

The Interpreters' Newsletter

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e della Traduzione
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Newsletter

Television Interpreting

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In memoria di Francesco Straniero Sergio (4.3.1959 - 18.7.2011)

Gli studenti che decidevano di seguire il corso di interpretazione di russo presso la Scuola superiore di lingue moderne per interpreti e traduttori di Trieste non lo facevano perché la conoscenza del russo fosse una pressante richiesta di mercato, questo dio onnipotente che da sistema si è già trasformato in ideologia, sceglievano il russo perché c'era Francesco. C'era la sua sensibilità, di uomo, di insegnante e di studioso che rifletteva e faceva riflettere gli studenti, ponendo a se stesso e a loro una semplice domanda: chi sono e cosa ci faccio con cuffie e microfono dentro una cabina? Per Francesco l'interpretazione non è mai stata solo trasmissione di informazioni, semplice comunicazione, per Francesco l'interpretazione era il luogo della consapevolezza. La consapevolezza che a colui che pende dalle tue labbra dall'altra parte del vetro della cabina non comunichi semplicemente qualcosa che qualcuno ha detto in una lingua a lui sconosciuta, bensì un vivere specifico e irripetibile che da quella lingua non può essere disgiunto. Perché una lingua non si parla, ma in essa si vive e il passaggio da una lingua a un'altra è in realtà il difficilissimo, se non impossibile tentativo di coniugare due vite, distanti per loro stessa natura anche quando vissute in un'unica lingua. L'interpretazione è solo uno stadio ulteriore e molto complicato di questo assunto di fondo.

Francesco aveva questa sensibilità, una sensibilità naturale che negli anni aveva trovato conferma nei suoi molti studi. Per questo gli studenti gli volevano bene, perché avevano capito che essere "vocabolari ambulanti", come diceva uno dei suoi più cari amici, imparare la tecnica e i modi per uscire indenni anche dai momenti di difficoltà, era certamente necessario per diventare un buon

professionista, ma non era sufficiente per trasferire nella vita il senso di ciò che si impara.

Francesco è stato tutto ciò che sembrerebbe ovvio per chiunque abbia a che fare con l'insegnamento. Trasmetteva sapere, certamente, ma anche la consapevolezza che esso vale poco, se non è "traducibile" nel nostro vivere quotidiano. I moltissimi studenti che hanno avuto la fortuna di seguire le parole di Francesco forse non lavorano nemmeno con la lingua russa o forse lo fanno solo occasionalmente, ma tutti hanno imparato che ascoltare qualcuno significa in primo luogo tentare di entrare in punta di piedi in un mondo che non è mai del tutto tuo, né potrà esserlo. E quanto più lontano è questo mondo, tanto più esso ha bisogno della nostra umiltà di ascolto e del nostro rispetto.

Grazie Francesco.

Ivan Verć
Coordinatore della Sezione di Slavistica

In Memory of Francesco Straniero Sergio (4.3.1959 - 18.7.2011)

Students at the Trieste Advanced School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators who decided to take the Russian interpreting course did so not because they thought that a knowledge of Russian is a pressing requirement of the market – that all-powerful presence which has transformed itself from a ‘system’ into ideology – but because of Francesco. He possessed the special sensitivity of a man, a teacher and a scholar who made his students reflect by asking them – and himself – a simple question: “Who am I and what am I doing in this booth with a microphone and headset?”. For Francesco, interpreting was never the mere transfer of information or simple communication, for Francesco interpreting was a process of awareness, awareness of not just communicating something said by someone else in an unfamiliar language to those hanging onto his every word beyond the glass pane of the booth, but having to communicate a specific, unique, experience that cannot be divorced from that language. Languages are not just spoken but experienced. The transition from one language to another is indeed an extremely difficult if not impossible attempt to reconcile two realities, distant in their very nature, even when experienced in a single language. Interpreting is only a further very complex stage in this overall assumption.

