

Language mediation in news making: from simultaneous interpreting to other (hybrid) transfer modes

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Abstract

The present paper aims at exploring the features pertaining to the textuality, usability and functionality of simultaneous interpreting (SI) in the news making and news reporting process. SI will be discussed with focus on the interplay between SI and other language transfer modes (voice-over, subtitling, free commentary/narration, hybrid forms), which may be used as an alternative to SI; synchronically co-exist (on different TV channels) or diachronically follow each other in the coverage of the same event (on the same TV channel). Language mediation will be investigated in the context of Italian television, which often enables viewers to select the interpreter(s) and/or the transfer mode through which they wish to watch a news event. The analysis is based on data drawn from CorIT (Italian Television Interpreting Corpus) (cf. Straniero Sergio 2007; Falbo 2009).

1. Simultaneous interpreting as an embedded transfer mode

The non-narrative television text requires viewing attention and rhythm patterns which are different from those characterizing a narrative type text. As explained by Barbieri (1996: 80-81), unlike television drama, a news programme is driven not by plot development but by the rapid unfolding of a situation. What actually happens (“gli aspetti evenemenziali [event-related aspects]”) is given priority over what has been said or scripted (“gli aspetti enunciazionali [aspects referring to the utterance]”). The logic of “now... this” (Postman 1985) and the mechanism of

“coming up next” (Kaplan 1987) produce discontinuity, fragmentation and brevity, i.e. a rapid succession of situations and topics characterized by a continuous generation of expectations. Scannell (1996: 160) maintains that the structure of news “is designed to routinize eventfulness, to produce it as an everyday phenomenon and thereby historicizing dailiness”. Similarly, according to Marrone (1998: 164-167), the news bulletin systematically reverses the hierarchy between normality and exceptionality, making each single day an exceptional day. The mechanism of this perennial exceptionality (“exceptional normality” or “normal exceptionality”) consists of violating a standard communication rule, whereby in principle each report should be followed by a lead from the studio and each lead should be preceded by a report (the pattern: studio-report-studio-report...). By systematically violating this virtual syntactic rule, attention and tension – or in Marrone’s terminology (1998: 163) “the pathemic style” – are maintained. Clearly SI is the transfer mode that is best suited to the eventfulness and immediacy required in live broadcasting, and in particular to “breaking news”. This process has been dramatically accelerated by transnational satellite news networks such as CNN and Al Jazeera.

A prototypical example of SI of breaking news is *war speeches*, a television-specific text typology in which American, and sometimes British, heads of state announce the beginning of military operations, the technical details of which are further specified by Nato or Department of Defense briefings. Although broadcast live, these short speeches are scripted and tele-prompted:

SPEAKER	WAR	CHANNEL	DATE	SI
Bush	Panama	Tg1	20.12.1989	6'21
Bush	Gulf	Tg1	17.1.1991	12'5
Bush	Gulf	Tg2	17.1.1991	12'5
Bush	Gulf	Tg3	17.1.1991	12'5
Blair	Iraq	Tg1	16.12.1998	5'18
Blair	Iraq	Tg2	16.12.1998	4'58
Clinton	Iraq	Tg1	16.12.1998	11'23
Clinton	Iraq	Tg2	16.12.1998	11'23
Clinton	Kosovo	Tg1	24.3.1999	4'24
Clinton	Kosovo	Tg2	24.3.1999	4'24
Bush	Afghanistan	Tg1	7.10.2001	6'20
Bush	Afghanistan	Tg3	7.10.2001	6'20
Bush	Afghanistan	Tg4	7.10.2001	6'20
Bush	Afghanistan	TgLa7	7.10.2001	4'44
Bush	Iraq	Tg1	19.3.2003	4'
Bush	Iraq	Tg5	19.3.2003	4'

Table 1. War speeches

The performance of the interpreter may correspond to the duration of a special news bulletin. During the first Gulf War (22.2.1991), soon after the opening music, the anchor says that President Bush is making a statement and hands over to the simultaneous interpreter who after 54 seconds is stopped by the anchor who ends the broadcast, informing viewers of a subsequent special news bulletin. During a special TgLa7 news bulletin (4.11.2004) on Yasser Arafat’s worsening health, the

studio debate is interrupted to air Bush's press-conference on Iraq. However, after just 1 minute and 14 seconds, the anchor decides to go back to the Palestinian leader. The interpreter's speech is stopped mid-sentence and the floor is given to Damiano Ficoneri (the correspondent from New York):

Bush	while focusing on our nation's priorities...
Interpreter	... e vogliamo concentrarci sulle ((THE VOICE IS FADED OUT)) ... and we want to focus on
Newscaster	ecco come avete: sentito in questa conferenza dalla Casa Bianca Bush <i>well as you have heard in this press conference from the White House Bush</i> ha presentato quelli che sono un po' i punti principali i cavalli di battaglia <i>has addressed the main points the strong points</i> del suo programma di questo suo secondo mandato (.) Damiano <i>of his programme of his second term (.) Damiano</i>

Table 2. Bush press-conference, TgLa7, 4.11.2004

A typical feature of the SI of foreign TV broadcast news is that it is frequently used to fill in the idle slots between correspondents' reports and the comments made in the studio. On 26th of February 1991, Tg1 aired a speech by Saddam Hussein, alternating short spurts of SI with the newscaster talking to the correspondent from Jordan¹. As a result, there are 6 blocks of SI for a total output of 15 minutes, interspersed by 5 blocks of commentary for a total output of 6 minutes:

simultaneous interpreting	334 sec.
newscaster+correspondent	48
simultaneous interpreting	78
newscaster+correspondent	52
simultaneous interpreting	36
newscaster+correspondent	181
simultaneous interpreting	299
newscaster+correspondent	62
simultaneous interpreting	127
newscaster+correspondent	11
simultaneous interpreting	33

Table 3. Saddam Hussein Radio Broadcast – Tg1, 26.2.1991

On two occasions, the newscaster (N) speaks during the delivery of SI, talking over the interpreter (I) to make a comment on what the Iraqi leader is saying:

I	[...] beh è giunta l'ora oggi di (.) ri- (.) tornare a:: ad un momento= ... well the time has come today to (.) re- (.) turn to:: to a preceding moment =preceden [te (.)]
N	[eccolo qua eccolo qua] [l'annuncio di Hussein] here he is here he is Hussein's announcement
I	[si devono ritirare le forze] da questo paese [...] it is necessary to withdraw the forces from this country [...]

