

Università degli Studi di Trieste  
Dipartimento di scienze del linguaggio  
dell'interpretazione e della traduzione

Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne  
per Interpreti e Traduttori

# THE INTERPRETERS' NEWSLETTER

Number 12

2003



E. U. T.

**The Interpreters' Newsletter**

Dipartimento di Scienze del Linguaggio  
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Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne  
per Interpreti e Traduttori

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In copertina: *Burano*, foto di Alberto Severi

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## EDITORIAL

This issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* comes out later than planned. Unfortunately, university education and research rank very low in the Italian government's priorities with inevitable consequences in terms of funding. We have managed to overcome our financial difficulties, though, and this is good news. As is the fact that this issue features ten papers, most of which are based on empirical-experimental studies, covering a wide range of topics – from physiology to media interpreting, from community interpreting to training.

Anne Marie Bülow-Møller investigates interpreters' transfer strategies in conveying speakers' emotions and concentrates on aspects such as the transfer of semantically charged items, rhythmically marked negative intensifiers, characteristic prosodic patterns, internal quotations. A comparison of ten experienced interpreters' renderings of speeches with affect cues in both vocabulary and prosody shows that interpreters do indeed pay attention to emotive cues, there is some selection in the kind of affect conveyed and emotive prosody is the major source of difficulty in comprehension.

Miriam Shlesinger's study examines the rapid forgetting process entailed by SI when strings of unrelated or loosely contextualised items (e.g. names, numbers etc.) appear in the source text. Lists of such items were used as a means to examine the extent of information loss, arguably attributable to working memory limits and the impossibility of rehearsing during SI. The experimental design centered on professionals' capacity to retain long left-branching noun phrases while interpreting into a head-initial language as well as on the role of the presentation rate.

Ingrid Kurz presents a pilot study carried out at the University of Vienna in order to assess the stressfulness of SI. Experienced interpreters differ from student interpreters in that SI has become a routine situation and training and experience are conducive to choosing the appropriate strategies. The study is based on the hypothesis that the higher psychological stress experienced by student interpreters will be reflected in elevated physiological parameters. In order to test this hypothesis and evaluate stress responses, two physiological parameters, namely pulse rate and skin conductance level, were measured.

Sonia Pio investigates the relationship between ST delivery rate and quality in SI and in particular the potentially negative effect a fast ST may have on a SI performance in terms of both ST-TT equivalence and TT delivery. A group of professional interpreters and a group of students took part in the study and were asked to interpret in the simultaneous mode one "fast" and one "slow" ST. Categories used to evaluate equivalence were omissions, substitutions, additions

and logical/time sequence deviations, whereas SI fluency was assessed on the basis of pronunciation/phonation errors, filled or unfilled pauses, repetitions, corrections and false starts.

Valentina Donato's paper considers whether and to what extent the language pair involved in the interpreting process may have an impact on the choice of SI strategies. The German and English versions of a Swedish text were interpreted simultaneously into Italian by 10+10 student interpreters; the TTs were then analysed with particular reference to comprehension strategies, reformulation strategies and emergency strategies. Significant differences between the two groups were observed with regard to anticipation, time lag, morphosyntactic transformations and transcoding.

Francesco Straniero Sergio draws on his very extensive corpus to discuss quality in media interpreting with particular reference to interpreted press conferences broadcast at the end of every Formula One Grand Prix. The analysis clearly shows that quality requirements in media interpreting are essentially different from those generally found in conference interpreting, appropriate production of *form* rather than accurate re-production of *content* often being the key to a successful performance.

Georges Bastin moves from the analysis of a small corpus of consecutive interpreting exams to stress the importance of coherence markers in note-taking and target text production. Coherence is seen as a necessary and sometimes even sufficient element in evaluating a student's performance and a series of conclusions are drawn with a view to training.

Cynthia Jane Kellett Bidoli and Maria Cristina Palazzi present two separate papers on the same topic, namely the training of blind students, and discuss some of the specific problems teachers and students are confronted with. The two papers seem to suggest that while problems do indeed exist, their solution is above all a matter of organization and flexibility.

Raffaella Merlini's paper deals with community interpreting and takes a corpus of interpreter-mediated encounters in a medical setting as a starting point for a discussion of the interpreter's role in managing power relations. As the demand for community interpreting services is on the increase, Merlini's paper is a most welcome contribution to a field where research could profitably be intensified.

Finally, Emru Diriker reports on how the interpreting profession is covered by the Turkish media and underlines that interpreters are mentioned, if at all, as they are believed to make big money and big mistakes. Which, after all, is a curious way to look at a profession.

We hope you will enjoy this issue.

## SECOND-HAND EMOTION: INTERPRETING ATTITUDES

Anne Marie Bülow-Møller  
Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

One of the reasons politicians are loath to make speeches through interpreters is that they are afraid to lose their emotional impact. Evidently effects like credibility and conviction are *also* carried by the semantic contents, but in political communication in particular the speaker's tone and whole attitude are inextricably linked with the message. One member of the European Parliament is on record as saying that she speaks her mother tongue with interpretation if she wants to make sure of her facts, and her best English if she needs to "get across" as a person (Lone Dybkjær, personal communication). The feeling is probably widespread; whether this is actually a good idea is of course a completely different issue.

The need to "get across" is clearly felt in exchanges with question-answer sequences in front of an audience, where information is not necessarily the prime consideration. Where duels are lost and won in terms of credible and convincing suasion, the demonstration of an attitude is an important supplement to the demonstration of competence.

This poses a problem for conference interpreters: they are drilled to convey the speaker's information smoothly, but they cannot possibly play-act each speaker's complete set of voice-reflected attitudes. What they do, if their temperament allows it, is produce some sort of *gesture* towards the affect they perceive, as if to let their voice slip in a cue for the audience to indicate that the speaker is making use of emotive features.

This study sets out to examine possible patterns and hierarchies in the selection of features that are passed on to the audience to reflect affect. It will be argued that, contrary to expectation, blatant demonstrations of affect do not necessarily receive priority treatment in transfer, possibly because of social norms that hold some types of affect to be more acceptable than others. Thus injured dignity seems to stand a better chance than arrogant impatience.

### 1. Emotion in discourse

Communication has both an informational and a relational component. Thus even the most neutral and purely informational utterance will be characterized in context precisely because, for this particular utterance, the relational content is impersonal, and many tasks for simultaneous interpreters will involve nothing but impersonality. However, when the relational component in a meeting grows

to significant proportions it will be carried partly by substance (like peace offerings or threats), partly by affect.

In the following the term 'affect' will be used (following Fiske & Taylor 1991) to cover the whole area of personal involvement; 'emotion' will cover feelings such as anger, pleasure or frustration; and 'attitude' will cover a demonstrated stance such as a positive or negative attitude to an event or a proposal under review. The adjective 'emotive' has a history in the prosody literature, where it is used for segments that register a feeling such as surprise, whereas 'emotional' is reserved for the characterization of segments that reflect deeper feelings such as sorrow or anger (cf. Selting 1994). In the corpus that was used for this study, taken from a professional exchange, the range may be said to run from near-impersonal to emotive.

#### *Previous work on affect*

The literature on the expression and recognition of emotion is, for our purposes, rather thin. It is generally recognized that "affect also influences the *content* of thinking, that is *what* kind of information people recall, attend to, select, interpret, and learn as a function of their affective state when dealing with ambiguous social situations" (Forgas 2001: 8), and that in the case of a conflict between the verbal content of a message and the prosodically expressed emotion, hearers tend to assume that the verbal content refers to the subject matter and the prosody signals how the speaker feels about the hearer or the situation (cf. Frick 1985). However, in the field of communicative functions of emotion there are also two notable observations that highlight the importance of transfer.

Firstly, emotion in discourse calls for 'alignment', i.e. for a response that is sympathetic to the emotive part of the message, and this is normally reflected in the prosody of the second part of the exchange (Selting 1994). Thus there is something amiss in an interchange where the first speaker's evident affect goes unmet and unacknowledged; compare:

- "Hey, I PASSED my driving tests!!! Whooopee!! Isn't it GREAT??!!!"

- "Oh. Really."

and:

- "Oh really??!!"

For a response to be judged (in)appropriate, it is evidently important that the audience has access to the emotion that was carried by the first utterance.

Secondly, and following on from this, emotion is 'accountable' in discourse: it is normal to hear an interlocutor ask, "Why are you sad/happy/angry?" (Potter 1996, Potter & Wetherell 1987). It is also normal to orient to an underlying feeling; Edwards's work on mediation discourse shows how successive speakers refer back to previous utterances not for their words but for the feeling they



carried (Edwards 1997, 1999). This sort of metadiscourse is used to name and thus construct an event, and it therefore influences the trajectory of the interaction.

For example, in the following material Commissioner Neil Kinnock characterizes the previous speaker's utterance as a *sneer*. This description orients to the normative/moral order, i.e. it assumes intentionality and assigns blame: this feeling should not have been shown in public. For such a comment to work, obviously the audience must be able to hear the sneering aspect of the utterance in question.

However, it is extremely hard to pin down emotive values linguistically.

Textual analysis will normally focus on semantic value and pick out evaluative adjectives ("awful") or noun phrases with strong connotations ("like a pig-sty") and intensifiers ("totally"), and end up with a broad characterization of positive or negative affect cues (thus Biber & Finegan 1989, Drescher 2001, Ochs & Schieffelin 1989). The more sophisticated version isolates emotive communication in such categories as valence (positive/negative), immediacy (near/far expressions), specificity (clear/vague), modality (confident/doubtful), assertiveness, and intensity (Janney 2002: 459).

But for one thing emotive contrasts are always more-or-less, never absolutely there or not there (Caffi & Janney 1994). Secondly, spoken language is obviously richer than writing and the intonation contour is heard e.g. as an intensity cue; the trouble is that prosodic cues can only be heard relative to the speaker's own speech patterns over time, and, "in any event, the attribution of positive and negative feelings or communicative intentions to choices of pitch nucleus prominence is an after-the-fact inference, a response not to pitch prominence itself, but to pitch prominence in relation to other behavior" (Arndt & Janney 1987: 256).

This is why the literature that attempts to classify linguistic expression of emotion has a stereotypical air; thus Scherer (1986) contrasts for example high pitch and high speed (joyous excitement) with low pitch and high speed (hot anger) and low pitch and slow speed (cold anger, irritation). Albeit recognizable in a general way, this is too blunt to describe the quick, transient shades of emotive colour that are easily picked up by a listener.

Finally, prosodic patterns are language-specific and therefore not necessarily available to the interpreter in transfer. Two patterns of British English lend themselves particularly well to emotive marking: glides and rhythmic scansion.

It has been noted several times that steep contours are confrontational, used by speakers to stake a claim for dominance (e.g. Knowles 1984); an example is found in the following passage where a member of the EU Parliament, Mr Elles, virtually spits the sentence *I am the author of the 96 DIS↓charge* (where capitals mark extra emphasis, and the arrow a steep shift of pitch). This is only

secondarily information: thanks to the steep fall at the end, the primary speech act here is 'laying claim to authority'. (We can also note in passing that flashes of controlled anger are audible in both the speakers in the corpus, and that anger seems primarily to be expressed when the speaker wants to appear dominant, cf. Canary et al. 1998).

As for scansion, Selting (1994) notes that an increase of rhythmic beats per breathgroup marks heightened involvement. An example in the corpus discussed below is Mr Kinnock defending his honour against an accusation of ineptitude, which he finishes with a cadence consisting of a long even fall across the breathgroup with close, evenly spaced accents ("I did have that response" etc), so that the last focus ("point") achieves a beautifully controlled finality:

I am NOT (.) 'carping, I would NOT respond with 'carping, but since he mentioned it, I thought I had in ALL honesty to say, while accepting and therefore responding to the comité des sages's report, I 'did 'have 'that re'sponse to 'that 'very spe'cific 'point.

There is no doubt at all that the speaker makes his injured dignity salient by the prosody here.

Obviously both scansion and pitch movement exist in other languages. However, with Danish, the target language of the study, the unmarked pattern is considerably flatter, so that a direct transfer would sound so histrionic as to defeat its purpose.

#### *Previous work in representing another speaker*

Given the immense literature on the representation of speech as direct speech, indirect speech and *style indirect libre* in novels and in story-telling, it is surprising that so little exists on the representations that people perform in daily life when they quote other speakers. Among the exceptions are Chafe (1994) and Gumperz (1992) who both note how speakers foreground a segment of narrative by introducing polyphony, a second voice play-acted and set apart by prosody and register shifts. Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen (1999) mention prosodic quotation marks, which enable hearers to detect another voice in utterances like *Talks were 'frank but helpful', according to the minister*; the normal signals are higher pitch and rhythmic accents. Günthner (1996) describes the special case of complaints, where the target is often represented with a sort of generalized 'whining' or 'scolding' or 'affected' voice rather than with an attempt to model a particular utterance accurately. Thus there seems to be a recognized set of prosodic or register features which serve the purpose of general-purpose attributed quotation.

Most importantly, Clark & Gerrig (1990) note that quotations normally serve as demonstrations that "depict the referent non-seriously". This is at the heart of

the interpreter's problem: anything too close to the original will be taken as mimicking that serves the *second* speaker's own communicative purpose.

This mechanism works even in print – an example appeared recently in a Danish newspaper which carried a story about a Swedish tv-programme debating immigration. The populist Danish politician Pia Kjærsgaard was portrayed in a picture manipulated to sport a pig's snout. The article described the incident and the reaction from Mrs Kjærsgaard, who was reported to consider the stunt 'childish' without being angry about it. Here the reporter switched to direct quotation: "*Hahahaha, oohh, I can hardly bear it, haha*", she says and hangs up. (Politiken, 8.08.02, my translation). Obviously, a norm was broken when Mrs Kjærsgaard's blithe unconcern was transferred in close quotation: she was depicted non-seriously.

## 2. Interpreting affect

### *Previous work on prosody and attitude in interpretation*

Scholars of conference interpreting have certainly been concerned both with voice quality and with the transfer of speakers' meaning, but overwhelmingly in the interest of information.

For voice quality, studies of end users' satisfaction note that interpreters' voices should be heard as pleasant and varied, and they should flow as close to normal sentence intonation as possible to avoid fits and starts and filled pauses (Kurz 2001, Moser 1996, Pöchhacker 2001, Shlesinger 1994). In the hierarchy, 'sense' comes first and 'pleasantness' second; the communication of attitude is not mentioned here (which may be due to the form of meetings in question.)

Accent/stress and prosody play a role for information processing, which is well discussed in studies that are aware of the cognitive processes of the transfer; thus Shlesinger (1995) and Setton (1998, 1999) both draw attention to the focus markers in the clause that distinguish between old or 'given' and new information, and the pitch movements which may be used to foreground salient elements. These elements are part of the speaker's 'ostension' (Setton uses the term from Relevance theory) and crucial for the audience in drawing inferences from an utterance. Any variation in the target string that keeps the semantic elements but shifts the focus (or does away with the focus in continuous tentative chunking) may lead to serious problems.

Most importantly, where contrast is involved, the focus assignment has repercussions for the argument structure. A banal example like "WE have behaved responsibly" carries an inference for the audience (i.e. that somebody else did not) and this is easily lost in interpretation if it is unclear what the current line of argument is (Bülow-Møller 2001). But the emphasis could also be emotional: in the corpus, one of the speakers raises his voice considerably

when he claims that  $\uparrow$ WE have not been circulated as parlia'mentary colleagues with that document. No contrast is forthcoming, for the salient point is the self-assertive emphasis on the group on whose behalf the complaint is made. The vulnerability of stress patterns in simultaneous interpreting is noticed by Williams (1995), who seeks the explanation for anomalous stress patterns in immediately preceding stressed input.

In terms of semantic content, it is generally accepted that interpreters explicate if they get a chance (thus Blum-Kulka 1986, Englund Dimitrova 1993). On the other hand, and rather more worryingly, this does not seem to go for discourse markers and conjunctions. Thus Dam (1993) notes that phatic and attitude-carrying items like *unfortunately* have low priority, and DuFon (1993) finds that in long academic sentences 'sweeteners' get lost. Conjunctions seem to have their own hierarchy, with a high survival rate for causals and additives but much less for the types that Shlesinger calls 'dismissive, temporal and emphatic conjunctions' (Shlesinger 1995).

#### *The hypothesis*

It was hypothesised from the outset that there would be some sort of affect hierarchy, such that a tendency would be noticeable when a number of interpreters worked from the same stretch of talk into the same target language. If most of the interpreters represented a given emotive feature in their transfer, it would indicate a high priority.

Attitude in itself does not need translation, and cognitive effort can therefore be expected to go into the semantic contents and textual arrangement. However, it is actually a decision to let one's voice reflect relational information, like "the Commissioner sounds as if he is thoroughly fed up now, so I shall let my voice go tired in this sentence". If attitude is to be represented, it has to battle for cognitive space. This leads to the following expectations:

- 1) consideration number one is semantic content: words of strong connotations will have high priority.
- 2) consideration number two is information structure: stress patterns will be dominated by the distribution of new and old information in the clause, to secure coherence.
- 3) consideration number three is emphasis: emotive emphasis highlighting specific words will be reproduced if the language structures are sufficiently similar.
- 4) prosody: intonation patterns are language specific and will not be reproduced except in a specific effort to model the speaker.
- 5) speed: features like artful micropauses will not be reproduced, as the available time will be allocated according to the interpreter's needs.

- 6) individual voice features like a yelping timbre, and disfluencies like sniffs are deemed to be *not* part of the message and are not attended to, whether or not e.g. a contemptuous snort could be deemed to work on a par with a dismissive gesture.

### 3. The study

To test this assumption, ten active and experienced interpreters from a major political/administrative framework were persuaded to take part in a study that involved conference interpreting from English into Danish, and which was recorded in separate booths at the Copenhagen Business School. For the affect study, only a small portion of the corpus is used. This involved ten interpretations from a videotape of a hearing in the European Parliament, broadcast earlier in the same year (1999) from Strasbourg, with an interchange between two British speakers, Mr Kinnock and Mr Elles.

The interpreters may be assumed to have general knowledge of the situation, but they were not briefed on the task beforehand and had only a few minutes' lead-in before the section that figures as corpus for the present study. There were five men and five women.

#### *The situation*

The extract is taken from the hearing on the day that the new commissioners-elect submitted themselves to questioning by various committee chairmen. Neil Kinnock had already represented Britain in the commission that was forced to resign, but was put forward again as the candidate of the Labour-led British government. Mr Elles represents the British Conservatives, and it is thus a party-political necessity for him to discredit Kinnock in front of his colleagues. Kinnock for his part needs to deflect the attacks on his period of office, and to stamp them as out of order when they are chalked up to him personally, while showing a positive spirit of cooperation. It is characteristic of this exchange that there is very little new information, in the sense of one speaker telling the other something he did not know. The whole audience is very well briefed on the facts relating to the resignation of the previous commission, and the real message is therefore in the attitude of the combatants: it is pure 'credibility work'.

Public debates of this kind are a spectator sport, where rhetoric is expected and attacks can be prepared for. Both speakers need to tread a careful balance between displaying appropriate feeling, even passion, to demonstrate their conviction, and on the other hand to display control, since unprofessional emotion makes the audience uncomfortable.

*Mr Elles's contribution*

Elles asks his questions as the chairman of the Budget Committee, and his contribution is marked by an unusual amount of affect for debates of this type, with a range of features that express frustration and indignation. His questions are strictly rhetorical: his errand is to enumerate Kinnock's sins of omission and thereby draw attention to his inadequacy. The Chair of the hearing introduces the section as *Round Two* and admonishes the speakers to be brief. Elles thanks her and opens with a main question of 2.2 mins; after Kinnock's reply he adds a supplementary of 1.0 min, here transcribed in full. (For transcription conventions, see appendix).

I have significant doubts: (.) ↘frankly that anyone who has served in the previous commission should come 'back as our previous speaker (.) speaker, said.

We recall what the (..) the (.) rePORT said: eh it said, [[reads aloud]] It is be'coming difficult to find anyone who has even the ↑SLIGhtest sense of responsibility ↘>I frankly find it repellent that anyone wishes (.) to come ↑'back ↘again.<

Secondly, I would re'mind you, erh mister Kinnock, that your own political colleagues FOUGHT the 96 discharge TOOTH and 'nail in this committee, so re'ferring to this particular committee I would think you should be a little (..) less ↘stressful=↘I should know I am the author of the 96 ↑DIS↘charge.

Lastly, in terms of QUESTions for you, in this 96 discharge, the 'real emphasis was on the re'fo:rm of the commission as well as on the political responsibility of commissioners.

Do you think in your replies to question number 21,

Do you believe that >parliament=you >have been erh eulogizing about the need to cooperate with parliament that we should be<< con↗sulted on the codes of ↗conduct before they come into ope↗ration for commissioners and officials?

Secondly, do you believe that the code of conduct for 'high ↑LEvel officials should be implemented as it's been proposed in this document which we were circulated, where there's nothing in terms of ↑MERit, or 'MANagement, mana'gerial ca'pacity, which you have also been talking about this morning, there's ↑NOTHING in those codes of ↘conduct=LASTly,

Do you think that as the 'WISE 'men have said in their 'second report, we should have a committee of 'standards in 'public 'life which would monitor the 'general (.) standard (.) of the ↘'codes.

And after Kinnock's reply, the supplementary:

Mister Kinnoek, in the reply that you have given, (.) it is helpful to see eh that you are beginning to under'stand the need to take parliament's views into ac'count in the shaping of codes of 'conduct.

In the last commission everything was the hallmark of ↑too little, 'too late. Nothing was followed up with any ∇REAL diligence or ∇speed.

How can ↑we as parliamentarians, ↓this is the 'question, have 'confidence (.) that ↑you will now take in- our views into account in 'shaping the E U reforms when ↑this document, designing the com'mission's future, has only been circulated to us because we 'asked for this last week, and that therefore, 'we have only been circulat- >↑WE have not been circulated as parlia'mentary colleagues< with that document=∇HOW can 'we have 'confidence that you will take our ∇views into account.

Rhetorically speaking, Elles's questions are remarkable for the following emotive features:

- a) strong semantic choice: *I find it repellent*; (from quotation of his own text:) *anyone with even the slightest sense of responsibility; you've been eulogizing about the need to consult; your own people fought tooth and nail*
- b) rhythmic stress with parallels or contrast: *nothing in terms of 'merit, or 'management, mana'gerial capacity... there's NOTHING in these codes; too little too late; WE as parliamentarians ... WE as parliamentary colleagues*
- c) an intonation pattern with a low fall and sustained low passages, normally associated with disgust: ↓*I frankly find it repellent that anyone wishes (.) to come ↑back ∇again; ↓I should know, I am the author of the 96 ↑DIS↓charge; Nothing was followed up with any ∇REAL diligence or ∇speed; ∇HOW can we have 'confidence that you will take our ∇views into account*
- d) so-called 'bad faith' presupposition: *it is helpful to see that you are beginning to understand the need to take parliament's view into account*

In terms of delivery, Elles's speed is such that his metatextual asides, such as *and this is the question*, are intonationally indistinguishable from more deadly mid-sentence interruptions like *do you believe that parliament you've been eulogizing about the need to cooperate with parliament that we should be consulted* (in the official transcript the two sentences have been tidied up). Since he has a great deal of ground to cover in his allotted two minutes, the speaker sometimes latches, so that his intonation shows closure but there is no perceptible break (*there's ↑NOTHING in those codes of ↓conduct=LASTly*).

Of these features, according to the hypothesis, we should expect the interpreters to secure the semantic and pragmatic categories, i.e. a) and d), and pay rather less attention to b) and c).

*Mr Kinnock's contribution*

Throughout the hearing Kinnock seeks to cajole his audience with a brief humorous or even affectionate introduction as he takes on each new speaker, and a more business-like approach to the criticism or the questions raised. He thus makes a point of treating each questioner as a long-standing colleague with legitimate concerns. His use of irony in his first answer to Elles is the only occurrence at the hearing of humour turned *against* an opponent.

The transcription below covers the first half of his two answers, where most of the relational information is concentrated:

Madam president [[overlap: danke schön – bitte]] madam president, I think these are rounds 'two, three, 'four, >five, six, seven, 'eight, nine, ten, eleven and ↑twelve<.

I 'am, however, 'grateful to mister Elles, for his question, ↑if I can take issue with this FIR:ST 'sentence, that he has 'seVE:RE DOUBTS about eh allowing any member of the 'previous commission to return, >I think it's actually 'stronger< than that (.) I 'do believe I'm correct in saying that ↑mister Elles 'fought the European e'lection (.) on a pledge not to al'LO:W any previous commissioner to come back, and that the 'leader of his group made a 'statement be'fore (.) hardly ANY commissioners had been √heard (.) in this parliament last week, to the effect that they were 'going to op'pose the reTURN.

There are 'some members of the European parliament (.) NOT of eh of >political affiliation to 'me< (.) who've offered me the question 'why √should any of the British conservatives turn up (.) to any of the 'hearings when their minds have already been made 'up , but I 'know mister Elles is 'broadminded (.) and 'doubtlessly, that is why he's here, asking sensible questions (.) this morning. [[pauses for audience who are knocking on tables]]

ehm (.) I (.) 'acCEPT (.) the recommen↗dations 'in (.) 'their (.) 'breadth, of the comité des sages, and (.) eh I recognize (.) the force (.) of the points (.) that they 'put.

In'deed as I said earlier this morning, if that had not been the case, I would not have ac'cepted col'lective responsi'bility, and resigned, and ALso 'counselled (.) the sa:me course of action (.) for my colleagues. So I 'ac'cept √that collective responsibility.

I 'have to say, however, since mister Elles refers to a phrase from the ↑last (.) PAGE of that report, that is was difficult to find anyone with 'even the 'slightest sense of responsibility, that I together with a lot of (.) decent and hardworking people IN the commission, found that a little bit difficult to ↗take, especially when, in every day of our working lives, we were seeking to exercise (.) a 'full 'sense (.) of responsibility.



And ANY examination (.) of MY directorate general, OR my activities, will I think ↓manifest that. ↑BUT (.) I am NOT (.) 'carping, I would NOT respond with 'carping, but since he mentioned it, I thought I had in ALL honesty to say, while accepting and therefore responding to the comité des sages's report, I 'did 'have 'that re'sponse to 'that 'very spe'cific 'point.

I'm 'sorry he feels 'rePELL:ed, ↓to use his word, by erh my presence be↗fore you madam president, and that of three of my colleagues, of the current commission, I DO recall that mister Elles WAS the author of the discharge report, 'I certainly took it seriously, I believe that other colleagues ↘did.

And 'I think, that, as I said earlier, it is the ↑contents of discharge reports and 'similar documents that pro'vide us with the 'levers for CHANGE. [...]

Response to the supplementary question:

Well, 'one thing that could happen is that mister Elles could break his election pledge and actually 'vote for my confirmation which would give me the chance to ↑be in office to proceed in the manner in which I have erh indicated. But that's up to ↘him.

I'm not ↘be'ginning (..) to understand these ↗things, and I think that mister Elles 'will discover, that if he 'doesn't want to invite a sneering response, he 'shouldn't (.) offer (.) one (.) in ↘question.

As far as diligence and 'speed is concerned, I can only say that I will 'go on, as (.) I (.) have e'stablished a pattern over the last four and a half years.

And if 'he asks his colleagues, of ANY political complexion, on the ↑transport committee, whether there 'has (.) 'been, without exception, 'diligence 'and (.) 'all (.) POSsible speed, they will answer (.) yes (.) to 'both 'questions. Now I intend to proCEED ↘like that. [...]

Kinnock takes a controlled more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger attitude; in deflecting the attack, he is at pains to diminish his own political stake, with interjections like *of no political affiliation to me or ask his colleagues, of any political complexion*.

Rhetorically, his speech is characterized by the following features:

- a) address: he addresses his response to the chair (*Madam President*), not Elles
- b) metacomments: he jokes about the complexity of the question (*I think these are rounds two, three, four* (etc)); he highlights his own (unwilling) comment on an attack that is thereby branded as tasteless (*I have to say, however, since mister Elles refers* (etc), *I thought I had in all honesty to*

say... *I did have that response to that very specific point*); he names the rhetorical value of the supplementary (*sneering response*); he is ironical about the motivation behind the question (*I know mister Elles is broadminded, that's why he is here asking sensible questions*) and he denies a possible (unflattering) imputation of speech act value to himself (*I'm not carping*). The strong semantic choices are all found in this category.

- c) quotation: he quotes or echoes a range of salient phrases from the question before responding, i.e. rebutting or qualifying (*this first sentence, that he has "severe doubts", I'm sorry he feels "repelled", I DO recall he WAS the author, I'm not "beginning" to understand these things*), plus the phrase that is also quoted by Elles from the report, *that it was "difficult to find anyone with even the slightest sense of responsibility"*
- d) a recurring intonation pattern with less pronounced final falls, but with internal accents, associated with patiently stating the obvious (*I 'do recall he 'was the author, 'I took it seriously, I believe other colleagues did; I think mister Elles 'will discover, if he 'doesn't want a sneering response, he shouldn't offer one*).

From this range it can be expected that the interpreters, again, will make a priority of the semantic material that draws attention to itself, such as *carping* or *sneering* (both likely to be remote from the interpreter's normal register), and that they will seek to maintain Kinnock's contrast between the original Elles wording and the rebuttal. However, Kinnock's sorely-tried-but-patient de-emphasis may turn out to be a problem, as the normal emphasis serves as pointers in the old-new information structure of the clause.

#### 4. Results

The transcripts of the ten interpreters were scrutinized, and it was decided to compare their transfers in the following categories:

- a) the transfer of some semantically strong items, viz. *repellent, (he feels) repelled, tooth and nail, eulogizing, sneering, broadminded*
- b) the transfer of the rhythmically marked negative intensifiers, viz. *not the slightest sense, too little too late, nothing on merit...nothing*
- c) the transfer of characteristic prosodic patterns, viz. low falls and scansion (*I should know... I frankly find it repellent; I did have that response...*)
- d) the transfer of internal quotations.

In the following, the Danish segments will be grouped according to noteworthy features; this means that the individual interpreter will not figure under a fixed number and thus cannot be identified.

The indication of prosody is, of course, relative to the unmarked Danish choice. The standard intonation is an even fall over the course of a breathgroup, often a clause; steep shifts are rare, and when they occur they are marked (Grønnum 1998). Accent is also a feature of some involvement; the relatively high incidence in the extracts below shows that the interpreters are at pains to reflect the high number of accents in the input. Individual differences are noticeable: there is a spectrum of mirroring from high involvement, with changing voice timbre, to low involvement, with an almost completely smooth and unaccented rendering.

In addition to the indications of prosody, certain segments have been shaded where a distinct mimicking tone can be detected. In all cases, it is a sort of homoeopathic gesture towards affect, rather than an attempt to sound authentically outraged, hurt etc.

A: the strong words

*Example 1: (ELL) I frankly find it repellent / (KIN) I am sorry he feels "repelled"*

[the interpreter repeats an adjective in the semantic field of *repellent* to render Kinnock's repetition]

1. så finder jeg det ærlig talt øh [knirk] (.) af'skyeligt  
so frankly I find it [creek] disgusting

2. [knirk] jeg beklager at han synes at det er af'skyeligt  
[creek] I am sorry he thinks it is disgusting

1. jeg synes faktisk at det er forkasteligt  
actually I think it is objectionable

2. og je:g beKLager at han finder det for'kasteligt  
and I'm sorry he finds it objectionable

1. så synes jeg egentlig det er 'frastødende  
actually I think it is repellent

2. så sagde herr elles at han var 'fra:stødt (.) af min til'stedeværelse her  
then mister Elles said he was repelled by my presence here

1. så synes jeg faktisk det er nærmest 'afskyvækkende  
so I think it is close to odious actually

2. je:g er meget ked af at han synes det er afskyvækkende  
I'm very sorry he thinks it is odious

1. jeg synes det er uhyggeligt  
I think it is scary
2. og så er jeg 'ked af at han (...) synes det er uhyggelig at jeg sidder 'her  
and I'm sorry he thinks it is scary that I am sitting here

[downtoning: "it is unimaginable that", "I'm sorry it bothers him"]

1. i lyset af det synes jeg det faktisk er uTROLigt  
in that light I actually find it unbelievable
2. jeg er 'ked af at han øh at (.) han er ked at han er 'utilfreds med min  
tilstedeværelse her  
I am sorry that he is sorry, that he is displeased by my presence here

1. jeg ka ikke rigtig forstå at nogen ønsker at vende tilbage  
I just cannot understand that anyone wishes to return
2. og jeg ved ikke om det ge'nerer Dem  
and I don't know if it bothers you

1. <og så KA ↓man jo ikke forestille sig at [...]  
and so one really can't imagine that
2. jeg er ↑sandelig 'ked af at det ge'nerer ham ↓som han siger (.) at JEG 'sidder  
'her.  
I am so very sorry that it bothers him, as he says, that I'm sitting here

[downtoning in first round, full semantic value in second round]

1. og >sådan nogen synes jeg ikke skulle komme tilbage<  
and I think people like that should not come back
2. jeg er ked at han øh føler sig 'FRA'stødt af min tilstedeværelse  
I am sorry he feels repelled by my presence
1. så <ka jeg ikke se hvordan> folk ka ↗komme tilba:ge=  
so I can't see how people can come back
2. Jeg er ↑ked af [knirk] at øh han (...) øh føler ↑afsky ve:d min tilstedeværelse  
her  
I am sorry he feels disgust at my presence here

Result:

- 5 tone down the first item (Elles), 2 of which retain an indignant voice colouring;  
3 tone down the second item (Kinnock), while 2 join the *repellent* group;

5 upgrade *sorry* to "very sorry" or give it emphasis (not in the source, whereas a 'new-topic' high onset is heard). The upgrade is part of a stronger ironic twist in the interpreters than in the source.

*Example 2: (ELL) your own political colleagues FOUGHT the 96 discharge TOOTH and 'nail' in this committee*

[full semantic weight]

i: 96 der sloges man jo med næb og 'klør' her  
in 96 they fought tooth and nail here

Deres egne politiske kolleger de øh bekæmpede det der blev lavet i det udvalg  
øh med næb og klør  
your own political colleagues they fought what was done in that committee  
tooth and nail

>Deres egne politiske kolleger< har bekæmpet dechargen fra 96 med næb og  
klør  
your own political colleagues fought the discharge from 96 tooth and nail

[fought + intensifier]

Deres egne politiske kolle:ger de kæmpede jo øh e'nergisk IMOD det her i sin  
tid  
your own political colleagues they fought this energetically back then

Deres (...) kolleger har kæmpet 'hårdt' her i ud valget tidligere  
your colleagues fought hard in this committee earlier on

[weaker coverage]

Deres egne politiske øh øh kolleger [trails off]  
your own political colleagues

Deres egne politiske kolleger øh bekæmpede det her  
your own political colleagues fought this

De har jo også selv forsvaret (...) den tidligere kommission, ikke sandt  
you yourself defended the previous commission, didn't you

de alvorlige kontroverser der var i den forbindelse, >i forbindelse med< 1996  
the serious controversies that took place in that connection, in connection  
with 1996

Result:

- 3 employ the corresponding idiom "with beak and claws", i.e. "tooth and nail";  
of these 2 get the correct argumentative coherence so that it transpires what  
the fight was about;
- 2 qualify "fought" with "hard" or "energetically", 1 of these mimicks  
'pugnaciousness';
- 5 omit the item or miss the sense.

*Example 3: (ELL) you have been erh eulogizing about the need to cooperate  
with parliament*

Result:

all 10 omit this interjection, which is admittedly very fast.

*Example 4: (KIN) I think that mister Elles 'will discover, that if he 'doesn't want  
to invite a sneering response, he 'shouldn't (.) offer (.) one (.) in  $\nabla$ question.*

hvis De ikke vil ha et skarpt svar tilbage, så skal De lade være at stille sådan  
nogle 'skarpe 'spørgsmål  
If you don't want a sharp answer back, you shouldn't ask such sharp  
questions

hvis han ikke (...) ønsker (.) et øh skrapt svar så skal han heller ikke selv komme  
med skrappe  $\nabla$ bemærkninger  
if he doesn't want a sharp-tempered answer he shouldn't make sharp-  
tempered comments himself

hvis herr Elles øh øh ikke vil ha et øh et 'ube'hageligt svar så ska han ikke stille  
sine spørgsmål så ubehageligt som han gør  
if mister Elles doesn't want an unpleasant answer then he shouldn't ask his  
questions in that unpleasant fashion

hvis han IKKE vil ha (...) hvis han ikke vil ha at mit s:var er ubehageligt så ska  
han også 'stille nogle lidt mere behagelige spørgsmål  
if he doesn't want my answer to be unpleasant he can ask some rather more  
pleasant questions

hvis ikke han ønsker (.) at (.) få et grimt svar så ska han ikke stille et grimt spørgsmål  
 if he doesn't want a nasty answer he shouldn't ask a nasty question

hvis han IKKE (...) vil ha et frækt svar så skal han heller ikke komme med et frækt spørgsmål  
 if he doesn't want an impudent answer then he shouldn't put an impudent question

hvis han ikke vil ha sådan et et 'vrisset svar så ska han så ska han heller ikke give et 'vrisset spørgsmål.  
 if he doesn't want such a grumpy answer he shouldn't ask such a grumpy question

hvis han ikke ønsker (.) øh >be'stemte svar skal han ikke lægge op til dem i sine spørgsmål<  
 if he doesn't want decisive answers he should not provoke them in his questions

hvis ikke han vil ha snerrende svar så ska han ikke: øh snerre sine spørgsmål  
 if he doesn't want growling answers he should not growl his questions

Altså hvis herr elles ikk vil ha et 'frækt ↑svar så ska han la vær med at stille et øh (knirk) 'frækt ↑spørgsmål  
 I mean, if mister Elles doesn't want an impudent answer, he should leave off asking impudent questions

Result:

all 10 seek an adjective in the semantic field round "unpleasant", with variations like "sharp, grumpy, impudent";

9 repeat the adjective to transfer the anaphor *he shouldn't offer one*.

2 mimick 'reprove'.

The really unpleasant element of scorn and insult in *sneer* is not represented, and the general result is therefore downtoning.

*Example 5: (KIN) but I 'know mister Elles is 'broadminded (.) and 'doubtlessly, that is why he's here, asking sensible questions (.) this morning*

men jeg ved at herr Elles han er så han er så åbensindet  
 but I know that mister Elles he is he is so openminded

men jeg ved at herr Elles han øh er så øh øh så så vidtskuende og så tole'rant  
 but I know that mister Elles he is so farsighted and so tolerant

men altså ↑så snæversynet er herr Elles selvfølgelig ikke  
 but of course mister Elles is not so narrowminded

<men jeg ved at herr Elles har jo et åbent sind  
 but I know that mister Elles has an open mind

men jeg ved at herr Elles øh han øh han er øh åbent indstillet overfor nye  
 påvirkninger  
 but I know that mister Elles is open to new influences

det er formentlig fordi han øh har er 'storsindet  
 that's probably because he is generous

men øh nu ka vi jo se at øh de alligevel kommer ligesom herr Elles i dag og  
 stiller fornuftige spørgsmål [= omission]  
 but we can see that they come all the same like mister Elles and ask  
 sensible questions

men jeg ved at øh han er ↓large  
 but I know that he is broadminded

<men nu er han jo nok meget 'åben ham herr Elles  
 but of course he is probably very open, our mister Elles

<men nu har herr Elles været så rar at komme og stille en masse fornuftige  
 spørgsmål, ↑det er jo ↗dejligt>  
 but now mister Elles has been so kind as to come and ask a lot of sensible  
 questions, that is so nice

Result:

all 10 express praise;

8 use adjectives from the field of "open, openminded, tolerant, generous";

6 intensify with discourse particles of assumed assent, *så* and *jo* and *nok* "so  
 open, so farsighted", which add to the ironic flavour;

4 have a distinguishable mocking tone;

2 make the irony explicit: "he's [...] very open, our Mr Elles", "he's been so kind  
 [...], that's so nice" (last two in the list).



B: stressed negative intensifiers

*Example 6: (ELL) it is be'coming difficult to find 'anyone who has even the SLIGHtest sense of responsibility*

nogen som havde den 'mindste ↑SM:ULE ansvarlighed tilbage  
anyone who had the least bit of conscientiousness left

nogen der over↑hovedet har de 'mindste i'deer hva ansvar 'er  
anyone at all who has the slightest idea what responsibility is

'nogen der blot har en ANtydning af ansvar  
anyone with just a hint of responsibility

NOGen . overhovedet som har den allermindste ↑skær af ansvarsøhbevidsthed  
anyone at all who has the least little suggestion of a sense of responsibility

'nogen som helst som har den 'mindste ansvarsfølelse  
anyone at all who has the least bit of responsibility

nogen som har den MINDste fornemmelse af sit 'eget '↘ansvar  
anyone who has the slightest feeling of his own responsibility

nogen der har . den . 'mindste form for ansvarlighed  
anyone who has slightest form of conscientiousness

nogen i kommissionen som har den ↑mindste 'ansvarsfølelse  
anyone in the commission who has the slightest sense of responsibility

no:gen der har den 'mindste 'ansvars' ↑fø:lelse  
anyone with the slightest sense of responsibility

nogen der havde bare den mindste 'smule ansvar  
anyone with the least little bit of responsibility

Result:

all 10 include emphasis;

8 include extra material ("the slightest idea", "the least little bit");

7 have extra loudness and/or marked prosody shifts, over and above the accents;

2 mimick 'indignation'

*Example 7: (ELL) everything was the hallmark of ↑too little, 'too late*

der var det alt sammen alt for sent og alt for 'lidt  
everything was much too late and much too little

der var det altsammen for 'lidt og for 'sent  
everything was too little and too late

det var altsammen for 'lidt og for 'se:nt  
everything was too little and too late

>der var det alt sammen< for 'sent og for 'lidt  
there everything was too late and too little

det var noget med too lit- for 'lidt og for 'sent  
it was about too lit- too little and too late

der var det hele tiden too little too late  
it was all the time too little too late

der var det altid for 'lidt og det var altid for 'sent  
it was always too little and always too late

der har været for 'lidt og det er kommet for 'sent  
there has been too little and it has been too late

>der var det alt sammen noget der kom< for 'sent og der var ikke 'nok af det  
everything came too late and there wasn't enough of it

de:r var der simpelthen øh alt for for 'få reaktioner som kom alt for 'sent på  
alting  
there were simply much too few reactions which came too late for  
everything

Result:

all 10 have the parallel, 9 have a repeat construction;

8 have two rhythmic accents.

*Example 8: (ELL) in this document which we were circulated, where there's  
'nothing in terms of ↑MERit, or 'MANagement, mana'gerial ca'pacity, which*

you have 'also been talking about this morning, there's >NOTHING in those codes of ↓conduct<

[more emphatic second 'nothing']

hvor der 'intet står om øh at man har øh 'lederkapacitet eller har gjort sig fortjent som De også taler om <det står der INTET om i Deres øh forslag her>

where there is 'nothing about having managerial capacity or merit as you mention too, there is NOTHING in your suggestion here

der er jo ikke rigtig noget med om 'merits eller ommm (knirk) ledelseskvalifikationer og så videre, det står der ikke NOGet ↓som 'helst om her

there doesn't seem to be anything really about merits or about managerial capacity and so on, there is NOTHING at all about that

hvor der ikke står noget >der står faktisk 'ikke noget om merit der står ikke noget om 'ledelseevne<, det er også noget De har været inde på som øhm det er IKKE med i disse adfærdskodeks

where there is nothing, actually there isn't anything about merit, there is 'nothing about managerial capacity which you were talking about which-, it is NOT included in these codes of conduct

hvor der ikke tales om fortjenester og 'leder'evner som De jo også har været inde på her til formiddag der er INTet i her

where there is no talk of merit or managerial capacity which you also touched upon this morning, there is NOTHING in here

hvor der 'ikke står noget om øh for'tjeneste eller øh 'ledelseevner som De 'også har talt om her til formiddag='ingen 'ingenting i disse adfærdskodeks

where there 'isn't anything about merit or managerial capacity which you were talking about this morning, 'no- 'nothing in these codes of conduct

der står 'ikk noget om øh 'evne 'managementevne som De også har nævnt, der står 'ikke 'noget i codes of conduct herom

there is 'nothing about capacity, management capacity which you also mentioned, there is 'no'thing in the codes of conduct about that

[equal or stronger first version]

hvor der ikke står no:get om øh managementevner og øh og så videre= det står der ikke noget om i adfærdskodeksen

where there is nothing about managerial capacity and so on, there is nothing about it in the codes of conduct

hvor der ikke siges 'noget som 'helst om< om 'merit øh 'ledelsesevner øh du De har også selv >talt om ledelsesevner her til formiddag<, der står intet om det i adfærdskodeks

where there is 'nothing whatsoever about merit or managerial capacity, you yourself talked about managerial capacity this morning, there is nothing about it in the codes of conduct

der står overHOvedet ikke noget om lederevner som De var inde på her til formiddag, det står der ikke noget om i adfærdskodeksen

there is nothing whatsoever about managerial capacity as you were talking about this morning, there is nothing about it in the codes of conduct

Result:

all 10 repeat *nothing*, despite the fact that second time around it is informationally empty;

7 have a more emphatic second version, mirroring the original;

5 bolster the emphasis with an intensifier ("nothing at all, nothing whatever").

One person only, the interpreter with the least accents of all in the corpus, has no accent on either *nothing*. One case, the last one quoted above, has the main emphasis in the first round, but it is spoken immediately after the speaker's second emphasis, possibly reflecting the sort of effect noted by Williams, where incoming emphasis produces an immediate emphasis even though the interpreter has got to a different place in the utterance.

### C: prosodic attitude markers

*Example 9: (ELL) ↓>I frankly find it repellent that anyone wishes (.) to come ↗back ↘again<.*

[drop]

>og så KA ↓man jo ikke forestille sig at der er nogen af dem der vil fortsætte i den nye: kommission<

so one really CAN't imagine that any of them wishes to continue in the new commission

[emphasis]

i lyset af det synes jeg det faktisk er uTROLig at der over'hovedet er nogen der har LYST til at sidde i den nye kommission  
 in that light I actually find it unbelIEVable that there should be anyone at all who WISHES to sit on the new commission

så synes jeg egentlig det er 'frastødende at nogen overhovedet har et 'ønske om at komme tilbage  
 actually I think it is re'pellent that anyone should have a 'wish to come back

så finder jeg det ærlig talt øh [knirk] (.) af'skyeligt at nogen overhovedet øh har 'lyst til at komme tilbage  
 so frankly I find it [creek] dis'gusting that anyone should even 'want to come back

og så synes jeg faktisk det er nærmest 'afskyvækkende at nogen ku finde på at komme tilbage igen.  
 so I think it is close to 'odious actually that anyone could think of coming back again

så >ka jeg ikke se hvordan< folk ka 7komme tilba:ge  
 so I can't see how people can 'come back

og jeg synes faktisk at det er forkasteligt at nogen ønsker at komme til'bage igen  
 and actually I think it is objectionable for anyone to wish to come 'back again

[neutral]

jeg ka ikke rigtig forstå at nogen ønsker at vende tilbage på den baggrund  
 I just cannot understand that anyone wishes to come back on that background

og jeg synes det er uhyggeligt at nogen så vil vende tilbage i den situation.  
 and I think it's alarming that anyone wants to return in that situation

og >sådan nogen synes jeg ikke skulle komme tilbage<.  
 and I think people like that shouldn't come back

The speaker's low drop contour leaves the heavy semantic item *repellent* unstressed (but very distinctly pronounced). The voice climbs back to its base rate from about *anyone*, so that *back* serves as the sentence focus.

## Result:

- 1 uses a drop contour, mirroring the speaker;
- 6 mark some involvement by accents; 3 have accents on both the *repellent*-adjective and the *wish*-noun;
- 3 sound 'repelled'.

*Example 10: (KIN) I thought I had in ALL honesty to say, while accepting and therefore responding to the comité des sages's report, I 'did 'have 'that re'sponse to 'that 'very spe'cific 'point.*

og ↑det var et specifikt spørgsmål det har jeg nu ↓svaret på.  
and that was a specific question, which I have now dealt with

og der kan jeg altså svare på denne måde til dette specifikke punkt.=  
so I can answer in this way on that specific point

og (..) det var altså min reaktion på det specifikke punkt  
and that was my reaction to that specific point

så der må jeg altså påpege dette specifikke punkt.  
so I must point out this specific point here

det er 'mit svar til dette meget specifikke ↑spørgsmål.  
that is my answer to this very specific question

så er det altså mit svar.  
so that is my answer

det var mit svar til det specifikke punkt.  
that was my answer to that specific point

men lige præcis 'den sætning der har jeg IKKE lyst til at reagere på.=  
just precisely that sentence I DON'T want to react to

[omitted metatext]

jeg mener jeg har handlet ansvarsbevidst.

I think I have conducted myself responsibly  
og det synes jeg også at jeg 'selv per'sonligt har 'gjort.  
and I think that 'I 'personally have 'done that

Result:

all 10 retain the element of closure, with marked sentence-final intonation, despite two latches that hurry to the next chunk;

8 further mark closure either through intonation that picks out the *specific point* as an irregular question that has been dealt with, or through the discourse particle *altså*, which is used for summing up and re-stating. Nobody imitates the speaker's set of accents, but the last segment in the list retains three rhythmic beats, despite the fact that the semantic material deals with Kinnock's "in all honesty."

D: internal quotations: crediting the source

*Example 11: (ELL) we recall what the(.) the (.) rePORT said: eh it said, [[reads aloud]] it is be'coming difficult to find 'anyone who has even the SLIGHtest sense of responsibility*

i rapporten (.) stod der at det er svært at finde nogen i kommissionen som har den ↑mindste 'ansvarsfølelse  
in the report it said that it was difficult to find anyone in the commission who has the slightest sense of responsibility

hvis vi lige prøver at se på hvad der står i rapporten ja så står der der at det er vanskeligt at finde nogen som har den MINDste fornemmelse af sit 'eget 'ansvar  
if we just have a look at what it says in the report, well it says that it was difficult to find anyone who has the slightest feeling of their own responsibility

hvis vi prøver at se på hva der stod i den gamle rapport så (.) stod der jo at man ikke ku finde nogen som havde den 'mindste ↑SM:ULE ansvarlighed tilbage  
if we take a look at what it said in the old report, it said that it was impossible to find anyone who had the least bit of conscientiousness left

ka De huske hva: rapporten sagde=den sagde det er ved at blive vanskeligt at finde 'nogen der blot har en ANtydning af ansvar  
do you remember what it said in the report, it said it was becoming difficult to find anyone with just a hint of responsibility

som der stod i rapporten fra vismandsgruppen så var det svært at finde nogen der havde bare den mindste 'smule ansvar

as it said in the report from the Wise Men it was difficult to find anyone with the least little bit of responsibility

hvis vi noterer os hva: rapporten siger så ka vi høre eller se at den siger det blir 'svæ:rt at finde no:gen der har den 'mindste 'ansvars' ↑fø:lelse  
if we note what it said in the report we can hear, or see that it says it will be difficult to find anyone with the slightest sense of responsibility

domstolen sagde at det blir vanskelig at finde nogen der har (.) den (.) 'mindste form for ansvarlighed  
the court said that it will be difficult to find anyone who has the slightest sense of conscientiousness

De vil kunne huske: hva rapporten siger? (...) det er svært at finde nogen der over↑hovedet har de 'mindste i'deer hva ansvar 'er.  
you will remember what the report says? it is difficult to find anyone at all who has the slightest idea what responsibility is

>vi ka huske hva der står i rapporten der blev sagt i rapporten at det blir vanskeligt at finde< NOGen (.) overhovedet som har den allermindste ↑skær af ansvarsøhbevidsthed  
we must remember what it says in the report, it was stated in the report that it will be difficult to find anyone at all who has the least little suggestion of a sense of responsibility

med hensyn til rapporten (.) så står der jo >i den< det er svært at finde 'nogen som helst som har den 'mindste ansvarsfølelse  
as for the resport it says there that it is difficult to find anyone at all who has the least bit of responsibility

Result:

all 10 explicitly mention the source of the quotation; there is no problem about attribution here.

