decisions I have ever had to make because it is never easy to give up something that one has helped create and that, for more than five years now, has virtually represented an intrinsic part of our daily professional (and frequently private) lives here in Trieste.

The reason for my resignation is that as co-editor for the new and forthcoming *Translators' Newsletter*, as well as for the Proceedings of two major conferences held in Trieste (*Eco/Magris - Authors and Translators Face to Face* and *Publishers and Translators Face to Face*) I am simply no longer able to devote the time needed for the publication of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*. So rather than just being a "silent partner" I would, in all honesty, prefer to hand over the co-editorship to somebody who can devote his or her spare time exclusively to *The Interpreters' Newsletter* which, with a growth rate of at least 50% per year, is in itself becoming a full-time job.

I would like to stress, lastly, how much I have enjoyed working with interpreters, how much I have personally learnt from them and from their problems in the general context of translation and translation theory as a whole, and how much I have appreciated being considered an "honorary interpreter". I shall, of course, continue, whenever possible or necessary, to contribute to *The Interpreters' Newsletter* with articles and letters to the Editors expressing an outsider's view of the profession, that of a translator and translation theorist.

I thank you all and wish you and your *Newsletter* continuing success as major con-

tributors to our common field.

Yours truly

John Dodds.

It is with the greatest regret that I see this decision of yours thrust upon me. Of course I do understand your reasons and am perfectly aware of all the duties you carry out as the first Full Professor (professore ordinario) of Translation ever appointed in Italy and Head of the English Department at our Faculty. In addition, as you have explained, you are deeply involved in enhancing the Translation course of studies which is very promising and whose potentialities have not yet been fully explored. Together with Ljiljana Avirovich you organized the most successful Conference of the Translators of "Danubio" by Claudio Magris and "Il nome della rosa" by Umberto Eco and the follow-up meeting on the professional status of translators which needs to be fully recognized both in Italy and internationally.

Yet, I cannot help remembering those long hours we spent together planning and organizing the Symposium on the Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Conference Interpretation in 1986 and, later on, editing The Interpreters' Newsletter. All this, as you say, has taken up so much of our time and energies, also considering the shortage of funds and staff, which has obliged us to do to it "the Italian way", i.e. by doing most of the work ourselves and resorting to the voluntary help of a few enthusiastic friends and students. Of course, we shall continue to work together in other areas within our Faculty. But on this occasion I should like to say "Thank you, John," for the invaluable collaboration and guidance you have offered to the effort made at our Faculty with a view to contributing with a scientific and

academic approach to the study of the multiform aspects involved in conference interpretation.

Now the good news. I would like to welcome to the editorial staff Monique Politi and David Clyde Snelling who are responsible respectively for interpretation into French and English at our Faculty. Our collaboration over the past fifteen years has been effortless and I am sure that our shared convictions, tried and tested in the classroom, will also find expression on the future pages of this Newsletter. Both colleagues have considerable experience in international University contacts. Monique is responsible for students transfer procedures in Trieste, while David represents our Faculty at the CIUTI meetings. The rigour of Cartesian logic and the ironic detachment of our island colleague have, in the past, disciplined and strengthened (without succeeding in attenuating) Italian vitality and I confidently expect future issues of the Newsletter to demonstrate the validity and fruitfulness of the blend.

Laura Gran

Dear Editors,

In the 1990 issue of this Newsletter¹, David Snelling wrote: *"with regard to films, the operation [translation] is comparable to that of a rapid sight translation with visual aids"*. And again, *"a closer examination may reveal that the relationship between sight translation and simultaneous interpretation is closer than Maurizio Viezzi [the author of this letter] expects"*.

Now, while I certainly agree on the former - film translation is sight translation, i.e. the simultaneous oral translation of a written text - I feel that my earlier papers have been, to some extent, misinterpreted. There, I analysed the sort of sight translation regularly performed at the SSLM, which is completely different from the sight translation of film sub-titles. At the SSLM

students are required to translate newspaper articles: the whole of the text is constantly before them, and they may move their eyes backward or forward to support their memory or to search for clues; moreover, their translation is self-paced. Clearly, such a translating mode has little to do with "ordinary" simultaneous translation where information is presented in a continuous flow which is impossible to stop or retrace. This is why I have questioned the usefulness of sight translation as a teaching instrument in the acquisition of simultaneous interpretation technique. "SSLM sight translation" may certainly be used as a *non-specific* training exercise (also for students of the translation course, as is done in Melbourne²), and if performed after a preliminary reading it could turn out to be a very good exercise with a view to consecutive interpretation³, but it is so different from simultaneous interpretation that it can hardly be regarded as a *specific* form of training for it.

On the contrary, film translation, or, rather, the simultaneous translation of sub-titles, is very close to simultaneous interpretation, leaving aside the obvious difference related to the written and respectively oral form of presentation of the text to be translated. Drawing some conclusions at the end of an experimental study I carried out a couple of years ago, I wrote - and I apologize for quoting myself - that sight translation and simultaneous interpretation could only be regarded as two parallel processes, with obvious teaching implications, *"if during sight translation the reading were to be carried out with the aid of particular electronic instruments enabling the eye of the reader to survey in rapid succession portions of the text corresponding to his perceptual span. In such a case, the interpreter or the student carrying out sight translation could be expected to behave exactly as the interpreter performing simultaneous interpretation"*⁴. At that time I had no experience

² A. Gentile, personal communication.

³ See in this respect K. Déjean le Féal, "L'enseignement des méthodes d'interprétation", in J. Delisle (ed.), *L'enseignement de l'interprétation et de la traduction*, Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa, 1981.

⁴ M. Viezzi, "Sight Translation: An Experimental

¹ D. Snelling, "Upon the Simultaneous Translation of Films", *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, 3, 1990, pp. 14-16.

of film translation and I thought in terms of "particular electronic instruments": now my experience as interpreter at the Venice Film Festival leads me to maintain that, though entailing visual rather than auditive input perception, film translation is possibly the closest equivalent to simultaneous interpretation (the interpreter cannot go backward or forward along the text, he has no pace control, etc.).

To summarize: I would say that there is a close relationship between sight translation and simultaneous interpretation only if the former is performed in such a way as to reproduce "simultaneous" conditions. Sub-title translation does reproduce those conditions, "SSLM sight translation" does not.

Maurizio Viezzi

Analysis", in J.M. Dodds (ed.), *Aspects of English. Miscellaneous Papers for English Teachers and Specialist*, Campanotto, Udine, 1989.

DELAYED AUDITORY FEEDBACK EFFECTS ON SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETERS

By

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1. Introduction

When people talk they may, consciously or unconsciously, correct their own output, both in content and form. As obvious as this observation may appear, it nevertheless implies a series of considerations which cannot be taken for granted without previous investigation. The fact that speakers may correct their own utterances hints at the existence of a control mechanism for speech, which must somehow rely on a feedback system. Nowadays three different feedback systems related to the control of speech articulation have been described: the tactile system, the proprioceptive system and the auditory system, though it is assumed that most probably other similar systems exist which have yet to be investigated.

Through tactile receptors located in the larynx and in the oral cavity and on the tongue the Central Nervous System receives information concerning the localization of parts of the phonatory organs of the supralaryngeal tract (e.g. tip of the tongue touching teeth, or contact between tongue surface and palate, etc.), concerning the manner and degree of deformation of the oral surfaces, and the onset time of contact (Hardcastle, 1976). Air turbulence during breath inspiration could also provoke a tactile stimulation of the laryngeal receptors. By means of this *tactile feedback* our brain "knows" if the movements within the oral cavity have been carried out correctly in order to reach a given target, e.g. a vowel or a stop consonant, etc.

Another monitoring system of speech production is the *proprioceptive feedback* system,

which involves the muscle spindles, joint receptors and Golgi tendon organs. These receptors provide the Central Nervous System with constant information about the position of the phonatory organs, independently from the tactile system. They give very rapid information on the degree of lengthening and tension of the laryngeal, pharyngeal and oral muscles, thus making a global "description" of the shape of the vocal tract obtained through muscle activity (Bava, 1988).

Since time immemorial it had been observed that inborn deafness would generally imply dumbness. This was evidence of the role of hearing in speech production. With an accidental discovery by Bernard Lee, an American engineer, in 1950, the influence of *auditory feedback* on speech was further evidenced. While he was recording his own speech on a tape recorder and at the same time listening to it through headphones, he noticed that this delayed auditory feedback (DAF) could make him dysfluent: he started stuttering, or repeating syllables or prolonging the final parts of words. Lee came to the conclusion that auditory feedback played a major role in the control of speech production, and in particular of correct articulation, voice intensity and pronunciation (Borden & Harris, 1984; pp. 135-142). In clinical audiology the effects of DAF are generally studied in order to assess real deafness in patients who may suffer from hysterical auditory impairments instead of physiological impairments. Moreover, DAF has been thought to be an efficient tool in speech therapy for stutterers (Timmons, 1982), since it

turned out to improve fluency in such patients. It is worthwhile mentioning that auditory feedback involves both the transmission of sound waves through the air which reach the ear-drums and the transmission of sound through bone conduction with activation of the inner ear. Auditory feedback is therefore slower than tactile and proprioceptive feedback (the latter being the only one to provide information during the event and not after it; cf. Hardcastle, 1976).

2. Different theories on the effects of DAF on speech production

In normal speakers DAF has been widely used to investigate the role of auditory control on speech in different age groups. The degree of speech disruption under DAF is generally measured by counting the number of syllables uttered per second or words per minute and of dysfluencies and by assessing changes in voice intensity and in the fundamental frequency of the speaker (Siegel et al., 1982). According to several authors, the most disruptive effects generally occur with a 200-msec delay (Waters, 1968; Smith and Thierney, 1971; Siegel et al., 1980), whereas MacKay (1968) tried to demonstrate the existence of a critical delay for every different age by showing that the younger the subjects the longer the most disruptive delay (4 to 6 yr.: 524 msec; 7 to 9 yr.: 375 msec; adults: 200 msec). Though MacKay's "critical interval hypothesis" is still questionable (Siegel et al., 1980), it may be assumed that as children speak more slowly than adults (Haselager et al., 1991), their critical delays may differ according to their age. Another controversial aspect regarding the effects of DAF on speech involves languages. Rouse and Tucker (1966) found that adults were more disrupted by a 200-msec DAF when speaking in their mother tongue (L1) than in a recently acquired language (L2), whereas MacKay (1970) showed exactly the opposite with adult subjects being more disrupted in L2 than in L1.

Generally speaking, however, most experimental studies on DAF tend to consider a delay of 200 msec the most disruptive one for normal adult speakers, regardless of their native language. Finally, as regards the idea of possible

lasting residual effects of DAF on normal speakers undergoing experiments with DAF-conditions, the authors of the present study refer to the works by Zalosh and Salzman (1965) and by Ham et al. (1984) to support their firm belief in as well as their personal experience of the harmlessness of this practice.

3. Aim of the present study

During simultaneous interpretation auditory feedback may play the same important role as in any other normal speech act, though it may be somehow influenced by the fact that the interpreter has to do with two languages at the same time, that his auditory sensory modality is already aroused by external stimuli and that he generally has to speak faster than normal speakers (Daró, 1990).

In relating the effects of auditory feedback on speech to simultaneous interpretation three main questions arise:

1. To what extent does auditory feedback intervene in the course of simultaneous interpretation?
2. Do adult subjects trained as simultaneous interpreters show the same critical delay of 200 msec as normal adult speakers?
3. Does auditory feedback somehow change according to the languages involved as input or output vehicles?

The present paper shows the preliminary results of an experimental study on the effects of DAF during simultaneous interpretation. Critical DAF values in students of simultaneous interpretation were first of all assessed during verbal tasks other than simultaneous interpretation, as not a single study including simultaneous interpreters has been reported in the literature so far and we could not assume by default that simultaneous interpreters would show the same disruption effects as normal speakers.

4. Materials and methods

Subjects.

Twelve student interpreters attending either the 3rd or the 4th year at the School for Translators and Interpreters of Trieste (SSLM), 9 females and 3 males aged 21 to 27 (average

age: 24 yrs), 10 with right-hand preference and 2 non-right-handed, underwent this experiment. The subjects' mother tongue (L1) was either Italian (subjects 3, 5, 7, 9, 10 and 11) or German (subjects 1, 2, 4, 6, 8 and 12), their second language (L2) thus being either German or Italian, with the exception of one subject who was a compound German/English bilingual, born within a mixed marriage and having attended Italian schools since the age of 16. All the subjects also knew at least another language (L3). None of them suffered from any neurological disease or auditory impairment.

Procedure

The subjects' task was to recite aloud the days of the week and the months of the year the wrong way round, thus starting from the last day of the week (Sunday) or last month of the year (December) and finishing with the first day or month, respectively (Monday or January). Weeks and years were to follow one another without interruption until the examiner gave a stop signal. Each subject had to carry out two trials of one minute each, in each one of the following conditions: 1. under no delay, thus with normal auditory feedback (NAF) in L1; 2. with NAF in L2; 3. under delayed auditory feedback (DAF) with a 250-msec delay in L1; 4. under DAF with a 200-msec delay in L1; 5. under DAF with a 150-msec delay in L1; 6. under DAF with a 250-msec delay in L2; 7. under DAF with a 200-msec delay in L2 and 8. under DAF with a 150-msec delay in L2. The order of these eight conditions was counterbalanced across the subjects. The subjects were told to speak at high speed, though they were also instructed on the importance of the correct articulation of every syllable with no pronunciation mistakes. Correct articulation thus had priority over speaking speed. Before starting the experimental trials the subjects had to carry out two exercise trials of 30 seconds each to become acquainted with their task. After completing the test in each condition the subjects were allowed a few minutes' rest.

The delayed auditory feedback effect was obtained by means of a special electronic device which sends back the speaker's own voice with a certain delay (expressed in msec.). The speaker

speaks into a microphone and listens through earphones to his own delayed voice. The delay interval can be previously fixed by operating a digital keyboard similar to that of a telephone keyboard. In the present experiment three different delay intervals were used: 150, 200 and 250 msec.; voice intensity was about 55 dB (the norm being 50-60 dB).

All trials were recorded on a TMC-5 Sony tape recorder with an ECM-144 Sony condenser microphone and revised by two bilingual correctors (German-Italian and Italian-German, respectively). The total number of words (NW), of general mistakes (GM) and of prosodic mistakes (PM) produced by each subject in each condition was calculated. GM would be dysfluencies, stuttering, wrong articulation of phonemes or syllables and disruption of or deviation from the correct sequence of either days or months (e.g. inversions, omissions, repetitions, substitutions etc.); PM would be any deviation from the subject's standard pronunciation, prolonged voicing and wrong intonation.

5. Results

The average number of words per minute (w/m) produced by the subjects in both NAF conditions (NW NAF=85.06; NW NAFL1=90.37G; NW NAF L2=79.75) and in the six DAF conditions (NW DAF=85.61; NW DAF L1=89.26; NW DAF L2=81.96) taken together was calculated and processed by means of an analysis of variance. There was no significant difference in the average number of w/m produced under NAF as opposed to DAF, whereas the difference between the average number of w/m produced in L1 as opposed to L2 in all conditions taken together was significant (NW L1=89.82; L2=80.85; $F(1,11)=10.679$; $p<0.01$; cf. Figure 1).

In DAF conditions the subjects made on average more general mistakes (GM) than in NAF conditions, though this difference was not significant (GM NAF=5.96, GM DAF=7.97; GM NAF L1=5.75, GM DAF L1=7.74; GM NAF L2=6.17, GM DAF L2=8.19).

Prosodic mistakes (PM) were found only under DAF and not under NAF (PM NAF=0.00; DAF=0.63; $F(1,11)=3.881$; $p=0.07$). In DAF conditions the subjects made more prosodic

mistakes in L2 than in L1 (PM DAF L1=0.27; PM DAF L2=0.98; $F(1,11)=3.138$; $p=0.1$).

The number of words produced in L1 and in L2 under DAF with delays at 250, 200 and 150 msec respectively was also calculated. The analysis of variance showed that the average number of words uttered per minute significantly changed

according to the different delay intervals ($F(2,22)=4.228$; $p<0.02$), with the following results: L1 DAF 250 msec=93.46; L1 DAF 200 msec=89.5; L1 DAF 150 msec=84.87; L2 DAF 250 msec=84.54; L2 DAF 200 msec=82.29; L2 DAF 150 msec=79.08 (cf. Figure 2).

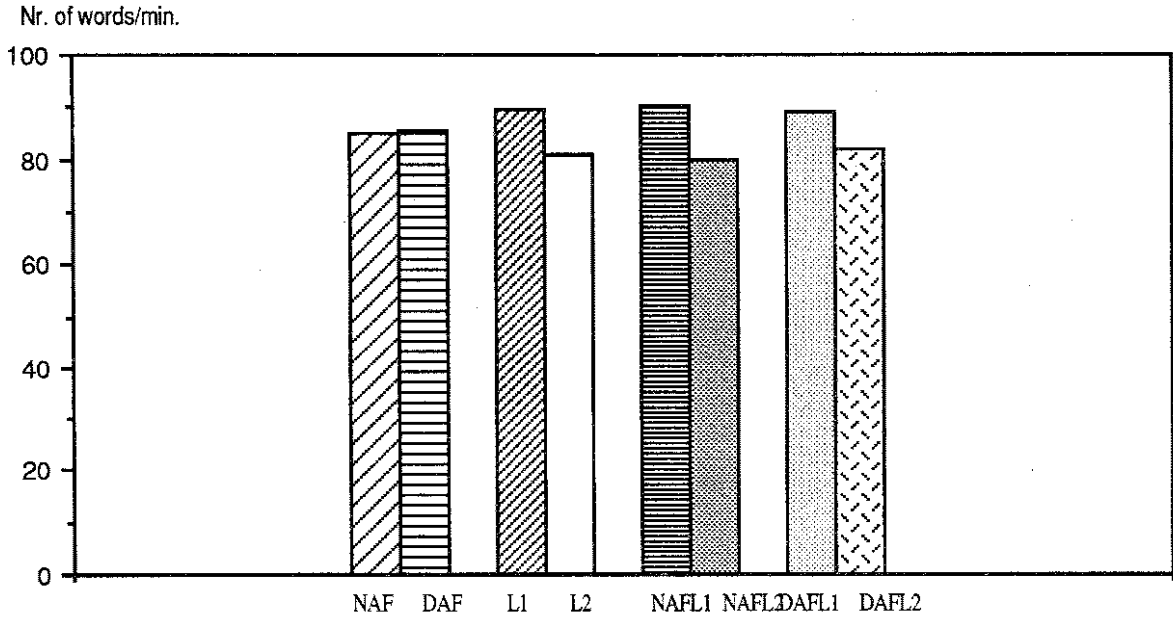


Fig. 1. Average number of words per minute produced in NAF and DAF conditions in L1 and L2.

* $p<0.01$ (significant)

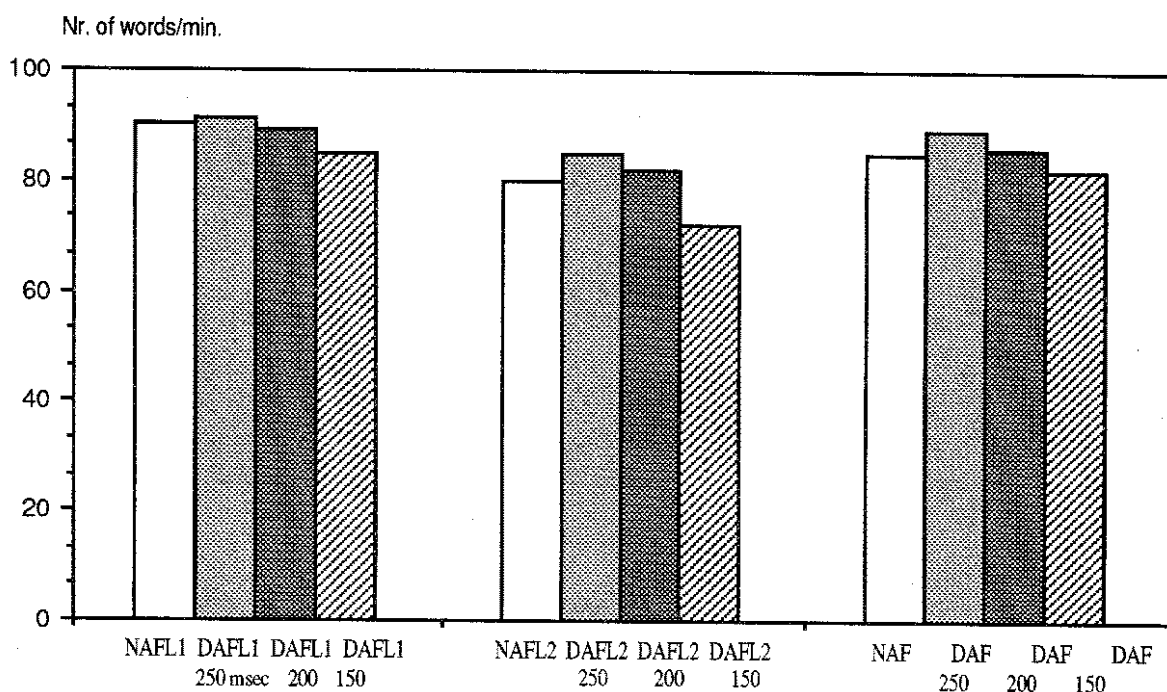


Fig. 2. Average number of words per minute produced under NAF and under DAF with different delay intervals (150, 200 and 250 msec) in L1 and L2 respectively.

* $p < 0.01$ (significant)

6. Discussion

One of the criteria used in the present study, aiming at assessing the role of auditory feedback in subjects trained as simultaneous interpreters, was speech fluency in L1 and L2 respectively. Our measure parameter for speech fluency was the number of words per minute (w/m). The first major result showed a more fluent speech in L1 than in L2 ($L1 = 89.82$ w/m; $L2 = 80.855$ w/m). Thus, in spite of the fact that our student interpreters actually mastered their second language very well and were extremely fluent in it, they nevertheless were generally more fluent when talking in L1. As obvious as this result may appear, it might at least be considered as an objective parameter when discussing the advantages of interpreting into one's mother tongue rather than in a second language.

A second, rather striking result of this experimental investigation was the lack of any significant difference in speech fluency between DAF and NAF conditions. Considering both L1 and L2 together, speech fluency was 85.06 w/m in NAF conditions and 85.62 w/m in DAF conditions,

suggesting that speech fluency was generally not impaired by a delayed auditory feedback. It should be stressed that in DAF conditions the subjects generally made more global mistakes as well as mistakes in prosody, though neither of these data were significant. In our opinion, while learning interpretation strategies student interpreters most probably also learn how to pay less attention to the auditory feedback information. As the incoming message is of the utmost importance in the process of interpretation, the interpreter probably gradually learns how to ignore a large proportion of his natural auditory feedback. Another possible explanation would consider the interpreters' (acquired) tendency to divide their attention over the many different stages of a simultaneous interpretation process. It might be assumed that while simultaneously translating a given text, the interpreter alternately pays more focalized attention on the input for a given time lag (t_x) and on his own output for another time lag (t_y). The results of the present investigation show that t_y is undoubtedly shorter than t_x , because if our subjects had had the habit of paying

more attention to their own output, DAF conditions would have been significantly more disturbing than NAF conditions, in that they would have caused a greater number of general and prosody mistakes and a significant decrease in speech fluency.

Finally, as our hypothesis was that in individuals trained as simultaneous interpreters speaking speed generally tends to be higher than in normal speakers (cf. Daró, 1990), we tried to find another reliable parameter to support this idea. Previous investigations generally showed that the more slowly people speak, the longer the most disruptive delay interval is (cf. MacKay, 1970; Siegel et al., 1980). Several authors seem to agree upon a 200-msec delay as the most disruptive one in normal adult speakers (MacKay, 1970; Smith and Tierney, 1971; Elman, 1983; Ham et al., 1984), therefore we expected our fast-speaking subjects to be more disrupted by a delay interval under 200 msec. For this reason they underwent DAF sessions with delay intervals at 150, 200 and 250 msec. The subjects were told to speak fast and at the same time to *assure clear and correct articulation*, thus reaching an average expression pace of 3.55 syllables per second in all sessions taken together. At this rate we found that the most disruptive delay interval was at 150 msec. Assuming that this is more or less the general speaking speed of an interpreter during simultaneous interpretation (or even faster), it may be inferred that the most critical auditory delay in SI is about 150 msec (or even shorter). It may therefore be assumed that in simultaneous interpreters, whose speaking speed generally increases along with the acquisition of interpretation strategies, the neurophysiological mechanisms accounting for normal auditory feedback functions undergo a re-organization according to the speech rate every interpreter tends to use.

As in Rouse and Tucker (1966) in DAF conditions our subjects were surprisingly more disrupted when speaking in L1 than in L2, as if they had the tendency of relying more on auditory feedback while expressing themselves in their mother tongue than in their second language. The idea is that auditory feedback becomes more significant with language mastery (cf. also Siegel

et al., 1980), but further investigation in this direction is needed before attempting any other reasonable explanation.

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SHADOWING

By

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On Wednesday October 31, 1990, David Suzuki's *Nature of Things* aired an episode entitled *You Must Have Been a Bilingual Baby*, written, directed and produced by Heather Cook. The one hour programme explored some of the ways in which Canadians, young and not so young, learn a second language; examined the pros of bilingualism through immersion; presented examples of immersion programmes for adults; and included a segment on the training of simultaneous interpreters. Stephen Godfrey reviewed the programme with the following comment:

"One of the fascinating side trips in the show (...) is a visit to a school for interpreters at the University of Ottawa to show how language is dissected and put together again. The process of hearing a sentence and then repeating it with a slight delay - known as shadowing - is followed by paraphrasing, and finally simultaneous interpretation. But simultaneous translation is an infinitely more sophisticated skill than simply speaking another language; even the most experienced interpreters are given a break after less than half an hour." (Globe and Mail, October 31, 1990)

For a country with its healthy share of interpreters, and where the media erroneously refer to them as "translators" and even as "translation devices", this was certainly a first for simultaneous interpreters in that they finally received some long overdue and well deserved coverage, no matter how succinct. What the audience may not have been aware of was that Heather Cook and the camera crew spent an entire day in July, 1989, filming us at the University of

Ottawa under unbearably hot conditions in a language laboratory where the air-conditioning had been shut off due to ongoing construction. Furthermore, much of the taping ended up on the cutting room floor. What may have appeared as a minimal segment on interpreters was, in the context, a fair introduction for a one hour show given the advertisement time which considerably erodes such programmes. In any case, I was genuinely delighted with the show and proceeded to call my interpreter friends in Ottawa to find out their reactions to the show.

Basically, some interpreters wondered what interpretation had to do with the bilingualism issue, even though they were grateful that their profession had finally been acknowledged by the media. Others felt that I had granted too much importance to the shadowing component of the training of interpreters and that this may have only reinforced the erroneous notion of some who think that all interpreters ever do is merely shadow or "parrot" what the speaker is saying, simply putting it into another language.

So I turn to my computer, in order to, once again, try to bridge the ever-yawning gap between the vocational aspects of simultaneous interpretation and the theoretical and empirical components of the interpretation process that fascinate cognitive psychologists, the same process in fact that also dazzles and leaves the general population completely dumbfounded.

In an article that appeared in *Meta* (Lambert, 1989), I describe an introductory course on simultaneous interpretation offered at the University of Ottawa. This course attempts to put into application some of the theories in cognitive and neurological psychology relevant to the

formation of conference interpreters.

But first, a bit of background may be in order. I began working as a research assistant for Patricia E. Longley at the Polytechnic of Central London, England, between 1976 and 1979, while completing my graduate training in cognitive psychology under the supervision of the late David Gerver, a pioneer in empirical research on simultaneous interpretation. I was then invited to teach translation and conference interpretation at the Monterey Institute of International Studies in Monterey, California, between 1979 and 1984. Since then, I have been at Ottawa University's School of Translators and Interpreters.

Given this background, I have been able to put into practice certain components of human information processing, and structure my introduction course around twelve pedagogical techniques that stem from the technical literature: listening and recall; shadowing; dual-task training or parallel processing; paraphrasing; abstracting or telescoping; clozing; sight translating; sight interpreting; lagging; anticipating; processing digits, names, acronyms; ear preference and hemispheric processing. The meaning of some of these terms should be made clear in what follows. Furthermore, they are described in more detail elsewhere (Lambert, 1989).

Before discussing some of the relevant components, I should first give my perspective on interpreters. Although it would certainly help, there is no such thing as a "born interpreter", and by the same token, I do not believe that in order to learn how to swim, a child should be thrown into the water. Maybe a more concrete analogy would be to picture someone wishing to learn how to drive a car with a standard shift. Whether the individual took driver's education courses or whether he was taught by a friend or relative, one thing is certain: he was not thrown into the driver's seat of a vehicle travelling down the freeway at 70 miles an hour. He probably began by turning on the ignition, letting the car idle, and learning how to master the brakes, clutch and gears before actually taking the car out for a ride.

The analogy indicates how I think interpreter-trainees should be introduced to simultaneous

interpretation. Although some interpreters were literally born overnight during the Nuremberg Trials, the training of interpreters today has become a responsible profession calling for careful planning and staging, as well as a research component, all of which aim to optimize chances for growth of both the students and the profession itself.

Furthermore, the actual exercises I propose can also serve as eliminatory tests in that trainee-interpreters may be discouraged from moving on to the next stage if they are unable to master graded skills, in the same way that a person wishing to drive a car could not make it to fourth gear or drive on the open road until the basics have been mastered. In fact, some of the exercises are currently used as selection tests in interpretation programmes in Europe as well as North America in order to help determine which candidates are most likely to become successful interpreters once they enroll in the training programme. These selection tests are described elsewhere (Gerver, Longley, Long & Lambert, 1984; Lambert and Meyer, 1988; Lambert, 1989; Lambert, in press.)

Useful Insights from Cognitive Psychology

From a cognitive psychological point of view, simultaneous interpretation is a complex human information processing activity composed of a series of interdependent skills. The interpreter receives and attends to part of a sentence, referred to as a propositional phrase, a chunk, or a meaning unit. S/he begins translating and conveying meaning unit 1. At the same time, meaning unit 2 arrives aurally while the interpreter is still involved with the vocalization of meaning unit 1. Thus the interpreter must be able to hold unit 2 in some type of echoic memory or short term memory before interpretation can begin (Gerver, 1971). Furthermore, while conveying unit 1, the interpreter is also verifying and monitoring the correct delivery of that meaning unit. In more technical terms, as Gerver (1971) might put it, the interpreter has to learn to monitor, store, retrieve and translate source language input while simultaneously transforming a message into target language output at the same

time as s/he monitors some form of feedback of his/her interpretation. We know this because interpreters typically correct themselves as they interpret.

There are, in fact, so many ongoing activities involved during simultaneous interpretation that, in order for them to be effectively assimilated, not to mention understood, by prospective interpreters, any pedagogically sound approach should tease these ongoing activities apart, differentiate the component skills, and where possible, provide training experiences in each one.

1. Listening and memory exercises

Beginning interpretation students are simply asked to **listen** to a spoken passage, the rationale being that listening represents the basic skill in any form of interpretation. Students are instructed to listen to a passage without taking notes. They are also told that they will later be asked to recall the main points of the passage they have just heard.

It should be pointed out at this stage that the instructor is not attempting to simply test the ability to repeat the information heard, since interpreters are hardly ever asked to recall information after the fact in their professional lives. Rather, we highlight as important components the students' ability to listen, remember, identify the salient arguments in a given speech, without distorting the original meaning of the speaker.

Furthermore, introducing a language variable to the listening task by asking the student to practice the listening and memory exercises in both languages may also serve as a tool to measure a student's competence in the second language. In other words, the listening test can be introduced both in the student's dominant language (henceforth referred to as one's **A** language) to recall it in the same language (A to A, no code-switching conditions), as well as in his/her second or passive language (**B** language). Then the recall can involve both languages, e.g. into one's dominant language (B to A, code-switching condition).