Table 4. Saddam Hussein Radio Broadcast – Tg1, 26.2.1991

1 For the record, on Tg3 the SI was run uninterruptedly for 21 minutes.

A few minutes later, taking advantage of a pause in the interpreter's delivery, the newscaster once again steps in and interjects the following framing comment which overlaps with the beginning of the interpreter's translation:

N	ecco la parte importantissima del discorso di Hus [sein] <i>here comes the very important part of Hussein's speech</i>
I	[per por]re fine alla cospirazione [...] <i>to put and end to the conspiracy [...]</i>

Table 5. Saddam Hussein Radio Broadcast – Tg1, 26.2.1991

Simultaneous interpreting is thus inseparable from journalistic commentary, it is *embedded* in it. As we have seen, the newscaster may directly intervene on the interpreter's talk in order to highlight, supplement or, sometimes, even reformulate the words of the latter². The sequencing pattern described in table 3 above is characteristic of a large number of news events (cf. Table 6),

Soviet Parliament Special Session after the coup d'état (Tg2, 22.8.1991)	Continuous alternation between SI from the Parliament and comments from the newscaster who gives an update on the latest developments in Russia, airing some taped footage.
Defense Secretary Rumsfeld interviewed by CNN (23.3.2003)	After 11'59, the SI is discontinued because the newscaster gives the floor to a colleague in the studio who, sitting at the computer, sight translates news coming from international press agencies. Then the SI of the interview is resumed for a further 6'11.

Table 6. Use of SI in scheduled live media events

including events for which a live off-screen running commentary is provided to the audience:

François Mitterand Funeral (Tg1, 11.1.1996)	The reporter, besides explaining the event to the audience, shares with the interpreter the task of translating parts of the liturgy. At one particular moment he explicitly asks the interpreter to translate a passage which he was commenting.
Funeral of King Hussein of Jordan (Tg3, 8.2.1999)	The reporter speaks repeatedly during the pauses in the SI.

Table 7. Use of SI in scheduled live media events

- For example, the cautious statement made by the Iraqi minister regarding the release of the hostages (including one Italian) taken during the 1991 Gulf War, which was translated faithfully by the interpreter, was reformulated by the *Studio Aperto* journalist hungry for a scoop as meaning "the imminent release of hostages".

Sometimes the event is covered by an on-the-scene reporter:

Nato-Russia summit press-conference (Tg2, 13.9.2000)	The two reporters' comments allow viewers to hear only the answers, not the questions put to the heads of state
Italian Parliament Special Session on FAO Summit (Tg1, 10.7.2002)	Live coverage is repeatedly interrupted to make way for archive footage and recorded interviews. Instead of letting viewers hear the SI of the parliamentary session, the reporter summarizes the speakers.

Table 8. Use of SI in scheduled live media events

A further option is that the event is covered by a journalist sitting in the studio together with some guests:

Gorbachev's speech for the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution (Tg2, 2.11.1987)	The newscaster invites his guests to comment on Gorbachev's words while his speech is still going on. The interpreters' voices are muted, but they continue to translate (they are visible in a booth in the background of the studio). All of the sudden the newscaster gives back the floor to them.
Mother Theresa's Funeral (13.9.1997)	Continuous alternation between SI and interviews with guests in the studio.
US Elections (Tmc, 7.11.2000)	Continuous alternation between SI snippets from CNN news and the debate with numerous guests in the studio.
U.N. Security Council on Iraq (Tg2 and TgLa7, 7.3.2003)	Security Council members take the floor one after the other. Both channels decide which speeches to listen to. For example, the Tg2 newscaster, after a few seconds, interrupts the SI of the French foreigner minister, stating that "the stance taken by France is already known, so we can go back to our debate".

Table 9. Use of SI in scheduled live media events

The same type of sequencing may also be adopted for pre-recorded events. In the afternoon of 10 October 2004, La7 devotes a special 40-minute news broadcast to the second Bush/Kerry debate, originally aired the night before³. The newscaster comments on the event with the correspondent from New York, and their exchange is interspersed with three excerpts from the debate (lasting a total of 27 minutes), featuring four themes (international affairs, economics, health and ethical issues). The broadcast makes a combined use of SI (interpreters translate the candidates' answers live) and pre-recorded voice-overs for the questions. Table 10 shows the sequencing of the broadcast:

3 La7 broadcast the whole 90-minute debate live with two interpreters – not the ones used the next day.

newscaster+correspondent	1'11
SI +voice-over	7'10
newscaster+correspondent	3'15
SI+voice-over	10'34
newscaster+correspondent	4'18
SI+voice-over	8'24
newscaster+correspondent	5'02

Table 10. Use of SI in pre-recorded media events

Five days later (15.10.2004), TgLa7 broadcasts four snippets of the third Bush/Kerry debate, ordered, as in the second debate (see table 10 above), not as they occurred but as a function of the studio discussion. The broadcast lasts one hour, half devoted to SI, and half to the interaction between the presenter, TgLa7 foreign news editor and the two reporters in New York.

debate (studio+correspondents)	5'
simultaneous interpreting	9'57
debate (studio+correspondents)	3'51
simultaneous interpreting	8'11
debate (studio+correspondents)	12"
commercial break	3'44
debate (studio+correspondents)	4'52
simultaneous interpreting	8'39
debate (studio+correspondents)	8'28
simultaneous interpreting	2'39
closing remarks	1'3

Table 11. Use of SI in pre-recorded media events

Coverage of news events is no longer confined to traditional formats such as special reports or special editions of news broadcasts. It is now featured in talk shows and container programmes which, particularly in the case of war coverage, often become an extension of hard news broadcasts, forming an uninterrupted flow of updates in the form of infotainment. During one edition of the late evening discussion show *Porta a porta* (14.9.2001) CNN pictures of President Bush visiting Ground Zero were the background to the studio conversation. From time to time the presenter turned to the videowall and asked the simultaneous interpreter for a translation of the American broadcast. This produced five SI snippets: 14 seconds, 25 seconds, one minute, three minutes 9 seconds and one minute 49 seconds. In an edition of the popular Sunday afternoon container *Domenica in* (16.9.2001) the presenter suddenly activated a link with CNN and the interpreter translated one minute 40 seconds of a press conference being given by Colin Powell.