*Example 12: (KIN) I 'have to say, however, since mister Elles refers to a phrase from the ↑last (.) PAGE of that report, that is was difficult to find anyone with 'even the 'slightest sense of responsibility. that I together with a lot of (.) decent and hardworking people*

[correct attribution]



men jeg må 'også sige at eftersom herr Elles henviser til noget der står på allersidste side i ↗rapporten at det var meget v:anskeligt at finde nogen der havde den mindste smule ansvarlighed ↗tilbage, >det var også det der stod på sidste side<

but I must add that as mister Elles refers to something on the very last page of the report, that it was very difficult to find anyone who had the slightest sense of responsibility left, as it said on the last page

men samtidig så må jeg 'sige at nu refererer herr Elles til en sætning fra den 'sidste 'side i den ↘rapport , ↓det var 'vanskeligt at finde 'nogen der havde det 'mindst den 'mindste ff:or'nemmelse af 'ansvar,

but at the same time I must say that now mister Elles refers to a sentence from the last page of that report, that it was difficult to find anyone who had the least sense of responsibility

jeg må men jeg må sige at øh eftersom herr Elles refererer til en sætning fra 'sidste 'side i den rapport at ↓det var vanskeligt at finde NOGen med blot en SMULE ansvarsfornehmelse –

but I must I must say that since mister Elles refers to a sentence from the last page of the report, that it was difficult to find anyone with the slightest sense of responsibility

men nu s- men nu henviser herr Elles til noget som står på den 'sidste 'side af denne rapport at det var vanskeligt at finde en 'eneste med den MIndste følelse af ansvar

but now mister Elles refers to something it says on the last page of this report, that it was difficult to find a single person with the least sense of responsibility

så henviser herr Elles til en sætning på den sidste side i rapporten hvor der 'står at det var svært at finde en embedsmand der havde det den 'mindste ansvarsfølelse.

then mister Elles refers to a sentence on the last page of the report where it says that it was difficult to find an official who had the slightest sense of responsibility

Jeg må ↗imidlertid sige da nu herr Elles henviser til en sætning fra: den 'sidste 'side i: rapporten at det var 'vanskeligt at finde nogen med bare den mindste ansvarsfølelse

I must say however, since mister Elles refers to a sentence from the last page in the report, that it was difficult to find anyone with just the least sense of responsibility

men når nu herr Elles henviser til en sætning fra den sidste side fra rapporten den der siger at det var 'svært at 'finde 'nogen med bare den 'mindste s- [knirk] fornemmelse for ansvar

but now that mister Elles refers to a sentence from the last page of the report where it says that it was difficult to find anyone with just the slightest sense of responsibility

[problems with the attribution of source]

MEN alligevel må jeg sige at når nu herr Elles henviser til noget der står SIDST i rapporten ja så er det svært at finde nogen selv med den mindste form for ansvarlighed ... siger de.

but all the same I must say that when mister Elles refers to something that it says at the end of the report, well then it is difficult to find anyone with just the slightest sense of responsibility ... they say

men jeg må dog sige at når herr Elles nu omtaler en sætning fra sidste 'side i den rapport øh så vil jeg sige at det var 'vanskeligt at finde 'nogen øh med politisk ansvar ↓stod der dør.

but I must say however that when mister Elles refers to a sentence from the last page of that report, then I must say that it was difficult to find anyone with political responsibility, it said there

men som herr Elles refererer til en sætning fra den 'sidste SIDE af denne rapport så vil jeg sige at det var s- at det skulle have været svært at finde ↑nogen der overhovedet har en 'ide om hvad ansvar er

but as mister Elles refers to a sentence from the last page of this report then I must say that it was diff- that it was supposed to have been difficult to find anyone at all with any idea of responsibility

Result:

7 attribute correctly;

3 catch a misunderstanding, 2 by an incoherent addition. These interpreters translate as if the coherence had been "I have to say (since Mr Elles refers to a phrase from the last page of that report), that it was difficult to find...". The two corrections add "- they say", and one catches the modal: "I must say that it was diff- that it was supposed to have been difficult".

*Example 13: (KIN) I'm not ↘be'ginning .. to understand these ↗things, and I think that mister Elles 'will discover, that if he doesn't want to invite a sneering response, he 'shouldn't (.) offer (.) one (.) in ↘question.*

[correct attribution]

det er ikke noget jeg bare er be'gyndt 'på NU at forstå de her ting  
it isn't something that I have only begun now to understand these things

det er ikke fordi jeg bare be'gynder at forstå de her ting  
it is not that I am only be'ginning to understand these things

JEG 'be ↑gynder ikke . at forstå disse ting .  
'I am not be'ginning to understand these things

[mistake]

↑nu begynder jeg at for'stå det ↓her lidt bedre,  
I'm beginning to understand this a little better

< men øh ↑je:g . begynder at se på tingene nu  
but I'll begin to look into things now

jamen øh jeg forstår [knirk] [trails off]  
well, I understand

Result:

3 retain the correct denial of Elles's presupposition, that the understanding was recent, 2 by adding explicit material ("it isn't something I'm just beginning to understand now"), while 1 relies on the speaker's quotation intonation with a high reset;

4 omit the segment;

3 miss the quotation *and* the negation ("I'm beginning to understand a little better", "I'll start to look into things now")

*Example 14: (KIN) I'm 'sorry he feels 'rePEll:ed, ↓to use his word, by erh my presence be7fore you madam president, and that of three of my collegues, of the current commission, I DO recall that mister Elles WAS the author of the discharge report, 'I certainly took it seriously, I believe that other colleagues ↘did.*

[correctly heard as already available information]

>altså jeg ved godt herr Elles var< forfatter til dischargerapporten  
I know very well that mister Elles was the author of the discharge report

jeg [knirk] ka også godt huske at herr Elles havde ansvaret for dechargerapporten den 7gang

I remember very well that mister Elles was responsible for the discharge report at the time

jeg ka 'godt 'huske herr Elleses andel i rapporten fra 1996.

I remember mister Elles' part in the report from 1996 very well

[neutral or weakened]

>jeg ka godt se herr Elles< er ophavsmand til dischargerapporten ...

I realize that mister Elles is the author of the discharge report

= jeg husker hvad De gjorde med dechargerapporten i 96

I remember what you did with the discharge report of 96

jeg ka huske at herr Elles øh 'stod for dechargerapporten

I remember that mister Elles was in charge of the discharge report

[mistakenly heard as new information]

jeg vil 'lige ↑minde om at herr Elles var med til at øh gi os decharge

I will just remind you the mister Elles was one of the people who gave us décharge

men jeg ka da 'huske at herr Elles var for'fatter 'til en rapport der gav kommissionen 7decharge

well, but I remember that mister Elles was the 'author of a report that gave the commission décharge

men jeg 'husker at herr Elles han også var med til at udarbejde de'chargerapporten

but I remember that mister Elles, he was also one of the authors of the discharge report

jeg ↑husker jeg at herr 'Elles 'selv var med til at udarbejde 'budgetgodkendelsesrapporten, >sammen med andre kolleger selvfølgelig.<

I remember that mister 'Elles him'self was one of the authors of the budget discharge report, together with other colleagues of course

Result:

- 3 explicitly mark the segment as as part of the refutation of Elles's implication that Kinnock must have forgotten Elles's authority ("I'd remind you, Mr Kinnock... I should know, I am the author"). *Jeg kan godt huske* and *jeg ved godt* retain the element of "I remember perfectly well";
- 4 hear Kinnock's emphasis as a contrast, as if the cohesion was "I'm sorry he feels repelled [old, 'rehearsed' information], but I remember that he was the author of the report that gave us *décharge* [new information]". This has repercussions for the argument: it changes the rest of the passage to "so I and other colleagues took the *décharge* seriously", rather than "I and other colleagues took the criticism in the report seriously".

## 5. Discussion

Section A, the 'strong words', is not as clearly a priority as our hypothesis led us to believe; *repellent* was down to 5 representations, *tooth and nail* to 3, *eulogizing* to 0, and *sneering* somewhat toned down all round.

There might be several reasons for this: *tooth and nail* is an adverbial of manner, and *eulogizing* a metatextual speech act verb that figured in an interjection; both can be dropped without disturbing the main message. As for *repellent* and *sneering*, they were central and had to be represented; it may be offered as a guess that both items were too far away from the interpreters' main vocabulary for them to present semantically adequate candidates, but it could also be the case that there is an inbuilt tendency to smooth over unnecessary unpleasantness, just as the interpreters do not reproduce a sneering tone of voice.

*Broadminded* fared much better, with a high representation and several attempts to boost the irony, (which was also the case with *sorry*); similar reasoning suggests that *broadminded* is easier to get at as a semantic item and/or that there is no internal censorship against humour, even of the more combative kind.

Section B, the stressed negatives, with the rhetorical trope of parallel emphasis, had a very strong score.

The emphasis on *SLIGHtest sense of responsibility* was not only reproduced, it was boosted with intensifiers; the parallism of *too little, too late* was intact; and the *nothing... NOTHING* was massively retained, despite a chance to gain time by omitting an empty repetition.

This section seems to document a positive priority for rhetorical features. It is fair to mention that the constructions have not been seriously challenging for the interpreters in terms of cognitive effort, but on the other hand, there is much

more pitch movement and accent in this section than would come naturally to speakers of Danish unless they were conscious of a rhetorical effort. We must conclude that the hypothesis holds in so far that it states that emphasis will be retained if the constructions are similar, but that the amount rather outstrips the expectations.

For section C, the prosodic attitude markers, the expectations were low. Both the prosodic patterns in question exist in Danish (low, level voice for contempt or 'cold' anger and repeated accents for involvement of many varieties), but due to the generally flatter intonation structure they are more marked when they do occur than the British counterpart. Also, the patterns are not part of the generalized, stereotypical register of 'voices' that people use for everyday mimicking of a second voice.

What we find is transfer that is clearly marked for affect, with emphasis and prosodic shifts, but not in the same places as the source. It seems that a majority of the interpreters react to the emotive content and substitute some sort of 'normal' emphasis. This is particularly apparent with the low, emphasis-free stretch  $\downarrow > I \text{ frankly find it repellent that anyone wishes } (.) \text{ to come } \nearrow \text{back } \searrow \text{again} <$ , where one person actually drops her voice, while six include both prosodic shifts and emphasis that would have been there if the speaker had been normally involved (i.e., stressed *repellent* and *wish*). Again, it is possible that the normalizing effect screens out relational unpleasantness: contemptuousness is not in the reproducible range.

Section D, the internal quotations, is clearly the most problematic.

The hypothesis predicted that argumentative coherence would have a high priority, and that the information structure of the utterances would therefore be carefully scrutinized for the distribution of new and old information. In all probability this is still the case, but in this section we see actual mistakes that derail the argumentation structure for several interpreters, much as if they had not paid a great deal of attention.

One likely explanation is that Kinnock's emotive intonation, with its de-emphasis, leads the interpreters astray. A phrase like *I DO recall that mister Elles WAS the author of the discharge report*, which in context merely confirms a piece of information that is available from the previous utterance, can be misheard as intensifying emphasis, as in "Oh, I DO like to be beside the seaside", and if it has been categorized as such, it is possible that it transfers to *I*, so that we get a contrast of "him versus me" (for possibly misleading de-emphasis, see review in Yeager-Dror 2002).

Similarly, if the stereotypical marker for internal quotation is a high reset, as in "talks were  $\uparrow$ 'frank', according to the minister", then Kinnock's low-drop *I'm*

*not*  $\sphericalangle$ *be'ginning* (..) *to understand* is misleading. In terms of prosody, he holds out the word in two fingers and pauses briefly in distaste, to let the audience understand that he dissociates himself from the underlying presupposition. But if this cue is missed, it is cognitively hard to make sense of a phrase like "I'm not beginning to understand this"; negatives like *not* are notoriously difficult to hear (Kaufmann 2002) and may be missed in interpretation (Bülow-Møller 2000), and in this case, it makes sense to discard the negative and hear "However, I'm beginning to understand".

### Conclusion

The tentative conclusions from these observations must be

- a) that the speaker's tone is an important part of the message, and that emotive prosody can be misleading when it runs counter to a normal informational pattern,
- b) that interpreters in the experiment note the relational content of the speeches they hear, and reproduce as much as they can in terms of semantic content and rhetorical tropes,
- c) that they may adopt an emotive tone of voice briefly and in audible quotation marks, depending on personal inclination,
- d) but that they tend to normalize, so that less frequently heard emotive patterns are substituted by an expected one,
- e) and that the whole operation may be subject to a norm of decency, whereby unpleasant negative affect is screened out more frequently than a positive counterpart.

Before the experiment the interpreters were asked a long list of questions about their preferences and priorities and strategies. One of the questions – the target question for this part of the corpus – related to the importance they attached to rendering the 'mood' and 'attitude' of the speaker. Everyone answered with variations on the theme that basically that was they were there *for*. It is interesting to note that in practice some interpreters produce something that could have been a written version of the speech read aloud in a stop-and-go pattern, and others add dramatic touches, while the whole group believe they are transferring the same amount of message.

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#### Appendix: transcription conventions

- CAP Capitals indicate extra loudness; for ease of reading, proper names and the pronoun *I* have also been spelt with a capital, which is strictly speaking incorrect
- ' An accent in front of a syllable indicates emphasis
- (.) Micropauses are marked with one or (rarely) two dots in brackets
- > < Accelerated speech is put between arrows, as in >*if I may say so*<
- . Full stops indicate final intonation
- , Commas indicate normal 'unfinished' intonation
- : Colons indicate a lengthened sound, both vowels and consonants, as in *significant doubts: frankly*.
- ↓↑ arrows indicate a marked shift in pitch, up, down, or marked glides
- = equation signs indicate latching, i.e. no perceptible break in the flow of sound where a pause was to be expected, as in *there's ↑NOTHING in those codes of ↓conduct=LASTly, do you think that as the 'WISE 'men have said in their 'second report [...]*
- shade shaded areas in the interpreted text indicate a voice quality that mimicks an emotion, as in *så synes jeg egentlig det er 'frastødende, ('I think it is repellent')*, which sounds 'disgusted'

## **EFFECTS OF PRESENTATION RATE ON WORKING MEMORY IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING**

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### Introduction

The cognitive psychological literature, in general, and studies focusing on working (online) memory (WM), in particular, often include a plea for research based on complex cognitive tasks that "can be characterized as being under cognitive control, involving multiple steps of processing, involving multiple components of the memory system, and requiring fast access to large amounts of information" (Kintsch *et al.* 1999). Simultaneous interpreting (SI), as performed by expert practitioners, is just such a task – one which requires flexible, efficient online allocation of attentional resources in such a way as to approach full and fluent delivery of the target-language (TL) counterpart of a source-language (SL) message. Indeed, studies devoted to the functioning of WM in SI highlight the tension between maintaining a steady speech stream and producing a semantically and pragmatically appropriate TL representation of an SL input.

That some form of temporary storage is involved in SI – and crucially so – seems self-evident. As in other information processing tasks, whenever the processing of language cannot proceed in a strictly linear sequence, and whenever input items must be retained while subsequent ones are being processed, recourse must be made to a memory store, the definition and parameters of which have been the subject of extensive theoretical debate and experimental research. Brown (1958) – and soon afterwards Peterson and Peterson (1959) – demonstrated that material is forgotten within seconds if rehearsal (i.e., some form of mental scanning) is prevented. SI is a task which would seem to defy covert rehearsal, in that it entails an exceptional number of factors likely to impede subvocalization: (1) approximately 70% of the TL output coincides with SL input (Goldman-Eisler 1968; Barik 1975; Gerver 1975), and constitutes a form of articulatory suppression; (2) the cognitive demands of LTM searches and retrieval may supersede covert rehearsal of the source-language items; (3) covert rehearsal of retrieved TL strings awaiting articulation may also supersede rehearsal of new input items; (4) as an indirect addressee who is often deprived of full access to the situational and contextual information, the interpreter may be devoting full attention to compensatory

inferencing<sup>1</sup> (Pöchhacker 1992; cf. Schank 1980; Fincher-Kiefer *et al.* 1988; Chincotta and Underwood 1998). Although Vallar and Baddeley (1982) have shown that some form of rehearsal may be possible even when subvocalization is prevented, it is thus nonetheless quite striking, given all of these factors, that interpreters are able to store stretches of well over 2 seconds (the theoretical limit of working memory whenever no rehearsal is feasible).<sup>2</sup>

While the task of SI is, in many respects, *sui generis*, different in obvious and crucial ways from those generally used to study WM in monolingual settings<sup>3</sup> – and from those used in the study of bilingualism – existing cognitive and psycholinguistic research is nonetheless clearly relevant, especially if one accepts that "a psycholinguistic theory of translation and interpreting should be consistent with a larger framework of information processing in general" (Hamers and Blanc 1989: 254). Most of the models of the SI process have in fact drawn on information processing concepts, but there has been very little reference to the actual processes by which items are lost or discarded from WM or to factors which may contribute to the decay of memory trace in SI. In one of the earliest models, Gerver (1971) incorporates a discard-input module when the buffer is full and a discard-current-item module as part of post-articulatory monitoring.<sup>4</sup> Moser (1976) too includes a discard module, after the point at which a "decision" is made not to restart activation of TL elements residing at the nodes of the conceptual network. Neither of these models, however, nor Gile's Efforts model (1988) nor other, more recent ones (Darò and Fabbro 1994;

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- 1 By analogy, Cowan (1995: 128-129) describes the predicament of a conversationalist who, in order to draw the correct pragmatic inferences, may have to keep several pieces of information in mind while continuing to devote attention to the speaker, rather than rehearsing the critical information.
  - 2 To say that the task may be performed without rehearsal is not to deny that rehearsal may enhance the results. "[...] just because a mechanism is redundant does not mean that it is useless. The STM buffer, for instance, allows for the formation of a more coherent textbase. Propositions maintained in the buffer can be linked with the propositions derived from the next sentence on the basis of purely textual relations, whereas long-term WM links must be based on prior knowledge" (Kintsch 1998: 234-235).
  - 3 Most test materials in (monolingual) serial recall tasks, for example, consist of unrelated items with little or no intra-list predictability; recall is not tested until offset of the final item, often with a further delay or interpolation added; the concurrent task, if any, is relatively undemanding; and the subject is frequently instructed to rehearse the items as they are presented – a strategy which is largely ruled out by the very simultaneity of SI.
  - 4 As in the case of monolingual sovereign speech (Levelt 1989: 466), so too in SI, evidence drawn from repairs (Setton 1999) indicates that the interpreter's own output is available to her before being articulated.

Paradis 1994) dwell on the rapid forgetting that appears to occur – particularly in the case of unrelated, or loosely contextualized items; e.g. names, numbers etc. – in the presence of "online" interlingual transfer.<sup>5</sup>

One of the challenges posed by such strings of unpredictable or loosely contextualized items is that they increase the "density" of the discourse, and place an exceptional burden on the interpreter. Dillinger (1989), Lee (1999) and Tommola and Helevä (1998) cite density as a key determinant of processing capacity, and Gile (1995) notes the heavy load imposed by lists, in particular, which are intrinsically high-density utterances, since "[...] more information must be processed per unit of time. [...] High speech density is probably the most frequent source of interpretation problems. High speech density is associated with [...] information elements put next to each other without grammatical or other low-density word groups in-between" (172-173). Given the likelihood of encountering uncontextualized lists in typical conference discourse, the interpreter's ability to reconstruct strings of names, numbers etc. in the target language is of course relevant to successful performance of the task. The risk of omission is likely to be compounded by any structural or syntactic differences between source and target languages.

In the study reported below, such lists were used as a means of examining the extent of information loss, arguably attributable to the limits of working memory and to the impossibility of rehearsing the items until such time as the target-language syntax allows them to be produced in the output. As discussed below, however, it emerged that more was at stake in the "forgetting" of input items than the limitations of WM as such. The experimental design centered on professional practitioners' capacity to retain long left-branching noun phrases (i.e. a noun preceded by a long string of adjectives) while interpreting into a head-initial language (i.e. one which requires that the noun be produced before its modifiers), and on the role of presentation rate in this process. At the point where the interpreter – possibly cued by prosodic markers of the left-branching structure (the long head-final string) in the SL – becomes aware of the buildup of material which cannot be dealt with in linear sequence, and which requires storage and planning, she is also focusing on anticipation of the yet-to-be-uttered lexemes, particularly the noun, which she must then produce in the TL.

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5 The information-processing model proposed by Massaro (1975), precursor of the Moser (1976) model of SI, includes two memory modules (generated abstract memory and synthesized memory), but no explicit reference to forgetting, per se. The same holds true for SI: "SI theorists are aware of the extralinguistic, implicit and immediate factors in speech but, lacking a reasoned model of their operation, have had to gloss over the intermediate stages of the translation process. IP approaches address SI in terms of the limitations on human computing power, but are vague on what is computed or stored [...]" (Setton 1998: 164).

She must recall and translate the stored modifiers with the requisite morphosyntactic adjustments, while also beginning to process the segment that follows.

#### The experiment

The experiment entailed texts read at two delivery rates – 120 and 140 words per minute – and set out to resolve two seemingly conflicted hypotheses: on the one hand, recall was expected to be better if less time elapsed between the sounding of the SL string and its TL reconstruction; on the other hand, retrieval of TL replacement items from LTM was expected to be poorer when performed at the higher rate.<sup>6</sup> Both rates were within the range often found in conference speakers' presentations. (In fact, 100-120 wpm has been cited as the optimal speed for interpreting (Seleskovitch 1978)).

#### *The subjects*

All sixteen subjects were experienced professionals, with the same directionality:<sup>7</sup> all were working from their B-language (English) into their A-language (Hebrew). The decision to confine the study to professionals (the cutoff point being a minimum of three years' working experience) was based on the differences which are known to exist between novices and experts in skilled performance, including SI. Neubert (1997) notes that the experienced translator and interpreter often use lexical items and grammatical constructions that cannot be predicted on the basis of ready correspondences "suitable to the textual and situational context" (p. 11). In line with this approach, memory for content, coupled with the forgetting of surface structure information, is cited as being crucial to the highly developed semantic memory required in interpreting. Le Ny (1978) suggests that "the forgetting of the non-semantic information of the input text is more rapid in an expert interpreter than in the normal unilingual subject during the phase of comprehension" and that "this rapid decline of the non-semantic information is essential to carry out the task of simultaneous

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6 Studies of WM in tasks involving monolingual recall have indeed yielded conflicting results, attributed in the main to differences in the subjects' use of strategies: a more "active" strategy (involving rehearsal, as well as a grouping of the items to be recalled) produces better results at slower (1 item per second) than at more rapid rates; a more passive strategy (in which all forms of organizing the input are avoided) shows the opposite trend (Hockey 1973).

7 The role of directionality in interpreting is self-evident, with comprehension being more difficult, more error-prone and presumably more time-consuming in interpreting from L2 than from L1 (e.g. Weller 1991; Tommola and Helevä 1998).

interpretation because it facilitates better processing of semantic information" (p. 292).

Skilled performers are able to retain large amounts of information in accessible form while engaging in domain-relevant tasks, an ability that is posited to increase with experience: "[...] expert performance is far more interruptible than would be predicted from the assumption that they have to maintain all of the temporarily stored information in working memory by continued rehearsal" (Ericsson and Delaney 1998: 94). Non-experts, on the other hand, are unable to allocate attention as effectively: "[...] interpreters paused as long as 10 seconds in their SI, apparently as a result of devoting their whole capacity to understanding the incoming message. It turned out that those interpreters were not professional interpreters at all, just good English speakers whose accuracy was far from satisfactory. Their tasks were taken over by professional interpreters after these incidents. These professional interpreters employed the strategy of slowing delivery in order to comprehend dense incoming material" (Lee 1999). Padilla et al. 1995 have demonstrated the gradual extension of WM as a function of task-specific training and experience, and Liu (2001), in a groundbreaking study of domain-specific skills in SI and their role in expertise development, has succeeded in demonstrating that expert performance in SI is not simply a matter of overall better processing skills; rather expertise in SI is confined to performance in this particular task, and is not related to performance on non-domain tasks.

#### *The materials*

In terms of ecological validity, the materials for such a study should ideally be taken from an existing corpus of actual conference presentations. This proved impracticable, however, since the study required clearly delineated, accurately constructed strings, unlikely to figure in naturalistic speech.<sup>8</sup> The materials, therefore, had to be created expressly for the purposes of the study, and engineered so as to include the specific string types. To offset this artificiality, every effort was made to compose complete, coherent texts of the written-to-be-spoken variety often used in conference presentations, requiring no specialized knowledge or prior contextualization.<sup>9</sup> Six such texts were written, comprising

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8 SI research has been very slow to introduce corpus-based analyses (Armstrong 1997; Shlesinger 1998). "The IP [information processing] community has yet to present a corpus in support of its theories" (Setton 1998: 38).

9 Familiarity with the topic of discourse is a key factor in determining the processing effort required. As noted by Doherty (1997): "If we set all other contextual variables at default values and concentrate on the properties that can be read off the linguistic forms of sentences in a text, we can compare the different processing conditions".

approximately 1,700 words each. Embedded within them and serving as the actual target utterances were a total of 180 strings. Sixty of these, each consisting of four attributive modifiers (adjectives) followed by a head (a noun), comprised the materials for the study reported here. To avoid a spillover effect, no two strings followed each other immediately, so that subjects could "recover" from the demands imposed by the one string before encountering the next one (Gile 1997: 200). These target strings are not syntactically or semantically hierarchical; they are essentially series of loosely related items, all of which collocate with the head. As Setton (1999) notes in accounting for approximations and simplifications of propositional structure in SI, "SI is vulnerable as regards numbers and proper names, but we generalise this problem to all items which are difficult to associate into the mental model, predicting difficulty at any sudden influx of new referents" (p. 264). The total duration of the recorded materials (approximately 11,000 words) in which the target strings were embedded was between 79 minutes (at 140 wpm) and 92 minutes (at 120 wpm). The following is an excerpt from the experimental materials:

[...] No less annoying was a stupid, biased, shocking, public account by one of those politicians who always pretend to speak for the people. Their sanctimonious attitude is an insult. Don't they realize that there's nothing intrinsically wrong with TV as such, just as there is nothing intrinsically right with the printed page. Even an illustrious, tempestuous, omnipotent, conservative writer like the editor of our biggest daily seems to have joined the trend.<sup>10</sup>

#### *The procedure*

The subjects interpreted the same set of pre-recorded texts individually in a language lab in two sessions, scheduled three weeks apart, to minimize the chances of their remembering their own solutions to particular segments: texts 1, 3, 5 were delivered (on tape) at 120 wpm and texts 2, 4, 6 at 140 wpm at one of the sessions (with short breaks between texts); texts 1, 3, 5 were delivered (on tape) at 140 wpm and texts 2, 4, 6 at 120 wpm at the other session. The order of presentation was counterbalanced across subjects.

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10 The fact that the first string comprises entirely of two-syllable modifiers and the second comprises four-syllable ones is a variable which figured in a separate analysis of the word-length effect in SI. The study, in fact, included 120 additional strings, designed to test additional aspects of processing, but these will not concern us here.



### Results

The study began with the seemingly counterintuitive hypothesis that performance would be better at a higher rate of presentation. While the slower presentation rate affords the interpreter more for retrieval of TL replacements from long-term memory (LTM), it also entails the risk of greater trace decay. It was predicted that the latter factor would predominate and that TL string integrity would be weaker at 120 wpm than at 140 wpm one. Since all of the materials were processed by each of 16 subjects at each of two rates, the total number of strings comprising the data was: 60 target strings x 16 subjects x 2 rates = 1920 target strings. (Six strings were later discarded for various reasons, leaving a total of 1,914.)

In the case of 325 (34.7%) out of 936 strings presented at 120 wpm, and 305 (31.2%) out of 978 strings presented at 140 wpm<sup>11</sup> – i.e. for slightly fewer than **one third of all strings** – the output included not a single modifier; all that remained of the 5-word string in the TL output was the noun. In the cases of approximately **one third of all strings** – 302 (32.3%) of the strings at 120 wpm and in 349 (35.7%) of the strings at 140 wpm – only one modifier remained. Two modifiers were produced in 254 (27.1%) of the 120 wpm and 276 (28.2%) of the 140 wpm strings. Three were produced in 51 (5.4%) of the 120 wpm and 47 (4.8%) of the 140 wpm strings. In only 4 (.4%) of the 120 wpm and 1 (.1%) of the 140 wpm strings were all four modifiers retained. Thus, the 140 wpm strings showed an advantage over the 120 wpm ones with respect to the number of modifiers retained, as predicted (means = 1.07 and 1.05, respectively) – approaching, but not reaching significance. (See Figure 1).

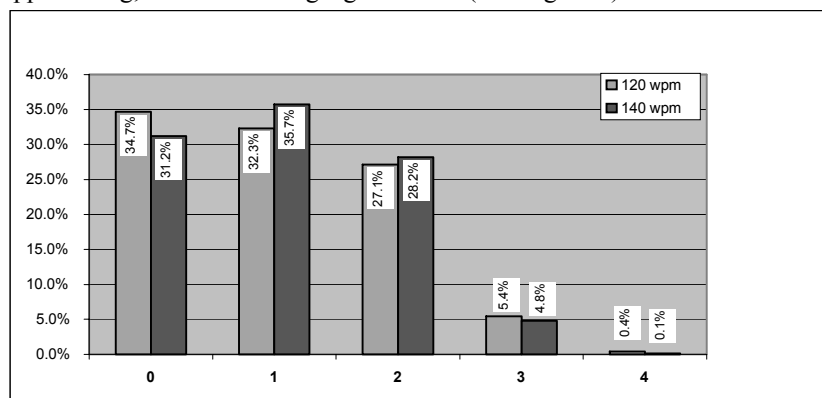


Figure 1 – Modifiers retained (by presentation rate)

11 Due to human error, part of one text – including the first 21 strings – was inadvertently played twice at 140 rather than 120 wpm in the case of one of the subjects.

## Discussion

Studies of list-based recall in monolingual tasks or in straightforward word-translation tasks rarely report results as poor as the ones obtained here – particularly in the case of expert practitioners.<sup>12</sup> Granted, the requirement to store such high-density strings comprising four successive SL modifiers (or their TL replacements) in anticipation of the noun imposes a heavy cognitive load, and one may expect a dramatic loss of information since the articulation of a TL output in the case of SI largely or completely suppresses the rehearsal of incoming materials, and yet, the explanation apparently goes beyond the sheer difficulty of SI as a task which epitomizes the constant interplay of context-driven, top-down and data-driven, bottom-up information under highly constrained circumstances.<sup>13</sup> Precisely because of the inherent difficulties, the interpreter's efficiency in prioritizing the incoming information and "deciding" what to retain and what to discard is crucial to adequate performance of the task. Without discounting this difficulty as a factor in the subjects' overall poor recall, it stands to reason that the explanation lies (primarily) elsewhere: strategies – whether norm-driven or idiosyncratic, conscious or automatized, universal or language-specific – may play an important role in the subjects' "decision" to assign low priority to the integrity of the target strings, even when cognitive resources are not being used to capacity and would allow for the retention of a greater number of modifiers. In fact, the strategy of cutting slack for a more demanding yet-to-come segment, or of conserving energy by focusing on the "important" components has often been cited as accounting for the proceduralization of the process, even among those with no experience at translation (Tourey 1995: 99), and is reminiscent of the Minimax Principle (Levy 1967).<sup>14</sup>

Manipulation of instructions has also been shown to motivate strategies which, in turn, affect working memory. Thus, Gregg et al. (1989) have shown the effects of strategic control of the articulatory loop: subjects who were encouraged to rehearse the first half of the list had a higher recall rate than those

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12 This retention rate is even lower than would be expected in the case of items which must be retained after being perceived in one "take": Cowan (1999) cites various studies of immediate recall which lead to the conclusion that up to 4 unconnected items can be kept in mind at one time, and suggests that "only about four items can be drawn from sensory memory to the focus of awareness on a particular trial".

13 "The harder the task intervening between presentation and recall the worse the recall" (Crowder 1976: 195).

14 As people become more proficient in performing a cognitively demanding task, they also become more proficient in selecting the best strategy for any particular instance of task performance (Reder 1987).

who were not. While the instructions in the present study were non-specific and, as such, did not motivate the implementation of intentional strategies, the findings may nonetheless point to the presence of strategic factors – presumably generated by norms and expectations based on the subjects' training and professional experience – which appear to account for some of the across-the-board findings of the study. The effect of presentation rate then was in the predicted direction: performance at the higher rate (which allows less time for unrehearsed items to decay) was consistently (though not significantly) better than at the slower rate.

### Conclusion

While the articulation of a TL output in the case of SI largely or completely suppresses the rehearsal of incoming materials and may be expected to entail a dramatic loss of information, there may also be more deliberate, possibly conscious factors involved in the functional online juxtaposition of the interpreter's two or more languages. This possibility raised methodological complications, which called into question the results of the present study as well: certain norm-driven strategies appeared to be playing a greater role than was previously suspected, and were difficult to distinguish from the operation of WM in SI *per se*. Thus, the dramatic loss of information (i.e. the omission of most of the items in the strings comprising the experimental materials) may be accounted for both as a by-product of WM limitations and as the result of the subjects' strategic "decisions".

It remains to be seen whether the findings generated by this study will be reflected in more natural settings. Towards this end, a corpus-based study, using existing corpora of interpreted texts (for which an SL version is available), may prove enlightening. With a sufficiently large number of examples of left-branching structures or of other constructions known to rely on the effectiveness of the central executive component of WM, one can infer about the constraints which affect the use of WM in SI in natural settings – and test the validity of the experimental results reported above.

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# **PHYSIOLOGICAL STRESS DURING SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING: A COMPARISON OF EXPERTS AND NOVICES**

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## 1. Introduction

Conference interpreters work under conditions which psychologists generally consider to involve objective stress factors: the constant information load, the time factor, the tremendous amount of concentration required, fatigue, the confined environment of the booth, etc. Several empirical studies have confirmed that simultaneous interpreting is indeed a high-stress occupation.

Following an overview of relevant stress studies carried out so far, the paper presents a pilot study which was part of a research project carried out under the author's supervision at the University of Vienna aimed at examining the stressfulness of simultaneous interpreting (SI). Two objective physiological parameters (pulse rate and skin conductance level) were monitored during SI in an attempt to determine whether experts (experienced conference interpreters) and novices (student interpreters) differ in their physiological stress responses.

## 2. Job stress

There is general agreement that job stress results from the interaction of the individual and the conditions of work. It can be defined as the harmful physical and emotional responses that occur when the requirements of the job do not match the capabilities, resources or needs of the worker. According to the NIOSH (National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health), working conditions play a primary role in causing job stress. However, the role of individual factors must not be ignored. Exposure to stressful working conditions (job stressors) can have a direct influence on workers' safety and health. At the same time, individual and other situational factors can intervene to strengthen or weaken this influence. Differences in individual characteristics, such as personality and coping style, are important in predicting whether certain job conditions will result in stress. In other words, what is stressful for one person may not be a problem for someone else. Although the significance of individual differences cannot be ignored, scientific evidence suggests that certain working conditions are stressful for most people (e.g. heavy workload, infrequent rest breaks, long hours of work, inability to cope with the volume and complexity of work, poor social environment, lack of training, lack of control, job insecurity,



unpleasant or dangerous physical conditions such as noise, poor lighting, poor ventilation, poor temperature control, or ergonomic problems). (For a detailed description see NIOSH 2003).

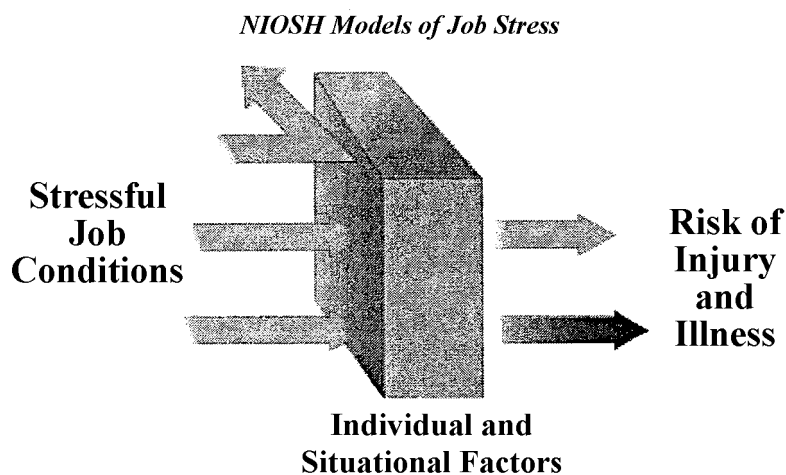


Figure 1. NIOSH Model of Job Stress

Stress triggers off an alarm in the brain, which responds by preparing the body for defensive actions. The nervous system is aroused and hormones are released to sharpen the senses, quicken the pulse, deepen respiration, and tense the muscles. This response (sometimes called the fight or flight response), which is biologically preprogrammed, is important because it helps us defend ourselves against threatening situations. Short-lived or infrequent episodes of stress pose little risk, but when stressful situations go unresolved, the body is kept in a constant state of activation, which increases the rate of wear and tear and may ultimately compromise the body's ability to repair and defend itself. Stress is what life is about: it is part of our wholeness. But when stress becomes distress, it is destructive. Stress research, therefore, should consider the level of stress, presence of stressors, responses to stressors, coping abilities, and physical signs of distress.

### 3. Interpreting and stress

#### 3.1. Intuitive perception of interpreting stress

There is general agreement among conference interpreters that their profession is a very demanding one. It requires a maximum of attention and concentration

over prolonged periods of time. The need to cope with different (often highly difficult) subjects, different speakers and accents, the possibility of failure at all times, etc. are among the factors that are generally regarded as contributing to stress. The literature abounds with intuitive statements to the effect that stress is intrinsic to interpreting:

More often than not the interpreter is very highly strung and must in his profession stand a long and continuous strain which is hard to bear. (Herbert 1952: 6)

L'interprète travaille constamment sous tension et doit posséder une endurance hors pair sous peine de devenir tôt ou tard la victime de ses nerfs. (van Hoof 1962: 62)

When he interprets, the interpreter is under pressure. (Seleskovitch 1978: 41)

[...] stress is held to be an important factor in interpreting. (Henderson 1987: 39)

Simultaneous interpreting is a highly complex discourse performance [...] where language perception, comprehension, translation and production operations are carried out virtually in parallel and under severe time pressure. [...] the task [...] is likely to create a heavy processing load. (Tommola and Hyönä 1990: 180)

Consequently, it was held that "interpretation requires that one have nerves of steel" (Gravier 1978: iv), that "interpreters must have (...) the ability to work under stress for long periods" (Longley 1989: 106), must possess "a quality perhaps best defined by the modern slang word 'unflappability', or coolness under pressure" (Roland 1982: 13), and should be "programmed to be winners under adverse circumstances" (Coughlin 1988: 359).

This view seems to be shared by those using the services of conference interpreters.

When clients of an interpreting service were asked what they considered particularly difficult about the interpreting profession, the most frequent replies were 'high concentration' and 'stress' (Moser 1995).

It took some time, however, before attempts were made to test the validity of these claims.

Although the question of individual differences in personality, and the ability to withstand the stress involved in the career of a simultaneous interpreter (e.g. the constant information load during interpretation, the confined environment of the interpreting booth, fatigue, and the effects of environmental noise) is often discussed by professional interpreters,

virtually no research has been carried out in this area. (Gervert 1976: 188-89)

A great deal has been written about the pressures and strains imposed on interpreters working in international forums [...]. Little serious empirical work has been undertaken, however, to identify the sources of stress acting on them. (Cooper, Davies and Tung 1982: 97)

Simultaneous interpreting [...] for some unknown reasons [...] has never been analysed within the framework of a stress theory. [...] the plea for more research in this domain seems more compelling than ever. (Klonowicz 1991: 446/447)

### 3.2. Empirical stress research

Over the last twenty years, the research community has ceased to take the initial intuitive claims at face value. The formerly tacit assumptions have been put to the test. A number of empirical stress studies have been implemented in an attempt to gauge the environmental, psychological and physiological stress under which interpreters work.

#### 3.2.1. Environmental (physical) stress

Environmental (physical) stressors include such factors as temperature, humidity and air quality.

Some of the earliest stress studies investigated the impact of the work environment or, more precisely, temperature, humidity and air quality in the booth (Kurz 1981, 1983a, 1983b, Kurz and Kolmer 1984).

Even though, over the years, the efforts of the Technical and Health Committee of AIIC (International Association of Conference Interpreters) have led to considerable improvements in the design of booths, these early studies showed that in practice working conditions, particularly in mobile booths, were frequently poor or unacceptable. There were major inadequacies with regard to temperature, relative humidity and CO<sub>2</sub> levels. While the applicable ISO standard recommends a temperature comfort zone of 18-22°C, this range was exceeded in 100% of the booths in which measurements were carried out. The average in-booth temperature at the end of a conference was 26.4°C.

### 3.2.2. Psychological stress

While some working conditions are stressful for most individuals, the perception of stress is highly subjective and is influenced by personality factors, such as an individual's self-confidence or the way he/she judges a situation. To a large extent, it is these factors that determine whether an individual perceives a situation as stressful or not.

Ergopsychometric studies, i.e. psychological testing under stress as compared to neutral conditions, have confirmed the well-known phenomenon that there are individuals who show an unchanged or even improved performance under load ('consistent performers'), while others with an equally good performance in a stress-free atmosphere tend to fail in stressful situations (Guttmann and Etlinger 1991).

Kurz (1997) used the State and Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) to investigate conference interpreters' anxiety levels. The findings support the hypothesis that conference interpreters have better situation-dependent control over their feelings of anxiety and manage to label their anxiety in a positive way. This suggests that they are 'consistent' performers', able to maintain an even performance under stress.

Jiménez and Pinazo (2001), who used the STAI to determine whether there is a relation between anxiety and students' interpreting performance, also point out that the capacity to control stress has traditionally been considered one of the prerequisites for interpreting.

Nevertheless, the Cooper Study (Cooper, Davies and Tung 1982), which focused on mental and emotional stress in conference interpreters, found that 45% of the respondents indicated that over 40% of the stress in their lives was work-related.

When asked what they find particularly difficult about the interpreting profession, 26% of the users of interpreting services interviewed in Peter Moser's study (1995) mentioned high concentration and constant stress, and 18% likened the job of the interpreter to that of a pilot or air traffic controller.

Besides, there are situations which even experienced conference interpreters find more stressful because circumstances require additional efforts. Riccardi, Marinuzzi and Zecchin (1998) hypothesized that remote interpreting (with no direct view of the speakers) would impose more strain on interpreters than regular conference interpreting. Their assumptions were confirmed by two remote interpreting experiments conducted by the United Nations.

Interpreters participating in a UN remote interpreting experiment in 1999 emphasized that they were able to maintain performance at acceptable levels only at a higher psychological and physiological cost (Report of the Secretary General 2001a). This was corroborated by the interpreters participating in a

second experiment in 2001, who stated that remote interpretation demanded greater physical effort and led to higher psychological stress than normal on-site work (Report of the Secretary General 2001b). In the Workload Study, too, videoconferencing was perceived as having a negative impact on performance by 73% of the respondents having experienced it (Mertens-Hofmann 2001, see 3.2.4).

Interpreting for live TV broadcasts has also been shown to be more stressful. Being aware that he/she is interpreting for an audience of hundreds of thousands or even millions, the TV interpreter is more keenly afraid of failure than during 'ordinary' conference interpreting (Kurz 2002).

### 3.2.3. Physiological stress

Researchers have also started looking at physiological stress parameters as objective signs of stress. (For an overview of physiological stress responses see Zeier 1997.)

Tommola and Hyönä (1990) measured the variations in mental load during simultaneous interpreting and two other language processing tasks (listening and shadowing) by means of pupillometry and found that SI was associated with the highest dilation levels.

Klonowicz (1991) examined changes in effort during a day's work in the booth. Blood pressure and heart rate were measured immediately before and immediately after 30-minute shifts, showing more pronounced elevations with the duration of work.

In a pilot study Moser-Mercer, Künzli and Korac (1998) studied the impact of prolonged turns (more than 30 minutes) on the quality of interpreters' output and used a saliva test to determine cortisol and immunoglobulin A concentrations.

Kurz (2002) examined whether interpreters' subjective impression that live TV interpreting is more stressful than 'ordinary' conference interpreting can be confirmed by objective physiological stress measurements.

### 3.2.4. Workload Study

AIIC commissioned a Study of Workload and Burnout in Simultaneous Interpreting (Mertens-Hoffman 2001), using a combination of various research methods and tools. It is the first comprehensive study to investigate all four sets of parameters: psychological, physiological, physical (environmental) and performance factors. A major focus of the study was on the extent to which these were or were not interrelated (Mackintosh 2001).

The study consisted of a mail survey among a representative sample of AIIC interpreters (607 respondents) and an in-depth study (48 booths). The mail survey investigated levels and components of job satisfaction, causes, feelings and effects of work-related stress and discomfort, and burnout. The in-depth study included:

- a) physical measurements in booths (humidity, effective temperature, air quality, etc.
- b) questionnaires on interpreters' attitudes
- c) recording of interpreters' heart rate and blood pressure over 24 hours and measurement of cortisol levels at different times during the day
- d) objective measurement of performance quality in an attempt
  - to map out both positive characteristics and sources of stress in the interpreter's work
  - to characterize physical stress (air quality, effective temperature, etc.) in the interpreter's work environment
  - to test the implications of the work characteristics on the interpreter's quality of life and quality of work
  - to identify recommendations for improvement.

Physical measurements in the booths revealed serious shortcomings with regard to CO<sub>2</sub> levels, relative humidity and temperature. A high percentage of all mobile booths measured was either unacceptable or poor by ISO standards.

On the basis of the replies to the questionnaire, levels of mental and physical exhaustion, cognitive fatigue and mental stress are higher for interpreters than for hi-tech workers and similar to those of teachers and senior officers (in the Israeli army). The responses confirmed interpreting as a high-stress occupation performed by competent and motivated professionals.

Although interpreters appear to have developed coping mechanisms for stress, there are indications that there is a physiological cost associated with these levels of expertise. Ambulatory blood pressure and heart rate measurements over 24 hours demonstrated the stressfulness of the interpreters' job. The rates were highest when the interpreters were 'on mike'. Salivary cortisol levels were comparable to those of workers in other high-stress occupations.

Correlations between measures of (subjective and objective) stress and performance were found to be weak. This is in keeping with findings in the literature, however, which indicate that highly competent and motivated workers maintain a high level of performance in the presence of a variety of stressors.

Now that the link between environmental, psychological and physiological factors has been established in several empirical studies during SI (both in natural settings and in the laboratory), researchers' interest is beginning to focus on more subtle aspects, such as situation-dependent intra-individual differences

in psychological and physiological stress (Kurz 2002) and differences between experts and novices.

#### 4. How experts differ from novices

An expert is generally considered to be someone who has attained a high level of performance in a given domain as a result of years of experience, whereas a novice is usually defined as someone with little or no experience. (Moser-Mercer 2000: 339)

Anderson (1990) describes three stages of skill acquisition: the cognitive, the associative and the autonomous stage.

In the cognitive stage, subjects or learners develop a declarative encoding, i.e. they commit to memory a set of facts relevant to the skill. The knowledge acquired in the cognitive stage is inadequate for skilled performance. The second stage is the associative stage, during which two important things happen: first, errors in the initial understanding are gradually detected and eliminated; second, the connections among the various elements required for successful performance are strengthened. The third stage of skill acquisition is the autonomous stage. In this stage, the procedure becomes more and more automated and rapid. There is no sharp distinction between the associative and the autonomous stage. Two of the dimensions of improvement with practice are speed and accuracy. The procedures come to apply more rapidly and more appropriately.

People who have acquired expertise in particular areas are, by definition, able to think effectively about problems in those areas. Research shows that it is not merely general abilities nor the use of general strategies that distinguishes experts from novices. Rather, experts have acquired extensive knowledge that impacts what they notice and how they organize, represent and interpret information in their environment, which, in turn, impacts their abilities to remember, reason, and solve problems (Bransford, Brown and Cocking 2003). Experts and novices have been found to differ in terms of:

##### a) Meaningful patterns of information

The fact that identical stimuli are perceived and understood differently, depending on the knowledge a person brings to the situation, was demonstrated by de Groot (1965), who tried to determine what distinguished master chess players from weaker chess players. (For a detailed description see Kurz 1996.) He concluded that, on the basis of knowledge acquired over tens of thousands of hours of chess playing, chess masters were able to 'chunk' various elements of a configuration into familiar patterns and realize

their strategic implications. Experts across all domains recognize features and meaningful patterns of information that remain unnoticed by novices.

b) Organization of knowledge

Experts have acquired a great deal of content knowledge that is organized in ways that reflect a deep understanding of their subject matter. Their knowledge cannot simply be reduced to sets of isolated facts or formulas that are related to their domain, but is organized around core concepts. They possess an efficient organization of knowledge with meaningful relations among related elements clustered into related units that are governed by underlying concepts and principles.

c) Context and access to knowledge

Experts have not only acquired knowledge, but are also good at accessing the knowledge relevant to a particular task. They do not have to search through everything they know in order to find what is relevant. In the language of cognitive science, experts' knowledge is 'conditionalized'. It includes a specification of the context in which it is useful.

d) Fluent retrieval

Experts are able to flexibly retrieve important aspects of their knowledge with little attentional effort. Automatic and fluent retrieval are a part of expertise. Fluency is important because effortless processing places fewer demands on conscious attention.

#### 4.1. Stress experienced by conference interpreters and student interpreters

Stress consists of the psychophysiological processes caused by a perceived threat or danger. From a psychological point of view the phenomenon involves two components: (1) the experience of a threatening and strenuous situation and (2) the uncertainty whether one will be able to cope with this situation.

Stress is what occurs when an individual feels that environmental requirements clearly exceed the resources available to him for coping with them. (Riccardi, Marinuzzi and Zecchin 1998: 96)

Previous research on occupational stress has shown that individuals' perception of stress, rather than 'objective' stress per se, has an overriding impact on the person's physical well-being and performance on the job (Cooper, Davies and Tung 1982).

Stress depends on the complex relation between the individual and the environment. Furthermore, it depends on the subjective evaluation of the event, which is also linked with past experience. Uncontrollable or unpredictable events are more stressful than controllable or predictable ones.



The reason why conference interpreters manage to cope with the high demands of their profession is that they are experts in their domain. Through their training and experience they have acquired sufficient expertise, i.e. a combination of greater knowledge and better strategies. Expertise manifests itself, among other things, in the ability to process larger segments and allows the interpreter to adopt the right strategy quickly, sometimes automatically.

As illustrated in 3.2.2, however, there are situations in which even experienced interpreters report greater stress because they are confronted with unknown factors and might need strategies that go beyond their standard repertoire: live TV interpreting (Kurz 2002) and videoconferencing/remote interpreting (Riccardi, Marinuzzi and Zecchin 1998). The interpreters participating in two United Nations remote interpreting experiments confirmed that remote interpretation demanded greater physical effort and led to higher psychological stress than normal on-site work (Report of the Secretary General 2001a, 2001b).

Unlike conference interpreters, novices/student interpreters cannot rely on extensive experience. They still grapple with numerous difficulties (background knowledge, comprehension, concentration, *décalage*, finding equivalents, keeping up with the speaker, etc.) (cf. Moser-Mercer 2000). Therefore, what has become a routine situation for experienced interpreters is likely to constitute a highly stressful event for student interpreters.

Riccardi, Marinuzzi and Zecchin (1998) administered the ASQ – IPAT Anxiety Scale, the CDQ – IPAT Depression Scale and the MMPI-2 (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) to interpretation students and experienced conference interpreters before and after a conference. (Interpretation students were monitored during a mock conference, while interpreters were monitored in real working conditions.) The results showed lower anxiety and depression values for students and interpreters than for the normal population, with students showing greater score variations. This is most likely due to the fact that students do not have a real work experience and were affected more by the conference setting, even though it was only a mock conference, resulting in higher stress levels.

It stands to reason that the higher psychological stress experienced by student interpreters will be reflected in elevated physiological parameters. In order to test this hypothesis, the following pilot study was carried out.

## 4.2. Pilot study

### 4.2.1. Method

The pilot study, which was part of a research project conducted under the author's supervision, set out to examine the stressfulness of SI for conference interpreters and students by using objective physiological parameters. The subjective stress a person associates with a particular situation is also reflected in the individual's physiological responses. Consequently, changes of physiological functions can be used as an indicator of emotional and mental processes. A wide variety of physiological parameters, e.g. heart rate, blood pressure, cortisol level and skin conductance level, can be used for this purpose, some of them being easier to record than others (Zeier 1997).

The saliva test used by Moser-Mercer, Künzli and Korac (1998) to determine cortisol and immunoglobulin A concentrations was deemed to be too complicated and unsuited for our purposes. (Subjects have to chew cotton rolls for exactly two minutes and are instructed to rinse their mouths with water ten minutes before the first saliva collection.) It was decided to use a method that (a) can be applied in live interpreting situations and (b) permits the continuous recording of physiological parameters.

The following parameters were chosen: (1) pulse rate and (2) skin conductance level (SCL). (When we are alarmed or stressed we sweat slightly more than usual, which leads to an increase of skin conductance.)

Present-day equipment, such as the Insight Instruments biofeedback system used in the present study, permits the continuous recording of pulse rate and skin conductance level with minimum inconvenience to subjects. Two electrodes are placed on the ventral surface of one of the digits of the left hand (in right-handed persons) and secured with a Velcro snap. This method can, therefore, be applied in live interpreting situations, allowing us to conduct psychophysiological stress research under natural conditions.

### 4.2.2. Subjects

The pilot study involved two groups of subjects:

1. As part of a more comprehensive research project, pulse rate and SCL of two interpreters were continuously recorded during SI at a medical conference (English/German). The total number of measurements was 14 for interpreter 1, and 12 for interpreter 2.
2. Three students in an English/German SI class taught by the author volunteered to have their pulse rate and SCL recorded while interpreting in

class. They were working with a text which they had received a week in advance.

#### 4.2.3. Results and discussion

Even though in a previous study (Kurz 2002) an individual interpreter's skin conductance level (SCL) showed significant differences in a moderately stressful situation (conference interpreting) as compared with a highly stressful situation (live TV interpreting), it failed to discriminate between experts and novices. From the data available so far, it seems that SCL is better suited to measure intra-individual differences.

There were, however, significant differences in subjects' pulse rate, as can be seen from Table 1.