If we were to take a hypothetical example of a student successfully completing the first task

(listening in A and recalling in A), and performing poorly on the second task (listening in B and recalling in A), we could safely deduce that the student seems to have a good memory but that s/he needs to strengthen the second language. Moreover, if a student were to perform poorly under both conditions, such as by distorting the meaning in his/her A language as well as from his/her B language, then we should also conclude that this particular candidate should be discouraged from entering the interpretation programme altogether or from going any further. It is for this reason that listening and recall are prominent components not only of the selection tests at the University of Ottawa but of the course content as well. Students successfully completing all four listening and recall conditions as listed below can comfortably go onto a more difficult phase: listening in A and recall in A; listening in B and recall in B; listening in B and recall in A; and listening in A and recall in B.

Some of the memory tests used to select candidates for admission into our programme were borrowed from Weschler (1945). Others were devised by Patricia E. Longley at the Polytechnic of Central London and John Long (Gerver *et al.*, 1984) where length of text, difficulty of material presented and gradual increments in complexity of information were carefully devised.

2. Shadowing

Technically speaking, shadowing is a paced, auditory tracking task which involves the immediate vocalization of auditorily presented stimuli, i.e. word-for-word repetition, *in the same language*, parrot-style, of a message presented through headphones. This technique has often been used by cognitive psychologists and neuropsychologists as a means of studying selective attention in humans. But more germane to conference interpretation, and as controversial as it may be, shadowing is usually part of the training method employed with beginner interpreters, who first need to learn how to listen and speak simultaneously (first, from one language into the *same* language), before attempting to interpret (from *one language into another*).

It is assumed that individuals vary not only in terms of their cognitive information, but also in the speed and facility with which they can store, retrieve, and manipulate elements of information (Carroll, 1977). Speech shadowing with a competing message has been extensively used in various studies of speech perception and selective listening (Cherry, 1953). While shadowing appears to be a fairly easy task for most speakers, there are apparently individual differences in the ability to shadow at very short latencies. Marslen-Wilson (1973, 1975) was able to identify people who could shadow continuous speech, in the absence of a competing message, at a distance or lag of only a quarter of a second. Tests of ability to shadow at short distances, with increasing speed and complexity of the input message, could be valuable to us because they might well be predictive of a person's ability to become an efficient simultaneous interpreter, even though the average time between input in a given language and output in another, in simultaneous interpretation, is much longer than one quarter of a second (Carroll, 1977).

The lag time in shadowing experiments seems to have an effect on the depth to which a shadowed message is processed. Subjects can be asked to shadow with minimal lag or, on the contrary, shadow with a lag similar to the lag the interpreter would favour when interpreting from one language into another. Norman (1976) differentiates between what he calls *phrase* shadowing and *phonemic* shadowing. When phrase shadowing, the words are slightly delayed behind those of the input but not so long as to impose a memory burden on the shadower. In phonemic shadowing, however, the subject is asked to repeat each sound as s/he hears it, without waiting for the completion of the input phrase, or, in some cases, even for the completion of a word. Thus the lag involved in phrase shadowing implies that there is grammatical analysis of the material processed which may be reflected in the amount of recall of the messages shadowed one way (phrase shadowing), or the other (phonemic shadowing).

In another experiment, when a subject shadowed without understanding (Chistovitch, Aliakrinskii and Abilian, 1960), shadowing was

then labeled as mere repetition and not active rehearsal or deeper forms of processing. In their experiment, Chistovitch *et al.* found that when subjects chose to shadow without understanding, they gave accurate phonemic reproductions of speech sounds at very short latencies (ranging from 150 to 250 milliseconds), but could not subsequently recall the material they had just processed. This form of shadowing represents "shallow" human information processing (Lambert, 1988). Those who shadowed with understanding, on the other hand, repeated the speech at longer latencies (250 milliseconds and up).

Other studies have shown sophisticated correction by shadowers of errors made during shadowing (Marslen-Wilson, 1973, 1975). In the first experiment, Marslen-Wilson (1973) asked subjects to shadow prose as quickly as they heard it. Some individuals were able to shadow the speech at extremely close delays, i.e. with lags of 250 milliseconds, which is about the duration of one syllable. When subjects made errors in shadowing, the errors were syntactically and semantically appropriate given the preceding context. For example, given the phrase "He had heard at the Brigade...", some subjects repeated "He had heard that the Brigade...". In this particular case, *that* shares acoustic information with *at* and is also syntactically and semantically appropriate in the same position in the sentence.

In the second experiment, Marslen-Wilson asked subjects to shadow sentences that had one of the syllables mispronounced in a three-syllable word. Subjects never restored the word, that is to say, never repeated back what should have been said when the mispronunciations occurred in the *first* syllable. However, with mispronunciations in the *second* and *third* syllables, a significant proportion of restorations were made. If the mispronounced word was syntactically and semantically anomalous, restorations did not occur for any mispronounced syllable. These results indicate that restorations did not occur if the shadower does not have sufficient acoustic information and syntactic or semantic context to make the appropriate restoration. If contexts were the exclusive and overriding factor, one might expect subjects to

replace the syntactically-semantically anomalous word with the appropriate word. This did not occur, however, indicating that both *context* and *acoustic* information influenced speech processing (Massaro, 1977).

What effect does shadowing have on comprehension and recall of input material? Carey (1971) found that shadowing did not hinder understanding in an experiment in which subjects either *listened* to or *shadowed* prose. The passages were recorded at 1, 2 or 3 words per second, and after the experimental task, subjects were given tests of word and syntax recognition as well as semantic retention. Shadower's word recognition and semantic recognition scores were somewhat higher than those for listeners at the slowest rates, but these differences disappeared at faster rates. Simultaneous listening and speaking did not preclude understanding and recall in a relatively simple shadowing task. Carey even went on to propose the "shadowing facilitation hypothesis", which predicts that the extra psycholinguistic process required in *successful* shadowing results in higher retention scores than simple listening. Insofar as shadowing is successful, and the shadowing response that a subject monitors is identical to the input, Carey claims that shadowing will have a *facilitating* effect on retention.

In a similar follow-up experiment, Gerver (1974) asked conference interpreter-trainee subjects to a) listen to, b) shadow, and c) interpret simultaneously, three French prose passages into English. Subsequent tests of comprehension and recall showed that higher scores were obtained after listening than after simultaneous interpretation, which in turn, yielded significantly higher scores than after shadowing. Since the test scores were higher after passive listening than after either simultaneous interpretation or shadowing, it would appear that the simultaneity of listening and speaking present during shadowing may have impaired comprehension.

Gerver's results demonstrate that simultaneous listening and speaking can impair recall of the material listened to while speaking. They also show that such recall is better when complex information processing is an integral

part of the simultaneous listening and speaking than when a relatively simple form of processing is involved (Gerver, 1974). Although, as Carey (1971) demonstrated, analysis of meaning can occur while shadowing, simultaneous interpretation involves a compulsory analysis of the deep structure of the source language. Shadowing, on the other hand, involves a less complex transformation of the message from the auditory to the vocal mode in which analysis of meaning may be incidental rather than an integral part of the process.

"It could be objected that the difference in recall between shadowing and interpreting might be due simply to the different demands placed on speech output by the two tasks; almost continuous speaking being required in shadowing but only intermittent speaking in simultaneous. In other words, recall after shadowing might be poorer because the shadower spends more time in simultaneous listening and speaking than the interpreter". (Gerver, 1974, p. 340).

Both Gerver (1974) and Barik (1973) claim that interpreters try and minimize the amount of time they listen and speak simultaneously. This can be done by waiting for a pause in the source language delivery, at which time the interpreter tries to convey as much information as possible (Goldman-Eisler, 1968; Barik, 1973). If this is true, then the delivery of the simultaneous interpreter is usually highly uneven and difficult for an audience to process. The interpreter has no control over the situation and is left completely at the mercy of the pace of the speaker. Beginning interpreters who have not learned to listen and speak simultaneously during the shadowing exercises often develop this unpleasant habit of waiting for the speaker to pause before they begin to interpret and have great difficulty breaking it. Whether the interpreter develops this habit because s/he feels that s/he can grasp the incoming message more clearly without the interference from his or her own voice, or whether the interpreter feels that s/he can monitor his/her own output better during these silent pauses is a moot point: the fact remains that the interpreter who opts for this type of interpreting has simply not learned to share

his/her attention between listening and speaking and may have never been introduced to shadowing exercises early in his/her training.

Shared attention and skilled performance

Listening and speaking simultaneously is an acquired skill. Shadowing imposes a certain load on the cognitive capacities of the shadower. It is more than listening and speaking. As Miller (1963) pointed out, a speaker usually waits until the other speaker pauses before answering. Simultaneous interpretation imposes a different load on the cognitive capacities of the interpreter. Neisser (1967) mentions simultaneous interpretation in comparison to shadowing as evidence against a "motor theory" of speech perception:

"In a sense, simultaneous interpretation is a form of 'shadowing'. However, it is not words, or articulatory movements that are shadowed. The translator (sic), who is obviously attending to, and understanding the incoming stream of speech, cannot possibly be imitating the speaker's vocalizations. His own vocal tract is occupied with an entirely different output." (Neisser, 1967, p.218).

In fact simultaneous interpretation could be roughly described as shadowing, only into another language. However, interpretation is infinitely more complex and more demanding on the cognitive capacity of the individual, given the added transformation of information presented to the interpreter in one language who then has to convey the same message into another language.

One of the most interesting questions regarding human information processing is whether a number of sensory inputs can be processed at the same time or whether the only way of coping with more than one input is to switch rapidly from one input to the other. In normal conversation, the vocalization of one speaker usually precludes that of another and therefore, people rarely talk at the same time. Miller (1963) suggests that this phenomenon may be a universal of language behaviour but that the reciprocity between talking and listening..."...is not a necessary consequence of auditory or physiological inability to speak and hear simultaneously; ...perhaps there is some limit

imposed by agility and attention, perhaps some critical component of the speech apparatus must be actively involved in the process of understanding speech". (Miller, 1963, pp 417-418).

Many talented people have wrestled with these basic issues. Neisser, for example, proposed that attention behaves very much like a filter in that some signals are "passed" for additional processing while others are rejected. The filter theory was originally proposed by Broadbent (1957; 1958) who argued that cognitive mechanisms have a finite informational capacity and that filtering mechanisms were necessary in order to avoid overloading their capacity. Succinctly, Broadbent's filter theory proposed that two simultaneous inputs could be processed in the sensory registration system but that beyond the filter, one input is processed first, and the second input is retrieved serially by the filter. Deutsch and Deutsch (1963) and Norman (1968) argued that two simultaneous inputs could be processed in a parallel fashion at all levels of perceptual analysis, but that a "bottleneck" controlled the entry to awareness and response selection. Treisman (1960) proposed a modification to the filter theory in that the rejected message was merely attenuated and not eradicated. Later, Treisman (1969) concluded that divided attention and parallel processing were possible for two simultaneous inputs as long as they did not reach the same analyzers but that serial processing became mandatory whenever a single analyzer had to deal with two inputs.

In early studies on attention, it appeared that consciousness could only be directed to a single activity at a time. Conscious attention to two simultaneously performed tasks was possible only if they were coordinated into a single higher-order activity (James, 1890) (for example: a simultaneous interpreter devoting more attention to the quality of his/her output than to the meaning of the incoming message); or attended to in rapid alternation (Paulhan, 1887; Jaffe, Feldstein and Cassota, 1967) (for example, an interpreter alternating between listening and speaking); or that at least one of the two tasks was being carried out automatically, without conscious control (Solomons and Stein, 1897;

Hirst, Spelke, Reaves, Caharack and Neisser, 1980) (for example, an interpreter who devotes his/her attention to deciphering the meaning of the incoming message, completely oblivious to his/her delivery, the way a speed typist learns to ignore the position of the keys on the keyboard, and focuses only on the text to be typed).

In most experiments on selective listening where shadowing was involved, subjects were usually asked to attend to one of the verbal messages by shadowing it, and to ignore the other message being presented to the other ear. In most studies carried out to test the single-channel hypothesis, the experimental designs called for simultaneous attention directed to two closely similar if not identical tasks, usually presented through two headphones and externally generated. In other words, subjects heard one language in one ear and another language in the other ear, but remained silent during the listening task.

Only a handful of studies have required subjects to perform two simultaneous tasks (Allport, Antonis and Reynolds, 1972; Shaffer, 1975; Welford, 1968). Allport et al. (1972) reported experiments in which subjects performed two tasks concurrently without any reduction in performance in either task. Their subjects were asked to attend to and repeat back continuous speech at the same time as taking in complex, unrelated visual scenes, or even while sight reading piano music. Allport suggests that when the messages or tasks to be performed are highly *dissimilar*, both tasks should be able to be performed simultaneously. The main difference between Allport's study and other experimental paradigms (e.g. Moray, 1969) is that shadowing was one of the concurrent tasks: in other words, one verbal input was externally generated.

Welford (1968) analyzed the simultaneous interpreter's performance within the context of a discussion of the single-channel hypothesis and concluded that simultaneous interpreters can, after long practice, acquire the ability to speak and listen concurrently:

"Simultaneous interpreters seem to acquire the ability to do this (speak and listen simultaneously) after long practice...ignoring the feedback from their own voices. In consequence, their speaking voices are often

strange, and they report that they have very little idea of what they are saying or confidence that it is correct". (Welford, 1968; cited in Gerver, 1976, p.187).

Broadbent (1952) suggested that simultaneity of listening and speaking imposes a severe strain on human channel capacity. To avoid the strain of continuous processing in this fashion, it has been suggested that simultaneous interpreters, even with years of experience, try to make good use of the brief silence in the source language's input. To this effect, Goldman-Eisler (1968) suggested that:

"The intermittent silence between chunks of speech in the speaker's utterance is a very valuable commodity for the simultaneous interpreter: for the more of his own output he can crowd into his source's pause, the more time he has to listen without interference from his own output". (Goldman-Eisler, 1968, p.128).

Poulton (1955) compared simultaneous with alternate listening and speaking and found that a significantly greater percentage of words was omitted or incorrectly repeated in the simultaneous condition than in the alternate condition. Brik (1973) investigated Goldman-Eisler's suggestion by analyzing the temporal relationship between the source language speakers and the interpreter. Barik concluded that simultaneous interpreters do, in fact, make greater use of source language pauses than would be expected on the assumption that the interpreter's delivery is independent of intervals of speaking and pausing in the source language speaker's delivery. However, Barik also noted that source language pauses occur between units of meaning, and given that interpreters are concerned with translating units of meaning as opposed to words, they might be more likely to begin interpreting during such pauses. Since interpreters make greater use of source language pauses, they also reduce the extent to which they have to speak and listen concurrently, clearly a very complex processing requirement.

"It is apparent that in order to achieve any kind of performance level, the T (interpreter) has to consider units of meaning rather than perform on the basis of a more mechanical

word-by-word process. It is thus more appropriate for the T to listen while the meaning unit is being formulated by S (source or speaker), and undertake to translate it once it is completed". (Barik, 1973, p. 273).

Cognitively speaking, simultaneous listening and speaking represent processing behaviour so complex that interpreters understandably opt to avoid it wherever possible by trying to make good use of the brief silences in the source language's input.

Although no systematic studies have examined other coping methods, David Gerver and I carried out an unpublished study between 1976 and 1979 which involved a field-study and interview comprising approximately 20 professional interpreters in the Greater London area. We found that interpreters certainly did make good use of the brief pauses in the speaker's delivery, but not necessarily to cram in as much information as possible, as suggested by Barik (1973) and Goldman-Eisler (1968), but rather to "catch up" with the speaker by finishing off their own sentences, thus "bracing" themselves for the beginning of the next chunk of information which they hoped to be able to listen to without having to speak.

But more important were the other coping methods that came to light during this pilot study; in order to handle the taxing simultaneity of listening and speaking, some interpreters claimed that they simply increased the volume of the incoming message as a technique to mask the sound of their own voices. (Interpreters need to monitor what they are saying). Others claimed that by removing one headphone slightly off one ear, they could attend to the incoming message with one ear and monitor the sound of their own voice with the other, partially released ear.

Neurological interpretation research

This partially released ear behaviour led to further questions. To explain these proclivities, some interpreters claimed that the headphone set felt too tight if both ears remained covered; others felt that releasing one ear in this fashion enabled them to monitor their output for both content and volume while interpreting; others simply stated that they "felt better" or "heard

better" under such circumstances.

Be that as it may, we wanted to know whether it was the same ear that was released; whether this ear was the same ear as their "telephone ear"; whether right-handed interpreters always released the left or the right ear; whether left-handed interpreters did the opposite; whether interpreters released one ear when interpreting from A to B and the opposite ear from B to A; whether "born bilingual" interpreters developed a certain ear preference pattern as opposed to interpreters who had acquired their second and third languages after lateralization (usually at the age of 6), etc.

Although these fascinating issues go beyond the scope of our paper, suffice it to say that several studies have resulted from such field observations. One study examined shadowing behaviour among interpreters when shadowing with the left ear vs. the right ear vs. both ears (Kraushaar and Lambert, 1987). A similar experiment was carried out on simultaneous interpretation and earedness (Lambert, 1989; Lambert in press), not to mention the booming research presently being carried out on the subject at the University of Trieste's School of Interpretation by a dynamic group of researchers including Laura Gran, Franco Fabbro and Valeria Darò, to name but a few (Gran and Fabbro, 1987; 1988).

In conclusion, there is a mutual collaboration suggested by the research so far, i.e. that the *practical* interests and preoccupations of the professional simultaneous interpreter can be addressed through the research findings of the more analytic and *theoretical* orientations of the cognitive psychologist, in the same way that the latter can learn and advance because of the former.

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APTITUDE TESTING FOR SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

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Problems in the recruitment and training of conference interpreters have been the frequent subject of debate and research by members of the profession (Keiser, 1978; Longley, 1978; Namy, 1978) as well as psychologists and linguists (Weller, 1983; Gerver, Longley, Long and Lambert, 1984; 1989; Moser-Mercer, 1985; Schweda-Nicholson, 1986; and Lambert and Meyer, 1988).

What qualities and skills are required for success as an interpreter or as a trainee in the field? Although relatively little empirical research has been carried out on the subject (Weller, 1983; Gerver, Longley, Long and Lambert, 1984; 1989; Moser-Mercer, 1985; and Schweda-Nicholson, 1986), there does appear to be some consensus among interpreters and interpreter-trainers as to the types of skills and aptitudes sought in new members of the profession. A survey of articles written by members of the profession, as well as transcripts of interviews with working interpreters suggest some agreement of the following as being essential for success as a trainee or in the profession:

1. Profound knowledge of active and passive languages and cultures.
2. Ability to grasp rapidly and convey the essential meaning of what is being said.
3. Ability to project information with confidence, coupled with good voice.
4. Wide general knowledge and interests, and a willingness to acquire new information.
5. Ability to work as a member of a team.

The object of this paper is to present and

describe in some detail the screening instruments used at the university of Ottawa to select applicants seeking admission to the Graduate Diploma Programme. The University of Ottawa's interpretation programme provides professional training in both consecutive and simultaneous interpretation. The curriculum includes compulsory and optional courses, a promotion examination before being admitted into second year, a practicum, and a final examination before a board of examiners. The programme is offered by rotation of courses over two years. It is intended primarily for part-time students, although those who place well in the entrance examination and who are exempted from some introductory courses may be able to undertake the programme on a full-time basis.

The selection exams include:

1. Shadowing
2. Cloze
3. Sight translation/Sight interpretation
4. Memory test (Wechsler)
5. Interview

1. Shadowing

Shadowing is a paced, auditory tracking task which involves the immediate vocalization of auditorily presented stimuli (Neisser, 1967) i.e. a word-for-word repetition, in the same language, parrot-style, of a message presented through headphones. This technique has often been used as a means of studying selective attention in cognitive psychology and usually serves to train beginning interpreters to listen and speak simultaneously in one language (in their mother

tongue or A language) before attempting to interpret (from a second language, the B language, into the mother tongue).

Listening and speaking simultaneously is an acquired skill, not something interpreters are necessarily born with. Interpreters who do not master this from the outset can develop bad habits: Barik (1973), for example, found that some interpreters try to minimize the amount of speaking time when the delegate is actually vocalizing and compensate by trying, unconsciously or not, to convey as much of the interpretation as possible during pauses in the speaker's presentation, thus yielding a highly uneven and staccato delivery.

Some cognitive psychologists (e.g. Norman, 1976) distinguish between two types of shadowing, both of which are viable as selection tests as well as training exercises for beginning interpreters (see Lambert and Meyer, 1988; Lambert, 1988; Lambert, 1989). *Phonemic shadowing* involves repeating each sound exactly as it is heard, without waiting for a complete meaning unit, or even an entire word, so that the shadower stays "right on top" of the speaker.

The other form of shadowing, known as *phrase shadowing*, requires that subjects repeat the speech at longer latencies - more precisely from 250 milliseconds upwards - and lag behind the speaker, waiting for a chunk, or meaning unit before beginning to shadow, as is the case with simultaneous interpretation.

Both types of shadowing tests can be used to select interpreters although chronologically, *phonemic shadowing* should be introduced before *phrase shadowing*. Furthermore, *phonemic shadowing* serves mainly to determine whether the subject is able to cope with the mechanical aspect of interpretation, that is the ability to listen and speak simultaneously. Once this has been established in the candidate's A and B languages, *phrase shadowing* can then be used to determine a candidate's ability to lag, although this exercise is more useful to train interpreters, not select them.

Shadowing can also serve to gauge applicants' command of their B language. Candidates who claim to be perfectly bilingual often perform very differently in the booth during shadowing

exercises. More often than not, candidates perform relatively well when shadowing in their mother tongue but stumble, omit words, and become incomprehensible when shadowing a weak B language. Studies in fact have shown that one cannot shadow what one does not understand (Rosenberg and Lambert, 1974). In general, a student who is unable to shadow in his or her B language, does not have the linguistic competence required to enter the programme at Ottawa University.

Shadowing exercises can be varied. Speed of input, for example, can easily be manipulated to create more and more stressful situations for the shadower, the rationale being that interpreters have to learn how to cope with speakers who read speeches at breakneck speed. Input rates ranging from 90 to 140 words per minute, as well as low to high degrees of redundancy in the source material, along with various types of native-standard, native-slurred, and non-native accents can be introduced to reflect a pattern of constant increase in difficulty. White noise can also be added to recorded speeches to further impede aural recognition, as is done at Middlebury College for the summer intensive language programme selection test. Finally, as part of the selection examinations at the Polytechnic of Central London, in England, Program Director P.E. Longley deliberately introduced unexpected and sometimes incongruous elements in order to test the applicant's reaction when shadowing unanticipated and extraneous material in the source language test.

2. Cloze

The cloze procedure is a method of test construction which consists of deleting words from prose, say every 10th word, and asking subjects to fill in the blanks. The term "cloze" comes from the psychological concept of closure which is the perception of apparent wholeness of visual or auditory inputs that are actually incomplete. Through closure, the missing parts are ignored or compensated for by projections based on past experience.

The cloze technique was used extensively during experiments on bilingualism and is used increasingly as a test of second-language

proficiency. Stubbs and Tucker (1974), for example, are convinced that the cloze technique represents an extremely useful evaluative tool for English as Second Language specialists and pedagogical device for the teacher in the field because it has proven itself to be a good index of general language proficiency, purportedly encompassing lexical, syntactic and semantic aspects of language processing. Since one of the foundations of language skills is the capacity to anticipate elements in sequence, especially when the elements are generated within the confines of time, Oller (1972) felt that the cloze procedure was an excellent device for testing this sort of expectancy. Oller defined the constant role which prediction plays during comprehension of written or spoken language as "expectancy grammar". Anticipation and prediction are constantly called into play during simultaneous interpretation. Furthermore, since one of the foundations of language skills is the capacity to anticipate elements in sequence, especially when elements are generated within the confines of time, e.g. under stress, an aural form of the cloze test was devised by John Long in a study of criteria for selecting conference interpreters (Gerver *et al.*, 1984; 1989). The test can be carried out in a subject's mother tongue as well as in his or her second language, the less difficult it is to cloze on the incomplete material in that language.

In the cloze test, subjects' fill-ins of the blanks can be scored either for the exact word or an acceptable synonym. Stubbs and Tucker (1974) provide an explanation on how to construct and score such a test. Briefly, they recommend that, as is customary, a few sentences be left intact at the beginning and at the end of the passage to provide context. Each candidate's test is scored twice, first for exact replacements and second, for any contextually acceptable alternative. The text can be lifted directly from a newspaper and photocopied with every *n*th word deleted by using "white out" or by blackening the word with a felt marker, indicating to the subject where the word has been deleted. For our purposes, however, where the material is presented aurally and not visually, the texts are read or recorded by native speakers and the deleted words are replaced by beeps or tones, indicating where the item has

been deleted. The author has suggested elsewhere various ways of using the cloze technique as a pedagogical tool for training translators and interpreters (Lambert, 1988; 1989).

In the Gerver *et al.* study (1984; 1989), Long devised three short cloze passages. The first was in English and labelled Cloze 1. It consisted of passages of approximately 500 words. Apart from initial and final sections of about 45 words left intact to provide both context and warm up for the subjects, every 10th word was deleted from the passage. The passage was recorded in English by a native speaker. The candidates were instructed to listen to the texts and to write down, as quickly as possible, the missing words signalled by a tone. The test was scored by counting the total number of exact responses supplied. The text for Cloze 1 was an English translation of a part of a French short story called "The Beach" by A. Robbe-Grillet (translated by B. Wright, in Lyon, 1966). After the initial testing of candidates had been carried out using this material, it was felt that a translation might introduce extraneous variables into the testing procedure, and two further 500-word passages were constructed, one in English (Cloze 2) and one in French (Cloze 3), neither one a translation.

Results indicated that the auditorily presented cloze-test significantly discriminated passing and failing interpreter students since it involved external pacing and hence speed stress. There can be no doubt that the speaker-paced nature of simultaneous interpretation involves speed stress of the classic kind (Conrad, 1954) which suggests that the particular stress experienced by simultaneous interpreters needs to be evaluated with linguistic material. For our purposes at the University of Ottawa, the cloze test is also recorded or read *viva voce* to the candidates. Specific words are deleted and replaced by a tone or a beep to indicate where the deletion has occurred. Applicants are asked to shadow the incoming text and fill in the blanks orally as they shadow. The cloze test is carried out in the candidates' A language first and then in their B language.

The cloze test is a highly versatile tool because not only can it be used to determine one's

command of the B language as it was originally designed to do, but it can be adapted to measure other skills, namely interpreting candidates' ability to keep abreast of current national and international affairs as they are encouraged to do once accepted into the interpreter training programme here. To this effect, the following tests will serve as illustrations:

Text A (where every 10th word is deleted):

The Bombs of September

Wednesday is a busy day for the Tati discount _____ (store) on the Rue de Rennes in Paris. School is _____ (out) that afternoon, and mothers, particularly those with modest incomes, _____ (flock) to Tati with their children in search of bargains. _____ (Thus) the sidewalk in front of the store was bustling _____ (last) week at 5:28 p.m., when two black-mustachioed men in _____ (a) black BMW drove past.

Text B (where specific words are deleted):

The Bombs of September

Wednesday is a busy day for the _____ (Tati) discount store on the Rue de _____ (Rennes) in Paris. School is _____ (out) that afternoon, and mothers, particularly those with _____ (modest) incomes, flock to Tati with their children in search of _____ (bargains). Thus the sidewalk was bustling last week at 5:28 p.m., when _____ (two) black-mustachioed men in a _____ (black) BMW drove past.

As the car _____ (slowed) down, the man on the _____ (passenger) side got out and dropped a _____ (package) into a trash can near the front door. He quickly _____ (hopped) back into the car and rode off. A few _____ (seconds) later, an explosion shattered the happy _____ (sounds) of shoppers.

"There was simply a noise, very loud, then _____ (screams) of the people", recalled a _____ (witness).

(Time, September, 1986)

3. Sight translation/sight interpretation

Sight translation involves the transposition of a text written in one language into a text delivered orally in another language. Since both aural and visual information processing are involved, sight translation could be defined as a specific type of written translation as well as a variant of oral interpretation.

From a human information processing perspective, sight translation appears to have more in common with interpretation (Moser, personal communication), as a number of variables such as time stress, anticipation, reading for idea closure, not to mention the oral nature of the task, factors which are either absent in written translation, or present only to a limited degree.

Sight translation can also be rendered more or less challenging. An unstressful sight translation would be one where the candidate is allowed ten minutes or so to read over a passage and prepare the vocabulary. A more stressful exercise would be to eliminate the preparation time and ask the candidate to begin translation immediately without even having read the text. This is often done in court interpretation situations, where documents are handed to the court interpreter for immediate translation before the judge.

For the purpose of selecting interpretation candidates, the subject is presented with a typed (i.e. legible) text, first in his or her B language, and, following a brief preparation time of five to ten minutes, is asked to deliver an oral sight translation of the text into his or her A language.

Students are encouraged to use some basic public speaking skills such as reading ahead so as to anticipate where the sentence is going, chunking information (i.e. reading for idea closure), handling difficult vocabulary either by paraphrasing or clozing, finishing a sentence once they have begun it rather than start, stop mid-way and start the same sentence over again, and finally speaking clearly, evenly, and convincingly. Once the task is completed, the candidate is then asked to do the same in the other direction, i.e. from his/her A language into the B language.

Sight interpretation, as opposed to sight

translation, is one step closer to simultaneous interpretation in that the message is presented aurally to candidates as well as visually. In this case, applicants are given five to ten minutes to prepare a written editorial-type speech. Following this preparation, applicants are then asked to deliver a sight interpretation of the editorial as it is being read to them through headphones. Candidates are told to follow the speaker who may or may not depart from the original text from time to time, and not to simply read from the passage as though it were a sight translation exercise.

Although sight interpretation is a difficult task which requires weeks, sometimes months for beginning interpreters to master and is therefore included in the curriculum, we felt that if the material were easy enough and if the passage were read slowly, this type of exercise would be highly useful as a selection test where examiners want to be able to detect whether or not candidates have the interpreting reflex among subjects who cannot yet interpret. Therefore, most of the selection tests employed at Ottawa University (shadowing, sight translation and sight interpretation) are approximations to simultaneous interpretation and not the final skill *per se*. We felt that we could not test applicants for a skill they had not yet mastered and for which they were seeking admission.

4. Wechsler memory tests.

Text memory tests are based on the assumption that interpreters need to remember as well as understand the information conveyed by discourse, that is, store the meaning of the speech. A grasp of the informational structure of a piece of discourse is assumed to facilitate comprehension in the case of simultaneous interpretation and recall in the case of consecutive interpretation.

Two short text memory tests were chosen from the Wechsler Memory Scale (Wechsler, 1945). Since these happen to exist in English only, two similar tests were designed in French. All four texts consist of approximately 65 words, which are grouped into precisely 24 "memory units". The candidates are scored in terms of the number of memory units correctly

recalled.

The following are examples of one of the original Wechsler memory tests (A) and a translated memory test (Lambert) for our selection purposes at the University of Ottawa:

Memory Selection (A) from Wechsler (1945)

Anna Thompson/ of South/ Boston/ employed/ as a scrub woman/ in an office building/ reported/ at the City Hall/ Station/ that she had been held up/ on State Street/ the night before/ and robbed/ of fifteen dollars./ She had four/ little children/, the rent/ was due/, and they had not eaten/ for two days/. The officers/ touched by the woman's story/ made up a purse/ for her.