2. Same event, different interpreter(s)

It is the broadcasters who decide on the number of interpreters required and whether to organise teams on the one-man-one-voice principle (to identify the interpreter's voice with the picture of the speaker) and/or voice matching, which is male interpreters for male speakers and female interpreters for females. Rainews broadcast the three Bush-Kerry debates (1.10.2004, 5.10.2004 and 9.10.2004) and the first Cheney/Edwards debate (6.10.2004) with the 90-minute SI being performed by a single interpreter. On the other channels the number of interpreters handling the same events varied from two to five. These rules of engagement often entail an overload of work for sole interpreters or unbalanced turn-taking if a team is used, and the decisions made in this regard can have an impact on viewing. In the case of a presidential campaign debate translated by one interpreter, the most evident effect is that the discussion comes out as a sort of monologue. And in general terms the number of interpreters and the turn-taking they adopt have been shown to be a relevant factor in the management of the question/answer format (Amato 2002; Dal Fovo 2008).

When a single event is covered with SI by more than one channel, viewers have the chance of choosing which interpreter to listen to. Bill Clinton's deposition before the Grand Jury (21.9.1998) was transmitted by four channels using a total of 10 interpreters, while the SI of the third Bush-Kerry debate (14.10.2004) was covered by 12 interpreters employed by five television channels. Viewers can change channel not only if they are unhappy with the interpreters' performance, but also to follow the event in its entirety, since a broadcaster may decide to air an event only partially or indeed not at all. Thus, the viewers of Tg4 were able to follow only five minutes of Clinton's inauguration speech (20.1.1993), while those of Tg1 got all 14 minutes of it. Tg5 viewers were able to hear only one minute of SI during Kerry's concession speech (3.11.2004) because the programme's editors did not want to disrupt its schedule. Had the viewers switched to La7 they would have been able to hear the whole speech. Only two channels out of four showed the whole of Obama's victory speech:

CHANNEL	SI
Tg1	17'17
Skytg24	17'17
TgLa7	7'28
Tg5	3'02

Table 12. SI of Obama's victory speech, 5.11.2008

3. Same event, different transfer modes

Recourse to SI is just one of the ways in which language transfer is managed. The decision to use one method rather than another is made by broadcasters according to programme strategies, general channel broadcasting policies, TV genres, target audiences and the specific goals that the programme director

wishes to achieve. The use of SI also depends on the willingness to interrupt normal schedules to transmit a special news bulletin. For example, on the afternoon of November 12, 2001, Tg1 was the only news programme to cover the incident of an airplane crashing in Queens, New York, using two interpreters for an SI of the CNN broadcast. Most events, however, are given similar exposure by all channels. What varies is the transfer mode used in the coverage of a single event. For example, on September 9, 2004, Simona Pari and Simona Torretta, two Italian aid workers, were handed over to the Red Cross along with two Iraqis who were held hostage. While Tg1 showed only the footage (without the audio) of the women's release, commenting on it from the studio, TgLa7 aired a SI from Arabic and English of what the people on the scene were actually saying. The speech made by George Bush senior on the invasion of Panama (20.12.1989) was translated in SI only by Tg2 (1.00 pm), while Tg1, aired half an hour later, had its New York correspondent reporting what the President had said. This language mediation function may be accomplished not only *after* but also *during* the delivery of a speech. In these cases, the journalist performs an on-the-spot translation. Thus, on March 23, 2003, at 8.00 p.m., tuning to Tg2 and TgLa7, viewers could listen to the SI of U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's briefing on military operations in Afghanistan, whereas switching to Tg5, they could listen to a mixture of translation and news reporting of the same speech event. In the literature on audiovisual translation, this transfer mode has been defined as *commentary* (Laine 1996), *free commentary* (Luyken *et al.* 1991; Gambier 1994) or *narration* (Pönniö 1995). The goal is not so much to convey the content of the source speech faithfully as to adapt it to the target audience through additions, omissions, clarifications and comments.

In our corpus, journalists typically shift back and forth between speaking in the first person (unsuccessfully attempting to perform a SI) and third person (narration). An example of this hybrid transfer mode is given in the right-hand column of Table 13, where the segments in SMALL CAPS indicate shifts to reported (indirect) speech: "President Clinton goes on explaining now how the Iraqi leader...", "he explains all the difficulties that...", "and so we can conclude that...". The length of the transcript clearly shows (even without back translation) a striking difference from the SI performed by the interpreter (on Tg2) in terms of the amount of the ST information reproduced in the TT.

CLINTON	INTERPRETER (TG2)	JOURNALIST (TG1)
[...] Iraq repeatedly blocked UNSCOM from inspecting suspect sites. For example it shut off access to the headquarters of its ruling party and said it will deny access to the party's other offices even though U.N resolutions make no exception for them and Uscom has inspected them in the past. Iraq repeatedly restricted Unscom's ability to obtain necessary evidence. For example, Iraq obstructed UNSCOM's effort to photograph bombs related to its chemical weapons program. It tried to stop an UNSCOM biological weapons team from videotaping a site and photocopying documents and prevented Iraqi personnel from answering UNSCOM's questions. Prior to the inspection of another site, Iraq actually emptied out the building, removing not just documents but even the furniture and the equipment. Iraq has failed to turn over virtually all the documents requested by the inspectors. Indeed, we know that Iraq ordered the destruction of weapons-related documents in anticipation of an UNSCOM inspection. So Iraq has abused its final chance	[...] l'Iraq ha ripetutamente bloccato gli ispettori gli ha impedito di di ispezionare i siti ad esempio ha chiuso l'accesso al quartier generale di alcuni siti negando l'accesso a tutti gli ispettori anche se le risoluzioni non avevano imposto alcuna eccezione (.) l'Irak ha ripetutamente impedito agli ispettori di trovare le prove di cui avevano bisogno hanno impedito agli ispettori di fotografare e: tutte le bombe che avevano e le armi che avevano a che fare con il loro programma delle armi gli hanno impedito di fare fotocopie di ehm filmare e non hanno risposto a tutte le domande rivolte dagli ispettori (.) una volta ehm gli iracheni hanno addirittura fatto evacuare un intero edificio liberandolo da tutti gli da tutti i documenti da tutti gli ispettori presenti in quel momento e hanno ordinato la distruzione di tutti i documenti proprio in previsione di un arrivo dell'ispezione del: degli ispettori quindi l'Irak diciamo che ha fatto un abuso della sua ultima chance	[...] l'Iraq ha impedito agli ispettori per esempio: vi faccio un esempio: di visita: re i siti sospetti: siti che gli ispettori sospettano ospitano: armi di distruzione di massa (.) IL PRESIDENTE CLINTON CONTINUA ADESSO A SPIEGA: RE IN CHE MO: DO IL: LEADER DELL'IRAQ non ha adempiuto alle sue promesse alle sue ai suoi impegni: nei confronti degli ispettori dell'Onu SPIEGA tutte le difficoltà che ha creato a queste ispezioni: E COSÌ POSSIAMO CONCLUDERE che l'Iraq ha fallito: ha fallito e non ha nessuna chance