Interpreter 1	75.00	(14 measurements)
Interpreter 2	73.75	(12 measurements)
Student 1	105.18	(68 - 123)
Student 2	86.90	(63 - 102)
Student 3	100.76	(67 - 116)

Table 1. Average pulse rate values during SI

Even though the medical conference can be described as highly technical and fairly difficult, the interpreters' pulse rate values remained within the normal range. No marked signs of elevated stress were observed. Experienced conference interpreters can be expected to cope with the high demands of a technical conference. Training and experience help them adopt the right strategies.

The pulse rate for all three student interpreters was clearly higher than that of the two interpreters, indicating that for novices even an 'ordinary' classroom situation (working with a text that had been available in advance) involves measurably higher physiological stress.

Figures 2 and 3 show typical pulse rate recordings for an interpreter and a student. The sample recording obtained for the interpreter has a total length of approx. 26 minutes (1563 seconds). Measurements were taken at 27-second intervals. The total recording time for the student was approx. 25.5 minutes (1535 seconds), with measurements being taken at 26-second intervals.

From Figure 2 it is obvious that, with the exception of a slightly higher value at the very beginning, the interpreter's pulse rate remained in the 70s throughout the 26-minute period (average = 69.21, range = 65.72 - 82.59).

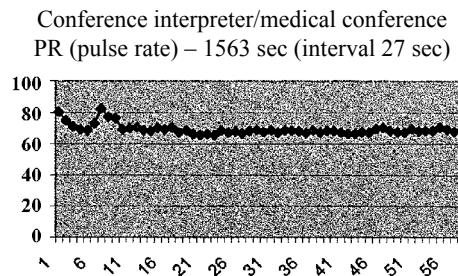


Figure 2. A conference interpreter's pulse rate recordings during a medical conference

By way of contrast, the student's pulse rate was around 100 most of the time and showed much stronger fluctuations (average = 105.18, range = 68.88 – 123.72), a clear indication that the SI situation in the classroom was experienced as highly stressful by the student.

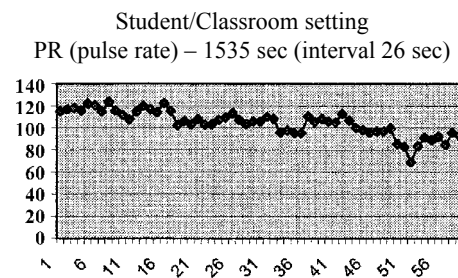


Figure 3. A student's pulse rate recordings in a classroom setting

## 5. Conclusions

This paper has tried to show the treatment of a topic that has always captured the interest of interpreters, clients and researchers – the stressfulness of the profession.

Since the early 1980s, formerly unsubstantiated claims have come under scrutiny. Several researchers have investigated environmental, psychological and physiological stress parameters and have collected objective data. Most recently, studies have focused

- a. on showing the 'connectivity' of different sets of data (work environment, mental, emotional, physiological stress, performance)
- b. on comparing intra-individual and inter-individual differences in physiological stress responses, i.e. showing that certain situations (TV interpreting, remote interpreting) are measurably more stressful for an

individual interpreter than others and that novices experience more psychological and physiological stress during SI than experts.

While conference interpreters have learned to overcome their 'stage fright' with experience and have developed more tolerance for the stress involved in SI, student interpreters still grapple with numerous problems.

In order to gain insight into the skill acquisition process and novices' progression towards expert performance, Moser Mercer (2000) asked students to record the difficulties they had with the exercises in class ('Introduction to simultaneous interpreting'). Among the many difficulties reported by them, concentration, i.e. the ability adequately to juggle all the subskills of the task without detriment to any one of them, was the most crucial one. The problems facing novices are likely to give rise to feelings of insecurity, fear of failure and heightened stress.

Unless teachers recognize that the achievement of expertise is a developmental process (Hoffman 1997), they

[...] are evaluating and diagnosing students' difficulties from the vantage point of their own interpreting practice. This is equivalent to an expert judging a novice on a scale developed for experts – it is akin to comparing apples and oranges. (Moser-Mercer 2000: 339)

Interpretation courses, therefore, should be designed in such a way as to facilitate the acquisition of productive interpreting strategies. As coping tactics are a fundamental skill in interpreting, they should be taught within the framework of practical exercises (Gile 1995).

Considering the elevated physiological stress values observed in student interpreters during SI in the classroom, it is suggested that

[...] students should be encouraged to pay more attention to their coping strategies (interpreting resources, feelings of self-efficacy, sense of challenge, will to show competence, responsibility and maturity) and less to their feelings of fear and anxiety in order [...] to increase self-confidence, if only for reasons related to personal well-being. (Jiménez and Pinazo 2001: 115)

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#### Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Doris Chiba, who conducted the physiological measurements and, thanks to her computer skills, managed to turn the wealth of data into comprehensible graphs.



## THE RELATION BETWEEN ST DELIVERY RATE AND QUALITY IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION

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### 1. Introduction

The aim of this experimental study was to shed light on the relation between source text (ST) delivery rate and quality in simultaneous interpretation (SI). In particular, attention was devoted to the potential negative effect that a ST delivered at high rate had on the simultaneous interpreter's performance, both in terms of meaning equivalence between ST and target text (TT) and in terms of TT delivery fluency.

This type of analysis was chosen because, among the large variety of external working conditions that may influence interpretation quality, high ST delivery rate is a variable that often causes additional stress to the already fatiguing task of SI and may undermine the quality of the interpreter's performance.

Interpretation quality may fall off both from the viewpoint of meaning and of delivery fluency. An interpreting performance may be considered good when an accurate translation of the ST's linguistic<sup>1</sup> message in the target language (TL) is carried out and when the interpreter is able to adequately reproduce in the TL the contextually determined pragmatic sense (Moser-Mercer 1985, Bühler 1986, Kurz 1988, Altman 1994, Kopczynski 1994). In this study, high ST delivery rate was put in relation with both aspects, whereas investigations on this topic carried out in the past were based exclusively on the negative influence that a ST delivered at high rate had on SI quality from the point of view of meaning (Gerver 1971, Galli 1990). These investigations did not consider the possible impact of ST rate on the delivery fluency of the SI.

The potential negative impact of a high ST delivery rate on quality in SI was examined in this study by means of an experiment in which two STs read at low and high rate respectively, were interpreted by two groups of subjects. All TTs were analysed first from the viewpoint of meaning accuracy, in order to assess whether the message conveyed in the ST matched the message of the TT, and then from the viewpoint of delivery, so as to assess whether the interpreters' performance was fluent or not. To do this, two different groups of error

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1 The terms linguistic and extra-linguistic used in the present article are taken from Bühler (1986).

evaluation categories were used, namely (a) omissions, substitutions, additions and logical-time sequence deviations to analyse meaning; and (b) pronunciation/phonation errors, use of unfilled pauses, filled pauses, repetitions, corrections and false starts to analyse SI fluency. Both groups of evaluation categories were taken from Riccardi (1999, 2001).

The subjects participating in this experiment belonged to two different categories. One group was made up of students and the other of professional interpreters. These two subject categories were chosen in order to assess whether and to what extent they could have different reactions when facing the translation of a ST delivered at high rate. Following Moser-Mercer's (1997) statement, according to which

[...] differences between experts and novices can be seen at various levels: 1. at the level of the knowledge base, and 2. at the level of strategies<sup>2</sup> (1997:25) [...],

this investigation aimed at assessing whether two different groups of subjects with different expertise and thus with a different knowledge base made the same mistakes or had the same problems when coping with a ST read at high delivery rate. Moreover, since Gerver's study on rate in SI focused only on the reaction of professional interpreters, by means of this study, in which the reaction of students facing STs read at high rate was considered as well, it was possible to analyse the relation between source text (ST) delivery rate and quality in simultaneous interpretation (SI) from another perspective.

### 1.1. Gerver's investigation: a reference study

The starting point of the present study was Gerver's (1971) investigation on the effects of input delivery rate on simultaneous interpretation as performed by professional interpreters. Gerver's study may be considered as the "only investigation of the kind" (Anderson 1979: 11). Although carried out by a psycholinguist and not by an interpreter, Gerver's analysis may be seen as the only one focusing upon the relations between TT quality and ST delivery rate. In particular, Gerver examined the effects of fast delivery rate on the performance of simultaneous interpreters by systematically increasing the rate of some ST passages.

For his experimental study, 10 professional simultaneous conference interpreters were chosen. Five subjects were "allotted to the shadowing condition, five to the interpreting condition" (Gerver 1971: 165). The error

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2 Strategies were not examined in the present investigation.

categories employed by Gerver to examine the discontinuities in the output compared to the input were the following:

[...] omissions of words, omissions of phrases, omissions of longer stretches of input of eight words or more; substitutions of words, substitutions of phrases, corrections of words and corrections of phrases  
[...] (Gerver 1971: 163)

Gerver's investigation on the main discrepancies between ST and TT also included other dependent variables such as the number of words correctly shadowed or translated, ear-voice span (EVS), utterance time and unfilled pauses. ST delivery rate was changed at intervals of approximately 110 words with rates ranging from 95, 112, 120, 142 to 164 words per minute (wpm).

According to Gerver's results on the discrepancies between ST and TT, quality in interpretation falls off in passages delivered at high rate. He noticed that under normal conditions, attention can be shared between the input message, the processes involved in translating the previous message and the monitoring of feedback from current output. But when total capacity of the interpreter is exceeded, less attention can be paid either to input or output. Hence, less material is retrieved for translation and more omissions followed by uncorrected errors occur. Gerver stated, indeed, that

[...] the principal effect of increasing presentation rate is the increase of the number of discontinuities in all categories [...] (Gerver 1971: 182)

Despite Gerver's unequivocal contribution to interpretation research on quality and its relation with rate, he limited his investigation to the mere formal comparison between ST and TT message. In fact, every ST word or phrase the interpreter deleted in his translation was considered a serious omission and subsequently an error. Thus he neglected that some deletions could have been deliberate and contributed to a greater TT clarity.

Therefore, starting from Gerver's approach, as well as from the hypothesis that rate may be the cause of a general fall off in the interpreter's performance, the purpose of the present investigation was to find out whether the above statement could be considered truthful and whether high SL delivery rate always determines an increase in all error categories or whether it causes an increase only in some categories or even one of them.

Gerver's error analysis also comprised non-semantic categories, but none of them contemplated aspects relating to delivery fluency (such as phonation, number of filled pauses, repetitions, corrections or false starts). Since a good interpreting performance also depends on the way the interpreter delivers the TL message, in the present study the above mentioned extra-linguistic delivery

categories and in particular the possible interdependence between them and linguistic error categories was examined as well.

Finally, in order to see whether Gerver's theory on the effects of SL presentation rate on the interpreter's ear-voice span (EVS) could be confirmed or not, this aspect has also been considered in this investigation. Indeed, Gerver's analysis results revealed that when interpreting a ST delivered at increased rate, interpreters tend to increase their distance from the speaker without changing their output rate, whereas shadowers increase their output rate without varying their EVS:

Though shadowers' ear-voice span rose only slightly from slowest to fastest presentation rate, the interpreter's ear-voice span almost doubled over the same range. [...] Interpreters [...] seemed only able to maintain fairly steady output at the expense of lagging further and further behind as input rate increased. (Gerver 1971: 181)

This aspect has been analysed in the present investigation also observing the differences or similarities between students and professional interpreters, so as to assess whether both subject categories increased or decreased their EVS.

## 2. Experimental Study

### 2.1. Methods

This experimental study was carried out at the SSLMIT of the University of Trieste and is based on the simultaneous interpretation performed from German into Italian of two original speeches written in German read by a German mother-tongue speaker and recorded. All deliveries were recorded and transcripts were made out of them.

### 2.2. Source Texts

For this experimental study two STs delivered at different speaking rate were used. The two STs were original speeches of the same length pronounced by Chancellor Gerhard Schröder at two official events. The fast speech was held before the German Parliament, the Bundestag and the slow speech was held during the Europe Forum at the Bertelsmann Foundation. Both texts dealt with a similar topic, namely Europe and its enlargement process, in order to avoid differences between them in terms of meaning. Both speeches were delivered by the same speaker. The fast ST lasted 6.44 minutes and the slow ST lasted 8.29 minutes.

Both texts were interpreted by a group of students as well as by a group of professional interpreters. The different delivery rate of the two STs was measured in syllables per minute. The rate of the ST read out "slowly"<sup>3</sup> was 196 syllables per minute (i.e. approximately 108 words per minute); whereas the rate of the ST read out at "fast"<sup>4</sup> rate was 302 syllables per minute (i.e. approximately 145 words per minute).

A further difference between SST and FST regards the number of pauses recorded in them. Pauses play an important role for the measurement of rate: the more pauses a speaker makes in his/her speech, the slower his/her rate and vice versa. In the FST 2 pauses which last more than 3 seconds were recorded and 14 pauses of the same length were recorded in the SST. Pause quantity in speeches is in inverse relation to information density: the greater the information density in a text, the smaller its pause quantity. This fact has a considerable impact upon the interpreting process.

### 2.3. Subjects

Subjects tested in the present study were 10 students of interpretation in their final or extra years of course. Five had German as their B language and five had German as their C language. Two participants had already graduated, but because of their limited working experience they could not be considered professional interpreters yet. A group of five professional interpreters took part in the experiment as well. Three of them had German as their B language and two had German as their C language.

### Questionnaires

At the end of both interpreting performances the interpreters were asked to fill up a questionnaire. They were asked to evaluate the quality of their SIs in terms of meaning and fluency and to state whether they believed that fast ST delivery rate had influenced their performance or not.

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3 The acronym SST will be used for the ST read out slowly and the acronym STT will be used for the slow TT.

4 The acronym FST will be used for the ST read at fast rate and the acronym FTT will be used for the fast TT.

#### 2.4. Evaluation Criteria

Following the aim of this experimental study, the main discrepancies between STs and TTs in terms of quality were assessed, so as to determine whether and to what extent they could be considered the direct consequence of ST delivery rate variation.

The criteria chosen to evaluate the interpreters' performances are basically of two kinds: one type belongs to the macro evaluation field of meaning and its equivalence in ST and TT; the other type refers to quality in terms of interpretation delivery fluency. The criteria chosen for both evaluation fields were taken from Riccardi's (1999, 2001) evaluation grids by which both students' and professionals' interpreting performances may be assessed.

As far as meaning is concerned, equivalence depends upon the information units and their relevance in both ST and TT. Not every change made by the interpreter automatically modifies the ST's substance. Therefore, during the evaluation process of the interpreters' performances, the importance and effectiveness of the possible changes made by the interpreters were considered as well.

The error categories used to examine the discontinuities in terms of meaning between TTs and STs are the following:

##### I Omissions

This category includes omissions in the TT of basic ST information units. This phenomenon causes a distortion of the ST meaning.

As maintained by Russo and Rucci (1997), omission may be seen as the result of two different choices: in the first case, deletion is deliberate and aims at greater TT clarity; whereas in the second case, the interpreter, lagging behind in the elaboration of the previous information unit, deletes one or more following information units. Therefore, special attention was devoted to the second type of omission mentioned by Russo and Rucci, because the delay in the elaboration of information units is a common reaction interpreters may have when facing STs delivered at high rate.

This error category is divided into two subcategories: that is omission of ST words and omission of ST segments. The first subcategory includes all those words with high information relevance, the deletion of which changes the speaker's communicative intent. This kind of omission "gives universal significance to and therefore badly distorts the ST message" (Altman 1994: 29). The second subcategory, namely omission of ST segments, refers to the omission of clauses, phrases or even whole sentences which are either highly informative or rhetoric.

II Substitutions

This error category involves the change by means of synthesis or the paraphrasing of one or more clauses, or even sentences, and their subsequent replacement with completely new ideas. This kind of change may result in contradictions, ambiguous statements and misinterpretations with respect to the ST message (Falbo 1998).

III Additions

This category includes new material that the interpreter adds to the ST in the TT thus changing its meaning: this type of discontinuity is often preceded by omissions of part of a sentence for which the interpreter tries to find a remedy by adding apparently neutral information material, but which often gives a too general an interpretation of the sentence (Russo and Rucci 1997).

IV Logical-Time Sequence Errors

The last evaluation criterion chosen to assess meaning quality in TTs refers to the interpreter's ability to properly reproduce in the TT the logical relation among clauses, phrases or sentences of the ST. Moreover, this criterion also concerns the interpreter's ability to respect the time sequence of information material presented in the ST. Each variation in the logical-time sequence changes the ST message and represents an alteration of the speaker's communicative intentions.

In this experimental study, Riccardi's (2001) categories were used to analyse the proper reproduction or the distortion of the logical-time relation of ST information units in the TT.

This category is divided into two subcategories: Logical Sequence Errors are discontinuities that either do not respect the logical relation between ST information units in the TT or simply alter it, giving rise to new relations among clauses or phrases in the TT which were not connected in the ST; Time Sequence Errors include verb tense and mode errors as well as changes of time references, days and years. This kind of error alters the ST meaning.

The categories used to examine interpretation fluency are the following:

I Pronunciation/Phonation Errors

Some investigations on delivery rate, among which Gerver's study (1971) deserves special attention, showed that ST rate manipulation may induce interpreters to increase their own articulation rate and the number of their deviations from standard pronunciation and phonation.

This category includes errors made by the interpreters in standard pronunciation and phonation.

II Unfilled pauses

A tendency interpreters seem to have when translating STs delivered at a high rate is to lengthen their pause time, so as to fully understand the

speaker's message and to summarise it in their translation, and to decrease their speech time (Gerver 1971). This choice may result in longer and a greater number of pauses which may be unpleasant in terms of fluency. This means that the number of long lasting unfilled pauses is expected to be higher in FTTs compared to STTs.

A long lasting unfilled pause is defined in this study as a silence between two speech sequences lasting more than 3 seconds. Long lasting silences in TTs missing in the ST may reveal the interpreters' difficulty in performing their tasks (Déjean Le Féal 1980). In order to assess whether high SL delivery rate and the increase in pause quantity and duration in the TT could be directly related, Riccardi's (1999) evaluation criteria regarding pauses were considered. The examined unfilled pauses belong to the category of "non grammatical" pauses, which are the expression of poor perception and/or reformulation problems during the performance of the interpreting task. Among these problems high ST delivery rate plays an important role.

For this category the total amount of pauses and their average length per subject and per TT as well as the time of the longest pause for each participant were recorded. The same analysis was done for the pauses in the two STs in order to assess the effect of ST delivery rate and subsequently of the amount of pauses made by the speaker upon the interpreter's performance.

### III Filled pauses (or hesitations), repetitions, corrections and false starts

High ST delivery rate results in greater information density which causes a decrease in the time the interpreter needs to adequately carry out the mental operations involved in the SI process. This means that when performed in difficult conditions the interpretation task becomes highly stressful and causes an increase in manifestations such as filled pauses or hesitations, repetitions, corrections and false starts which undermine the interpretation quality in terms of delivery fluency.

This category was examined according to the definitions given by Magno Caldognetto et al. (1982):

- a) Filled pauses are defined as vocalised hesitations like *eh*, *ehm*, *mmm*. Since the measurement of their length lied outside the focus of the present study, the total number and average number of filled pauses recorded for each subject were considered.
- b) Repetitions occur when, usually after a pause, a word segment, a whole word or a sentence segment are repeated without having rhetorical or stylistical significance.
- c) Corrections occur when the translation of a sentence is interrupted and, after a pause, its translation is started again with a change in the translation strategy but without modifying the meaning of the translation.



- d) False starts occur when the interpreter interrupts the translation of a sentence and starts the translation of the following one. This phenomenon often results in misinterpretations and deviations in the logical coherence of the ST message.

A further analysis was carried out with respect to

#### IV Ear-Voice Span

The thread running through the studies devoted to the relationship between quality in SI and SL delivery rate is ear-voice span. According to Gerver (1971), the most common reaction an interpreter seems to have when faced with rapidly delivered STs is to increase his/her distance from the speaker. Therefore, the aim of this study was to assess whether Gerver's (1971) statement on the general trend of interpreters with respect to EVS when coping with rapidly delivered STs could be confirmed or not.

For this purpose the EVS in both texts was measured considering the initial distance between the original and the translation in those passages where the speaker made short interruptions. The interruptions or silences of the speaker in the FST were reduced in number and had a rather limited duration which ranged from 1 to 2.5 seconds. As a rule, these silences (or unfilled pauses) accompanied syntactic pauses which were used to stress the beginning of a new paragraph. The recording of the SI performance by each subject (students and professionals alike) was listened to three times and each time the EVS was measured. The EVS resulted from the arithmetic mean of each data collection.

Although clearly separated for analysis purposes, these error categories are actually closely interdependent and related in terms of mutual influence. This interrelation is particularly evident for error categories regarding meaning<sup>5</sup>.

### 3. Results

The errors recorded in the TTs are illustrated with some examples taken from the subjects' FST performances. The errors are graphically shown as follows:

Omissions: omitted words and phrases of ST passages in the TT are written in bold character and italics in the ST and marked in the TT with the letter "O" in brackets.

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5 The above-mentioned error categories were analysed both in FTT and in STT. The present article highlights only examples taken from FTT performances. A detailed reporting of this categories may be found in the writer's unpublished dissertation: Pio S. (2001), "*La Relazione fra Velocità di Presentazione e Qualità nell'Interpretazione Simultanea*", Trieste, SSLMIT, Università degli Studi.

Substitutions: in the ST the substituted passage is written in bold character and italics, while in the TT it is underlined and followed by the letter "S" in brackets.

Additions: the added text portion in the TT is underlined and followed by the letter "A" in brackets.

Logical-Time Sequence Discontinuities: the modified ST passage in the TT in terms of logical sequence and time sequence is written in bold type and italics in the ST and underlined in the TT followed by the letter "L" or "T" in brackets.

The following sections show the results recorded for each error category referring both to TT meaning (linguistic categories) and to TT delivery fluency (extra-linguistic categories).

### 3.1. Linguistic Categories

#### 3.1.1 Omissions

The following table shows the amount of omissions recorded for each student and each professional both in FTTs and STTs.

*Word Omissions:*

FTTs		STTs	
Students	Professionals	Students	Professionals
S. 1/1→1	P. 1/1→0	S. 1/1→0	P. 1/1→1
S. 2/1→2	P. 2/1→1	S. 2/1→2	P. 2/1→1
S. 3/1→1	P. 1/2→1	S. 3/1→2	P. 1/2→0
S. 1/2→3	P. 2/2→3	S. 1/2→1	P. 2/2→1
S. 2/2→2	P. 3/2→1	S. 2/2→1	P. 3/2→0
S. 3/2→2		S. 3/2→0	
S. 4/2→1		S. 4/2→1	
S. 1/3→1		S. 1/3→1	
S. 2/3→2		S. 2/3→0	
S. 3/3→1		S. 3/3→0	
Tot. Stud.	Tot. Prof.	Tot. Stud.	Tot. Prof.
16	6	8	3
Average per Stud.	Average per Prof.	Average per Stud.	Average per Prof.
1.6	1.2	0.8	0.6

Table 1. Word Omissions in FTTs and STTs.

Both students and professionals doubled the number of word omissions in FTTs.

Most words omitted by student and professional interpreters were qualifying adjectives with high informative value. The deletion of these words almost changed the meaning of some ST passages.

The number of word omissions recorded in the FTTs was two times the amount of words deleted in the STTs.

The following excerpt exemplifies the type of word omission contemplated in the present error subcategory:

<p><b>Ex 1:</b> [...] auf <i>deutsch-italienische</i> Initiative hin hat die Regierungskonferenz außerdem den Rahmen für die Zeit nach Nizza abgesteckt [...]</p>	<p><b>S.2/1:</b> [...] su iniziativa <b>(O)</b> tedesca quindi la conferenza intergovernativa ha fissato il calendario del dopo Nizza [...] ['starting from a German initiative, the inter-governmental conference set the agenda of the Post-Nice Process']</p> <p><b>S.1/2:</b> [...] su iniziativa dell'Italia <b>(O)</b> la conferenza dei capi di governo <i>eh</i> ha chiarito <b>(O)</b><sup>6</sup> che la discussione sull'Europa dovrà continuare [...] ['starting from an Italian initiative, the conference of Heads of Government established that the debate on Europe shall go on']</p>
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In the above deliveries one component of the qualifying adjective *deutsch-italienisch* [German-Italian] was omitted thus totally changing the meaning of the ST.

*Segment Omissions:*

FTTs		STTs	
Students	Professionals	Students	Professionals
S. 1/1→7	P. 1/1→4	S. 1/1→2	P. 1/1→4
S. 2/1→6	P. 2/1→5	S. 2/1→2	P. 2/1→2
S. 3/1→10	P. 1/2→3	S. 3/1→8	P. 1/2→1
S. 1/2→12	P. 2/2→1	S. 1/2→5	P. 2/2→1
S. 2/2→8	P. 3/2→12	S. 2/2→6	P. 3/2→5
S. 3/2→7		S. 3/2→4	
S. 4/2→6		S. 4/2→2	
S. 1/3→12		S. 1/3→8	
S. 2/3→0		S. 2/3→0	
S. 3/3→6		S. 3/3→0	
Tot. Stud.	Tot. Prof.	Tot. Stud.	Tot. Prof.
74	25	37	13
Average per Stud.	Average per Prof.	Average per Stud.	Average per Prof.
7.4	5	3.7	2.6

Table 2. Segment Omissions in FTTs and STTs.

6 This omission belongs to the second subcategory.

Due to the high delivery rate of the FST, both subject categories doubled the number of segment omissions in their interpreting performance. The following are excerpts taken from the FTT:

<p><b>Ex 2:</b> Nach der Schaffung des finanziellen Rahmens <i>durch die Agenda 2000 unter deutscher Präsidentschaft</i> hat die Europäische Union die <i>zweite und damit letzte noch ausstehende Vorabbedingung</i><sup>7</sup> für die Beitritte neuer Mitglieder erfüllt.</p>	<p><b>S.1/1:</b> [...] con la creazione de <i>eh</i> de del delle condizioni finanziarie <i>eh</i> <b>(O)</b> con la presidenza tedesca <i>eh</i> l'Unione Europea è: riuscita a creare le <b>(O)</b> condizioni per l'ampliamento [...]          ['with the creation of the financial premise under the German Presidency, the European Union laid the foundations for enlargement']</p> <p><b>S.1/2:</b> [...] l'Agenda 2000 (4.30) <b>(O)</b> aveva creato le condizioni <b>(O)</b> per l'adesione di nuovi candidati [...]          ['Agenda 2000 laid the foundations for the accession of new countries']</p>
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In this example the prepositional phrase and the attributive phrase were deleted and two information units referring to the achievements reached during the German Presidency and by the EU itself were omitted.

<p><b>Ex 3:</b> Ich bin am Tag vor dem Beginn des Gipfels in Nizza sehr bewusst zu unseren polnischen Nachbarn und Freunden nach Warschau gefahren. Gemeinsam haben wir da an das Lebenswerk von Willy Brandt erinnert. <i>So wie Adenauer der Architekt der Aussöhnung ähm mit unseren westlichen Nachbarn war</i>, so ist die Öffnung der Europäischen Union nach Mittel- und Südosteuropa ohne die Friedenspolitik Willy Brandts nicht denkbar.</p>	<p><b>S.1/2:</b> [...] durante il vertice di Nizza avevamo insieme ai nostri <i>eh</i> partner discusso come già avvenne <i>eh</i> con Adenauer e: naturalmente <b>(O)</b> la situazione attuale non sarebbe stata possibile senza l'opera di Willy Brandt [...]          ['during the Nice Summit, we discussed with our partners as we had done with Adenauer, and of course the current situation would not have been possible without Willy Brandt's engagement']</p>
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In the above example, the first element of the comparison was deleted thus changing the ST's meaning and the speaker's communicative intent.

The total amount (including omissions made by both students and professionals) of words omitted in the FTTs in percentage was 6.1% vs. 3.0% in the STTs. The total amount of segment omissions in the FTTs was 27.5% vs. 13.8% in the STTs. In both cases the number of omissions doubled in the FTTs with respect to the STTs.

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7 This word was mispronounced by the reader.

## 3.1.2. Substitutions

The following table shows the amount of substitutions recorded for each student and each professional both in FTTs and STTs.

FTTs		STTs	
Students	Professionals	Students	Professionals
S. 1/1→4	P. 1/1→2	S. 1/1→5	P. 1/1→1
S. 2/1→2	P. 2/1→4	S. 2/1→2	P. 2/1→6
S. 3/1→9	P. 1/2→0	S. 3/1→6	P. 1/2→0
S. 1/2→4	P. 2/2→2	S. 1/2→3	P. 2/2→1
S. 2/2→5	P. 3/2→2	S. 2/2→2	P. 3/2→4
S. 3/2→5		S. 3/2→4	
S. 4/2→5		S. 4/2→5	
S. 1/3→3		S. 1/3→2	
S. 2/3→8		S. 2/3→8	
S. 3/3→3		S. 3/3→4	
Tot. Stud.	Tot. Prof.	Tot. Stud.	Tot. Prof.
48	10	41	12
Average per Stud.	Average per Prof.	Average per Stud.	Average per Prof.
4.8	2	4.1	2.4

Table 3. Substitutions in FTTs and STTs.

The findings on the quantity of substituted ST material show that whereas students made slightly more substitution errors in the FTT, professional interpreters made slightly more substitution errors in the STT. However, the difference among individual performances has to be considered as well. There were indeed some subjects who made more substitutions than others in both TTs such as subjects S.3/1, S. 2/3 and P. 2/1.

High delivery rate caused the interpreters' delay in the processing of the previous information unit. By lagging too far behind, they were not able to completely elaborate the following message unit. Indeed, the interpreters could retrieve only a part of the ST passage and tried to build up a logical message even though often without success, as show the following examples.

**Ex 4:** *Ich bin am Tag vor dem Beginn des Gipfels in Nizza sehr bewusst zu unseren polnischen Nachbarn und Freunden nach Warschau gefahren. Gemeinsam haben wir da an das Lebenswerk von Willy Brandt erinnert.*

**S.2/3:** [...] all'inizio di Ni:zza ehm diciamo c'erano comunque stati dei dubbi riguardo alla nostra cooperazione con eh la Polonia e comunque oggi ehm stiamo andan cercando di proseguire sulla strada di ciò che era già stato fatto da Willy Brandt [...] (S)  
[at the beginning of the Nice Summit there were some doubts on our cooperation with Poland and today we are trying to follow Willy Brandt's suggestions']

This example belongs to Barik's (1994) category known as "gross phrasing change" in which:

The T [translator] seems to make up something on the basis of some part of the text. This may be due to his lack of comprehension of what is said, or because of his lagging too far behind the S [speaker], which prevents him to fully understand what the S has said, and he consequently tries to "fib" his way through the text on the basis of some word in it (1994: 131).

<p><b>Ex 5:</b> Nicht zuletzt deshalb weiß Deutschland um seine besondere Verantwortung für das Gelingen des Erweiterungsprozesses und <i>die Partner und Freunde in Mittel- und Osteuropa können also auf uns zählen</i></p>	<p><b>P.2/1:</b> [...] di fatto la: Germania si è presa le responsabilità per l'unificazione e è <u>grazie a questi sforzi che o:ra i paesi dell'Europa centro orientale possono essere tra i candedati (S)</u> [...] [indeed Germany assumed its responsibility with regard to unification and thanks to this engagement countries in South Eastern Europe are now applicant countries]</p>
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The text portion highlighted in example 5 was replaced by a completely new piece of information which altered the ST meaning.

The total amount of substitutions (including substitutions made by both students and professionals) recorded in the FTTs was 16.1% vs. 14.7% in the STTs. The difference between these two findings is rather limited. This shows that the increase of substitution errors in FTTs is linked to rate variation only to a small extent.

### 3.1.3. Additions

The following table shows the average number of additions recorded for each student and each professional both in FTTs and STTs.

	Average Amount of Additions	
	FTT	STT
STUDENTS	0.2	0.2
PROFESSIONALS	0	0.6

Table 4. Average Amount of Additions in FTTs and STTs.

The small number of additions recorded and the small difference between their amount found in the FTTs and in the STTs show that the variation of delivery rate may have had a limited impact upon the number of additions made by the subjects.

The following example illustrates the most common type of addition recorded:

<p><b>Ex 6:</b> Wir brauchen also eine europäische Öffentlichkeit und dafür müssen wir neue Formen der Beteiligung und der politischen Debatte finden.</p>	<p><b>S.1/2:</b> [...] dobbiamo preparare in un dibattito che preveda una maggiore partecipazione dei <u>vari stati</u> (A) [...] ['we have to start a debate which involves several countries']</p> <p><b>S.3/3:</b> [...] ed è per questo che noi dobbiamo trovare la possibilità di discutere sia a livello politico che a <u>livello economico</u> (A) [...] ['for this reason we have to find the possibility to debate both at political and at economic level']</p>
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This kind of addition matches with Barik's (1994) category known as "*closure additions*", by which the interpreter tries to find a remedy for a previous omission by adding neutral information.

The total percentual amount of additions (including additions made by both students and professionals) found in STTs was larger than the total percentage of additions recorded in FTTs, namely 1.4% vs. 0.6%.

#### 3.1.4. Logical-Time Sequence Errors

##### *Logical Sequence:*

The following table shows the average number of logical sequence errors recorded for each student and each professional both in FTTs and STTs.

	Average Amount of Logical Sequence Errors	
	FTT	STT
Students	1	0.7
Professionals	1	0.4

Table 5. Average Amount of Logical Sequence Errors in FTTs and STTs

Professionals doubled the number of logical sequence errors in the FTT, with an average increase of 0.6 occurrences per subject, whereas students made on average 0.3 logical sequence errors more in the FTTs.

The following example illustrates the type of logical sequence error made by the subjects. In this case the relation between the two information units has been overturned:

<p><b>Ex 7:</b> <i>Unsere Nachbarn in Mittel und Osteuropa haben die deutsche Einigung von Beginn an mit Sympathie begleitet .</i></p>	<p><b>S.1/2:</b> [...] <u>i nostri alleati nell'Europa centro orientale sono stati accompagnati dal dal governo tedesco</u> (L) [...] ['our allies in South Eastern Europe were accompanied by the German Government']</p>
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*Time Sequence:*

The following table shows the average number of time sequence errors recorded for each student and each professional both in FTTs and STTs.

	Average Amount of Time Sequence Errors	
	FTT	STT
Students	2.1	0.6
Professionals	0.8	1

Table 6. Average Amount of Time Sequence Errors in FTTs and STTs

The results recorded reveal that students made more errors belonging to this subcategory. The most common errors were changes in the time sequence as show the following examples where the future and the present tense in the ST were translated with the past tense in the TT (example 8) and where the past tense in the ST was translated with a present tense (example 9).

**Ex 8:** Erste Vorarbeiten hierfür *werden* schon unter schwedischem Vorsitz *beginnen* der hierfür unsere volle Unterstützung *hat*

**Ex 9:** Herr Präsident meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren der Europäische Rat von Nizza *hatte* ein überrasgendes

**S.3/2:** [...] questo processo è iniziato già (**T**) sotto la *eh* presidenza svedese che ha goduto (**T**) del nostro pieno appoggio [...]  
[‘this process started under the Swedish Presidency which we fully supported’]

**P.2/1:** Signor Presidente Signore e Signori il Consiglio Europeo di Nizza ha: (**T**) un obiettivo fondamentale [...]  
[‘Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, the European Council of Nice has a fundamental objective’]

Students made largely more time sequence errors in FTTs than in STTs. In professionals' performances, the difference between FTTs and STTs in terms of time sequence errors is rather small, even though professionals made slightly more time sequence errors in STTs.

The total percentual amount of logical sequence errors (including logical sequence errors made by both students and professionals) was 4.2% in FTTs vs. 2.5% in STTs, while the total amount of time sequence errors (including time sequence errors made by both students and professionals) was 6.9% in FTTs vs. 3.0% in STTs.

#### Extra-linguistic Categories

Another aim of this study was to assess those aspects related to fluency that could be mostly influenced by high SL delivery rate. As a result, deviation from



standard pronunciation and phonation, unfilled pause quantity and length as well as filled pauses, false starts, repetitions and corrections were examined since their excessive presence in the TT may be highly detrimental to the interpreter's performance in terms of delivery fluency. The results relating to these categories are shown in the following sections.

### 3.2.1. Pronunciation and Phonation

The following table shows the total number of pronunciation and phonation deviations recorded in students' and professionals' FTT and STT performances.

	Total Amount of Pronunciation and Phonation Deviations	
	FTT	STT
Students and Professionals	13	8

Table 7. Total Amount of Pronunciation and Phonation Deviations in FTTs and STTs

The analysis of the taped performances revealed that this phenomenon was not very common. Interpreters accelerated their articulation rate in the utterance of FTT information units but they did not make many errors belonging to this category. However, the total amount of deviations recorded for this category was slightly larger in FTTs than in STTs.

The following examples highlight this phenomenon:

- [...] l'unificazione europea è di fondamentale *importanz* (correct pronunciation: *importanza*) [...] [S. 3/1]
- [...] i cittadini chiederanno chi e su quali basi prende decisione per *liore* (correct pronunciation: *loro*) [...] [S. 3/2]
- [...] possono essere tra i *candedati* (correct pronunciation: *candidati*) [...] [P.2/1].
- [...] le relazioni tra istituzioni europee e parlamenti nazionali e *re[g]ioni* (this sound was pronounced following the German pronunciation) [...] [S. 1/3].

The above figures relating to this category show that pronunciation and phonation were slightly altered in the TTs without causing series disturbance.

## 3.2.2. Unfilled Pauses

The following table shows the results referring unfilled pauses recorded for each student and each professional interpreter in FTTs and STTs as well as the total number of unfilled pauses in the SST and in the FST.

FST											2	
SST											14	
STUD.	S.1/1	S.2/1	S.3/1	S.1/2	S.2/2	S.3/2	S.4/2	S.1/3	S.2/3	S.3/3	TOT.	AVERAGE
FTT	3	5	8	12	4	7	1	8	0	1	49	4.9
STT	2	4	10	5	3	3	1	9	0	0	37	3.7
PROF.	P. 1/1		P. 2/1		P. 1/2		P. 2/2		P. 3/2		TOT.	AVERAGE
FTT	1		2		2		0		1		6	1.2
STT	2		2		1		0		0		5	1

Table 8. Unfilled Pauses in FST, SST, FTTs and STTs

The results relating to this category show the total amount unfilled pauses recorded in FTTs is higher than the one recorded in STTs, respectively 55 and 42 occurrences. The average length of unfilled pauses measured per subject in the FTT was 4.53 seconds vs. 3.94 seconds recorded in the STT. These results are of course strongly influenced by the amount of pauses recorded for some subjects who made visibly more unfilled pause than others, such as subjects S. 1/2, S. 3/1 and S. 1/3.

The difference between the amount of unfilled pauses made by the two subject categories is rather striking. Students made on average 4.9 pauses in FTTs vs. 3.7 in STTs, whereas professionals made on average 1.2 unfilled pauses in FTTs vs. 1 in STTs. Moreover, while the difference between the results referring to FTTs and STTs for professionals is rather reduced, on the contrary students made considerably more unfilled pauses in FTTs. This fact shows that with regard to the category of unfilled pauses students were influenced by fast ST delivery rate to a large extent.

## 3.2.3. Filled Pauses, Repetitions, Corrections and False Starts

The tables below show the total number and the average number of occurrences recorded for every subcategory as well as for each student and each professional interpreter in both TTs.

STT		Filled Pauses		Repetitions		Corrections		False Starts	
Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.
S. 1/1	P. 1/1	49	6	2	1	13	12	0	0
S. 2/1	P. 2/1	4	21	9	0	14	6	0	0
S. 3/1	P. 1/2	24	9	4	0	10	5	0	0
S. 1/2	P. 2/2	4	5	1	1	11	6	1	0
S. 2/2	P. 3/2	8	14	4	2	2	27	0	0
S. 3/2		5		1		10		0	
S. 4/2		3		0		3		1	
S. 1/3		12		0		15		3	
S. 2/3		33		1		8		0	
S. 3/3		20		6		8		0	
Average		16.2	11	2.8	0.8	9.4	11.2	0.5	0

Table 9. Occurrences in STTs.

FTT		Filled Pauses		Repetitions		Corrections		False Starts	
Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.	Stud.	Prof.
S. 1/1	P. 1/1	36	8	4	1	14	15	0	0
S. 2/1	P. 2/1	13	32	0	3	11	6	0	0
S. 3/1	P. 1/2	34	10	4	1	13	8	1	0
S. 1/2	P. 2/2	4	6	2	0	5	6	0	0
S. 2/2	P. 3/2	13	14	0	2	7	28	0	0
S. 3/2		6		0		10		0	
S. 4/2		5		0		9		0	
S. 1/3		21		6		16		3	
S. 2/3		36		1		11		0	
S. 3/3		29		4		8		0	
Average		19.7	14	2.1	1.4	10.4	12.6	0.4	0

Table 10. Occurrences in FTTs.

Data on the average number of occurrences, including students and professionals, recorded for all four subcategories revealed that as a general trend slightly more filled pauses and corrections were recorded in FTTs. False starts were more or less the same in both TTs while repetitions were slightly higher in STTs.

On average students made 19.7 filled pauses in FTTs vs. 16.2 in STTs, while professionals made 14 and 11 filled pauses respectively. The average number of repetitions recorded for students in FTTs was slightly smaller than the one recorded in STTs, namely 2.1 vs. 2.8 occurrences respectively. Professionals made on average 1.4 repetitions in FTTs vs. 0.8 in STTs. The amount of corrections found in FTTs and in STTs was higher for professionals than for students, on average 12.6 in FTTs vs. 11.2 in STTs for professionals and 10.4 in

FTTs vs. 9.4 in STTs for students. As regards false starts, both subject categories made more or less the same number of false starts in both TTs, that is 0.4 and 0.5 per student and 0 for professionals in FTTs and STTs respectively.

The number of occurrences recorded for these evaluation categories show that some subjects used such extra-linguistic categories more often than others.

### 3.2.4 Ear-voice span (EVS)

The tables below show the EVS used by both subject categories in both TTs and highlight those subjects who increased their EVS in FTTs and STTs:

STT			
Students	EVS	Professionals	EVS
S. 1/1	2.74	P. 1/1	3.61
S. 2/1	3.58	P. 2/1	3.23
S. 3/1	3.19	P. 1/2	3.11
S. 1/2	2.88	P. 2/2	2.01
S. 2/2	3.37	P. 3/2	4.09
S. 3/2	3.40		
S. 4/2	2.96		
S. 1/3	3.81		
S. 2/3	2.51		
S. 3/3	3.23		

Table 11. EVS in STTs. Measurement in seconds.

FTT			
Students	EVS	Professionals	EVS
S. 1/1	3.25	P. 1/1	2.44
S. 2/1	2.79	P. 2/1	3.68
S. 3/1	3.59	P. 1/2	3.86
S. 1/2	3.35	P. 2/2	2.08
S. 2/2	3.12	P. 3/2	3.76
S. 3/2	2.95		
S. 4/2	2.54		
S. 1/3	2.90		
S. 2/3	2.86		
S. 3/3	3.72		

Table 12. EVS in FTTs. Measurement in seconds.

Data revealed that 8 subjects out of 15 lengthened their EVS in FTTs, whereas 7 shortened it. 5 subjects out of 8 were students whereas 3 were professional interpreters.

The EVS increase in the performances of these 8 subjects was rather reduced and ranged from a minimum of 0.07 seconds to a maximum of 0.75 seconds; whereas the EVS decrease of the SIs of the 7 participants who used the opposite strategy ranged from a minimum of 0.25 seconds to a maximum of 1.17 seconds.

#### 4. Discussion

The analysis of the results regarding the error categories used to shed light on the possible impact that SL delivery rate variation could have upon the interpreter's performance in terms of TT meaning (linguistic deviations) and TT delivery fluency (extra-linguistic deviations) are illustrated in the following sections.

##### 4.1. Linguistic Categories

The following table summarises the total amount of errors (including both students and professionals) recorded both in FTTs and STTs and referring to all linguistic categories. With the exception of additions it would seem that there may be a general trend to make more linguistic errors in FTTs compared to STTs. This fact would in part confirm Gerver's statement according to whom

The principal effect of increasing delivery rate is to increase the number of discontinuities in all categories (1971: 182).

Error Category		Ftt	Stt
Word	Omissions	22	11
Segment		99	50
Substitutions		58	53
Additions		2	5
Logical	Sequence	15	9
Time		25	11

Table 13. Total number of occurrences referring to linguistic errors in both TTs.

However, results revealed that there is above all one error category which is mostly influenced by fast ST delivery rate, namely omissions which may in turn cause further errors.

The chart below shows the total amount of errors in percentage recorded for all semantic error categories in both TTs:

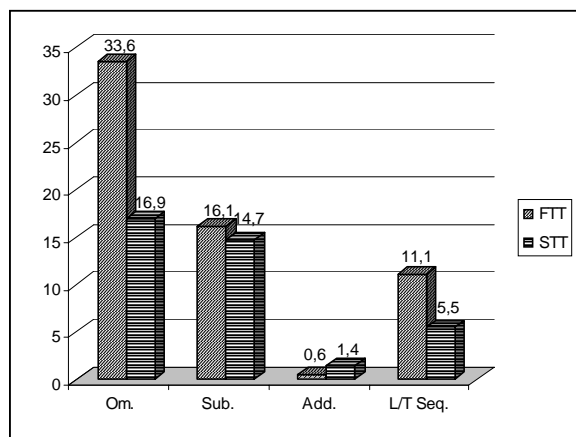


Chart 1. Linguistic errors in percentage.

Omissions in the interpreters' performance may be seen as the direct result of high SL delivery rate with 121 occurrences and a total percentage of 33.6% in FTTs vs. 61 occurrences, i.e. 16.9%, in STTs. The large difference between these two figures, i.e. 17%, is the most striking one if compared with the difference between the percentage of errors belonging to other categories in the two TTs. This confirms that increasing SL delivery rate may have induced interpreters to double omissions in FTTs compared to STTs. The analysis of the questionnaires filled up by the subjects, in which they were asked to judge their own performance and to report which type of mistake they believed to have made more often in their performances, showed that only 8 interpreters out of 15 mentioned involuntary omissions as the more frequent mistake made in FTTs. The detailed evaluation of the performances by the other 7 subjects shows that, with the exception of one subject, all participants, students and professionals alike, made more omissions in the FTTs. This proves that the interpreters' subjective impressions on their performance quality do not match with the actual quality result.

The small difference between FTTs and STTs in terms of substitution occurrences (i.e. 1.4%) makes it rather difficult to state that this difference may be due to fast delivery rate. Nevertheless, 15 substitutions out of 58 recorded in FTTs were closely related to omissions, thus accounting for 13.5% (vs. 6 out of 53 in STTs, i.e. 5.4%). This confirms that delivery rate, undermined the SI process in its reception phase and prevented interpreters from fully elaborating information conveyed in a whole sentence or information unit. This difficulty resulted in the omission of some parts of the information unit around which the interpreter tried to produce a plausible message using generalisation. Sometimes

this choice brought about contradictions that changed the ST message's meaning, as shown in the following examples.

**Ex. 10**

**FST:** Er hat den Grundstein dafür gelegt, dass heute in Europa, wie er es in einem anderen Zusammenhang einmal formuliert hat, zusammenwachsen kann was zusammengehört. *Unsere Nachbarn in Mittel und Osteuropa haben die deutsche Einigung von Beginn an mit Sympathie begleitet. Ohne ihre Mithilfe wäre sie wohl erst viel später und unter sehr viel schwierigeren Bedingungen Wirklichkeit geworden.*

**S. 3/3:** [...] le basi sono state da lui gettate e sicuramente *ehm* possiamo parlare ancora oggi della sua frase ossia di lasciar crescere insieme ciò che *eh* appartiene ciò che si appartiene sicuramente **(O)** senza l'aiuto e la strutture dell'Unione Europea nessuno avrebbe potuto realizzare questa politica questo concetto **(S)**  
[he laid the foundations and today we may talk about his statement, that is the fact that we have to promote the growing together of what was originally linked together without the support of the EU nobody would have been able to implement this policy, this idea']

**Ex. 11**

**FST:** Gerade deshalb haben wir uns Nizza und auch davor so hartnäckig und schließlich erfolgreich für eine umfassende Regierungskonferenz eingesetzt. Es ist fair und redlich die **Kandidaten** an der Diskussion über diese und andere Zukunftsfragen und an der Regierungskonferenz 2004 zu beteiligen. Zur Debatte steht nämlich die Ausgestaltung der Europäische Union, der auch **diese Länder** in wenigen Jahren angehören werden.

**S. 3/3:** [...] è per questo che noi *eh* abbiamo intenzione di partecipare con altre domande con altri idee *eh* alla conferenza del 2004 **(O)** in particolare per quanto riguarda anche i paesi dell'Unione Europea **(S)** perché anche questi in pochi anni entreranno a far parte della famiglia europea [...]  
[therefore we want to take part at the conference in 2004 and debate further issues especially as far as EU states are concerned because in a few years they will belong to the European family']

With regard to additions, most of the records relating to this category were not detrimental to the conveying of information. The total amount of additions of new informative material recorded in TTs is rather small, namely 2 occurrences in FTTs vs. 5 in STTs. This shows that the amount of additions was not influenced by FST delivery rate. The only 2 additions made in FTTs were preceded by omissions. This fact confirms once more that high ST delivery rate

may lead to an increase in omissions in the TT which interpreters tried to find a remedy for by adding neutral or general informative material, but which often resulted in alterations of the ST message.

Differently from the previously mentioned linguistic error categories, discrepancies in the logical-time sequence may be considered as a phenomenon deriving directly from ST delivery rate rather than from omissions: the total amount of discontinuities recorded for this category in FTTs was 11.1% vs. 5.5% in STTs. The difference between the two TTs was 5.6% and thus higher than the one recorded for substitutions (i.e. 1.4%). However, there is a difference between logical sequence errors and time sequence errors. The total amount of time sequence errors recorded in FTTs was 25, more than twice the amount recorded in STTs. Errors in the logical sequence in FTTs were 15 vs. 9 in STTs, with a difference of 6 occurrences. This shows that time sequences errors may be considered as the direct outcome of FST delivery rate. Interpreters probably had less time at their disposal to segment information units and connect them according to the ST's time sequence, thus several verb tense and mode mistakes which changed the ST meaning were recorded. In figures, the difference of errors recorded for this subcategory in the two TTs was 3.9%, with 6.9% recorded in FTTs vs. 3.0% in STTs.

The different reaction between students and professionals coping with fast STs in terms of linguistic errors is highlighted in the following charts.

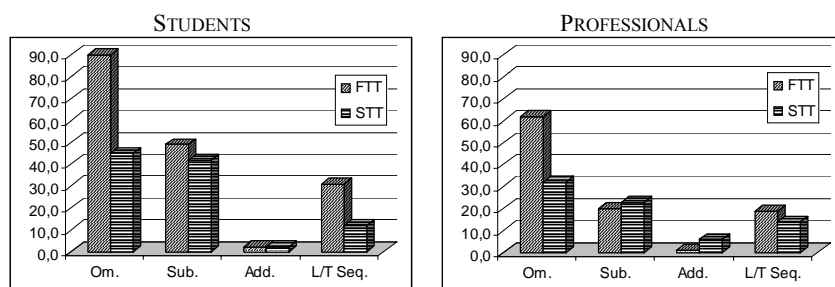


Chart 2. Discontinuities recorded in the two TTs and for both subject categories in percentage terms.

Students and professionals alike doubled the number of omissions in FTTs compared to STTs. The average amount of omissions recorded in FTTs per participant was higher for students than for professionals. Similarly, the difference between the total amount of informative material deleted in both TTs was higher in students' performances. This fact confirms the starting hypothesis of the present study, according to which thanks to their expertise and to the



automatisation of various abilities, professional interpreters are more likely to overcome contextual difficulties such as high ST delivery rate in comparison to students.

These results show that ST rate (and subsequently information density) influenced the SI performance in terms of omissions and that the amount of examples recorded for this category may be a direct consequence of delivery rate. These results match with Barik's (1994) statement, according to which

[...] the more the speaker speaks in a fixed period of time, the more often and greater the amount of material that is likely to be omitted by the T [translator] (1994: 132).

With regard to substitutions, students substituted more informative material than professionals in FTTs and STTs alike. The small difference of total occurrences recorded in both types of performances and for both subject categories shows that SL rate seemed to have a limited direct impact on this type of error for both subject categories. It was rather the large amount of omissions that caused the manifestation of substitutions.

The results on logical-time sequence errors in TTs show that this category was directly influenced by high ST delivery rate. Indeed, although students and professionals made nearly the same amount of logical sequence errors in both TTs, the number of occurrences recorded per participant with regard to time sequence deviations in FTTs was visibly higher for students than for professionals. The reason for the increase of errors belonging to this subcategory may be due to the fact that the fast delivery rate reduced the students' time to segment information strings and to establish the right time relation among them.

In brief, the analysis of the SI performances of the two subject categories revealed that students had visibly greater problems in translating a ST delivered at high rate.

#### 4.2. Overlapping error categories

As mentioned at the beginning of the present article, despite the fact that error categories may be separated for evaluation purposes their interdependence must be considered as well. The analysis of the interpreters' performances, of students and professionals alike, put in evidence the overlapping of different error categories. The occurrences belonging to this phenomenon were analysed separately.