Memory Selection (Lambert) in French

Marie Hébert,/ la fille/ ainée/ du boulanger,/ a disparu/ hier/ alors qu'elle rentrait/ de l'école,/ en bicyclette./ Elle portait/ des lunettes/, un imperméable/ jaune canari/ et ses cheveux/ étaient tirés/ en queue de cheval/. Si vous l'avez vue/ prière de vous adresser/ au poste de police/ car il y a une récompense/ de \$1,000.00 dollars/ pour tout renseignement/ sur sa disparition/.

Each of the four memory texts constitutes a means of testing one of four conditions:

1. Wechsler I (A to A), the control condition, tests only retentive ability and involves no code-switching and no testing of the second language. In other words, the first Wechsler text is presented to the candidates in their A language (mother tongue) who are asked to listen attentively, without taking notes, and to subsequently recall as much as possible, in the same language.

2. Wechsler II (B to B) tests both the retentive ability of the candidates, as in the earlier condition, as well as their command of their B language both in terms of decoding (comprehension of the incoming message) and encoding (recall and oral reconstruction of the original message). In this condition, the text is presented to the candidates in their A language (mother tongue) who are asked to listen attentively, without taking notes, and to

subsequently recall as much as possible, in the same language.

3. Both Wechsler III and IV conditions test the translation factor, since code-switching (i.e. decoding the information in one language, but encoding it in another) is now introduced as a variable. In condition III (B to A), candidates are presented with the third Wechsler text in their B language and are asked to recall as much as possible in their A language.

4. Finally, in the fourth condition (A to B), candidates hear the fourth Wechsler text presented in their A language and are asked to recall it in their B language. As in condition III, both retentive memory and translation abilities are tested.

5. The interview

The oral examinations are followed by private interviews lasting approximately 20 to 30 minutes per candidate. The interviews are normally given by two faculty members who will be training the diploma students, and by the programme director, when available. The aim of the examiners during the interviews is twofold:

a) to ascertain the candidates' abilities in both working languages, and

b) to assess their general knowledge and awareness of current events throughout the world.

Interviews are carried out in both working languages: usually, one examiner interviews in the candidates' A language, while the other interviews in the B language. To put candidates at ease, interviews are generally begun in their mother tongue. Once the interviewer feels s/he has conversed with the candidate for a sufficient length of time to assess his/her competence in language A, the interview proceeds in language B. This switch occurs at no specific point during the interview and is left to the discretion of the examiners.

Examiners usually begin by asking candidates about their general linguistic and educational background. For example, candidates may be questioned about previous studies, residence abroad (especially if they know foreign languages), areas of expertise and interest, types of newspapers and magazines read or subscribed

to, general political interests, and reasons for wanting to become an interpreter.

Next, candidates are questioned about current events, both in Canada and, in the case of foreign students, in their native country. For example, they may be asked about the most pressing problem(s) facing their country. Questioning may then take other directions: for example, the examiner may select a controversial subject or some items that come up frequently in the news to see how candidates react. Should candidates encounter difficulties at this point, it is highly unlikely that they will be capable of dealing effectively with unfamiliar subject matter when interpreting.

In order to standardize interviews, candidates are given four topics and are asked to choose one to discuss in their A language and another, in their B language. Topics may vary but the menu consists both of general issues (such as abortion, apartheid, the death sentence) and more specific ones (such as Canadian immigration policies, our tax system, upcoming elections). The candidates are then given 20 minutes to prepare both topics prior to the actual interview. During the interview, however, they are not to read from notes they may have made for this preparation.

Discussion

The various screening instruments described above provide the examiners with an understanding of several general characteristics considered important to incoming candidates:

1. Command of A and B languages

All components of the examination indicate to some degree the candidates' command of their working languages; while a high level of competence in the B language is important, a superior command of the A language is a primary requirement for admission into the programme.

2. The ability to transfer meaning

All tests determine the candidates' ability to transfer meaning accurately from one form into another, whether intra- or inter-lingually.

3. General knowledge

The general knowledge evaluation carried out

during the oral interview indicates the candidates' general knowledge, and particularly their awareness of current events.

4. Pronunciation and enunciation

All oral components of the examination, to varying degrees, indicate the candidates' ability to pronounce and enunciate in both working languages. Pronunciation is usually a problem for non-native speakers, whereas enunciation often presents difficulties for native speakers. General voice quality plays a major role in the selection process; those who murmur or sound as though they are talking to themselves during shadowing and/or sight interpretation are usually disqualified.

5. Personality traits

All components of the examination indicate, to some degree, two personality traits considered important for successful interpreters. First, candidates must be able to deal with stress. This ability is particularly put to the test by increasing input rates (e.g. during shadowing and sight interpretation tests), and memory tests - all of which create time stress. While occasional incidences of fatigue are considered normal, a significant failure to cope with examination conditions can eliminate a candidate. Furthermore, candidates who persevere during difficult parts of the examination, trying their best to say as much as possible, are viewed more favourably than those who become easily discouraged and who simply give up.

In certain cases, candidates themselves admit an inability to cope with stress and decide not to pursue the admission examination any further. Furthermore, candidates must be able to demonstrate a certain amount of assertiveness: insecure candidates usually sound unconvincing, and as professional interpreters, would probably have trouble convincing audiences. Candidates' level of assertiveness can be measured during all facets of the admission examination (voice and ability to project) as well as during the oral interview (voice, demeanor and reactions).

6. Specific interpretation-related skills

Two specific components of the oral

examination are designed to test two corresponding interpretation-related skills. First, the ability to listen and speak at the same time, which is considered crucial for simultaneous interpretation, is evaluated in the shadowing exercises. Second, memory skills (i.e. retentive ability and recall) are evaluated specifically in the memory tests, and to some degree in the general knowledge components of the oral interview.

Based on our experience devising and administering selection examinations at the School of Interpreters at the Polytechnic of Central London with Patricia E. Longley and the late David Gerver, from 1976 to 1979, at the Monterey Institute of International Studies in California from 1979 to 1983, and at the University of Ottawa since 1984, we feel that while there seems to be no foolproof predictor of potential interpreters' success, the University of Ottawa's current battery of selection instruments at least appears to discourage or reject those candidates who appear to have little or no chance of ever succeeding in interpretation. In order to verify this impression (which is still at a preliminary stage since the above-mentioned selection tests have only been implemented since 1984 and have already undergone several modifications), we are currently in the process of collecting data on the proportion of candidates who apply, take the courses, pass the final examination at the end of the programme, and who go on to become successful interpreters. In short, we hope to gather sufficient data over the next few years to determine whether or not there exists a significant correlation between the results obtained on the above-mentioned selection tests and those subsequently obtained on the Diploma Programme.

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DROPPING THE PEN AND GRABBING THE MIKE. A U.N. TRANSLATOR TRAINS TO BECOME AN INTERPRETER.

By

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This is an account of a few training sessions when I practised to become an interpreter. Unfortunately, my training was not very methodical and was interrupted by several factors that took up some of my time, one of them, and not the least important, that I got married. I started off in New York, in February, with tapes I borrowed from the training service at the UN, who has them classified according to difficulty. I was given 'easy' tapes, i.e. general in content and slow. The bulk of my training, though, was carried out during the month of July in Geneva, where my husband was sent on mission by the United Nations, and I had no specific occupation during the day. By that time I had returned the old tapes and all I managed to get hold of were recordings of sessions of the UN Commission for the Peaceful Use of Outer Space. It sounds overwhelming, but it is not that bad. The vocabulary may be tricky, but it ends up being okay once you get used to it. Also, since I am a UN translator who had had to translate documents on the subject, they are not all that foreign to me, although written work can be very different from speeches that are intended to be read aloud. The tapes contained many interventions, which differed enormously in difficulty: some delegates spoke with a heavy accent, some read hastily and with little intonation, some hesitated, paused, repeated themselves, some referred to technical matters in a simplified way, others limited themselves to enumerating their countries' achievements in the area of space activities. In short, I had no way of knowing in advance what kind of material I was going to get, so my practice was done at random, which sometimes contributed to my frustration. On the other hand, the very fact that all the

recordings were from one commission helped me in the sense that most delegates talked about the same subjects and although some of their statements were extremely technical, I got more and more familiar with them as I went along.

That I have been training to become an interpreter will probably not surprise anybody; that I wrote a diary about it might. To be honest, I was the first one to have no faith in it whatsoever. When my husband and I talked about it in the beginning, the idea got me awfully nervous; I thought I'd look ridiculous telling everybody who would lend an ear how much I struggled through various accents and how frustrated I felt about not understanding or getting the idea too late to express it. Of course, my husband worked at convincing me with his usual persistence, and said that even if it was worth nothing, nobody had ever done it before to his knowledge, so at least it would be a novelty, and it might just help trainers understand their students a little better and provide some useful feedback for their work.

February 15. I'm doing statements from the fortieth anniversary sessions of the United Nations and obviously they are relatively simple and deal with subjects like peace and security, world problems, the arms race, etc. in a general way. I am extremely tempted to follow the speaker very closely, and sometimes it works; the problem is that when I stumble upon something I don't understand or is not easy to translate I get completely lost so I have to go back to waiting till I get the message before interpreting. When I am farther away from the speaker and try to grasp the general idea, I end up using better Spanish and possibly expressing myself more clearly, but invariably I find I have

to skip the next phrase because I could not hear its beginning.

February 16 Today I did a tape in French which was short and slow, so I played it a few times. The third and fourth times I would cheat since I could remember the words and I would even start interpreting before the delegate said anything. Also, I think I concentrate too much on the words and don't compress all I could. I end up rushing on my sentences and saying 'enternacional' instead of 'international', because I devote so much more attention to listening than to saying. French is more difficult for me than English because I don't understand it so well. There are words that I still don't get, even after listening to the tape five times. But it doesn't happen that often, so it's not an obstacle for understanding sense. When it does happen, I supply a word I consider suitable. That is also the case when I don't understand a word not because I cannot decipher it but because I'm speaking and I can't manage to hear it. For instance, today my speaker said: "...des problèmes qui préoccupaient l'opinion internationale" I didn't hear the word "opinion" so I said "comunidad" instead, which turned out to be appropriate enough. In any case, for me it's much easier in English, even if I don't hear the beginning of a phrase, I can more or less follow the speaker's train of thought and say something that makes sense with half of the information. Maybe in English I'm more used to the clichés that come up in UN documents all the time, so I can anticipate them better.

February 21. Extreme frustration and horrible doubts! Will I ever get to be an interpreter? Today I practised with a speech by a Moroccan delegate in which the man speaks relatively fast, hesitates a lot and refers to a specific question, Western Sahara, that I am not familiar with at all. I start to interpret but I cannot go farther than 'Señor Presidente'. I decide to shut up and listen. I still don't understand. Later that day I speak to a fellow translator who says I should not get discouraged and suggests that I do shadowing. He does not know the word but that's what he means. In his view whoever can do shadowing can get to be an interpreter and whoever has not that kind of retentive memory cannot. He told me about a very good secretary he once had, who would take dictation of his translations. When he finished dictating his sentences, he remembered, she would still continue to type for a few more

seconds, that is, she retained a good chunk of it in her memory. The analogy with interpretation, he suggested, was that she also had to listen to one thing while, in her case, typing another. After that, I decided to do shadowing with this horrible tape. I stopped mid-way and started listening. Only then did I begin to realize what the speaker was saying - not what his words meant, but his Government's position and a bit of the history of the problem. Even though I thought I had not advanced much in my training, I was happy to have learned something about the question of Western Sahara.

February 23. Today I tried my luck again with the Moroccan speaker. Of course there are lots of things that I still don't understand or that I cannot translate properly, but at least I could say a few coherent phrases. In this tape I cannot but use the method my husband advocates (listening, understanding and compressing) because the sentences are rather complicated and the pronunciation distracts me enough so that if I didn't say it in my own words and understanding the sense of the phrase would be lost.

February 24. Still with that blessed tape from Morocco, but I think I'm making some kind of progress. Surely, in real life I will never have the chance to listen to my speaker a few times before interpreting him, but this is practice, remember? Practice. I have to remind myself all the time, and even so I still get frustrated sometimes in the middle of a tape and give up. Later I start again and finish it.

February 25. Yes!!! Today I interpreted the Moroccan speech from start to finish. Of course I only said the very essential, making an effort to compress, use constructions different from the speaker's and understand the sense before opening my mouth. I got lost only once, but the rest of the time I spoke and spoke like crazy and suddenly... the statement was over. All right!

March 5. I cannot compress, I cannot compress, I cannot compress!! Today I practised with a speech from Surinam which was relatively easy, and the man spoke slowly and with some difficulty, but I always tend to speak virtually on his toes. I got lost just a few times because the ideas were simple, but my phrases sounded a little twisted. For example, he said: "The principles embodied in the Charter (and I was already saying "Los principios consagrados en la Carta") are constantly violated", which forced me to finish with a not very successful passive

voice in Spanish. Or, he would say, "The fight of the peoples in Central America for social equality, economic freedom and, above all, human dignity are often neglected and sometimes bloodily suppressed." I don't even want to think of what came out of that. Up to "human dignity" everything was all right, but then I had to use the very-useful-though-not-very-elegant "*se ve ignorada*," in order to save that passive voice, and in the case of "bloodily suppressed" I had to think of a whole new sentence: "*y a veces son reprimidos con sangre*". In this sense I felt quite frustrated because if I didn't say it 'the English way' and took a little time to think of a good solution, I missed whatever followed. There are very few instances where I could compress; those when I could easily realize what were the words that could be omitted, for example: "On the occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the United Nations" was left as "*En este aniversario*" (On this anniversary), but the opportunities to do that were scarce, I found. Another example could be an expression that is very often used at the UN: "to achieve a peaceful solution to this problem," in Spanish "*para solucionar este problema pacíficamente*" (to solve this problem peacefully).

March 6. Today I practised with a tape from Guyana. The man has a certain accent and hesitates a lot, although he speaks slowly. He also has a style that tries to be refined and ends up being clumsily affected, but difficult to interpret using the same structures. I never have enough time to say it well. So I speak fast and make mistakes. The speaker said: "... the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to pursue universalistic objectives...", and I interpreted: "*la determinación de los pueblos de las Naciones Unidas de lograr objetivos universales...*", which was okay until I heard the rest: "and agree on broad strategies necessary to achieve them", that I put as: "*y convenir en trazar las estrategias amplias necesarias para lograrlos*." My husband listens to my tape, I call his attention to this repetition and he laughs. "I wish all interpreters would worry about this kind of thing," he says.

March 9. Today I practised with a tape from Norway and could translate the whole of it. The man spoke clearly and slowly, so I could say everything, almost with no need to compress. Obviously, I followed his structures in virtually all cases, but I didn't think it was too clumsy.

When I told my husband, happy as I was, he said the most important thing was not saying it all but compressing: saying it all was the easy part, what was hard was to summarize; saying it all was what came naturally, and a 'second order operation of the brain' was not necessary, while in order to compress you must understand. In short, he said that I had not achieved much, that what I thought a milestone was just an illusion. Then I listened to the same tape again and tried to compress. Obviously the fact that I already knew the text worked to my advantage, but I sought to compress all I could, with words other than those in the original, if possible. For example, the speaker said: "...we will have to display a high degree of realism, show respect and understanding for different points of view and act in a spirit of compromise and cooperation," which I interpreted: "*... tendremos que ser realistas, respetar los distintos puntos de vista, en un espíritu de transacción*" (We will have to be realistic, respect the different points of view, in a spirit of compromise). Another example: "...no country can claim that its solution is the only valid one," which I translated as: "*ningún país puede decir que tiene la verdad*" (no country can claim it holds the truth), which I thought was pretty good.

March 12. Today I compressed a lot and I think it came out quite nicely. I missed some sentences because I would wait to have a whole idea in my head before I said anything. So no phrase was left hanging, as happens sometimes when I understand the beginning of it but not the end. Once I did not get the first part of a conditional sentence (I didn't hear the "if"), so when I got to the second part I could not continue. I guess if I had heard the whole sentence before I started to interpret I would have realized that it was conditional and I would have done it correctly. Another thing that I did not do, thanks to the fact that I compressed, was translate too literally. Since what I was doing was saying it again with my own words, shorter and simpler, I came up with short and simple structures, in good Spanish, with no passive voices or strange expressions.

July 5. Today I started my training in earnest. I'm still not very convinced that I've got what it takes to be an interpreter, but my husband is so keen on me practising that I thought I might give it a try. (He normally has more faith in me than I do).

I had been practising on and off in New York, sometimes with my Walkman on my way to work, sometimes in the office, where I would record myself, and sometimes at home. On the whole I felt very frustrated and discouraged. I was never systematic, but on occasions I would listen to a tape a few times and the fifth or sixth I could get to understand it completely and interpret it passably, with many omissions, of course.

But this was a few months ago and I haven't touched the tapes until today, when the results have been more discouraging than ever. As my husband puts it, I haven't made any progress in these months of *not* practising. The usual happened: I could not understand completely, or when I did it was too late to say anything; I would wait too long and then forget or wait too little and not be able to get the second part because I was talking then, in which case I would invent something so as not to leave the phrase unfinished, and it would not always fit. In general the vocabulary was not such a big problem...but the abbreviations! One I could not make out from the context was NPS, so one romantic evening out with my husband I asked him, out of the blue, and he answered: "Nuclear power sources," poor innocent victim. When he learned why I had asked he regretted having told me because, he said, he had 'robbed' me of a way of practising how to guess the meaning of a word one does not understand.

July 6. Compressing, compressing. I try, but most of the times it sounds ridiculous. I try to summarize and the result is I say an extra-short sentence and it sounds so poor that I find myself forced to round it up somehow, and since I have used different words from the ones the speaker uses in order to compress, now I have to find words of my own to complete the thought. Also, in order to understand and then summarize, I have to listen to the whole phrase, then I say a short sentence and when I finish he has started speaking about something else altogether, so I listen and then blurt out another short phrase. The result is an unrelated bunch of short phrases unconvincingly uttered. When I don't compress and feel I can say it all, I say it all but unintelligibly.

July 9, am. Practice seems more pointless than ever. I can hardly understand anything I'm hearing. The vocabulary is awful and whatever I understand it comes too late for me to say anything. Whatever sentences I can make out and

utter sound so ridiculous I might as well not say anything at all. When I used to practise with speeches on general issues I could see a light at the end of the tunnel; now I feel more and more discouraged every day. I cannot even practise for more than 20 minutes, I feel like crying after that and I end up throwing it all away and swearing not to try ever again. I don't know why I bother.

July 9, pm. In the height of my frustration, I tell my husband how alone and disoriented I feel, and that it seems I'm running in all different directions without a method or a focus of any kind. He tells me he will only bring the training into our marriage on the condition that I take him seriously and forget he is my husband while we are doing it. He has no trouble separating; it's me who have to swallow my pride and listen to him. So he puts the tape on the recorder while I'm doing something else and when I timidly come for the reviews (which I fear terribly) he tells me it's excellent, that I shouldn't ask so much of myself at this stage and even though the sentences don't seem to be connected (see July 6), each one is coherent and correct in Spanish.

That is one thing he taught me right from the start and I never forgot it. Whenever I start a phrase I finish it, even if my end of the phrase is not exactly the same as the original, and normally I'm a great distance apart from the speaker to use his words so I have to use my own, so the phrase comes out in correct Spanish. The danger of doing that is that sometimes you go too far and end up guessing something that wasn't there. For example, my speaker said: "We are happy to inform that the Center for Remote Sensing will become operational in October 1991." and I interpreted: "*En octubre de 1991 empezará a funcionar el centro operacional de...*" Then I paused because I knew it was not "operacional", so that made me forget about the rest. But that "de" forced me to say something else..., what to say? "...de la India.", I finished, since my speaker was reviewing the space applications in that country. It was not brilliant, but it's not a glaring mistake, and if a bored delegate had been listening to me, he would probably not have noticed it.

July 10. Practice with a speech I have done once. The delegate is from Austria and pauses frequently (God bless him!), referring mainly to general things, congratulating people, reviewing the achievements of the different committees and

working groups and extending invitations left and right. That gives me courage to carry on to the speech by the representative of Intelsat, an American who rushes through innumerable names of projects, instruments, services, and systems (all with their respective acronyms). Well, I don't get to say half of his speech, but at least I don't crumble. One thing that happens often, maybe because I am a translator, is that my mind goes blank on a word (which later I realize I could very well have omitted) and that makes me waste a lot of time and probably forget the rest of the phrase, so I have to try and finish it suitably on my own. Another waste of time is trying to find the *right* translation for whatever word or phrase, and until I find it I forget what the sense of the whole sentence was.

July 11. Not bad, not bad at all! Today I spoke more than ever. I don't know whether that is good or not, but I felt I did a good job. My speaker was from Hungary and spoke s-l-o-w-l-y and even though he had an accent, I could understand each word almost instantly and guess what he had to say before he finished saying it. I did compress a bit but mainly translated. Obviously he spoke about general things like global cooperation and international activities, but still. Since understanding didn't pose so much of a problem, I tried to be aware of how my sentences connected with each other and made an effort not to repeat the subject, if two sentences had the same, and said "for this purpose" or "this use", or words to that effect instead of repeating time and again "use of outer space for peaceful purposes".

July 12. Today my husband and I sat together to listen to the recording of my interpretation. I found out that it helps a lot more than I thought. That is, training should not just be practising like a machine to develop the reflex (although it is the essential part, I think) but also listening to yourself and maybe listening to the speech you just tried to interpret to see whether there are things that you understood wrongly or that you just didn't hear. Also, listening to yourself gives you an idea of how you sound on tape, what your problems are regarding intonation, hesitating, etc. Today my husband told me another thing that I realized made a difference. That I have to take a little distance from the words and think about the whole situation of the speech, i.e. who the speaker is, on whose behalf he is speaking, when, after

whom, etc. For example, in the proceedings, India, Austria, Canada and other countries talk about their different programmes but all touch upon the subject of disarmament, and how it affects space activities. Then comes the United States, on a "point of order". "Why are we talking about disarmament in the Commission of Outer Space?", says the delegate, alleging that it belongs in the Disarmament Commission, and going on to explain when the Commission of Outer Space was created, and what its mandate was. Why? Well, because the United States has a very powerful space arms programme (Star Wars) and is not interested in discussing it in the light of disarmament questions. That I only realized when we talked about it with my husband, but I remember when I practised with it for the first time I thought it was a weird intervention. I guess it would have been enormously easier to interpret had I seen it in this light then.

July 23. Had to interrupt training again. In the middle of my week off, though, I practised twice, with more or less satisfactory results, but always with the same tape, since it was the only one I had with me. Today I tried with a new speech that I had never heard before, and I could feel the lack of practice. I got lost a couple of times and understood much less. My husband listened to it afterwards and gave me a few pointers; for example, if the speaker enumerates, and announces the number of elements in the enumeration, never repeat it. Yesterday the delegate talked about the practical use of space applications in two instances: the earthquake in Armenia and... I never knew what the other one was, but I had said the words 'two instances', so I created expectation and the sentence sounded ostensibly incomplete. I could have mentioned the use of the applications in *many* instances, the earthquake in Armenia, for example. And, then, if I had understood it, the other element.

July 25. Frustration is such an enemy that it's becoming an handicap. I don't know whether it is me or whether this happens to all trainees, but many times I have to fight with my impulse to throw it all away and forget about it. I wonder if it is a question of professional pride or competition; my husband conjectures that I feel I'm taking a test everyday, and everyday I'm failing it, that is why I end up so discouraged. Today I practised, well I should say I listened to a speech by the delegate of Pakistan. It was hell.

The accent was undecipherable, the vocabulary impossible and the speed unattainable. I felt I could never do it. I remembered that in these cases students are supposed to 'shut up and listen', so I did. I still felt bad. I concentrated on listening without worrying about interpreting, but it felt frustrating anyhow. I could not refrain from thinking of a way of translating this phrase or that one, which made it harder for me to understand the words and, above all, the *sense* of the speech. Then what I did was listen to one sentence at a time and, from the few words I had understood, extract the probable meaning and build a sentence around it, even if it was far shorter and much more general and non-committal than the original. Obviously the result was a very brief speech that contained almost no details, although it carried the general idea.

August 1. Today I practised with a recording of an exchange between several delegates, who were discussing, in response to the remarks made by the representative of the United States (see July 12), whether the question of disarmament belonged in the Committee for the Peaceful Use of Outer Space or in the Disarmament Commission or in both. Consequently, statements were short and unplanned, there were hesitations and corrections, but I knew that they were talking about that and I knew they were going to refer to what the United States had said and maybe to what the previous speaker had said, agreeing with him or not, and finally giving an idea of their own that would support or criticize the matter in question. The exchange of views was easy to grasp and the dialogue was clear so it was much simpler to interpret.

As I said in the introduction, this is a record of a few sessions and obviously cannot reflect a full process of training. Nevertheless, I will continue training between the deadline for this paper and the time of its presentation, when I will probably have a better understanding of the progress made.

On the whole, there are three elements that I think are worth mentioning, looking back in time and remembering. First, a word I have used repeatedly throughout my lines: 'frustration'. It may be a question of temperament, but I bet it has happened, in varying degrees, to every student. I guess a lot depends on your teacher, what kind of encouragement you get, and what kind of tools he or she uses to keep you going.

Undoubtedly in my case frustration was a very powerful enemy and the temptation to give it all up became immense. It took a lot of reassurance from my husband and a lot of determination on my part to keep practising.

This brings us to the second element that I consider important: invariably, the result of the interpretation turned out to be much better than I had suspected. Obviously I cannot say I was surprised or that I heard in my tapes something I didn't know was there, but in general, when I listened to myself I found out it did not sound so shaky as I thought, it was more intelligible, the phrases, unconnected as they might have been, sounded convincing enough and made the right sense. In short, after reviewing my own interpretation and the way I had solved some of the problems I was confronted with, I would get back part of the confidence I had lost while actually recording, which would give me strength for the next attempt.

The third element that in my opinion should be taken into account is the advantage you have when you know something about the situation, i.e. when you are familiar with the subject and the speakers in a way that allows you to read between their lines and comprehend right from the start the *message* in their statements, either when it's hidden behind euphemistic expressions or seemingly irrelevant words or, more importantly, at this stage of my training, when their command of the language does not enable them to convey the sense they want to make or their speed impedes understanding. In sum, when the words as such are no help and maybe even an obstacle, knowledge of the world becomes essential. In this connection, I also found that it is extremely useful when you can organize the speaker's statement and reduce it to 'macropropositions', i.e. sentences that summarize, for example, each paragraph - titles, as it were. Actually once you have that, you can work in reverse order: start by saying only macropropositions and then go on to add more information each time, keeping the structure of the speech intact, but always having clearly in your mind what the main intention of the speaker is. That is why I don't think shadowing is a good exercise (see February 21), since it distracted me from understanding.

To sum up, even if my training has not had too much of an order and the materials were haphazardly chosen, I feel much closer to my goal

and have more faith in the method I'm following.
I've learned that it can be done, and it can be done
well, but that the only way is saying what you
understand, or not saying anything at all.

COGNITIVE CLOZING TO TEACH THEM TO THINK

By

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In my first paper on interpretation, (1) I mentioned an exercise I had devised for my students. As it turned out, it had been invented well before my time under the name of clozing. Still, I think my version is a notch above it. Traditionally, clozing consists in the random or regular suppression of an element (a lexeme, as a rule) from the phonic chain the student is supposed to interpret. I suggest that randomness is not the best method. Not all elements in a given chain are equally relevant or inferable. What I have striven to do is suppress progressively more significant chunks, from a mere preposition to full syntagms and, yes, numbers and proper names. But let me start from the beginning.

One of the first things I teach my students (both translators and interpreters) is that words are not all that important when in context and situation. Indeed, when confronted with a lexical item they cannot understand or that somehow doesn't seem to fit, the very first tactic I advise them to try is plainly ignore it and see whether the utterance changes much without it, or, if a noticeable blank remains, what could plausibly fill it. As a rule, that sets them on the right track: more often than not, the missing link is close to the inferred one. If an educated guess proves impossible or too risky, the relevance of the unintelligible item becomes apparent and a dutiful search is thereupon commenced.

In simultaneous interpretation, of course, there is no room for such a search, but the tactic otherwise works quite well. How often do professional interpreters make out what they have not been able to hear? How many times, moreover, do they not stop to hear at all and just blithely second-guess the speaker - i.e.

anticipate? Anticipation can be both merely linguistic and, more importantly, cognitive, i.e. when the connection established by the interpreter between what he has been hearing and what he knows about the speaker, the subject matter, the specific situation - briefly, the world - allows him to infer the speakers communicative intention, his *vouloir dire*. Cognitive clozing helps develop such skills.

The first elements I do away with are syntactic connectors, first and foremost prepositions and markers of subordination. It works real stylistic wonders: One of the banes of beginners -and quite a few veterans- is prepositional awkwardness; most foreign prepositions wreak havoc among fledglings. The blessing of clozing syntactic markers is, precisely, that it eliminates the structural interference of the original. Sometimes the notional relationship must be reconstructed ('for' vs 'against'), although that is more frequently the case with subordination markers ('because' vs 'despite').

Another element that is easily guessed is the verb or verb phrase in periphrases such as '[to put forward] a proposal' or '[*alcanzar*] una solución,' which can be substituted by the corresponding verb: '*propose*', '*solucionar*', which, in turn, is one of the easiest ways of compressing.

The next step is that of attributive (as opposed to distinctive) adjectives and adverbs, by which I mean merely embellishing qualifiers: '[actively] participating', '*una [importante] suma*'. They can normally be omitted as easily as they are guessed. Then come distinctive adjectives: 'A [complicated] 'proposal', '*Actuar [anti-*

éticamente], which cannot be guessed without resort to discourse analysis and the all-important speaker's *vouloir dire*. Later on, I also proceed to cloze attributive and distinctive syntagms and clauses: 'A [most [thought [provoking and [comprehensive]]]] report', '*pisoteando [burdamente [y con [absoluto [descaro]]] los derechos del pueblo sudafricano*'.

Next come all manner of verbs and nouns, beginning with easily guessed fillers, as 'such action [contravenes] the 4th Geneva 'Convention', '*nuestra delegación [apoya] la propuesta de Francia*', 'to progressively less obvious cases: '*nuestra delegación apoya la 'propuesta de [Francia]*', 'such action contravenes the [4th Geneva Convention]'; where the student must find a suitable noncommittal filler, for instance 'Our delegation supports one of the proposals', '*tamaño proceder contraviene principios fundamentales*', 'or seamlessly skimp to 'our delegations supports the proposal to ...' or '*tamaño proceder es intolerable*'.

Proper names are easy to guess if one knows whereof the speaker speaks: 'Soviet Secretary General [Gorbachov]'; otherwise it is impossible: 'Argentine General [Lavalley]'. The trick here consists in climbing up the generalisation ladder enough to leap over the hurdle: 'A certain Argentine general', 'One of Argentina's national heroes' (provided the context furnishes such a clue). Ditto toponyms: 'The liberation of [Paris]' vs. 'The battle for [Karrandhar] in Afghanistan', i.e. 'an important city', 'a strategic city'. In such cases, the student is indeed asked to conceal his double ignorance, linguistic and encyclopaedic, but, more importantly, he must prove that he has understood and is capable of conveying the gist of the utterance, or, in the terminology of discourse analysis, the proposition.

The same applies to numbers. Students must be made to realise that, like words, not all numbers are equal, nor are all digits in a given figure. In the U.N., for instance, documents have numbers such as 'DP/1991/CRP.3/Add.2/Rev.1/Corr.1'. Now this is a loooong number! But how relevant is it and how relevant are its different elements? 'DP' stands for UNDP (United Nations Development Program), '1991' is the year, 'CRP' stands for 'conference room paper' (i.e. an informal

document subject to negotiation), '3' is the number proper, 'Add.1' is an addition thereto, 'Rev.1' is a revised version of it, 'Corr. 1' is a *corrigendum* due to technical reasons. The U.N. interpreter is expected to know all this, as do of course all delegates. He knows, moreover, that at the 1991 UNDP Governing Council session each and every document is labelled 'DP'; 95% are as well '1991'; next must come either the number of the report, or the letter(s) indicating whether it is a draft resolution, a draft report or an informal paper (respectively, R., L., or CRP); then come the numbers, which can go from '1' to '700'; and so on. As can be seen, in this case figures become more informative as they progress rightward, so much so that when the Chairman says 'We now shall take up document DP/1991/CRP.3/Add.2', the interpreter can be heard uttering just 'Add.2', it being understood that it is a DP/1991/CRP.3 opus.