Table 13. Clinton's speech, 16.12.1998

A further hybrid transfer mode is the combined use of SI and real-time subtitling for the coverage of the same event by the same broadcaster. The function of this type of subtitles is not to reproduce (either wholly or partially) the original spoken words (as in pre-recorded subtitles), but, rather, to summarize and highlight some of the key passages of the ST, thereby integrating viewers' acoustic input (the interpreter's voice) with a visual input. These captions appear at irregular intervals (out of sync with the original spoken words), and their duration on screen is much longer than that of pre-recorded subtitles.

Rainews is an Italian broadcaster that regularly makes use of this technique, as illustrated in the two tables below which contain the transcript of 2 minutes and 56 seconds of Obama's 45-minute long speech on the Middle East. In particular, table 15 shows the places where subtitles appear on screen during SI.

<p>OBAMA</p> <p>I want to begin by thanking Hillary Clinton, who has traveled so much these last six months that she is approaching a new landmark – one million frequent flyer miles. I count on Hillary every day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries of State in our nation's history. The State Department is a fitting venue to mark a new chapter in American diplomacy. For six months, WE HAVE WITNESSED AN EXTRAORDINARY CHANGE TAKE PLACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST and North Africa. Square by square; town by town; country by country; the people have risen up to demand their basic human rights. Two leaders have stepped aside. More may follow. And though these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that OUR OWN FUTURE IS BOUND TO THIS REGION by the forces of economics and security; history and faith. Today, I would like to talk about this change – the forces that are driving it, and how we can respond in a way that advances our values and strengthens our security. Already, WE HAVE DONE MUCH TO SHIFT OUR FOREIGN POLICY following a decade defined by two costly conflicts. After years of war in Iraq, WE HAVE REMOVED 100,000 AMERICAN TROOPS and ended our combat mission there. IN AFGHANISTAN, WE HAVE BROKEN THE TALIBAN'S MOMENTUM, and this July we will begin to bring our troops home and continue transition to Afghan lead. And after years of war against al Qaeda and its affiliates, we have dealt al Qaeda a huge blow by killing its leader – Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden was no martyr. He was a mass murderer who offered a message of hate – an insistence that Muslims had to take up arms against the West, and that violence against men, women and children was the only path to change. HE REJECTED DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS FOR MUSLIMS in favor of violent extremism; his agenda focused on what he could destroy – not what he could build. Bin Laden and his murderous vision won some adherents.</p>

Table 14. Extract of Obama's speech on the Middle East, 19.5.2011

Interestingly enough, the subtitler creates his captions on the basis of the interpreter's translation (cf. Table 15). For example, the verb *indebolire* ("to weaken") – occurring in the subtitle "we brought soldiers back from Iraq and weakened Talibans" – is exactly the verb used by the interpreter to render Obama's expression "to break the Taliban's momentum" ("we have considerably weakened the Talibans"). The subtitler's dependence on the interpreter manifests itself also in the reproduction of some omissions contained in the SI. It is no coincidence, for example, that the exact number of American troops withdrawn from Iraq (100,000) does not show up in the subtitles. In other cases, the subtitler moves away from both the ST and the SI, making autonomous (even arbitrary) choices. A case in point is the generic reference to "human rights" instead of "individual rights for Muslims". However, setting aside questions of faithfulness to the ST, what is worth noting here is that the interpreter's (oral) text is being used for the production of another (written) text, which performs a secondary, albeit partial and ancillary, language mediation function. Moreover, this type of captions appears to be an intralingual reformulation of the interpreter's version, unlike SI which is an inter-lingual transfer mode.

SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	REAL-TIME SUBTITLES
<p>Voglio iniziare ringraziando Hillary Clinton che ha viaggiato così tanto in questi ultimi sei mesi (.) ed ha viaggiato così tanto che sta ehm raggiungendo un nuovo limite un nuovo record di ehm punti ehm di migliaia accumulate con i suoi viaggi lavoro con lei ogni giorno e credo che sia uno dei migliori segretari di stato nella storia di questo paese (.) questo: (.) questo ministero ha sempre- è un posto opportuno per segnare l'inizio di un nuovo capitolo della storia americana (.) negli ultimi sei mesi CI SONO STATI CAMBIAMENTI STRAORDINARI CHE HANNO AVUTO LUOGO in Medio Oriente e nella regione nordafricana (.) piazza dopo piazza città dopo città ehm paese dopo paese (.) i popoli si sono sollevati per ehm per sconfiggere gli uomini che opprimevano i loro diritti due leader si s- hanno dato le loro dimissioni altri potrebbero prendere la stessa decisione (.) e anche se questi paesi sono forse molto lontani geograficamente da noi sappiamo che IL NOSTRO FUTURO È LEGATO A QUESTA REGIONE (.) a causa e grazie alle forze (.) economiche all'insicurezza e sono lega- siamo legati dalla storia e dal destino (.) oggi voglio (.) parlare di questo cambiamento (.) le forze che stanno guidando questo cambiamento e come possiamo rispondere in un modo che pos- che possa far progredire eh i nostri valori poss rafforzare la nostra sicurezza (.) ABBIAMO GIÀ FATTO MOLTO PER EH CAMBIARE IL: IL FOCUS DELLA NOSTRA POLITICA ESTERA in base ai conflitti che ci sono stati negli ultimi anni (.) dopo la guerra in Iraq ABBIAMO RIPORTATO A CASA MOLTI SOLDATI che si trovavano su quel fronte in Afghanistan abbiamo: eh ABBIAMO: EH INDEBOLITO NOTEVOLMENTE I- EH I TALEBANI e in que- durante l'estate riporteremo a casa molti altri soldati che si trovano su quel fronte (.) dopo anni di guerra contro Al Qaeda e i suoi affiliati abbiamo inferto un colpo fatale a questa organizzazione uccidendo il suo leader ovvero Osama bin Laden (.) bin Laden (.) quello di bin Laden non è stato un omicidio lui invece era un: uno che ha ucciso molte persone che lanciava continuamente messaggi di odio contro l'Occidente istigava alla violenza contro donne uomini bambini è questo era l'unico scopo della sua vita (.) RIFIUTAVA LA DEMOCRAZIA (.) E ANCHE I DIRITTI INDIVIDUALI PER I MUSULMANI mentre invece era a favore della violenza e dell'estremismo e voleva concentrarsi solo su quello che poteva distruggere non su quello che invece avrebbe potuto costruire (.) bin Laden e la sua visione di odio (.) hanno portato molta violenza nel mondo</p>	<p>IN MEDIO ORIENTE CAMBIAMENTI STRAORDINARI <i>(extraordinary changes in the Middle East)</i></p> <p>IL NOSTRO FUTURO È LEGATO AL MEDIO ORIENTE <i>(our future is bound to the Middle East)</i></p> <p>ABBIAMO FATTO MOLTO PER CAMBIARE LA POLITICA ESTERA USA <i>(we have done much to change the U.S. foreign policy)</i></p> <p>ABBIAMO RIPORTATO I SOLDATI DALL'IRAQ E INDEBOLITO TALEBANI <i>(we brought soldiers back from Iraq and weakened Talibans)</i></p> <p>BIN LADEN RIFIUTAVA DEMOCRAZIA E DIRITTI UMANI <i>(Bin Laden rejected democracy and human rights)</i></p>