Findings showed that SL delivery rate may not have the same impact on every error category, but rather on one type, namely omissions. The deletion of highly informative ST material may cause in its turn further errors such as

substitutions (the majority of substitutions recorded may be seen as the consequence of omissions), in form of contradictions, ambiguous statements or misinterpretations, and logical sequence errors which changed the logical relation that linked ST information strings. Additions and time sequence variations were hardly involved in this overlapping phenomenon. The total amount of overlapping error categories recorded in FTTs more than doubled with respect to STTs (i.e. 24 vs. 9 occurrences respectively). This increase may be considered as the result of the fast SL delivery rate that interpreters had to cope with. This confirmed that in terms of linguistic errors, increasing delivery rate goes hand in hand with the increase of omissions. Indeed, as Gerver maintained that:

The interpreter, having to cope with larger units before being able to translate, finds that as the intervals between items become shorter than the time taken to process them, [...] he appears to opt for a strategy of working in bursts and must lengthen pause times in order to do so. The extra time thus made available should enable him to cope with the increasing backlog of material in short-term store, but items in store accumulate and deteriorate faster than the interpreter can cope, in fact, his performance falls off (1971: 182).

Another aspect that may cause the overlapping of error categories is the interpreter's delay in the processing of the previous information unit. The fact that interpreters lagged too far behind the speaker prevented them from fully understanding the message of the following information unit. Thus they said something plausible on the basis of some text portions heard. The result was an overlapping of discontinuities like omissions (due to the interpreter's delay), substitutions (which were the outcome of the interpreter's attempt to restore the information perceived) and deviations in terms of logical sequence (which were due to a wrong connection among information units and incoherent rendition of the ST message).

Of course not all occurrences of overlapping errors involved all the above-mentioned categories at the same time, sometimes only two or three of them overlapped:

**Ex. 12:** Wir Deutschen sind mit der festen Absicht nach Nizza gegangen genau dies zu leisten.

**S.2/1:** [...] noi tedeschi vogliamo dare un contributo fondamentale oggi (O/S/L) [...] ['the Germans want to give an important contribution today']

**Ex. 13:** Ich bin am Tag vor dem Beginn des Gipfels in Nizza sehr bewusst zu unseren polnischen Nachbarn und Freunden nach Warschau gefahren. Gemeinsam haben wir da an das Lebenswerk von Willy Brandt erinnert.

**S.3/1:** [...] prima del vertice a Nizza sono *eh* ero già *ehm* consapevole delle difficoltà da affrontare (O/S/L) e qui ci siamo *ehm* ci siamo avvicinato a quanto affermato dai padri fondatori da Willy Brandt e da Adenauer [...] ['before the Nice Summit I am I was aware of the difficulties we had to face and in this we agreed with the statements of the founders Willy Brandt and Adenauer']

**P.2/1:** [...] *eh* dobbiamo dire quindi chiaramente ai *eh* polacchi ai nostri altri *eh* vicini quello che abbiamo intenzione di fare (O/S/L) Adenauer e gli altri gli altri fondatori dell'Unione Europea avevano un'idea molto chiara che noi ora dobbiamo portare avanti [...] ['we have to tell our Polish neighbours what our intentions are. Adenauer and the other founders of the European Union had a clear objective and today we have to realise this objective']

#### 4.3. Extra-Linguistic Categories

The chart below summarises the total amount of occurrences (including both students and professionals) recorded for each extra-linguistic category in both TTs.

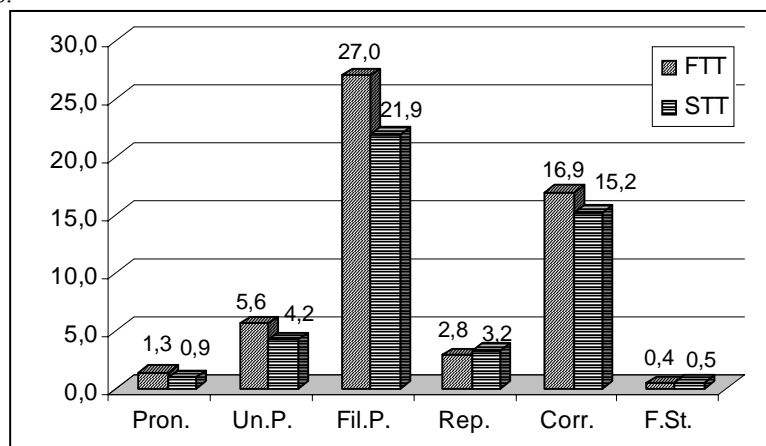


Chart 3: Total amount of extra-linguistic deviations recorded for each category and in both TTs.

The extra-linguistic categories that seem to have been mostly influenced by high SL delivery rate are the following (they are listed from the most recurrent to the least recurrent):

- a) Filled pauses which, with a difference of 5.1% between the amount of occurrences recorded in FTTs and STTs, put in evidence the interpreters' hesitations and doubts during the performance of their SI task.
- b) Unfilled pauses: 85.5% of unfilled pauses lasting more than 3 seconds were related to omissions. This fact once more seems to support Gerver's (1971) theory according to which fast delivery rate and high information density may induce interpreters to make longer pauses in order to fully elaborate the incoming message, but sometimes this choice results in further deletions<sup>8</sup>.
- c) Corrections: the amount of corrections was higher in FTTs than in STTs. Although in this case the individual interpreter's tendency to use such manifestations plays an important role. Indeed, some subjects made more corrections than others.
- d) Pronunciation and Phonation seemed only slightly altered in both TTs and although some more errors were recorded in FTTs they did not undermine the interpreters' performance in terms of fluency. The few deviations recorded may be considered the result of the influence of the SL, namely German, and of a less regular speech flow due to the interpreters' need to increase TT articulation rate because of the ST's high delivery rate.
- e) The amount of false starts recorded in both TTs was rather reduced and similar in both TTs. In particular it was observed that false starts were directly linked to the subjects' attempt to lengthen pause time so as to fully understand the speaker's message and to summarise it. But due to the overload of short-term memory, interpreters interrupted the translation of a sentence and started the translation of the following one.
- f) Repetitions: the total amount of repetitions was slightly higher in STTs.

Looking at the results recorded separately for students and professionals it may be stated that:

- a) Students made more filled pauses both in FTTs and in STTs. This may be due to the fact that they focused their attention mainly on meaning rather than on fluency. Both subject categories made more filled pauses in FTTs thus confirming that increased ST delivery rate influenced their performance in terms of fluency.
- b) Although unfilled pauses in the SST were 14 and pauses in the FST were 2, students made more unfilled pauses in FTTs. These recordings show that

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<sup>8</sup> This strategy sometimes coincided with a longer EVS which in its turn sometimes led to omissions.

pauses done by the speaker in the SST enabled students to have a more regular speech flow in STTs compared to FTTs. With regard to professionals, the difference between the average number of pauses recorded for each professional interpreter in the two TTs is small, whereas the difference concerning the average pause length for each professional interpreter is rather large, namely 1.24 seconds corresponding to 3.71 seconds in FTTs and 2.47 seconds in STTs. This means that unfilled pauses in FTTs lasted more than 3 seconds, whereas in STTs they were below the 3-second threshold.

The total amount of unfilled pauses made by each subject show that the use of pauses is an individual fact. However, although some subjects made few pauses in FTTs and STTs alike, most subjects with a regular speech flow were influenced by high SL delivery rate in terms of number and length of unfilled pauses.

- c) Corrections: students made less corrections than professionals. Even though the total amount of corrections made by all professionals was influenced by the large number of pauses inserted by two professionals. These two subjects had the inclination to make more corrections in both TTs, namely S.1/3 and P.3/2.
- d) Pronunciation and Phonation: students made slightly more pronunciation errors than professionals even though the limited number of occurrences and the reduced difference of occurrences recorded for both subject categories between the two TTs show that students and professionals were influenced to a very small extent by high ST delivery rate with respect to standard pronunciation and phonation.
- e) The amount of false starts recorded for the two subject categories was rather small. Students made on average 0.1 false starts more in STTs. Since this difference is very small it may be stated that the amount of false starts recorded for students in FTTs was the same in STTs. Professionals made no false starts in either of the TTs. This shows that due to their experience in the field of SI, professionals pay more attention to delivery fluency than students.
- f) Repetitions: students made significantly more repetitions in both TTs, although the average amount recorded in the STTs per student was higher than the one recorded in the FTTs. On the contrary, professionals nearly doubled the number of repetitions in FTTs, even though the average amount of repetitions made per professional was very small in both TTs. These findings once more confirm that expertise made the difference, above all in terms of delivery fluency. Indeed, students' FTTs were less fluent than professionals' FTT due to the excessive use of filled pauses and corrections as well as unfilled pauses.

#### 4.4. Ear-Voice Span

With regard to EVS modulation, the present experimental study revealed that given the limited difference between the number of subjects who lagged further behind the speaker and the number of subjects who drew closer to the speaker as input rate increased, it is neither possible to confirm nor to reject Gerver's theory according to which SL delivery rate and EVS increase are directly linked. The fact that nearly the same number of subjects did exactly the opposite reveals that when facing rapidly read out STs, interpreters may tend to lengthen their EVS as well and to shorten their distance from the speaker in order to lose the least information possible and not to undermine their performance in terms of quality. Gerver himself maintained that the strategy of lengthening EVS brings about the storing of too much informative material in short term memory, often causing the overload of the interpreter's processing capacity and the risk of changing the ST's meaning. This results also show that EVS strategy may depend upon the choice of each interpreter to use one or the other approach.

As regards the difference between the two subject categories with regard to EVS, 5 students (that is exactly half of them) increased it in FTTs and 5 used the opposite strategy. 3 professionals out of 5 increased their EVS in FTTs and 2 shortened it. In spite of the fact that half students and the majority of professionals increased their EVS in the SI of STs delivered at fast rate, the average EVS increase per subject measured in seconds was very small. Indeed, each student and each professional increased his/her EVS on average by respectively 0.44 and 0.42 seconds. This rise is rather limited if compared with the data relating to the two groups of subjects who decreased their EVS during their FTT interpretation performance. These students reduced their average EVS by 0.52 seconds and these professionals decreased their EVS by 0.75 seconds. In particular the figures recorded for professionals show that the average amount of seconds referring to the EVS decrease correspond more or less to half the average amount of seconds recorded for the EVS increase. Thus confirming once more that when having to cope with STs delivered at fast rate professionals may tend either to lengthen or to shorten EVS according to the approach they prefer.

In conclusion, this experimental study is meant to be a suggestion and an input for further studies on this topic in order to fill the gap in the research on ST delivery rate and its relation with quality in simultaneous interpretation.

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**STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY STUDENT INTERPRETERS IN SI:  
A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ENGLISH-ITALIAN  
AND THE GERMAN-ITALIAN LANGUAGE-PAIRS**

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1. Introduction

The objective of the present study is to investigate whether and to what extent the language-pair involved in the interpreting process determines the choice of the strategies adopted by the interpreter during simultaneous interpretation. To this aim, the use of strategies in SI in two language-pairs has been analysed: English-Italian and German-Italian.

This study originates from the assumption that interpretation in general and simultaneous interpretation in particular are peculiar forms of communication that differ from monolingual communication. Numerous studies have emphasised the particular role played by the interpreter in mediated communication and the need for the interpreter to develop appropriate strategies to perform his/her task successfully. In particular, Kohn & Kalina (1996) have clearly illustrated the differences between monolingual communication and interpreting and the relevance of strategies.

In monolingual communication, the listener produces a text with the aim of providing an answer, a reply or a comment to the speaker's text and he/she is largely independent from the linguistic makeup of the speaker's text ('semantic autonomy') in formulating his/her text. The role of the interpreter is different. Firstly, as he/she is the recipient of the speaker's text, but not the addressee of the speaker's message, the interpreter is excluded from part of the knowledge (linguistic, extralinguistic or situational) shared by the speaker and the audience. Secondly, in his/her role as a linguistic mediator, the interpreter is required to produce a TL text that is equivalent to the original text and not an answer or a reply to the speaker's text. Consequently, the interpreter has little semantic autonomy over the text. In the choice of the linguistic means, the interpreter will be affected by the linguistic makeup of the original, thus being exposed to the risk of interference caused by the ongoing presence of SL text elements in the his/her short-term memory.

Finally, the role of the interpreter as a mediator prevents him/her from interacting with the speaker. For all these reasons, strategies normally used in unmediated communication prove insufficient; hence the crucial role of ad hoc strategies for interpretation (see Kohn & Kalina 1996: 124).

It is particularly in SI that strategies acquire a vital role. The constraints imposed on the interpreter are in fact magnified by the peculiar conditions of simultaneous interpretation: the overlapping of the listening and speaking phases, the inability of the interpreter to interrupt the information flow and to foresee the development of the text are only a few examples of the peculiar communicative circumstances with which the interpreter is faced (see also Riccardi 1999, Salevski 1987, Kalina 1998). Gile views interpreting as an operation of crisis management which requires appropriate techniques (1995: 191). In particular, drawing on his *modèle d'effort*, he describes SI as a set of three efforts: the Listening and Analysis, the Production and the short-term Memory Effort, all requiring mental resources which are available in limited capacity. Among the factors in SI that are most liable to jeopardise the interpreter's task, i.e. high information density, high speaking rate, signal disturbances, unusual speech signal and short speech segments, the author also mentions syntactic differences between SL and TL.

One of the most controversial questions that has long divided the scientific community is indeed the existence of language-dependent factors affecting the choice of strategies.

According to the *théorie du sens* worked out by the Paris School, interpretation is a natural process based on a synthesis between semantic-syntactic information in the SL text and extralinguistic knowledge, from which the *sens*, the meaning of the message, derives. Simultaneous interpretation is believed to be achievable with ordinary speech functions: "Understanding *sens* is the manifestation of ordinary human mental function" (Seleskovitch & Lederer 1986: 268-270). Provided that SL and TL are properly mastered, difficulties lie in the simultaneity between comprehension and production, not in the rendering of the message since interpreting consists in the transposition of the *sens*, not of the words with which it is expressed. Therefore, only factors that impair comprehension in monolingual communication can impair SI. Surface structures, e.g. syntactic differences between SL and TL, disappear and are replaced by non-verbal concepts and "a meaning is formed in the brain which can be expressed in any language" (Lederer 1981: 147). Hence the uselessness of ad hoc strategies for certain language-pairs.

Among the authors supporting the view of language-pair specific strategies, the authors of the so-called *Information Processing theory* have played a significant role in emphasising the peculiar conditions underlying the SI task and the need to develop strategies to allocate mental resources. An imbalance in mental resources, in fact, is claimed to be the major cause for poor performances or defaillances (see Gile 1995). According to IP authors, the surface structure of the message never entirely disappears in the cognitive intermediate processes underlying interpretation. Consequently, linguistic factors, such as structural

asymmetries between SL and TL, are believed to play a significant role in determining an imbalance in the interpreter's mental resources and therefore require language-specific strategies.

Numerous authors have supported the theory of language-specific strategies as a response to structural asymmetries between SL and TL. Kalina (see 1998: 114), Kirchhoff (see 1976: 59-60), Le Ny (see 1978: 294) and, in particular, Gile (see 1990: 20) underscore the impact of diverging syntactic structures in interpretation between languages that are syntactically very different: by forcing the interpreter to process longer chunks or to restructure the message completely, these structures may cause an overloading of the interpreter's total capacity of mental resources, thus causing the loss of vital information. Gile suggests the possibility that specific strategies need to be developed for certain language-pairs depending on the processing capacity required for production and/or comprehension:

there may well be 'easier' and 'more difficult' languages to interpret into [...]. In this respect, interpretation from German into English may be 'easier' than interpretation from German into French (1990: 20).

German has often been cited as a language requiring specific strategies. Many studies have concentrated on the difficulties posed by the German syntax. Ross (1997) analyses the impact of syntactic structures on interpretation from German languages and stresses the impact of structural asymmetries in the interpretation into Italian – in particular, the verb-last structure in German, the presence of elements separating the two components of the predicate in German and embedded clauses. Riccardi has dealt with language-specific aspects in the German-Italian language-pair in numerous studies (1997, 1998 and 1999). The author highlights differences of various nature between German and Italian. For example, the typological difference between a synthetic language like German and an analytic language like Italian will require more syntactic restructuring by means of additions in the Italian TT, aimed at rendering the accuracy of the German ST, or deliberate omissions in order to counter the tendency to add further elements in an attempt to imitate the accuracy of the original message. The author also addresses the well-known difficulties deriving from the German syntax, marked by its verb-final structure, left-branching NPs, embedded clauses, compound nouns and long chains of noun phrases or prepositional phrases. Riccardi proposes numerous strategies to deal with these structures (see 1997 and 1999), many of which have been taken as criteria for the present work and which will be indicated subsequently. Gile (1992) and Wilss (1978) concentrate on the relevance of anticipation, which is presented as a valuable technique in interpreting from German.

Another author who devoted particular attention to the question of structural asymmetries between SL and TL is Setton. In his study (1999), the author analyses the impact of these structures in two language-pairs: Chinese-English and German-English. The analysis has concentrated on two SLs, Chinese and German, traditionally considered as a source of structural difficulties for the interpreter, with a view to verifying if *departures from input forms*, in the author's terminology, depend on structural asymmetries or rather from a cognitive approach to the text, according to which, starting from the linguistic makeup of the text, the interpreter activates his/her extralinguistic, contextual and situational knowledge, thus inserting material which is not to be found in the SL and which is not a direct consequence of input structures. Without denying the relevance of strategies, the author criticises the absolute importance that IP authors often attribute to the so-called *strategies-for-structures*, claiming that other factors, such as the extralinguistic knowledge, may be of assistance to the SI task.

English has also been the focus of studies that have revealed certain language-specific aspects. De Feo (1993) tested three strategies – omissions, substitutions and additions – in the English-Italian language-pair. In her experimental study, the author observes that while syntactic structures were transposed automatically from English to Italian, without requiring significant restructuring, synthetic reformulation strategies concentrated primarily on the semantic content of the message. This approach might have been determined by a typological difference between English and Italian. Given the concise nature of the English language compared to the more digressive pattern of Italian expository style (see also Snelling 1992: 11-12), conceptualisation strategies used by the subjects of her study have involved entire clauses rather than lexical units, due to the difficulty of finding a similar concise lexical solution in Italian.

Viezzi's study (1993) has outlined a series of interesting aspects regarding the English-Italian pair. In comparing the written translation of an English text into Italian and the SI delivery of the same according to six parameters – TTs length, register, style, syntax, semantic accuracy, omissions and idiolect –, the author has found out that numerous differences between the written and the SI translation were a consequence of the fact that subjects adhered to the surface structure of the English ST. So, for example, the length of the simultaneously interpreted TT was shorter than the written translation

because it follows the SLT more closely. [...] English is tendentially shorter and more concise than Italian – relying on and reproducing the English structure may enable the interpreter, more often than not, to produce a translation meeting his time requirements (Viezzi 1993: 100)

Similarly, the analysis of style, register and syntax revealed that in the SI text subjects followed the English ST more often than in the written translation, where the delivery was free of the superficial structure of the original. While avoiding complex restructuring operations in SI may be prompted by the time constraints affecting the simultaneous modality with respect to written translation, it is suggested that this trend might have been encouraged by the morphosyntactic similarities between English and Italian.

Following the aim of this study, the strategies proposed by the above mentioned authors have been selected and integrated into an overall framework that has served as a basis for the experimental study described hereafter.

## 2. Analysis

### 2.1. Subjects

The experiment involved 20 subjects who were divided into two groups. The first group, the English Subjects Group (henceforth the ES group) consisted of 10 subjects who carried out a SI test from English into Italian while the other 10 subjects, the German Subjects Group (henceforth the GS group), carried out a SI test from German into Italian. The 20 subjects, all Italian native speakers, were selected among students who had passed at least their SI exam from German or English into Italian. Two subjects had already graduated, but they were nevertheless included in the sample because of their lacking professional experience.

All subjects had German or English among their working languages; no distinction was made as to whether subjects had German or English as their B or C language.

### 2.2. The source texts

The text selected for the experiment was a speech delivered before the European Parliament by the Swedish MP Cecilia Malmström. The speech was originally pronounced in Swedish and the two translations into English and German from the Official Journal of the European Union were used for the experiment.

The choice to use two translations as source texts derived from the need to have two texts in the two different SLs that presented the same features from the informative and expressive viewpoint and that could allow a comparison between the performances of the two groups of subjects. Indeed the question of comparability has often been a major obstacle in the study of language-pair specific strategies:

[...] empirical investigation is hampered by problems of multivariate comparability across languages, discourses, events and interpreters (Setton 1999: 55).

The theme of the speech, human rights and violence against women, was non-technical and did not present specialised terminology. Before their test, subjects were provided with general information on the text, i.e. the title of the speech and the time-space setting.

### 2.3. Methods

The source texts were recorded by German and English mother-tongue speakers at the SSLMIT of the University of Trieste.

In order to measure anticipation and the time-lag, the original texts and the students' deliveries were recorded on double-track tapes which enabled to detect possible differences in the use of these strategies by the two subject groups.

### 2.4. Descriptive criteria

The strategies proposed by the authors mentioned in the introduction have provided the theoretical framework for the experimental study. In particular, language-independent strategies have been mainly drawn from the studies carried out by Gile (1995), Kalina (1998) and Kohn & Kalina (1996), while strategies with possible language-specific implications have been drawn from the descriptions by De Feo (1993), Riccardi (1997, 1998 and 1999) and Setton (1999).

The 20 performances were analysed on the basis of the following criteria:

#### I. Comprehension strategies

The strategies comprised in this category are used "when comprehension problems arise, and when they threaten to arise under time-related or processing capacity-related problems" (Gile 1995: 192).

The strategies falling into this category are:

I.a. Stalling by using neutral material: this strategy aims at 'buying time' by producing generic utterings, absent in the SLT, which provide no new information, but enable the interpreter to delay production and to continue listening to the incoming text while avoiding long pauses when faced with comprehension difficulties.

The strategy defined here as 'stalling by using neutral material' is taken from the descriptions by Gile and Setton (see Gile 1995: 130, in Setton 1999: 50) and Kirchhoff (1976: 57-71) who described similar processes that involve the use of neutral, non-committal utterings at the beginning or in the

middle of a sentence when the interpreter is faced with long, embedded clauses or with comprehension difficulties.

I.b. Anticipation: this strategy has been described by Kalina (1998: 117) as involving the production of a TT chunk before it is actually uttered by the speaker in the ST.

I.c. Time-lag: the time-lag has been described by Goldman-Eisler (1972) as a variable that may be influenced by the specific language-pair. Hence the relevance of analysing this strategy as a way of identifying possible differences in the time-lag depending on the SL.

## II. Reformulation strategies

On the basis of Falbo's categorisation (1999: 181-183), three types of processes have been included into the present category: morphosyntactic reformulation, synthesis and expansion.

II.a. Morphosyntactic reformulation includes:

- *Morphosyntactic transformations*, i.e. transformation of a subordinate clause into a main clause, of a negative clause into an affirmative clause and of a noun phrase into a verb phrase or viceversa (Riccardi 1999: 172).
- *Syntactic segmentation*: it consists in dividing long clauses into shorter clauses (Riccardi 1999: 173).
- *Least-commitment strategy*: it consists in leaving the clauses open to add coordinate or subordinate clauses if faced with the so-called 'garden path sentences' (Riccardi 1998: 178).
- *Changing the order of phrases or elements of other type within the clause*: this strategy, taken from Kirchhoff (1976) and Gile (1995), consists in reformulating ST elements of various type in a different position into the TT so as to enable better ST reformulation.

II.b. Synthesis, which entails the compression of the SL text through

- *Generalization*: it consists in "replacing a segment with a superordinate term or a more general speech segment" (Gile 1995: 197).
- *Simplification*: it consists in a lexical or stylistic simplification of the original message (see Kalina 1998: 120).
- *Deletion*: this strategy, taken from Kalina (1998), consists in reprocessing the SL text through the deletion of superfluous or redundant information by means of a selection of information (see Kalina 1998: 120).

II.c. Expansion, through

- *Explanatory additions*: it is a lexical and content expansion aimed at clarifying the message (De Feo 1993: 33).
- *Additions to maintain coherence*, i.e. a strategy aimed at explicating coherence relations with a view to conferring logical continuity to the

text. This strategy is drawn from De Feo (1993: 33), who takes it from Van Dijk & Kintsch (1978: 175).

- *Repetition*: it consists in repeating previously processed elements (see Messner 2001: 86) as a way of enhancing lexical accuracy by means of synonyms or synonymic phrases.
- *Paraphrase*: this strategy, described by Gile as "*explaining or paraphrasing*" (Gile 1995: 198), consists in explaining the meaning of a SL term or wording when the interpreter is unable to find the suitable TL correspondent.

### III. Emergency strategies

These strategies, to be employed when comprehension strategies or TT-oriented strategies are insufficient or unsuccessful, aim at avoiding an *impasse* by resorting to operations that are advisable only in emergency situations. These include:

- III.a. Transcoding: it consists in "translating a source-term or speech segment into the target language word for word" (Gile 1995: 199):
- III.b. Approximation: "the interpreter finds a wording or term which is more or less what he was looking for and produces it, then adds one which he has meanwhile activated and which fits even better and so on" (Kalina 1992: 254):
- III.c. Evasion: it consists in the total deletion of a ST segment as a deliberate choice by the interpreter to evade the problem (see Kalina 1998: 120):
- III.d. Substitution: it consists in the use of a TL term or wording which, though different from those originally pronounced by the speaker, can be plausible in the speech context (see Kohn & Kalina 1996: 132):

## 3. Results

In the present section, the results that emerged from the experiment are presented.<sup>1</sup> Data revealed striking analogies in the use of certain strategies by the two groups as well as clear differences, some of which seem to be linked to language-specific factors, as will be outlined in the discussion.

It should be observed that different strategies were used by the subjects in the same text portion, as can be observed in numerous examples reported hereafter. In particular, the strategies of deletion, generalization and evasion were frequently applied on the same text elements, often overlapping. As to the

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1 Here only the most relevant results have been reported. A more detailed description can be found in the author's unpublished dissertation: Donato V., "Strategie in Interpretazione Simultanea: Confronto delle Coppie Linguistiche Inglese-Italiano e Tedesco-Italiano" (2001), Trieste, SSLMIT, Università degli Studi



method used to count the number of occurrences when an overlapping of the above-mentioned strategies took place, Barik's approach was adopted:

These [omissions] refer to items present in the original version which are left out of the translation by the T [Translator]. Here we are dealing with clear omissions and not omissions resulting from the substitution of one thing for another by the T (1994: 122).

Therefore, omissions deriving from generalization were not counted in this category, since generalization always entails the deletion of redundant elements. Likewise, omissions deriving from substitution were not computed in this category either, since any substitution involves the deletion of the original text elements.

The results of the experiment will be presented on the basis of the above described criteria. For each strategy category, a table with the performances of the subjects of the two groups will be provided.

### 3.1. Comprehension strategies

Table 1: Comprehension strategies

SUBJECTS	COMPREHENSION STRATEGIES	
	ANTICIPATION	STALLING
ES1	0	0
ES2	1	0
ES3	0	0
ES4	1	0
ES5	1	0
ES6	0	0
ES7	0	0
ES8	0	0
ES9	1	1
ES10	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>

SUBJECTS	COMPREHENSION STRATEGIES	
	ANTICIPATION	STALLING
GS1	7	0
GS2	6	0
GS3	5	0
GS4	6	1
GS5	6	1
GS6	6	1
GS7	1	3
GS8	3	1
GS9	5	0
GS10	4	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>8</b>

Note that the data on time-lag are reported separately given the complexity of including the occurrences of each time-lag pattern into a single table.

### 3.1.1. Stalling by using neutral material

This strategy has hardly been used by either group: the total number of occurrences was 8 in the GS group and 2 in the ES group.

An interesting aspect emerged from the analysis of the present strategy: differently from the ES group, the GS group resorted to neutral verbal expressions aimed at 'buying time' while continuing to listen to the incoming text for the lexical verb to be uttered by the speaker:

GT: *Die EU muß mit einer Zunge reden und den Ländern, die die Menschenrechte mißachten, einheitliche Signale **vermitteln**.*

GS4: *L'Unione Europea....**deve far sì che** ai paesi che non rispettano i diritti umani vengano dati segnali chiari.*

[The European Union....**has to act so that** countries that do not respect human rights are given clear signals]

GS6: *L'Unione Europea.... **deve fare in modo di**... dare dei segnali chiari agli stati che non tutelano i diritti umani.*

[The European Union **has to act in such a way that** clear signals are given to countries that do not protect human rights]

### 3.1.2. Anticipation

Results showed significant discrepancies in the performance of the two groups.

Anticipation was found to be far more used in the GS group than in the ES group: 49 occurrences in the GS group and 5 in the ES group. Furthermore, a qualitative difference in the way subjects resorted to anticipation was observed. While the anticipated element in the GS group was almost always a verb (except for one single case of an anticipated lexical unit), all the anticipated elements in the ES group were lexical units.

Examples:

ET: *The EU is therefore in desperate need of a coordinated, strategic and consistent policy.*

GT: *Die Kommission hat das Jahr 1999 zum Jahr des Kampfes gegen die Gewalt gegen Frauen **erklärt**.*

ES9: *Ecco perché risulta assolutamente necessario un **approccio**..politico consistente ed omogeneo.*

[This is the reason why an **approach** (that is) political, consistent and homogenous is absolutely necessary].

GS7: *La Commissione ha **dichiarato** il 1999 come l'anno della lotta contro la violenza contro le donne.*

[The Commission has **declared** 1999 as the year of the struggle against the violence against women]

### 3.1.3. Time-lag

The experimental procedure used to analyse the time-lag will be briefly described hereafter before presenting the relevant results.

As previously indicated, the analysis of the time-lag was made possible by the use of double-track tapes which enabled the author to listen to both SL and TL texts simultaneously and to detect the lag with which the subjects started reformulation. The time-lag was measured at the beginning of each sentence by observing which syntactic segment is required by the interpreter to start his/her reformulation. Therefore, the measurement is of syntactic nature and is not expressed in seconds.

Drawing on Goldman-Eisler's terminology, the following time-lag patterns were detected:

1. Lexical Unit (LU): this type refers to the case when the subject starts reformulating after listening to one lexical unit only (underlined in the examples):

– *Unfortunately, these hopes have, in many respects, been dashed.*

– *Das Europäische Parlament hat die Wahrung dieser Rechte stets als einer seiner wichtigsten Aufgaben angesehen.*

2. Noun Phrase + Verb Phrase (NP+VP): according to this time-tag type, the subject starts reformulating after listening to a noun phrase and a verbal phrase:
  - *The European Community was formed in order to prevent the atrocities of the Second World War from occurring again.*
  - *Die EG wurde gebildet, um eine Wiederholung der Grausamkeiten der Zweiten Weltkrieges zu verhindern.*
3. Noun Phrase + Verb Phrase + Noun Phrase (NP+VP+NP): this time-lag type includes one or more NPs following the VP with the function of completing the verb, thus creating a "complete predicative expression" (Goldman-Eisler 1972: 131):
  - *In many respects, the EU has a good policy on human rights, but, unfortunately, it is much too 'straggly' and incoherent.*
  - *Wir benötigen eine verstärkte Koordinierung, nicht nur zwischen den Organen der EU, sondern auch zwischen der EU und ihren Mitgliedstaaten.*
4. Clause Continued (CLC): this time-lag type is mainly found in sentences consisting in several clauses; it extends over the VP and its NPs to include at least one phrase belonging to the next clause:
  - *The EU must speak with one voice and give consistent signals to the countries that violate human rights.*
  - *Damit müssen wir uns beschäftigen, denn wenn wir innerhalb der EU glaubhaft sein wollen, müssen wir auch eine positive Politik nach außen hin vertreten.*
5. Complete Clause (CC): it consists in waiting for the end of the clause to start reformulation:
  - *Women's rights are being systematically violated throughout the world.*
  - *Die Rechte der Frauen werden auf der ganzen Welt systematisch verletzt.*
6. Complete Clause plus beginning of the next clause (CC+): this type consists in waiting for the end of the clause and the beginning of the next clause to start reformulation:
  - *Obviously we need to deal with this. If we want to be credible internally, we also need to have a sound policy externally.*
  - *Dies war eine lobenswerte Initiative. Die Kampagne dazu war allerdings, gelinde ausgedrückt, gedämpft.*

The first two patterns, i.e. LU and NP+VP, are defined as short time-lag patterns, the NP+VP+NP pattern is defined as medium time-lag pattern and the CLC, CC and CC+ categories are defined as long time-lag patterns. It should be noted, however, that within the long time-lag patterns, the CLC pattern was found to be occasionally longer than the CC pattern because the latter often involved short sentences.

The results emerged from the analysis have been collected into the following table:

Table 2: Time-lag patterns

TIME-LAG PATTERNS						
SUBJECTS	LU	NP+VP	NP+VP +NP <sup>o</sup>	CLC	CC	CC+
ES1	16	20	11	0	2	0
ES2	8	9	19	4	6	1
ES3	7	9	17	6	8	1
ES4	14	21	10	3	1	0
ES5	15	15	13	3	3	0
ES6	6	9	13	9	9	0
ES7	7	16	13	5	5	1
ES8	4	5	16	12	8	1
ES9	7	16	16	4	4	1
ES10	12	17	11	3	5	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>5</b>
GS1	11	15	8	4	2	1
GS2	12	13	4	8	5	1
GS3	13	12	4	10	4	0
GS4	20	15	3	2	3	1
GS5	12	15	7	5	4	1
GS6	14	15	0	6	1	1
GS7	8	15	3	10	8	0
GS8	10	17	4	4	5	1
GS9	6	20	5	7	6	0
GS10	5	12	5	8	12	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>6</b>

Abbreviations:

LU: Lexical Unit

NP + VP: Noun Phrase + Verb Phrase

NP + VP + NP<sup>o</sup>: Noun Phrase + Verb Phrase + Noun Phrase

CLC : Clause Continued

CC : Complete Clause

CC+: Complete Clause plus beginning of the next clause

The analysis revealed that within the ES group, the most used time-lag patterns were the NP+VP+NP type (139 occurrences), and the NP+VP type (137), followed by the LU type (96), while the CLC and the CC recorded a lower number of occurrences (49 and 51 respectively) and the CC+ type was hardly used (5 occurrences).

Within the GS group, the preferred time-lag was the NP+VP pattern (149 occurrences), followed by the LU type (111). The remaining patterns recorded a lower number of occurrences: the CLC pattern was used in 64 cases, the CC pattern in 50 cases, the NP+VP+NP pattern in 43 cases and, finally, the CC+ pattern in 6 cases only.

According to the above-mentioned data, subjects belonging to the ES group had a medium-short time-lag, with a clear tendency to adopt a short time-lag: their preferred time-lag pattern after NP+VP+NP are indeed the NP+VP and the LU pattern.

The results of the GS' tests revealed that the role of the verb was fundamental: if it followed the NP, then it was immediately released (hence the predominance of NP+VP occurrences). Otherwise, the GS subjects adopted two different options: either they uttered the lexical unit as soon as they heard it while listening to the incoming text for the verb to come or for elements enabling them to anticipate it (which explains why the LU was the second most frequent type) or, in a fewer number of cases (CLC and CC recorded 64 and 50 occurrences respectively), they extended their time-lag to include the verb or elements enabling anticipation before starting reformulation. The role of the verb in German, therefore, seems to determine the GS' approach to the text.

Another striking difference is that the NP+VP+NP pattern was far more used in the ES group than in the GS group (139 vs. 43 occurrences respectively). This might derive from a language-dependent factor, i.e. the prevalence of the NP+VP+NP structure in English, which is a syntactic pattern that is found more often in English than in German.

## 3.2. Reformulation strategies

## 3.2.1. Morphosyntactic reformulation

Table 3: Morphosyntactic reformulation

SUBJECTS	MORPHOSYNTACTIC REFORMULATION			
	MORPHOSYNTACTIC TRANSFORMATIONS	SEGMENTATION	LEAST COMMITMENT	CHANGING THE ORDER OF PHRASES
ES1	1	3	3	3
ES2	2	1	5	6
ES3	6	1	1	7
ES4	4	2	0	4
ES5	11	2	5	3
ES6	6	1	7	4
ES7	3	3	1	5
ES8	3	0	9	6
ES9	6	1	4	3
ES10	6	0	15	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>44</b>
GS1	7	3	6	4
GS2	14	2	5	7
GS3	11	2	2	8
GS4	12	1	4	1
GS5	10	2	3	4
GS6	7	1	4	2
GS7	6	2	3	1
GS8	6	0	8	2
GS9	8	0	7	4
GS10	12	3	0	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>40</b>

## 3.2.1.1. Morphosyntactic transformations

Data revealed that the use of morphosyntactic transformations was significantly different between the two groups. The GS group resorted to morphosyntactic

transformations more frequently than the ES group: the occurrences recorded by the GS group, 93, was far higher than those of the ES group (48).

In both groups, the most frequent type of morphosyntactic operation was the transformation of noun phrases into verbal phrases and viceversa (38 occurrences in the GS group and 24 in the ES). As to the remaining two morphosyntactic transformation types, i.e. transformation of a subordinate clause into a main clause and transformation of a negative clause into an affirmative clause, both groups performed similarly: the figure relating to the first transformation type was 7 in the ES and 9 in the GS group; the transformation of a negative clause into an affirmative clause recorded 6 occurrences in the ES and 11 in the GS group. Yet the low number of occurrences in both types might have been determined by the text in which negative clauses and subordinate clauses are rare.

The remaining occurrences refer to further morphosyntactic transformation types that were observed in the course of the analysis. The GS group resorted to these operations far more frequently than the ES group (35 vs. 11 occurrences).

#### 3.2.1.2. Segmentation

Segmentation was not frequently employed and it does not appear to be a significant strategy for either group. It should be noted, however, that the rather limited number of total occurrences recorded by both groups (16 in the GS group, 14 in the ES group) partly derives from the type of text selected for the experiment, marked by simple short sentences which did not require complex restructuring processes.

#### 3.2.1.3. Least commitment

The analysis of this strategy revealed a similar approach between the two groups, with a slight prevalence of total occurrences in the ES group (50) compared to the GS group (42).

Yet this data is influenced by the performance of one subject of the ES group (ES10) who recorded 15 of the total 50 occurrences, thus clearly influencing the overall figure.

#### 3.2.1.4. Changing the order of phrases or other elements within the clause

No significant difference between the two groups was observed. The total number of occurrences in was 44 in the ES group and 40 in the GS group. The



use of the strategy was also similar, and it consisted, in both groups, in the re-positioning of independent phrases or NPs contained in an enumeration.

### 3.2.2 Synthesis

Table 4: Synthesis

SUBJECTS	SYNTHESIS		
	GENERALIZATION	SIMPLIFICATION	DELETION
ES1	4	6	18
ES2	8	5	29
ES3	6	2	24
ES4	6	10	19
ES5	3	8	27
ES6	3	3	36
ES7	5	5	18
ES8	7	7	18
ES9	5	1	23
ES10	3	4	35
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>247</b>
GS1	6	2	39
GS2	5	2	18
GS3	6	2	41
GS4	7	8	24
GS5	2	7	28
GS6	5	1	23
GS7	1	2	29
GS8	5	2	24
GS9	3	0	29
GS10	2	1	29
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>284</b>

#### 3.2.2.1. Generalization

The analysis revealed a similar approach to generalization by the two groups, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This strategy has been frequently used by

both subject groups: 50 occurrences were recorded in the ES' deliveries and 42 in the GS group.

A similar approach was observed in the way the two groups applied the strategy: in the deliveries of both the ES and the GS group, generalization was applied lexically, by resorting to a superordinate term, and syntactically, by formulating a more general TL text segment.

An interesting aspect was observed in the course of the present study: the analysis revealed that the same text portions were subjected to generalization, not only by the subjects of the same group, but by both groups, thus indicating that in the present study the process underlying the choice of generalization is independent of linguistic features:

<p>ET: <i>I would also like to say a few words about womes's rights, an issue that I have chosen as a special theme in the report.</i></p>	<p>ES2: <i>Vorrei anche dire qualcosa riguardo..i diritti umani <b>che è un tema di particolare importanza</b> nella relazione.</i> [I also wish to say something on..human rights <b>that is a theme of particular importance</b> in the report].</p> <p>ES9: <i>Vorrei ora soffermarmi inoltre su eh..i diritti delle donne <b>che costituiscono un tema importante</b> anche all'interno della relazione.</i> [Now I wish to dwell upon eh..women's rights <b>which represent an important theme</b> also in the report]</p>
<p>GT: <i>Lassen Sie mich auch einige Worte zu den Rechten der Frauen sagen, eine Frage, die ich als <b>gesondertes Thema in den Bericht angenommen habe.</b></i></p>	<p>GS6: <i>Permettetemi di..parlare brevemente dei diritti delle donne. ..Questa è una questione <b>che è stata considerata</b> come tema particolare nella relazione.</i> [Let me..speak about women's rights briefly. This is an issue <b>that has been considered</b> a special theme in the report].</p> <p>GS8: <i>Permettetemi di dire qualche parola sui diritti delle donne, una tematica che <b>costituisce</b> una vera e propria priorità nella relazione in questione.</i> [Let me say some words on women's rights, a theme that <b>represents</b> a real priority in the report under scrutiny].</p>

### 3.2.2.2. Simplification

A considerable difference emerged in the use of simplification by the two groups of subjects: while GS recorded only 27 occurrences, the occurrences among ES were almost double (51). In both groups, simplification consisted in the use of a simpler, more colloquial expression instead of a higher register term or expression.

Examples:

<p>ET: <i>A large proportion of the world's population is</i></p>	<p>ES4: <i>Una grande proporzione della popolazione mondiale sta ancora vivendo in oppressione. Molti <b>non</b></i></p>
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<p><i>still living under oppression, with many <b>deprived</b> of their basic rights.</i></p> <p>GT: <i>Nach den Schrecken des Zweiten Weltkrieges <b>hegten</b> sicherlich zahllose Menschen große Hoffnungen für eine bessere Welt und eine menschlichere Zukunft.</i></p>	<p><i><b>hanno</b> i loro diritti fondamentali.</i></p> <p>[A large proportion of the world's population is still living in oppression. Many <b>don't have</b> their basic rights]</p> <p>ST5: <i>Dopo la seconda guerra mondiale molte persone <b>avevano</b> la speranza in un mondo migliore e per un futuro più umano.</i></p> <p>[After the second world war many people <b>had</b> the hope of a better world and for a more humane future].</p>
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### 3.2.2.3. Deletion

This strategy is by far the most used strategy by both groups: the ES recorded 247 occurrences and the GS 284. The analysis of the deleted elements shows striking analogies between the two groups. In both groups, the most frequently deleted element was a lexical item: in the ES group, 216 out of 247 occurrences are examples of deletion of a word, while the remaining 31 occurrences are text segments. In the GS group, 239 out of 284 total occurrences are words and the remaining 45 are text segments.

As to the most deleted word type, the analysis has shown that in both groups qualifiers (i.e. qualifying adverbs and adjectives) were most frequently left out: in the ES group, 89 out of 216 are qualifiers, in the GS 96 out of 239 total occurrences.

The analysis has also revealed another striking pattern. As previously observed when presenting generalization, the strategy of deletion was found to be frequently used in the same text segments. This occurred not only among subjects belonging to the same group, but also between the two groups:

<p>ET: <i>Unfortunately, these hopes have, <b>in many respects</b>, been dashed.</i></p>	<p>ES2: <i>[...] ma sfortunatamente queste speranze sono state frantumate.</i></p> <p>[ (...) but unfortunately these hopes have been crashed].</p> <p>ES3: <i>Sfortunatamente queste speranze sono state tradite.</i></p> <p>[Unfortunately these hopes have been deceived].</p> <p>ES6: <i>Però questa speranza non è stata realizzata [...].</i></p> <p>[But this hope has not been fulfilled]</p> <p>ES8: <i>Ma sfortunatamente tutto ciò non è successo.</i></p> <p>[But unfortunately all this has not materialised]</p> <p>ES10: <i>Ma purtroppo queste speranze sono state disilluse, disattese [...].</i></p> <p>[But unfortunately these hopes have been disillusioned, disregarded].</p>
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GT: *Diese Hoffnungen sind leider in vieler Hinsicht zunichte gemacht worden.*

GS3: *Queste speranze purtroppo sono state distrutte.*  
[These hopes, unfortunately, have been dashed].

GS4: *Queste speranze purtroppo non sono state ..ehm soddisfatte.*

[These hopes, unfortunately, have not been..ehm fulfilled].

GS7: *Queste speranze purtroppo sono andate deluse, sono state annientate.*

[These hopes, unfortunately, have been disappointed, have been destroyed].

This seems to indicate that in the present study the strategy of deletion is used regardless of the SL. Its use seems rather to derive from the same processing approach that consists in leaving out the information units that are viewed by the interpreter as superfluous and hence deletable.

### 3.2.3. Expansion

Table 5: Expansion

SUBJECTS	EXPANSION		
	ADDITIONS	REPETITIONS	PARAPHRASE
ES1	2	0	0
ES2	6	1	0
ES3	14	0	0
ES4	4	1	0
ES5	9	1	0
ES6	8	1	0
ES7	7	1	0
ES8	8	3	0
ES9	35	3	1
ES10	39	11	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>1</b>

SUBJECTS	EXPANSION		
	ADDITIONS	REPETITIONS	PARAPHRASE
GS1	17	4	0
GS2	10	2	0
GS3	13	3	0
GS4	11	1	0
GS5	9	4	0
GS6	8	3	1
GS7	20	14	0
GS8	13	3	0
GS9	15	1	1
GS10	22	1	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>2</b>

#### 3.2.3.1. Additions

Both groups resorted to additions and there was no considerable difference in the total number of occurrences recorded by the two groups. In the GS group, the number of total occurrences was 138 and in the ES group 132 total occurrences were identified. Yet the data of the ES group was significantly influenced by the performances of three subjects, ES3, ES9 and ES10, in which 14, 35 and 39 occurrences respectively were recorded, compared to the average 2-8 occurrences of the remaining 7 subjects.

As far as the various types of additions are concerned, the use of *explanatory additions* was found to be similar between the two groups, both quantitatively (33 total occurrences in the ES group, 40 in the GS group) and qualitatively; in both groups, in fact, this type of additions consisted in the insertion of qualifying nouns and adjectives. The use of *additions to maintain coherence* has shown that the two groups adopted a similar approach. The total number of occurrences in the ES group is 17, while in the GS group 22 total occurrences were recorded. In both groups, additions to maintain coherence consisted in the use of declarative, adversative and conclusive conjunctions. However, the total number of occurrences recorded by the ES group is influenced by the performance of one subject, ES3, in which 9 of the total 17 occurrences were recorded.

The remaining occurrences refer to further types of additions which emerged during the analysis. These will not be dealt with here as they are not relevant to the objectives of the present paper.

### 3.2.3.2. Repetitions

The GS group resorted to repetitions more frequently than the ES group: the total number of occurrences was 36 in the GS group and 22 in the ES group. Yet it is worth noting that in both groups the total number of occurrences was clearly influenced by the performance of a single subject: in the ES group, ES10 records 11 of the total 22 occurrences, in the GS group, GS7 records 14 of the total 36 occurrences.

### 3.2.3.3. Paraphrase

This strategy was hardly used by both groups. One single case was recorded in the GS group and 3 in the ES group. The low number of occurrences recorded in the present analysis indicates that paraphrase is not one of the favourite strategies adopted for the language-pairs under examination. It must be observed, however, that data might have been influenced by the type of text selected for the experiment.

## 3.3. Emergency strategies

Table 6: Emergency Strategies

SUBJECTS	EMERGENCY STRATEGIES			
	TRANSCODING	APPROXIMATION	EVASION	SUBSTITUTION
ES1	5	4	1	3
ES2	6	0	1	5
ES3	6	0	0	4
ES4	11	1	0	0
ES5	5	0	0	4
ES6	2	2	4	12
ES7	4	0	1	5
ES8	3	0	2	6
ES9	4	1	1	4
ES10	4	1	0	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>50</b>

SUBJECTS	EMERGENCY STRATEGIES			
	TRANSCODING	APPROXIMATION	EVASION	SUBSTITUTION
GS1	2	0	2	9
GS2	1	0	3	4
GS3	1	0	2	8
GS4	2	0	3	3
GS5	2	2	2	3
GS6	1	0	5	2
GS7	2	8	0	5
GS8	1	1	3	6
GS9	0	1	3	4
GS10	1	1	3	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>51</b>

### 3.3.1. Transcoding

The analysis has shown that transcoding is by far more frequent in the ES group than in the GS group. While the total number of occurrences recorded by the GS is 13 only, the ES recorded 50 occurrences. Transcoding is achieved by adhering to the SL formulation (both lexically and syntactically):

ET: *These clauses can be used constructively, but they need to be more closely defined with respect to application, **implementation** and sanctions.*      ES10: *Le clausole potrebbero essere utilizzate in maniera più costruttiva, ma dovrebbero essere comunque definite in maniera più chiara per quanto riguarda eh **l'implementazione**.*  
 [The clauses could be used in a more constructive way, but these should be however more precisely defined with respect to eh **implementation**].

It should be noted here that the Italian rendering, translated in the above reported example as 'implementation', has a different impact on an Italian audience, compared to the same rendering in English, in that it sounds as a calque. A freer, not word-for-word translation would have been more satisfactory. Yet the possibility to opt for this kind of solution, fully understandable in Italian, when no better translation can be retrieved, provided a valuable strategy to avoid a possible *impasse*.

### 3.3.2. Approximation

The strategy of approximation was not frequently used by both groups. The number of total occurrences recorded by the GS group, 13, is slightly higher than that of the ES group (9). However, the data of the GS group has been influenced by the performance of one subject, GS7, in whose SI test 8 of the total 13 occurrences were recorded.

It is worth reminding that the low number of occurrences recorded by both groups might derive from the text chosen for the experiment.

In the ES group the strategy of approximation seemed to be used by the subjects to detach themselves from the SL surface structure, thus indicating that its use might have been influenced by the linguistic features of the SL and TL involved in the SI process:

ET: *Violence against women is a global issue which needs to be high on the international **agenda** [...].*

ES1: *La violenza contro le donne è una questione globale che dev'essere posta al vertice dell'**agenda, dell'ordine del giorno** internazionale.*  
[Violence against women is a global issue that must be high on the **agenda, on the international agenda**].

Here the first translation into Italian (i.e. 'agenda') for the English word 'agenda' sounded as a calque from English. Therefore, the subject turned to the second solution, i.e. 'ordine del giorno', which is the correct rendering of the English original word 'agenda'.

### 3.3.3. Evasion

The use of this strategy has shown a clear difference between the two groups. While the ES recorded only 10 occurrences, the total number of occurrences recorded by the GS is more than double (26).

In both groups, this strategy consisted in leaving out an entire clause or an entire informative unit (indicated by empty brackets in bold type in the examples below), which, despite determining an inevitable loss of information, enables the subjects to avoid interrupting their outputs if faced with comprehension or reformulation difficulties:

GT: *Nach den Schrecken des Zweiten Weltkrieges hegten sicherlich viele Menschen große Hoffnungen für eine bessere Welt und eine menschlichere Zukunft. **Diese Hoffnungen sind leider in***

GS9: *Dopo la fine della seconda guerra mondiale sono eh cresciute le aspettative per un futuro migliore per molte persone. ...Tuttavia una grande parte della popolazione mondiale vive ancora eh nella assenza del rispetto dei propri diritti dell'uomo [...].*



<i>vieler Hinsicht zunichte gemacht worden. Immer noch lebt ein großer Teil der Weltbevölkerung in Unterdrückung und ist vieler Grundrechte beraubt.</i>	[After the end of the second world war eh hopes for a better future for many people increased (...) ...However a large part of the world's population is still living eh in the lack of the respect for their human rights].
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### 3.3.4. Substitution

The analysis of substitution revealed a similar approach by the subjects of both groups, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The total number of occurrences recorded by the two groups was almost identical: 50 in the ES group and 51 in the GS group.

The use of this strategy was also similar in both groups: substitution consisted in replacing a single word or a text segment in the ST that was not fully understood or heard by a plausible word or text segment in the TT:

ET: <i>We need long-term work, not occasional campaigns.</i>	ES6: <i>Le campagne di sensibilizzazione non bastano.</i> [Awareness- raising campaigns are not enough].
GT: <i>Das Engagement in diesem Bereich, das sich u.a.in diesem Plenum zeigt, kann niemandem entgangen sein.</i>	GS3: <i>L'impegno in questo settore, dimostrato proprio in questa sede, è considerevole.</i> [The commitment in this sector, demonstrated precisely in this forum, is significant].