Normally, though, figures become less informative as they progress to the right: '\$1,---, ---,---' is 'more than a million dollars', but how much is \$ -,233,125.19? The student must guess whether it is a 'substantive' or 'negligible' amount and come up with the concept behind the figure. Ditto in 'the problem was first raised -- years ago' or 'the report shall be ready no later than 19--'. Very seldom does a figure have intrinsic non-substitutable value. Even in a technical context, 'The atomic weight of hydrogen is of -, against that of lead, which is -', can be safely negotiated by as 'The atomic weight of hydrogen is substantively lower than that of lead'; besides, if the audience are experts, they know the exact figures, anyhow.

Substituting concepts for missing figures and names is an extremely useful exercise that helps develop the students' ability constantly to analyse the speaker's *vouloir dire*, i. e. the *sense* he is trying to make. Awareness of such sense is the only foolproof guarantee against *contresens* or, more importantly, nonsense (an interpreter who makes a *contresens* may plead that he misunderstood, whereas nonsense has no extenuating circumstances).

By the way, clozing need not be coupled to a bilingual task. I have not tried it for lack of time, but in a normal course I see no reason for it not to

be practiced monolingually. After all it is not language manipulation that is being tested, but sense grasping. I will take as an example a text actually read (with a heavy accent and at quite a pace, to boot) by the Malaysian delegate at the 45th Session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1990. He is speaking about Antarctica. Now, why is Malaysia, of all countries, taking upwards of half an hour so minutely to go into the fauna, flora and climate of a realm so gelid and remote from her shores? Simple: Malaysia was at the time Chairman of the Group of 77, i.e. the developing countries (now much more than the original threescore and seventeen) - not to be confused with the non-aligned, whose membership overlaps but does not coincide. Except for a few developing countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and India, all members in the Antarctic Treaty are developed. In order to become Consultative Party to the Treaty, a country must carry on actual research and/or have a permanent base on the Continent. Observers are mere lookers on, with meager say and no vote. The speaker will be propounding the concept of 'Antarctica as the common heritage of mankind,' meaning 'Antarctica for us too'. If the interpreter cannot grasp that, he'll never manage to do a decent job.

Notice that if knowledge of the above circumstances cannot realistically be taken for granted, knowledge about Antarctica itself is a must for any mortal boasting a modicum of general culture.

Now that the reader knows enough about the story, I shall give progressively less and less clozed out versions of the initial substantive paragraphs and invite him to play Sherlock Holmes and reconstruct the murder from the clues. (The suspension marks stand for anything from a one-letter preposition to whole syntagms.)

"Antarctica ... last ... wilderness. We ... work together .. preserve extreme climate ... isolation ... created ... wonderland ... significance, ... of purity ... rich ... for wildlife. ... percent ... world's ...-water ... in ... ice-cap, ... surrounding ... last ... blue whales largest wilderness ... planet, and ... fragile. ... Ecosystem has ... range ... levels and interrelationships. ... this ... give ... stability. However ... ecosystems ... few levels. ...

impacts ... more ... effects. One ... species ... about half ... plankton. This ... feeds ... and birds. Reduction ... human ... any ... components ... ecosystem ... imbalance. ... not ... restored ... man or ... nature. ... feature ... ice sheet, accumulation ...,000 years. ... approximately ... percent ... average of ... 1,... meters ... contains ... percent of ... world's ice". (86 words)

A good guess would be, for instance:

"Antarctica is our last large wilderness. We must work together to preserve it. Its extreme climate and isolation have created a wonderland of enormous significance, a realm of purity, rich with wildlife. A vast percent of the world's fresh-water hides in its ice-cap, in its surrounding waters the last blue whales live. It is the largest wilderness in our planet, and it is fragile. Usually, an ecosystem has a range of levels and interrelationships. This gives it stability. However Antarctic ecosystems have few levels. Impacts on them have more consequential effects. One species represents about half the plankton. This plankton feeds all manner of animals and birds. Reduction by human intervention of any of the components in the ecosystem would cause an imbalance, not easily restored by man or nature. A unique feature of Antarctica is its ice sheet, a product of accumulation over thousands upon thousands of years. It covers almost all the continent with a deep layer that contains a huge percentage of the world's ice." (170 words)

Our own speech is twice as long as what we used of the original. Since we do not know what exactly was left out, all we can reasonably be sure of is that a) we have said nothing that does not make utter sense, and b) we have said nothing that the delegate of Malaysia himself could not have said. Would that all interpreters could have that assurance every time! An interesting case is the turning of 'approximately - percent - average of - 1, 'meters - contains - percent of - world's ice' into 'It covers almost all the continent with a deep layer that contains a huge percentage of the world's ice'. Here, a

very complex process of inferring the proposition and rendering it without the specific details is involved. It may prove, of course, well nigh impossible for students to do it on the go, but it is within their reach when the exercise is performed as sight translation and the teacher prompts them into finer and finer thinking. Also, as pointed out above, knowledge of the situation will lead them to understand that the speaker is not expounding on the fragile beauty of Antarctica out of mere poetic bent, but that he is laying the grounds for asserting that the responsibility for preserving such an awesome realm is too momentous to be left in the hands of a wealthy few. It is in this light that all seemingly irrelevant lyricism is being taken by 'les uns et les autres', and in this light it is that it must be taken by the interpreter. Let us see how close we were. Here is a less skimpy version:

"Antarctica ... our last continental wilderness. We all ... work ... to preserve Its extreme climate and isolation ... created ... wonderland ... global significance, ... 'bastion of purity ... rich haven for wildlife. Seventy percent ... world's fresh-water ... locked ... in its ... ice-cap, while in ... surrounding ... the last ... blue whales roam. Indeed ... largest wilderness ... of ... planet, and ... most fragile. ... Normally, an ecosystem ... wide range of levels and interrelationships. ... this variety ... depth ... give ... ecosystem stability. However, Antarctic ecosystems ... few levels despite ... interrelationships. ..., impacts ... more ... effects. ... single species ... krill ... comprise ... half ... plankton This biomass feeds seals, ... and birds. Reduction through human ... of any ... these components ... marine ecosystem can ... imbalance. Such ... not easily restored by man or ... nature. ... most ... feature ... Antarctica ... its ice sheet, formed ... accumulation ... snow ... 100,000 years. It covers approximately 98 percent, ... average ... 1,600 meters ... contains 90 percent ... world's ice". (134 words)

We can now safely assume that none of the elements somehow not restored is essential to sense, to the speaker's *vouloir dire*. Chances are most of the missing lexemes are but empty attributive adjectives, such as 'white' for 'snow.'

Witness the following, almost complete version:

"Antarctica ... our last continental wilderness. ... all have ... work together ... preserve Its extreme climate and isolation have created ... wonderland ... global significance, ... remarkable bastion ... purity ... rich haven for wildlife. Seventy percent ... world's fresh-water reserves ... locked in ... massive ice-cap, while ... surrounding oceans the last of the blue whales.... Indeed, ... is ... largest wilderness ... this planet, ... in many ways ... most fragile. ... Normally, an ecosystem has ... wide range ... levels and interrelationships. ... this variety ... depth ... give the ecosystem stability. However, Antarctic ecosystems ... very few levels despite considerable interrelationships. Consequently, impacts on these ecosystems ... more profound effects. One single species ... krill may comprise ... half ... plankton biomass This biomass feeds seals, whales, fish and birds Reduction through human exploitation of any ... components of ... marine ecosystem can cause ... imbalance Such imbalance ... Antarctic is not easily restored by man or... nature ... most striking feature ... is ... ice sheet, formed ... accumulation ... snow over ... 100,000 years It covers ... 98 percent of ... continent with an average of 1,600 meters and ... 90 percent ...world's ice". (163 words)

Do you still wonder what else may lay hidden behind the suspension marks? Okay, then, for the sake of completeness, here it is in all its unbounded glory:

"Antarctica is our last continental wilderness. We all have to work together to preserve this. Its extreme climate and isolation have created a wonderland of global significance, a remarkable bastion of purity and rich haven for wildlife. Seventy percent of the world's fresh-water reserves is locked in its massive ice-cap, while in the surrounding oceans the last of the blue whales roam. Indeed Antarctica is the largest wilderness area of this planet, and in many ways the most fragile. Normally, an ecosystem has a wide range of levels and interrelationships. It is this variety and depth that give an ecosystem stability. However, Antarctic ecosystems contain very

few levels despite considerable interrelationships. Consequently, impacts on these ecosystems have more profound effects. One single species of krill may comprise about half the plankton biomass. This biomass feeds seals, whales, fish and birds. Reduction through human exploitation of any of these components of the marine ecosystem can cause an imbalance. Such imbalance in the Antarctic is not easily restored by man or by nature. The most striking feature of Antarctica is its ice sheet, formed by the accumulation of snow over the past 100,000 years. It covers approximately 98 percent of the continent with an average of 1,600 meters and contains 90 percent of the world's ice". (218 words)

Of course, the deeper the knowledge of Antarctica the interpreter has, the easier it becomes to supply the missing links. Also, the suspension marks do not give a clue as to the amount of syllables gulped, nor do we have the general intonation, which would have helped immensely. Still, I think the point could not be plainer: even the last but one version, where there were no crucial lexemes missing, has only about 75% the amount of words as the original. Needless to say, initially, we would give our students much simpler exercises. But later on the approach can be reversed, as above, in order for them to see at what point they have acquired sufficient information to come up with an educated guess. The exercises, moreover, can be done orally as well as in written form. A useful tactic is that of what, for want of a more plausible name, I call 'automatic clozing': Students must learn first to read and then to listen selectively. Instead of having someone else erasing non-essential elements for them, they must try and gloss over such lexemes automatically on their own. Of course, it is but the way we normally read and listen in real life to real utterances directed at us, although since our comprehension is not tested publicly right away, we do not really care if we miss a bit here or there. The translator/interpreter must indeed do a much finer job at reading and listening, as well as at writing and speaking. But the essential fact to bring home to the students is that the basic mechanism of comprehension and communication

is the same in both cases: the audience are listening for a *point*, whilst the speaker is trying to convey a *point*. Once Malaysia's *point* has been basically grasped (and in this particular case, the interpreter at that meeting knows the point before the delegate even opens his mouth!), a few crucial linguistic elements in his discourse are more than enough to chart our course. The analogy I normally use is that of the pilot landing at night: yes, the landing strip has to be illuminated, but the pilot does not need all those lights. Provided they are laid in the right direction and not too far apart, he will not crash if there are a few burnt out in between.

Notes

"Teaching Interpretation to Beginners, or How Not to Scare Them to Death," *Proceedings of the 29th ATA Annual Conference*, Learned Information, Inc., Medford, New Jersey, 1988, pp. 399-406.

TEACHING BEGINNERS TO SHUT UP AND LISTEN

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What must interpreters (and translators) actually understand? The uneducated wisdom assumes it is the 'language', as transpired in the specific text: the 'words'. Needless to say, if the interpreter does not understand the language, he is in deep trouble; but what if he does not understand all the words? What indeed if he does? The first thing a would-be interpreter should learn and assimilate is that there is a crucial difference between language and thought, meaning (linguistic) and sense (extra-linguistic). He should be made aware that language is never used for its own sake, but rather as a vehicle for ideas, i.e. 'sense'. It is those ideas, that sense, that must be captured and relayed. Nothing short of it, but - and this is essential - *nothing more*. That sense will, of course, be *basically* carried by words; but a) not *all* the words, and b) not *just* the words.

The students should be made aware that when we speak, we have all our body, vocal chords, facial muscles, fingers, etc. at our disposal. Thus, lots of information is carried para-linguistically, making for an additional source of redundancy. Moreover, not all that we actually say contributes equally to meaning or to sense. There always is a voluntary or involuntary degree of redundancy. Part of what we utter is the point we want to make, part of it just its bedding. Of the several points we may wish to get across, some are more important than others. All of this paragraph does not convey, in essence, anything more than 'we say more than we really need'.

Teaching the translator the difference between meaning and sense should be a matter of principle. Instilling it in the interpreter is one of survival.

In interpretation, situationality is, by definition, shared by speaker, interpreter and both their respective audiences. Students are seldom, if ever, made aware of this circumstance and the way it can and should be exploited. Shared situationality, added to the orality of the spoken text, makes for a much higher degree of redundancy.

The student should know, from the very beginning, that he cannot be expected to 'say it all', nor should he demand it of himself either. He must realise that he is dealing with the competing efforts of comprehension, processing and production (brilliantly analysed by Gile 1985, 1988, 1990) that, initially, understanding will use up well nigh all of his attention, with little left for processing and next to nothing for delivery. That being the inescapable fact of life, he simply won't be able to 'say it all'. The question, then, is what *not* to say. This analytical discrimination demands intelligent listening: listening not for words, but for ideas (i.e. *deverbalisation*). It further demands discrimination between ideas themselves; with a view to determining not only their relative importance (for the speaker and/or the interpreter's audience), but the degree to which they are not known already or conveyable by para-linguistic means, all of which makes their utterance - in principle - redundant.

Intelligent listening being a difficult skill to master, I deem it essential to lay the ground for it by way of intelligent reading. In my courses, I try and kill several birds with one stone by combining this exercise with that of sight translation. (1) My students are required to sight translate a text ('saying it all'), next trim it

down by some 20%, and then abridge it to its bare minimum informative content as perceived by the speaker and/or the audience.

As for the '*or*' in italics, it can happen that part of the information in a text is addressed primarily to those who can understand it in the original or a third language, but becomes less important, or even totally superfluous, to whomever is listening to a specific interpretation. A typical example from my U.N. practice: The delegate from Yemen congratulates the British chairman; the speaker wants the addressee to get all his flowers; the addressee wants them delivered intact; the Spanish audience don't care one bit. The English interpreter may not do away with them, but the Spanish interpreter can (again, not that he should). If speed were a big problem and the interpreter could not help using his scissors, the Spanish audience would much rather he discarded anything not having to do specifically with the position of Yemen, because that is exactly what they are listening for. (By the way, in the same emergency, the English interpreter should be well advised to do likewise, albeit at a greater risk of retaliation - in any event, let him be guided by his assessment of the situation, cross his fingers and hope for the best). And if the interpreter were forced to cut even into that, then let him do away first with what he can assume his audience already know about Yemen's position.

It may be argued that any interpreter ought to translate 'everything' no matter what, it not being his job or his business to rate his speaker's ideas. The problem is that very often it becomes simply impossible, especially for the beginner, let alone the student. What are they to do? Cut whenever short of breath? Intelligent listening is crucial to resource management; and when the interpreter's resources are scant, it pays double to administer them wisely. This, to my knowledge, is seldom *taught*, and both students and beginners are left to discover it on their own.

As opposed to consecutive, in simultaneous interpretation, the time lapse between hearing and uttering is short enough for the magic seven last words to be still stored in the short-term semantic memory. It is possible, then, for the simultaneous interpreter to remember, translate

and utter 'words'. Too bad, because it normally conspires against understanding, processing and conveying sense. Since, as mentioned, the first problem the student faces when trying his teeth is that of managing the three competing efforts of understanding, processing and delivering, I advocate tackling them in stages from first to third. There are, in my experience, two kinds of beginners: those who have a good comprehension of oral speech and those who find it somewhat difficult to work with oral as opposed to written texts. Many beginners who have started off as translators fall within this latter category. I advise them to take the time to get used to speech and its specific variables: diction, accent, perspicuity or incompetence, etc. It shouldn't normally take too long, provided the material is there to work with. The basic point is *not* to begin one's training until one has made certain that oral comprehension is no problem.

But even when oral comprehension poses no difficulty, every beginner stumbles upon trying to say it all without having bothered to understand any of it. It is, of course, less silly than it sounds. The beginner intuitively feels that those words are instantly vanishing from his memory: if he doesn't dispatch them right away, they'll be lost forever! What he is not aware of is that short-term semantic memory can be managed more efficiently if instead of using it to store 'words', the interpreter employs it to organise chunks of sense, the *unités de sens* so (justifiably) dear to the Parisians.

An example I use in my classes is the following: I ask my students to try and remember at first hearing 49 unconnected digits, say 1 3 6 8 9 9 1 2 8 5 6 4 3 8 9 5 6 9 etc.; there is absolutely no way they can do it. Then I show them how if they had been asked, instead, to remember a list with the names of seven friends, they will almost certainly be able to recall them, and with them the forty nine digits of their telephone numbers. What happens is that each series of seven digits becomes one number, and therefore a single unit of information (interchangeable with, say, the nickname of the person) to be stored up in the short term memory. Next I attempt a related experiment. I ask them to memorise on first reading the

following numbers: 1 9 1 4 1 9 1 8 1 9 3 9 1 9 4
5. Whoever manages to store World Wars has no problem. What he did was reduce the 16 digits to four numbers to two concepts to one unit of sense. It should have been more difficult than going from the friends' names to their telephones, since it took more processing. The students had to make 'sense' out of those numbers, turn them into concepts. If for whatever reason they failed to do exactly that, chances are they could not remember all of them. Notice that this kind of association is anything but linguistic: it has to do, not with our familiarity with the language (the numbers are in no specific language!), but with our knowledge of the world; not with the dictionary, but with the encyclopaedia. We are relating and processing conceptual information which at either end of the decoding/recoding channel can and normally does acquire linguistic form.

Comprehension works very much the same way. The easier it is to reduce the myriad sounds or graphic imprints to linguistic signs (the ability to understand oral or written speech), the easier it becomes to make out the linguistic meaning of the utterance (the ability to understand the language); and the sooner the words and constructions can be reduced to units of sense (the ability to understand texts), the sooner and more accurately can the hearer/reader make out the message, i.e. the sense being conveyed, at which point the student won't need the words any more (and too bad if he does, because he simply shall not be able to remember them). Indeed, the reverse is even truer: an idea of what the message is about will go a longer way in helping deciphering the phonic chain than will phonetic analysis. The right approach is to speak not in terms of sentences (linguistic) but of propositions (logical); linguistic decoding becomes therefore discourse analysis: understanding the message rather than the words. Now, as we saw with our numbers above, inferring sense requires establishing a conceptual relationship between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic. The beginner must be taught to do precisely this; he must, from the very start and always ever after, be listening for sense. It is not that easy, though, in view of the many other things he thinks he's got

to do at the same time: Understanding *all* the words, remembering *all* the words, translating *all* the words, and saying *all* the words, while understanding, remembering and translating *all* the words that have meanwhile come in. With so many tasks in hand, who's got spare time to make out sense! The student ought to be weaned from words right away. There's no alternative.

Moreover, the beginner (and would that it were only the beginner!) tends to cling to forms, not even semantic meaning: as soon as he believes he has grasped a word he spits out the first dictionary equivalent that comes to his fretted mind. Syntax gets appallingly shortchanged and sense more often than not distorted or altogether lost. There's only one way for him to make out sense: shut up and listen for it. Now, one can hardly convey a sense one has not grasped to begin with. True, occasionally, word substitution can do the trick, but only at times and then awkwardly. To boot, word substitution is too long and cumbersome a process. There are always many shortcuts to sense; the interpreter must train himself to find them quickly and take them without fear. Since understanding gets top priority, he must do more listening than talking, and NEVER allow himself to open his mouth without being reasonably sure of what he is going to say, i.e. without a plan, a strategy, which will of necessity be conscious. His plan may very well consist in NOT 'saying' anything, just fill in what would otherwise be too long a silence with phatic language, or, better still, with information that can be safely disposed of without burning any bridges, while waiting for more 'circumstantial evidence' of the speaker's communicative intentions.

The bane of the beginner is that he starts talking too soon and that he talks too much. Both go hand in hand, since if he waits longer, he won't be able to talk that long. He must be taught, nay, forced to listen, and to listen the right way. His constant concern should be: what is the speaker saying? Why? What does he expect to achieve by it? Unless the discourse analyst is constantly at work, the linguist cannot hear sense. Shortly after the 1987 earthquake in Mexico City, I had brought with me to Havana dozens of speeches taped during that session of the General

Assembly; needless to say, every single one of them began with the ritual dithyrambs to the President and the Secretary General, immediately followed by the condolences about the tragedy. Nine beginners - and a couple of veterans - out of ten ended up congratulating the Mexicans on their earthquake. Many of them did not even realise it until they actually heard themselves over the loudspeakers. (A double miss: not only didn't they care whether the speaker was making any sense, they didn't bother to make it themselves.) (2) The interpreters had taken the speaker for granted ("Let me congratulate you, Mr. President... I should also like to express my thanks and appreciation to our Secretary-General... I must as well add my condolences to the Government and people of Mexico..."). Unable to remember all the words, they retained 'Government and people of Mexico' and missed 'condolences' altogether. That, though, should not have been any problem. Back then, a few weeks after the horrible event, Mexico was synonymous with earthquake. The moment one heard 'Mexico', one knew - or should have known - that the earthquake was looming in the next clause. But since most of my students were not 'thinking,' i.e. having 'sense' in mind, they never paused to ponder what the Government and people of Mexico were doing in the illustrious company of the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. The sheer mention of Mexico should have played the trick we used to retrieve numbers: it acts with respect to the expression of condolences in a way analogous to 1939-1945 in connection to World War II; it activates the relevant chunk of our knowledge of the world, as it does for the interpreter's audience: it activates *their* knowledge, and that is precisely the reason why the interpreter, like any speaker, is normally able to get away with practically any 'activating' formula.

Some of my students tried to excuse themselves by complaining that 'at that speed' they did not have the time to think. They failed to realise that they did indeed: once one has understood the one word 'Mexico', 'to the Government and people of', 'condolences', and 'I would be remiss to my humanitarian duty if I failed to express my deep' are of no avail,

regardless of whether the interpreter has understood and/or remembered them: any expression of sympathy will do, the shorter the better. Naturally, this is a very special case. It happens at the very beginning of the speech, it does not require - in that situation, i.e. back then - a profound analysis, and it does not really matter how it is linguistically solved. Things become much harder when we are dealing, not with the niceties of polite society, but with the meat of an argument. Granted. But the method to approach and solve both types of instances is the same, and, as with everything else, one should learn by first applying it when it is easier.

I am in no way suggesting that words actually used by the speaker or the interpreter (or, indeed, the translator) *never* matter. Far from it. What I am saying, though, is that their relevance is secondary to the sense they are meant to make, and that, when confronted with the impossibility of rendering *both* words and sense, the interpreter *must invariably choose the latter over the former*. In this respect, I am as adamant as the most recalcitrant Parisians. It follows, therefore, that the beginner is to be taught to opt systematically for sense, both as a listener and as a speaker. Let him also remember there will always be more words than actually needed to convey sense, be it because the language structurally necessitates them, or because the speaker is being repetitive or expansive, either out of a legitimate rhetorical choice or through sheer incompetence. It is the job of the interpreter to pursue that sense, grasp it, and then convey it. These three tasks are the non-linguistic counterparts of analysing acoustical perceptions in order to detect linguistic forms, processing the latter, and producing new linguistic material. The perception and analysis of speech should be as automatic as possible - the seasoned interpreter will stop to become aware of words only when unable to 'gloss' over them and proceed directly from sound to sense. Next comes the elaboration of the interpreter's own elocution plan; he has linguistically to inform this sense (if possible *and* necessary - it may be immaterial - with the closest form, semantically and stylistically). Lastly comes utterance, with particular attention to intonation and pitch, which

can be used to convey modal information and mark coherence suprasegmentally: "I therefore vehemently oppose" may become" [pause] NO!" (more about that in my next paper).

I mentioned the three competing efforts. Astonishingly enough, I have come across at least one colleague who believes it to be nonsense. A simple introspection will suffice, I hope, to prove they are there all right, and very much vying with each other, to boot. When we have trouble with the quality of the acoustic input, be it because the speaker is looking away from the microphone, or because his accent is thick, in short, when there is 'noise' in the channel, we press the earphones (both of them, for once) to our temples, seal our eyelids, sit on the edge of our seats and... shut up. As soon as we decipher enough linguistic information, we squeeze sense out of it and send a telegramme, something like: "... I ... agree ... with ... France". How many times this is what the audience is left with out of a speech that went "Witu regardsu to dah commantsu ovu pleviuspekah's ploposu we bereave to be positivu". How the deuce can we decode that as "With regards to the comments of the previous speaker's proposal, we believe to be positive", which in turn has to be understood to mean "With regard to the proposal made by the previous speaker during his comments, we believe it is positive", without shutting up and listening tight? What time will there be left to say "*En cuanto a la propuesta que el orador anterior formulara en el curso de sus comentarios, creemos que es positiva*"? (3)

Listening has used up almost all of our time and effort; processing, about seventy percent of whatever is left; elocution has to make do with three or four words. I submit the beginner finds himself in such an extreme situation at every turn. For him, most phrases sound like the above one; he has no alternative, then, but to do as we do in those circumstances: shut up and listen, think hard and say little. And if he is left with no time to say anything at all, let him not say anything at all then: in interpreter training the alternative to the right interpretation is not a wrong one, but none whatsoever. Death by silence is better and more dignified than death by inanity. Besides, the beginner ought to know that the

teacher is aware of his predicament and sympathises with him. Silence, on its part, should never mean idleness, but quiet and hard work: trying to understand, seeking to make out sense. If no sense could be made out, there is simply nothing to say.

In the case of the mention of 'Mexico' - as in the example of the unintelligible speaker - though faced with different problems altogether, the interpreter puts to work the same method: he looks for sense. In the first instance, 'Mexico' alone, regardless of its linguistic embedding, is enough to infer the *proposition* behind the utterance ('the earthquake in Mexico is a very sad thing'); he does not need the rest of the words, unless he is out to come up with a formally closer translation (totally unnecessary in this specific situation, even with the Mexican delegation themselves among the audience). In the second one, no single word is enough; indeed, no single word is easily *identified*; careful and concentrated listening allows the interpreter to decipher one word here and another there, but not on the basis of phonic resemblance alone; rather, the interpreter sifts what he hears through what he knows; phonic resemblance, as a matter of fact, enters into play *ex post facto*: 'bereave' sounds much more like 'bereave' than like 'believe', but since it does not make sense, the interpreter doesn't even consider 'bereave' and goes on with his search. (4) To begin with he knows the most important thing: the speaker is not crazy; he is definitely trying to make some sense, counting - as every normal speaker in any normal situation - on his audience's willingness to understand. As a keenly interested listener, the interpreter is more than eager to understand; unlike any other interlocutor, he cannot simply dismiss the speaker as incompetent; he gives him the utmost benefit of the doubt. He knows that the speaker is trying to 'say' something, which can be reduced to a proposition or to a hierarchical series of propositions. The semantic clues are 'previous speaker', 'proposal' and 'positive'. Part of the interpreter's knowledge of the situation is that the previous speaker has been the delegate of France; therefore, what the speaker is trying to say is that he agrees with the proposal by France. *That* is the proposition, *that* - and, in the

circumstances, *just that* - is all the interpreter needs to know and be able to say. The communication has, therefore, been assured and the interpreter has succeeded at his job. It is precisely what he is being paid for! Notice that this achievement has been possible *despite* the language. It would have been much easier if the speaker had merely nodded in assent: his gesture would have been much clearer than his English.

Am I asserting that students ought never to open their mouths unless they are absolutely certain that they have thoroughly understood the speaker's sense and have thought out their own utterance? Yes indeed, until deverbalisation becomes automatic. We veterans know when we can get away with things and when we cannot; when it is unethical to lie and when it is equally unethical not to come up with an educated guess. And we should let our students in on that. But they cannot normally allow themselves such liberty, they have to discipline themselves into listening for and making sense. Picasso did not draw square faces simply because he could not manage to draw them round: our students will acquire the right to bend the rules only once they have fully mastered them.

There is, to my mind, only one kind of situation in which the student can be allowed - and even encouraged - to 'lie', and that is when he has started talking and hasn't gotten the foggiest idea of where he's going. In that case yes, the phrase must be finished, well and soon, and, most important, non-committally. In other words, the beginner realises that *he has lied already*: he has spoken as if he knew what to say and now discovers he does not; his three choices are a) to go on lying and say any monstrosity, b) to cut himself short in mid-clause and die, or c) to finish the sentence. It is the only time I advise my students against shutting up: when it is already too late. The only antidote is not to speak out too soon.

... AND THEN TO ABSTRACT AND COMPRESS

Reference has been tacitly made to Grice's maxims of conversation; that analysis and its development by, among others, Austin, Searle, Katz, Fodor and, more recently and relevantly to

our profession, van Dijk and Brown & Yule, proves invaluable. It reorients our search away from words and towards sense. Needless to say, good interpreters are perfectly able to do exactly that without any theoretical scaffolding, although a solid scientific base would go a long way to make them even better. The didactician, on the other hand, simply cannot do without it: in order to explain the need to listen for sense, he needs to be able himself to establish the distinction and use it. Never mind, of course, whether he has actually read Grice (I, for one, have not), or any of the others - let alone ask the students to do so, but he must be able to operate with the concepts, otherwise he won't be in a position to instill them. There is always a reason to do or not to do things; its explanation - any explanation - is, by definition, theoretical; the didactician can, if he chooses, come up with his own insights and terminology, but what's the point of re-inventing and re-naming the wheel? Most of these things have been studied, systematised and baptised already and the literature is out there.

At times - and much more infrequently than most practitioners believe - it is indeed necessary to 'say it all'; what with all those Presidents and Prime Ministers and media pundits, who would dare reduce Mikhail Gorbachov's speech to its macropropositions? Every listener is clinging to his earphones, trying not to miss any single word or turn of phrase. Yet I submit that, unless the interpreter or any other listener is very much mindful precisely of the sequence and hierarchy of macropropositions and propositions, he's bound to get lost and miss or betray sense. And I've got proof: during his speech before the United Nations, Gorbachov criticised at one point a certain assertion by stating '*Eto sosud bez soderzhaniya*'; the English interpreter properly rendered it as 'This is an empty vessel', whereas I gave some vent to my poetic imagination and came up with '*Este es un continente sin contenido*'. The Spanish verbatim reporters, who did not know Russian, later compared my Spanish version with the English one and noticed the discrepancy; I was duly corrected on the spot, whereupon Gorbachov ended up saying '*Esta es una embarcación vacía*' ('this is an empty boat')! If you do not care about sense,

words will lead you astray.

'Saying it all' means conveying the whole of the same sense with as many of the stylistic and semantic nuances as can be possibly reproduced on the spot without abusing one's target language. 'Saying it all' presupposes, first and foremost, 'understanding it all,' and who can 'understand it all' unless he has understood the gist and general drift of the speaker's speech? No one - and most certainly no beginner - will be able to 'say it all' who cannot make out the basic propositions; whereas any good interpreter will at times find it impossible to 'say it all,' but always manage to convey all of the sense.

Abstracting and compressing (5) are essential skills to overcome the students' nemesis: the 'he's-going-too-fast-for-me' syndrome. Non-sensical, sweaty, fidgety blabbering becomes poised enunciation. At their first few sittings, I insist that students say only what they have understood, even at the risk of missing nine out of every ten sentences. Ten isolated sentences out of a full speech may be too little, I tell them, but it is something; one thousand disconnected words is nothing. Neither, of course, is enough; but the former is ostensibly saner. The next thing they must try, therefore, is to string those sentences together, to make them cohere. (At which point they are told about cohesion and coherence.) That is their first proto-abstract.