Table 15. SI + subtitling of Obama's speech on the Middle East, Rainews, 19.5.2011

4. Transfer modes in temporal succession

Headline news is usually re-presented more than once during the day. Broadcasters tend to re-air the same news items in ways that transform an originally unscripted version into a scripted and carefully edited text. Table 16 provides an example of the temporal succession of the transfer modes adopted by Italian broadcasters in reporting the news of the capture of five American soldiers interviewed by Iraqi TV:

CHANNEL	BROADCAST	TRANSFER MODE	DURATION
tgLa7	afternoon	simultaneous interpreting	240 sec.
tg1	afternoon (1st ed.)	Newscaster's commentary	175
tg1	afternoon (2nd ed.)	Reporter's commentary	24
tg3	evening	Reporter's commentary	15
tgLa7	evening	subtitling	228
tg1	evening	voice-over (2 males / 1 female)	54
tg2	evening	subtitling	41
tg1	night	voice-over (1 male)	176

Table 16. American POWs interviewed by Iraqi Television - 23.3.2003

The first channel to report the news was La7, which ran the entire Iraqi footage with SI (from Arabic and English into Italian). It was also the only channel to show shocking pictures of dead American soldiers. Shortly afterwards, Tg1 broadcast footage of the interviews with no translation and with comments provided by the newscaster. The same pictures were re-run in a later afternoon edition with the reporter's voice-over describing the significance of the scenes being presented. The transfer mode changed in the evening news bulletins. Tg3 ran the footage with a comment from the reporting journalist, the 8.00 p.m. edition of Tg1 showed the same pictures with voice-overs performed by three different speakers, whereas La7 and Tg2 opted for subtitles. In a Tg1 special later that evening, the translation was revoiced by a male speaker. Sequentially speaking, SI may (and frequently does) represent a kind of provisional text (produced on the spot) and the next transfer mode(s) is a revised version of it, cleaned from all the "irregularities of expression contingent on the circumstances of utterance" (Widdowson 1983: 51). The interpreter's disfluencies (filled and unfilled pauses), self-repair and hesitations are deleted. In table 17, compare the first afternoon translation (SI) with the final evening translation (subtitles).

ORIGINAL	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	SUBTITLES
Q What's your name? A Sergeant James Reilly Q From any country? (prisoner does not understand) Q From any country. United States? A Yes, United States Q City? A New Jersey Q The age of you? A thirty one Q From any unit in army? A 507 MAINTENANCE	Come ti chiami? Il sergente James Reilly (pausa) Come ti chiami? Sergente James Reilly Da quale paese? Da quale paese vieni? Dagli Stati Uniti sì Dalla città? Il New Jersey Allora xxx trent'un anni xxx Da quale unità? CINQUECENTO SETTE DELL'INGE- MHM: DEL: MHM LA LA: DA QUALE UNITÀ? IO VENGO DALL'UNITÀ (.) DI (.) SOSTEGNO (.) LOGISTICO	Come ti chiami? Sergente James Reilly Da quale paese vieni? Gli Stati Uniti? Sì. Dagli Stati Uniti Quale città? New Jersey Quanti anni hai? 31 Quale unità militare? 507 UNITÀ DI MANUTENZIONE
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	What's your name? Sergeant James Reilly (pause) What's your name? Sergeant James Reilly From which country? From which country are you from? From the United States, yes From the city of? New Jersey Well xxx thirty one xx From which unit? FIVE HUNDRED AND SEVEN OF INGE- MHM OF: MHM THE THE: FROM WHICH UNIT? I COME FROM MAINTENANCE (.) LOGISTICS	What's your name? Sergeant James Reilly Which country are you from? United States? Yes. From United States Which city? New Jersey How old are you? 31 Which military unit? 507 MAINTENANCE UNIT

Table 17. American POWs, 23.3.2003

In comparing SI to voice-over, Kaarina Pönniö (from the Finnish Radio & Television Company) highlights the importance for the speaker to “se familiariser avec le contenu afin d’éviter le parler saccadé si courant aux interprétations simultanées” (Pönniö 1995: 302). SI is thus associated to fragmentary delivery as against the smooth flow of the revoicer. The interpreter appears to be the originator of a draft which is then edited in terms of fluency and style, as well as content. Mistranslations, omissions and generalisations are redressed:

BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
we will show the world that WE WILL PASS THIS TEST	dimostreremo al mondo (.) che saremo in grado (.) di EHM SCOVARE I COLPEVOLI	mostreremo al mondo che PASSEREMO QUESTO ESAME
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	we will show the world (.) that we will be able (.) TO MHM FIND THE GUILTY	we will show the world that WE WILL PASS THIS TEST

Table 18. Bush's statement, 21.9.2001

BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
he is WANTONLY SETTING FIRE to and destroying the oil wells, the OIL TANKS, the export TERMINALS, and other installations of that small country	vuole ehm distruggere le: i poz- I POZZI petrolifere (.) vuole distruggere TUTTE LE INSTALLAZIONI di questo piccolo paese	sta IRRESPONSABILMENTE APPICCANDO IL FUOCO e distruggendo i pozzi petroliferi (.) i SERBATOI DI PETROLIO (.) i TERMINALI e ALTRI IMPIANTI di questo piccolo paese
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	he wants mhm to destroy the: the OIL WELLS (.) he wants to destroy ALL THE INSTALLATIONS of this small country	He is IRRESPONDIBLY SETTING FIRE and destroying oil wells (.) the OIL TANKS (.) TERMINALS and OTHER PLANTS of this small country

Table 19. Bush speech, 22.2.1991

The second revoiced version usually is more complete and accurate. In the excerpt below, of the four items making up the list in the ST, only two are rendered by the interpreter⁴.