The analysis showed that this strategy was frequently used by subjects in the same text segments:

GT: <i>Damit müssen wir uns natürlich beschäftigen, denn wenn wir innerhalb der EU glaubhaft sein wollen, müssen wir uns auch eine positive Politik nach außen hin vertreten.</i>	GS2: <i>Se vogliamo essere credibili..nell'ambito dell'Unione Europea, dobbiamo anche portare avanti una politica coerente anche in tale ambito. Grazie.</i> [If we want to be credible..within the European Union, we also need to carry out a <b>consistent</b> policy also in this field. Thank you]. GS3: <i>Se infatti vogliamo essere credibili a livello comunitario, dobbiamo creare una politica che sia eh responsabile anche a livello internazionale.</i> [Indeed if we want to be credible at the Community level, we need to work out a policy that is eh <b>responsible</b> also at international level].
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As already observed in the analysis of generalization and deletion, this strategy was also applied in the same text segments by the subjects of both groups:

<p>GT: <i>Es bedarf einer konsequenten, glaubwürdigen und voraussehbaren Politik.</i></p>	<p>GS3: <i>C'è quindi bisogno di una politica <b>lungimirante</b> e coerente.</i>          [Therefore a <b>far-sighted</b> and consistent policy is needed].          GS4: <i>C'è bisogno di una.. politica credibile e eh <b>a lungo termine</b>.</i>          [A..credible and eh <b>long-term</b> policy is needed].          GS5: <i>E' bisogno-c'è bisogno di una politica <b>lungimirante</b>, coerente.</i>          [A <b>far-sighted</b> consistent policy is needed].          GS7: <i>Conseguentemente bisogna portare avanti una politica <b>sostenibile, ad ampio respiro</b>.</i>          [Consequently a <b>sustainable, wide-range</b> policy must be implemented]</p>
<p>ET: <i>We need a consistent policy that is credible and <b>predictable</b>.</i></p>	<p>ES2: <i>Abbiamo bisogno di politiche coerenti, che siano credibili e <b>che possano dare buoni frutti</b>.</i>          [We need consistent policies, that are credible and that can <b>yield good results</b>].          ES5: <i>[...] abbiamo bisogno di politiche coerenti, credibili e anche <b>attuabili</b>.</i>          [ (...) we need consistent, credible and <b>practicable</b> policies.          ES6: <i>C'è bisogno di una politica coerente, credibile ..e <b>ben programmata</b>.</i>          [A consistent credible and <b>well planned</b> policy is necessary]          ES8: <i>C'è bisogno di una politica coerente, credibile..e <b>organizzata</b>.</i>          [A consistent, credible and <b>well organised</b> policy is required].</p>

Consequently, according to the data that emerged from the present study, substitution appears as a language-independent strategy which is not linked to the linguistic features of the ST. It appears to be a response adopted by the subjects of both groups to address the same comprehension or reformulation difficulties.

#### 4. Conclusions

The objective of the present study was to detect possible differences in the use of strategies during SI that could derive from specific features of the SL

involved in the interpreting process and to ascertain whether the language-pair plays a role in determining the interpreter's approach to SI.

The results of the study seem to corroborate the hypothesis of certain language-pair specific strategies.

In particular, anticipation, time-lag, morphosyntactic transformations and transcoding are the strategies that revealed clear differences in the two groups of subjects.

*Anticipation* has been confirmed as one of the favourite strategies adopted by the subjects having German in their language-pair in order to deal with verb-final syntax. Data indicate that both quantitatively (49 occurrences recorded by the GS group) and qualitatively (anticipation in the GS group involves almost exclusively a VP) anticipation is influenced by the existence, in the SL text, of a typical linguistic structure, i.e. the verb-final structure in German, whereas the absence of a similar structure in English makes the adoption of anticipation superfluous. This is confirmed by the fact that only 5 occurrences of anticipation were recorded in the English samples and that anticipation involved a lexical unit and not a verb. The presence of only 5 occurrences in the same text portion could also indicate that the use of this strategy was accidental. It is also worth noting that all the 5 English subjects that resorted to anticipation had also German in their language combination. Even though this aspect was not considered in the present study, it could indicate that subjects having German among their working languages might be influenced in the choice of SI strategies even when working with other language pairs.

The experimental data resulting from the present analysis confirm the role of anticipation in the SI between structurally dissimilar languages, as suggested by Kalina:

Antizipation ist im Dolmetschprozess ein sowohl bottom-up als auch top-down verlaufender strategischer Prozess, der in bestimmten Fällen (aufgrund starker struktureller Divergenzen in Sprachenpaaren bzw. bei bestimmten Verarbeitungsrichtungen) verstärkt als Basis für die Textproduktion dienen muss (1998: 117).

The analysis of the *time-lag* also revealed language-specific divergences, as already highlighted in the presentation of results. Data have shown that the segment from which subjects start reformulating the message is different in the two groups. In the ES group, it coincides with the NP+VP+NP, with a clear tendency of ES subjects to keep their time-lag as short as possible, while in the GS group time-lag is extended or shortened depending on the position of the verb within the clause.

This work partly confirms the suggestion by Goldman-Eisler in her study on time-lag during SI. Assessing the performances of 6 professional interpreters in

the English-French, French-English, English-German and German-English language-pairs, the author found, in line with the results of the present research regarding the GS group, that "the verb is the main determinant of meaning" (1972: 137). However, differently from her research, both ES and GS do not only rely on the verb to start reformulation, as shown by the high number of occurrences of the LU type in both groups. Therefore, her assumption that "[...] the crucial piece of information enabling interpreters to start translation is the predicate" (1972: 131) was not confirmed. Yet it should be highlighted that student interpreters and not professionals were involved in the present research: the lack of working experience could have therefore played a role in the choice of the time-lag.

The analysis of *morphosyntactic transformations* and transcoding have provided interesting elements as to how the subjects of the two groups deal with the incoming SL text and the structure of the message.

The more frequent use of morphosyntactic operations by the GS (38 to 24) show these subjects' ability to reformulate the message into the TL more freely than the ES. These results seem to confirm that, wherever possible, subjects tend to follow the surface structure of the ST. Given the morphosyntactic similarities between English and Italian, fewer restructuring operations are required in SI from English to Italian than in SI from German to Italian, where structural dissimilarities are deeper, as indicated by numerous authors:

Languages with predominantly parallel syntactic patterning, e.g. English and French, demand less syntactic restructuring than do languages which differ considerably in structure, e.g. German and English. Thus, a SL/TL transfer on the basis of parallel syntactic structures can [...] be regarded as easier to accomplish. In addition, large "chunks" of information can be recoded with little restructuring, as the "expectation patterns" are largely similar (Wilss 1978: 343).

Drawing on Wilss's description of translation strategies, Müller highlights the concept of structural isomorphism between SL and TL, arguing that restructuring processes intervene only when a parallel structure cannot be used:

Präferierte Wahlen sind nach Wilss gekennzeichnet durch Beziehungen hoher struktureller Ähnlichkeit zum AS-Text, insbesondere auf syntaktischer und lexikaler Ebene [...]. Überall, wo in dem zu übersetzenden Textabschnitt zwischen AS und ZS in der angeführten Weise 'feste interlinguale Äquivalenzbeziehungen' vorliegen [...] kommt der Übersetzer mit sehr allgemeinen 'prototypischen Verhaltensmustern' aus, über die er im Rahmen einer routinisierten 'Fertigkeit' verfügt [...]. Erst da, wo die Übersetzungsaufgabe die bevorzugte, einfache, auf sprachstrukturelle Ähnlichkeit oder Isomorphie gestützte Lösung nicht

zuläßt, wo also z. B. 'eine wörtliche Übersetzung einen eindeutigen Verstoß gegen die lexikalischen, syntaktischen und idiomatischen Regelapparate der Zielsprache zur Folge hätte' [Wilss 1989: 111], treten komplexere Suchstrategien in Kraft (Müller 1996: 281).

Given the time constraints imposed on the interpreter by SI, the possibility of applying parallel structures will play a crucial role:

[...] der Zeitdruck, der zu schnellen und 'automatisierten' Verfahrensweisen Veranlassung gibt, sowie die erhöhte Relevanz von Reihenfolgebeziehungen, lassen der weiter oben zitierte Präferenz für 'wörtliche Prozeduren' des Übersetzens ein zusätzliche Gewicht zukommen, wenn es sich bei diesem Übersetzen um Simultan-dolmetschen handelt. Dies gilt insbesondere dann, wenn wir 'Wörtlichkeit nicht nur auf die lexikalische Ebene einschränken, sondern insbesondere auch Reihenfolgebeziehungen syntaktischer und textueller Art einschließen [...] (Müller 1996: 285).

In conclusion, the author stresses again that

Global angesehen zeigt die Analyse von SD-Texten die Präferenz, syntaktische und textuelle Reihenfolgebeziehungen des AS-Textes beizubehalten in ausgeprägter Form [...] (Müller 1996: 285).

The analysis of *transcoding* integrates and reaffirms what has been observed so far. According to the data collected, the ES resort to transcoding much more frequently than the GS (50 occurrences compared to 11). Since the ST was identical for the two groups, except for the language in which they were uttered, this difference could derive from linguistic factors and, in particular, from the morphosyntactic similarities between English and Italian. In fact, the possibility to follow the SL structure more closely in this language-pair than in the German-Italian pair could provide a valuable clue as to how to interpret this phenomenon. The fewer cases of morphosyntactic transformations and the more frequent use of transcoding by the ES group can therefore be seen as two sides of the same coin.

This conclusion seems to be confirmed by the previously mentioned experimental study by Viezzi (1993) who, in analysing the differences between a text interpreted simultaneously and the written translation of the same text from English into Italian, points out that

The comparison of the two translations with SLT clearly shows that SI follows the SLT structure more closely than WT and its units tend to be shorter (or longer) accordingly (1993: 96)

The data provided by the present study seem to indicate that the subjects' ability to follow the SLT's structure depends on the SL and is indeed facilitated by closer morphosyntactic similarities between SL and TL.

Viezzi's study also provides interesting observations concerning *stylistic choices* that can be of assistance in commenting upon the results of the present analysis. The author notes that "[...] WT [written translation] tends to be more formal and is, in general, more elegant than SI" (1993: 97). While this is clearly due to the on-line nature of SI which does not allow an interpreter to dwell upon stylistic choices, the data provided by the present analysis may indicate that the use of solutions of lower register in the TL may be influenced by the language-pair. In the present study, the difference in the total number of occurrences of simplification between the two groups (51 in the ES group and 27 in the GS group) seems to confirm Viezzi's observations.

In Viezzi's study, simplification is achieved through structural and lexical adherence to the English ST. As previously outlined in this paper when referring to transcoding and morphosyntactic operations, the ES' tendency to follow both the lexical and syntactic structure of the SL text due to the similarities between English and Italian may lead to solutions that resemble the original, but sound less appropriate in a TL like Italian as far as register is concerned.

*Evasion* has also indicated a higher frequency in one group, i.e. the GS group, in the total number of occurrences (26 compared to 10 of the ES group). The fact that the dropped segments coincided among subjects of the same group, but not between the two groups may hint at a possible role of language-pair specific factors. However, further evidence is required to confirm or reject this hypothesis.

A strategy whose role as a possible tool to deal with structural asymmetries has not been confirmed is *stalling by using neutral material*. The low number of occurrences recorded by both groups (8 in the GS and 2 in the ES group) makes it difficult to ascertain whether linguistic factors and hence the language-pair play a role in the use of this strategy. Therefore, the assumption of certain IP-theory authors who stressed the importance of this strategy has not been corroborated by the present work:

'Stalling' is often cited in the literature as a technique by which an interpreter can deal with long-distance dependencies, such as left-branching structures (especially verb-last SL syntax) by 'buying time' without subjecting her listeners to a long and uncomfortable silence (Setton 1999: 50).

The data emerged from the analysis of *paraphrase*, *approximation* and *segmentation* have not indicated any significant difference between the two groups. It is therefore difficult to establish the existence of a language-specific

approach due to the low number of occurrences recorded by both groups. Further investigation would be advisable to shed light on the use of the above-mentioned strategies.

Other strategies, such as additions, have been mostly adopted by one or more subjects, thus influencing the number of total occurrences and preventing an objective evaluation of the possible role of language-specific aspects.

The analysis of *repetitions*, of the strategy of *changing the order of elements within the clause* and of *least commitment* has shown little discrepancy between the two groups as far as the total number of occurrences is concerned. However, the presence of a higher number of occurrences in the tests of a limited number of subjects or of one single subject has not elicited reliable conclusions on whether their use is linked to the peculiarities of the SL involved in the interpreting process or is rather the result of individual choices.

Interesting results have emerged from the analysis of *generalization*, *deletion* and *substitution*. Both groups have shown a similar approach in resorting to these strategies as far as the total number of occurrences and the type of elements subjected to these operations are concerned. In fact, the analysis has shown that in both groups the most frequently deleted elements were modifying adjectives and adverbs. This result is in line with De Feo in whose study a clear trend towards the deletion of qualifying elements had emerged (see 1993: 30).

Similarly, Kopczynski outlined that

A very striking pattern of omissions consisted of leaving out modifying elements of different kinds, from adjectives and adverbials to relative phrases and clauses and adverbial clauses. The strategy is then apparently to focus the attention in the first instance on the constitutive part of T1: the main clause, the main verb, the head noun. The modifying elements, [...], are evidently viewed as redundant and frequently dismissed (1982: 260).

Additionally, it has been observed that the SL text portions involved in these operations coincided in the performances of the two groups and that a high number of subjects applied the same strategy in the same text segments. This phenomenon provides important clues as to the general nature of the examined strategies.

Despite the limited scope of the experiment described here, the present analysis has attempted to shed light on the theme of language-pair specific strategies. Results seem to indicate that certain language factors have an impact on the choice of the strategies adopted by the interpreter. However, the conclusions presented in this paper cannot be generalized because of the existence of procedural constraints. Firstly,

the empirical investigation of this strategic interdependence and interaction of interpreting is anything but a straightforward matter. One is confronted with oral and spontaneous linguistic products, intended for one single short moment and not to be stored or repeated as such, providing only inadequate clues as to the processes of which they are the result (Kohn & Kalina 1996: 133).

Secondly, the selected text, a translation from Swedish into English and German, was originally pronounced in a language different from those involved in the experiment. This choice, determined by the peculiar circumstances of the study, might have had an impact on the overall results.

Thirdly, the limited number of subjects chosen for the experiment may have influenced the outcome.

Finally, the fact that the subjects of the present study were novice interpreters and not professional interpreters suggests that further studies would be necessary, since professional experience allegedly plays a role in determining the interpreter's choice of strategies. A different approach might thus emerge between novice and professional interpreters, which it would be interesting to investigate.

Therefore, further experimental studies, extending the scope of research to a wider corpus, a higher number of subjects and to professional interpreters, would be advisable in order to confirm or contradict the results of this study.

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## **NORMS AND QUALITY IN MEDIA INTERPRETING: THE CASE OF FORMULA ONE PRESS-CONFERENCES**

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### 1. Introduction

Research on quality in simultaneous interpreting (SI) seems to be polarized, if not paralysed, in the following two directions:

- 1) speculative studies which suggest how a text 'may', 'should' or 'should have been' translated
- 2) experimental and/or case studies which analyse individual SI performances to see whether they correspond to pre-established quality criteria

The first case is to do with *pedagogic quality*, which falls within the evaluation activity institutionally carried out by the teachers of interpretation. The features of a text are analysed, highlighting problems which give students useful suggestions on how to solve them. The second case is to do with *laboratory quality*. Through the hypothesis testing method, evaluation is limited to those aspects and variables selected and decided upon by the experimenter. Both cases deal with *simulated quality*, i.e. acts of evaluation which do not concern real communicative acts (speeches translated in real contexts), but *simulated acts* based on the 'as if' principle (cf. Straniero Sergio 1999a).

As will be shown later (cf. § 5), the elimination of the situational context – in which the interpreted event takes place – creates a gap between *ideal* (academic) *quality* and *situated* (real-world) *quality*. Conversely, adopting a *descriptive* (and not *prescriptive*) approach, we ask ourselves how a text 'has been' translated and not how it 'could be', 'could have been' or 'should have been' translated. Paraphrasing the title of Chesterman's article (1993), it is a matter of passing "From 'Ought' to 'Is'. The constant observation over time of the translational behaviour of interpreters (in real situations) will bring *norms* to the surface (Toury 1980, 1995; Baker 1993; Chesterman 1993; Schäffner 1999), which will define the concept of *quality* within the framework of an *ethics of translation*. As Pym (2001) writes:

[...] ethics is now a broadly contextual question, dependent on practice in specific cultural locations and situational determinants. It concerns people, perhaps more than texts. It involves dynamics, seeking specific goals, challenging established norms, and bringing theory closer to historical practice

To respond to the pressing need for authentic data on SI, I started (in 1998) to collect a large corpus on Media Interpreting (MI), made up of 1200

interpreters' performances (both in simultaneous and consecutive modes). The objective was to trace the history of MI, above all in its two fundamental genres: *talk shows* and *media events*, highlighting the characteristics which make MI different from both Conference Interpreting and other forms of Dialogue Interpreting.

For the purpose of this article, I will consider the SI of the press conferences that drivers give at the end of the Formula One Grand Prix (hereinafter to be known as FPC), broadcast live by the RAI (Italian Broadcasting Company). It is a representative subcorpus of MI in the sense that, like many media texts, it challenges the standard quality expectations of SI, raising interesting questions on the "fallibility" of SI (Pearl 1999), and questions its function on television. In the next paragraphs, after reviewing the main features of this media genre (§ 2), interpreters' performances will be analysed in terms of *regularities of translational behaviour* in order to identify the existence of norms (§ 3). Finally, the concept of quality will be discussed in the broader MI context (§ 4-5).

## 2. Textual features of FPC

FPCs can be described in terms of dialogicity, brevity, intertextuality and rituality.

- a) DIALOGICITY. It is a text which belongs to the "interview" genre and, more specifically, "the press conference" format. However, unlike Conference Interpreting, there is no shared situationality. Interpreters have no access to the primary participants who are totally unaware that in Rome a SI of their interview is going on.
- b) BREVITY. On average, each conference lasts four minutes with no more than six questions. The exchange is made up of very short turns. Questions follow one another, with no follow-up, i.e. the interviewer does not ask a question related to the answer. In many cases, the satellite link is established up to a couple of minutes after the conference has started. This means that the first question and/or the first answer – even entire sequences – may be omitted altogether. More often than not the voices of the reporters (on the circuit) and/or that of the presenter (in the studio) overlap with the images of drivers and the voices of the interpreters. Conferences usually terminate abruptly with the arrival of the signature tune which interrupts the interpreter mid-sentence.
- c) INTERTEXTUALITY. It is a text which presupposes the existence of a pre-text, i.e. the race which is re-experienced and explained through the words of its protagonists. Hence the importance of the intertextual dimension, i.e. the narration is based on continuous references to what happened during the race. Moreover, the conference is embedded in a larger text represented by the

talk show *Pole Position* which precedes and follows the broadcast of the Grand Prix<sup>1</sup>.

- d) RITUALITY. It is a regular event which takes place fortnightly, throughout the season (from March to October). This temporal repetitiveness is matched with the rituality of answers and particularly of questions. The interviewer (voice off), congratulates the winners and asks them to express their feelings and to talk of the most exciting moments of the race. This is invariably followed by questions on the classification, testing and forecasts for the next Grand Prix. On their part, drivers express their satisfaction or regret, thank their teams and explain how the competition went.

## 2.1. Lexicon

FPC jargon is obviously characterized by the presence of technical terms. Most of them concern car components, driving features, the circuit, regulations and the team:

aerodynamics; aquaplaning; anti-stall system on the transmission; Arrows; attrition; backmarker; barge board; braking point; bump; chassis; chequered flag; chicane; circuit; cockpit; compound; corner; dashboard; differential; downforce; engine; escape road; floor; foot clutch; free practice; front suspension; front wing end plate; fuel-wise; g-force; gearbox; grandstands; grass; grid; groove (tyres); grip levels; hand clutch; handling (of the car); (to stay fairly consistent); intermediates; hairpin; kerb; lap; infield; marshals; left handers; nose cone; (the) officials; oversteering; parc ferme; pit; pit crew; pit lane; pit stop; pit wall; pole position; power steering; qualifying; racing line; revs; rpm; rubber; run-off area; set-up; slipstream; stadium section; stint; straight; third gear; throttle; track; traffic; tyres; underfloor diffuser; understeering; wall; wheelbase; wheelspin; to be red-flagged; yellow flags, the Safety Car; the people in the factory.

There are many verbs which describe the speed, the movements of cars, the actions taken by drivers, the lead they have etc. Often these expressions occur in synthetic syntactic constructions<sup>2</sup>

to back off; to beat s.o. off the line; to be beaten away from the line by s.o.; to be clear of s.o.; to be in the lead; to beat s.o. into the first corner; to break s.o. down; to build up a lead; to build up quite a gap; to catch up

1 This "textual" dependence has also to do with programming. If *Pole Position* is not aired (because of a strike or other reasons), then neither will FPC.

2 However there are very few noun strings of the "low downforce aerodynamic package" type, which would be typical of technical language.

with s.o.; to be caught out; to be caught behind s.o.; to carry along; to challenge; to chase; to clip an inside kerb; to coast round the corner; to crash off; to drive around the outside of s.o.; to drive flat out; to drive into s.o.; to drive away; to drive down inside s.o.; to ease off; to ease up; to find a way to past s.o.; to gain some track time; to get a tow from s.o.; to get off into the lead; to go round the outside; to get away; to go down the inside of s.o.; to go into the lead; to go on the inside; to go up front; to go sideways; to go wide; to hit a bit of traffic; to hang with s.o.; to have a clean run on s.o. on the outside; to have s.o. on one's tail; to hold the lead; to hold s.o. off; to hold station; to jump; to be leading to the points; to make a great getaway; to make headway; to make a big gap; to nip through; to out-accelerate s.o.; to outbreak one's competitors; to overshoot; to pass on the outside; to pass s.o. on the line; to pick up the pace; to pull the clutch in and coast round the corner; to put in two very fast laps; to race; to roll backwards; to roll forward; to run off (the circuit); to run wide; to run low wing; to shift revs; to slide wide; to sneak through; to spin off; to spit down; to squeeze back; to stay close; to step up a gear; to be tapped up; to throw the car through the corners; to tuck under s.o.'s car's rear wing.

Particularly frequent are the verbs "to close", "to push" and "to pull":

to close up; to close up on s.o.; to be closing on s.o.; to close back up on s.o.; to close the door on s.o.; to be close behind; to pull away from s.o.; to pull the car back; to pull in very tight to the inside of corner; to pull out a big enough gap, to pull out a useful lead; to pull out 20 seconds on s.o.; to pull over to get on to the line; to pull over and almost stop; to push hard; to push like hell to get s.o.; to push the car more to the limit.

The intensity of the actions is often conveyed by colloquial expressions and idioms:

to be going great guns; flat out all the time; to be on the ball; to get on to the marbles; to be at the back of the pack; to be behind the leading pack; to hang on by the skin of our teeth; to break the jinx of pole position after 12 races; you got squeezed out of a position at the start.

The technical jargon is, in fact, far from being the only register. Drivers frequently use metaphors, hyperboles and a colourful ordinary language:

I'm very happy, after the difficult start to the season. It is very much like oil on my soul (San Marino 1997); I was just bombing along to the finish (San Marino 1997); it was a question of pushing like a maniac (Europe 1997); I was so hyped up that I still went for it (Japan 1998); everything was pretty cool (Monaco 1998); last year was a bit of mess, but still the race was very good (Austria 1999); the car was understeering like a pig (Austria 1999); at the moment McLaren seems to have the legs on us

(Austria 1999); Mika's doing a blinding job and both titles could be on the cards (Germany 1999); I have never been psyched by the achievements of Mika or Michael, or anybody against whom I am competing (Monaco 2000); the car is so bloody fast (Australia 2000); in fact it's going to be close with Ferrari all year. So stay tuned! (Monaco 2000); I was saying to Giancarlo that I've never been behind such a messy car (Belgium 2001); Michael is a hell of a driver (Malaysia 2001); I had the upper hand the whole stint (Canada 2001); it was a hell of a race (France 2001); I was a bit pissed off (Malaysia 2002).

The interaction takes place in a relaxed and informal atmosphere, in which speakers laugh, joke and slap each other on the back. Drivers address colleagues and mechanics using the first names or only the initials of the name. For example: "although I was behind Jos [Verstappen]" (Malaysia 2001), "after DC [David Coulthard] outraked me on the outside" (Malaysia 2000), "until RB [Rubens Barrichello] was out" (Canada 2000).

### 3. Emergency strategies as translational norms

Our subcorpus makes it possible to analyse 80 performances by 11 professional media interpreters over an extended time period (1997-2002). Two interpreters account for nearly 90% of the whole corpus (with respectively 31 and 30 SI each); three interpreters translated 4 and 5 FPCs each, and six interpreters put themselves through this ordeal only once. The analysis indubitably shows that FPC is a terrible experience for all the interpreters and none of them could be said to actually manage to convey the text thoroughly (cf. tab. 1-2). Suffice to say that out of 512 drivers' answers as many as 249 were incorrect. By "incorrect" we mean those interpreted answers which contain blatant distortions of the original sense and/or deletions of relevant information<sup>3</sup>. Interpreters performed better in the translation of questions: 403 correct vs 95 incorrect. This difference in performance was due to the fact that questions may be inferred by replies and, even though the questions are then generalised, reduced and/or summarized, their original meaning is less likely to be severely distorted. The factors accounting for such a poor performance in the translation of answers – in addition to those seen in § 2 – are the accents of the 11 non-English native drivers<sup>4</sup>, whose incorrect answers amount to 139. At the same time, however, the accents of the Scottish David Coulthard and the Irish Eddie Irvine (present in 53 of the FPCs analysed) create enormous difficulties for interpreters (cf. tab. 3-4): out of 132 answers, 110 were wrong and 22 correct. In particular, out

3 The data on *delivery* will not be discussed here.

4 See, for example, in [81], the problems caused by the pronunciation of "fourth" by the Finnish Mika Häkkinen.

of 82 answers by Coulthard, only 18 can be considered correct. The data on Irvine are even worse: 4 correct answers out of 50. Moreover, the two British drivers are the speakers with the highest speech rate and the highest density of technical words. The approach adopted in analysing the interpreters' performances is not that of *error analysis*, the focus being on the identification of a *common translational practice*. The data show that in order to cope with the constraints posed by FPC, all 11 interpreters adopt *emergency strategies*, i.e. strategies which usually are considered 'last resort' but in this type of SI they become *the norm*.

INTERPRETERS	FPC	ANSWERS	CORRECT	INCORRECT
1	31	188	132	56
2	30	196	65	131
3	5	32	17	15
4	4	30	25	5
5	4	30	11	19
6	1	5	3	2
7	1	8	3	5
8	1	3	0	3
9	1	5	2	3
10	1	8	3	5
11	1	7	2	5
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>249</b>

Table 1

INTERPRETERS	FPC	QUESTIONS	CORRECT	INCORRECT
1	31	184	173	11
2	30	190	133	57
3	5	32	29	3
4	4	30	22	8
5	4	28	24	4
6	1	5	2	3
7	1	8	5	3
8	1	2	1	1
9	1	5	4	1
10	1	7	5	2
11	1	7	5	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>498</b>	<b>403</b>	<b>95</b>

Table 2



INTERPRETERS	FPC COULTHARD	ANSWERS	CORRECT	INCORRECT
1	14	25	6	19
2	11	28	3	25
3	2	4	0	4
4	3	9	0	9
5	3	12	9	3
6	1	1	0	1
7	1	2	0	2
8	1	1	0	1
9	-	-	-	-
10	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>64</b>

Table 3

INTERPRETERS	FPC IRVINE	ANSWERS	CORRECT	INCORRECT
1	4	9	3	6
2	14	35	1	34
3	2	4	0	4
4	-	-	-	-
5	-	-	-	-
6	-	-	-	-
7	-	-	-	-
8	-	-	-	-
9	1	2	0	2
10	-	-	-	-
11	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>46</b>

Table 4

### 3.1. Summarizing renditions

In an exchange where interviewer and interviewee share the same language, answers follow questions without interruption. The absence of inter-turn pauses together with a very high rate of speed put interpreters in the position of *always* being late. No wonder that all questions translated by interpreters are *systematically* "summarizing renditions" (Wadensjö 1992):

[1]

Q David, a great start put you into 2nd place at the first corner and you were happily following Mika from close behind. But you seemed to lose some of that pace in the middle section. Was there something wrong?

I *per te è stata una bella partenza sei arrivato subito (.) secondo dietro a::: ehm a Mika (.) hai avuto delle difficoltà nella fra- nella fase intermedia?*<sup>5</sup> (Spain 1999)

[2]

Q [...] was that luck or does Benetton have a very skilled weather forecaster?

I [...] *è stato fortuna::: o cosa?* )<sup>6</sup> (Canada 2000)

[3]

Q you set your personal fastest lap at the end of the first of your three stints and you never went as fast again in the following two. Was that because you were controlling the race or because the car's performance went off slightly?

I *nel primo (.) prima del primo pit stop hai trovato il giro più veloce poi non ce l'hai più fatta dopo come mai?*<sup>7</sup> (Malaysia 2000)

[4]

Q Rubens, you too were involved in those incidents in the first few laps and it culminated in you having a very long pit stop. Talk us through all that?

I *Rubens anche tu::: (.) hai avuto: un pit stop così lungo come mai? cosa è successo?*<sup>8</sup> (Malaysia 2001)

[5]

Q let's talk of tyres on the grid we saw a shot of your front right-hand tyre. When they took the tyre blanket off, it looked as though it had been blistered; is that the case?

I *parliamo delle gomme (5'17") le tue gomme avevano::: dei problemi?*<sup>9</sup> (Australia 2002)

[6]

Q Michael (.) you came into the lead (.) you caught him up (.) and then had a spin (.) was that because you got too close to his wing ehm to his rear wing? and do you think that cost you the race?

I *Michael (7'50") cosa è successo quando a un certo punto::: (.) ti sei allontanato::: (.) ti sei girato: con: con Rubens?*<sup>10</sup> (Europe 2002)

---

5 for you it was a good start you arrived at once (.) second behind::: ehm::: Mika (.) did you have (.) difficulties in the intermediate phase?.

6 was it luck::: or what?.

7 in the first (.) before the first pit stop you had the fastest lap then you didn't make it. How come?.

8 Rubens you too::: (.) had: such a long pit stop why? what happened?.

9 let's talk of the tyres (5'17") did you have::: problems with your tyres?.

10 Michael, what happened when at certain point::: (.) you moved away::: (.) you turned towards: towards: Rubens?.

## 3.2. Question/Answer matching strategies

It is a very well known fact that target texts (TTs) do not necessarily show the same cohesive ties as the corresponding source texts (Hatim and Mason 1990; Baker 1992; Aziz 1993; Shlesinger 1995). Interpreters, as producers of their own texts, may indeed re-organize the surface structure of the TP in different ways, by changing, adding, splitting or deleting some elements, as demonstrated in the two following excerpts:

[7]

Q *how much* were conditions changing lap by lap?A *quite a lot*. It was almost dry and then it started raining again [...]

INTERPRETER

Q le condizioni cambiavano:: giro dopo giro è così?

A sì (.) è proprio così (.) ehm cominciava a piovere poi smetteva<sup>11</sup>  
(England 2002)

[8]

Q and the two-stop strategy appeared to be *the way to go*?A fortunately we could say today it was *the way to go* and the car felt good. I must thank everyone [...]

INTERPRETER

Q la strategia del doppio pit stop *sembra aver funzionato bene*?A beh direi proprio di sì (.) posso dire che oggi:: è stata *la scelta giusta*: la:: vettura è andata benissimo e devo ringraziare tutti<sup>12</sup> [...]  
(Italy 2002)

The management of the dialogue format requires the adoption of ad hoc strategies for securing topical continuity and coherence between questions and answers. For example, if the interviewee answers a question by re-thematizing an interviewer's expression, it is important that the interpreter uses the same expression in the answer that s/he used in the question:

[9]

Q congratulations Michael. This is your sixth win of the season, even though the last of them was six races ago. You have done it in front of your home fans *and you must be delighted*.A yes, but *delighted* is the wrong word [...]

---

11 Q: conditions were changing:: lap by lap. Is that so? A: yes (.) exactly (.) ehm it would start to rain and then it would stop.

12 Q: the two pit stop strategy appeared to have worked well. A: well I would say so (.) I can say that today:: it was the right choice: the car went very well and I'd like to thank everybody.

INTERPRETER

Q Michael congratulazioni è la sesta vittoria della stagione (.) stavolta l'hai fatto di fronte ai tuoi tifosi: ed è stata forse *una cosa straordinaria*

A *straordinario* forse è sbagliato<sup>13</sup> [...] (Italy 2000)

This textual device becomes crucial in MI dialogic contexts in which there are two or more interpreters involved. In these cases, the translation of questions and answers depends on the turn-taking strategies adopted by the team. Hence the problem of synchronisation and coherence with both the previous and the next interpreter's turn<sup>14</sup>. Compare, for example, the renditions of the same Q/A sequence delivered by two different teams, each made up of two interpreters (one responsible for Q and the other for A):

[A]

Q [...] penso che ci possano essere problemi:: burocratici pressoché insolubili (.)

*ha sofferto* veramente da questo punto di vista?

A *sofferto è un po' troppo forse:* (.) diciamo che era un po' difficile (.) ma è un paese effettivamente molto difficile<sup>15</sup> [...]

[B]

Q [...] ci sono problemi burocratici immagino enormi (.) comunque l'immagine che si può fare di questo paese è un'immagine di un paese difficile (.) *ed è vero?*

A *sofferto ebbene è dire troppo è una- (.) pa-rola grossa* effettivamente è un paese molto difficile<sup>16</sup> [...] (Cannes Film Festival 1998)

Cohesion is a property of a text and is objective, whereas coherence depends on the user's evaluation, is subjective (Hoey 1991), and negotiated by speakers (Gernsbacher & Givón 1995). Listeners are predisposed to form interpretations coherent with what they listen to, regardless of the cohesive ties present in the text (Brown & Yule 1983). This means that in the event interpreters' utterances lack of cohesion, televiewers will supply the missing links, such as in the

13 Q: Michael congratulations this is your sixth victory of the season (.) this time you did it before your fans: and that maybe was an extraordinary thing. A: extraordinary maybe is the wrong word.

14 These phenomena are also discussed by Amato (2002).

15 Q: I guess there are some insurmountable difficulties; you must have suffered from this point of view? A: suffered is maybe too strong (.) maybe it was a bit difficult (.) but it is actually a very difficult country.

16 Q: there are enormous bureaucratic problems I imagine (.) however the image we can have of this country is the image of a difficult country. Is that true? A: well to suffer is maybe too strong, it is a- (.) a big word, actually it is a very difficult country.

following fragment in which the interpreter has omitted "intermediates" in the question:

- [10]  
 Q after your first pit stop *you put on intermediates*. Was that a disadvantage?  
 A I am not sure about this but I think that most people were out in *intermediates* [...]  
 INTERPRETER  
 Q il primo pit stop sei uscito (.) è stato uno svantaggio per te?  
 A credo che tutti sono usciti con: *gli intermedi*<sup>17</sup> [...] (England 1998)

The omission of a textual unit in the question may only be temporary:

- [11]  
 Q many congratulations, David, on your back-to-back victory in the British Grand Prix. You must feel *fantastic*  
 A Yes I do. This is great [...]  
 INTERPRETER  
 Q David (.) come ti senti come ti senti?  
 A mi sento benissimo (.) è *fantastico*<sup>18</sup> [...] (England 2000)

As a rule, however, the recovery of a segment omitted in the question requires the insertion of extra textual material – such as connectives ([12]) the use of modal or introductory expressions ([13]-[14]) in order to restore coherence:

- [12]  
 Q this was Bridgestone's 100th Grand Prix and victory on their home circuit must have been pretty special for them today?  
 A it is, yes, and we have been together these past three or four days and it has been a wonderful season for them. They work very hard for us and we for them and it has paid off  
 INTERPRETER  
 Q questo era il tuo centesimo gran premio (.) e:: ehm (.) una vittoria (.) sarebbe stata davvero:: (.) speciale  
 A beh:: nelle ultime tre quattro:: gare siamo stati molto insieme *anche con i tecnici* della (.) Bridgestone (.) ehm:: hanno: (.) lavorato (.)

---

17 Q: at the first pit stop you went out (.) Was that a disadvantage for you? A: I think everybody went out in:: intermediates.

18 Q: David (.) how do you feel how do you feel? A: I feel very well (.) it's fantastic.

benissimo per noi (.) sono stati (.) grandiosi e questo ci ha ripagato<sup>19</sup>  
(Japan 2002)

[13]

Q before the second stop, you went a lot quicker. Why?

A just pushing you know. There was room in the car to go quick. The car was very positive, but I got it to handle so that I could drive it really smoothly and started to make up time. It was amazing.

INTERPRETER

Q ((omitted))

A *è possibile far correre di più (.) l'auto (.) ho deciso* appunto di ehm::  
(.) tener duro e:: in questo modo ho avuto questo risultato<sup>20</sup> (Europe 2001)

[14]

Q after the start, when you were still in third place behind Eddie Irvine, Michael was disappearing down the road. *How worried were you* that you might not be able to catch up the lost time?

A *I don't know whether I would use the word worried* [...]

INTERPRETER

Q nella prima parte della gara sei stato dietro a Irvine e Michael andava avanti (.) qual era il tuo punto di vista a quel punto?

A *non credo di poter dire* che fossi preoccupato<sup>21</sup> [...] (Luxemburg 1998)

In [15], the interpreter realizes he is too late to translate the question. So, he stops for a few seconds and starts to translate after listening to the first sentence of the answer ("well we couldn't have gone any quicker today"), thereby inferring the meaning of the question from the driver's reply and making it coherent with latter. Moreover, the speaking turns between questioner and answerer are marked by the connective "beh" (well), but above all by prosody:

[15]

Q obviously a couple of cars dropped out; where do you think the true level of performance of BAR is at the moment?

19 Q: this was your 100th Grand Prix (.) and:: ehm (.) a victory (.) would have been really:: (.) special. A: well:: in the last three four:: races we have been together also with the Bridgestone technicians (.) ehm:: they have: (.) worked (.) very hard for us (.) they were wonderful and this paid off.

20 it is possible to make the car go faster (.) I decided to ehm:: (.) hold tight and so I achieved this result.

21 Q: in the first part of the race you were behind Irvine and Michael was ahead (.) what was your point of view at that point?A: I don't think I can say I was worried.

A well we couldn't have gone any quicker today. The car was hard to drive but it looks like it was difficult for everybody so we're a little bit lucky [...]

INTERPRETER

Q/A dove pensi che avresti potuto migliorare? **beh**:: penso che non ci fosse: granchè da fare era molto difficile per tutti<sup>22</sup> [...] (Spain 2001)

Failing to guarantee *intertextual coherence* (i.e. coherence in relation to the source text), interpreters strive to maintain an *intratextual coherence*, i.e. consistency between their own turns. For example, in [16], the impersonal form used in the question is reproduced also in the answer, whereas in [17], the interpreter answers a question he 'formulated himself' ("were you afraid?"..."I was afraid..."):

[16]

Q In the race itself, the key point for you seemed to be when you managed to get the lead when Ralf Schumacher had an engine problem. Can you talk us through that because it seemed *Juan Pablo* was momentarily confused?

A Well, to be honest, *I was confused as well* because I didn't know [...]

INTERPRETER

Q diciamo che la chiave della vittoria è: stata (.) all'inizio quando Montoya ha avuto quel problema: è *stat-* c'è stata un po'di *confusione*

A *beh c'è stata direi: sì (.) sicuramente della confusione* io non sapevo<sup>23</sup> [...] (Italy 2002)

[17]

Q after the bad luck you've been having for the last four races (.) were you listening to every noise at the back of the car for the last few laps?

A no, I was not doing that. But obviously this is a circuit where you tend to ride the kerbs quite a lot, and that can cause some problems for the tyres [...]

INTERPRETER

Q *aveva paura*:: alla fine ehm (.) visto che è stato così sfortunato negli ultimi gran premi?

22 Where do you think you could have improved? *well*:: I don't think there was much I could do there was- it was difficult for everybody.

23 Q: let's say that the turning point of the victory was: (.) at the beginning when Montoya had that problem: it was- there was some confusion. A: well I would say: yes (.) there was (.) certainly some confusion and I didn't know [...].

- A no: non realmente io mi sono concentrato sulla posizione (.) e: sono stato molto attento alle curve ovviamente (.) *e avevo paura* di eventuali problemi con i pneumatici<sup>24</sup> [...] (Hungary 1999)

Questions are formed not only as simple wh-questions, but also as declarative clauses, i.e. statements made by the questioner. Particularly difficult to render are *choice questions* and *leading questions*, i.e. questions which contain an indication of the preferred or expected answer (Berk-Seligson 1990; Adelswård 1992). Due to the tight time constraints, very often interpreters delete the candidate answer attached to the question, for example, "was that revenge?" ([18]) and "were there no ill effects from that?" ([19]):

[18]

Q David, at the start you made a very definite one move across the front of Michael Schumacher's car. *Was that revenge?*

A no ((laughs)) I just got too much wheelspin [...]

INTERPRETER

Q David (.) all'inizio hai fatto una (.) mossa (.) per tagliare Schumacher

A completamente no ho semplicemente avuto un eccesso:: di pattinamento<sup>25</sup> [...] (Germany 2000)

[19]

Q [xxx] a totally uneventful race I believed you hit the barrier (.) *were there no ill effects from that?*

A I touched the barrier at the swimming pool but it was on the inside wheel and I was pretty much sliding when it hit it so it just made me slide a little bit more, *but no ill effects at all*

INTERPRETER

Q cosa è successo:: (.) al- per quanto riguarda: le barriere a un certo punto (.) sei riuscito ad evitare (.) l'incidente (.) verso la fine

A no assolutamente no non ho avuto:: ho- avut- un leggero contatto ma non è successo nulla<sup>26</sup> (Monaco 2001)

---

24 Q: were you afraid:: in the end ehm (.) since you were so unlucky in the last grand prix? A: no: not really I concentrated on the position (.) and: I paid close attention to the corners obviously (.) and I was afraid of possible problems with my tyres.

25 Q: David (.) at the beginning you made (.) a move (.) to get in front of Schumacher. A: no, not completely, I just got too much wheelspin.

26 Q: what happened:: (.) at- as far as: barriers are concerned at a certain point (.) you managed to avoid (.) the accident (.) towards the end. A: definitely not, I didn't have: there was slight contact but nothing happened.



## 3.3. Generalisation

The excerpts reported in the previous paragraphs already show that *generalization* is the prevailing strategy. Nearly all technical explanations are rendered with hyperonyms and generic terms:

[20]

O I lost all the downforce at the front

I effettivamente si *ho avuto delle difficoltà*<sup>27</sup> (England 1998)

[21]

O we decided to pit early because there were no issues really

I poi abbiamo avuto: *un: problema*<sup>28</sup> (Italy 2002)

[22]

O we were getting a lot of inside wheelspin

I abbiamo avuto *un po'di problemi*<sup>29</sup> (Germany 1998)

[23]

O four or five laps from the end I had a little bit of a problem with the throttle

I ho avuto *qualche problema* ehm verso la *fine*<sup>30</sup> (Belgium 2000)

[24]

O the car was simply not what I expected because the floor was broken

I ora (.) devo dirvi francamente che *ci sono state delle difficoltà*<sup>31</sup> (Austria 2000)

[25]

O he kept telling me that the white lines were dangerous

I beh ha continuato a dirmi::: che::: ehm dovevo evitare *tutti i pericoli: sulla::: sul circuito*<sup>32</sup> (Monaco 1997)

[26]

O with the yellow flag situation and again with a very good pit stop

I vedendo qual era la situazione *iniziale*<sup>33</sup> (Austria 1997)

---

27 yes indeed I had some difficulties.

28 then we had: a: problem.

29 we had some problems.

30 I had some problems ehm towards the end.

31 now (.) I have to tell you honestly that there were some difficulties.

32 well he kept telling me::: that::: ehm I had to avoid all the dangers: on the::: on the circuit.

33 seeing how the situation was initially.

[27]

O we always knew that some of the others were on a lighter-weight low fuel strategy

I beh noi sapevamo che:: altri avevano *altre strategie*<sup>34</sup> (Italy 2000)

[28]

O because at that stage I was behind *Barrichello* and driving very slowly. If I had broken down then (.) the Italian press would have murdered me

I *perchè effettivamente dopo la cosa sarebbe stata molto negativa per me*<sup>35</sup> (Austria 1999)

[29]

O but then he pitted a lap later so that's why he got me

I *ma poi nel pit stop lui è riuscito a superare- a superarmi (.) è andato più veloce*<sup>36</sup> (San Marino 2002)

This strategy is often matched with *hedging operations* which reduce the truthfulness of ST utterances. Thus, in Gricean terms, both the maxim of quantity and the maxim of quality are being violated by interpreters:

[30]

O we were eight tenths slower on that lap than I had been up to that point

I *in un certo senso ero più indietro*<sup>37</sup> (Germany 1998)

[31]

O yeah I had a little bit of inconsistency set to set

I sì ho avuto *qualche problema per così dire*<sup>38</sup> (San Marino 2001)

[32]

O so automatically I did drop the RPM a couple of hundred revs

I automaticamente quindi:: *sono un pochino sceso*<sup>39</sup> (Canada 2000)

[33]

O after the pit stop the gap between me and Mika was 18 seconds

I dopo il pit stop la differenza che c'era fra me e Miga ehm *e:ra abbastanza*<sup>40</sup> (Canada 2000)

---

34 well we knew that:: others had other strategies.

35 because otherwise the whole thing would have been very negative for me.

36 but then at the pit stop he managed to pass- to pass me (.) he went faster.

37 in a way I was lagging behind.

38 yes I had some problems so to speak.

39 automatically therefore:: I stepped down a little bit.

40 after the pit stop the difference between me and e Miga ehm was: considerable.

[34]

- O it was probably only a matter of 0.3 second's difference  
 I c'era una differenza di *molto di meno*<sup>41</sup> (Hungary 2000)

[35]

- O I was able to overtake Michael and David before the first corner  
 I sono stato in grado di ehm superare sia Michael che David ehm (.)  
*quasi subito*<sup>42</sup> (Hungary 2000)

[36]

- O [...] looking at Michael's car which was very nervous, I knew it was  
 difficult for him to hold the pace.  
 I [...] anche se il mio collega era *piuttosto* (.) ehm (.) *insomma*  
 nervoso<sup>43</sup> (Canada 2001)

These procedures often lead to the deletion of the names of curves [40], [42], [75], [79]<sup>44</sup> and drivers (Barrichello [29], Mika [37] e [81], Alesi [38], Jacques [39], Fisichella and Heinz-Harald [40], Montoya [41], Eddie [43] e [80], Jenson [44], Gerhard [51], Heinz [54], Olivier [68], Michael [76], Ralph and Rubens [83], Nakano [101], Sato [103], Rubens [109]). The result is that most of the time it is not possible to understand "who did what to whom, where and why":

[37]

- O I didn't want to be lapped by *Mika*  
 I *non volevo: assolutamente perdere altro terreno*<sup>45</sup> (Brasil 1999)

[38]

- O my problem at that stage was that I had been behind *Alesi* for quite a  
 while and my tyres were finished  
 I ed è stato qui che: avrei avuto *dei problemi* almeno ho pensato con::  
 i miei pneumatici<sup>46</sup> (Germany 1997)

[39]

- O [...] all the competitors behind were catching up with me. I could  
 manage to stay in front of them on the straight, but *Jacques* got close  
 enough in the tow, which gave him a chance

---

41 there was much less difference.

42 I was able to ehm overtake both Michael and David ehm (.) almost immediately.

43 even though my colleague was a bit (.) ehm sort of nervous.

44 Virtually all the names of curves (*Adelaide, Becketts, Bridge, Coca Cola, Copse, Hangar, Straight, Rascarre, La Source, Les Combes, Lesmo, Loews, Mirabeau, Portier, Stavelot, Stowe, Turn 1, 2, 3* etc.) are systematically deleted.

45 I certainly didn't want: to lose further ground.

46 and it was here that: I would have problems with::: my tyres at least that's what I thought.

I [...] con i miei avversari che si avvicinavano: *e:: soprattutto quando avevano la scia (.) diventava molto difficile*<sup>47</sup> (United States 2000)

[40]

O it was a surprise when *Fisichella* was able to get past me down at the first corner and then when *Heinz-Harald* went through at *Turn 2*.

I e: quindi (.) ehm dopo la prima curva sono riusciti a passarmi e allora è stato un pochino più difficile<sup>48</sup> (Hungary 1999)

[41]

O and I was able to get the slipstream off *Montoya* as well so I had a perfect lap

I e nessuno è riuscito: (.) a:: (.) ad evitarmi e quindi ho fatto un giro perfetto<sup>49</sup> (Italy 2002)

[42]

O until I started pushing and although *Copse* felt fine when I went into *Becketts* the car went absolutely straight

I e quando spingevo ho visto che la macchina aveva delle difficoltà soprattutto nel girare<sup>50</sup> (England 1998)

[43]

O then *Eddie* didn't make it difficult for me to let me by

I devo dire che *non ci sono state qui delle difficoltà*<sup>51</sup> (Italy 1998)

[44]

O because the Renaults got past me at the start and *Jenson* made a mistake at the last corner

I perché: (.) le Renault mi hanno passato all'inizio (.) e all'ultima curva loro hanno fatto (.) un errore<sup>52</sup> (Brasil 2002)

Besides generalisation, there are many cases of *displaced reference*, as shown in the three following excerpts:

47 with my competitors who were coming closer: and:: above all when they had the slipstream (.) it was very difficult.

48 and: so (.) ehm after the first corner they managed to get past me and then it was a little bit more difficult.

49 and nobody could: (.) avoid me and therefore I made a perfect lap.

50 and when I was pushing I saw that the car had some difficulties particularly in steering.

51 I have to say that there were no difficulties here.

52 because:: (.) Renaults got past me at the start (.) and in the last corner they made (.) a mistake.

[45]

O [...] after the last pit stop coming out in front of *Damon* [...]I [...] dopo l'ultimo pit stop (.) quando: ero uscito davanti a:: a *David* [...] (Hungary 1998)

[46]

O because *I* was pushing hard into that cornerI perché *lui* spingeva molto<sup>53</sup> (Brasil 2002)

[47]

O [...] Rubens was on new tyres, I was on old tyres and the first few laps, as Michael says, there's a huge difference. He got by me into the chicane, *but he sacrificed the exit* and I had a good run at him into turn one and passed him again [...]I [...] Rubens aveva: (.) pneumatici nuovi io avevo pneumatici vecchi (.) c'era una differenza lui si è avvicinato molto alla chicane (3.40) mi sono: fatto passare *ho dovuto sacrificarmi* ma poi sono riuscito subito a recuperare<sup>54</sup> [...] (Japan 2001)

The dialogic format gives interpreters the opportunity 'to take short cuts', for example, by linking up to the question through proforms and blanket terms. In [48], the interpreter with the pro-adverb "così" (so/in this way) anaphorically (and wrongly) takes up the entire content of the previous question:

[48]

Q starting eighth I don't suppose you expected to be sitting here. You started by passing two cars into the first corner, in spite of a heavy fuel load. Talk us through those first four hundred meters.

A obviously *we've seen recently that our launch system* has been working very well [...]

INTERPRETER

Q hai cominciato dall'ottava posizione magari non ti aspettavi di essere qui (.) sul podio al secondo posto hai cominciato con molta benzina (.) tuttavia sei riuscito a superare due:: macchine (.) fin dall'inizio (.) fin dal primo giro in quattrocento metri

A sì chiaramente: *è andata così* (.) siamo riusciti ad andare molto bene<sup>55</sup> [...] (Canada 2002)

---

53 because he was pushing hard.

54 [...] I had to sacrifice myself [...]

55 Q: you started from the eighth position. Maybe you didn't expect to arrive here (.) second on the podium. You started with a lot of fuel (.) however you managed to overtake two:: cars (.) right from the beginning (.) from the first lap in four hundred meters. A: yes, that's what happened (.) we went very well.

## 3.4. Scripts and the reconstruction of the sense

According to the original definition by Schank & Abelson (1977: 41), "a script is a structure that describes appropriate sequences of events in a particular context". Scripts serve to establish expectations of what is going to happen (anticipation), structure our comprehension when listening and guide recall of events or information (remembering). In our case, however, scripts are looked upon as specific-genre stereotyped formulas or rhetorical routines to which interpreters resort in order to make up for a lack of understanding of the ST. This technique consists in stating the existence of problems and their successive solution, hoping for a positive outcome, expressing satisfaction for the result, referring to commitment, the effort made ("to push", "to hold on", "to do well", "to do one's best") and the determination to win:

[49]

O he was obviously much quicker on his fresh set of tyres

I *e: anche lui ha cercato di spingere*<sup>56</sup> [...] (Hungary 1999)

[50]

O despite that I just went into wheelspin and made a mess of it

I *ma a parte questo (.) io ho cercato di spingere al massimo*.<sup>57</sup> (Japan 1999)

[51]

O yes because I was stuck in traffic behind Gerhard for a while [...]

I *sì sì però ho capito che potevo farcela*<sup>58</sup>[...] (Austria 1997)

[52]

O I think even on the start if Ralf had started from second position he would have just beaten me into the first corner

I *io penso che anche nella seconda partenza (3.28) anche se: insomma se avessi avuto: (.) ehm Ralph vicino penso che sarebbe stata dura*<sup>59</sup> (Belgium 2001)

[53]

O in the end I went to rain tyres

I *ed alla fine però ce l'abbiamo fatta*<sup>60</sup> (England 1998)

---

56 and he too tried to push.

57 but apart from that (.) I tried to push very hard.

58 yes yes but I realised that I could make it.

59 I think that at the second start as well (3.28) even though: I mean if I had: (.) ehm Ralph next to me I think it would have been very difficult.

60 and in the end we made it.