Sometimes concepts of abstracting and compressing get mixed up. Abstracting is cognitive, akin to precis writing, the stuff consecutive interpretation is made of. It requires a very thorough analysis of the text with a view to a rigorous hierarchical tiering of its content. Precisely because of that, it cannot be mastered 'on the go' and necessitates, therefore, the whole communicative or functional 'perspective' of the text. One more reason for interpreters to step on the same stones as translators before parting ways. Needless to say, it is the first step of the two. If abstracting implies 'content-slicing', compressing is, in the final analysis, but mere 'syllable-shrinking'. It requires, on top of the ability to understand the content, adroitness at condensing the form. It is more a matter of linguistic competence, of being able to find the briefest and aptest ways of expression. Again, it

cannot be mastered 'on the go'; translators and interpreters still belong in the same classroom.

Since there is little point in wasting in the seeking the time saved in the uttering, students must make a habit of having the most economical word or turn on the tip of their tongues: the shortest synonym of '*después*', for instance, is '*tras*', which not only is half as long, but does not demand the '*de*', which makes it two thirds shorter. The absolute gerund or participle, on the other hand, makes its lexicalisation unnecessary: '*Tras la muerte de Mao, ...*' ['After Mao's death, ...'] takes six syllables, against just three for '*Muerto Mao, ...*' ['With Mao dead, ...']; double negatives (lexical or semantic) add to an affirmative: if '*nadie debe dejar de verla*' ['nobody must miss it'] then '*deben verla todos*' ['everybody should see it'] (nine syllables to six).

We now proceed to a practical example. The following is the beginning of a speech delivered before the UN Disarmament Commission on May 3, 1989:

"Mr. Chairman, as we are about to conclude this year's session of the UN Disarmament Commission, my delegation would like to make some general observations concerning the work of the Commission. We do so noting with regret that the Commission has not been able to reach agreement on any of the items on the agenda. The UNDC held its first substantive session in May 1979 - ten years ago. Some of the items in this year's agenda have been discussed at each UNDC session for ten consecutive years, without the Commission being able to bring the work on these items to a successful conclusion. It seems to us that the UNDC has gradually ground to a halt on virtually all the main issues on its agenda. This should give all of us food for serious reflection. The idea behind reviving the UNDC at the First Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 - as I recall it - was to establish a global forum where all Member States would be given the opportunity to take active part in deliberations on disarmament matters; to establish a forum where all Member States could conduct an in-depth discussion on current disarmament affairs; a forum where they could articulate and argue their case. We

should ask ourselves whether the UNDC, as it now works, really does serve such a purpose".

Let us look first at a basic feature: although orally transmitted, this is a 'written' text, its redundancy intentional and limited. It would also have been read both at a greater speed and less naturally than if it had been improvised on the spot. Second: it was obviously written by somebody who is not a native speaker of English, or in any event not terribly good at using it. This is a blessing in disguise: we shall feel freer to tinker with the style. I will not attempt to make a thorough analysis; the point made is clearly expressed and easily lifted up from its linguistic and semantic cushions. But let me tell the reader unfamiliar with the U.N. what the Spanish interpreter (himself more than conversant with the subject) can expect his audience to know about the situation. The UNDC is the only U.N. body dealing specifically with disarmament; the U.N. General Assembly has held several special sessions on specific subjects; the one mentioned here is the first of three devoted to disarmament; the speech was being delivered at a moment of reflection upon and evaluation of the work done and the results achieved; it was also one of many that day devoted precisely to the work of the UNDC itself; it was not the only one bewailing the state of affairs. Everybody in the room was perfectly aware of all this and much more; they had heard this delegate many times; they knew him and knew his country's position on this and every other aspect of the issue. The country is a large donor of development aid, and is respected by North and South (our parlance for developed and developing world) and East and West. In a word: when this speaker spoke, people perked up. Here is a possible translation into Spanish:

"Sr. Presidente, en momentos en que el período de sesiones de este año de la Comisión de Desarme de las Naciones Unidas toca a su fin, mi delegación desearía formular algunas observaciones generales acerca de la labor de la Comisión. Lo hacemos tomando nota con pesar de que la Comisión no ha podido llegar a acuerdo respecto de ninguno de los temas de su programa. La CDUN celebró su primer período de sesiones sustantivo en mayo de 1979, hace diez años. Algunos de los temas del

programa de este año han venido debatiéndose en cada período de sesiones de la CDUN durante diez años consecutivos, sin que la Comisión pudiese llevar a feliz término los trabajos relativos a ninguno de los temas. Nos parece que la CDUN poco a poco ha ido aminorando su marcha hasta detenerse por completo respecto de prácticamente todos los temas principales de su programa. Ello debiera llamarnos a todos a reflexionar seriamente. El propósito con que, en 1978, se dio nuevo impulso a la CDUN durante el Primer Período Extraordinario de Sesiones dedicado al Desarme --que yo recuerde-- era crear un foro mundial donde todos los Estados Miembros tuvieran oportunidad de participar activamente en las deliberaciones de asuntos de desarme, crear un foro en el que todos los Estados Miembros pudiesen realizar un debate a fondo de los asuntos corrientes de desarme, un foro en que pudieran expresar y defender su posición. Cabría que nos preguntáramos si, como marcha, la CDUN sirve efectivamente a tal fin".

The above is a good 'semantic' translation (full, and as close as possible as the target language will allow), the type Peter Newmark suggests for this sort of text. I think it can be improved by making it less awkward than the original. For instance:

"Sr. Presidente, ahora que este período de sesiones de la CDUN toca a su fin, mi delegación desearía formular algunas observaciones generales acerca de su labor. Lo hacemos tomando nota con pesar de que la Comisión no ha podido llegar a acuerdo respecto de ninguno de los temas de su programa. La CDUN celebró su primer período de sesiones sustantivo en mayo de 1979, hace diez años. Algunos de los temas del programa de este año han venido debatiéndose en cada período de sesiones de la CDUN durante diez años consecutivos, sin que la Comisión haya podido llevar a feliz término los trabajos relativos a ninguno de los temas. A nuestro juicio, la CDUN poco a poco ha ido aminorando su marcha hasta detenerse por completo respecto de prácticamente todos los temas principales de su programa. Sería bueno que

todos nos pusiéramos a reflexionar seriamente por qué. El propósito con que, en 1978, se dio nuevo impulso a la CDUN durante el Primer Período Extraordinario de Sesiones dedicado al Desarme --que yo recuerde-- era crear un foro mundial donde todos los Estados Miembros tuvieran oportunidad de participar activamente en las deliberaciones de asuntos de desarme, crear un foro en el que todos los Estados Miembros pudiesen realizar un debate a fondo de los asuntos del momento, un foro en que pudieran expresar y defender su posición. Cabría que nos preguntáramos si, como marcha, la CDUN sirve efectivamente a tal fin".

Better, right? And yet... But can we go on improving? Not without becoming 'communicative', I'm afraid. Now let us compare numbers: original text, 220 words; first translation, 250 (a good 14% more); second translation, 230 (still some 5% more). Some researchers would stop here; (6) but I think a next step will prove to be most revealing: Original text, 360 syllables; first translation, 500 (40% more!!!!); second translation, 460 (27% more!); and that is making every possible synalepha, down to */período/* and */criar/*, plus counting CDUN as */zedún/*. Other things being equal (and they are not!), it would take the interpreter roughly 30% more time to utter the shorter version than it would take the speaker to finish his speech. (7) Either the interpreter steamrolls his translation at almost twice the speed (which may be possible, but at the cost of intelligibility) or he compresses. What if the text had been less obviously redundant?

"Mr. Chairman, as we are about to conclude this year's session of the UNDC, my delegation would like to make some general observations concerning its [the] work [of the Commission]. We do so noting with regret that the Commission has not been able to reach agreement on any items on its agenda. The UNDC held its first substantive session in May 1979 [- ten years ago]. Some of the items in this year's agenda have been discussed at each UNDC session for ten [consecutive] years, without the Commission being able to bring the work on them [these items] to a successful

conclusion. It seems to us that the UNDC has gradually ground to a halt on virtually all its [the] main issues [on its agenda]. This should give all of us food for serious reflection. The idea behind reviving the UNDC at the First Special Session on Disarmament in 1978 - as I recall it - was to establish a global forum where all Member States would be given the opportunity to take active part in deliberations on disarmament matters; [to establish a forum where all Member States could] conduct an in-depth discussion on current disarmament affairs; and [a forum where they could] articulate and argue their case. We should ask ourselves whether the UNDC, as it now works, really does serve such a purpose."

We have thus saved almost 40 syllables, a nice 10%. What would our second translation end up like thus amended?

"Sr. Presidente, ahora que este período de sesiones de la CDUN toca a su fin, mi delegación desearía formular algunas observaciones generales acerca de su labor. Lo hacemos tomando nota con pesar de que la Comisión no ha podido llegar a acuerdo respecto de ninguno de lo temas de su programa. La CDUN celebró su primer período de sesiones sustantivo en mayo de 1979 [hace diez años]. Algunos de los temas [del programa] de este año han venido debatiéndose en cada período de sesiones de la CDUN durante diez años [consecutivos], sin que la Comisión pudiese llevar a feliz término los trabajos sobre [relativos a] ninguno [de ellos]. A nuestro juicio, la CDUN poco a poco ha ido aminorando su marcha hasta detenerse por completo respecto de prácticamente todos los temas principales de su programa. Sería bueno que todos nos pusiéramos a reflexionar seriamente por qué. El propósito con que, en 1978, se dio nuevo impulso a la CDUN durante el Primer Período Extraordinario de Sesiones dedicado al Desarme --que yo recuerde-- era crear un foro mundial donde todos los Estados Miembros tuvieran oportunidad de participar activamente en las deliberaciones de asuntos de desarme, [crear un foro en el que todos los Estados Miembros pudiesen] realizar un debate a fondo de los asuntos del momento y [un foro

en que] pudieran expresar y defender su posición. Cabría que nos preguntáramos si, como marcha, la CDUN sirve efectivamente a tal fin".

Only 40 syllables saved (we had already introduced some of the improvements from the very beginning); the translation becomes now over 30% longer than the original. Without its awkwardness and a couple of non-awkward redundant elements, the original proves even more unmanageable. But are all those words and syllables really necessary? No more than all the words and syllables in this paper. How many times have I said the same thing, over and over (and I'm not finished yet!)? Of course, the speaker and I are not stupid, nor do we believe our interlocutors to be. But what is it that he is really saying; what is his *point*? A rather simple one: the UNDC is far from working as well as it should. A Spanish version thereof would simply be: '*Sr. Presidente, la CDUN no marcha*'. No interpreter in his right mind would dream of paring the text down to that (unless he realises he has neglected to turn on the mike and that is the only alternative to omitting this paragraph altogether - and it happens!). Or unless he is not a full-fledged interpreter at all, but a wretched student, drawn into an uneven struggle against nerves, insecurity, lack of habit, inexperience, a dismal speed, a dreadful accent, an implacable teacher, and cruel classmates. Would this not be preferable to something more or less like the following:

'Sr. Presidente, en la medida que la sesión de la Comisión de las Naciones Unidas no ha podido del programa en mayo de 1979 en conclusión exitosa nos parece que se detuvo su agenda para alimentar la reflexión seria del período extraordinario de sesiones dedicado al desarme para participar activamente en un foro de desarme corriente y no sirve para ese propósito'.

('Mr. Chairman, as the session of the United Nations Committee has not been able to bring the agenda in May 1979 to a successful conclusion it seems to us it ground to a halt its agenda to food for reflection would be the Special Session on Disarmament was to take active participation in a current disarmament

forum and does not really serve such a purpose.")

If our student had properly understood what is really expected of him, he would have waited until he had grasped the main *idea* and only *then* said it in *two words*, hoping to be able, next time around, to couch it in four. But he would have come up with a text, scanty, insufficient, but *basically accurate* and *plausible*. The one above, instead, is hopeless. Now let's get back to us veterans. Can we trim our translation without cutting off any of the meat?

"Señor, ahora que este período de sesiones de la CDUN toca a su fin, desearíamos formular algunas observaciones generales lamentando que la Comisión no haya podido convenir en ninguno de lo temas de su programa. La CDUN celebró su primer período substantivo hace diez años. Algunos de los temas llevan debatiéndose esos diez años sin que la Comisión haya podido evacuar ninguno. En casi todos los principales, nos parece, la CDUN poco a poco se ha estancado. Pensemos por qué. En el 78 la Asamblea le dio nuevo impulso --que yo recuerde-- para crear un foro mundial donde todos los Estados pudieran participar activamente en las deliberaciones de desarme, debatir a fondo los asuntos pertinentes y expresar y defender su posición. Preguntémonos si, como marcha, la CDUN sirve efectivamente a tal fin".

("Sir, at the end of this UNDC session, we would like to make some general observations, while lamenting that the Commission has not been able to agree about any of the items. The UNDC held its first substantive session ten years ago. Some of the items have been discussed over those ten years without the Commission being able to finish any of them. With respect to almost all the main ones, we believe, it has gradually bogged down. Let us think why. Back in '78, the Assembly revived it - as I recollect - to establish a forum where all States could take part in deliberations on disarmament, discuss in depth relevant affairs, and articulate and argue their case. Let us ask ourselves whether the Commission, as it works, does really serve that purpose."
[210 syllables])

Number of syllables... 250!

We might as well take a look at a possible abstracting relying on the knowledge of the situation shared by speaker, interpreter and audience:

"Señor. No hemos podido convenir ni un tema, y eso que algunos llevan diez años debatiéndose. Por qué nos hemos estancado tanto? La Comisión tenía un propósito: que todos pudiéramos debatir a fondo el desarme. Como marcha lo puede conseguir?"

("Sir. We haven't been able to agree on any of our items, even though we've been discussing some of them for ten years. Why have we virtually ground to a halt? The Commission had one purpose: that we should all be able to discuss disarmament in depth. Can it achieve it the way it's going?" [75 syllables])

Syllables...80!! Relevant information embezzled...NONE! Stylistic sacrifices incurred... you must be kidding! Countenance of the Ecuadorean Ambassador who's been trying to remember the position of that particular country in order to relay it by telex to Quito that evening... elated! Look in eyes of the Spanish press officer who has to take down everything... blissful! Ideally, of course, the interpreter would be able to do this text both ways. Which one to choose will naturally depend on the situation. Between these extremes lies his path: if he says more, he'll be lying; if he says less, he will be cheating.

It may be argued that the above is a 'political,' i.e. non-technical, speech, and that redundancy tends, therefore, to be more rife, and even if it is not, who cares anyway? It is true indeed that technical presentations are prone to be less redundant. Precisely because of that, whatever redundancy there is simply must be taken full advantage of. But technical speeches more often than not offer a different, crucial kind of advantage: the presence of para-linguistic information, shared by both interpreter and his audience, under the guise of images (slides, graphs, etc.). The latter duplicates information linguistically conveyed and can be counted as a substitute thereof. Take the following example: at a seminar on open-heart surgery, a doctor is explaining a specific operation. There is a rather

gory slide showing the poor patient's innards in all their splendour. The speaker has his pointer held at a specific spot while saying '*Practicamos nuestra incisión en la vena cava*'. Every physician in the audience knows that *that* is a vein, and that it is called '*vena cava*'. If the interpreter translates '*We make our incision here*', he is omitting linguistic information made redundant by the image. Not that he should, of course, but he most definitely can; and if he does not know the right term in English, he will be very well advised indeed not to give away his ignorance by saying something preposterous or, worse, misleading. He will have earned his bread by translating the purely linguistic - and therefore inaccessible to those who do not understand the language - part of the message, while leaving the technical to the eyes of the specialists. (8)

We might now take a look at what a real-life text could hold in store. The following is part of a presentation by the Technical Adviser to the U.S. Delegation at the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on the agenda item 'Spin-offs of Space Science and Technology':

"A final biomedical spin-off example involves the use of NASA-developed digital image processing technology. Magnetic Resonance (MR) imaging is a relatively new technique for viewing the inner parts of the human body. Unlike X-rays, which are most sensitive to bone, magnetic resonance is sensitive to softer tissue of the body - like the brain. By using the same computer software and image processing methods developed by NASA for enhancing satellite imagery, medical technicians can now process MR images and more readily distinguish such anomalies as blood clots and tumors from healthy surrounding tissue. NASA-developed computer programs analyze digital information obtained from MR body scans, sharpen contrasts of different tissue, eliminate confusing detail and produce images in which various features are shown in different color. Such 'issue maps' now enable more rapid and early diagnosis of many internal physiological disorders than ever before."

Now for the situation: This was the Outer Space Committee. This interpreter and the

audience were not familiar with medicine, nor were they expecting this kind of subject (and vocabulary) to show up. The speaker used a projector to illustrate his intervention. The slides shown more or less matched the different descriptions in the text. For instance, the process of colour-differentiation mentioned in the last but one sentence was clearly shown by way of the 'normal' and 'coloured' versions of the same image. The speaker read awkwardly and at an infelicitous speed. All of the presentation referred to NASA-developed technology. This was the way I managed to do it:

"Un último caso es nuestra tecnología de procesamiento digital de imágenes por resonancia magnética (RM). Se trata de una técnica novel que permite ver el interior del organismo. A diferencia de los rayos X, la RM es sensible a los tejidos blandos, como el cerebral. Con los programas y métodos que usamos para las imágenes satelitales, los técnicos pueden ahora procesar las obtenidas por RM para distinguir más fácilmente del tejido circundante coágulos, tumores, etc. Nuestros programas electrónicos analizan la información obtenida mediante RM, agudizando el contraste entre diferentes tejidos y eliminando los detalles superfluos. Se logran así imágenes en que diversos rasgos aparecen en color distinto, lo cual permite un diagnóstico de muchos desórdenes más rápido y precoz que nunca".

("One last instance is our digital magnetic resonance (MR) image processing. This is a novel technique allowing us to view the inner parts of the body. Unlike X-rays, MR is sensitive to soft tissues, such as the brain's. With the same software and methods we use for satellite imagery, technicians can now process MR images to distinguish more readily clots, tumors, etc. from the surrounding tissue. Our computer programmes analyse information obtained through MR, sharpening contrasts between different tissues and eliminating superfluous detail. Thus images are achieved in which various features are shown in different colour, which enables a quicker and earlier-than-ever diagnosis of many disorders." [195 syllables])

We shall next examine the information that has been 'lost': 1) '*biomedical spin-off example involves the use of*' (the kind of phrase one should always be merciful enough to do away with); 2) '*NASA-developed*' (NASA is systematically replaced by the first person plural, which allows for much savings, since the word is used *ad nauseam* throughout the text; besides, as I have pointed out, everything mentioned in this presentation has been 'NASA-developed'); 3) '*human body*' (obviously not any other animal's); 4) '*digital image-processing technology*' (the context makes this noun redundant, especially in Spanish); 5) '*X-rays, which are sensitive to bone*' (first, not to 'bone' but to 'bone tissue'; second, the audience can be safely assumed to know that much; third, the difference becomes clear in the next phrase anyway); 6) '*computer software and image processing methods*' (it is already or it will become clear enough); 7) '*medical technicians*' (which other ones?); 8) '*can now process MR images*' (obvious redundancy); 9) '*such anomalies as blood clots*' (tumors and clots are obviously anomalous, and the *etc.* covers the 'such ... as'); 10) '*surrounding healthy tissue*' (the nature of the surrounding tissue is immaterial, the anomalies must simply be distinguished); 11) '*analyze digital information obtained*' (it is already specified at the beginning); 12) '*body scans*' (I did not know exactly what the expression meant -- though I had a very good idea-- nor did I have the foggiest notion about how to render it in Spanish; it is evident, nevertheless, that it adds nothing at all to the point. Now that I have found out -- '*sondeos*'-- I would still omit it); 13) '*tissue maps*' (besides the difficulty of producing a smooth Spanish equivalent other than simply '*mapas*', the expression is absolutely unnecessary); and 14) '*internal physiological disorders*' (the text has spoken of nothing but).

This translation is much clearer than the original. But let us count some syllables: the original amounts to some 285, the 'abstract' version, to 265; a meager 5% less (but more than 35% above 'its' English counterpart; thank God for redundancy!). Imagine how long would the 'full' translation have turned out to be. Supposing I'd had the ability to come up with it *and* say it, would it have been intelligible? Would it not have

been at times very clumsy? Would I have had the extra time and energy to exhumate from my unconscious the terms for 'clot' and 'early,' and to realise that 'confusing' meant 'interfering' and think of '*superfluo*', the three of which so much contribute to overall tone and clarity? Not I, believe me; not in a million years!

Needless to emphasise, this skill must be taught and practised. There's simply no way a beginner will think of them on his own, much less dare try and use them. The essential thing to hammer down is that the interpreter should be listening for ideas; as if the text were addressed to him, and not as a linguistic artifact, but as a message with a specific sense to be grasped and only then relayed. This way, the interpreter is taking maximum advantage of his effort: he will discard non-relevant linguistic information, first and foremost simple redundancies; next he will extract the basic sense; he will then try and articulate it as briefly and clearly as possible without marring the style of the original (and, more often than not, vastly improving upon it); and, finally, he will deliver his shorter version with poise and clarity, making full use of intonation and pauses to make up for whatever secondary information has been relinquished. As an important bonus, he will have acquired sufficient leeway to be more explicit than the speaker when necessary.

Before I wind up, a last and - I should hope - self-evident caveat: I am not asserting that the interpreter must always abstract or compress no matter what. But I am indeed stressing that whenever the situation allows for or demands it, he must be able to do so, and do it right. The ability to abstract ought to be among his most basic and cherished qualifications. An interpreter who cannot abstract is very much like a soldier who, once out of ammunition, doesn't know any better than surrender. Many of the best interpreters have realised this and systematically use the method; others apply it without being quite aware. But all of us have had to learn it our own hard way. Don't we owe it to our aspiring colleagues to let them in on it?

Notes

* This article is a reworked amalgam of two

papers presented respectively at the 30th and 31st Annual Conferences of the American Translators' Association.

(1) I also use it to develop vocabulary: after a first 'saying-it-all' stab, the student is asked to do it a second time **without repeating any word already used**, and then a third time using systematically the shortest words and turns. In all, I use the same text six times, each with a different task in mind.

(2) In Seleskovitch's accurate aphorism, students must learn '*to balance their listening between hearing sense on the one hand and hearing their own speech make sense on the other hand.*' (1989, p.74; my italics)

(3) A most 'unfaithful' rendering, by the way, since abhorrent Japglish has been turned into elaborate Spanish. I dare my colleagues of the 'literalist' persuasion to reproduce that style in public!

(4) A thick foreign accent is, precisely, the example Gile (1989) cites as one of the triggerers of 'deficitary' concatenations.

5/ Different authors use different terms ('*abridging*', '*summarising*', '*abstracting*', '*condensing*', '*compressing*', etc.). I have chosen '*compressing*' after Chernov (1987). I suggest the first three can be used for 'semantic' and the latter two for 'phonetic' economy.

(6) Chernov (1987), Lederer (1981), and Seleskovitch (1981), (1984) and (1989) talk about words per minute. Alone among all my sources, Chernov introduces the concept of syllable amount - and only tacitly at that. In view of the obvious difference in average syllables per word in English, French, Italian, Russian and Spanish (the languages I know something about), I believe 'word' is too misleading a unit (and though I know no German, I've seen a few 'words', not to mention Welsh). As regards the examples quoted here --and the ones in Chernov-- it is more than obvious that such is the case; but I would be the last one to construct a theory on a few random cases.

(7) My colleague, Lynn Visson, has pointed out to me that the average amount of syllables typically uttered at any given speech '*tempo*' is probably not the same in all languages. According to Chernov's sources, the average syllable

duration for most of the European languages is 200 milliseconds. If that is indeed the case, there would be no significant difference between English and Spanish; but even if there were, I imagine the numbers would vary depending on what dialect we pick. I do still think, though, that 30% more syllables means a lot of extra parroting no matter how glibber we Spanish speakers may be (and we cannot squeeze 'satellite' into /sadlit/!).

(8) Two cases in point: 1) This year (1989) I was assigned without prior warning to a committee of experts on accounting. My audience consisted of two Argentines, one Uruguayan and a Peruvian. I approached them and alerted them to the fact that I had no knowledge of the Spanish terminology. They said "Don't worry; we don't know English, but we understand the English terms; just use them". I promised I'd do my best, but trembled before the idea of what Russian might have in store. As it turned out, the Soviet delegate also used the English terms. And he explained why: "I know they may be difficult for the interpreters, and I want to be understood". 2) A couple of years ago I was doing my beloved Outer Space Scientific and Technical Subcommittee. The Soviet speech was a model of clarity and was being blissfully delivered. Easy as apple pie. But all of a sudden I simply could not think of the Spanish word for '*detalizatsia*'. My mind just went blank. So I concocted '*detallación*' and went ahead. As soon as I finished I managed to add "I know there's no such word as '*detallación*,' but I couldn't think of the right one". My audience lifted up their eyes, smiled and nodded. Ah, the mirth of shared situationality!

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CONSIDERATIONS ON THE GENERAL THEORY OF TERMINOLOGY

By

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In Italy the general public tends to identify 'terminology' with the art of collecting lists of words related to a given field and 'translating' them into another language. This misconception has prompted the present writer to attempt a broader view of the various facets of terminology. The intention of the present work is providing some considerations on a few of these facets in a concise form.

These considerations are centered on the observation that interpreters apply certain principles of the general theory of terminology, be it knowingly or not, at two distinct levels. Firstly, they appreciate the importance of a systematic study of the concepts of a given field as opposed to memorizing lists of words. They know that knowledge of the inner structure of their field of interest is a precondition for successful work, unlike the mere learning of supposed equivalents of technical terms. In a sense, the knowledge of the motives which determine the attitudes and goals of the parties involved in any kind of debate can be compared to a quest for concepts beyond words. Secondly, they are expected to single out the meaning of each speech sequence they hear and render it in another language without being excessively influenced or misled by the surface value of single words. They therefore apply certain facets of the theory of terminology both at a more general level, when studying a new field of interest, and moment after moment in their simultaneous or consecutive translation.

The birth of the theory of terminology in the first decades of this century was determined by

the rapid development of technology, leading in turn to an uncontrolled and confused evolution of technical languages. It must be underlined that the founder of this branch of study, the Austrian scholar Eugen Wüster, had a professional interest in technology as well and has been referred to as 'Der Techniker' (1) as opposed to scholars who had not such direct knowledge of technical disciplines. The study of terminology and its practical applications were, therefore, intended to promote a more predictable and ordered development of technical languages.

The problem of adopting a limited number of languages as a communication vehicle on technical subjects at international level gave rise to these studies as well. It must be pointed out that the study of terminology can also be exploited in the opposite direction to create a technical language within a community which for various reasons lacks one.

The word 'terminology' is often used to indicate various facets of terminological studies indiscriminately. This general habit was criticized by Wüster himself (2) who favoured the adoption of specific terms. He proposed the term 'Theory of Terminology' to indicate the common theoretical features shared by the specific terminological studies and forming a general theory.

One of the major features of his line of thought is the attempt to identify the systems of concepts underlying a given field of science, for example, and linking them in a biunivocal fashion to corresponding terms by means of definitions. This method can be used to study various fields of

activity, and is not restricted to the analysis of certain branches of scientific disciplines. Moreover, the theory of terminology considers it possible to represent the systems of concepts underlying a given field of interest by means of appropriate terms in any language.

This approach can raise theoretical problems because it touches one of the most debated questions in the history of philosophy: the nature of concepts and their existence as separate entities forming a sort of 'world apart' from the things they refer to. If this existence is denied at philosophical level the above mentioned theory is shaken at its roots. Moreover, this view of concepts could be criticized as "archaic" (it bears the mark of Plato's thought and its later use as a philosophical basis for a world dominated by religious thought). Other problems have been raised by the need to study some disciplines, such as logic or mathematics, whose concepts are difficult to define according to this approach.

The study of the systems of concepts underlying a given field is followed by the attempt to link them to corresponding terms by means of definitions. It has been pointed out that in theory a term may take the shape of a single word or a syntagm as well as that of a symbol or a numerical expression, even though these cases do not occur frequently.

Terms generally take the shapes of natural languages and have a threefold nature: logic, linguistic and syntactic. This manifold nature is stressed, along with other major facets of the theory of terminology, in a much quoted paper by Wüster: *Die Allgemeine Terminologielehre - ein Grenzgebiet zwischen Sprachwissenschaft, Logik, Ontologie, Informatik und den Sachwissenschaften*

From a logical point of view terms behave like *names*, that is to say, like signs denoting objects of any kind or indicating concepts. The objects to which terms refer can be grouped into *classes* according to given criteria on the basis of their definitions. Terms are therefore names belonging to well-structured systems. This logical point of view is extremely important in the theory of terminology, and explains the tendency to single out the conceptual content of verbs, for example, to express it by means of names when possible.

From a linguistic point of view terms can take various shapes, like those of morphemes within words made up of several elements, or various kinds of syntagms. From a grammatical point of view most terms are nouns, some of them verbs, and just a few adverbs.

The theory of terminology provides a set of principles inspiring terminography, the practical side of the discipline, but theoretical models may only be followed partially. For example, terminographers may build a theoretical model of the system of concepts underlying a given field and compare it to the actual configuration at a later stage. Theoretically perfect definitions are expected to render the very essence of a concept, a goal very difficult to achieve in practice.

Wüster considered it highly advisable to present the results of terminographic studies in a systematic fashion (alphabetical indexes of terms were to be added for practical reasons). His deep interest in concepts and definitions, leading him to inquire well beyond mere 'words', can be compared by analogy to the mental framework of interpreters. Not only are they directly touched by terminological problems, they also scan a given speech to identify concepts and present them in a suitable fashion. They refer thereby to frameworks developed throughout years of profession, even though they are rarely presented in a written form.

Notes

1) H. Bühler, 'Terminologielehre und Sprachinhaltsforschung - aus dem Briefwechsel Wüster-Weisgerber 1931-1974' in *Terminologie und benachbarte Gebiete, 1965-1985 / Infoterm*. Wien; Koeln; Graz; Boehlau, 1985.

2) E. Wüster (1974), 'Die Allgemeine Terminologielehre - ein Grenzgebiet zwischen Sprachwissenschaft, Logik, Ontologie, Informatik und den Sachwissenschaften', in *Linguistics* 119, p. 61-106.

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COHESION AND THE SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO TEXT: APPLICATIONS TO POLITICAL SPEECHES AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION

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Introduction

This paper presents the results of a study on cohesion in some political speeches pointing to the advantages of the systemic-functional approach. The initial sections dealing with the evolution of textual concepts are addressed to readers who are not familiar with text linguistics. The detail into which this review goes stems as much from the need to stimulate interdisciplinary exchanges as from the very warm response of fellow interpreters at the receiving end of research activity whenever their attention is drawn to the theoretical aporia of simultaneous interpretation: though simultaneous interpreters are called upon to translate in an on-line process, strictly speaking texts and texts alone are units of translation. This statement disposes of the *mot-à-mot* fallacy and stresses the significance of cognitive studies casting light on all the difficulties of text processing in simultaneous interpretation.

1. Preliminary Remarks

1.1 The Study of Cohesion in Linguistics

The constraints on linguistic studies of those aspects that promoted the impression of unity at the level of text began to relent during the third quarter of this century, at the same time as remarkable insights into the morphological and

syntactical levels of language were gained through the extension of the categories developed for phonology. Relations "beyond the sentence" had long been viewed as the preserve of rhetoricians, aestheticians and pragmatists where linguists were expected not to poach. Admittedly, the range of combinatorial possibilities above the sentence baffled all attempts at structural study. Yet the existence of language features (e.g. co-reference, pronominalization, choice of articles, word order, topic comment and intonation) that could not be explained within sentence boundaries prompted studies whose divisive issue was the appropriateness of sentence grammar to deal with these very aspects.