4 Lists, together with numbers and proper nouns are typical SI problem-triggers (cf. Meacci 2009).

BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
...that ON THE FACE OF IT appears more reasonable. I say ON THE FACE OF IT because...	...che invece RISULTA più ragionevole (.) DICO RISULTA (.) più ragionevole (.) perché...	...che IN APPARENZA sembrerebbe più ragionevole (.) e DICO IN APPARENZA perché...
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	...which TURNS OUT to be more reasonable (.) I SAY IT TURNS OUT to be (.) more reasonable (.) because...	...che IN APPARENZA sembrerebbe più ragionevole (.) e DICO IN APPARENZA perché...
BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
in view of the Soviet initiative which VERY FRANKLY we appreciate	tenuto conto dell'iniziativa dell'Unione Sovietica che noi apprezziamo	tenuto conto dell'iniziativa sovietica che MOLTO FRANCAMENTE noi apprezziamo
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	regarding the Soviet Union initiative which we appreciate	regarding the Soviet Union initiative which VERY FRANKLY we appreciate
BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
we learned this morning that Saddam has now launched A SCORCHED-EARTH POLICY against Kuwait	abbiamo a-saputo questa mattina che Saddam ha ehm lanciato UNA POLITICA contro il Kuwait	abbiamo appreso stamane che Saddam Hussein STA FACENDO TERRA BRUCIATA del Kuwait
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	we l-learned this morning that Suddam mhm has launched A POLICY against Kuwait	we learned this morning that Saddam Hussein is conducting A SCORCHED-EARTH POLICY in Kuwait

Table 20. Bush speech, 22.2.1991

Inaccurate lexical choices, calques and unmotivated loanwords are replaced with appropriate Italian equivalents:

BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
we must hear publicly and AUTHORITATIVELY his acceptance of these terms. The STATEMENT to be released, as you will see, does just this and informs Saddam Hussein that he risks subjecting the Iraqi people to further HARDSHIP unless...	noi dobbiamo sentire pubblicamente e CON AUTORITÀ la sua accettazione dei termini seguenti (.) e LO STATEMENT deve essere (.) trasmesso (.) egli rischia di ehm sottoporre la popolazione irachena a ulteriore MARTIRIO a meno che...	dobbiamo sentire pubblicamente e CON L'AUTOREVOLEZZA NECESSARIA l'accettazione di questi termini (.) UNA DICHIARAZIONE UFFICIALE come vedrete sarà resa pubblica (.) e farà esattamente questo (.) informerà Saddam Hussein che rischia di sottoporre il popolo iracheno ad ulteriori SACRIFICI a meno che...
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	we must hear publicly and WITH AUTHORITY his acceptance of the following terms (.) and the STATEMENT must be (.) transmitted (.) he risks mhm subjecting the Iraqi population to further martyrdom unless...	we must hear publicly and WITH THE NECESSARY AUTHORITY the acceptance of these terms (.) AN OFFICIAL STATEMENT as you will see will be released (.) and will do just this (.) it will inform Saddam Hussein that he risks subjecting the Iraqi people to further SACRIFICES unless...

Table 21. Bush speech, 22.2.1991

Interpreters tend to produce more than one TT equivalent for the same ST unit in order to improve the quality of their output and/or disguise a translation error. These unnecessary repetitions are deleted in the edited version:

SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
e adesso include tutta una serie di nuove disposizioni (.) che riguardano l'ubicazione: LO SCADENZIARIO IL CALENDARIO	sono ora previste nuove modalità per quanto riguarda TEMPI e luoghi
BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
and now it includes a whole series of new arrangements (.) regarding the site: THE SCHEDULE THE CALENDAR	now new modalities are provided for regarding TIMING and place

Table 22. Ignatenko press-conference, Tg2, 22.2.1991

BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
the resolve of our great nation is being tested	LA DECISIONE E LA DETERMINAZIONE della nostra grande nazione in questo momento è messa alla prova	LA RISOLUTEZZA della nostra grande nazione è sotto esame
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	THE DECISION AND THE RESOLVE of our great nation at this moment is put to the test	THE RESOLVE of our great nation is being tested

Table 23. Bush's statement, 21.9.2001

The voice-over translation often shows a different order of the ST units, with syntactic reshuffling and shifts from coordination to subordination:

SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
l'Iraq è d'accordo PER APPLICARE LA RISOLUZIONE 660 senza indugio (.) e:: senza alcune: condizioni (.) e si prevede IL RITIRO DEL KU- ehm alle posizioni che l'Iraq occupava il due agosto del 1990	l'Iraq accetta di RITIRARSI DAL KUWAIT immediatamente e senza condizioni (.) COME PREVEDE LA RISOLUZIONE DELL'ONU 660 (.) RIPIEGANDO LE SUE TRUPPE alle posizioni antecedenti al due agosto 1990
BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
Iraq agrees TO ENFORCE THE 660 RESOLUTION without delay (.) and:: with no: conditions (.) and we foresee the WITHDRAWL OF KU- mhm to the positions Iraq held the second of August 1990	Iraq agrees TO WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT immediately and unconditionally (.) AS PROVIDED FOR BY THE UN 660 RESOLUTION (.) MOVING BACK ITS TROOPS to the positions before the second of August 2 1990

Table 24. Ignatenko press-conference, Tg2, 22.2.1991

Finally, contextual information (not present in the ST) may be added to facilitate viewers' comprehension:

SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
tutta la giornata di lavoro (.) è:: (.) è stata ehm: (.) si- è stata occupata da questo documento (.) che sono pronto (.) a leggervi (.) ecco: (.) prima di darvi i fatti (.) volevo dirvi che...	oggi tutta la giornata è stata dedicata AI COLLOQUI FRA IL PRESIDENTE GORBACIOV E IL MINISTRO DEGLI ESTERI IRACHENO TAREQ AZIZ (.) ora sono in grado di illustrarvi il documento concordato ma prima voglio dirvi che...
BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
the whole working day (.) was:: (.) was mhm: (.) taken up by this document (.) which I am ready (.) to read out (.) now: (.) before giving you the facts (.) I wanted to tell you that...	Today the whole day was devoted to THE TALKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND THE IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER TAREQ AZIZ (.) now I am able to present the agreed upon document but first I would like to say that...