[54]

O I dived down inside him at the hairpin and we made a bit of contact but I managed to keep going and Heinz didn't, for a change

I c'è stato questo contatto *però ce l'ho fatta a resistere* ho continuato<sup>61</sup> (Monaco 1998)

[55]

O and if I had wanted to do so I could have tried to pass on the outside

I e: ho cercato per: quanto possibile *di: di fare del mio meglio*<sup>62</sup> (Luxemburg 1998)

[56]

O I had to try and stay close enough to force the drivers in front into making a mistake

I *noi abbiamo cercato di spingere ho cercato di dare (.) del mio meglio*<sup>63</sup> (Ungheria 1999)

[57]

O it feels good to win it obviously, and particularly here at Silverstone because I drive for an English team and in front of an English crowd. We made a great show.

I è molto bello per me aver vinto (.) soprattutto qui a Silverstone in Inghilterra (.) *e ho cercato di fare del tutto del mio meglio e abbiamo (.) veramente siamo riusciti a centrare il bersaglio*<sup>64</sup> (England 2001)

[58]

O the marshals here in Austria did a good job with the blue flags

I devo dire che in Austria *siamo andati molto bene*<sup>65</sup> (Austria 1999)

[59]

O but it was still a worry until the end

I e devo dire *che ho fatto bene*<sup>66</sup> (Spain 2001)

[60]

O [...] so basically I had to calm down and go again

I [...] quindi fondamentalmente: *ho dovuto semplicemente: rassegnarmi ed aspettare*<sup>67</sup> (Malaysia 2001)

---

61 there was this contact but I could resist and I continued.

62 I tried as: much as I could: to do my best.

63 we tried to push I tried my utmost.

64 it is great for me to win (.) especially here at Silverstone in England (.) and I tried to do my best and we have (.) really we managed to hit the bull's eye.

65 I have to say that in Austria we went very well.

66 I have to say that I did very well.

67 [...] so basically: I simply had to: give up and wait.

[61]

O but thank God the tyres stayed together

I *le cose sono andate molto bene*<sup>68</sup> (Germany 2002)

[62]

O I think it was very important that the out lap was quick and that I stayed ahead

I *nel complesso è stato un buon weekend*<sup>69</sup> (Belgium 2002)

[63]

O once again like Monaco their prediction was correct and I gained those two places quite easily

I quindi come a Monaco la previsione è stata proprio questa e e::: è andata bene così<sup>70</sup> (Canada 2002)

[64]

O obviously they do enjoy the few we had

I e quindi naturalmente:: (.) mi è piaciuto molto *come è andata*<sup>71</sup> (England 2002)

[65]

O but once my car had settled down I was able to play to the strenghts that I had. I was very good under brakes and we ran quite low wing to be quick at the of end the straight

I sono stato in grado comunque di poter: continuare *siamo andati molto bene*<sup>72</sup> (France 2000)

[66]

O I was able to lean the engine out early on after the first few laps and save quite a few laps of fuel

I ed ecco perché sono stato in grado di:: *andare avanti così tanto (.) ho spinto parecchio::*<sup>73</sup> (Austria 2001)

[67]

O as we saw in previous races we were just caught out by a bit of bad luck

I come abbiamo visto nelle gare precedenti *noi abbiamo lavorato molto duro*<sup>74</sup> (San Marino 2001)

68 everything went pretty well.

69 all in all it was a good weekend.

70 so like in Monaco that was just what the prediction was and and::: that was fine

71 and so of course:: (.) I am very happy with how it went.

72 however I was able: to go on we did very well.

73 that's why I was able to:: go on so well (.) I pushed very hard.

74 as we saw in the previous races we worked very hard.



[68]

- O so then I was just trying to stay in Olivier's tow so he could carry me along
- I e quindi (.) *diciamo che la cosa è andata molto meglio*<sup>75</sup> (Germany 2001)

The tendency to thematise 'difficulty' surprisingly often leads interpreters to overstate the actual difficulties as related by the drivers:

[69]

- O [...] after the Safety Car made its second appearance we just settled for the one-two [...]
- I [...] dopo la Safety Car abbiamo avuto (.) anche *alcune difficoltà*<sup>76</sup>[...] (Belgium 1998)

[70]

- O but I don't know why they brought the safety car out because they could have rolled the car backwards, the BAR
- I ma d- ehm forse il problema più che altro era la Safety Car perché chiaramente *questo mi ha molto:: mi ha molto rallentato::*<sup>77</sup> (Canada 2002)

In [71], the interpreter, for example, associates the use of the emergency Safety Car once again with problems. Even though the driver was looking forward to the rain (which arrived) and had put on slick tyres, the interpreter said the following:

[71]

- O because it just rained on the lap when I was coming in. The way I looked at it, there was a cloud dead in front of me. Everything had been coming that way, so I just guessed and hoped that it would come straight over the track. And it did!
- I perchè io vedevo che c'erano delle nuvole io comunque ((sospirando)) speravo (.) pensavo *che tutto si risolvesse per il meglio*<sup>78</sup> (Europe 1999)

Also, in the following case the interpreter perceived the rain in terms of potential problems:

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75 and so (.) let's say that everything went much better.

76 after the Safety Car we had (.) some difficulties as well.

77 but ehm maybe the problem was mainly the Safety Car because this clearly made me:: slow down.

78 because I saw that there were some clouds, however ((sighing)) I was hoping that everything would be fine.

[72]

O we had this drizzling rain and sure, on the lap that we came in there was a lot of water but it could well have stopped immediately and then we should have stayed out on slicks

I *io non ero sicuro che questa (.) poca pioggia (.) avrebbe: (.) potuto: creare:: dei fastidi: o:: forse potevamo restare anche con le slick*<sup>79</sup> (England 2002)

In the following extract the interpreter resorted to his own "archived" stock question:

[73]

Q Rubens, today you benefited from a fight between Michael and his brother. *Would you say you owe this win to Michael?*

I Rubens (.) hai potuto beneficiare (.) di questo:: lite che c'era stata tra i due fratelli (.) *pensavi di poterci arrivare al podio?*<sup>80</sup> (Spain 2000)

In other cases, interpreters, drawing upon the repertoire of standard statements, thematize descriptions and concepts which drivers typically refer to: the warm-up qualifications of the previous day ([74]), the tactics of 'managing the race' ([75]), 'holding on to the lead' ([76]), the importance of 'concentration' ([77] and 'saving tyres' ([77] -[78]):

[74]

O we made some modifications to the chassis

I *e siamo riusciti a fare delle buone qualifiche*<sup>81</sup> (Hungary 2000)

[75]

O yes, due to the guess we had about a possible problem, and because we wanted to be safe, we had put the brake balance completely to the front. That meant that I locked up the front going into Turn 1 and I couldn't stop the car anymore. It's such an easy run-off area that I decided not to risk anything, not put the car into a spin, and come back [to the track by driving] through the gravel

I noi avevamo più o meno indovinato che magari ci potevano essere dei problemi comunque noi volevamo semplicemente:: andare sul sicuro ed effettivamente (.) *io (.) ho cercato semplicemente come dicevo di:: ehm non avere delle difficoltà ho cercato semplicemente*

79 I was not sure that this (.) drizzling rain (.) would (.) have: caused:: some bother or we might have continued with the slicks.

80 Rubens (.) you could benefit (.) from this::: fight between the two brothers (.) did you think you could get on the podium?.

81 and we managed to have good qualifications.

*di amministrare la gara non ci sono stati mai dei ve- veri e propri problemi per me*<sup>82</sup> (Canada 2000)

[76]

O [...] when I hit a bit of traffic the damage was done. By the time Michael came out in front of me on fresh tyres after his third pit stop, with same fuel load as me, it was impossible

I [...] e devo dire che comunque ci sono stati anche ehm: dei: ehm danni provocati appunto a livello proprio di equipe con l'uscita dalla: pit stop *ormai il danno era stato fatto e non potevo altro che cercare di mantenere la distanza*<sup>83</sup> (Hungary 1998)

[77]

O there was not a lot of time to enjoy it because I had to go flat out

I non ho avuto troppo tempo per divertirmi (.) *sono dovuto:: ho dovuto concentrarmi molto*<sup>84</sup> (United States 2000)

[78]

Q after your first and second pit stop you were very quick straight out of the pits *did your tyres heat up super fast?*

I (l'audio dell'interprete arriva improvvisamente) ... pit stop ma: sia dopo il primo dopo il secondo sei andato molto veloce sono (.) stati:: *è merito degli pneumatici?*<sup>85</sup> (San Marino 2001)

[79]

O the biggest problem for me was that the idle had been set up too high to get around Loews

I *e ho cercato di guidare in modo da risparmiare le gomme per quanto possibile*<sup>86</sup> (Monaco 1997)

Gile (1995: 201) defines *parallel formulations* as the introduction of a textual unit "compatible with the rest of the source-language speech but not a faithful reflection of the problematic source-language speech". This strategy – according to Schjoldager (in Shlesinger 1998: 751) – is a typical SI norm:

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82 we sort of worked out that there may be problems however we simply wanted:: to be safe and actually (.) I (.) simply tried as I said to:: ehm not to have difficulties I simply tried to manage the race there were never re- real problems for me.

83 and I have to say however that there was also ehm: some: ehm damage caused at team level with the exit from: the pit stop, the damage was done and I could nothing but hold on to the lead.

84 I had not too much time to enjoy myself (.) I was:: I had to concentrate.

85 ... the pit stop but: both after the first after the second you were very fast were (.) there:: was that due to your tyres?.

86 and I tried to drive in such a way as to save my tyres as much as possible.

[...] the interpreter is allowed to say something which is apparently unrelated to the source-text item in question [...] provided that s/he can say something which is contextually plausible. The existence of such a norm is probably peculiar to simultaneous interpreting.

Parallel ("contextually plausible") formulations are very often organized by selecting a key word such as "qualifying" in the following fragment:

[80]

O once again you had a poor qualifying but then showed a superb race pace. Is this going to continue to be a problem for Ferrari?

I *come: è andata a finire (.) per la qualifica?*<sup>87</sup>(Germany 1999)

In [81], the interpreter confuses "forth" with "false" and, on the basis of this misperception, reconstructs a 'possible' (plausible) sense of the original utterance:

[81]

O [...] but *Eddie* I understand was: *fourth* (.) so:: [xxx] ehm: [xxx] (.) interesting for the rest of the season

I [...] *e- (.) devo dirvi che (.) io:: avevo: (.) avuto una falsa impressione al- a livello di partenza e devo dire che questo ha fallà-falsato un pochino tutte le impressioni ma renderà (.) senz'altro la stagione molto più (.) interessante*<sup>88</sup> (Belgium 1999)

In the two following extracts, both interpreters formulate their renditions elaborating the concept of "chance":

[82]

O there is far too much at stake to go for glory by locking up the brakes on the inside and getting it all wrong. I don't need that for my championship and Mika doesn't need it for his. In the end we had a good fight but there wasn't much chance of us overtaking

I e quindi ((2.55)) siccome c'è troppa posta in gioco non era certo il caso di spingere troppo magari puoi rovinare: la gara e quindi (.) alla fine (.) *abbiamo avuto forse fortuna*<sup>89</sup>(Germany 1998)

87 how: did the qualifications go?.

88 and- (.) I have to tell you that (.) I:: had: (.) a false impression a- at the level of the start and I have to say that this distart- distorted a little bit all my impressions but it will (.) certainly (.) make the season much more (.) interesting.

89 and so since there is too much at stake it was certainly not the case di push too much because you can spoil: the race and so (.) in the end (.) maybe we were lucky.

[83]

- O so despite me making a mistake at my first pit stop, which is why I dropped behind Ralph and Rubens, the guys made a good decision by calling me early for the second stop, in order to get me track position after that second stop
- I poi anche con il primo pit stop *ho avuto: fortuna effettivamente::: sono: stato in grado di poter conquistare delle posizioni*<sup>90</sup> (Spain 2000)

As can be seen also from the previous examples, scripts and noncommittal strategies frequently occur in the final position, serving as neutral finishes, which allow interpreters to bring their utterances to an end:

[84]

- O I didn't ask the question and maybe there was no need for me to know *because I don't try to hit barriers deliberately*
- I io non ho fatto nessuna domanda (.) *e loro non mi hanno detto niente*<sup>91</sup> (Monaco 2000)

[85]

- O you've got to believe there's always going to be a way through somewhere if you can get there (.) and: ehm if someone makes a mistake (.) there's always a chance of getting through
- I bisogna credere che possono esser fatti comunque errori *che possono essere presi in considerazione*<sup>92</sup> (Austria 1999)

[86]

- O to win would have been fantastic *but I've never been that good around Suzuka so it isn't a bad result*
- I certo aver vinto sarebbe stato il massimo però (.) *non si può chiedere troppo*<sup>93</sup> (Japan 2001)

[87]

- O but otherwise we could have fought with the big guys
- I ma: altrimenti *non ero poi così::: (.) pessimista*<sup>94</sup> (San Marino 2001)

---

90 then with the first pit stop too I was: lucky actually::: I was: able to gain some positions.

91 I didn't ask any questions (.) and they didn't tell me anything.

92 you've got to believe that you may make mistakes which could be taken into account.

93 of course to win would have been great but (.) you can't ask for too much.

94 but otherwise I was not so::: (.) pessimist.

[88]

O first I said I wanted to go for wets *because the conditions were already marginal*

I prima avevamo deciso per il bagnato *perché pensavamo che fosse una cosa (.) abbastanza giusta*<sup>95</sup> [...] (Europe 1999)

[89]

O in qualifying I thought maybe I would get DC but then on that quick lap I lost the rear end which gave me a sore neck for today

I dopo le qualificazioni ho pe- pensato che avrei potuto superare Coulthard *e che sarebbe stata una cosa:: piuttosto:: piuttosto buona*<sup>96</sup> (Japan 1999)

[90]

O and I was lucky but if I am lucky once a year then it is not a bad thing

I e sono stato un po' fortunato e sono riuscito a superarlo mah ((sospirando)) *questo: insomma nulla da dire contro: contro la fortuna*<sup>97</sup> (Giappone 2002)

The use of neutral finishes may be idiosyncratic. Notice, for example, how the same interpreter tends to close his turns, by stating: "there was not much I could do" (cf. also [15]):

[91]

O I benefited from other people's misfortune, but you accept that because that's motor racing

I io diciamo che ho tratto vantaggio dalla sfortuna degli altri (.) e: lo accetto *perché non c'è gran (.) grande altro da fare*<sup>98</sup> (Spain 2002)

[92]

O there was a lot of traffic at that point. You know, it was incredible. I've never seen so many cars that have to be lapped. So I think it helped that the Ferraris were going through the traffic first of all and helped clear a little bit of space for me

I no in quel momento c'era molto traffico appena io: sono: uscito dal pit stop (.) non ho: mai visto così tante macchine davanti a me dopo

95 we first decided on the slicks because we thought it would have been a fairly good thing to do.

96 after qualifications I thought I could pass Coulthard and that it would have been a fairly good thing to do.

97 and I was a bit lucky and I managed to overtake him well (sighs) this: well I have nothing to say against: against luck.

98 let's say that I took advantage of others' misfortune (.) and: I accept that because there was not much I could do.

un pit stop e quindi (.) ho subito pensato: non: non ci sarebbe:: stato  
 granchè da fare<sup>99</sup> (United States 2002)

[93]

- O I don't actually know what the problem was but I'm presuming it was an oil pressure or engine related problem because I was asked to short shift and slow my pace down by three seconds a lap so I guess the other thing might be that not all the fuel went in at the pit stop but I just need to go back to the team and find out afterwards.
- I beh: non so esattamente cosa sia successo (.) penso che ci sia un: (.) un problema non so se di pressione a::gli pneumatici o un problema di propulsore (.) potrebbe essere una delle due cose non so non ho idea (.) e però: certo a quel punto ho smesso di spingere perché mi sono reso conto che era abbastanza inutile<sup>100</sup> (France 2002)

### 3.5. Metatextual glosses and tautological repetitions

Generalisation is also realized through *metatextual glosses*, which directly refer to what happened in the course of the race, thereby relying upon viewers' knowledge. However, these glosses may misleadingly suggest that the goal of the primary speakers' utterances is not that of being informative:

[94]

- O [...] obviously we then had the safety car situation and [...]
- I [...] giustamente la situazione (.) la conoscete bene l'auto era appunto (.) quella non regolare<sup>101</sup> [...] (Australia 2001)

[95]

- Q do you feel one stop was the right way to go, given that everyone ahead of you was on two?
- I è stato giusto: ehm (.) s:: seguire la strategia che avete scelto?<sup>102</sup> (Europe 2001)

[96]

- O Kimi Raikkonen's engine had blown
- I quello che è successo a Kimi Raikkonen<sup>103</sup> (United States 2002)

99 no at that moment there was a lot of traffic as soon as: I came out of the pit stop (.) I have never seen so many cars before me after a pit stop and so (.) I immediately thought: that there was not much I could do.

100 but : of course at that point I stopped pushing because I realised that it was fairly pointless.

101 of course you know (.) the situation very well, the car was actually (.) not regular.

102 was it right: ehm (.) to- to follow the strategy that you chose?

103 what happened to Kimi Raikkonen?

[97]

O we weren't very quick here in qualifying and clearly in the race we weren't a match for them either, so it was really recovery position this weekend and try and understand how we can improve for Magny Cours.

I le qualifiche (.) ehm (.) *hanno dato il risultato che hanno dato* (.) e e: naturalmente si può sperare sempre in un miglioramento<sup>104</sup> (Europe 2001)

[98]

O but it was just way too far back and sometimes it's better to be lucky than good

I (.) e poi:: (.) *alla fine come avete visto* il duello: è stato molto:: molto combattuto e (.) c'è stata anche un po' di fortuna<sup>105</sup> (Germany 2002)

[99]

O I think a Toyota or something had blown up their engine or something was there just oil and I locked up the front wheel the front right and Michael got past

I ehm: ci doveva essere dell'olio da McNish:: (.) e: (.) ehm: io non sono andato lungo *come avete visto* e:: Michael ehm mi ha superato<sup>106</sup> (France 2002)

Sometimes these formulas take on a tautological value: "what happened happened" (Italy 1997); "he knew he'd arrive where he did" (San Marino 1998), "the margin was what it was" (Italy 1998), "I didn't really think that things would go as they did" (Europe 1999, Malaysia 1999), "things went as they did" (Hungary 2001). Another expedient is: "I can't even remember now", "I don't know what to say" (Canada 1999), "I have no idea what would have happened" (Germany 2001), which like the other hedges alter the pragmatic force of the drivers' utterances. The same function of fillers and problem-disguising techniques is performed by *redundant repetitions*<sup>107</sup>:

[100]

O I selected first gear on the formation lap and the engine turned itself off. It was a shame because I thought of Barcelona again, not having the ability to start but when [...]

---

104 the qualifications (.) ehm gave the result that they did (.) and and: of course you can always hope to improve.

105 and then in the end as you saw the duel: was very:: very tight and (.) we were also a bit lucky.

106 ehm: there was some oil from McNish:: (.) and: (.) ehm: I didn't go wide as you saw and:: Michael ehm got past me.

107 See also the repetition/elaboration of "damage" in [76].



I diciamo che io s- ho: (.) selezionato la prima marcia durante- dopo il giro di:: (.) ricognizione e poi *non: sono riuscito a partire è stato un peccato perché non sono riuscito a partire poi quando*<sup>108</sup> [...]  
(England 2002)

[101]

O I could only push hard for a few laps because the tyres were heating up in a strange way. I could push, then slow down, then push again. Towards the end Nakano was in my mirrors and I didn't want to be looking in the mirrors all the time so [...]  
I io: (.) ho sentito che ho potuto spingere solamente per alcuni giri poi *ho dovuto rallentare* la: macchina non (.) ce la faceva più *dovevo: rallentare* (.) d'altra parte dovevo cercare di arrivare alla fine ed è per questo quindi<sup>109</sup> [...] (Europe 1997)

[102]

O I was just trying to back up as little as I could just because the brakes were marginal, we think. We'll know whenever we take the car apart and see how marginal they were  
I ho cercato semplicemente di contenere la *situazione i:: i freni erano arrivati praticamente in condizioni* (.) *ehm::* (.) *erano: erano: praticamente* (.) *in condizioni terribili*<sup>110</sup> (Italy 2002)

[103]

O and he's expressed that opinion and I've apologised for squeezing him but I had to pull out of the slipstream from Sato and it was always going to be marginal for the last chicane  
I e:: *io espresso la mia opinione* su quella specie di incidente che c'è stato:: *e ho espresso la mia opinione* ci siamo scusati *ci siamo assolutamente chiariti* (.) ma comunque:: era proprio all'ultima chicane<sup>111</sup> (Canada 2002)

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108 let's say that I s- I (.) selected first gear during- after the:: (.) the formation lap and then I couldn't start it was a pity because I couldn't start then when [...].

109 I: (.) I felt I could push during some laps only then I had to slow down, the: car (.) had had it, I had: to slow down (.) on the other hand I had to try to make it to the end and for that reason therefore [...].

110 I simply tried to control the situation, the:: the brakes were practically in conditions (.) ehm they were: were: practically (.) in terrible conditions.

111 and:: I expressed my opinion on that sort of accident that happened:: and I expressed my opinion we apologized we absolutely cleared things up (.) but anyway:: it was at the very last chicane.

[104]

O I just came off the brakes and I (.) you know it was very risky because it's very tight so I had a good line out of one (.) and then I saw the Williams fighting

I ho visto una McLaren che passava: all'esterno e *ho dovuto prendere dei rischi*:: ho fatto una buona frenata *ho preso dei rischi* e poi ho visto entrambe le Williams che stavano lottando una contro l'altra<sup>112</sup> (Europa 2002)

[105]

O obviously, I feel sorry for Kimi because I think from where I was sitting - I don't know how it looked on television - but I thought it was a great race we were all having, the Ferrari, the McLarens and the Williams running so close together. I was really enjoying myself. I thought he drove really well up front and obviously got caught out on the oil

I io: comunque mi- mi dispiace per Kimi perché *ho: visto:: (.) in televisione (.) che::: è stato molto sfortunato e::: (.) ho visto le immagini poi alla fine (.) e::: (2.50) devo dire che lui è stato veramente sfortunato*<sup>113</sup> (France 2002)

These repetitions result in utterances, which are the photocopy of the preceding ones. Thus, in [106], the interpreter repeats what she has already translated in the immediately preceding sentence ("my start was so terrible"). Excerpt [107] is nothing but a re-elaboration of the driver's turn-initial concept ("Mika is definitely a great champion"), which the interpreter had already translated ("Mika is an extraordinary champion"). Similarly, [108] contains a reiteration of the expression of congratulations:

[106]

O instead of getting a good take off the wheels just slipped

I invece di fare una bella partenza *è stata veramente una partenza disastrosa*<sup>114</sup> (Italy 1998)

[107]

O I am very disappointed to see such a manoeuvre that nobody would expect such a guy to have done because I was really challenging Mika

112 I saw a McLaren passing on the outside and I had to take risks:: I braked pretty well, I took risks and then I saw both Williams fighting.

113 however I- I am sorry for Kimi because I: saw:: (.) on television (.) that::: he was very unlucky and::: (.) In the end I saw the images eventually (.) and I have to say that he really was unlucky.

114 instead of making a good start it really was a disastrous start.

I sono molto deluso (.) di aver visto una manovra da un: (.) da un pilota che nessuno (.) si sarebbe aspettato (.) *comunque* (.) *complimenti a Mika*<sup>115</sup> (Japan 1999)

[108]

O but obviously big congratulations to Michael because it's an extraordinary record that he has in Formula One and I think his speech there to his guys was very fitting so I think a good day all round.

I *e:: posso fare comunque i miei complimenti a:: Michael perché ha un record incredibile di Formula Uno (.) e non ci sono parole per dire quanto sia stato veramente bravo posso soltanto fargli i complimenti*<sup>116</sup> (France 2002)

Reference to the question – as shown in [48] in § 3.3 – may be a safety anchor which makes the answer easier to translate. In the following excerpt, not grasping the acronym DNF ("didn't finish"), the interpreter repeats the final part of the question with a slightly interrogative-rhetorical intonation:

[109]

Q [...] any chance you can turn that around?

A you never know. *If Rubens has one DNF* things could change around, turn around really quickly [...]

INTERPRETER

Q [...] *per il secondo posto hai qualche possibilità?*

A beh non si sa mai (.) *qualche possibilità di arrivare secondo* (.) beh: le cose possono cambiare rapidamente da una gara all'altra<sup>117</sup> [...] (Belgio 2000)

#### 4. The function of SI on television and media consumption patterns

Conference Interpreting may be considered mainly as an "intra- o inter-professional discourse" (Linell 1988), i.e. the interpreters work with a discourse produced by professionals, either of the same or of other professions. Conversely MI is mainly a "professional-lay discourse", i.e. a discourse which addresses an undifferentiated mass audience within an entertainment logic. In a real meeting interpreter users closely follow the interpreter in front of them (or

115 I am very disappointed (.) to see a manoeuvre from a: (.) driver who nobody (.) would expect (.) anyway (.) compliments to Mika.

116 and:: I can only congratulate Michael because he has an incredible Formula One record (.) there are no words to say how good he was I can only congratulate him.

117 Q: For the second place have you any chance? A: Well you never can tell (.) any chance to arrive second (.) well: things can change rapidly from one race to another.

with headphones), so that they can reply to express agreement/disagreement, to accept/reject a proposal, to vote a motion, to sign an agreement, and so on.

On the other hand, the tele-users listen within the frame of "attentional inertia" (Pozzato 1992: 68). It is couch viewing characterized by discontinuous behaviour. Moreover, viewers are particularly interested in enjoying the show, including that of watching how the interpreter on the spot survives. This orientation underlies the consumption not only of talk shows (cf. Straniero Sergio 1999b; Katan & Straniero Sergio 2001), but also of media events such as, for example, the presidential debates<sup>118</sup> and trials (what is known as Court TV)<sup>119</sup>. The outcome of these speech events is independent of interpreters' performances because the Italian audience (the only receivers of the SI) are not called upon to give a verdict nor do they have to vote for a candidate. In other cases, SI serves as a mere support – if not background noise – to the images and voices of newsreaders and correspondents who specify, integrate, correct or rephrase what is being said by interpreters (cf. Katan & Straniero Sergio 2003). In the coverage of wars and other disaster events<sup>120</sup>, the SI from foreign broadcasting companies – especially CNN – is used intermittently to fill in the idle slots between correspondents' reports and the comments made in the studio. Interpreters translate a maximum of five minutes; then their voices are faded out by the newscaster who hands over to a correspondent, leads into a report or sight translates the news coming from international press agencies.

On television, SI often coexists with other transfer modes (free narration, voiceover, subtitling), sometimes giving rise to hybrid forms of language mediation which may also entail a redefinition of the professional roles and the corresponding underlying norms. This happens when the presenter/reporter takes on the role of the interpreter (cf. Straniero Sergio 2000), or when the interpreter is assigned a quasi-journalistic role. For example the interpreter may be asked to follow the CNN throughout the programme. He or she is omnipresent, seen seated watching the monitor. Whenever the presenter asks, the interpreter is ready with a lightning summary (up to 30 seconds) of the latest breaking news.

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118 Reagan-Mondale (7.10.1984), Mitterand-Chirac (28.4.1988), Bush-Dukakis (13.10.1988), Bush-Clinton-Perot (11.10.1992, 15.10.1992 and 19.10.1992).

119 Colonel Oliver North's Deposition on the Iran-Contras (8.7.1987), William Kennedy trial (10.12.1991), Clinton's Deposition in front of the Grand Jury on the Monica Lewinsky case (21.9. 1998).

120 The Gulf war (1991), Moscow coup d'etat (1991), The news of Lady Diana's death (1997), Nato attack against Iraq (1998), Nato attack against Serbia (1999), terrorist attack against the Twin Towers (2001), Afganistan war (2001), the air crash in New York (2002), the terrorist attack in Moscow (2002).

On many occasions, simultaneous interpreters autonomously decide to speak in the third person and switch from direct to reported speech (free narration), thereby violating the generally accepted *norm*, according to which 'the interpreter always speak in the first person' (cf. Harris 1990). FPCs share many features of MI, including that of being a *polyphonic text* (in the sense of Bakhtin), i.e. a complex mixture of professional voices. According to Bell (1991: 33) the media "offer the classic case of language produced by multiple parties". Formula One drivers do not address insiders but an audience, made up of Formula One fans, more interested in 'seeing' their idols and catching their emotions rather than actually being informed. TV reporting of the race in Italy is not limited to the four-minute interview of the drivers. With reference to the previously mentioned intertextuality (cf. § 2), FPCs are embedded in the *Pole Position* talkshow broadcast before and after the race. During the show, experts comment on the race making use of slow motion to discuss the various phases in intricate detail. We should not forget that the race itself is followed and commented on live by reporters with great attention to technical detail. Finally, a reporter on the track interviews, and translates, the drivers themselves before and immediately after each Grand Prix. The questions asked are often similar to those asked during the FPC.

The function of SI is therefore mainly phatic (like most MI), or rather what is important is not so much what is being said as the fact that communication does not break down. Hence the accurate rendition of 'technicalities' is not the exclusive, nor even the main, communicative function of this speech event.

##### 5. From ideal quality expectations to real world criteria

I will mention only two examples which illustrate the dichotomy between *ideal quality* and *translation practice* (cf. § 1). The first concerns an essay by Viezzi (2001) on the SI of political speeches, based on a theoretical analysis of a speech by Blair, and on the evaluation of another speech by the British Prime Minister read out by a teacher and interpreted by a student. The author maintains, and rightly so, that in this type of communication, *form* is as important as *content* and it is not enough to convey *the sense*. Interpreters should be aware of the idiolect of each political personality and the ideological overtones attached to words; and render also the nuances, including those transmitted by adjectives and other modifiers. Clearly, though, the reality of interpreting is very different to the simulated world of university classrooms. In fact, in Conference Interpreting, interpreters are always given the text of the speeches by heads of state and therefore have at the very least a few minutes to prepare. However, in televised interpreted events, where the politicians that

count are more often seen things are very different. Barring few exceptions,<sup>121</sup> interpreters never have the opportunity to see the text. So, interpreters are in a situation of "unfair competition" (Pearl 1999) whereby they have to translate speeches either read or tele prompted at breakneck speed: for example, from Russian Parliament speeches, all inauguration speeches, nation addresses and State of the Union speeches by the Presidents of the United to all Nato briefings. My analysis of these SIs demonstrates that interpreters invariably fail to reproduce the rhetorical style; they generalize or omit particularly elegant and *recherché* adjectives, and they neutralize metaphors and other figurative expressions. The *norm* here in the real interpreting world is the rendition of the essentials<sup>122</sup>.

My second example is closely related to FPCs. In her experimental study, Romeo (2001), assumes that the SIs of FPCs are often not up to standard because of the lack of extralinguistic knowledge (and prior preparation) by interpreters. In order to test this hypothesis, 25 subjects (16 students and 9 professional interpreters, of which only 1 media interpreter) were asked to translate a previously recorded (and manipulated) 16-minute interview with George Ryton (chief designer for Minardi). The interpreters' performances were then evaluated on the basis of the rendition of 147 segments (including individual words), which were *a priori* considered 'problem triggers'

In Romeo's study the only interpreter with "an absolute completeness of information" (*ib.* 114), "no difficulties in delivering a complete and correct translation" (*ib.* 117) and only "some not necessarily evident inaccuracies" (*ib.*), was, in fact, the interpreter who in our subcorpus had translated the largest number (31 out of the 80) of the FPCs (cfr. § 3). Romeo concludes that such an outstanding performance was possible thanks to the interpreter's extralinguistic knowledge and familiarity with the subject matter.

However, these results are in sharp contrast with the data of our subcorpus. Tables 1-4 and the extracts reported in § 3 clearly show that for this interpreter too, the SI of FPCs is anything but plain sailing. There are, in fact, errors which concern the rendition of technical terms, including FPC-specific (e.g. [15], [17], [23], [40], [41], [66], [68]), but also common errors, such as those relative to discourse reference (e.g. [12], [44], [47], [64], [105]). Moreover, this interpreter – like his colleagues – regularly resorts to *emergency strategies* (e.g. [3], [27], [31], [49], [50], [61], [78], [91], [92], [93], [100], [104], [108], [109]).

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121 For example, the Vatican press office always sends the Pope's speech to the RAI at least an hour before it goes on air (personal communication).

122 The same is true of the numerous commemorative speeches which make up my corpus, such as the eulogies to Lady Diana (6.9.1997), Mother Theresa (13.9.1997) and the Queen Mother (9.4.2002).

That being said, this interpreter is still the best performer, having reported the highest percentage of correct questions and answers (cf. tab. 1-2), particularly if compared to the second interpreter (in terms of number of FPCs). On the other hand, the interpretation of Coulthard and Irvine's answers (cf. tab. 3-4) show that both interpreters are on the same level of performance, considering that the second interpreter translated as many as 30 answers more than the first interpreter.

From the foregoing, it is clear that in the literature on SI, quality tends to be expressed in terms of an ideal world, which we might, kindly, call wishful thinking. Experimental studies, too, can only evaluate an interpreter's performance in a 'sheltered' environment, ignoring those variable that interpreters cannot control such as speed and the accent of speakers. Moreover, these studies are often not only based on self-prophesising hypotheses, but the hypotheses themselves are hardly valid.

As the errors made by "the best performer" in practice (rather than in the experimental setting) demonstrate, the problem is the recognition of technical words in the flow of the speech and not the extralinguistic knowledge *per se*, the latter being part and parcel of any SI, particularly of a technical nature. Interpreters clearly use their knowledge to activate scripts and other emergency strategies.

In conclusion, quality standards should be adjusted to concrete SI situations. We should, therefore, frame the conditions in which the interpreter has to translate a particular text, and, consequently, consider and decide the *achievable quality* of the interpretation. It is, at this point, unrealistic to think that:

SI is *infinite* and only fails on those rare occasions when the customer complains, and that when he does, the customer must be right and the interpreter at fault [...] It is the, in a sense, flattering assumption on the part of participants that a simultaneous interpreter's capacity to handle anything that is thrown at him or her is 'infinite' that actually increases his or her 'fallibility'. (Pearl 1999: 7)

Interpreters' performances are closely dependent on the working conditions, which, to a large extent, determine the quality of a given SI. Interpreters cannot be held totally responsible for the achievement of this objective. This means, for example, that the criteria of accuracy of content and completeness (usually ranking first in all quality evaluation grids) may not necessarily be fully met, nor are they always the primary objective of SI. A great number of media texts may be defined as 'limited quality' texts. Ross Perot is a case in point. The three interpreters (experienced media professionals) who translated him on three different occasions (see footnote 118) had unsurmountable difficulties due to the rate of speech (an average of 200 wpm) and a strongly marked Texan accent.

And once again, the *norm* was the adoption of *emergency strategies*, especially the reconstruction of the sense of almost every single speaking turn of the American candidate (with a very high number of omissions). And yet, the interpreting community and broadcasters were favourably impressed by these performances.

Therefore, in many cases it would be wiser to foreground evaluation criteria such as, for example, the capacity to sum up and deliver an apparently smooth and coherent discourse while keeping up with the, at times frantic, pace. These skills, in fact, together with fluency and voice quality, are precisely those which typify the 31 SIs of the most experienced FPC interpreter.

So, in reality, the norm is that media interpreters are judged not for interpreting a speech correctly but convincingly well. Ultimately, though I am not suggesting throwing the quality baby out with the accuracy bath water, it is the *form* and not the *content* that both broadcasters and viewers respond to.

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## LES MARQUEURS DE COHÉRENCE EN INTERPRÉTATION CONSÉCUTIVE

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L'interprétation s'effectue selon trois modes principaux: simultané, consécutif et de liaison. Contrairement à la traduction, ses principales caractéristiques sont l'évanescence, la communication en temps réel et la présence des intervenants dans l'acte de parole. La prise en compte des autres facteurs communicationnels, à savoir la situation, le contexte et le texte, est certes tout aussi importante qu'en traduction, mais elle est effectuée beaucoup plus rapidement et d'une manière globale plutôt que ponctuelle pour ce qui est de la compréhension, et s'intègre à la ré-expression d'une façon quasi spontanée. Rapide et globale, une telle démarche n'exclut pas pour autant l'analyse. Chez l'interprète, l'analyse se fonde essentiellement sur le cheminement logique des idées, sur le raisonnement ou l'argumentation et utilise au premier chef le repérage de mots charnières qui traduisent la cohérence des idées et la logique du message. En consécutif en particulier, où l'interprète se substitue littéralement à l'orateur, où il s'exhibe devant un public, il n'y a pas lieu de "perdre le fil". Les repères jetés en notes sur un bloc doivent permettre de reconstruire, pierre après pierre, l'édifice de l'exposition, qu'elle ait été description, argumentation ou exhortation. L'une des priorités, pour l'interprète consécutif, est aussi l'assurance de sa prestation, qui a pour objectif la persuasion et se traduit par la fluidité de son élocution. "Un beau discours n'est jamais une garantie de sincérité, mais un discours hésitant et confus est souvent le signe que son auteur veut dissimuler tout ou une partie de la vérité" (Robaye 1991: 8).

Un trait essentiel de l'interprétation réussie est donc sa cohérence qui garantit d'abord l'efficacité de la communication, et secondairement la qualité de l'expression (à savoir qualité de la langue, de l'énonciation, du rythme et du débit) et la précision du transfert des idées et de leur enchaînement. En effet, la tâche de l'interprète en tant que communicateur est de maintenir la cohérence en rétablissant un équilibre entre ce qui est **efficace** (*effective*, qui atteint le but communicatif) et **efficient** (*efficient*, qui demande le moins d'effort possible de la part du destinataire) (Hatim and Mason 1997: 12). Or, le mode consécutif est celui où se manifeste le plus clairement la cohérence (*op. cit.*: 43). En effet, l'évanescence de la parole et surtout le caractère différé de la prestation de l'interprète ne permettent jamais (heureusement!) à l'interprète un souvenir précis des mots prononcés, mais bien de la suite des idées exprimées qu'il structure et organise dans ses notes.

Nous montrerons dans ce travail le rôle joué par la cohérence dans la réussite de l'interprétation consécutive par une étude de cas. Nous en examinerons certaines manifestations et en déduirons des stratégies pour la pédagogie.

### L'interprétation consécutive

L'interprétation consécutive se distingue de la simultanée par le caractère différé de la restitution de passages plus ou moins longs (rarement supérieurs à cinq minutes). L'interprète s'appuie, pour effectuer sa prestation, sur sa mémoire à court terme et sur un appareil de notes davantage idéiques que linguistiques. Ces notes "ne constituent pas une représentation écrite du discours mais un ensemble de repères destinés à faciliter la recombinaison du discours par l'interprète" (Gile 1995b: 109). L'interprète ne note jamais toute l'information qu'il entend et qu'il restituera, mais bien uniquement le résultat de son analyse globale et rapide du message, nécessaire et suffisante, selon lui, c'est-à-dire selon son propre bagage cognitif, à la ré-expression. La prise de notes constitue un effort, propre à la consécutive, qui jusqu'à un certain point est facultatif puisque l'interprète peut, dans certaines circonstances assez rares, n'utiliser que sa mémoire, ce qui ne veut pas dire que la seule utilisation de la mémoire exclue l'effort. L'effort de prise de notes est cependant différent en ce qu'il empiète sur l'effort d'écoute et entraîne généralement une baisse du rendement de ce dernier chez les apprenants.

L'interprétation, qui fait depuis quelques années l'objet de recherches empiriques de plus en plus poussées et systématiques, est rarement étudiée du point de vue de la linguistique textuelle. L'étude collective de Taylor *et al.* (1997), issue d'un atelier (Turku 1994) consacré à l'interaction entre l'interprétation et la linguistique, constitue une exception notoire. Six chercheurs y rendent compte de leurs travaux sur l'interprétation à la lumière d'une approche ou d'un aspect de la théorie linguistique: la cohésion en linguistique textuelle, l'approche fonctionnelle systémique de Halliday et Hasan (1976), la linguistique informatique et la production en langues naturelles de Dale (1993), le concept de "traduction virtuelle" de Neubert et Shreve (1992), et la structure thème - rhème.

Autre exception, l'ouvrage de Setton (1999) sur l'interprétation simultanée dont le cadre théorique puise à la théorie de la pertinence (Sperber and Wilson 1986/1995), la sémantique cognitive des "frames" de Fillmore, la théorie des modèles mentaux de Johnson-Laird et Garnham, et finalement la théorie des actes de parole de Austin et Searle. Malheureusement ces travaux portent exclusivement sur l'interprétation simultanée.

Hatim and Mason (1997: 41-43), pour leur part, ont le mérite d'avoir posé, depuis la perspective de l'analyse du discours et de la communication, des

hypothèses intéressantes. L'idée n'est pas ici de les vérifier mais bien de les exposer pour justifier le choix de la consécutive dans cette étude du phénomène de la cohérence.

1. L'interprète simultané doit se contenter d'une vue partielle tant de la situation (en anglais *context*<sup>1</sup>) que de la structure du texte et doit par conséquent se concentrer davantage sur la "**texture**"<sup>2</sup> de surface afin de rendre le sens.
2. L'interprète consécutive tend à se centrer sur l'information pertinente pour la **structure**<sup>3</sup> textuelle vu qu'elle l'emporte sur celle véhiculée par la situation ou la "texture" dans les notes qui servent à la reformulation.
3. L'interprète de liaison, quant à lui, n'a accès qu'à une partie de la "texture" et de la structure qui ne se dévoilent que fragmentairement au cours d'un échange. Dans ce cas, la **situation** (*context*) est la matière première dont l'interprète se sert pour assurer la continuité de l'échange.

Hatim and Mason tirent de ces hypothèses une proposition quant au rôle joué par la structure, la "texture" et la situation dans les trois modes d'interprétation:

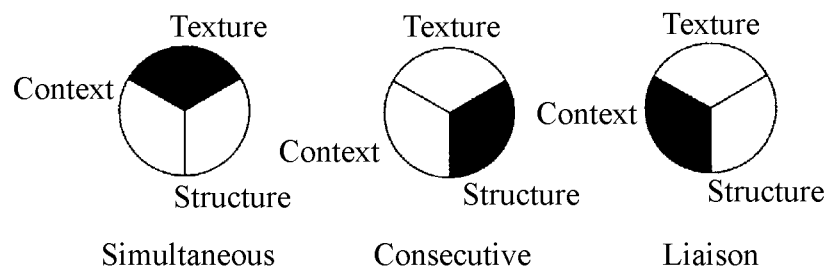


Figure 1. Accessibility of context, structure and texture

Le caractère différé de l'intervention de l'interprète oblige celui-ci à un effort de mémoire plus grand qui, pour être efficace et efficient, va se concentrer sur les relations sémantiques macro-textuelles (soit la "structure") plutôt que sur des détails d'information ou des moyens cohésifs trop ponctuels (soit la "texture"). Comme l'affirment Hatim and Mason (*op. cit.*: 49) "consecutive interpreters seem to use manifestations of texture and of context not as ends in themselves but as the means to gain access to structure." La cohérence s'exprimant le plus

1 "the extra-textual environment which exerts a determining influence on the language used" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 215)

2 "aspects of text organization which ensure that texts hang together and reflect coherence of a structure in a context. Texture includes aspects of message construction such as cohesion, theme-rheme organization, as well as idiom and diction" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 224-225).

3 "the compositional plan of a text" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 224).

explicitement dans la structure des relations sémantiques, c'est en consécutive qu'il convient de l'examiner en priorité, si l'on prétend en apprendre davantage sur sa nature et son importance en interprétation. Le fait que les études contenues dans Taylor et al (1997) portent sur l'interprétation simultanée explique dès lors pourquoi, bien que incluant presque toutes le sujet de la cohésion, elles ne fassent aucune mention de la cohérence.

#### La cohérence

L'un des critères de textualité largement reconnus, le concept de cohérence n'est pas un concept clair et précis, bien que largement utilisé en traduction et en linguistique du texte.

Il est très difficile et complexe de présenter la cohérence de façon satisfaisante, ... Tout d'abord, parce qu'il n'existe pas de théorie unifiée de ce domaine de l'analyse du niveau discursif. (Patry 1993: 117)

Il est certes plus aisé de repérer et de décrire les rapports grammaticaux ou lexicaux entre les phrases d'un texte, soit leur **cohésion**, que les rapports sémantiques ou conceptuels entre les différentes idées d'un texte, soit leur **cohérence**.

Les manifestations de la cohérence sont multiples. D'une façon générale, la cohérence se manifeste notamment, de manière formelle, dans les enchaînements des énoncés et les réseaux lexicaux, et, de manière informelle, dans les rapports logiques et la progression des idées. En effet, sur le plan de sa réalisation, elle peut soit ne pas être exprimée formellement (ces "marqueurs" implicites, pour ainsi dire, sont notamment les "charnières zéro" de Horguelin 1995), soit s'exprimer par le biais du lexique (noms; pronoms personnels, démonstratifs et possessifs, entre autres), de la syntaxe (prépositions, conjonctions, pronoms relatifs), de la morphologie (désinences verbales), du style (anaphore, cataphore, métaphore, répétition). Nous n'envisagerons ici que les relations conceptuelles de nature textuelle et non les relations linguistiques phrastiques, purement syntaxiques ou morphologiques, qui caractérisent la cohésion. Ici, cohérence est synonyme de "the underlying continuity of sense of any stretch of language" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 3).

#### Méthodologie

L'étude dont nous rendons compte est fondée sur le dépouillement d'enregistrements audio d'examens du cours *Techniques d'interprétation consécutive* de l'Université de Montréal, menant à l'obtention d'un DESS. Les étudiants se trouvent en début de formation, mais ont déjà effectué des exercices de mémoire

et de prise de notes; ils en sont à leurs premiers exercices d'interprétation consécutive proprement dite. Les textes sont trois courts extraits de discours issus, d'une part du Symposium international sur la démocratie tenu à Québec en 1992 et, d'autre part, du congrès mondial d'une centrale syndicale en 1999, et sur l'interprétation consécutive de ces extraits par deux interprètes. Les sujets traités sont généraux et ne nécessitent donc aucune préparation thématique ni terminologique de la part des étudiants.

L'étude porte plus particulièrement sur l'identification de certains marqueurs (explicites et implicites) qui jalonnent les discours oraux non spécialisés pour en garantir la cohérence des relations conceptuelles. Elle se concentre sur l'appréhension de ces marqueurs et de ces relations, leur "traduction" dans la prise de notes de l'interprète et leur reformulation. Ceci afin de montrer premièrement que la cohérence est un support nécessaire et, jusqu'à un certain point, suffisant pour la restitution du sens. Nécessaire, parce que sans cohérence il y a occultation des relations sémantiques, il n'y a qu'une simple énumération de contenus informationnels isolés (à peine un télégramme). Suffisant parce que, jusqu'à un certain point, la seule connaissance des enchaînements logiques, associée à l'appréhension de quelques bribes d'informations (par incompréhension, distraction ou toute autre défaillance de l'interprète), permet à celui-ci de construire un discours ("parallèle") doté de la même structure logique<sup>4</sup> que l'original, en tirant un profit maximal des bribes d'informations appréhendées. Deuxièmement, l'étude cherche à encourager la pédagogie de l'interprétation à prendre la cohérence comme objectif d'apprentissage prioritaire.

Pour chacun des exemples étudiés, une analyse sommaire des manifestations de la cohérence de l'original sera effectuée, pour ensuite voir de quelle manière cette dernière a été rendue par deux interprètes tant dans leur reformulation que dans leur prise de notes.

#### Étude de cas

Les exemples présentés ci-dessous sont des productions d'étudiants en situation d'examen devant jury, donc situation de stress assez considérable. Des erreurs de sens, parfois graves, des omissions et des maladresses d'expression y sont présentes. Elles ne sont pertinentes ici que dans la mesure où elles éclairent les stratégies d'appréhension et de reformulation de la cohérence de l'original.

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4 Structure logique est ici synonyme de structure textuelle (Dancette 95: 90)

## Exemple I:

La structure logique de l'original réside dans l'annonce de définitions et la mention subséquente de celles-ci. Les marqueurs explicites qui apparaissent sont le réseau lexical "definitions" (1.1), "democracy is" (1.2) et "define" (1.3), ainsi que la présence de "also" (1.3) (voir ANNEXE 1, extrait 1). C'est donc essentiellement par le biais de ces marqueurs que l'interprète appréhendera la logique de l'extrait.

L'interprète I.a offre une version assez libre, bonne dans l'ensemble, mais ponctuée d'omissions (ex.: "*municipal and local power*", "*In the search that I have done*") et d'erreurs de sens (ex.: "*State = ville*", ). Par contre, la cohérence de son discours, fidèle à celle de l'original, est implacable grâce à l'explicitation des marqueurs précédemment mentionnés. Les notes révèlent clairement la structure du discours (voir ANNEXE 2). Il est à observer, dans ce cas, que la seule reproduction de la structure logique permet la réussite de la communication, indépendamment des glissements de sens et des omissions d'éléments non essentiels à la compréhension de l'ensemble. Voilà un exemple clair du caractère suffisant de la cohérence pour restituer le sens.

L'interprète I.b donne, pour sa part, une version plus complète, plus détaillée, mais dont la cohérence est relative, du moins ré-exprimée de façon moins limpide. Ses notes reflètent assez bien le caractère diffus de la structure de sa version (voir ANNEXE 2). L'incohérence du raisonnement logique (une faute de sens grave) dans "Ce n'est donc pas..." (I.2) est due à une mauvaise perception de l'expression "*not from the bullet but from the ballot*" et surtout à la non-indication du rapport logique entre cette expression et l'idée précédente dans les notes, relation qui apparaissait clairement dans les notes de l'interprète I.a (voir ANNEXE 2).

## Exemple II:

La cohérence de l'original est exprimée par la répétition de divers énoncés. Les trois premiers "*Democracy is*" (2.1, 2.2 et un troisième non repris dans l'exemple) (voir ANNEXE 1, extrait 2) donnent des caractéristiques de la démocratie pour en déduire le caractère théorique, idéal, non-réel et l'opposer à la réalité. Cette opposition est elle aussi exprimée au moyen d'une répétition: "*we are all*" (2.5), donc sans marqueur explicite, et d'une relation conceptuelle d'opposition marquée par "*And*" entre: "*All of this is...*" et "*And we all know...*" (2.3) (voir ANNEXE 1, extrait 2).

L'interprète II.a ne rend pas la structure de l'original assez visible, malgré l'ajout d'une relation plausible de conséquence entre 2.1 et 2.2 par "En effet". L'opposition marquée par "*And*" en 2.3 n'est pas rendue verbalement mais



l'intonation, non indiquée dans notre retranscription, la laissait clairement entendre. Quant à l'opposition implicite dans 2.5 ("*We are all aware of the ideal State ; we are all too familiar with the actual*", voir ANNEXE, extrait 2), elle est complètement perdue et remplacée par un énoncé très général et vague ("Nous savons tous effectivement qu'aujourd'hui il y a beaucoup de problèmes sur ce plan-là") qui dénote une incompréhension ou un oubli de l'original. Vague également l'énoncé "tout le monde" pour "*politics*" (2.3). Les diverses maladresses d'expression: "n'est pas obtenue" (1), "comment il est de" et "compétitionne" (3) indiquent peut-être l'inconfort général de l'interprète face à ce texte. Cet inconfort est apparent dans le manque de clarté des notes (voir ANNEXE 2).

L'interprète II.b, quant à elle, ponctue son discours de conjonctions "Même si" (2), "et" et "Mais" (3), et "mais" (5) qui donnent à sa version une cohérence indéniée. Ses notes en sont le reflet grâce à l'indication de connecteurs dans la marge gauche (voir ANNEXE 2), facilitant la reformulation de ceux-ci.

#### Exemple III:

Cet extrait, contrairement aux précédents, comporte une structure logique assez simple. En effet, le texte est avant tout un descriptif de la condition des travailleurs migrants. Les marqueurs de relation explicites "*Once*" (3.1), "*Since*" (3.2) et "*Not only...but*" (3.3) ont une incidence ponctuelle sur le sens de l'extrait et ne présentent aucune difficulté de compréhension. L'interprète doit ici prêter attention aux pronoms personnels "*they*" (voir ANNEXE 1, extrait 3). Seule la dernière idée "*Far from being a phenomenon exclusively affecting rich countries, this situation also occurs in the more dynamic developing countries.*" (3.5) en fait une argumentation.

L'interprète III.a et l'interprète III.b ont tous deux une prestation somme toute assez bonne, avec cependant l'omission de deux énoncés d'importance secondaire pour l'ensemble du texte: "*Since they are concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder*" (3.2) et "*used as buffer stocks*" (3.4) (voir ANNEXE 1, extrait 3). Il est à remarquer que ces deux omissions n'apparaissent qu'à l'étape de reformulation; l'information est en effet présente dans les notes des deux interprètes (voir ANNEXE 2) mais insuffisamment mise en contexte (ou insuffisamment comprise) pour être bien réexprimée. Les marqueurs de la description sont bien reproduits et, à nouveau, plus explicites que dans l'original: "Par exemple" (interprète III.b.2), "En effet" (III.b.4), "mais" (III.a.5 et III.b.5). Le caractère descriptif de ce texte ne donne pas au critère de la cohérence une place aussi significative que dans les deux précédents, du moins sous l'angle de l'évaluation de la prestation des interprètes.

## Conclusions

Plusieurs conclusions peuvent être tirées de cette étude malgré le caractère très limité du corpus.

D'une façon générale, les versions des interprètes expriment de manière plus explicite que l'original les marqueurs de cohérence. Ceux-ci sont généralement placés par l'interprète en début de phrase et, dans les notes, isolés en marge pour une appréhension plus rapide.