In 1975, when prefacing M.A.K Halliday and R. Hasan's book *Cohesion in English*, Randolph Quirk praised the authors for persisting in subserving "literary and other humanistic disciplines by extending their work to embrace stylistics and other aspects of textual studies" (M.A.K Halliday and R. Hasan 1976, p. VI) during a decade and a half of intentional neglect. By 1985, though, the Swedish scholar N.E. Enkvist hailed the rapid growth in text and discourse studies as a dramatic breakthrough, adding that students interested in style and texts could "help themselves to new succulent and nourishing dishes from the linguistic smörgåsbord". Since

the publication of Halliday and Hasan's systematic study on cohesion, the question of what holds a text together has featured prominently amongst the plethora of studies subsumed under the labels of "text linguistics" or "discourse analysis". The bewildering array of terms coined by scholars formulating theories about the quiddity of texts betrays fundamental differences in concept. The devices appearing in the corpus studied and presented under the heading of "cohesion" might be seen as either *quidditas* or *qualitas* of texts, hence the classification of the concept of text and the unambiguous definition of cohesion prefacing the paper in question.

1.2 Presentation of the Study

The first part of the study set cohesion against its diachronic background of successive enquiries into the nature of the object 'text' and finally placed it within the system of language. The second part offered a detailed analysis of the cohesive resources contained in the corpus which consisted of speeches delivered by U.K. and Italian Members of the European Parliament between 9th Sept. 1985 and 1st Jan. 1986. In the light of the increasing relevance of text studies centred upon cohesion for both the field of artificial intelligence (cf. Smith and Frawley 1983) and stylistics (cf. Enkvist 1985), the conclusion of the paper strove to explain the significance of cohesive resources in texts belonging to the genre of political language, a variety in which no such work had been published.

2. The Need for a Concept of Text

2.1 From Sentence to Text

Since the time of the methodological turning point when the text was recognized not only as an object deserving the attention of linguists but as *primum datum* almost two decades have elapsed and still neither a definition of text nor a specification of commonly accepted methods is forthcoming. The failure to achieve clear definitions is due to the disparate tasks set for text linguistics and the gamut of morphic variations of the object text. Apart from non-verbal communicative acts, anything from a nursery rhyme to a signpost is described as a

'text' and a science of texts is expected to account for both similarities and dissimilarities (v. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

The terms 'text' and 'linguistics' have been increasingly juxtaposed to indicate studies extending methods of linguistic analysis to elements transcending sentence boundaries, but most scholars have emphasized the striking heterogeneity of the domain any such label is thought to refer to

"der Gegenstand der Textlinguistik ist bislang noch nicht genau identifiziert worden, so daß 'Textlinguistik' in gewisser Hinsicht nicht viel mehr als ein Name für sehr unterschiedliche Betrachtungsweisen ist, ja sogar für ganz verschiedene wissenschaftliche Disziplinen." (Coseriu 1981, p.5).

The chaos arises from a syncretic fusion of two definitions of text: a) the realization of a natural language, b) the superordinate of categories such as 'novel', 'poem', etc., independent of historical languages. Despite this confused state of affairs Conte (1977) distinguished three approaches in text linguistics: the first concerning studies analysing regularities beyond sentences, the second concerning studies focussing upon the construction of text grammars and the third concerning studies aiming at the creation of comprehensive text theories.

Initially, text linguists regarded sentences as the *prius* since texts were mere sequences of sentences. As a result the distinction between texts and arbitrary concatenations of sentences was irremediably blurred. In the study of sentence constituents with relations across sentence boundaries ignoring textness is a treacherous procedure for

"è solo tematizzando la struttura gerarchica di un testo, la sua coerenza semantica globale che si può fare il passo dall'enunciato al testo." (Conte 1977, p.17)

The second approach led to the pursuit of comprehensive text grammars where the text was increasingly viewed as the actual realization of a language more akin to a speech act than to a sentence. The *raison d'être* of text grammars was the failure to explain some linguistic phenomena in

texts through sentence grammars, because
"ciò che legittima una grammatica
testuale è una discontinuità fra
enunciato e testo, la differenza
qualitativa non meramente quantitativa
fra enunciato e testo." (Conte 1977, p.
17)

Sentences are elements of the virtual synchronic system: while the definition of a sentence relies on syntactic criteria, the definition of a text calls for different criteria as a text can infringe the rules of a natural language. Even the competence involved in understanding the correctness of a sentence differs from that involved in understanding whether or not something is a text and what type of text it is. By virtue of this specific text competence speakers can paraphrase, reduce or summarize a text once they have grasped its gist.

In the early stages research was evolving merely through changes in methodology with a passive adoption of a pre-theoretical notion of 'text': rather than an act coming to fruition *hic et nunc*, verbal products fixed in writing. Nor was the marked preference for literary texts a mere coincidence. The advent of studies on conversation eroded some fundamental pillars of text linguistics (e.g. the issue of pauses delimiting texts: what happened when several speakers spoke at the same time?) as syntactic cohesion and/or semantic coherence were useless in tackling anacolutha. Furthermore, semantic coherence was not an intrinsic quality as texts were the means whereby the speaker's communicative intention was conveyed for the receiver to recognize and accept it, acceptability depending upon a continuity between textual occurrences, context of situation and the knowledge of the world shared by the two speakers.

2.2 The Systemic-Functional Model

2.2.1 Text and Context

Arising from a long-standing tradition in ethnolinguistics, the systemic-functional model is consistent in positing for extra-linguistic aspects a role that is no longer that of an *ad hoc* tool to be resorted to whenever texts display difficulties in

interpretation. A 'text' is described in terms of 'action' rather than in terms of the language system, thus avoiding various difficulties as the text lies on the outermost layer of linguistic events and has no superordinate linguistic unit circumscribing its limits. The 'constituents' of a text are analysed in functional terms and regulated by contextual non-verbal factors because of the relationship between a text, its context of situation and its context of culture. A text is not a supersentence belonging to an unbroken constituency chain from morpheme to text, but rather

"a unit of language in use. It is not a grammatical unit like a clause or a sentence, and it is not defined by its size." (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p.1)

Halliday's concept of context of situation, to be traced back to Firth and thence to Malinowski, whose observations propounding a cultural and situational semantics were a stimulus to considering languages a potential form of meaning, is of an open set of options that members of a society had. The series of options was embedded in the context of culture whilst specific choices occurred in the context of situation: a distinction that translated in linguistics the diorism of 'power' and 'act'. Firth's 'context of situation', though, implied an abstraction as it was not *in rebus*, i.e. an audiovisual record of surrounding props, but was an abstract representation of general categories relevant to the text [1]. In Halliday's socio-semiotic theory of language the situation is "the environment in which the text comes to life" conceived in even more abstract terms as a 'situation type'. It is essentially a semiotic structure or a constellation of meanings deriving from the semiotic system that constitutes culture. Through this information the receiver of a text can make some predictions about text meaning, for texts are meaningful not because the receiver is unaware of what the producer is going to communicate (as would be the case with a mathematical model of communication) but paradoxically because he is aware. The process of selection of meaning options is regulated by Hymes' 'native theory and system of speaking', a communicative competence enabling members of a

community to know when to speak, keep quiet, etc. Hymes' list of components (quoted by Halliday and Hasan 1976 and by Brown and Yule 1983) can be paraphrased as follows: form and content, setting, participants, ends (intended and achieved), key, medium, genre and interactional norms. Apart from the difficulties in establishing which were the relevant features for a description given the lack of a 'system' of situations, the text itself seems to be ignored as a determining factor. Halliday grouped situational factors determining texts into more abstract categories, i.e. field, tenor and mode, thus creating the concept of 'co-text' to refer to the text. A context is not a lumpen mass: texts create their contexts.

The situation is determined by: (i) field - the social action, what is going on, possessing a recognizable meaning in a society, typically a complex of acts in some ordered configuration where a text plays a part; it includes subject matter as a specific manifestation; (ii) tenor - the role structure, a cluster of socially meaningful participant relationships including permanent attributes and situational speech roles; a particular instance of it are levels of formality; (iii) mode - the symbolic organization, the channel selected and the status of a text in relation to field and tenor; it includes the medium (spoken or written). Collectively they serve to predict the 'register' whereby the observer derives the norms governing the particulars of a text as the various subcategories of field, tenor and mode are linked to typical semantic properties of a text and not lexicogrammatical variants.

2.2.2 Language Functions and Lexicogrammatical Representations

Speakers do not choose *in vacuo* as language potential is organized in networks of options each corresponding to one language function described in linguistic terms without resorting to psychological categories. Throughout the 1960s investigations looked for function as a correlative of structure; functions though are anything but secondary since in principle functional relevance permits the valid recognition of structure. The grammatical structure, on the other hand, is not an arbitrary configuration of elements since as a

whole they represent one function of language and each element has a role in a function. Utterances in adult language are functionally complex and there is not a one-to-one correspondence of function and structure. Indeed language functions are principles organizing the semantic level of language and taking grammatical forms. The lexicogrammatical system has a functional input and a structural output, hence the combination of functions through grammar.

All languages are equally sophisticated and regardless of the complexity of social structures they are based on three elementary functions. Unlike philosophical or sociological theories of language, Halliday's systemic-functional model expounds a taxonomy not a hierarchy of functions termed as 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual'. Widely regarded as 'the' function of language, the ideational function serves the expression of content encoding experience [2]. Social and personal relations (including forms of speaker participation in the speech situation) are expressed by the interpersonal function. Finally, language establishes links with itself, hence the need of a textual function enabling a speaker/writer to produce a text [3]. The semantic stratum shows four components (experiential, logical [4], interpersonal and textual), i.e. sets of interrelated choices. The lexicogrammatical stratum maps the structures specified by each component as output of the options in a network onto each other and produces a text. Each component of meaning makes a contribution to the structural output [5]. Meanings in all the three functions are generated simultaneously and mapped onto each other, for instance speakers do not decide on content first and/or whether to encode it as a question. These are neither subfunctions of a 'communicative' function nor macrofunctions; they are metafunctions for they are abstract.

Through this triadic system for the semantic level and the tripartite categorization of the situational determinants, the situation, the text and the semantic system can be linked. Situational determinants activate semantic components: field activates the ideational component, tenor the interpersonal and mode the textual. The two sets of categories are established independently and

actualized through the 'code' which is not a variety of language but the whole of those principles governing the choice of meanings by a speaker and their interpretation by a hearer. Codes are actualized through 'register' determining the semantic orientation of the speakers in particular social contexts.

2.2.3 Text: Structure and Texture

Texts are the product of the meanings of all the components and the textual component makes all the difference between language 'in the abstract' and 'in use' and between a random string of sentences and sentences realizing a text. The systemic-functional model has dealt with the issue of text studies from two (as would appear unrelated) directions that on closer scrutiny reveal their nature as fundamental and partly complementary traits of textness: structure and texture.

The property of structure was Halliday and Hasan's (1976) fundamental criterion to distinguish both between complete and incomplete texts and between genre forms. Hasan (1978) posited the existence of 'structural formulae' against which the actual structure of a text was to be measured. A structural formula was a configuration of elements in a text structure realized by lexicogrammatical units but created on the basis of functions that depended on the text genre, whence we return to the contextual controls on structure. The other structural factor of the textual component is the thematic and informational distribution which is crucial in the distinction between texts and non-texts [6]. Textness is the result of cohesion which is independent from linguistic structure and may extend beyond any structural unit. Cohesion is determined by mode and is relational rather than structural, in fact, it is alternative to structure.

The features described in the last few paragraphs are not stylistic variants. Unfortunately most metaphors enshrine the view of a system that generates a representation of reality, encodes it as a speech act and re-codes it as a text. Yet meanings are embodied in simultaneous networks of options and their structures are mapped onto each other so that realizations of these meanings appear prosodically

throughout a text. When 'listening' to a text we 'listen' to a multilayered polyphonic structural composition. In polyphonic music the different melodies are mapped onto one another so that any specific chord is simultaneously an element in different melodies. This very 'polyphonic' quality motivates specific cohesive devices.

3. Cohesion in the Linguistic System

3.1 Cohesion, Connexity or Coherence?

'Cohesion', 'connexity' and/or 'coherence' are terms adopted to indicate text specific properties.

"The terms 'connexity' and 'cohesion' refer to the (verbal) construction of a text, while the term 'coherence' refers to the relation between the states of affairs expressed in the text."

(Hatakeyama et alii 1985, p.58 underlining theirs)

These definitions are the outcome of a different viewpoint from Halliday's. Cohesion is neither necessary nor sufficient for a text to be regarded as such since it is better conceived as a *qualitas*. Texts must 'cohere', i.e. refer to non-linguistic events in a way that for hearers is orderly and structured. No advantage is to be gained by establishing constitutive formal features that a text is to possess to qualify as a 'text' for texts are what text receivers decide to treat as texts (cf. Brown and Yule 1983, p.199 *et seq.* and for an interesting view on linguistic signs in general s. Ungerer 1991). Connectedness cannot be equated with grammaticalness [7]. Unlike cohesion, coherence encompasses a relation between the text and the communicative setting (cf. Randquist 1985). Incoherence is the result of lack in prototypical knowledge to cover a specific situation, not of a failure of linguistic form. When two elements are placed together any hearer/reader will feel compelled to co-interpret them as a whole and as relevant to the context in his/her 'effort after meaning'. Brown and Yule (1983) reiterated Popper's cognitive assumption that human beings are primed for regularity when stating that meaning in a situation type is valued against the background of regularities with meaning predicted through context. The more

ritualized the genre the greater the number of expectations fulfilled [8].

Connectedness is an elusive concept for it is acquired by (or bestowed upon) a text through contact with a person. The author creates it but receivers either maintain or modify it so that texts as polyphonic creations are re-shaped at each 'performance'. There is no gainsaying the creative contribution of text receivers; still they are guided by the cohesive devices deployed by authors.

"To what extent is the producer of a text responsible for its coherence, and how much inversely is construed (or induced) by the receiver?" (Charolles 1985, p.86)

Cohesive marks have no value unless perceived, thus the distinction between cohesion and coherence becomes a relative affair.

"Let us say, for example, that we accept an anaphora as being the mark of cohesion and that a particular series of two sentences is cohesive because the first one is taken up by a co-referent pronoun in the second. Is the sequence of two sentences cohesive in its own right, or is it coherent by virtue of a certain operation which we presume the hearer to carry out? It is an embarrassing question."

Indeed it is. Despite a certain ambiguity in the distinction between cohesion and coherence, elements such as anaphoric relations must be regarded as part of the data. Relativity of interpretation cannot enter at this stage lest everything should become relative and scholars be left with nothing to study.

Cohesive resources are language specific still they can be related to language *in toto* and expounded in the direction of language typology. A study of cohesion cannot be based on merely formal expressions such as

"the concept of cohesion is a semantic one; it refers to relations of meaning that exist within the text and that define it as a text." (Halliday and Hasan 1976, p.6)

Since cohesion is a relational concept it is not through its mere presence in a text that an item

is cohesive but through its relation with another item. The fundamental principle is that of a 'tie', sc. 'one occurrence of a pair of cohesively related items', whose salient feature is directionality. The relationship between two elements may be either anaphoric or cataphoric whenever the presupposed item either precedes or follows the presupposing one [9]. The two elements may be found in immediately adjoining sentences (immediate tie) or in sentences that are far removed (remote tie) and in this latter instance even through some other intermediate cohesive item (mediated tie) thus leading to ties that are both remote and mediated.

Relational patterns confer upon texts their rhythmical periodicity through both the type and the number of ties in sentences. The issue impinges upon the cognitive principle of selective attention: a variety of entities passes quickly through the periphery of the perceptual field and attention tends to remain attached to one entity till 'satiation' sets in and the focus changes.

3.2 Classification of Cohesive Resources

The study analysed cohesive resources grouping them into four types: reference, ellipsis (substitution or ellipsis proper), conjunctions and lexical cohesion.

Reference designates the property that some items display in making reference to 'something else' for their interpretation. It fosters continuity in meaning either anaphorically or cataphorically and can be classified as 'personal', 'demonstrative', 'comparative'. Despite the terminology the classification is based on semantic and not grammatical criteria. Personal reference is brought about by pronouns that just like lexical items can be Heads or Modifiers within a nominal group even if their inclusion in limited sets is reminiscent of morphemes. The pronominal system transcribes the various roles in the speech situation thus not all items are 'endophorically' cohesive, i.e. referring to something in the text. It is generally the third person that is cohesive through anaphora [10]. 'Demonstrative' reference is a form of verbal pointing whereby the referent is identified in terms of proximity to the speaker, though Halliday and Hasan (1976) extend this label to

include neutral instances of cohesive definite articles. Personal and demonstrative reference are resorted to for 'extended' reference, i.e. reference to a process or sequence of processes, or 'text' reference, i.e. reference to a stretch of text. Finally, reference may also be the result of comparison, 'comparative' reference, where cohesive items presuppose an item acting as a standard of reference.

While reference is a relation in meaning (at the semantic level), substitution and ellipsis are mainly relations in wording (at the lexicogrammatical level). The difference between substitution and ellipsis is that in the former the antecedent (11) must replace the substitute and in the latter the antecedent must be supplied.

A major element of cohesion is conjunction. Unlike other links it is 'non-phoric' as conjunction ties do not presuppose antecedents. The tie concerns the way a sentence can be connected to the rest of the text. Conjunctive adjuncts (simple/compound adverbs and prepositional phrases) extend to the whole of a sentence unless repudiated. In the study conjunction was classified as follows: additive, adversative, causal and temporal with several subtypes.

The tables displaying cohesive ties for each speech showed that lexical cohesion was crucial for this genre of the corpus. The study followed the systemic-functional concept of lexis and Coseriu's principles of syntagmatic structures ('affinity', 'selection' and 'implication'). The thread of discourse is generally maintained through reiterations that just like general nouns (i.e. items with generalized reference: 'people', 'thing', 'person', etc.) must be accompanied by reference items to be cohesive. Reiteration can be the result of the use of the same item, a synonym or a superordinate with a cline emerging in this study between general nouns, superordinates, synonyms and repetitions [12]. Still the most complex aspect of lexical cohesion is the association of items that regularly co-occur. Collocations were classified as cohesive on the basis of Hatakeyama *et alii*'s (1985) concept of 'reference conform thesaural' relations.

There are no specific lexical items that are cohesive, cohesion being established only with reference to their occurrence in a text. Lexical

cohesion may be viewed as the mere result of a text developing along certain lines, yet this would be a facile assumption for some texts, though sticking to the point, display an extremely limited number of cohesive ties. The crucial consideration is the 'textual history' of a term in the lexical environment of a text with all the forms thereto related, without giving priority to relatedness in the language system. Proximity in the lexical system would be determined by the probability of two words co-occurring whilst in a text it would be the material distance in terms of sentences separating the items. The cohesive force of a tie is proportional to proximity in these two senses. Items with high overall frequency and entering into collocation with several items (e.g. 'know', 'dire', etc.) produce ties of very low cohesive force if at all.

4. Results

The first consideration following the analysis of the speeches in the corpus was their peculiar referential cohesion. Apart from the total absence of instances of possessives as Heads, there was a very low number of 'mixed' personals, i.e. the 'nous-vous' relationship of inclusion/exclusion of text receivers. Ellipsis was expected to play a greater role but in fact instances of this cohesive tie are negligible.

Albeit limited in number, conjunction is significant in that it gives clues to higher level conceptual structures. While additives followed by causal ties prevailed in Italian speeches, causal conjunction followed by adversatives was the main feature of English speeches. Given that adversatives of the more simple type generally contribute to foregrounding, English speeches display a higher degree of vividness. The limited use of temporal conjunction ties is the corollary of preference for lexical cohesion. In these texts lexical cohesion was mainly the outcome of 'nominalisations', a primary source of ambiguity, opacity and lack of conciseness.

Lexical cohesion is one of the reasons why texts cannot be studied through an enlarged sentence grammar. Each sentence can be studied syntagmatically, on the basis of its combination of elements, or paradigmatically, on the basis of the choice relations between the actual elements

and other alternative elements in the system (paradigmatic substitution). Unlike sentences, texts display 'syntagmatic substitution' prompted by the rhetorical canon of non-repetition but supported also by the psycholinguistic phenomenon of 'semantic satiation'.

The different density of cohesive resources within/between texts is the outcome of two different phenomena: progression and focalization. Focalization is a concept reminiscent of Longacre's peak (1981), i.e. rhetorical underlining to ensure that a 'topic does not go by too fast'. For instance, this aim can be achieved through the insertion of short sentences in an environment of long ones. With reference to cohesion the effect is most conspicuous when remote ties are included in an environment of immediate ones, or the number of ties goes up unexpectedly. Progression concerns stretches of text where the receiver is led onwards from one segment to another. The absence of rhetorical devices is matched by a paucity of cohesive ties, a corollary to the introduction of ever new elements or predicates. Non-progression, though, is not to be equated with focalization as it is a term referring to elements holding up the receiver's attention leading to 'semantic satiation'. Most of the speeches in the corpus displayed a surfeit of non-progression.

5. Text as a Product vs. Text as a Process

The analysis contained in the study is a *posteriori* focussing on the text as a product. Still a text may be studied in terms of process as interpretation studies generally do.

As a socio-semiotic process any text can be described as a 'semiotic encounter', a channel to exchange meanings making up the social system. Text producers are 'meaners' whose acts of meaning do maintain or re-shape social reality which is constituted of indeterminate and unbounded meanings. The dynamic aspect of reality *qua* reality *in fieri* shows its incessant re-structuring, periodicity and occurrence in time and space. Texts as processes incessantly shift their relation to the environment. Scholars idealizing this aspect away concentrate either on the system or on the single text. The temporal

dimension so crucial for interpretation studies is lost sight of. As stated in the introduction to this paper, the difficulty of simultaneous interpretation is due to interpreters translating texts as on-line processes. Even though texts are units of translation, interpreters have to make do with smaller units. Hypostasizing these units is one of the areas covered by interpretation studies. Successful inroads seem to have been made through Searle's (1969) concept of speech act requiring the co-presence in the minds of the producer and the receiver of all those constituents [13] that even though appearing in sequence can be traced back to a unitary mental moment. Scholars seem to be convinced that a speech act does not exceed the boundaries of what psychologists describe as short-term memory. Avoiding any term that may entail a whole series of problems (is there a quantitative or a qualitative difference between short and long-term memory, if at all? Is there a break of continuity between the two or do they shade into each other?), speakers do have the ability to recall relations existing in a 'unit' that is being construed. For all the difficulty concerning unit boundaries, texts are unlikely to be processed in one sweep. It is precisely their articulation in speech acts that prompts the use of anaphoric and cataphoric cohesive ties, for it is these very ties that contain condensed and thorough reference to preceding or subsequent information.

Cohesion is a fundamental element in simultaneous interpretation and in text processing in general. Unless the condensed information of cohesive items were available, textual solidarity would be irretrievable. Within sentences cohesive items epitomize the whole of the text process. Adopting Halliday and Hasan's (1976) metaphor, a sentence whose presupposed items are unknown is like a picture that is blurred though complete. Such a sentence clicks into focus no sooner than its cohesive valencies are saturated. Inevitably, simultaneous interpretation is affected to an extreme degree by the type and the density of cohesion displayed. Through the '*modèle d'efforts*' (cf. Gile, 1988) an interesting study might show if there is a link between the difficulties experienced by interpreters and differences in cohesion. Time is an essential factor in

interpreting. Therefore, in any research work on interpretation, cohesion ought to feature prominently for cohesion is one of the most manifest symptoms of a text developing in time.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The context of the present text is totally different from what surrounded the act of writing it.

[2] In performing this function language provides a structure for experience, hence the need for a conscious effort to see things differently from what our language might suggest to us.

[3] The terms 'system' or 'structure' must not be used as synonymous with 'function'. The linguistic system is organized around a set of abstract functions and the term structure refers

to the representation of syntagmatic relations in language.

[4] Unlike other components the logical component is characterized by its expression through recursive structures such as parataxis and hypotaxis (including apposition, coordination and reported speech). Still the distinction between experiential and logical within the ideational component is not merely due to different modes of expression. The logical element, while ideational in its origin, derives from the speaker's experience of the external world and once it is built into language it becomes neutral with respect to other functions: all structures, regardless of their functional origin can have logical structures built into them.

[5] Here is a simplified table:

Semantic Component	Grammatical Structure
ideational / experiential	constituent, segmental
\ logical	recursive
interpersonal	prosodic
textual	culminative

[6] Thematic and informational considerations are central to an understanding of pseudocleft and cleft constructions as Collins (1991) showed.

[7] The issue is more pointed than it seems for in real life coherence-grammaticalness is not an absolute value - either there is or there is not - but rather a relative quality. Incoherent texts might be ruled out as ungrammatical but to a certain degree. The text receiver might think that it is unacceptable 'for the time being', till an explanation is given for the oddity. Beyond sentence boundaries there are indeed no formal constraints establishing which sequences are acceptable or not.

[8] Political language is a *species* of the *genus* of formal language: a restricted code because of the limitations on options at all levels. Independence of elements compatible *in praesentia* guarantees adaptability of language to reality. Formal language with its limitation of choices

results in a blurred picture of the individuality and historicity of events transformed into 'scriptural examples'.

[9] Anaphora and cataphora acquire significance as an opposition within the system. The *ordo naturalis* would be for the presupposing item to follow the presupposed one, hence the markedness of the option of cataphora. An illuminating insight into the issues involved in studying anaphora is given by Berretta (1990), Conte (1990 and 1990a) and Kleiber (1990), while the significance of cataphora within sentences is analysed by Kesik (1989).

[10] Exceptionally even 'I' can be endophorically cohesive, cf. Halliday and Hasan's (1976) example: 'There was a brief note from Susan. She just said "I'm not coming home this weekend".' In the example 'I' refers to Susan.

[11] Antecedent is a general term covering both anaphorically and cataphorically cohesive

presupposed items.

[12] The moot issue concerning lexical cohesion is identity of reference. Halliday and Hasan (1976) posited that cohesion existed between two lexical items irrespective of their referential relation, thus it was that the occurrence might have identical, inclusive, exclusive or unrelated reference.

[13] Needless to say that the present author would reject any such notion of constituents as a lower rung in the ladder leading to text.

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VERS UNE NOUVELLE DEFINITION DU BILINGUISME POUR L'INTERPRETATION

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*Ce que l'on conçoit bien s'énonce clairement
(Boileau)*

Les réflexions présentées dans cet article tendent à apporter leur contribution au débat animé qui s'est développé au sujet du bilinguisme; en particulier, notre analyse vise à proposer une définition du bilinguisme par rapport à l'interprétation en partant d'une plateforme expérimentale restreinte qui, sans prétendre à la validité statistique, pourra de toute façon, comme nous le souhaitons, soumettre à des validations et à des intégrations successives quelques idées préliminaires.

Le problème du bilinguisme, loin de pouvoir être rapporté uniquement à des aspects strictement linguistiques, comporte de telles implications qu'il relève du domaine spéculatif de plusieurs disciplines, dont chacune en analyse un segment, dans l'effort conjoint de comprendre dans sa globalité ce phénomène ancien, extrêmement complexe et nuancé. D'où le développement d'une collaboration entre sociologues, historiens, neurologues, anthropologues et linguistes qui a donné lieu, à ce jour, à une multitude prodigieuse d'ouvrages¹.

De toute évidence, le bilinguisme se prête à des interprétations et à des définitions spécifiques suivant la perspective retenue pour

son analyse. Force est de reconnaître qu'en littérature on est loin d'être arrivés à un consensus sur la définition de "bilinguisme" et de "sujet bilingue"; s'il est vrai qu'il existe des individus et des communautés capables d'utiliser indifféremment deux systèmes linguistiques dans leurs interactions quotidiennes, il est aussi vrai que les évaluations quant aux degrés de compétence divergent de façon parfois importante et que les définitions de "sujet bilingue" couvrent, elles aussi, un éventail de possibilités assez vaste:

*"Est-on bilingue pour s'exprimer tant bien que mal en plusieurs langues ou même pour les comprendre seulement? Alors le nombre des bilingues est énorme et s'accroît constamment. Ou bien réservera-t-on cette désignation à ceux qui, ayant appris simultanément deux langues dès leur première enfance, s'en servent avec une égale facilité dans toutes les circonstances de leur vie, sans aucune distinction, sans même savoir laquelle convient d'appeler la langue maternelle? Dans ce cas, on peut douter qu'il existe de vrais bilingues"*².

D'ailleurs, même à propos de l'unilinguisme, il convient de constater qu'il existe plusieurs niveaux de variétés linguistiques - il n'y a qu'à penser au cas de la diglossie³ - qui ne sont pas

1. Il suffit de mentionner à cet égard la vaste bibliographie (quelque 500 titres) publiée dans M.L. Albert, *The Bilingual Brain*, New York, Academic Press Inc., 1978, 301 pp., dont l'approche au problème est essentiellement, mais non exclusivement, neurologique.

2. E. Ludovicy cit. dans M. Van Overbeke, *Introduction au problème du bilinguisme*, Bruxelles, Labor, 1972, p. 35.

3. Dans la diglossie, l'alternance de deux variétés linguistiques est régie par des normes sociolinguistiques bien précises, l'une d'elles étant considérée par les sujets parlants comme

entièrement étrangères à une notion élargie de bi- ou de plurilinguisme; cela est vrai aussi sur le plan individuel, puisqu'un même sujet pourra utiliser plusieurs variétés fonctionnelles de la même langue selon le contexte de la communication, en faisant tomber son choix sur son propre idiolecte, son dialecte, sa langue régionale ou sa langue nationale: la compétence linguistique de l'encodeur du message - répertoire verbal, complexité structurelle, registre d'expression - lui permet de passer d'un niveau à l'autre afin que l'interaction avec le décodeur soit efficace. Pour que le sujet parlant soit considéré comme compétent du point de vue linguistique et de la communication, il faut non seulement qu'il connaisse grammaticalement les variétés linguistiques dont il dispose, mais aussi qu'il sache les adapter aux situations sociales dans lesquelles il se trouve, de façon à choisir pour chaque situation une variété adéquate.

Les théoriciens les plus prudents quant à la possibilité de parvenir à un véritable bilinguisme doutent que, dans un ou plusieurs autres idiomes, on puisse avoir accès aux mêmes compétences dont on dispose en principe dans sa propre langue (lexique abondant, syntaxe complexe, maîtrise des fonctions du langage): dans cette optique, la langue maternelle est considérée comme une sorte de *Weltanschauung* dont "*secundum non datur*".

Incidemment, nous aimerions ajouter que l'on ne peut pas considérer automatiquement comme acquis le fait que le locuteur soit vraiment compétent et performant dans sa propre langue; à peine pourrait-on affirmer, par exemple, que l'on connaît et que l'on maîtrise à fond toutes les modalités d'organisation et d'expression de celle-ci: il suffit de penser, quant à cela, aux niveaux extrêmes de la langue poétique et scientifique, de sorte que, même pour le sujet unilingue, il ne serait pas excessif à notre sens de parler d'une compétence linguistique lacuneuse, voire d'une perfection relative.

Dans le bilinguisme aussi on peut cerner des stades intermédiaires ou partiels en fonction des modalités d'acquisition de la langue seconde. On se trouve assurément en présence, par exemple,

d'un bilinguisme passif lorsque la perception compétente (décodage) de la langue seconde sous forme orale et/ou écrite l'emporte sur les modalités d'expression (codage) sous forme parlée et/ou écrite. Dans un cas typique de bilinguisme partiel, par contre, le sujet, qui comprend et utilise activement la langue pour la production d'énoncés complets et significatifs - c'est-à-dire, qui ne suscitent aucune réaction de désapprobation de la part de l'interlocuteur ou du groupe - ne sait pas la lire et/ou l'écrire à un niveau tout aussi satisfaisant.