Table 25. Ignatenko press-conference, Tg2, 22.2.1991

However, not always is the second version an improvement of the first. In the excerpt below, a translation error contained in the SI is reproduced in the speaker's voice-over, despite the interpreter actually replacing the wrong rendition (“no mistake will be made”) with the correct one (“you can rest assured”). Allegedly, self-repair is mistaken as a simple addition:

BUSH	SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING	VOICE-OVER
MAKE NO MISTAKE (.) the United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts	NON VERRANNO COMMESSI ERRORI (.) POTETE STARNE CERTI gli Stati Uniti (.) scoveranno e puniranno i responsabili (.) di queste azioni vili azioni	NON CI SARANNO ERRORI (.) gli Stati Uniti daranno la caccia e puniranno i responsabili di questi atti codardi
	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
	NO MISTAKES WILL BE MADE (.) YOU CAN REST ASSURED the United States (.) will find and punish those responsible (.) for these actions cowardly actions	THERE WILL BE NO MISTAKES (.) the United States will hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts

Table 26. Bush's statement, 21.9.2001

Voice-over has been considered an “exact” and “faithful” translation of the original ST, conveying a feeling of authenticity⁵ (Luyken *et al.* 1991: 80; Pönniö 1995: 304). However, as noted by Franco (2001: 290), this transfer mode “is an important strategic way of reassuring viewers that what they are being told in their own language is what is being said in the original language, although it is known that what they will be listening to is in fact only a representation of the original discourse”.

Table 27 provides an example of the ‘faithfulness’ and ‘completeness’ that may characterize a voice-over translation. The source language segments reproduced in the TT are marked in SMALL CAPITALS.

5 “A common practice is to allow the original sound to be heard for several seconds at the onset of the speech and to have it subsequently reduced so that the translated speech takes over. This contributes to the sense of authenticity in the translation and prevents a degree of mistrust from developing” (Luyken *et al.* 1991: 80).

FITZWATER	VOICE-OVER (TG2)
<p>First, Iraq must BEGIN LARGE-SCALE WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT BY NOON, NEW YORK TIME, SATURDAY, February 23. Iraq must COMPLETE MILITARY WITHDRAWAL FROM KUWAIT IN ONE WEEK. Given the fact that Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait in a matter of hours, anything longer than this from the initiation of the withdrawal would not meet Resolution 660's requirement of immediacy. WITHIN THE FIRST 48 HOURS, IRAQ MUST REMOVE ALL ITS FORCES FROM KUWAIT CITY AND ALLOW FOR THE PROMPT RETURN OF THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF KUWAIT. IT MUST WITHDRAW FROM ALL PREPARED DEFENSES ALONG the Saudi-Kuwait and Saudi-Iraq BORDERS, from Bubiyan and Warbah ISLANDS, and from Kuwait's Rumaylah oil field within the one week specified above. Iraq must RETURN ALL ITS FORCES TO THEIR POSITIONS OF AUGUST 1, in accordance with Resolution 660. In cooperation with the International Red Cross, Iraq must RELEASE ALL PRISONERS OF WAR and third country civilians BEING HELD against their will, AND RETURN THE REMAINS OF KILLED and deceased SERVICEMEN. This action must commence immediately with the initiation of the withdrawal and must be completed WITHIN 48 HOURS. Iraq must REMOVE ALL explosives or BOOBY TRAPS, including those on Kuwaiti oil installations, and designate Iraqi military liaison officers to work with Kuwaiti and other coalition forces on the operational details related to Iraq's withdrawal, to include the provision of all data on the LOCATION and nature OF ANY LAND OR SEA MINES. Iraq must CEASE COMBAT AIRCRAFT FLIGHTS, OVER IRAQ AND KUWAIT, EXCEPT FOR TRANSPORT aircraft carrying troops out of Kuwait, AND ALLOW COALITION AIRCRAFT exclusive control over and USE OF ALL KUWAITI AIR SPACE. It must cease all destructive actions against Kuwaiti citizens and property and release all Kuwaiti detainees. The United States and its coalition partners reiterate that their forces will not attack retreating Iraqi forces; and further, will exercise restraint so long as withdrawal proceeds in accordance with the above guidelines and there are no attacks on other countries. Any breach of these terms will ring an instant and sharp response from coalition forces in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 678. That's the conclusion of our prepared statement. Let me just add a couple of points. First of all, that a copy of this document was provided to Iraqi diplomats here in Washington about noon today. President Bush and Secretary Baker spoke with President Gorbachev for over an hour and 15 minutes this morning to discuss this situation. Secretary Baker spoke with Soviet foreign ministry officials both yesterday and today. And we have consulted with all of our allies and coalition partners last night or this morning. The coalition remains strong and united</p>	<p>inizio su larga scala del ritiro dal Kuwait entro le 12 ora di Washington di domani (.) le 18 italiane (.) conclusione del ritiro entro una settimana (.) sgombero della capitale kuwaitiana (.) rientro delle legittime autorità dell'Emirato (.) rimozione di tutte le forze dalle posizioni difensive predisposte lungo il confine e nelle isole entro le prime 48 ore (.) ritorno di tutte le truppe irachene alle posizioni precedenti l'invasione del 2 agosto entro una settimana (.) immediata liberazione di tutti prigionieri di guerra e di tutti quanti vengono trattenuti (.) restituzione dei resti dei militari alleati uccisi entro 48 ore (.) rimozione di tutte le mine antiuomo (.) segnalazione di tutti i campi minati e delle mine in mare (.) cessazione di tutte le missioni aeree sull'Iraq e sul Kuwait ad eccezione di quelle da trasporto (.) garanzie per il passaggio degli apparecchi alleati su questi territori</p>