Les deux premiers textes montrent combien la restitution de la façon dont sont structurées les relations conceptuelles est importante pour atteindre le but de la communication de l'interprète, même lorsque font défaut certains éléments d'information pertinents. Ce qui permet de conclure au caractère nécessaire, et parfois suffisant, du critère de cohérence dans l'évaluation de la prestation des interprètes consécutifs.

La nature essentiellement informative et descriptive du troisième texte indique, par contre, la quasi non-pertinence du critère de cohérence. Ce qui permet de conclure que la pédagogie de l'interprétation consécutive doit utiliser en priorité des textes à structure logique complexe (notamment argumentatifs) et non pas descriptifs, si elle prétend former le futur interprète à l'appréhension des relations logiques et de la structure logique des discours car "*learning to operate with an idealized norm is a sure way of spotting and dealing with deviation.*" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 54).

L'examen des notes des interprètes permet de conclure à l'importance capitale de l'appréhension macro-structurelle, plutôt que micro-linguistique, du message et de son expression claire dans les notes. Du point de vue pédagogique, on privilégiera donc la séquence suivante, appliquée à des textes argumentatifs: exercices unilingues sans notes, unilingues avec notes, bilingues sans notes et finalement bilingues avec notes, afin de donner à la cohérence toute son importance.

Toujours d'un point de vue pédagogique, on notera l'opportunité d'intégrer à l'enseignement une approche fonctionnelle et pragmatique pour l'analyse systématique des marqueurs de cohérence tant dans les discours originaux que dans les versions traduites, sans oublier les notes. Les "charnières zéro" ne seront pas négligées. Dancette (1995: 92) leur a d'ailleurs accordé une certaine importance dans le processus de compréhension en traduction. De même, Dancette (*op. cit.*: 94-106) expose les modèles sémantiques qui rendent compte de la recherche du sens en traduction. Ces modèles, à savoir la définition, l'arbre syntaxique, les réseaux sémantiques, la liste des propositions et la structure de connaissances, peuvent être avantageusement convertis en outils pratiques d'analyse de la cohérence dans les exercices proposés pour la classe d'interprétation consécutive. Une telle analyse sera effectuée aux trois étapes de la séquence pédagogique proposée.

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## ANNEXE 1

## Extrait 1

1. *On the subject that we have been given today, democracy and municipal and local power, I would like to try and give some definitions so that I can attempt to share with you what we are talking about.*
2. *In the research that I have done, I have discovered that democracy is a system of government that holds that the citizens of a State are the ultimate authority in the State and their authority comes not from the bullet but from the ballot.*
3. *I would also like to define democracy to be one that holds each citizen's vote and voice to be equal, thus one citizen and one vote.*

## Extrait 2

1. *Democracy is not achieved in a single day or maintained by a single election.*
2. *Democracy is the most sophisticated and subtle form of government yet disarmingly simple in its concept. (...)*
3. *All of this is high school civics. And we all know and live in the real world, a real world where politics, ..., must balance competing legitimate demands for the limited resources of the public purse.*
4. *And nowhere is more challenging than at the municipal level.*
5. *We are all aware of the ideal State; we are all too familiar with the actual.*

## Extrait 3

1. *Once they found a job, migrant workers often come up against other forms of discrimination.*
2. *Since they are generally concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder, it is hardly surprising that they earn substantially less than nationals doing the same job. (...)*
3. *Not only do migrant workers find it difficult to obtain a job, but they also have trouble keeping it.*
4. *They are often used as buffer stocks for reserve labour hired at times of shortage and dismissed when the employment situation deteriorates.*
5. *Far from being a phenomenon exclusively affecting rich countries, this situation also occurs in the more dynamic developing countries.*

ANNEXE 2

Interprète I.a

1. D'abord et avant tout, j'aimerais donner quelques définitions de la démocratie afin que nous puissions mieux en parler par la suite.
2. Ma première définition de la démocratie est qu'elle est un système de gouvernement où les villes détiennent une certaine autorité. Leur autorité ne vient pas du bout du fusil, mais bien d'un bulletin de vote.
3. Selon ma deuxième définition, chaque vote est égal, c'est-à-dire un citoyen égale un vote.

sujet  $\mathcal{D}$  local power  
 $I \rightarrow$  define  
 pr parler  
 $\mathcal{D} =$  syst. gov.  
 ville  $\rightarrow$  autorité  
 $\uparrow$  syst. / bulletin  
 $\mathcal{D} =$  vote égaux  
 1 cit = 1 vote

Interprète I.b

1. Le sujet d'aujourd'hui portera sur la démocratie et les pouvoirs locaux et municipaux. J'aimerais tout d'abord vous donner une définition de la démocratie et des façons dont on la considère.
2. Ma recherche m'a permis jusqu'à présent de remarquer que la démocratie était un système gouvernemental auquel participaient les citoyens qui représentent plus exactement l'autorité ultime de l'État. Ce n'est donc pas une situation tendue, mais plutôt l'autorité de ces citoyens se traduit par des bulletins de vote.
3. D'autre part, j'aimerais vous donner également la définition de la démocratie qui équivaut à un citoyen, un vote, une voix.

sujet  $\perp$   
 $\mathcal{D}$  local power  
 $I \rightarrow$  def.  
 attempt share  
 ? " about  
 research  
 $\mathcal{D} =$  syst.  $\mathcal{D}$   
 citoyen  
 autorité ultime  
 État  
 $\emptyset$  bullet  
 bulletin  
 + def.  $\mathcal{D} \Rightarrow$   
 d voice =  
 1 cit = 1 vote

## Interprète II.a

1. La démocratie n'est pas obtenue en un jour et elle ne peut pas être maintenue par une seule élection.
2. En effet, la démocratie est un système extrêmement complexe, mais très simple également. (...)
3. C'est de la théorie. Nous savons tous comment il est de vivre dans le vrai monde. Tout le monde compétitionne pour obtenir les ressources du gouvernement.
4. Et c'est encore plus difficile au niveau municipal.
5. Nous savons tous effectivement que aujourd'hui il y a beaucoup de problèmes sur ce plan- là.

$d \neq$  obtenu  $i$  j  
 $\neq$  garder  $i$  vote  
 $d =$  complex  
 mais simple  
 highschool civics  
 Ns vivre vrai monde  
 compét. ressource  
 L  $\rightarrow$  + diffie.  
 municip.  
 Ns savons tous  
 effet choses

## Interprète II.b

1. On ne peut pas devenir une démocratie en un jour ou avec une seule élection.
2. Il faut savoir que la démocratie est un des types de gouvernement les plus élaborés. Même si le concept est très simple. (...)
3. ... et tout cela sont des valeurs civiques qu'on apprend à l'école. Mais, dans la réalité, les demandes des politiciens dépassent les ressources publiques limitées.
4. Le grand défi de la démocratie est l'échelle municipale.
5. On sait ce qu'est un État idéal, mais la réalité est autre.

no  $\rightarrow d$  i j  
 i + lect.  
 $d =$  gouver. sophist.  
 ni simple  
 civiq  $\rightarrow$  école  
 mais  
 réal ?  $\pi$  os  
 $>$  \$ public  
 + défi.  
 municip.  
 Ns sav. Et. idéal  
 mais réal  $\neq$

Interprète III.a

1. À partir du moment où ils ont trouvé du travail, les travailleurs migrants se trouvent confrontés à d'autres formes de discrimination.
2. Par exemple, ils vont gagner nettement moins que les ressortissants des pays d'accueil pour un même travail. (...)
3. Il est également plus difficile pour eux non seulement de trouver un travail, mais de le garder.
4. En effet, dès que la situation se désagrège, ils sont les premiers à être renvoyés pour des raisons économiques...
5. ... et on observe cette situation non seulement dans les pays les plus riches, mais également dans les pays en développement à la situation économique la plus dynamique.

<sup>1x</sup>  
 Mw → emploi  
 ô discr.  
 concentrat.  
 occup.  
 gagne - citoyen riche  
 diff. trouver emploi  
 garder  
 Mw buffer st.  
 emploi manque  
 no exclus. riches  
 mais → + dyn.

Interprète III.b

1. Une fois que les travailleurs migrants ont trouvé un emploi, ils souffrent d'autres formes de discrimination.
2. Souvent, ils reçoivent un salaire minimale par rapport au même travail que ferait un citoyen du pays développé. (...)
3. Et aussi, ils ont de la difficulté à trouver et à garder leur emploi.
4. D'habitude, ils sont engagés pour de courtes périodes et souvent pour des emplois où il y a un manque temporaire de main d'œuvre.
5. Et ce, non seulement dans les pays riches, mais aussi dans les pays en développement les plus dynamiques.

Qd trouver t°  
 Mw x ô discr.  
 concentr. bott. occup  
 gagne = t°  
 + diff. trouver  
 mais garder  
 renvoyés  
 qd sit° ↓  
 non seul → riches  
 ms → dynam.

## **THE TRAINING OF BLIND STUDENTS AT THE SSLMIT - TRIESTE**

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The Advanced School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators (Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori - SSLMIT) of the University of Trieste in Italy originally started as a course for translators and interpreters in 1953, offering a limited number of language combinations at the Institute of Modern Languages of the Faculty of Economics. The course gained legal recognition and became the School of Modern Languages for Translators and Conference Interpreters (Scuola a fini speciali di lingue moderne per traduttori ed interpreti di conferenze) which, in 1978, was transformed by presidential decree into a university faculty in its own right (Riccardi 1995:60). The School was conceived during a period when new multicultural and linguistic contacts were developing out of the ruins of the Second World War, between allies, friends and former enemies, not only in the political arena. A dense network of international and bilateral relations developed in the decades following the War, increasing the need for quality interpretation and translation services, as did the founding of numerous international organizations such as the United Nations, NATO, EEC, EFTA etc. throughout the greater part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kellett Bidoli 1999:18). Though 'schools' for translators and interpreters had existed since the Middle Ages (Herbert 1952, p ix) there was a post-war boom in their proliferation in order to train qualified people to fill the ever growing demand for interpretation and translation; for example, Geneva (1941), Vienna (1943), Mainz/Germersheim (1946), Saarland (1948), Georgetown (1949) and Heidelberg (1950) (Delisle and Woodsworth 1995:252).

Fifty years have seen many generations of students pass through the Trieste School, a tiny fraction of which have included blind students. The number is minuscule indeed: five totally blind students in all, though requests for admission (through an entrance examination) by the Blind has approximately doubled this number. We have had a few students with evident visual impairment but they had functional vision and were taught with the mainstream students without any necessary adaptations to teaching. As the proportion of blind students to sighted is so low why, one may ask, is there the need to write an article about the training of the Blind in such an institution? Three good reasons are firstly, although the Blind have the same rights to education as everyone else and therefore apply for admission to further education including interpreting institutions worldwide and form an integral part of the student population, next to nothing has been written neither about their experience nor



that of their trainers. In our well-stocked school library on translation and interpretation related literature, which contains over 20,000 volumes, I have been unable to find any reference to the Blind in direct connection with interpretation or translation, and noted only two references in connection with early speech acquisition and language development (Preisler and Palmer 1986, Dunlea 1989). Brief reference to the Blind (mainly on first language acquisition) is sporadically made in the subject index of books dealing with language and cognition. Secondly, the Blind obviously aim at jobs, which do not depend on sight but on touch or auditory skills (for example as switchboard operators, mainly before the advent of the digital revolution in telephony, or in the field of physiotherapy). Because job opportunities for the Blind are extremely limited in our sighted world, another obvious choice of career is interpretation, (rather than translation), as it is perceived by the Blind as a profession that essentially requires auditory and speaking skills and where visual ability is unnecessary. As today the Blind have access to information on the Internet concerning education and careers, it can be expected that the number of blind students enrolling at schools that teach interpretation and translation will increase in the future. Thirdly, having taught two of our blind students during my long years of experience at the SSLMIT, several colleagues and I have had to adapt to a new teaching situation with no formal training to help us and I feel that an international exchange of information concerning this area of teaching would be most welcome. In conclusion, as blind students consider interpretation as a possible career, can and do enrol in schools of interpretation and translation, creating a challenging situation for trainers in class, I feel that though our sample of blind students is very small, there is a need to divulge our experience in Trieste in teaching the Blind and hope our colleagues in other, similar institutions will be encouraged in the same direction.

Over the thirty or so years since the 70s, when the first blind student enrolled, the courses and curricula, as well as the level of certification have changed considerably. Out of our five blind students (three females and two males), two completed the first two years of our old diploma course in the 1970s taking French as their first language and English as their second and did not continue with their studies. Therefore, neither entered the interpretation courses that at the time began in the third year. The girl has since become a language teacher in a private institution; the boy is believed to have entered the world of Italian trade unionism and journalism. In the 80s, two more students, of French origin, entered directly into our third year and completed what was then an interpretation diploma course. Both are now working as interpreters in France with the French-Italian language combination. Our fifth student is at present completing her second year of our four-year degree course, and she wishes to choose interpretation with the French-English combination. It is curious that

though our sample is so small, three Italian blind students entered the school on the strength of the French admission exam. It would be interesting to investigate further as to whether or not they have found learning a second romance language that is similar to their mother tongue (Italian) easier than a Germanic one (e.g. English). Do British blind students opt more often for German?

From interviews with several colleagues from our French and English departments on their experience over the years with our blind students, it has been possible to outline the following aspects related to the teaching of language, translation and interpretation. As regards teaching methodology, no radical changes have been introduced; all attempts have been made to regard and treat blind students the same way as the sighted. All members of staff have always been free to adopt whichever didactic method they feel is most appropriate in the classroom in order to impart information to enhance the learning process of all the students involved. Nonetheless, certain adaptations have been found necessary.

What most colleagues have commonly experienced when a blind student has enrolled in the School, is the absolute need to provide in advance all written material used in class or at home, which is then transcribed into the braille alphabet: texts for translation, handouts with examples, exercises, overhead transparencies, as well as written tests and examination papers. It is not always possible to foresee what will be taught in advance and in some cases it is the students themselves, singly or in groups, who prepare translations on transparencies for overhead projection, which are then viewed by the whole class and corrected through discussion. At the SSLMIT there is no braille conversion equipment. This entails the preparation of lessons at least two weeks in advance to enable the blind student to receive any new material and have time to get it transcribed elsewhere. Fortunately, in Trieste there is the Regional Rittmeyer Institute for the Blind (for the Region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia) founded through a donation by Baroness Cecilia de Rittmeyer in 1901, where blind students living in Trieste or coming from other parts of the Region or Italy may find accommodation, transport to and from state schools or university, written text-to-braille conversion and other facilities and services catering to their specific needs. At the Rittmeyer Institute there are four people employed in the conversion of text-to-braille for their resident blind community or for whoever is in need. Once our student is provided with the necessary written material and has had it transcribed into braille she can follow any lesson with the rest of the class. Of course this problem could be averted by having a braille conversion computer programme and braille printer installed on the premises that could be used when needed with the ease of a photocopier. But at present no one on the staff has any experience in this respect nor has received training in

this direction and so far, enrolment of the Blind has been so sporadic as not to warrant any such acquisition.

A major problem encountered by our blind student is the quantity of written material she receives to transcribe each week, which produces numerous thick,  $30 \times 30$  cm. wads of heavy paper/card (regular paper can be used but is not durable) bound together according to the logic of the transcriber, which she must subsequently bring along each day to lessons. On occasion she mistakenly brings the wrong material to class or finds parts missing or bound in the wrong order and thus has difficulty in following the lesson.

During lessons, one has to get into the habit of adapting to the new circumstances such as remembering to pause to tell the blind student which exercise is about to be completed or which overhead one is going to show the class, to enable him/her to find the appropriate page in braille, which tends to be a rather cumbersome operation owing to the size of the pages in braille which are held together by durable plastic spiral comb binding and thus span some 60 cm! In the 70s, I remember that the student I had at the time listened to and recorded my lessons on a tape recorder, as there was no practical, alternative way of 'taking notes'. She then learnt mnemonically from what she had recorded. The only alternative to this was for our blind students to carry a very heavy braille machine, rather like an old-fashioned mechanical typewriter, from class to class. It made such a noise when the keys were hit to emboss the paper with the braille dots, that it distracted the other students or muffled the teacher's voice and was so unpopular that it was used only when essential or during written examinations. With the advent of computers over the last decade, circumstances have certainly changed. Our present student now carries a lightweight laptop wherever she goes. All she needs is a power socket to wire up her computer, and with braille texts on her lap she can follow the entire lesson taking notes in complete silence apart from the occasional beep. Whatever is typed into her computer she can also hear through a voice synthesizer and therefore, to a large extent, can correct any imprecision in three languages: Italian, French or English. At home, later in the day, she connects her laptop to a braille terminal display that reads everything she has written on her computer and converts it instantly into braille, which she can touch on a special moving bar, one line at a time. At written examinations she brings both the laptop computer and braille terminal display which require ample table room. This enables her to work from a written examination text (previously converted for her into the braille alphabet) into braille directly on the braille terminal display. She can 'feel' the text on the moving braille bar which is immediately converted into written text on the computer. Through head phones she can also hear, the text read out loud through the voice synthesizer, in order to make further corrections before giving in a final written version on diskette at the end of the

examination. All I need to do is print it out, correct it and meet her to discuss any errors at a later date. As far as English is concerned, she copes very well with translation texts, reading comprehensions, composition and multiple choice type texts but has problems with listening comprehensions. We suspect this is due to the fact that the instructions such as, 'tick the correct boxes with true or false' or 'place the appropriate expressions next to the correct letter of the alphabet....' may not be so immediately clear in braille and also slower to write out in full on the computer. Another reason could be that graphic organization of the text in braille may be different from the original of which we teachers are not aware, which again may slow down the answering speed, leading to the missing of spoken chunks of information vital to the understanding of the whole listening test, thus leading to omissions or miscomprehension. Further investigation in this area is needed.

Another major problem for the teacher is the difficulty encountered in remembering not to diverge from a pre-planned lesson which leaves little leeway for spontaneous modification or improvisation if the case arises which is common in normal circumstances. In any foreign language class it is natural for the teacher to suddenly think of new examples of what s/he is describing and to write them on the black/whiteboard or overhead projector. Likewise, students may ask for a written spelling of complicated words or expressions or the teacher may draw a chart, diagram or other graphic design to better illustrate a concept. With a blind student in class one must always remember to read out, spell out or describe everything that is written or drawn up on the board, which obviously slows down the speed of the lesson. Other adaptations in class concern the constant description of graphics or images. Particular graphic devices illustrated in the class texts such as photographs or the use of special layouts, as in the case of newspapers, advertisements or business correspondence, must be described in detail to the sightless. These cannot be converted into braille. Normally, written text is scanned and memorized on a computer using Rich Text Format or Plain Text File (Word Perfect, Microsoft Word, etc.). With the appropriate translation software the text is then converted into a braille file which through a computerized braille embosser can be printed out. Therefore it is only the written word that can be converted and not other graphics on the page. For example, after scanning a business letter, graph, diagram or invoice, the words and numbers and some common symbols in the original text are converted into lines of braille text. The person converting the material has no other choice than to try to place the single words, short sentences or groups of words found in the original into logical sets, often placed one under the other, thus losing the specific spatial organization that was purposefully illustrated in the original. Therefore, dividing lines, graph lines, pie charts, columns, axes and, in the case of business correspondence, the correct

positioning of letterheads, addresses and dates etc. are lost. Furthermore, the conversion of the phonetic alphabet into the braille alphabet is a particularly lengthy process and not all sounds can be reproduced on a six dot system. Braille was developed in its early form by Louis Braille, a teenaged blind student, in Paris in the 1820s. It has developed since then and today with six dots it is possible to write numbers, punctuation, mathematical symbols, music and a set of standard contractions to save space. Braille shortens many words and letter combinations with a specific system of rules, but in any case, the dots have to be spaced out and thus more pages are required than for written text despite embossing on both sides of the page. Different braille sizes can be used for special purposes (petite spacing, jumbo spacing, Library of Congress spacing), and resolution can be changed to requirement by altering the distance between dots<sup>1</sup>.

Textbooks, which are essential either in class or for personal reference, must be made available to the blind student too. Since 1994 in Italy, several centres have been established which form part of the Italian Library for the Blind (Biblioteca Italiana per i Ciechi "Regina Margherita" - Onlus<sup>2</sup>), a charity organization which provides pupils, their families and university students with didactic materials and aids of various kinds. The Trieste Rittmeyer Institute hosts one such centre and can also borrow reading material in braille from headquarters in Monza. However, basically only popular fiction, general reference books, some dictionaries and grammar books are available and therefore for study at university level students must get essential textbooks converted into braille with the consequent loss of much information for the reasons explained above. A disadvantage of traditional braille conversion for students is the enormous and voluminous number of pages in braille that are produced for just one average sized textbook which are subsequently awkward to carry around and later store. A solution to this problem is slowly emerging as today more blind students are studying than ever before. It is now becoming the custom in English speaking countries and to a lesser extent in other parts of Europe to convert the written text found in books into a braille shorthand form. However, this requires special training in order to learn the shorthand system which, to further complicate matters, varies from language to language.

Another aspect to note is that the blind student may request extra time with the teacher, directly after a lesson or on appointment, to clarify difficulties encountered in class or to go through written work done at home or during examinations. As teachers' written comments and red pen marks cannot be converted into braille the teacher must patiently describe every single error and imprecision directly to the blind student. All corrections have to be memorized

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1 see [www.brailleur.com](http://www.brailleur.com) (visited June 2002).

2 see [www.bibciechi.it/index.htm](http://www.bibciechi.it/index.htm) (visited June 2002).

unless the student records the teacher's comments or brings the laptop along. Apart from the usual language errors and wrong choice of lexis, a fair number of inevitable typing or punctuation errors have to be pointed out and distinguished from common spelling mistakes (more easily avoided by the sighted; but not always!). There have been some other obvious drawbacks for our present blind student, for example, in the case of writing out English business letters, she finds the correct letter layout difficult to achieve; correct spacing, paragraphing and positioning of the various parts of the letter without being able to see them.

As mentioned above, amongst those colleagues teaching language and translation, there seems to be a general feeling that the teaching pace slows slightly with a blind student in class, with the exception of simultaneous interpreting (SI) classes where teaching always entails the use of oral discourse (no written texts nor other written illustrative teaching materials are used in class by the students) and where both the sighted and sightless work principally through the auditory channel. The teaching of consecutive interpretation is a slightly more complex issue and will be mentioned separately below. That the sightless may ask questions more frequently than the sighted to clarify points missed, is very individual. Generally, the Blind sit next to sighted students who help in case of need, such as the checking of spelling on the laptop screen. During oral drills and exercises the Blind should be questioned with the rest of the class and, where possible, it is useful to get the students to work in groups or pairs so that the sightless become more involved with them; they get to know each other better. I am always amazed when I ask my student to read a paragraph in English from a text the other students have been asked to read too. With no difficulty she finds the right place to start and at normal speed, hands gliding quickly across the embossed pages spread across her lap, completes the required task.

Another minor point that has arisen, is that all sighted teachers instinctively use linguistic expressions, which are connected with the ability to see the world. Thus, when talking to a blind student it is easy for common expressions connected with the act of seeing, which we take for granted, to slip into the conversation such as, "*let's see now*", "*let's take a look at this example*", "*we'll see*", "*you may observe*", "*you can see from the example*" or "*take a look at page x*" which might cause embarrassment for the teacher in a vain attempt to quickly find an alternative expression. However, this is an unwarranted reaction as I discovered from my student one day when on giving her a new batch of photocopied overheads for her to convert into braille she said, "Thank you, I'll take a look at them later at home."

The teaching of consecutive interpretation (CI) presents a series of problems apart. Blind students perceive interpretation as an entirely oral, auditive skill and probably erroneously think that it is the only form of interpretation that the job

market requires. Though in real life CI is not as frequently used as SI, it is required, and at the SSLMIT, CI forms an integral part of the curriculum which blind students cannot avoid. Some professional interpreters never or rarely use it, others often do so, it all depends on where and for whom one works and whether a technical hitch or financial limitations prevent the use of a booth (Kellett Bidoli 1999:19-21). Consecutive interpretation entails listening to portions of a speech for a few minutes, taking notes and rendering the speech in a foreign language, with an acceptable presentation, in front of an audience of varying proportions according to circumstances. Thus, clearly, the acquisition of note taking technique and public speaking skills are of prime concern for the CI trainer and especially so with a blind student in class.

As far as the 'input' stage or listening part of CI is concerned, there is probably little difference between the auditory perception of the sighted and sightless, though the latter may be at a slight advantage, in that lacking the sense of vision their auditory acuity and attention is more pronounced (though my blind student discounts this as total myth!). While listening however, the sighted take notes and here the matter becomes more complex for the Blind. French colleagues have told me that when they last taught consecutive to blind students in the 80s, the students had to bring their noisy braille machines into class which caused a lot of disturbance for everyone, the Blind included. Today the problem of noise has been solved through computer technology, however the problem of teaching note taking to the Blind remains.

When teaching note-taking technique, one method used is to start by suggesting common symbols and simple abbreviations that go up on the board. These however, do not cause serious problems for the Blind if they are described in detail, however, arrows and the numerous personalized iconic signs such as a stylised hay fork for agriculture or a smoking chimney stack for industry are another matter. Furthermore, as students start to practice with short chunks of text, they are asked to come forward and write their notes and scribbles on the board in front of the whole class to generate general discussion. Debate ensues and subsequent explanations are divulged about why such and such a sign was invented, certain facts were left in or omitted, or why a certain word order or page layout was chosen etc.. A blind student could have difficulty in following. In CI, speed in taking notes is of the essence and our blind students in the 80s with the old braille machines were certainly at a disadvantage. Contractions and some ready-made abbreviations and symbols do exist in braille but not as many as are required for consecutive. Thus blind students of interpretation have to learn to summarize to a maximum, using the a minimum number of 'written aids', relying to a greater extent on memory, which of course is an excellent skill to sharpen in consecutive anyway. Today, note taking in the traditional sense would require use by the Blind of both the silent laptop and

braille terminal display or an alternative could be experimented in the coming academic year. At the SSLiMIT in Forli (University of Bologna) they have devised a system whereby their blind students, rather than take notes during CI lessons, record the speech while listening to it (thus having time to get the gist and think about terminological solutions). They rewind immediately after and subsequently translate the text simultaneously with the use of head phones (Monacelli, personal communication, 1997).

Rendition of the consecutive text or 'output' requires two further stages: translation into the target language and an acceptable delivery. As far as translation is concerned, blind students and sighted are on a par. Quality oral translation does not solely depend on visual capacity – too many variables are at play. There are talented students, good students and less good, but it is not sight that is the issue.

Delivery of the speech is just as important a part of CI as the other components. However, delivery does not merely entail having a pleasant voice for the end-users to listen to. It involves correct breathing and posture, control of hands and body movements and appropriate facial expression as well as eye contact, which in my classes are checked individually, for each student, by video recording (see Kellett Bidoli 1995,1997). Some blind students are very natural in their way of speaking but the majority produces facial expression which seems unnatural or irregular to the sighted observer, and eye contact is of course totally lacking. Teaching public speaking skills to the Blind (if untrained in this specific field) seems a daunting prospect to me. In real life I suspect that blind interpreters mainly work in the simultaneous mode, though I have no statistics at present at my disposal.

In the teaching of SI, it is explained to the students from the start that the best working position is one where they can clearly see the speaker at a conference in order to catch any prosodic cues, facial expressions, direction of gaze and body language that may enhance the understanding of the speech or explain the cause for any minor interruptions by the speaker during the interpreting event; taking a sip of water, waiting for a technician to adjust a faulty microphone or prepare an overhead projector, etc. Some teachers at the SSLMIT use video recorded speeches of politicians and statesmen during lessons to render the atmosphere as realistic as possible. In this case the blind student would be at a visual disadvantage. Likewise, at real life conferences, film or slides showing graphic information or images might cause problems to a blind interpreter though normally, interpreters work in pairs, so that in this case a sighted interpreter could take over without interruption. The effect of visual communication on interpretation quality is an area still open to investigation. Though Bühler (1985) gave much importance to visual communication through non-verbal cues, contrasting results have emerged from experiments undertaken



by Anderson (1979, 1994), who tested differences in the linguistic quality of SI according to the visibility of the speaker or the total absence of visual information during interpretation. In both cases, no significant difference in performance was detected. Balzani (1990) confirmed this result when speeches were read to the audience, but in the case of impromptu speeches, it was found that visibility is indeed a significant factor.

Differences in the ability to learn and achieve positive results between sighted and sightless students are impossible to establish in any significant way, as our sample of blind students is too small and drawn out over too long a period of time to draw any conclusions. Teaching methodologies, curriculum and technological aids have undergone great changes and have varied too much over the years to be able to make any comparisons. Results obtained individually have varied according to the courses followed and the language combinations chosen; in some cases the students have been on a par or even better than their companions, in others, worse than average.

The ability of the blind students to socialize with the whole class has also varied individually. Some sightless students are very independent, finding their way around the School on their own while others depend entirely on other students chaperoning them around between lessons. In class they tend to sit with the same sighted students rather than get to know different people.

As mentioned above, technology has certainly come to the aid of the Blind in language learning over the past thirty years. Gone are the days of the noisy braille typewriter. Not only does our present student use modern computer technology, but she also has access to text-to-braille conversion (and vice versa), dictionaries on CD-Rom, talking books (books read out on audio cassettes) and books written in braille which she can borrow through the Italian library lending system or can order from the amazon.com bookshop online. She can communicate with the outside world via the Internet, develop her language skills by listening to the radio, DVD film or satellite TV. Today, just like their sighted companions, it is even possible for blind university students to apply for a Socrates Erasmus student exchange at a foreign university, that can cater for people with varying degrees of visual impairment. Unfortunately, though, so far no blind student at the SSLMIT has applied. The Blind are no longer confined to their homes or institutions and will certainly make great strides in our modern society in future as technological and medical innovations strive to render their lives as natural as possible. They will certainly continue to enter the interpreting profession. It is hoped that this modest contribution describing our experience with the sightless in Trieste will stimulate interest elsewhere and generate research into the many unexplored aspects of teaching languages to blind students of interpretation and translation.

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## L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'I.C. AUX ÉTUDIANTS NON-VOYANTS

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Ces considérations prennent comme point de départ une conviction partagée par un grand nombre d'interprètes, mais qui est souvent mise en question, sur le rôle de l'interprétation consécutive. C'est pourquoi je tiens tout de suite à préciser que, sur la base de mon expérience professionnelle et didactique, j'ai toujours été convaincue du caractère propédeutique de l'I.C. par rapport à l'I.S., et deuxièmement que, comme l'a dit Thiery (1981: 100), je considère l'interprétation consécutive comme le produit de deux temps forts (l'enregistrement par l'interprète du message de l'orateur et sa réexpression) et d'un temps accessoire (la prise de notes).

Cette introduction me permet d'entrer tout de suite dans le vif du sujet, pour prouver que l'enseignement de l'I.C. à des étudiants non-voyants peut ne pas trop se différencier de l'enseignement de l'I.C. tout court. L'enseignement de l'I.C., en effet, prévoit une phase d'introduction à l'interprétation, qui servira de base aux deux techniques et qui se fonde sur une série d'exercices qui doivent entraîner la capacité d'écoute et de mémoire. L'objectif de cette phase de préparation est de tester la capacité de réaction aux informations et de développer la capacité d'analyse qui permettra, en situation, de procéder à la synthèse qui s'avérera être l'outil indispensable de la prise de notes. Si les opérations mentales sur lesquelles s'appuient les étapes du processus interprétatif ne s'effectuent pas avec la bonne progression, l'introduction de la prise de notes ne peut être considérée comme un maillon de la chaîne de la technique de l'interprétation, mais comme une simple phase d'élaboration graphique souvent conçue indépendamment d'un contenu. L'habitude à analyser tout message en fonction des éléments qui le composent sur la base des exercices qui permettent d'identifier "qui fait quoi, comment, où, quand et pourquoi" est une étape fondamentale de la formation dans le cadre de l'approche à l'information. La disposition mentale ainsi acquise aidera, plus tard, à mieux organiser les notes dans un espace, mais l'apport de cet exercice sera fondamental à condition que la capacité d'écoute et d'analyse soit bien développée, à savoir à condition que l'étudiant ait déjà élaboré une technique qui lui ait appris à bien écouter et à bien analyser les messages. Avant de penser à l'élaboration d'un système de prise de notes il est question, en effet, de développer des aptitudes qui assurent dès le premier impact avec le monde de l'interprétation la maîtrise des informations afin de peaufiner la capacité de savoir sélectionner les éléments essentiels et superflus d'un message.

Pour revenir à notre cas spécifique de préparation à l'interprétation des étudiants non-voyants, l'entraînement à l'écoute et à l'analyse des messages ne prévoit aucune forme de prise de notes. Les exercices d'analyse logique et de mémorisation reposent surtout sur une bonne capacité d'écoute. Même l'exercice d'analyse logique qui consiste à résumer en quelques mots-clés un message (les étudiants rédigent, après écoute et réflexion rapide, une sorte de schéma récapitulatif du message saisi) et qui fait ensuite l'objet d'une analyse comparative entre plusieurs solutions élaborées par les étudiants, ne pose pas problème du fait que les temps d'exécution prévus n'imposent aucune contrainte. L'analyse comparative des différents plans, souvent transcrits au tableau, peut être facilement effectuée grâce à l'aide des camarades de l'étudiant non-voyants, ou mieux encore grâce à la lecture des schémas de la part du professeur.

Avant de passer à la phase de prise de notes il est bien de rappeler que la consécutive utilisée en situation peut être de deux types: avec ou sans notes. La dernière est utilisée souvent dans l'interprétation pour les médias. Les étudiants doivent donc s'habituer à ce type d'interprétation qui souvent est pris en considération dans le cadre de l'interprétation de liaison, mais que je préfère considérer dans le contexte de l'I.C., du fait, primo, de la formation qu'elle exige et, secundo, de l'alternance des rôles, qui ne prévoit presque jamais comme en interprétation de liaison le passage A-B-C-B-A (où B est l'interprète, et A et C les deux locuteurs), mais plutôt le passage C-B-A, le passage A-B-C étant d'habitude interprété en chuchotage.

Une fois terminée la phase d'introduction à la consécutive et après avoir appris aux étudiants à bien développer leur capacité d'écoute et d'analyse, la prise de notes peut être introduite. La première recommandation que je fais à mes étudiants est de choisir un système de prise de notes qui ne leur pose aucune contrainte dans la phase de lecture des notes: quelle que soit la technique qu'ils vont élaborer, et qui, comme chacun sait, est très personnelle, il est important de prendre des notes de façon à ne pas être obligé de les relire dans le même ordre dans lequel elles ont été écrites (l'exercice de reformulation à rebours est un excellent banc d'essai qui permet de tester la maîtrise des capacités et qui habitue en même temps les étudiants à se débarrasser de l'enveloppe de la langue de départ). Or il est évident que dans le cas des étudiants non-voyants ce système ne peut pas être appliqué: du fait même qu'ils écrivent à l'ordinateur, l'ordre dans lequel ils prennent leurs notes leur donne la possibilité de relire une seule ligne à la fois, ce qui ne leur permet pas de maîtriser un message dans sa totalité et représente une limite importante. Mais, encore une fois, je voudrais insister sur l'importance des exercices de préparation: si les étudiants ont bien analysé les passages dans les étapes précédentes, leur horizon ne peut se limiter à la ligne qu'ils sont en train de relire. Le grand avantage de l'IC par rapport à l'IS est d'avoir entendu un

message dans son intégralité avant de commencer à interpréter. C'est pourquoi c'est surtout la première opération mentale, à savoir l'écoute, qui s'avère encore une fois fondamentale et, à plus forte raison, j'insiste sur le bien-fondé des exercices qui composent le travail en amont.

Du point de vue graphique, il est tout aussi évident que les étudiants non-voyants ne pourront utiliser un système reposant sur le verticalisme, qu'ils ne pourront pas distribuer leurs notes en exploitant les espaces pleins et les vides, et qu'ils devront renoncer à certaines astuces utilisées par les interprètes: il leur est impossible de surligner ou de souligner certains mots pour les mettre en évidence, car ces opérations prennent trop de temps; il est difficile d'utiliser la fonction exponentielle, tellement utile pour différencier les mots des adverbes, ou des verbes. Mais les étudiants devront élaborer leur propre système pour marquer les relations logiques voulues, en jonglant par exemple avec les lettres, les majuscules, tout comme avec les signes de ponctuation, utilisés non pas dans leur fonction naturelle, mais comme symboles graphiques d'appoint, souvent associés à des abréviations. Quel que soit le système adopté il y aura toujours une condition à remplir: que les étudiants soient déterminés dans leur choix et qu'ils évitent toute possibilité d'ambiguïté. Vu qu'ils ne peuvent pas utiliser la chaise stylisée pour "Président", s'ils adoptent l'abréviation P ou Pr, il faudra choisir quelque chose d'autre pour des mots comme "proposition, profession, programme ou projet", pour ne citer que quelques exemples. Mais encore une fois ils feront, bien qu'avec des moyens plus limités, ce que l'on conseille de faire à tous les étudiants quand ils choisissent une abréviation: être sûrs qu'il n'y ait aucune possibilité de confusion (tout interprète sait que parfois il suffit d'ajouter une voyelle ou une consonne – d'ailleurs cela prend si peu de temps – et toute ambiguïté est évitée). Donc encore une fois il s'agit d'élaborer un système individuel de prise de notes en exploitant, dans ce cas spécifique, tous les symboles du clavier de l'ordinateur, mais sans que cette opération ne prenne trop de temps à chaque fois dans la recherche ou la juxtaposition des symboles, car les notes ne sont jamais une fin en soi, mais un outil, une structure intermédiaire entre un Produit (le texte de départ) et une production (le texte d'arrivée).

Dans la dernière phase, la reformulation, il sera question d'insister sur la fluidité de l'élocution et sur l'assurance de la prestation. Le travail fait en classe avec la vidéo sera forcément moins utile pour l'étudiant non-voyant, mais la possibilité d'écouter sa voix et sa performance pourra quand même être intéressante pour corriger certaines mauvaises habitudes: hésitations, bafouillements, pauses trop longues, faux départs. Pour le reste, le fait même d'écrire et de relire les notes sur un clavier habitue les étudiants non-voyants à une posture tout à fait professionnelle, qui difficilement a besoin de corrections.

Il reste à voir quelle pourrait être la possibilité pour un aveugle de travailler en I.C. Certes il lui manque le contact visuel avec la réalité de travail qui l'entoure: les tours de rôles, sans une présentation adéquate, ne peuvent être perçus tant que l'orateur n'a pas pris la parole et le fait de ne pas voir les gestes et les expressions des orateurs est pénalisant (certains clins d'oeil sont plus éloquents que les mots, mais l'interprète qui est en train de prendre des notes risque lui aussi parfois de ne pas les saisir). Une grosse limite, à mon sens, relève d'un facteur purement technique, car l'interprète non-voyant doit chaque fois installer son ordinateur et son imprimante, ce qui exclut par exemple la possibilité d'une consécutive où l'interprète n'est pas assis. Une autre difficulté est liée à l'accès aux documents de conférence, mais je n'entre pas dans le détail de ce problème vu qu'il n'est pas typique de l'I.C. mais qu'il est commun à l'I.S. En dépit de ces difficultés, toutefois, je suis convaincue que l'I.C. reste un exercice fondamental, un excellent outil de préparation à l'interprétation simultanée qui permet d'arracher l'étudiant à la tendance au psittacisme qui risquerait d'être à tort appliqué du fait de la dépendance du canal auditif et de l'impossibilité de percevoir le contexte visuel environnant.

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## **COMMUNITY INTERPRETING: RE-CONCILIATION THROUGH POWER MANAGEMENT**

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The language I am speaking of now,  
that I am almost speaking,  
is a language whose every syllable  
is a gesture of reconciliation.  
(Malouf 1990: 98)

This paper investigates current practices in community interpreting in Australia with a view to identifying the role actually played by the interpreter within the overall power dynamics of linguistically mediated triadic interactions. From the vantage point of the Australian context, which can boast a fully-fledged system of public sector interpreting services, the concept of 'power management' has been explored on the basis of data collected during interpreted encounters between members of the Italian community and representatives of Australian health care institutions. Assuming that the metaphor of the interpreter as a non-involved conduit is untenable in community interpreting situations, characterised not only by unequal power distribution between the primary parties, but also by the interpreter's advantage over both of them by virtue of his/her linguistic and cultural knowledge, the question which this paper attempts to answer is to what extent the interpreter's verbal and non-verbal choices contribute to a favourable outcome of the encounter in terms of "reconciliation".

### 1. Introduction

Over the past decade, while research on conference interpreting has continued unabated along the stimulating routes opened up by linguistics and the cognitive sciences, the new, adjacent, field of community interpreting has increasingly attracted the interest of scholars worldwide. Although the activity itself has been practised for decades, community interpreting as a scholarly subject was long neglected, being perceived as a blurred, uncoordinated and disparate area

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<sup>1</sup> Although this paper is the outcome of a joint research project carried out by the two authors, parts 1, 2, 3 and 7 were written by Raffaella Merlini and parts 4, 5 and 6 by Roberta Favaron.

lacking the glamour and scientific attractiveness of the two major modes of conference interpreting, i.e. simultaneous and consecutive interpreting.

The late development of this field of study as well as the local dimension of community interpreting services and the consequent geographical separateness of their growth account for the persisting terminological confusion, as observed by Gentile, Ozolins and Vasilakakos (1996: 17):

*Liaison interpreting* is the name given to the genre of interpreting where the interpreting is performed in two language directions by the same person. This activity has acquired a number of epithets according to the environment within which it developed and to the political considerations in the parts of the world where it is practised. In the United Kingdom, for example, this form of interpreting is called 'ad hoc' or 'public service' interpreting, in Scandinavia 'contact' interpreting and in Australia 'three-cornered' or 'dialogue' interpreting; the term 'community' interpreting is also used by a number of authors. The term 'liaison interpreting' was coined to distinguish it from 'conference interpreting' [...].

If, on the one hand, the three authors clearly identify "liaison interpreting" as a generic term – alongside such expressions as "ad hoc", "contact", "three-cornered" and "dialogue interpreting" – circumscribing all forms of interpreting which are not classified as "conference interpreting", on the other, they seem to point to a terminological identity between this all-embracing label and the names given to one of its sub-categories, namely "public service" or "community interpreting". Emblematic of the attempt to resolve the above contradiction by signalling a distinction between interpreting mode and setting is the title of the work edited by Mabel Erasmus (1999), *Liaison Interpreting in the Community*. Yet, once reference to the interpreting setting is removed from the meaning of the term "liaison", ambiguity is reinforced rather than dispelled, since the demarcation between the fields of conference and liaison interpreting becomes blurred. If emphasis is placed on the technique – i.e. consecutive interpreting in face-to-face interaction, without note-taking and involving a *retour* into the interpreter's foreign language – then liaison interpreting would be an appropriate expression for a whole range of scenarios, covering, for instance, both the linguistic assistance offered to diplomats at receptions or banquets and the mediation work carried out in hospitals and police stations.<sup>2</sup> To complicate matters further, Roberts (1997: 8) indicates a restricted reference to interpreting in business negotiations:

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2 An interesting discussion of the issue is found in Hertog & Reunbrouck (1999: 264-267).



The terms 'liaison interpreting' and 'escort interpreting' are generally reserved for business-oriented *ad hoc* interpreting [...].

Without dwelling further on the intricacies of the terminological debate, which has already diverted too much of the scholars' attention from the more interesting and substantive aspects of this interpreting activity, for the purposes of this paper "ad hoc interpreting" will be considered as the superordinate term encompassing two main sub-varieties, namely "community interpreting" and "liaison interpreting", where the latter, as suggested by Roberts, becomes a synonym of "business interpreting".

To set the scene for the discussion, a clarification of the specific interpreting setting explored in this paper is now called for. From the diverse field of "community interpreting" defined by Collard-Abbas (1989: 81) as the "type of interpreting done to assist those immigrants who are not native speakers of the language to gain full and equal access to statutory services (legal,<sup>3</sup> health, education, local government, social services)", the analysis was narrowed down to interpreter-mediated encounters between English-speaking medical staff and Italian-speaking patients in Australian health care facilities.

Owing to its fully-fledged system of public sector interpreting and translating services, which is the successful outcome of a gradual process of "reconciliation" between the diverse cultural and linguistic identities of a multi-ethnic population, Australia was chosen as an ideal vantage point for observation and study of current professional practices. More specifically, the collection of data took place in Melbourne, which to this day remains the largest Italian city in Australia (NLLIA 1994: 178). Although the bulk of Italian immigration to Australia dates back to the 50s and 60s, in the mid-80s there were still 100,000 Italian-born permanent residents in the capital city of Victoria, according to the 1986 census. The downward immigration trend, which started in the 70s and has continued ever since, explains the high median age of the Italian-born population, which in 1986 was just over 50 (NLLIA 1994: 178). The increasing number of elderly people who either have never acquired a command of the English language or have reverted to their native tongue in their old age is the main reason behind the sustained demand for Italian interpreting in the health sector. As regards the linguistic dimension, in

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3 As Roberts (1997: 9) points out, the question whether legal interpreting belongs within community interpreting is far from settled. Many claim that the philosophical approach characterising legal interpreting brings it closer to court rather than community interpreting. This view was adopted in 1998 by a committee of the International Federation of Translators who defined "community-based interpreting" as follows: "any interpreting (paid or voluntary) where interpreters work in day-to-day life situations in the community (not including court or legal work)" (Harris 2000: 4).

1986, Italian was, after English, the second most common language spoken at home in all Australian states. It should, however, be pointed out that the label "Italian" is a necessary generalisation in statistical surveys, since it subsumes a wide spectrum of regional varieties. Speakers of standard Italian are, in reality, a tiny minority if compared to dialect speakers.

The data obtained through selective and structured observation of the interpreting sessions have been used to explore the following questions: what is it, in real-life cross-cultural interactions between real people with their socially determined *personae* and in concrete physical environments, that is likely to bring about effective communication? More specifically, what is it, in the interpreter's performance, that leads to this result? And, most importantly, is this result a product of the interpreter's conscious or even unconscious use of "power management strategies"? This paper is an attempt to provide some answers to the above questions.

## 2. The role "riddle"

Moving on from contextual information to the theoretical premises of this study, one of the crucial aspects which needs to be addressed in the first place is the socio-institutional framework within which community interpreters are called upon to provide their professional service. Unlike other forms of ad hoc interpreting, community interpreting invariably occurs in situations characterised by status differential and hence by unequal power distribution between the two clients, the one accessing public services and the other providing them. In Shackman's words:

A community interpreter [...] is responsible for enabling professional and client, with very different backgrounds and perceptions and in an unequal relationship of power and knowledge, to communicate to their mutual satisfaction. (1984: 18)

Given the specificity of this communicative context, it is not surprising that a large part of the existing literature on community interpreting focuses on the vexed issue of the interpreter's role as third participant in the interaction. Whether the aim of publications is to describe current practices or to provide guidelines, the general impression is one of discordant approaches or vagueness of formulation.

A brief perusal of the views expressed over the past decade by different authors shows a continuum ranging from absolute neutrality/invisibility to direct involvement as conciliator, with intermediate positions being variously referred to as active participation, assistance, cultural brokering and advocacy (Roberts 1997: 10-15). Starting from the lowest degree of involvement, the goal of

"invisibility" – although the term itself is carefully avoided – seems to be implied in the following statement by Gentile (1991: 30):

The role of the interpreter can be summarised as one where he/she is required to conduct himself or herself in a manner which makes the situation with an interpreter, as far as possible, similar to a situation without an interpreter.

This view raises at least one crucial question: is it realistic to compare a dyadic, linguistically and culturally homogeneous interaction with a triadic encounter where the interpreter is a visible, ratified participant and the only person with knowledge of both interlocutors' cultures and languages, and expect a similar outcome from two such diverse settings? Challenging the applicability of Goffman's category of "non-person" to the community interpreter's role and drawing on Simmel's theory that the number of people making up a group influences the social interaction that takes place among them, Wadensjö (1998: 11) observes:

Indeed, there is a reason to believe that interactions involving three or more individuals have a complexity which is not comparable to interaction in dyads. The interpreter-mediated conversation is a special case. It is obvious that the communicative activities involved in this kind of encounter are in some senses dyadic, in other respects triadic, and the active subjects may fluctuate in their attitudes concerning which of these constellations takes priority.

If one considers talk as a series of activities performed by all participants which results in a joint construction of meaning, and not exclusively as successive texts produced by individual speakers, then, as Wadensjö (1998: 6-7) argues, community interpreting must be seen as a mediating as well as a translating task. From this perspective, Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp's (1986) equation between the interpreter's tendency to act as a "true third party" rather than a "mere medium of transmission" and his/her lack of professionalism does not reflect either the nature or the complexity of community interpreters' professional practices.

Taking, for example, the domain of interpreting in cross-cultural psychotherapy, admittedly a very specific context, yet one which shares many features with other community interpreting settings, the interpreter's "anonymity" may even be counterproductive, as Mirdal of the Institute of Clinical Psychology at the University of Copenhagen explains:

In a therapeutic situation the interpreter cannot and must not remain invisible. It is important to be aware of the role the interpreter plays, not only in the overt communication but also in the non-verbal interactions that take place between the three parties. [...] The interpreter is herself in

a process of integration between two cultures, and her position in this process is not irrelevant for how she is going to perceive and present the patient's problem to the therapist and the therapist's views to the patient. (1988: 327-328)

Whilst warning against the dangers of the interpreter showing overindulgence and excessive empathy towards the patient, the author argues that the patient's natural tendency to establish a more personal relationship with the interpreter, whom he sees as a closer and less threatening figure than the therapist, is, if kept within limits, a desirable process, given that "most patients are not particularly motivated to start therapy" (1988: 329) and what keeps them in treatment is this personal relationship with the interpreter.

Moving now towards the other end of the spectrum, a clear illustration of the interpreter's cultural brokering and advocacy functions, as cited in Giovannini (1992) and reported in Roberts (1997: 26), is the *Cultural Interpreter Training Manual* issued by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship. Listed among the interpreter's roles and responsibilities are the following: to explain cultural differences and misunderstandings; to advise the client about rights and options; to ensure that the client has all relevant information and controls the interaction; to explain what may lie behind the client's responses and decisions; to challenge racially/culturally prejudiced statements or conclusions; to identify and resolve conflicts. When the interpreter is called upon to concentrate on the last of the above points, advocacy gives way to conciliation, a function which, according to Diane Schneider of the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice, "is performed more frequently than one might imagine, without being defined as such" (1992: 57).

Leaving aside, for the moment, the latter approaches which allow no ambiguity as to the nature and scope of the practitioner's role, but are considered by many to fall outside the range of interpreting proper, and looking at the more canonical landscape of normative literature, one cannot fail to recognise the relevance to today's situation of the comment made in the late 1970s by Anderson that "the interpreter's role is always partially undefined – that is, the role prescriptions are objectively inadequate" (1976: 216).

Among the many instances which could be offered in support of the above statement, the following example was chosen because of its relevance to the context of this research project. Both the Victorian Central Health Interpreting Service (CHIS) and the Victorian Interpreting and Translating Services (VITS)<sup>4</sup>

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4 Both CHIS and VITS are state services catering for interpreting and translating needs in a variety of fields. CHIS was set up in 1980 and provides medical interpreting through a team of full-time and sessional staff supplementing the interpreters employed by hospitals and other health care agencies. VITS was created in 1991 as a result of the amalgamation of four different services, namely

require that their interpreters should be NAATI<sup>5</sup> accredited and should practise in accordance with the professional Code of Ethics, as set out by the Australian Institute for Interpreters and Translators (AUSIT)<sup>6</sup> in consultation with NAATI. Quoting from the *CHIS Interpreters' Competency Profile*, a booklet which was produced to "help clarify the role of an interpreter within the CHIS context" (CHIS: iii), practitioners are expected to be able

to maintain a clear focus on the interpreter's role while evaluating each situation and issue and making appropriate decisions by taking into account the singularity of each situation. (CHIS: 4)

Is not the "riddle" analogy a fitting one for this masterly sample of cryptic language? The puzzled reader is momentarily relieved of this mind-bending exercise by the reference to the *AUSIT Code of Ethics* providentially appended to the leaflet. There the following golden rules are to be found:

Interpreters and translators shall not exercise power or influence over their clients. (CHIS: 2)

A professional detachment is required for interpreting and translation assignments in all situations. (CHIS: 5)

Interpreters shall convey the whole message, including derogatory or vulgar remarks, as well as non-verbal clues. [...] Interpreters shall not alter, make additions to, or omit anything from their assigned work. Interpreters shall encourage speakers to address each other directly. (CHIS: 6)

While acknowledging the difficulty of envisaging general guidelines for a whole range of interpreting situations, the reader is again left pondering over the practical meaning of expressions such as "power", "influence" and "detachment". And, if the reader is an experienced community interpreter, s/he might point out that the dynamics of a three-party encounter often involve frequent shifts in addresser-addressee patterns, and might object that certain

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the General Interpreting Service (GIS), the Mental Health Interpreting Service (MHIS), the Education Interpreting Service (EIS) and the Legal Interpreting Service (LIS) (Ozolins 1998).

5 The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI) was established in 1977 and entrusted with the tasks of setting professional standards, developing and implementing accreditation procedures and approving interpreting and translation courses (Ozolins 1998).