Au fil des ans, les chercheurs ont proposé plusieurs définitions qui permettent d'identifier les différents types de bilinguisme sur la base, par exemple, de l'âge du sujet à l'apprentissage des deux codes (distinction entre bilinguisme naturel et artificiel) ou des modalités d'apprentissage (distinction entre bilingue composé et bilingue coordonné)⁴. Dans une situation idéale de maîtrise accomplie des deux langues, qui aurait comme conséquence l'élimination de la différenciation traditionnelle entre la L1 et la L2 (langue maternelle et langue d'apprentissage successif), on se trouve en présence du bilinguisme équilibré, qui se produit

"lorsque, chez un sujet, il se trouve que deux langues naturelles, à la suite d'une mise en place continue pendant les années de formation, soient devenues des instruments qui traduisent la pensée et expriment les intentions et les états émotifs, aussi fidèlement l'une que l'autre. De plus, quand on le compare à des unilingues de même situation sociale et de même niveau d'instruction, avec même pensée et mêmes intentions, le bilingue ne se trouve pas gêné du fait de cette dualité

supérieure à l'autre, comme dans le cas des formes "Katharevousa" et "démotique" de la langue grecque.

4. "Le bilingue composé apprend la L2 en liant chaque mot nouveau à un autre de la L1...Le second type de bilingue, nommé coordonné ou encore bilingue-biculturel, a acquis la L2 dans des circonstances constitutives propres, et bien souvent temporellement distinctes". Cfr. L. Balkan, *Les effets du bilinguisme français-anglais sur les aptitudes intellectuelles*, Bruxelles, AIMAV, 1970, p. 51. L'Auteur présente un panorama des principales discussions théoriques sur le bilinguisme au chap. III op. cit., pp. 36-63. Voir également M. Van Overbeke, op. cit., surtout le chap. II, pp. 35-129.

de moyens"⁵.

Du moment que, par nécessité, nous avons décidé de limiter l'ampleur de notre analyse, nous avons cru bon envisager le problème d'un point de vue qui, tout en étant axé sur des bases théoriques - et par la suite nous verrons lesquelles - soit aussi fondé sur une approche pragmatique et expérimentale, dans le but de valider ou de réfuter certaines hypothèses.

Par conséquent, nous analyserons le bilinguisme d'un point de vue tout à fait spécifique, notamment par le biais de l'interprétation: ce faisant, la compréhension et/ou l'usage actif de plusieurs langues de la part du locuteur seront considérés comme fonctionnels aux qualités requises dans cette pratique professionnelle particulière.

Notre objectif prioritaire est celui de cerner le type ou les types de bilinguisme possédé(s) par l'interprète en fonction des modalités de mise en marche d'un processus communicatif de réception/production tout à fait particulier: une communication où il n'y a, en fait, pas de véritable interaction verbale entre le locuteur (l'interprète) et l'interlocuteur (le destinataire) et qui implique inévitablement la présence d'un tiers (l'encodeur originaire du discours) pour être complète. Par conséquent, la dynamique verbale se développe invariablement dans un sens unidirectionnel et par des binômes obligés, avec un premier couple émetteur-interprète où seul le premier élément est actif, et avec un second couple interprète-récepteur où seul le premier élément est actif. Il en découle donc que dans le trinôme orateur-interprète-auditeur il n'y a que l'élément médian qui participe simultanément à la réception (décodage) et à la production (codage), les autres éléments étant strictement l'un passif et l'autre actif dans l'acte de la communication.

Il ne fait nul doute que l'interprète peut être considéré par définition comme un sujet bi- ou plurilingue du moment qu'il possède certainement une forme de bi- ou plurilinguisme passif sophistiqué, surtout pour ce qui concerne la forme orale de la langue ou des langues autre(s) que la langue L1 (le traducteur est pourvu en voie privilégiée d'une compétence analogue pour ce qui

est de la forme écrite de la ou des L2).

Si la compétence de la ou des langues étrangères n'est utilisée, dans le domaine professionnel, que sur le plan de la compréhension, dans le but de reproduire successivement le message linguistique et conceptuel dans la langue maternelle, l'interprétation peut être considérée, à notre sens, comme un acte de communication qui s'identifie avec un multilinguisme passif avancé.

En principe, ce multilinguisme passif avancé est le seul qui puisse être considéré comme fonctionnel et approprié à la tâche pour l'interprète et pour le traducteur qui travaillent auprès des institutions internationales. Nul n'ignore, en effet, quelle a été depuis toujours la ligne adoptée par la Communauté Européenne à ce propos: les équipes sont formées d'interprètes qui, pour la plupart, possèdent une polyglossie passive et une monoglossie active, du moment qu'on estime que la production de langues autres que la langue maternelle - tout en étant possible à de différents degrés de complexité - n'aboutit pas, de toute façon, à des résultats appropriés à la tâche.

En général, cela est vrai: toutefois, il existe des cas - qui restent néanmoins exceptionnels - où l'on reconnaît chez l'interprète une diglossie active puisqu'on estime que sa maîtrise expressive est également appropriée en L2. D'ailleurs, il ne s'agit pas uniquement, comme on pourrait le supposer, d'interprètes bilingues équilibrés qui ont une telle maîtrise active de deux langues naturelles au point d'effacer la ligne discriminante entre la L1 et la L2, mais plutôt de sujets qui identifient sans hésitation leur L1 par rapport à leur L2, qui a été acquise par la suite, et qui pourtant travaillent à l'actif dans cette dernière langue également.

Il s'agit donc de vérifier s'il existe des différences dans l'organisation structurelle du discours en L1 et L2 qui pourtant ne sauraient pas être identifiées dans une production lacuneuse, vicieuse ou incompétente de la L2. Si cela est vrai, il sera possible d'esquisser une définition du bilinguisme en interprétation en termes strictement fonctionnels à celle-ci.

Au moment où l'interprète utilise L2 à l'actif, il est raisonnable de penser que celle-ci soit

5. L. Balkan, op. cit., p. 62.

de moyens"⁵.

Du moment que, par nécessité, nous avons décidé de limiter l'ampleur de notre analyse, nous avons cru bon envisager le problème d'un point de vue qui, tout en étant axé sur des bases théoriques - et par la suite nous verrons lesquelles - soit aussi fondé sur une approche pragmatique et expérimentale, dans le but de valider ou de réfuter certaines hypothèses.

Par conséquent, nous analyserons le bilinguisme d'un point de vue tout à fait spécifique, notamment par le biais de l'interprétation: ce faisant, la compréhension et/ou l'usage actif de plusieurs langues de la part du locuteur seront considérés comme fonctionnels aux qualités requises dans cette pratique professionnelle particulière.

Notre objectif prioritaire est celui de cerner le type ou les types de bilinguisme possédé(s) par l'interprète en fonction des modalités de mise en marche d'un processus communicatif de réception/production tout à fait particulier: une communication où il n'y a, en fait, pas de véritable interaction verbale entre le locuteur (l'interprète) et l'interlocuteur (le destinataire) et qui implique inévitablement la présence d'un tiers (l'encodeur originaire du discours) pour être complète. Par conséquent, la dynamique verbale se développe invariablement dans un sens unidirectionnel et par des binômes obligés, avec un premier couple émetteur-interprète où seul le premier élément est actif, et avec un second couple interprète-récepteur où seul le premier élément est actif. Il en découle donc que dans le trinôme orateur-interprète-auditeur il n'y a que l'élément médian qui participe simultanément à la réception (décodage) et à la production (codage), les autres éléments étant strictement l'un passif et l'autre actif dans l'acte de la communication.

Il ne fait nul doute que l'interprète peut être considéré par définition comme un sujet bi- ou plurilingue du moment qu'il possède certainement une forme de bi- ou plurilinguisme passif sophistiqué, surtout pour ce qui concerne la forme orale de la langue ou des langues autre(s) que la langue L1 (le traducteur est pourvu en voie privilégiée d'une compétence analogue pour ce qui

est de la forme écrite de la ou des L2).

Si la compétence de la ou des langues étrangères n'est utilisée, dans le domaine professionnel, que sur le plan de la compréhension, dans le but de reproduire successivement le message linguistique et conceptuel dans la langue maternelle, l'interprétation peut être considérée, à notre sens, comme un acte de communication qui s'identifie avec un multilinguisme passif avancé.

En principe, ce multilinguisme passif avancé est le seul qui puisse être considéré comme fonctionnel et approprié à la tâche pour l'interprète et pour le traducteur qui travaillent auprès des institutions internationales. Nul n'ignore, en effet, quelle a été depuis toujours la ligne adoptée par la Communauté Européenne à ce propos: les équipes sont formées d'interprètes qui, pour la plupart, possèdent une polyglossie passive et une monoglossie active, du moment qu'on estime que la production de langues autres que la langue maternelle - tout en étant possible à de différents degrés de complexité - n'aboutit pas, de toute façon, à des résultats appropriés à la tâche.

En général, cela est vrai: toutefois, il existe des cas - qui restent néanmoins exceptionnels - où l'on reconnaît chez l'interprète une diglossie active puisqu'on estime que sa maîtrise expressive est également appropriée en L2. D'ailleurs, il ne s'agit pas uniquement, comme on pourrait le supposer, d'interprètes bilingues équilibrés qui ont une telle maîtrise active de deux langues naturelles au point d'effacer la ligne discriminante entre la L1 et la L2, mais plutôt de sujets qui identifient sans hésitation leur L1 par rapport à leur L2, qui a été acquise par la suite, et qui pourtant travaillent à l'actif dans cette dernière langue également.

Il s'agit donc de vérifier s'il existe des différences dans l'organisation structurelle du discours en L1 et L2 qui pourtant ne sauraient pas être identifiées dans une production lacuneuse, vicieuse ou incompétente de la L2. Si cela est vrai, il sera possible d'esquisser une définition du bilinguisme en interprétation en termes strictement fonctionnels à celle-ci.

Au moment où l'interprète utilise L2 à l'actif, il est raisonnable de penser que celle-ci soit

5. L. Balkan, op. cit., p. 62.

soumise à plus de contraintes pour ce qui est de la compétence/performance de l'élaboration syntaxique d'une part et de la richesse d'expressions d'autre part par rapport aux résultats obtenus en L1.

C'est pour cette raison que nous avons décidé de vérifier les deux hypothèses de base qui suivent:

1) Dans l'interprétation vers la L2 la parataxe prédomine sur l'hypotaxe⁶.
et

2) Dans l'interprétation vers la L2, l'emploi des catégories Nom/Verbe l'emporte sur les catégories Adverbe/Adjectif.

Il est évident que l'association, ici implicite, parataxe + nom/verbe est adoptée pour indiquer une construction structurelle/lexicale dont la complexité est moindre par rapport à l'association, tout aussi implicite, hypotaxe + adverbe/verbe.

Pour vérifier ces deux hypothèses on a choisi un module expérimental comprenant deux interprètes de conférence, tous deux fonctionnaires auprès du S.C.I.C. à Bruxelles⁷, auxquels on a proposé un questionnaire et qui ont accepté de passer un test d'interprétation consécutive dans leurs L1 et L2 respectives.

Le questionnaire est structuré de façon à pouvoir établir une corrélation schématique entre l'"expérience de vie" de l'interprète et la constitution de plusieurs systèmes linguistiques au niveau actif et/ou passif; il est axé sur les 10 points suivants:

- 1) Age et nationalité
- 2) Nationalité des parents
- 3) Langue(s) apprise(s) pendant la période préscolaire
- 4) Age et circonstances d'apprentissage initial de la L2
- 5) Langue(s) de formation scolaire-universitaire

6. La parataxe est le procédé syntaxique fondé surtout sur un critère de coordination, tandis que l'hypotaxe correspond à une construction de la phrase où une ou plusieurs propositions sont subordonnées à la principale.

7. "Service Commun Interprétation-Conférences", responsable de l'affectation des interprètes pour les réunions de la Commission, du Conseil et du Comité économique et social de la C.E.E.

- 6) Activités professionnelles précédant l'interprétation
- 7) Années d'expérience en interprétation
- 8) Autres langues passives
- 9) Fréquence de travail en L1 et L2
- 10) Corrélation entre le sujet à interpréter et la langue d'expression

PROFIL DE L'INTERPRETE A

Trente ans, nationalité britannique, parents anglais. Unilingue jusqu'à 6 ans, il apprend en tant que tel les compétences de base de la langue (lecture et écriture). De 7 à 12 ans il vit en France avec sa famille et fait son cycle d'études primaires en français, langue qu'il parle avec son frère et en milieu scolaire et social, n'utilisant l'anglais que pour communiquer avec ses parents. De 13 à 18 ans, il vit en Italie avec sa famille et fréquente le lycée français: le français et l'italien sont les langues véhiculaires en milieu scolaire et social. De 18 à 22 ans il vit en Angleterre, où il obtient un diplôme universitaire en informatique et en linguistique; l'anglais devient encore une fois la seule langue de communication. Au cours des deux années suivantes il travaille pour le CNRS à Paris et, de 24 à 26 ans, pour le Foreign Office à Londres. En 1986, il suit un stage de formation en interprétation de la durée de six mois auprès de la C.E.E. à Bruxelles, où il travaille actuellement comme interprète fonctionnaire, en cabine anglaise avec le français et l'italien comme langues passives et en cabine française avec l'anglais comme langue passive (la combinaison de l'italien au français est absente); son taux de présence dans les deux cabines est, respectivement, de 75 et de 25%, avec une préférence tendancielle, mais non préjudicielle, à travailler en cabine anglaise lorsque le contenu du discours est à très forte dominante technique.

Sur le plan quantitatif, donc, l'anglais a toujours été utilisé comme langue active; pour le français, cela a été le cas pendant 14 ans auxquels s'ajoutent plus de 4 ans de résidence (actuelle) dans un pays francophone et l'emploi de l'italien pendant 6 ans. L'interprète, qui a pourtant appris et utilisé le français pendant les années centrales de sa formation et de sa scolarité, ne se considère pas comme bilingue

équilibré selon la définition qui a été donnée auparavant et identifie très nettement sa combinaison linguistique comme étant Anglais A, Français B et Italien C. Il faut toutefois préciser que tout au long de l'interview il y a eu des changements de langue avec des incursions vers l'italien, qui, sans être la langue de culture du sujet, ne présentait chez lui aucune erreur manifeste de construction, de lexique et d'accent, si bien que l'on peut supposer l'existence d'un trilinguisme actif partiel.

Le matériel de travail se compose d'extraits d'articles de presse, ayant chacun une durée de lecture de 1'30" à 2', durée de toute évidence plus adaptée aux objectifs de l'expérience, mais qui ne se reflète pas pourtant dans les situations qu'on rencontre normalement en milieu professionnel⁸. La priorité a été accordée d'une façon instinctive - et significative - à la consécutive du français à l'anglais; nous avons transcrit de suite le texte utilisé, suivi par son interprétation d'après l'enregistrement.

"QUEL NOUVEL ORDRE AU PROCHE-ORIENT?"

Un an après l'ouverture de la crise du Golfe, le 2 août 1990, l'échiquier politique et stratégique au Proche-Orient a profondément changé. La guerre qui a suivi a modifié les rapports de forces, rompu les équilibres antérieurs et suscité de nouveaux déséquilibres qui seront, à leur tour, facteurs de crises nouvelles. Mais ce résultat n'est au fond que le prolongement du choix qui fut fait, voici un an, à Washington, de la confrontation militaire plutôt que d'un éventuel compromis, et de la poursuite délibérée d'objectifs dépassant de beaucoup ceux au nom desquels les Nations unies avaient accepté, en principe, de recourir à la force.

Le but en était de contraindre l'Irak à évacuer le territoire du Koweït ainsi que d'y rétablir le régime existant avant la crise, comme le stipulaient expressément les résolutions

adoptées par l'ONU, en particulier celles votées aux mois d'octobre et de novembre 1990. A de nombreuses reprises les gouvernements occidentaux ont proclamé que là se limitait leur dessein. Mais, soit qu'il fût tout autre dès l'origine, soit que l'engrenage du conflit ait conduit à des développements qui n'avaient pas été envisagés, soit encore que la victoire militaire de la coalition ait permis d'aller beaucoup plus loin qu'on ne l'avait espéré, la réalité fut fort différente et les objectifs proclamés par les Nations unies ont été largement dépassés.

C'est la résolution 647, votée par le Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU, sur les conditions du cessez-le-feu, qui a levé les dernières équivoques.

Paul-Marie de La Gorce,
Le Monde Diplomatique, août 1991

"One year after the beginning of the crisis in the Gulf on the 2nd of August 1990, if anything the political chessboard and the strategical situation in the Gulf has changed even more firmly than one could have imagined.

The war has changed the whole power structure in the region and the old balances have given way, have exchanged themselves for new imbalances which will lead to a new crisis.

But that in a sense is merely the result, an extension if you like, of the choice which was made in Washington to adopt military force rather than a solution of compromise and, in fact, to go beyond the objectives which were to allow the UN to adopt a forceful solution.

The stated aim was simply to get Irak out of Kuwait to re-establish the old regime and that was mentioned in the Resolutions of the UN of October and November 1990. But in many cases the Western governments have gone much further and obtained much more than what they had proclaimed. Now this may well be either because that is what they wanted from the outset or it may be because of advents that they had not envisaged, which meant that matters got out of hand; their immediate military objectives were, as a matter of fact, exceeded.

8. En ce qui concerne les limites intrinsèques et incontournables de l'interprétation consécutive d'un discours lu, voir notre article publié dans *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, Trieste, SSLM, n. 3, 1990, p. 101 note 12.

And in particular, amongst the resolutions that we mentioned earlier on, you will find the Security Council resolution 687 which lays down the conditions for a cease fire. The resolution lifted any possible doubts in anyone's mind about exactly what was at stake".

Notre but prioritaire est celui d'effectuer une analyse comparative entre les interprétations en L1 et en L2, toute évaluation de la qualité de l'interprétation étant exclue. Nous avons donc transcrit de suite le texte anglais avec son interprétation en français.

"KREMLIN PLAYS 1914 CARD IN WARNING TO THE WEST"

In the toughest pronouncement on the Yugoslav crisis yet heard from Moscow, the Kremlin said bluntly this week that Western interference in Yugoslav affairs could lead to a conflict spreading throughout Europe.

The parallels between August 1914 and 1991 cannot have been absent from the minds of the officials who drafted the dramatic Kremlin statement. Fuelled by military tradition and resentment over its economic backwardness - an explosive mixture - Serbia is determined that all the southern Slavs be brought under its wing.

Its leaders place their hope in Moscow, believing that, despite being heavily distracted by an internal crisis, the Russian Empire will always protect its little brothers in Orthodox faith and Slavonic culture from anything bad. That faith covers even the consequences of their own opportunism.

But the German-speaking powers of Central Europe are acutely suspicious of Serbia's intentions towards the Roman Catholic regions to its north and west. Only the smallest spark would be needed to set off a wider conflagration.

That is a rough description of the Balkan situation 75 years ago. It does not need much imagination to see the parallels in the situation in August 1991. In a statement clearly aimed at France, the Soviet Union said those proposing the dispatch of foreign troops to

Yugoslavia did not realize the consequences: and by way of reply to Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the German foreign Minister, and other Bonn politicians, it said the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia as independent would "worsen the tragedy".

Bruce Clark
The Times, Aug. 8th, 1991

"Lors de la déclaration la plus robuste qu'on ait entendu au sujet de la crise yougoslave en provenance de Moscou, le Kremlin disait que l'interférence, l'ingérence de la part des pouvoirs occidentaux dans le conflit en Yougoslavie pourrait amener à ce que ce conflit s'étende au reste de l'Europe et, toujours selon Moscou, il existe des parallèles très clairs et très nets entre ce qui s'est passé en 1914 et ce qui se passe en 1991. En particulier, et toujours selon Moscou, conformément à sa tradition militaire et à sa rancune à l'égard de sa position économiquement arriérée, la Serbie est déterminée à prendre tous les Slaves du Sud sous sa propre tutelle. Et les leaders serbes sont toujours prêts à attendre à ce que Moscou, pour diverses raisons, soit prête à les soutenir, que l'empire russe, quelles que soient ses propres difficultés internes, soit prêt à protéger les "petits frères" du Sud de l'Europe, ne serait-ce que parce qu'ils partagent la même foi orthodoxe et qu'il existe un certain nombre de ressemblances culturelles; ce, malgré les aventures assez opportunistes de ce même peuple serbe.

Mais il existe une certaine méfiance de la part des états germaniques quant aux intentions des Serbes dans la partie nord et occidentale du pays à minorité ou à forte minorité catholique. Une toute petite étincelle pourrait mener à ce que la confrontation s'élargisse. Ce qui précédait était une description, naturellement, de la situation il y a à peu près 75 ans. La situation aujourd'hui est très semblable ou en tout cas il existe des parallèles là très, très nets. Dans une déclaration à l'intention des Français, les Russes veulent mettre en garde contre les conséquences d'une ingérence de troupes étrangères.

Il s'agit aussi sans aucun doute d'une réponse au gouvernement de Bonn et notamment à Hans-Dietrich Genscher quant au danger, au péril de toute reconnaissance d'une Slovénie indépendante, qui ne pourrait qu'aggraver la situation tragique du pays".

Comme on l'a déjà souligné, toute évaluation de la qualité des performances de l'interprète est exclue; toutefois, si l'on veut comparer celles-ci du point de vue structurel et lexical, il faut inévitablement comparer les deux textes originaux, afin de vérifier, entre autres, leur influence éventuelle sur les choix de l'interprète, surtout par rapport à la syntaxe.

Les deux textes abordent des thèmes de politique internationale. Le texte français (TF) est clairement conçu comme une réflexion sur des événements de notre passé récent, dont il cherche à saisir les retombées politiques pour l'avenir. Le raisonnement se développe donc par énoncés complexes, surtout sur le plan structurel; il est axé sur deux idées de fond qui correspondent idéalement aux deux paragraphes principaux autour desquels s'articule extérieurement le texte⁹.

La structure du texte anglais (TA) est quelque peu différente parce qu'il s'inspire plus directement d'un fait divers pour s'en détacher dans la partie centrale et se développer lui aussi sur le plan de la réflexion¹⁰.

En tout état de cause, il semble possible d'affirmer que, en général, une valeur connotative de la communication prédomine dans le TF, tandis que le TA transmet de manière plus directe et immédiate une valeur dénotative avec, en outre, des énoncés structurellement plus concis et des solutions à redondance linguistique atténuée¹¹.

9. Il faut préciser que l'extrait proposé équivaut à environ 1/10 du texte intégral de l'article.

10. L'extrait proposé est dans ce cas égal à environ 1/3 du texte intégral.

11. Ces écarts sont partiellement liés aux différents systèmes d'organisation d'une langue latine et d'une langue germanique d'une part, et à la diversité de la source d'autre part (publication mensuelle et quotidienne), tout au moins dans ce cas spécifique.

Si l'on examine tout d'abord le texte interprété en L1 à la lumière des hypothèses de départ, on constate en effet une application compétente de constructions hypotaxiques selon les schémas structurels acceptés par l'anglais: notez l'insertion d'une proposition comparative dans la première phrase (*even more firmly than*) et, après deux principales, la présence d'une subordonnée relative (*which will lead*) dans la deuxième phrase. La construction essentiellement parataxique du troisième paragraphe acquiert une complexité structurelle grâce à un connecteur sophistiqué (*and in fact*) et à la présence d'une nouvelle proposition subordonnée relative en fin de phrase. Le choix de la coordination (*and that was mentioned*) qui suit la circonstancielle de but (*to re-establish*) est par contre évident. Dans les deux phrases suivantes on note encore des hypotaxes avec l'insertion respectivement d'une comparative (*much more than*) et de deux propositions à valeur causale-explicative distincte, introduites toutes les deux par la même préposition (*because that is what*) (*because of advents*) et suivies par une nouvelle subordonnée relative (*which meant that*). A la fin du texte, une relative objet (*that we mentioned*) et une relative sujet (*which lays down*) qui sont ensuite mieux explicitées dans la dernière phrase, où la principale est suivie par une proposition subordonnée circonstancielle (*about exactly what*). L'analyse de l'organisation syntaxique et de ses rapports de coordination et de subordination confirme en gros l'agencement de la langue anglaise, qui est ici respecté avec le recours à des énoncés parfois complexes, mais qui introduisent des tournures de phrases plus concises par rapport au taux plus élevé de structures enchâssées et de structures incises caractéristiques du (texte) français.

En guise d'introduction à la seconde hypothèse, il faut rappeler que, tout comme le verbe de la principale est déterminé du point de vue sémantique par la ou les subordonnées, de même le nom est déterminé par l'adjectif, alors que l'adverbe peut déterminer aussi bien le verbe que l'adjectif; il est donc aisé de comprendre que l'emploi d'adjectifs et d'adverbes, qui ne sont pas formellement indispensables à la formulation d'une phrase cohérente et complète, dépend

directement de la richesse lexicale du sujet parlant.

L'interprétation en L1 a une bonne fréquence (22 occurrences) de ces deux catégories du discours qui, sans être toujours indispensables pour transmettre d'une façon satisfaisante le sens de l'énoncé, parfois contribuent à en augmenter la complexité, avec un avantage évident; d'où l'insertion de l'adjectif et de l'adverbe soit pour faciliter la compréhension (p. ex. *political chessboard, old balances, forceful solution; even more firmly, much further*), soit, plus souvent, pour donner un ton plus sophistiqué à un énoncé, même si dans le cadre d'une économie du discours qui demeure essentielle (p. ex., *whole power structure, military force, stated aim, immediate objectives, possible doubts; merely, simply, well, earlier, exactly*).

En ce qui concerne l'interprétation en L2 du point de vue syntaxique et lexical et de sa comparaison avec L1, l'analyse de la transcription confirme l'impression donnée par la première audition, à savoir qu'il existe un clivage assez marqué entre deux modèles structurels de fond: l'interprétation à partir de "*Et les leaders serbes*" jusqu'à "*ressemblances culturelles*" est en fait organisée selon un procédé hypotaxique complexe qui démarre avec une proposition principale suivie de plusieurs subordonnées à valeur relative, concessive ou causale, avec une maîtrise compétente des modes verbaux (à attendre à ce que... soit prête à...quelles que soient...soit prêt à...ne serait-ce que parce que...et qu'il existe).

Par rapport à ces constructions, les autres structures suivent un schéma essentiellement parataxique, bien que dans d'autres passages on relève deux propositions subordonnées qui non seulement sont construites selon le même schéma (*pourrait amener à ce que le conflit s'étende*) (*pourrait mener à ce que la confrontation s'élargisse*), mais aussi n'apportent aucune variation aux modèles utilisés ailleurs dans la traduction.

Le texte interprété renvoie nettement à des modules parataxiques surtout dans la deuxième partie (depuis "*Ce, malgré les aventures*") et jusqu'à la fin, où, pour la plupart, on trouve des énoncés à structure simple, non reliés par un

rapport de subordination et de plus courte envergure: on a presque l'impression que l'interprète, en progressant dans sa tâche, renonce petit à petit aux schémas les plus élaborés de la langue en faveur de solutions structurelles plus linéaires, bien que le TA soit construit sans écarts significatifs dans ce sens.

Pour ce qui est de la capacité de codage d'adjectifs et d'adverbes, on remarque avant tout une forte prépondérance de la catégorie de l'adjectif (22) par rapport à celle de l'adverbe (4); il est en outre remarquable que le même adjectif soit répété plusieurs fois (*net, prêt, petit*) sans qu'il y ait un effort de repérage de synonymes sémantiques, alors que l'emploi parcimonieux des adverbes correspond probablement au choix de prédicats verbaux et nominaux souvent répétés ou qui relèvent du même champ sémantique (*amener, s'étendre, exister* - 4 fois - *se passer, être* - souvent associé à *prêt*, au moment, d'ailleurs, où l'élaboration structurelle est plus intense - *se passer, mener, s'élargir*).

PROFIL DE L'INTERPRETE B

Cinquante-six ans, nationalité italienne, parents italiens. L'italien est la seule langue affective, sociale et de formation jusqu'à 19 ans. Elle apprend l'anglais à l'école, puis au "Liceo classico", et fréquente pendant deux ans la Faculté des Lettres et Philosophie. (Elle commence le cycle d'études élémentaires avec un an d'avance). Pendant les six années suivantes, elle réside en Italie et en Grande-Bretagne (4 ans) alternativement, parlant l'anglais en milieu social. De 25 à 32 ans elle vit en France et continue de se servir de l'anglais comme langue active en milieu familial; elle obtient le diplôme universitaire de l'ESIT à Paris, avec l'Italien A, le Français B et l'Anglais C. A partir de 1968, elle travaille sans interruption comme interprète auprès de la C.E.E. à Bruxelles, comme agent auxiliaire pendant deux ans, à titre de free-lance jusqu'en 1978 et comme fonctionnaire depuis. A partir de 1978, elle travaille également en cabine française, avec comme langues passives l'italien et l'anglais. Son pourcentage de travail dans les deux langues est égal à 80% pour l'italien et à 20% pour le

français, avec une préférence marquée pour la cabine italienne lorsqu'il s'agit de sujets à forte valeur connotative du discours.

L'interprète, qui pourtant a vécu et vit dans un pays francophone depuis plus de trente ans, ne se considère pas comme bilingue équilibrée et identifie sans hésitation sa combinaison linguistique comme étant Italien A, Français B et Anglais C, du reste évalué comme un "C fort". Nul doute que l'italien et, en partie, le français, ne soient ses langues de culture, bien qu'elle n'ait commencé à employer activement le français qu'à l'âge adulte, avec un tel niveau de production de l'anglais que l'on peut avancer dans ce cas, et encore plus complètement que dans le cas de l'interprète A, un trilinguisme actif partiel.

Le texte traduit en L1 anglais a été proposé aussi pour l'interprétation en L1 italien; voici donc la transcription de l'enregistrement.

"Un anno dopo l'inizio della guerra del Golfo, il 2 agosto 1990, lo scacchiere politico e strategico nel Medio Oriente è molto diverso e, nel frattempo, la guerra ha anche modificato i rapporti di forze e gli equilibri stabiliti già da tempo, portando a nuovi squilibri che saranno senz'altro l'inizio di nuove crisi. Tuttavia, questo risultato, in fondo, è soltanto l'esito di una scelta presa a Washington un anno fa, scelta di non andare verso il compromesso ma piuttosto di una soluzione di guerra, andando in questo modo alla ricerca di nuovi obiettivi, ben più estremi rispetto a quelli che avevano portato le N.U. ad accettare il ricorso alla forza.

Lo scopo naturalmente era di espellere l'Irak dal Kuwait ristabilendo il regime precedente, come appunto era stato deciso attraverso le risoluzioni dell'ONU votate nell'ottobre e nel novembre 1990. In varie occasioni i governi occidentali avevano affermato che l'unico scopo sarebbe stato appunto questo. In realtà, o che fin dall'inizio gli scopi fossero ben diversi sebbene l'opinione pubblica non ne fosse stata informata, o che l'ingranaggio del conflitto abbia finito col portare a sviluppi imprevisti, o che la vittoria militare della coalizione nel frattempo sia poi riuscita a permettere di andare oltre quanto fosse stato

previsto, la realtà dei fatti si rivelò ben diversa portando al superamento degli obiettivi determinati dalle N.U.

La risoluzione 687 del Consiglio di Sicurezza, che stabiliva le condizioni del cessate il fuoco, ha consentito di eliminare anche le ultime ambiguità".

En ce qui concerne la construction de la phrase, on distingue clairement un procédé de type nettement hypotaxique: les subordonnées sont souvent introduites par des gérondifs de conséquence, de cause ou de but (*portando a nuovi squilibri, andando in questo modo, ristabilendo il regime, portando al superamento*). Dans la première phrase on constate aussi l'insertion d'une subordonnée relative sujet (*che saranno senz'altro*) et, dans la deuxième, d'une comparative (*ben più estremi rispetto a quelli*), suivie d'une infinitive (*ad accettare*). L'hypotaxe prédomine sur la parataxe également dans la phrase suivante, organisée autour de la principale; la subordonnée est introduite par un gérondif et une comparative (*come appunto era stato deciso*) à valeur explicative. On note encore une relative (*che l'unico scopo sarebbe stato*) et, dans la phrase suivante, on observe la prédominance de la parataxe qui, bien que fondée sur des disjonctives introduites par "o che" et sur des infinitives, confère néanmoins au paragraphe une complexité structurelle remarquable de par son envergure et de par l'insertion de deux subordonnées introduites respectivement par "sebbene" avec valeur concessive et par un gérondif. La dernière phrase suit encore une fois des modules de subordination puisque une relative sujet (*che stabiliva*) et une infinitive (*di eliminare*) relative objet sont reliées à la principale. On est donc en présence d'un schéma structurel fortement élaboré qui se maintient tout au long du discours.