Table 27. Fitzwater's statement, 22.2.1991

Sometimes the revoiced version is not simply a (very) summarized rendition of the ST, but can hardly be considered a translation at all. A case in point is the brief statement made by Michael Gorbachev at Moscow airport (21.8.1991) on his return from Crimea, where he had been placed under house arrest. This soundbite was faithfully and adequately rendered live by the simultaneous interpreter on Tg3. The next day, on Tg2, the newscaster read out what, in his words, was a verbatim rendering of “what the Soviet President said”. However, what we have here is a parallel target text which does not correspond to the ST, but makes reference to statements presumably made by President Gorbachev elsewhere and filed by international press agencies. The text is voiced over in synchronisation with the taped footage, showing a close-up of Gorbachev in front of the camera. Notice the use of reporting verbs which serve the purpose of giving ‘authenticity’ to the translation:

GORBACHEV	INTERPRETER (TG3, 21.8.1991)	NEWSCASTER (TG2, 22.8.1991)
Самое главное (.) все что мы сделали (.) после восемьдесят года (.) уже дало свои реальные плоды (.) общество люди наши стали другими (.) и это было главным припятсвием на пути этой авантюры некоторой встали некоторая группа лиц	Beh la cosa più importante (.) tutto quello che abbiamo fatto (.) dall’ottanta cinque in poi (.) ha già dato (.) i suoi primi frutti (.) la società la gente del nostro paese è diventata un’altra (.) e questo (.) e questo era l’ostacolo più (.) grande che si sono trovati davanti questi avventuristi (.) che si erano costituiti in gruppo	GORBACIOV DICHIARA che la mancata riuscita del colpo di stato di destra è stata una vittoria della perestrojka ed è la dimostrazione che i sovietici credono nei loro capi (.) HA DICHIARATO SEMPRE GORBACIOV il quale ha sottolineato che l’eventuale successo dei golpisti avrebbe rappresentato un disastro per l’Unione Sovietica
BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION	BACK TRANSLATION
The most important thing (.) is that what we have done (.) since eighty five (.) has already borne initial real fruit (.) society people have changed (.) and this has been the main barrier to this adventure on which a group of individuals embarked upon	The most important thing (.) is that what we have done (.) since eighty five (.) has already borne initial real fruit (.) society people have changed (.) and this has been the main barrier to this adventure on which a group of individuals embarked upon	GORBACHEV STATES THAT the right-winged failed coup d’etat has been a victory of Perestrojka and shows that the Soviets believe in their leaders (.) AS GORBACHEV STATED he underlined that success would have meant a disaster for the Soviet Union

Table 28. Gorbachev’s statement after release

5. Re-playing and/or re-doing simultaneous interpreting

Being an audiovisual product, SI may be consumed more than once and not only *hic et nunc*; it may either be re-aired as it was originally delivered by the interpreter, or edited and inserted into another text in a different context with a different purpose. For example, at *Studio Aperto*, Bush’s war speech (7.10.2001) was re-aired a few minutes later, no longer with a close-up of the American President

speaking from the Oval Office at the White House, but with footage of the collapse of the Trade World Centre, thereby producing an asynchronous effect between the interpreter's words and the pictures on the screen. As with the case of pre-recorded voice-overs (see table 27 above), the replay of a SI may be partial, that is the result of editing work. Thus, TgLa7 re-aired 2 minutes and 56 seconds skilful collage of the 38-minute SI of Bush's press conference on Iraq (7.3.2003).

Manipulations are also made when television broadcasts interpreter-mediated events taking place outside a TV studio. An emblematic case is the demonstration against apartheid which took place in Rome on 23 December 1985. The interpreter is standing on the podium next to Andrew Masondo from the African National Congress. While the South African leader is speaking, the interpreter turns her back to the audience to take her notes and then she turns back again to deliver her translation. By contrast, in the report of the event broadcast by Tg1, the interpreter's translation is aired as a voice-over accompanying the pictures of Mr. Masondo. Thus, as a result of editing a consecutive interpretation is transformed into an SI, wiping out the physical presence of the interpreter.

There are also cases of "random" editing – the juxtaposition of SI fragments not corresponding to the original speeches. In the evening editions of Telemontecarlo news during the 1991 Gulf War, a number of reports made by CNN's Peter Arnett were cut, spliced and re-run with randomly chosen SI snippets. Put into the media sausage machine, interpreters' texts may become part of other texts, and after a cut-and-paste process single phrases may end up being used as satire in comedy programmes.

In the course of a single broadcast an interpreter may be asked to produce a second SI, as happened during a briefing by Dick Cheney (Tg1, 17.1.1991) shown in Italy at 3 o'clock and 5 o'clock in the morning. Only on television do interpreters have the chance to re-do an SI. In the second Bush-Kerry debate broadcast by La7 on the following day (see table 10 above), the interpreters were the same as those who had translated the debate live during the previous evening's SkyTg24 programme. During the editing stage an interpreter may return to the text to correct or polish an earlier SI at the request of the programme director.

6. Concluding remarks

The extemporaneous (unrehearsed) nature of SI particularly fits with breaking news and the unfolding of events. Emotionally, it is one thing to listen, through the interpreter's voice, to the joy, grief or fear expressed by someone interviewed on TV. It is quite another to listen to the newscaster describing or relating these feelings to the audience, as in the case of the release of the two Italian aid workers (cf. 4) or the American POWs (cf. 5). From this viewpoint, SI represents a lower level of mediation with respect to other transfer modes. Indeed, in free narration or commentary, journalists combine the function of translating (language mediation) with that of explaining what is going on, up to the point that it is often difficult to distinguish between these two activities.

The text produced by the interpreter is a televised text and, as such, is *syncretic* and *polyphonic*, i.e. made up of multiple languages (verbal, iconic, musical, graphic etc.) and multiple voices (the interpreter, the newscaster and/or the correspondent). It is also *discontinuous*, in terms of how it is used both by the audience and broadcasters, and sometimes even *mutilated*, in the sense that it may be abruptly truncated during delivery. Indeed, a large number of interpreter-mediated source-language texts (speeches, statements, press conferences, interviews) are only partially broadcast. Finally, the interpreter's text may be a form of *pre-text* for the broadcaster to develop, manipulate and adjust to the requirements of news making and news reporting.

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