6 The Australian Institute of Translators and Interpreters (AUSIT) was founded in 1987 as the national professional organisation of I/T practitioners (Ozolins 1998).

omissions and additions are necessary for a "favourable outcome" of the encounter, which will be defined in terms of "re-conciliation".

Although the term "conciliation" has been borrowed from Diane Schneider (1992), an alternative reading will be suggested here. The role of "conciliator" usually implies the notion that the interpreter is there to defuse tensions between institutions of the host-country and members of ethnic communities. The task of conciliation is generally placed outside the interpreter's sphere of competence, yet descriptions such as the following are not uncommon:

[...] it is interpreters and (sometimes) translators who are the everyday buffers and negotiators of cultural and linguistic difference within Australia (Taylor 1995: 9),

where the use of figurative language hints at a conflictual situation requiring interpreters to lessen the shock of two cultures clashing with each other. The alternative definition, which is less evocative of warlike scenarios, is derived from the Latin root *concilium*, meaning "assembly", "gathering", "meeting". Thus the "conciliator" could be described as the one who brings people together, or more precisely, the one who enables people to talk to each other by providing a common communicative environment. From this perspective, "re-conciliation" can be read as the "coming back" to the kind of unifying "language" David Malouf (1990) might be referring to in the quotation placed at the beginning of this paper.

### 3. Sitting on a "power" keg?

Given the indefiniteness of the community interpreter's role(s) in the existing literature, a possible solution to the above-mentioned "riddle" was sought in the observation of the interpreters' daily practices. The approach adopted in this research project is, thus, a descriptive one. The need for a similar perspective was felt by Cecilia Wadensjö in her recent work *Interpreting as Interaction*, where she explains:

My point of departure was that the literature on interpreting was dominantly normative in character and that ideas of how interpreters 'should' perform partly blocked the sight in investigations of actual cases of interpreting. (1998: 83)

In line with Wadensjö's view, the present study refrains from suggesting an *a priori* set of rules dictating what the interpreter "should" and "should not" do, and confines itself to the investigation of the interpreters' responses to the power asymmetry and the strategies they use to manage it.

The concept of "power" is a complex and multi-faceted one, which may pertain to a wide range of domains and conjure up ideas of political authority, physical force or psychological control, to mention just a few examples. However, for the purposes of this paper its contours need to be re-drawn. Fowler's words may serve as a suitable starting point:

'Power' is not a very satisfactory technical term, but its everyday usage will be adequate to get us going. Let us say that power is the **ability of people and institutions to control the behaviour and material lives of others**. [...] It is also a very general concept: an abstraction picking out one feature in an indefinitely large number of very diverse kinds of relationship. When we talk about power we may be referring to relationships between parents and children, employers and employees, doctors and patients, a government and its subjects, and so on. [...] **These power relationships are not natural and objective; they are artificial, socially constructed intersubjective realities**. (1985: 61; bold added)

First of all, power is defined as an "ability", a skill which can be acquired and practised, and which, if strategically applied, may determine and influence other people's behaviour. Secondly, power becomes manifest only in the context of social interaction, and in this arena power configurations are in a process of constant change and redefinition, according to the identities, roles and "moves" of the main actors. Though power relationships are not "objective" realities, the recurrence of similar patterns may account for their becoming a "natural", in the sense of "familiar" or "common", feature of certain contexts. In other words, a given configuration may be considered representative of a given institutional setting; the "discourse" which, over time, becomes associated to it contains crystallised reflections of the power configuration typical of that setting. Taking the instance of doctor-patient interviews, Fairclough (1989: 2) observes:

[...] the conventions for a traditional type of consultation between doctors and patients embody 'common-sense' assumptions which treat authority and hierarchy as natural – the doctor knows about medicine and the patient doesn't; the doctor is in a position to determine how a health problem should be dealt with and the patient isn't; it is right (and 'natural') that the doctor should make the decisions and control the course of the consultation and of the treatment, and that the patient should comply and cooperate; and so on. A crucial point is that it is possible [...] to find assumptions of this sort embedded in the forms of language that are used.

The quotation clearly reveals the crucial role that language – seen in its socio-institutional dimension as "discourse" – plays in the maintenance and perpetuation of widely accepted power relationships. The connection between language and power rests on solid scholarly foundations. As underlined in the

introduction to the proceedings of the first international conference on language and power (1980), "power has been conceptualised in a number of useful ways [...]; but, regardless of its definition, the resources available to exert or resist influence are recurrent, similar and – in societies at peace – chiefly *verbal*" (Kramarae, Schulz & O'Barr 1984: 11). If language is the key element of most power relationships, what happens in "unequal encounters where the non-powerful people have cultural and linguistic backgrounds different from those of the powerful people?" (Fairclough 1989: 47). And once the frame is extended to include the interpreter as a third participant, in what ways will the dynamics of power relationships be affected? Will the social gap be maintained or substantially altered? Will it be reinforced or reduced? It is in this sense that the focus of the analysis concerns what has been called the "management of power", in other words the interpreter's "power to control the power" wielded by his/her two clients.

As will be explained in the following, the parameters used to analyse the interpreter's behaviour have been borrowed from functional linguistics and discourse analysis. In particular, Martin was drawn upon in his discussion of "tenor", which is defined as "the negotiation of social relationships among participants" (1992: 523). Martin's use of the labels "status" and "contact" was also preferable to either Hasan's (1977) or Poynton's (1990) terminology. Both Hasan's "social role" and Poynton's "power" (Martin's status) would have given rise to confusion between the general concepts expressed so far and their actual "realisations".

#### 4. Data Collection<sup>7</sup>

Data were collected in Melbourne over a period of five months, from the beginning of March to the end of July 2001. A total of 32 interpreting assignments were observed at the following venues: public hospitals (19 assignments), rehabilitation clinics (4), the patients' houses (3), mental health centres (2), community health centres (2) and nursing homes (2). Assignments covered a wide range of medical fields: mental health (8 assignments), diabetes (5), speech pathology (4), pre-admission and admission procedures (4), oncology (3), occupational therapy (2), physiotherapy (2), gastroenterology (2), internal medicine (1) and dentistry (1).

Twelve NAATI accredited interpreters were involved in the project. They were all female, with ages ranging from 27 to 60 years. They worked either on an *ad-hoc* or permanent basis. While the sessional interpreters were provided by

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<sup>7</sup> We would like to thank Adolfo Gentile, Chairman of NAATI, whose generous help was essential to the research project.



interpreting agencies (CHIS and VITS) and sent to health care centres for individual assignments, the in-house interpreters - recruited either by hospitals themselves or by CHIS - worked for a single institution on a full-time basis. Since Italian is still a required language in the medical sector, most hospitals have an in-house Italian interpreter, but are sometimes compelled to book external interpreters through the agencies, given the volume of assignments.

Anonymity requirements have led to the renaming of practitioners. For the purpose of straightforward identification with their profession, interpreters have been given fictional Italian names, all beginning with the letter "I"<sup>8</sup>: 6 sessional interpreters (Irene, 4 assignments; Irma, 2; Ilaria, 2; Ilenia, 1; Isabella, 1; Itala, 1) and 6 in-house interpreters (Ines, 5 assignments; Iolanda, 5; Ilde, 4; Ippolita, 3; Iva, 3; Ida, 1).

As for the methodology, data were collected through observation of interpreted sessions. Additional information was gained in post-assignment interviews with interpreters. Whilst authorisation for the recording of the latter posed no problems, health care professionals were adamant that their encounters with patients should not be recorded. They justified their flat refusal by a reference to unspecified "hospital rules on confidentiality". In certain cases, even observation was denied, for instance during some assignments in the mental health field, where, as the medical staff explained, "issues of a sensitive nature would be discussed" and "the slightest disturbance might undermine the outcome of the session". Wadensjö herself, though she succeeded in securing permission from the Swedish institutions, nevertheless raises the issue of privacy:

One needs access to institutional settings where such encounters normally take place. Lay people, institutional professionals and interpreters, i.e. the prospective research subjects, must give their acceptance before one intrudes into their private and/or working life. (1998: 82)

Sticking to the research method based on recordings and full transcripts would have required a shift away from authentic to simulated interaction. In this case, for the reasons illustrated above, and given that, as Wadensjö again points out, "the forms in which discourse data is collected [...] also have implications for the kind of analyses that can be performed" (1998: 82), a radical change in the nature of the original project would have been unavoidable.

Therefore, the only alternative to recordings was the systematisation of the observation process through the use of a ready-made "observation sheet", which would present the researcher with a set of pre-selected parameters, thus helping her note down the largest number of relevant data. Whilst the inevitable

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8 The idea was borrowed from Wadensjö (1998).

shortcomings of having to collect information on the spot, without the possibility of subsequent revision, were not totally overcome, they were somewhat mitigated. What remains, however, alongside a necessarily selective analysis, is the subjective perception of relevance.

### 5. The Observation Sheet

The blank observation sheet, in a graphically condensed form, appears as follows:

OBSERVATION SHEET				
INTERPRETER:		AGE:		SEX:
Assignment no.:	Place:	Date:	Time:	
Participants:				
– English-speaking client:				
– Italian-speaking client:				
– Other participants:				
Situation:				
Briefing:				
– with the English-speaking client:				
– with the Italian-speaking client:				
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS				
OBSERVATIONS ON THE VERBAL INTERACTION				
	English-speaking client	Interpreter		Italian-speaking client
Phonology		EN>IT	IT>EN	
– Tone of voice	<input type="checkbox"/> unmarked <input type="checkbox"/> marked	<input type="checkbox"/> unmarked <input type="checkbox"/> marked	<input type="checkbox"/> unmarked <input type="checkbox"/> marked	<input type="checkbox"/> unmarked <input type="checkbox"/> marked
– Accent	<input type="checkbox"/> standard <input type="checkbox"/> non-standard	<input type="checkbox"/> standard <input type="checkbox"/> non-stan.	<input type="checkbox"/> standard <input type="checkbox"/> non-stan.	<input type="checkbox"/> standard <input type="checkbox"/> non-standard
– Loudness	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high
– Speech rate	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high	<input type="checkbox"/> low <input type="checkbox"/> medium <input type="checkbox"/> high

Syntax			
Lexis			
Divergent Renditions – Additions: 1. phatic 2. emphatic 3. explanatory 4. others – Omissions – Substitutions			
Footing			
OBSERVATIONS ON THE NON-VERBAL INTERACTION			
English-speaking client	Interpreter	Italian-speaking client	
Conclusions			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Register:</li> <li>– Footing:</li> <li>– Status:</li> <li>– Contact:</li> <li>– Degree of power management:</li> </ul>			

**Introductory information** concerning the interpreter (identification name, age and sex), details about the assignment (place, date and time), the participants in the interaction, the situation and the pre-session briefing were filled in, alongside the general observations and the conclusions, either before or after the actual encounter. As far as the participants are concerned, in the context of this study the English speaker is always a member of the institutions providing the services, while the Italian speaker is the client who accesses the services, i.e. the patient. Following Bell's (1997: 246) classification of audience members in terms of "addressees", "auditors", "overhearers" and "eavesdroppers", the researcher fell into the category of "overhearer", being known to the ratified participants but not one of them, whilst people accompanying the patient fluctuated between "auditors" (known and ratified, but not addressed participants) and "addressees". The situation contains information about the goal of the interview and the relevant stage within the overall clinical process, i.e. consultation or treatment session, while the **general observations** contain the detailed description of the encounter in terms of topics discussed, actions performed and other noteworthy events.

Unlike the above information, specific examples of the **verbal interaction** had to be taken down in the course of the interview. Given the undeferrable nature of a large part of the note-taking process, some of the points contained in the observation sheet refer to the prevailing features of the interaction taken as a whole. This applies in particular to phonological indicators, since a micro-segmental analysis was clearly unfeasible. The relevance of phonological aspects to the study of medical consultations is underlined by Cicourel who argues that "doctor-patient discourse may reveal status and power differences as reflected in the way intonation and stress are employed" (1985: 195). Reference was made to two of the three dimensions of tenor<sup>9</sup> identified by Martin, namely "status" – "the relative position of interlocutors in a culture's social hierarchy"– and "contact" – "their degree of institutional involvement with each other" (1992: 525). Using his terminology, the authors of this project established the following correspondences:

	TONE OF VOICE	ACCENT	LOUDNESS	SPEECH RATE
STATUS				
– dominant		standard	high	
– deferential		non-standard	low	
CONTACT				
– involved	marked			low
– distant	unmarked			high

At the lexical level, the following indicators of contact were selected:

LEXIS		
STATUS		
– dominant	technical	formal
– deferential	non-technical	colloquial
CONTACT		
– involved	non-technical	colloquial
– distant	technical	formal

The heading "Divergent Renditions" refers to the more evident differences between the interpreter's translation and the preceding original. The observation sheet contains three main categories: additions, omissions and substitutions. The first category is subdivided into four groups: phatic, emphatic, explanatory and

9 The third dimension, "affect", defined as the degree of emotional charge in the relationship between participants (Martin 1992: 525), was thought to be of less significance for the purpose of this study and was therefore not included.

others. The latter type of additions is somewhat different from the preceding ones, since it does not include expansions of the original utterances, but rather instances of the interpreter's autonomous intervention as "principal", to use Goffman's (1981) terminology. Omissions, which correspond to Wadensjö's categories of "reduced" and "zero" renditions (1998: 107-108), refer here to deliberate strategies instead of translation errors (for the distinction between "omission" and "loss" see Falbo 1999: 75). Finally, substitutions designate shifts at the semantic level.

The concept of footing and its transposition into workable observation parameters posed the most difficult challenge. Footing, as defined by Goffman (1981: 128), is "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance". The author's well-known distinction between "participation framework" (with the notions of hearers as "addressed" and "unaddressed" recipients) and "production format" (encompassing the speaker's roles as "principal", "author" and "animator") has been combined, in this study, with Wadensjö's (1998: 91) "reception format" (embracing three modes of listening: "responder", "recapitulator" and "reporter"). More precisely, the model suggested here is constructed on the interconnection between the speaker's alignment to the interpreter (in other words, whether or not he/she addresses the interpreter) and the response of the interpreter as subsequent speaker (for instance, his/her use of direct or indirect speech).

The following table is offered as an illustration. For the sake of simplicity, only the English-speaking client, i.e. the health-care professional, is cast in the role of original speaker, whose utterances are processed by the interpreter first in his/her capacity as either addressed or unaddressed listener, and then in his/her function as autonomous producer (i.e. principal) or re-producer (i.e. recapitulator (a) and (b), reporter, narrator, pseudo-co-principal). The labels "narrator" and "pseudo-co-principal" have been created to classify instances which were seen to fall outside the more traditional categories. The former refers to instances in which the interpreter uses indirect speech to translate an utterance that the original speaker has addressed directly to the other client; the latter groups examples of the interpreter's use of the first person plural to include him-/herself in the utterance of the original speaker.

SPEAKER	INTERPRETER		SPEAKER
	LISTENER		
	ADDRESSED	UNADDRESSED	
When did Mr. Rossi start feeling ill?	✘		PRINCIPAL It's been more or less a week.
Could you ask Mr. Rossi when he started feeling ill?	✘		RECAPITULATOR (a) Sig. Rossi, quando ha iniziato a sentirsi male?
			RECAPITULATOR (b) Il dottore chiede quando ha iniziato a sentirsi male.
Mr. Rossi, when did you start feeling ill?		✘	REPORTER Sig. Rossi, quando ha iniziato a sentirsi male?
		✘	NARRATOR Il dottore chiede quando ha iniziato a sentirsi male.
		✘	PSEUDO-CO-PRINCIPAL Sig. Rossi, ci può dire quando ha iniziato a sentirsi male?

**Observations on the non-verbal interaction** refer to features such as gestures, spatial relationships between participants and eye contact. At the end of each session, on the basis of collected data, the researcher provided an overall assessment – concerning register, footing, status, contact and degree of power management – which she noted down in the section **Conclusions**.

So as to facilitate the final analysis, a second intermediate assessment, relating to the performance pattern of each interpreter as displayed through the whole range of her sessions, was carried out by the researcher on the basis of a grid.

## 6. Discussion of results

The following discussion will illustrate the prevailing trends emerging from the 32 assignments by focusing on those parameters which turned out to be the most significant.

### 6.1. Briefing

Given the hectic nature of hospital activities, briefings are not routine occurrences, as was confirmed by the interpreters themselves during the post-assignment interviews. When no briefing takes place, in-house interpreters have an obvious advantage over their sessional colleagues, since they are part of the hospital staff and, as such, already know both patients and doctors. During the observation period, three types of situation were thus identified: those in which the briefing was carried out; those in which it was not; and situations in which a briefing would have been superfluous due to previous contacts.

Considering the briefing with the health care practitioner first, out of the total 32 assignments, 14 briefing sessions were recorded, with 3 instances of the remaining 18 assignments for which no briefing was necessary. The number of briefing sessions between the interpreter and the Italian-speaking patient was considerably lower, 2 out of 32, with only 8 cases of the remaining 30 where the interpreter was already familiar with the context.

The markedly higher frequency of pre-session encounters between interpreters and health care professionals seems to suggest the willingness of the latter to devote time to a conversation which is clearly seen as a useful contribution to the successful outcome of the consultation process. It also signals, however, the interpreter's reluctance to get too close to the patient before the actual session starts. In fact, although the briefing is a welcome occasion for the interpreters to gain an idea of the patients' pronunciation features and accents, most of them said that a prolonged conversation might be counterproductive, since the patients tend to explain their medical conditions and expect them to subsequently fill in this information during the interview and speak literally "on their behalf".

### 6.2. Phonology

Bearing in mind the methodology used in this study, results will take the form of general comments on the most recurrent phonological patterns. Accent and loudness turned out to be the least relevant indicators. With reference to the latter, only a few instances were recorded where patients with psychological disorders tended to raise their voice. These shifts in loudness were not reproduced by the interpreter.

On the other hand, tone of voice and speech rate were more productive markers. Interpreters, on the whole, tended to speak with a marked tone of voice when they addressed the Italian-speaking client, thus showing an involved attitude, even when the doctor kept an uninvolved stance, which was quite often the case. However, when translating for the English-speaking professional, a

less marked intonation was the most common feature. As for the second parameter, it was interesting to note that a slower pace characterised the interpreters' translations for the Italian-speaking patients, whilst a generally faster one marked the renditions into English. In other words, the interpreter seemed to work on the premise that the patient needs maximum clarity, and consequently opted for a slow speech rate regardless of the pace chosen by the professional. Conversely, the slow-paced utterances of the patients were invariably "accelerated", on the assumption that a speedy delivery was a more effective way to pass on information to the medical staff.

To sum up, observation of phonological features indicated that, on the whole, the modifications brought about by the interpreter increased the degree of *contact* between the interlocutors and raised the patient's *status*.

### 6.3. Lexis

Before discussing the interpreters' renditions, an overview of the language varieties spoken by the interlocutors is of the essence. As already mentioned, patients were mostly poorly-educated, elderly immigrants, whose language was a mixture of dialect, colloquial expressions and archaic terms, far removed from standard Italian and heavily influenced by English. The existence of a particular variety of Italian in Australia, which is commonly referred to as "Australitalian", has been documented by many authors, among them Andreoni (1978), Bettoni (1984) and Leoni (1988; 1991). Their studies have shown that, alongside the straightforward inclusion of English terms, Australitalian is characterised by the addition of Italian morphemes to the roots of English words. Of the many instances noted in the course of this research, only a few examples will be provided from either category:

- "quando mi capita di mangiare qualcosa di *wrong*", "gli è venuto uno *stroke*", "ho *trouble*", "non mangio *junk food*";
- "ho cinque *kidsi*", "*bucco* un'altra volta l'interprete", "mangio *vegetabili*", "mia moglie ha avuto un'infezione ai *langhi*"

With reference to the language used by health-care practitioners, it was generally observed that it displayed a much higher degree of formality, although technical jargon did not feature prominently.

Given this divergence, lexical adjustments were the rule rather than the exception in the interpreters' renditions, and were principally meant to help the Italian-speaking patients overcome the difficulties of potentially "obscure" terms. The most frequent occurrences were paraphrases of English expressions which, though belonging to everyday language, were felt by the interpreter as too difficult to be understood. The following are some examples:



- Are there any problems when you have to *prick* the finger? > Ha problemi quando *fa il puntino di sangue*?
- I want to keep him on this *treatment*. > Dovrà continuare con *tutte queste medicine*.
- You have to do a *blood test*. > Deve fare *un test che tira il sangue dal braccio*.
- We'll have to use a *feeding tube*. > Dovranno *mettere un tubo dentro*.
- Her *nerve condition* cannot be *healed*. > *Quella dei nervi è una cosa* che non si può *salvare*.

Less frequent were the instances in which terms pertaining to the medical domain were replaced with commonly used words and phrases, as in the following examples:

- Do you ever suffer from *oesophagitis... reflux*? > Le capita di soffrire di un po' di *acido*?
- How does it go with the *nose oxygen prompter*? > Come va con il *naso* e con quest'*affarino*?

Most interestingly, in some cases the interpreters, realising that even the common Italian term was incomprehensible to the patient, decided to accommodate the lexical choices of the latter, by adopting the Australitian variant, as in the following examples:

- Deve *spingere* ...deve *pusciare* le mani tra loro.
- Puoi usare il macchinario ... la *mascina* per muoverti.

In the translations for the health care professionals, on the other hand, lexical substitutions were used mainly to raise the register and improve on the style:

- Devo mangiare *cibo sciacquabudella*. > I have to eat very, very *plain food*.
- *Tegnu* solo colesterolo > *I have only got* cholesterol.
- *Mi viene*.... come si dice ... il vomito. > I *suffer from a desire* to vomit.

The above-mentioned adjustments are some of the most frequent strategies employed by interpreters to reduce the divide between a "language consistently delivered in a low register (or a dialect) and one in a high register where explanations are rarely given clearly" (Burley 1990: 149-50).

#### 6.4. Divergent renditions

Additions were by far the most numerous instances of divergence from the original utterances, and featured almost exclusively in the translations into Italian. Phatic additions – such as "..., OK?", "..., ha capito?", "..., va bene?" – were occasionally used by the interpreter to check whether or not the patient had understood the doctor's statement or instruction. A higher frequency was recorded for emphatic additions. These entailed the repetition of phrases or even whole sentences, as the following examples show:

- What does the fruit of this tree look like? > E com'è questo frutto che fa l'albero? *Mi spieghi il frutto. Mi spieghi che tipo di frutto è, troveremo la parola. A cosa assomiglia?*
- Any questions? > Domande? *Volete chiedere qualcosa all'infermiera?*
- OK. It has been organised. OK. > Hanno organizzato già. *È tutto apposto. Hanno già organizzato.*

The most recurrent type of addition, however, was the explanatory one. Unlike lexical substitutions, this procedure consisted in translating a given English word and providing, immediately afterwards, an explanation of its meaning. Here are a few examples:

- Do you have any paranoid thoughts? > Ha dei pensieri paranoidi, *sospettosi?*
- We're going to do a gastroscopy with biopsy. > Faranno una gastroscopia con biopsia, *prendono un pezzettino di tessuto.*
- Then we will take an x-ray of your throat. > Le fanno i raggi, prende una foto, un raggio da questa parte della faccia per vedere la gola.

As for "other additions", i.e. autonomous interventions by the interpreter, they fulfilled one of the following functions:<sup>10</sup> asking for clarification when the interpreter had not fully understood the concept; pointing out that the client had not understood the message although the rendition was correct; alerting the client to a possible missed inference. It is worthy of note that a few instances were also recorded in which the interpreter spoke in the professional's stead, by supplying the required information to the patient.

The few occurrences classified as omissions were mostly aimed at simplifying the doctor's utterance by leaving out technical elements, which could be inferred from the context; for instance, the statement "You had a gastroscopy, this test." was translated simply as "Le hanno fatto questo test."

Instances of substitution were even rarer. On the whole, the interpreters did not depart in any noteworthy way from the content of the original messages. When modifications were made, their purpose was to soften remarks by the medical staff which might have alarmed the patient, as in the following case:

- These tablets will help you stop feeling paranoid > Queste pastiglie *l'aiuteranno a stare tranquilla.*

### 6.5. Footing

Observation of the interpreters' footing produced interesting findings. The mode of "principal", whereby the interpreter was directly addressed by either the doctor or the patient and gave a straight answer without translating for the other

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<sup>10</sup> These functions correspond to three of the four categories identified by Zimman (1993: 219).

client, was relatively rare. It was recorded in 6 sessions with reference to the translation into Italian and only 2 into English. At the other extreme, the alignment as "reporter", which is how many like to think of the interpreter's function, was also infrequent in both directions, present, as it was, in 7 English-Italian and 2 Italian-English sessions.

The footing of "recapitulator (a)", whilst almost the rule for renditions into English – it featured as the predominant alignment in 27 sessions – was hardly evident in the renditions for the Italian patients (1 session only). In translating for the latter, interpreters tended to adopt the footing of "narrator", that is they used indirect speech although the doctors had addressed their patients directly. This was the prevalent footing in 22 sessions, as against a presence in only 3 sessions when the translation was from Italian into English.

It is worth mentioning that in one session the interpreter tended to associate herself to comments made by the medical staff, by using the first person plural to translate a direct address – utterances such as "I am going to ask you some yes or no questions." were interpreted along the lines of: "Adesso le facciamo delle domande e lei deve rispondere col sì o col no." – thus adopting the alignment described above as "pseudo-co-principal".

#### 6.6. Non-verbal features

While spatial distribution of the participants was mainly dictated by the features of the physical environment and did not yield indicative results, eye contact turned out to be a relevant aspect. The patients' preferred visual orientation was towards the interpreter, whom they clearly saw as a less threatening figure than the representatives of the medical profession.

#### 7. Conclusions

The analysis of the *corpus* has shown that the degree of the interpreter's "power management", entailing an alteration of the interpersonal metafunction in terms of *contact* and *status*, ranged from medium (15 out of 32 sessions) to high (11 sessions), with only 6 sessions where such management was kept at a minimum level.

This resulted from the tendency displayed by the interpreters, in their rendition for the Italian-speaking patient, to use a more emotionally marked intonation than the doctor's, a lower speech rate and a less formal register, and to make additions of an explanatory nature to the original statements. Conversely, translations for the English-speaking professional were characterised by emotional distancing, as signalled by a less marked intonation,

a higher speech rate, a raising of the level of formality and a reduced presence of additions and omissions.

By combining these patterns with the prevailing footings, it is possible to make an educated guess about the interlocutors' mutual perceptions, as projected by the interpreter. On the one hand, taking on the role of "narrator", the latter signals to the patient a separation between her identity and the doctor's, thereby achieving a double goal: maintaining the professional's authority, and at the same time, showing the interpreter's more sympathetic, caring and "involved" attitude. On the other hand, in her role as "recapitulator (a)", the interpreter merges her identity with that of the patient through the use of direct speech, so that the alterations she makes to the original utterances result in the raising of the patient's *status* as perceived by the health care practitioner.

A comparison between these findings and the opinions expressed by the interpreters in post-session interviews sheds light on their awareness – or lack of it – of such a role. There were two prevailing stances among interviewees. Some interpreters said that the main goal of their activity was to facilitate communication by whatever means, and accepted that this might entail deviations from the theory of invisibility and impartiality. One of the most recurrent comments to this effect was the following: "If, at the end of an assignment, I perceive that my two clients did not really understand each other, then I take this to mean that I did not do my job, although I might have stuck to the rules". The opposite view was expressed by those interpreters who consider themselves "linguistic mediators" and firmly reject the role of "social workers". In practice, however, the behaviour displayed by the latter did not diverge substantially from that observed in their differently minded colleagues. One example should suffice. During the interview, the interpreter referred to as Ilaria unhesitantly stated that renditions must be as close as possible to the preceding original, that paraphrase, additions and, even more importantly, autonomous interventions should be avoided or kept to a minimum. Yet, during her assignment she was frequently observed responding on her own initiative, thus switching from translator to principal. Once again Wadensjö's words are illuminating:

The general case exists like an idea, while actual cases take place in reality, and each demands unique efforts from their participants, including the interpreter. (1998: 4)

The interpreters' unique efforts at "re-conciliation", as they were observed in this study, cast a new light on the notion of power, whereby all negative connotations are lost and what is left is the ability to create a "common communicative environment". Awareness and acceptance of the interpreter's "powerful role" might be promoted by making it more transparent to clients.

Paraphrasing Veronica Taylor's "Still invisible, still transparent?" (1995: 9), a possible cue might be: "No longer invisible, yet more transparent."

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## **SIMULTANEOUS CONFERENCE INTERPRETING IN THE TURKISH PRINTED AND ELECTRONIC MEDIA 1988-2003**

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### 1. Introduction

As social entities, professions shape and are shaped by the discourse (i.e. language use) pertaining to that specific field. As in other professions, the identity, image and status of simultaneous conference interpreting (here referred to as SI) are intertwined with the way the profession and the professional are (re)presented in the discourse on SI. For many years, essentialist approaches to language have assumed a one-to-one correspondence between objects and their (re)presentations in language. They have viewed language as a mirror reflection of the world 'out there'. Today, most contemporary approaches to language which come under different names such as social constructivism, critical discourse analysis and sociolinguistics, share the view that language is a construct which is socially conditioned and never a mirror reflection. According to Critical Discourse Analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 1989, 1992, 1995, van Dijk 1987, 1991, 1993; Wodak 1996), whose basic assumptions also guide this paper, 'discourse' is not to be seen as a neutral presentation of the 'real' object or situation but as a social construct (re)presenting the socio-cultural and individual expectations, demands and perspectives with regard to that object. According to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), analysing discourse is a worthwhile activity not because such an effort will help unfold the 'truths' and 'realities' regarding the object at hand but because it will hint at the socio-cultural factors which shape and are shaped by the discourse on the object. In line with the basic tenets of CDA, the focus in this article will be the discourse on SI in the Turkish printed and electronic media from September 1988 to March 2003. The study will attempt to explore when simultaneous interpreters and interpreting become visible in the Turkish media and which aspects of the profession(al) become highlighted by the members of the press and professional interpreters respectively.

### 2. Exploring the (re)presentation of SI in the Turkish media

The materials to be analysed in this article are taken from the press collection of the Turkish Conference Interpreters' Association and the personal archives of some of its members. A total of 48 news items which make direct references to



the profession(al) are included in this survey. Those 48 news items certainly do not cover everything that has been said and written in the Turkish media during the nearly 15-year period analysed here. For one thing, despite its meticulousness, archiving news coverage on SI has not been one of the priorities of the Association and, secondly, as the researcher, I have been unable to ask or access all of the personal archives of its individual members. Therefore, the materials analysed here will not be exhaustive but rather indicative of some of the general trends and attitudes. My analysis of the material at hand will largely focus around the following questions:

1. When do simultaneous conference interpreting and interpreters become visible in the Turkish media? That is to say, when does a discourse on SI occur?
2. Which aspects of the profession(al) are foregrounded by the members of the media?
3. Which aspects of the profession(al) are foregrounded by the professional interpreters?

#### 2.1. When does a discourse on SI occur in the Turkish media?

First of all, it must be mentioned that most of the news on SI in the Turkish media is triggered by an event or development which the media consider as important. Regular references and articles on SI are only to be found in the sectoral periodical *Kongre* which targets conference and fair organizers, travel agencies, hotels, etc. Published since 1996 on a monthly basis, the editor-in-chief of the periodical happens to be a conference interpreter and trainer. *Kongre* provides information about recent and upcoming conferences, rates the quality of the organizations and while doing so also mentions the names of the interpreters who work at these organisations. Moreover, the periodical has a page called 'From the Eyes of an Interpreter' where a professional interpreter/trainer who is also an AIIC member writes about the particularities of working with and working as conference interpreters.

Most of the other and more sporadic references to SI in the Turkish media occur in direct or indirect relation to a discourse-generator. By and large, there seem to be five main generators of discourse on SI in the Turkish media. These are:

1. Big Events; where interpreters play a crucial role.
2. Big Money; which interpreters are assumed to earn.
3. Big Mistakes; which interpreters allegedly make.
4. Personal Fame; which some interpreters acquire either from simultaneous interpreting or from their parallel professions/engagements.
5. Big Career; which some news items present SI to be.

A significant share of the discourse on SI analysed here (34 out of 48 news items) – whether in the form of comments by members of the media or comments by the professional interpreters addressing the media – are *directly* or *indirectly* triggered by one or a combination of these five factors. Since one of the aims of this study is to explore the similarities and differences in the way SI is (re)presented by members of the media and by interpreters to the media, I will analyse the discourse of the two separately.

## 2.2. Which aspects of the profession(al) are foregrounded by the media?

Most references to SI by the media are *directly* triggered by one of the discourse-generators mentioned above. Scanning the news items from 1988 onwards clearly demonstrates that 'Big Events' have been the major prompters of media discourse on SI. 'Big Money' (supposedly) earned by interpreters generated quite a few items of discourse in the late 1980s and early 1990s though it seems to have lost its importance as a discourse-generator since the mid-1990's. To a lesser extent, the 'Big Mistakes' (supposedly) made by interpreters and the 'personal fame' of some interpreters from parallel activities have also turned the eyes of the media to SI. Let us now take a closer look at the discourse of the members of the media and explore which aspects of the profession(al) have become foregrounded in their discourse on SI.

### 2.2.1. Big Events –

Without doubt, the use of SI in big events such as intergovernmental summits, important visits, live coverage of international conflicts and wars has been the main discourse-generator on SI in the printed and electronic media (22 out of a total of 48 news items analysed here refer to SI within the context of a major event). Unfortunately, a significant share of these 'Big Events' which have turned the eyes of the media to SI since 1988 have been wars (9 out of 22 news items).

The live coverage of the Gulf War in 1991 was the first trigger of media attention to SI. Its impact in turning the eyes of the media to SI has been so significant that even the most recent articles continue to underscore the role of the Gulf War in introducing SI to the public opinion:

Let us recall the Gulf War period once again. One of the strongest TV channels of the US is broadcasting live from Baghdad. The broadcast is in English but we watch its direct Turkish version for days. And, as a nation, we get acquainted with new concepts and persons. Desert Fox, Peter Arnett and simultaneous interpreting are the first that come to my mind, for instance. (*Sabah; İş ve Finans Dergisi; 02.03.2003, all translations from Turkish mine*)

Similarly the live coverage of the attacks of September 11, the wars in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and, most recently, the war in Iraq have turned the eyes of the media to the profession(al).<sup>1</sup> Even the media seem to have noticed the force of wars in channelling their attention to SI:

REMEMBERED WITH WAR ... It smells like war again. Ever since the attacks of September 11, foreign officials have been delivering statements and organising conferences. Simultaneous interpreters who convey all these correctly, immediately and in a comprehensible manner have re-entered our lives. (*Milliyet*; 30.09.2001)

Scanning the news items on SI, it becomes apparent that a majority of the references to SI by the media have either concentrated on the difference between professional and non-professional interpreting or on some 'scandalous' aspect with regard to the use or non-use of SI in big events. The difference between professional and non-professional SI has been a major focus of the media discourse on SI because of the rather poor quality of SI on TV channels during the first days of the Gulf War when the TV channels tried to use their in-house staff (reporters, announcers, translators, etc.) as interpreters. Considering the difficulty of interpreting CNN live, the results of these endeavours were quite traumatic and the initial public image of SI was quite negative. As professional simultaneous interpreters gradually took over the task by first offering their services free of charge, the difference in the quality of SI became apparent. Here is how one magazine reported the difference:

As televisions went for the live coverage of war with CNN, the viewers of TRT started suffering anguish and exasperation with announcers who could not catch up translating what was said, who remained silent without uttering a word for minutes, who were incapable of building decent sentences, who were incomprehensible and who interpreted

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1 With the live coverage of the Gulf War and later NATO's intervention in Yugoslavia, some of the larger news channels started recruiting free-lance professionals to interpret the developments round the clock. Following the war in Yugoslavia, two news channels (CNNTurk and NTV) decided to employ simultaneous interpreters. Both use their interpreters regularly and recruit free-lancers for round-the-clock live coverage in times of crisis such as the 9/11 attacks or the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Other channels have also come to realise the importance of SI though this awareness does not always lead to the use of professionals. Interesting enough, the live coverage of wars with SI has become so popular that one channel which was established right before the 9/11 attacks pirated the voices of the interpreters working for other channels and went on the air by superimposing the voice of the interpreters (which were being broadcast by another TV channel) on to the live images from the CNN.

wrongly. With the establishment of a team of simultaneous interpreters, the viewers were relieved from suffering gastritis pains in front of the TV. (*Tempo*; 03-09.02 1991)

Clearly, the failure of the non-professionals to ensure loyalty ("interpreting wrongly"), synchronicity ("failing to catch up") and fluency ("long silences" and "lack of decent sentences") were unacceptable for this reporter. From a reverse perspective, professional interpreters had probably relieved the gastritis pains of the viewers by fulfilling the same criteria. Other members of the media also shared the same view:

This year our TV channels were caught unprepared. They probably could not arrange for 'professional' interpreters. Knowing English well and doing 'simultaneous interpreting' are two separate things. Defne Samyeli and Elif Ilgaz know English well. They tried to do their best to decipher CNN. TRT and NTV did what they should do by matching the voice of a professional who can interpret fluently with the scenes on the screen. (Sina Koloğlu; *Milliyet*; 18.12.1998)

Once again, 'loyalty to the original speech' ("deciphering CNN"), 'fluency' and 'synchronicity' ("matching the voice of a professional who could interpret fluently with the scenes on the screen") were highlighted as the defining features of professionalism and non-professionals were criticised for failing to fulfill these performance criteria.

Similarly, one columnist who observed the interpreters at work in a European Summit expressed his admiration for them for remaining loyal not only to the 'word' but also to the 'letter' of the original speech:

Imagine you are giving a speech at a conference where, by the time you utter your first syllable, your words are interpreted into eight languages all at the same time. Nice and virtuous ladies who smoke fags inside the booths interpret every sentence you say letter by letter into English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch and Greek. (Hadi Uluengin; *Milliyet*; date unspecified)

Members of the media also turned their attention to SI when they perceived a 'scandalous' aspect with regard to the (non-)use of SI in major events. For instance, a famous columnist in a recent article was highly critical of the use of consecutive interpretation with relay (Turkish to English to Italian and vice versa) during the press meeting of the new Prime Minister in Rome:

Whoever organised the press meeting demonstrated how much we deserve Europe (!). The viewers, listeners and allegedly 250 journalists, TV reporters and commentators must have ridiculed the situation saying

"These people say they want to be European but they are not even aware of the existence of simultaneous interpreting". (*Milliyet*; 15.12. 2002)

'Scandalous' news with regard to the non-use of professional SI in 'Big Events' also hit the headlines prior to Italian prosecutor Di Pietro's visit to Turkey and the organisation of the U.N. Habitat Conference in Istanbul:

NO INTERPRETER FOUND FOR DI PIETRO AND HIS WIFE...The fact that Di Pietro is a lawyer and speaks in a southern accent has rendered it impossible to find an interpreter for him. (*Milliyet*; 19.01.1995)

Nobody contacted the interpreters for the Habitat Conference. (*Yeni Yüzyıl*; 06.05.1996)

2.2.2. Big Money – 'Big Money' interpreters were thought to earn was quite a significant discourse-generator in the printed media during the late 1980s before the media turned their attention to other aspects of SI with the live coverage of wars. Between 1989 and 1991, three out of a total of seven news items on SI in the media were about the money interpreters earned. To cite two excerpts:

They interpret in three languages. They earn 250.000 a day. (*Milliyet*; 02.09.1989)

Having interpreters at a conference starts from 8.5 million TL. (*Hürriyet*; day and month unspecified, 1989)

Starting with the live coverage of the Gulf War, the power of 'Big Money' as a main discourse-generator weakened (only one news item out of a total of 41 between 1992-2003 specifically focused on the income of interpreters and two others referred to the income of interpreters as a side issue during interviews with interpreters). One reason behind the decline in the power and frequency of the 'Big Money' discourse could be the shift of attention to other aspects of the profession(al) after the Gulf War. Another reason could be the liberalization of the Turkish economy, which might have rendered the fees of interpreters insignificant compared to other sums of wealth created since the 1980s. Despite a general weakening of the 'Big Money' discourse, the media have never failed to turn the spotlight to the income of the interpreters if they drew 'scandalous' conclusions from the money interpreters earned, such as in the following news item where a conservative daily attacked parliamentarians of the government for wasting public money on SI:

WASTING MONEY ON INTERPRETING. Even though the Turkish Grand National assembly employs numerous interpreters, the Speaker

and various committee members have allegedly brought extra 'interpreting invoices' for their travels abroad. Hundreds of millions of lira is said to have been paid to the interpreters İrfan Köksalan – Member of Parliament from the Motherland Party – employed in his travels abroad. (*Zaman*; 12.12.1996)

2.2.3. Big Mistakes – 'Big Mistakes' interpreters (allegedly) made also shifted the attention of the media to SI (3 news items were specifically about 'Big Mistakes' and 3 others referred to the 'Big Mistakes' as a side issue during interviews with interpreters). In their focus on the 'Big Mistakes', members of the media uncontestedly based their judgements on the possibility of complete 'loyalty to the original word' and presented the news accordingly:

Germany's Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel has referred to the comments of Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz that were misunderstood due to an interpretation error as "unacceptably tactless". In a meeting in Antalya with German and Turkish press members, Mesut Yılmaz, referring to the German Chancellor Kohl, had said "Old friends cannot become enemies". These words, however, were interpreted as "Our old friend Kohl is our new enemy" leading to new tension between the two countries. Kinkel has said "The most recent statements of Mr. Yılmaz on the German-Turkish relations were tactless. Apparently, Mr. Yılmaz is not aware of the harm he is causing to our bilateral relations with his statements". (Ahmet Külahçı; *Hürriyet*; 03.04.1998)

2.2.4. Personal Fame – The personal fame of some interpreters also triggered media attention to SI (10 out of 48 news items). Out of ten, six news items were on a famous actress who also worked as a conference interpreter, two were on a translator/interpreter who had recently received an award for his translations and two were on two experienced interpreters who had been in the business for many years. Such news generally took the form of interviews and therefore allowed the interpreters to express their views on SI (for the analysis of the discourse of the interpreters, see section 2.3.)

2.2.5. Big Career – Last but not least, seven of the news items analysed in this study focused on SI as a profession. The main objective in these news items was to introduce SI as an attractive profession to the public. Here is an example of a rather striking presentation of SI as an 'attractive'(!) career where 'loyalty to the original word' and 'simultaneity of the rendition' were presented as the challenging aspects of SI:

YOUNG GIRLS NO LONGER WANT TO BECOME MODELS. The favorite profession of today is simultaneous interpreting. Simultaneous interpreting has as many challenging aspects as attractive ones. You need to get across every word that leaves the mouth of speakers at conferences (...) Is it easy to bear the responsibility of interpreting the words a speaker utters simultaneously and without making any errors to another language during a very important meeting? (*Milliyet*; 02.09.1989)

As we can see, the discourse of the Turkish media on SI was mainly triggered by certain discourse-generators ('Big Events', 'Big Money', 'Big Mistakes', 'Personal Fame' and 'Big Career'). In their discourse on SI, the members of the media focused on SI in its relation to the specific discourse-generator only. In that sense, the (re)presentation of SI by the news agents such as reporters, columnists, etc., relied on a significant scale of simplification of the task which some scholars working in the field of Media Studies saw as a characteristic feature of newsmaking. As Altheide (1976: 9) argued "the organisation of news for practical reasons encouraged the adaptation of a convoluted way of simplifying events". In a way which simplified the complexity of the event, a significant share of the news items on SI by the members of the media either highlighted the 'scandalous' aspects about the use or non-use of interpreters or pointed to the differences between professional and non-professional interpreting based on the criteria of 'loyalty to the original word', 'fluency' and 'synchronicity'. Especially, 'loyalty to the word' (or even to the 'letter' of the original) was presented as the most distinctive feature of 'professional' interpreting. The prioritization of 'loyalty to the word of the original speech' as the defining feature of professional SI seemed to conform with the views of some Media Studies scholars who argued that the production of news took place within the boundaries established by dominant values (Iyengar and Kinder 1987). Members of the media defined professional vs non-professional interpreting and good vs bad interpreting on the basis of these features and either praised or criticized actual instances of SI according to how much (they believed) such instances fulfilled these criteria.

### 2.3. Which aspects of the profession(al) are foregrounded by the interpreters when addressing the media?

Although both the discourse of the media (i.e., the discourse of the commentators, reporters, columnists, etc.) and the discourse of the interpreters to the media were triggered by the same discourse-generators, there were notable differences in the way they (re)presented and depicted the profession(al). The most striking difference in their depictions was on the issue of 'loyalty'. While members of the media were keen on underscoring the

importance of 'loyalty to the *word* of the original speech' as a defining aspect of SI, professional interpreters who addressed the media were careful to underline the importance of 'loyalty to the *meaning* of the original speech'. Here is an excerpt from an interview where a professional interpreter gave her definition of SI:

Interpreter: Conference interpreting is the exact transfer of an idea voiced in one language to another. I'm saying 'idea' here because conference interpreting and interpreters are not parrots – if I may say so – who only interpret whatever words they hear. (*Stüdyo İstanbul Programı; TRT 2; 25.09.1995*)

Clearly, in contrast to the emphasis on a word-for-word and even letter-by-letter rendition of the original message in the media's (re)presentation of SI, professional interpreters who addressed the media were quite particular about emphasizing the importance of rendering the 'ideas' and 'opinions' in the original speech. Here is another example where a professional interpreter defined SI as "the transfer of ideas and opinions":

Interpreter: Conference interpreting is the maximum transfer of ideas and opinions voiced in one language to another (...) It is about conveying ideas in an intelligible manner in another language. (*Cumhuriyet; 04.09.1989*)

Furthermore, in complete contrast to media's emphasis on 'loyalty to the original word' but also quite different from their own emphasis on 'loyalty to the original meaning', professional conference interpreters also underscored that their task entailed an 'interpretation' of the original message:

Interpreter A: People who interpret bring in their own interpretation, they bring in something of their own both in translation and interpreting. (*Metis Çeviri 1988: 127*)

While some interpreters like the one cited above considered 'interpretation' as inherent to both translation and interpreting, others thought 'interpretation of the original message' was unique to interpreting and acted as a differentiating feature between SI and translation:

Interpreter B: Some colleagues who do a lot of translation complain that written translation actually slows them down. A very good translator is someone who knows the most crucial words but, as we said in the beginning, in oral translation there is *interpretation*. The difference is there in the name of the tasks. (*ibid: italics were pronounced in English by the interpreter interviewed*)



On the other hand one interpreter who is also a famous actress, presented 'interpretation' as an intrinsic part of both acting and interpreting and said "I'm always interpreting whether on the stage or behind the microphone" (*Sabah; İş ve Finans Insert*; 02.03.2003).

Interestingly enough, despite the emphasis they placed on the 'interpretation' involved in interpreting, most professional interpreters were also quite keen to underline that their 'interpretation' of the original message never meant an 'intervention' or a 'deviation' from the meaning in the original. For instance, the same interpreter who suggested that SI always entailed an 'interpretation' also argued that interpreters always accessed and transferred the meanings intended by the original speakers:

Interpreter B: The message has to be conveyed very precisely. You cannot allow even the smallest deviation or the smallest intervention. For instance, you may not agree with the speaker. In fact you may be people who advocate two completely different ideas. However, the only reason for your presence there is that you are an interpreter. You have a mission to fulfil. You are doing *interpretation* but the message must come across exactly. (*Metis Çeviri* 1988: 130-131)

Strikingly, however, although professional interpreters underlined that their 'interpretation' never meant a deviation or intervention from the original message, in their anecdotal accounts, they almost always referred to instances where interpreters had become involved in shaping the message. For instance, two interpreters, who were asked to recount an actual event, told about an interpreting assignment where they had to interpret between a top representative of the Council of Europe and an Uzbek Minister only to realize that the Turkish and Uzbek language (known to be affiliated) had very little in common for untrained ears. As it was too late to complain, the interpreters told the reporter how they had to guess parts of what the Uzbek Minister said underscoring that some of their guesses created puzzled looks on the faces of the two interlocutors (*İçimizdeki Dünya; TRT2*; 02.06.1997).<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these aspects, professional conference interpreters who addressed the media also foregrounded the importance of professionalism and

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2 In fact, there is a popular book on SI written by a professional interpreter which includes numerous anecdotes from her professional experience (Çorakçı-Dişbudak 1991). All of the anecdotes there would be excellent examples of how the interpreters become involved in shaping the delivery in actual instances. However, as with the discourse adopted by interpreters when addressing the media, the author of the book was careful to underline that despite the 'interpretation' involved, simultaneous interpreters worked like 'electronic devices' and never intervened in the original message (*ibid*: 31).

the use of professionals, the qualifications of professional interpreters, work standards, ethical and training requirements. They seemed especially keen on emphasizing that SI required a special talent among many other qualifications:

Interpreter: Only people with special talents can overcome the difficulties of this profession (...) World knowledge, full mastery of the mother tongue, a versatile brain, empathy for other's thoughts, talent to act, stamina, smiling face and patience, physical and psychological fitness, knowledge of actual events, neutrality are needed to become an interpreter. (*Cumhuriyet*; 04.09.1989)

To sum up, professional interpreters gave a more complex (re)presentation of SI to the media. Interpreters' (re)presentation of the profession(al) deviated remarkably from that of the media on two issues. First of all, in contrast with the media's emphasis on absolute loyalty to the *word* and even to the *letter* of the original speech, professional interpreters underlined the predominance of loyalty to the original *meaning* in SI. Secondly, in contrast to the quests for absolute loyalty to the original word, professional interpreters also underscored that their task entailed an 'interpretation' of the original message. By doing so, they hinted at the subjective involvement of the intermediary in shaping the delivery. In fact, the involvement of the interpreter in shaping the delivery became undeniably visible when interpreters were asked to recount specific and hence contextualized instances of SI.

However, in their general and de-contextualised accounts of SI, professional interpreters resumed the more conventional discourse and carefully underscored that their 'interpretation' of the original message always coincided with the meaning in the original and never implied a deviation or intervention.

Similar to the discourse of the members of the media, professional interpreters were keen to underscore the importance of professionalism and emphasize the difference between professional and non-professional SI. They portrayed SI as a special profession which needed to be executed by special people with special talents, skills and training.

### 3. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to present a survey of the news coverage on simultaneous conference interpreters and interpreting in the Turkish electronic and printed media from September 1988 to March 2003. The survey of the material at hand (a total of 48 news items) sought to answer (1) when a discourse on SI occurred in the Turkish media, (2) which aspects about the profession and the professional became foregrounded by the members of the

media, and, (3) which aspects of the profession and the professional became foregrounded by professional interpreters addressing the media.

For the first question on when a discourse on SI occurred in the Turkish media, my analysis specified five main discourse-generators. These five discourse-generators were 'Big Events' (where conference interpreters worked mostly during the live coverage of wars on TV channels), 'Big Money' (which interpreters were thought to earn), 'Big Mistakes' (which interpreters were thought to make), 'Personal Fame' (which some interpreters acquired, usually from parallel engagements) and 'Big Career' (which some news items presented SI to be).

For the second question on which aspects of SI were foregrounded by the members of the media, my analysis suggested that the main focus points of media discourse were the differences between professional and non-professional SI and 'scandalous' aspects with regard to the use or non-use of SI in different contexts. In their discourse on SI, members of the media uncontestedly adopted the conventional and simplistic assumption of an interlingual equivalence between languages and foregrounded 'loyalty to the word (and even 'letter') of the original message' as the most distinctive and differentiating aspect of SI. They also presented 'fluency' and 'synchronicity of the delivery' as significant features of professional SI. When presenting, praising or criticizing SI, members of the media used these criteria, especially 'loyalty to the original word', as their reference point.

For the third question on which aspects of SI were foregrounded by the professional interpreters, my analysis pointed out the difference in the way professional interpreters (re)presented SI to the media. In contrast to the emphasis placed on 'loyalty to the *word* of the original message' by the members of the media, professional interpreters underscored the importance of remaining 'loyal to the *meaning* of the original message'. While highlighting the significance of loyalty to the original meaning, professional interpreters also underlined that their task entailed an 'interpretation' of the original message. In that sense, they suggested some form of an involvement of the interpreters in understanding and shaping the meaning of the original message. The involvement of the interpreters in shaping the delivery became very visible when members of the media asked professional interpreters to recount real-life events. In anecdotal and hence contextualised accounts of real-life events, interpreters almost always referred to the instances where they had become personally involved in shaping the delivery. However, despite the emphasis and anecdotal evidence on the 'interpretation' of the message, in their more general and hence de-contextualised accounts, professional interpreters were careful to underscore that their 'interpretation' of the original meaning always coincided with *the* meaning in the original message and never meant an intervention or a

deviation. In that sense, there seemed to be a willingness on the part of professional conference interpreters to reconcile the implications of *subjectivity* indicated in giving an 'interpretation' of the original message with the *objectified subjectivity* implied in remaining 'loyal to the meaning' and the *absolute objectivity* imposed in remaining 'loyal to the word'.

In closing, even though all instances of discourse analysed in this study seemed to be talking about the same 'object' (i.e., simultaneous conference interpreting), there were marked differences in how the 'object' was (re)presented depending on the identity, position and intentions of the presenter. Was the power of the perspective and socio-cultural context, once again, stronger in shaping our discursive (re)presentations of the world than the 'world' itself?

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