En ce qui concerne l'emploi d'adjectifs et d'adverbes, il est manifeste que l'interprète utilise plus largement la première catégorie (19 occurrences, dont certaines sont répétées plusieurs fois), alors que les locutions adverbiales (*nel frattempo, da tempo, in fondo, in questo modo*) sont souvent préférées aux adverbes. Dans l'ensemble, toutefois,

l'interprétation s'avère assez parcimonieuse quant à l'emploi d'adjectifs et d'adverbes; en outre, adjectifs et adverbes sont toujours utilisés d'une manière strictement fonctionnelle à la compréhension, de sorte que le discours acquiert sa richesse et sa complexité plutôt sur le plan syntaxique et structurel.

Le texte proposé pour l'interprétation en L2 français présente les mêmes caractéristiques que le texte traduit à partir de L1 anglais, à savoir il s'inspire d'un fait divers pour se développer ensuite sur le plan du commentaire et de la réflexion ¹². Le texte de l'article est suivi par la transcription de son interprétation en français, d'après l'enregistrement.

"LE CROCI DELL'EST"

"Da Czestochowa verso il Terzo millennio" titola trionfalmente il quotidiano del Vaticano per annunciare la partenza del Pontefice per la Giornata della Gioventù e la prima visita di un Papa in Ungheria. E, a sottolineare la valenza anche diplomatica del viaggio, dà notizia dell'udienza concessa all'ambasciatore dell'URSS. Se, infatti, i viaggi sono parte integrante del suo magistero e sono, in primo luogo, eventi di natura religiosa, essi hanno assunto, fin dall'inizio, precise valenze politiche, segnate dalla scelta delle occasioni, dei luoghi e degli interlocutori. Non casualmente, del resto, nella recente enciclica sociale il Pontefice ha sottolineato il ruolo dei "grandi moti avvenuti in Polonia in nome della solidarietà" nella "crisi fondamentale" dei regimi oppressivi, quando le folle dei lavoratori hanno delegittimato l'ideologia che pretendeva di parlare in loro nome.

Dietro a quelle folle, infatti, vi era non solo un connazionale, ma un papa che, con i suoi viaggi in patria, aveva sfidato il regime e contribuito in maniera determinante a quella delegittimazione.

Non ci si può non interrogare, quindi, sul significato della presenza del Papa, oggi, nella terra d'origine del post-comunismo in piena crisi di cultura, di identità e di valori, a soli

due anni dal "portentoso" '89. Una crisi che rischia di contaminare il complesso e compiuto progetto wojtyliano di evangelizzazione, volto a una nuova conversione dell'Occidente e che dimostra quanto sia semplicistico imputare alla laicità i "mali" del secolo.

Francesco Margiotta Broglio
Corriere della Sera, 14 agosto 1991

"De Czestochowa au troisième millénaire: c'est le titre triomphal du quotidien du Vatican au sujet du départ du Pape pour la célébration de la Journée de la Jeunesse et pour sa première visite en Hongrie.

Il faut souligner aussi l'importance sur le plan diplomatique que risque d'avoir l'audience que le Pape a donnée à cette occasion à l'ambassadeur de l'Union Soviétique. Si les voyages font partie intégrante de son ministère et s'ils sont des événements à caractère religieux, il s'agit quand même de voyages qui ont pris en même temps une valeur politique et cela selon les lieux et les interlocuteurs dont il font l'objet. Récemment le Pape a fait une déclaration très claire au sujet des grands mouvements en Pologne et il a parlé de la solidarité contre des régimes d'oppression au moment même où les travailleurs ont ôté la légitimité à une idéologie qui voulait parler en leur nom. En effet, le Pape est aussi un citoyen polonais qui a lancé un défi à ce régime et qui a contribué certainement à cette délégitimation. Et on ne peut pas ne pas se demander quelle est la signification de sa présence en ce moment de crise dans le pays même du post-communisme seulement deux ans après le "merveilleux" 1989. Cette crise risque d'entraver le projet d'évangélisation en vue d'une nouvelle conversion de l'occident; en outre, elle montre qu'il est trop simpliste de considérer les laïques comme les responsables des maux de notre siècle".

Sur le plan structurel, il faut avant tout souligner que la construction syntaxique renvoie nettement à la coordination: remarquez en effet la fréquence élevée de la conjonction "et" reliant des propositions indépendantes et des principales,

12. L'extrait proposé dans ce cas équivaut à 1/3 du texte original.

ainsi que, d'autre part, une production de subordonnées presque uniquement identifiables à des propositions relatives sujet ou objet introduites par "qui" ou "que" (*que risque d'avoir, que le Pape a donnée, qui ont pris, qui voulait parler, qui a lancé, qui a contribué, qu'il est trop simpliste*). Ce modèle représente incontestablement la solution d'hypotaxe la plus immédiate et la moins élaborée dans la syntaxe de la phrase. L'insertion d'une subordonnée à valeur concessive (*si les voyages font partie*) et d'une interrogative indirecte (*quelle est la signification*) ne modifient pas dans le fond un procédé de production du discours en L2 qui renvoie incontestablement à des modules parataxiques.

Tout comme l'interprétation en L1, le texte L2 est caractérisé par une plus forte incidence des adjectifs (13) par rapport aux locutions adverbiales (4) ou aux adverbes, qui sont encore une fois utilisés, les uns comme les autres, dans le cadre d'une économie plutôt rigoureuse, sans abandonner, en général, des niveaux lexicaux d'un registre modérément recherché; on a presque l'impression que l'interprète, aussi bien en L1 qu'en L2, cherche toujours à produire des solutions terminologiques empreintes de la plus grande linéarité, réservant une élaboration structurelle plus complexe à l'interprétation en L1.

Si l'on veut, dès lors, formuler quelques conclusions à partir des résultats obtenus, on pourrait à juste titre affirmer que la première hypothèse est nettement confirmée par le fait que dans les deux interprétations en L1 anglais et en L1 italien on relève une plus grande compétence dans l'organisation du discours sur une base qui privilégie nettement la subordination par rapport aux propositions coordonnées caractérisant l'interprétation en L2 français.

Quant à l'hypothèse d'un emploi plus courant des catégories de l'adjectif et de l'adverbe en L1 par rapport à L2, les différences apparaissent au contraire moins significatives, surtout pour l'interprète B, qui préfère de toute façon organiser le discours selon des choix lexicaux d'un registre qui normalement pourrait être qualifié comme modérément recherché.

Il ne faut pas oublier, d'ailleurs, que la fréquence et le type d'adjectifs et d'adverbes

utilisés dépendent logiquement non seulement de la fluidité verbale et des décisions de l'interprète, mais aussi en grande partie de la nature du discours à interpréter. Par contre, la marge de manoeuvre de l'interprète est plus importante pour ce qui est de la construction structurelle du discours.

Pour compléter ce qui ressort des deux interviews, nous aimerions nous arrêter sur la notion de "bilinguisme équilibré" qui a déjà été mentionnée. Nous sommes convaincus que la compétence qui est susceptible d'être atteinte dans la langue maternelle peut bien difficilement être égalée en L2, et que, par conséquent, une "native language proficiency in both languages"¹³ appartient plus à la théorie qu'à la pratique.

Un sujet peut certainement maîtriser les deux langues à un même niveau de compétence mais, même en présence d'une compétence exceptionnelle, il y a de fortes chances pour que, à ce moment-là, elles se situent toutes les deux sur un plan inférieur à celui qui pourrait être atteint par la langue maternelle dans et à travers tous ses éléments, en allant des éléments phonologiques jusqu'aux éléments culturels.

Les deux interprètes interviewés ont rejeté - et il est hors de doute qu'ils ne constituent pas des exceptions - la définition de "bilingue équilibré" et, en fait, en cas de diglossie active dans ce contexte professionnel particulier, la notion de bilinguisme actif partiel nous paraît plus pertinente.

Au niveau de la réception, on ne peut absolument pas faire abstraction de l'élaboration syntaxique, sémantique et contextuelle des énoncés dans la langue source: "*Simultaneous translators prefer to wait for constituent boundaries and translate larger-than-lexical units*"¹⁴; si l'interprète est un bilingue actif, sa

13. M.L. Albert, *The Bilingual Brain*, cit., p. 5. Pour quelques réflexions sur les mécanismes de l'interprétation voir en particulier "Simultaneous translation", Chap. 3, p. 89 et "Translation", Chap. 5, p. 217 et passim.

14. *The Bilingual Brain*, cit., p. 219. Amplifiant cette notion, J.B. Quicheron soutient que "les connaissances (thématiques et terminologiques) de l'interprète sont celles qui lui permettent de comprendre tantôt le fond du problème, tantôt seulement la structure de la phrase et ses différentes composantes

production en L2 non-dominante se développera selon des schémas moins complexes certainement sur le plan structurel et probablement sur le plan lexical, par rapport aux potentialités de production en langue maternelle. Toutefois, l'accès à une gamme structurelle et expressive plus limitée en L2 ne pénalise pas nécessairement l'exhaustivité et la cohérence de l'information, puisque ce qui compte vraiment c'est une communication par idées, et n'importe quelle idée, même la plus complexe, peut être interprétée en faisant recours à des structures syntaxiques linéaires et à des solutions lexicales dont le répertoire, souvent à l'avantage du caractère immédiat de la communication, ne doit pas forcément être gonflé, ce qui est aussi valable, dans bien des cas, lorsqu'on interprète vers la L1.

Un bilinguisme actif partiel bien maîtrisé est caractérisé à notre sens par la production correcte de la L2 selon des modalités utiles et fonctionnelles à la tâche spécifique de l'interprète; c'est à la L1, par contre, qu'il faut réserver la possibilité d'exprimer le génie de la langue qui, sous ses formes les plus accomplies et profondes, d'une perfection de toute façon relative, ne saurait être, à notre sens, que celui de la langue maternelle.

syntaxiques et conceptuelles...Ce qui est intéressant dans ce contexte est que l'interprète, tout en ne comprenant qu'une partie du message et sans suivre nécessairement le mécanisme sous-jacent peut reproduire le message"; dans "Mieux interpréter aux congrès et aux réunions techniques: un défi inaccessible?", publié dans "Terminologie et Traduction", Luxembourg, Commission des Communautés européennes, Service Traduction, Unité Terminologie, n. 1, 1989, p. 53.

THE TRANSLATION OF FILM SUB-TITLES FROM ENGLISH INTO ITALIAN

By

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In this paper I will consider two main issues - the ambiguity of sub-titles, and possible ways to overcome it, and then the translating approach, or style, film translators could be expected to adopt.

My remarks here will mainly concern sub-title translation from English into Italian as this is what I have been doing for the past two years at the Venice Film Festival, although the same points could probably be made also for other language combinations.

Sub-titles may be unclear or ambiguous for a number of reasons - it is not easy to summarize dialogue; they are often made "abroad" and language use is therefore not always impeccable; they are often the translation of the film script rather than the translation of the soundtrack. Lack of clarity may also derive from the interpreter's difficulty to read the sub-titles and watch the scene at the same time (as anyone accustomed to watching sub-titled films will confirm).

As regards English sub-titles to be translated into Italian there are, then, further reasons for ambiguity which I would define, more specifically, as "linguistic". In particular, I will deal here with the difficulties interpreters may be confronted with when choosing pronouns or genders.

Here is a first set of examples:

- (a) "I wasn't expecting you"
- (b) "Did you enjoy your holidays?"
- (c) "What are you doing there?"
- (d) "Go away"
- (e) "Where have you been?"

The ambiguity of these sentences lies in the

use of the personal pronoun "you" and in the use of the imperative.

The English personal pronoun "you" covers an area which is covered in Italian by no less than three different pronouns: "tu" (informal singular), "lei" (formal singular) and "voi" (plural)¹. Similarly, the imperative form of the verb implies a "you" and again, when translating into Italian, there are three alternative options as to the conjugation of the verb. The choice between the three options can only be made on the basis of previous information or with reference to the context.

Now, what should the film translator do when such information is absent or the context is unhelpful? The sentences above are perfectly acceptable as sub-titles and could well be part of an ordinary conversation, but how can the translator make his choice when he knows nothing about the relationships between characters and does not know, therefore, whether to use the formal or the informal personal pronoun? Or when a sentence including a "you" or a verb in the imperative is addressed to someone off-screen and he does not know whether to use a singular or a plural? It would certainly be disappointing or even frustrating to use the formal pronoun in translating the dialogue between two characters only to discover after a couple of scenes that the two are brothers or to use a singular in translating what a character says addressing someone off-screen only to discover in the following scene that a whole crowd is listening.

¹ The formal plural "loro" may reasonably be ignored for the purpose of this article.

To minimize these risks and to avoid, to the largest possible extent, the wrong use of pronouns, I would propose that, whenever possible, the film translator should choose impersonal rather than personal forms of the verb and resort to general rather than specific statements. Not all of the problems will thus be solved, but this approach may certainly prove useful on several occasions.

A "personal" translation of sentence (a) above ("I wasn't expecting you"), for example, could be one of the following: "*Non ti aspettavo*" (informal singular) or "*Non la aspettavo*" (formal singular) or "*Non vi aspettavo*" (plural). Under certain circumstances, however, the "impersonal" translations "*Non mi aspettavo questa visita*" or "*Questa è una visita inattesa*" may be safer and equally acceptable.

Similarly, sentence (b) ("Did you enjoy your holidays?") could be translated by "*Come sono andate le vacanze*", thus avoiding the "personal" choice between "*Hai passato bene le vacanze?*", "*Ha passato bene le vacanze?*" and "*Avete passato bene le vacanze?*"

I happened to be confronted with sentence (c) ("What are you doing there?") at last year's Venice Film Festival. The question was asked or, rather, shouted by a policeman walking in a square at night. He was the only character on the screen, and, leaving out the polite and unlikely "*Cosa fa lì*", the choice was between "*Cosa fai lì?*" and "*Cosa fate lì?*". Uncertainty and context (policeman on duty) led me to say "*Che succede?*", an "impersonal" solution which I found adequate and safe.

As stated above, imperatives raise the same problems, and for sentence (d) ("Go away") there are again the same options. And again an "impersonal" translation - "*Via di qui*", for example - may be rather useful.

It is not always as easy as that, however, and sentence (e) ("Where have you been?") seems to be the demonstration that the "impersonal" approach could be used on several but not on all occasions, although some solution could perhaps be found there too.

The second difficulty in translating English sub-titles I will briefly deal with concerns the use of adjectives unaccompanied by the nouns to

which they refer and the use of the pronoun "it".

The following sentences will serve as examples:

- (f) "Nice, isn't it?"
- (g) "I bought it yesterday"
- (h) "I saw it yesterday"

The Italian translation, in such cases, may require a choice as to the gender of the objects referred to by the adjective or the pronoun. Again, the interpreter's choice may be proven wrong by the following scenes and, therefore, utmost caution is required.

Each of the sentences given as examples above may be translated in one of two ways, depending on gender: (f) "*Bello, vero?*" or "*Bella, vero?*"; (g) "*L'ho comperato ieri*" or "*L'ho comperata ieri*"; (h) "*L'ho visto ieri*" or "*L'ho vista ieri*".

Here again there may be opportunities for the interpreter to avoid committing himself. The technique to be used may be based on the replacement of adjectives by adverbs and on the replacement of verbs-plus-pronouns by more general statements. In particular: sentence (f) ("Nice, isn't it?") could be translated with something like "*Niente male, vero?*", and sentence (g) ("I bought it yesterday") with something like "*Ho fatto l'acquisto ieri*" (of course, under certain circumstances). A solution like this, however, may be impossible for sentence (h) ("I saw it yesterday") for which, it seems, "risks" have to be run.

Generally speaking, therefore, there may be ways to solve the problems of "ambiguity" of English sub-titles to be translated into Italian. The solutions offered are not always feasible, but in many cases they can certainly be resorted to in an attempt to avoid making mistakes with regard to personal pronouns or genders. The final example presents a string of sub-titles (for each of which there are ambiguities to be solved) and a possible translation according to the "impersonal rather than personal", and "general rather than specific" approach:

- "Have you bought it?" - "*Fatto l'acquisto?*"
- "Yes, I bought it yesterday." - "*Sì, ieri.*"
- "Do you like it?" - "*Com'è?*"
- "Yes, very much." - "*Mi piace molto.*"

As can be seen, in the Italian translation there is no reference to second person pronouns or to

the gender of the noun indicating the purchased object. No risks are run and all pieces of information are given. This is precisely what I am suggesting. Faced with the ambiguity of sub-titles and uncertain as to the pronouns or gender he should choose, the interpreter may find a way out resorting to solutions that, while being "impersonal" and "general", convey the information without leaving anything important out.

Finally, I would like to make a couple of points with respect to the translating style to be adopted by interpreters translating films (or, rather, sub-titles).

David Snelling² supports a "minimalist" approach. He says that not everything in a sub-title needs to be translated and condemns any form of "involvement" on the part of the interpreter. The approach I would suggest is slightly different. Sub-titles are the minimum verbal information with which foreign film viewers are provided. And they generally are a *synthesis* of what is actually said by the characters on the screen. It would not then seem advisable for the interpreter to cut the script any further. Moreover, translating a three-line sub-title with two words or three may lead the viewers to suspect that something important has been left out. This may not be the case, but interpreters should certainly avoid engendering mistrust.

As regards, then, the tone to be used by interpreters, I am certainly in favour of the "low profile" approach exemplified by this dialogue taken from John Le Carré's *The Russia House*³:

- Could she not be an interpreter, you see?
- Good interpreters efface themselves, in my opinion, sir. This lady projected herself.

And I strongly believe that interpreters are not actors. Nor should they be. However, I do believe that film translation requires some involvement - lending a BBC-news tone to a man crying in anguish and despair may be even more annoying than a piece of interpreter's acting.

² D.Snelling, "Upon the Simultaneous Translation of Films", *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, 3, 1990, pp. 14-16.

³ John Le Carré, *The Russia House*, Bantam Books, New York, 1990, p. 41 (original edition published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1989).

BOOK REVIEW

COMPTE RENDU

By

Daniel Gile

INALCO et CEEI (ISIT), Paris

Ruth MORRIS: *The Impact of Interpretation on the Role Performance of Participants in Legal Proceedings*. M.A. Thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1989.

De février 1987 à avril 1988 s'est tenu à Jérusalem le procès de John Ivan Demjanjuk, accusé de crimes contre l'humanité pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Cet événement a été entre autres l'occasion pour nos collègues israéliens de vivre et d'étudier de près certains problèmes de l'interprétation auprès des tribunaux.

Sous cet angle, le procès de Demjanjuk présente un intérêt particulier en raison de sa variété: 6 langues (hébreu, anglais, allemand, yiddish, russe, ukrainien), 13 interprètes dont 7 professionnels et 4 amateurs qui n'avaient jamais interprété auparavant, les 3 modes d'interprétation (consécutive, simultanée, chuchotée).

Ce procès a stimulé la réflexion chez les interprètes qui y ont travaillé et a fourni matière à au moins trois articles et à deux thèses de M.A., dont celle qui est passée en revue ici.

Ruth Morris s'appuie sur ce qu'elle désigne comme "material arising from the trial" (elle ne précise pas s'il s'agit d'enregistrements sonores ou de transcriptions, s'ils couvrent la totalité du procès ou une partie seulement), pour réfléchir à l'influence de l'interprétation sur la manière dont

les différents acteurs (magistrats, avocats, procureur, témoins) remplissent leur fonction durant le procès.

La thèse s'articule en deux parties: un corps de 8 chapitres en 103 pages, et des notes, un appendice et une bibliographie en 94 pages supplémentaires.

Les trois premiers chapitres constituent une introduction et précisent le cadre et les bases théorique, bibliographique, conceptuel, terminologique et linguistique de l'étude. L'analyse proprement dite suit dans les 8 chapitres suivants.

Les chapitres se présentent sous la forme d'une longue succession d'observations avec de très nombreux exemples (quelque 200 notes pour chacun des principaux chapitres). Y figurent les problèmes classiques de l'interprétation (conditions acoustiques, vitesse de l'orateur, difficulté des chiffres, des noms propres, etc.), mais aussi des aspects spécifiques à l'interprétation auprès des tribunaux. L'un d'eux est l'aspect très 'humain' des interventions des témoins dans ce genre de procès, qui contraste avec le caractère plus impersonnel des interventions qui sont notre pain quotidien. Un autre est la dépendance des parties à l'égard de l'interprétation non seulement sur le plan de la compréhension, mais aussi sur le plan de la procédure. En effet, le décalage temporel entre les réponses d'un témoin et leur interprétation en

simultanée a empêché l'avocat de soulever des objections à temps, et des réponses données avant la fin d'une interprétation consécutive, qui ont interrompu celle-ci, ont eu pour effet de supprimer du procès-verbal la partie non interprétée des interventions, car dans les procédures judiciaires en Israël, seul l'hébreu fait foi, qu'il s'agisse de l'original ou d'une interprétation. Par ailleurs, l'auteur note que l'interprétation affaiblit l'impact d'un interrogatoire serré, et ce à travers l'atténuation sémantique, stylistique ou vocale introduite par l'interprète - à laquelle s'ajoute le décalage temporel qui ralentit le rythme des échanges.

L'auteur énumère les avantages et inconvénients respectifs de la simultanée et de la consécutive dans les procès, à peu près les mêmes que dans les autres types de réunions, à cela près que dans les procès, l'interprétation a une bien plus grande importance dans le déroulement des travaux et que les inconvénients sont bien plus apparents: l'interprète, dit l'auteur, exerce un certain 'pouvoir' (pouvoir de ralentir un témoin ou de l'interrompre, et d'agir ainsi sur le déroulement du procès), assimilable par moments à une "usurpation du pouvoir de l'avocat" ou du procureur, et les conséquences des problèmes sont plus graves. En lisant la thèse, on a l'impression que dans ce genre de procès, l'interprétation, même assurée par des professionnels compétents, mérite vraiment le double qualificatif de 'mal nécessaire'. 'Nécessaire', car les personnages doivent vraiment 'communiquer', à la différence de certains autres types de conférences, mais 'mal', parce que l'interprétation y est vraiment très contraignante.

Les dilemmes de l'interprète sont eux-aussi évoqués: interpréter très près du texte ou restituer le message à travers ses propres mots pour optimiser la communication, expliquer ou changer de registre pour assurer la compréhension, interrompre le témoin pour mieux faire face aux difficultés techniques de l'interprétation, lui demander des explications, lui faire répéter des passages peu clairs? Là aussi, les contraintes particulières inhérentes aux procès rendent les choix bien délicats.

Il apparaît à la lecture que l'interprétation a

souvent figuré au centre de l'attention des participants, essentiellement en raison des difficultés qu'elle engendrait dans les échanges. Le président de la Cour, courtois dans l'ensemble, a notamment demandé à plusieurs reprises aux parties de tenir compte des contraintes de l'interprétation et de parler moins vite ou par segments plus brefs pour la consécutive. A d'autres moments, des erreurs, passages peu clairs ou activités 'de contrôle' des témoins par les interprètes (demandes de ralentissement, interruptions, etc.) ont mis ces derniers sur la sellette, parfois à juste titre, parfois injustement.

Les erreurs et insuffisances de l'interprétation figurent d'ailleurs en bonne place dans la thèse, ce qui à notre avis n'est pas une mauvaise chose. On peut regretter toutefois qu'il n'y ait pas eu d'analyse sur la fréquence et la nature de ces erreurs et insuffisances. Les erreurs commises par les non-professionnels étaient-elles différentes de celles des professionnels? En quoi? Quelles ont été les conséquences des erreurs et insuffisances? Il faut dire que le travail de Ruth Morris n'avait pas pour objet l'analyse des erreurs, et que le maniement d'une telle analyse aurait certainement été délicat dans la mesure où les interprètes qui ont travaillé au procès sont bien connus de tous leurs collègues israéliens. C'est pourquoi on ne saurait reprocher à l'auteur d'avoir agi avec discrétion. Peut-être aurait-elle pu quand-même préciser davantage les conséquences des erreurs sur le déroulement du procès, car si leurs aspects qualitatifs sont longuement expliqués, une évaluation quantitative, même très générale, fait défaut.

Pour un lecteur 'cartésien', les textes peuvent sembler trop redondants, insuffisamment dynamiques dans leur structure: les observations s'alignent, s'entrelacent, se répètent, mais ne se mettent pas en formation de bataille pour conduire à des conclusions au terme d'une progression structurée. Cette absence de relief dans le texte met au même plan des observations bien connues de tous et presque banales, et d'autres qui sont plus intéressantes: par exemple, en plusieurs endroits, il est question d'intervenants qui se plaignent de la vitesse excessive des interprètes, qui rend difficile la compréhension. Or, s'il nous

arrive fréquemment de demander qu'un orateur ralentisse "afin que les délégués puissent suivre", en réalité, nous le faisons souvent pour nous-mêmes et ne savons pas si les délégués qui écoutent l'original sont vraiment gênés par la vitesse. Dans le travail de Ruth Morris figurent enfin des témoignages indiquant que des délégués ont effectivement du mal à suivre dans certains cas des discours trop rapides. Encore faudrait-il savoir si c'est le débit informationnel qui est trop rapide ou si c'est notre élocution d'interprète qui souffre à ces vertigineuses vélocités verbales...

Un reproche ponctuel, mais vif : l'auteur affirme avec force que l'interprétation transforme *inévitablement* le message (par exemple p. 20 et 43). Présentée de cette manière, cette affirmation venant d'une interprète professionnelle semble accréditer l'idée que l'interprétation est intrinsèquement infidèle. Nous ne pensons pas que ce soit vraiment là la pensée de notre collègue qui, à d'autres moments, parle plutôt de transformations dans le registre, la voix, le rythme, la prosodie. Pour éviter de fâcheux malentendus, l'on aurait aimé que soit employé un autre terme que 'message', ou que ce terme soit défini précisément.

Le style du texte est clair, sans académismes pesants. La démarche de l'auteur est droite, sans prétention ni dogmatisme: Ruth Morris ne cherche pas à noyer le poisson dans des mots plurisyllabiques, ni à bâtir une nouvelle et aérienne théorie; elle observe, elle explicite. Ses abondantes notes, essentiellement des citations illustratives prises dans le corpus, sont une précieuse source de renseignements. Plutôt qu'un corpus présenté in-extenso avec quelques éléments illustratifs analysés en détail dans le corps de la thèse, l'auteur propose de très nombreux exemples très à propos.

En résumé, un travail d'observation détaillé, où l'on peut trouver de nombreux exemples de problèmes communs à d'autres formes d'interprétation, mais à travers lequel transparaît la spécificité du rôle de l'interprétation auprès des tribunaux, et notamment la reconnaissance par les parties en présence de la place et de l'importance de l'interprétation. Par rapport à la routine, a welcome change.

BOOK REVIEW

By

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Laura BERTONE: *En torno de Babel. Estrategias de la interpretación simultánea*, Editorial Hachette, Buenos Aires, 1989, 180 pp.

Here is a little gem of a book: short, interesting, insightful, informative, entertaining, serious and unpretentious. The "Introduction" places interpretation squarely in its place:

"In trying to describe the interpreter's cognitive, social, and linguistic situation, we shall take as examples those cases in which his speech 'parts ways' with the speaker's; i.e. in the case of an 'abnormal' situation (in which an interpreter is required), the study of 'abnormal' cases ... shall allow us to reveal the mechanisms the interpreter uses while performing his job. These mechanisms are in all probability the same obtaining in 'normal' communication, where their transparency and universality turns them almost impossible to detect. Compressed by time and confined in space, the interpreter exacerbates them thus making them more easily detectable: thanks to that magnifying lens of sorts, we shall reveal the scaffolding of the operations involved."

After a brief historical preface, we plunge into Chapter 1:

"This side of and beyond words: Wherein the importance of the speaker's 'identity' and the interpreter's 'presence' is revealed. Tell me 'who' says it and I'll tell you what it means. Stanislavski and the actor's basic questions."

Now, here is an extremely unusual, intriguing and auspicious way of beginning a discussion of our subject. The last chapter is titled *"Curtains up continued. On interpretation, the theatre and life. And all the things we do when we talk."*

The reading makes for a well organised but leisurely pleasure trip through seminal concepts, practical examples and amusing cases. If all books on our discipline were like this, I am sure I would not have to complain so bitterly about translators and interpreters not reading a hoot on translatology. LB shows the fundamental difference between oral speech and written texts and the way it affects conference interpretation. The essential dialectics between meaning and sense is thoroughly explored; the importance of the situation examined from all possible sides; the link between the conference and the stage, and the interpreter and the actor most vividly brought up. Crucial emphasis is made on the *"strategy of silence"*, one of the most valuable and most neglected tools in our trade. Still, one thing bothers me: *"The scant influence translation theory has had on this piece stresses the difference we make between the written and the oral operations,"* quoth LB at the very beginning of the introduction. The difference between oral and written communication is real and well taken, but what about what they have in common? LB seems to think translation and interpretation are altogether different endeavours, following altogether different rules. Her most quoted muse, Mariano García Landa, would certainly disabuse her; and so would Danica Seleskovitch and her Parisian hosts. Interpretation and translation do indeed part ways, but not that early nor, all things considered, that much: they cannot be just rent asunder. My guess is LB has neglected to take into account all that most modern translato-logists (many of them interpreters themselves) have said about translation and interpretation, viz. that they are both part and

parcel of, yes, translation theory. The main difference lies, of course, in shared vs. displaced situationality (a subject magnificently developed, among others, by Neubert and Lvovskaja). This fact LB explains thoroughly; but the difference between meaning and sense, the importance of the situation itself (whether shared or displaced), etc. are common to *all* forms of communication and translators and interpreters should approach both their texts and their tasks the same way: respectively, as an attempt at communicating through language, and as an attempt at mediating in that communication when sender and addressee do not speak the same idiom. Besides, not even shared situationality makes interpretation strategies and approaches uniform: fundamental differences obtain between simultaneous and consecutive interpretation; between the interpretation of written statements (whether read aloud or not) and of spontaneous speech; between the conference setting and the courtroom (where utmost faithfulness to otherwise irrelevant formal features of speech can become essential) etc. Similar differences apply to the translation of written texts. And then there's advertising adaptation, and dubbing and subtitling. Translatology must encompass all of them (and indeed it does), stating both what they have in common vis-a-vis non-mediated interlingual communication and what they do not; the way medicine distinguishes epidemiology from gynecology, or 'earth' medicine from space medicine.

Not the least that makes LB's book a must is that it is written in Spanish, a language so woefully bereft of any serious literature on translatology, barring García Yebra's scholarly if too linguistically-biased *Teoría y práctica de la traducción* and Ortega y Gasset's almost prehistoric essay *Miseria y esplendor de la traducción* (the other couple of books I know are best unremembered). With regards to 'interpretology', our only guru, Mariano García Landa, seldom if ever publishes anything in Spanish (nor, way way behind him, do I). What a pity, then, that such a wonderful piece should be written in a not altogether uncontaminated Spanish: Gallicisms are rife and at times quite jarring. It would be a minor objection were it not

that, to my mind, next to good writers, the foremost examples of correct and elegant use should come precisely from translators (interpreters included).

But this is, up to a point, a family quarrel. Anybody wishing to know about interpretation, anybody with a mind to becoming an interpreter and, definitely, anybody already eking out a living in a booth would be well advised to grab this book.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL UPDATE

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