Francesco possessed a natural gift of sensitivity confirmed over the years in his many scholarly findings. That is why his students adored him, because they realised that in order to become professional interpreters it was absolutely necessary to become “walking dictionaries” (as one of his closest friends once said) and to learn techniques and strategies to emerge from even the most

difficult moments unscathed, but they also realised that it was indeed important though not sufficient to transform into active life the meaning of what they had learnt.

Francesco was all that would seem obvious to anyone in the teaching profession. He certainly transferred knowledge, but also an awareness that knowledge is worth little if not 'translatable' in our daily lives. The many students who had the fortune to follow Francesco's teachings may not even have ended up working with Russian, or maybe they do so only occasionally, but all of them have learnt that listening to someone means first and foremost approaching their world with great delicacy, as it can never be totally possessed. The farther out of reach that world may seem, the more it needs to be listened to with humility and respect.

Thank you Francesco

Ivan Verć
Head of Slavonic Languages Department

Editorial

Francesco Straniero Sergio began to write an Introduction for this issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* several months ago. His intent was to prepare a thorough, exhaustive and critical review of what has been observed and described on Television Interpreting (TI), inserting specific aspects of each contribution to this issue. He was not able to pursue his objective. On the 18th July 2011 Francesco passed away leaving me and all those who loved him and appreciate his work in pain and sorrow.

I committed myself to completing this issue which Francesco and I had started together. My firm commitment would have been in vain had it not been for the effective support and collaboration of all the contributors and peer reviewers. To all these colleagues go my deeply heartfelt thanks.

After months of reflection, and thanks to the suggestion of a dear friend, I decided to publish the notes that Francesco had sketched for the Introduction without making any changes. Notwithstanding our year long collaboration, I did not dare to manipulate his writings. The rough draft of the issues dealt with will not prevent readers guessing the path that Francesco was following towards a thorough review of the literature on TI and which would have led him to expand upon the title he had chosen for his section below.

My contribution, therefore, will be limited to the presentation of the papers of this issue and to the sketch of the connections between TI and corpus-based Interpreting Studies. In carrying out this task of mine, I will draw upon suggestions that Francesco made during long and exciting conversations we devoted to the planning of this issue.

Caterina Falbo

What television can tell us about interpreting
Francesco Straniero Sergio

Television Interpreting (TI) is part of the larger field of Media Interpreting (MI) which also includes radio and newer types of electronic media and transmission such as webcasting and other forms of Remote Interpreting (O'Hagan/Ashworth 2002). A particular form of MI is Simultaneous Film Interpreting (Russo 1997, 2005), which represents an alternative to the mainstream modalities of audiovisual translation, i.e. subtitling and dubbing. Ultimately MI falls under the domain of Audiovisual or Screen Translation (Luyken 1988; Gambier 2003).

Part of TI shares what goes under Dialogue Interpreting (Mason 1999), "a group of activities seen as sharing an overall mode of interaction rather than a particular setting" (Mason 2009: 81). TI embraces different kinds of situations and participation frameworks, ranging from face-to-face communication – with the interpreter actually taking part in the TV programme as a ratified participant – to simultaneous interpreting (SI) of talkshows and media events. Early instances of TI include SI of the moon landing in 1969 (Pinhas 1972; Nishiyama 1988; Kurz 1996, 1997: 195; Straniero Sergio 2007), and the Gulf War in 1991 (Shibahara 2009), which contributed to making the interpreting profession visible to the public at large worldwide. Tsuruta (2003: 30) maintains that it is precisely during the Gulf War that the designation broadcast or media interpreter started to be distinguished from conference interpreter.

In terms of situationality and working conditions, live broadcast SI bears some resemblance with Remote Interpreting, in that the interpreter usually sits in a separate studio (though not always in a soundproof booth) and has no direct view of the speakers, but receives the visual input via a monitor. However, unlike Remote Interpreting, "interpreters would typically travel to the studio where interpretation takes place, although not always to the location of the speaking parties" (O'Hagan / Ashworth 2002: 95). TI is thus a location-dependent form of interpreting which may (and frequently does) take place in a dislocated situationality, where participants do not share the same unity of place, and sometimes, not even that of time, as is in the case of pre-recorded programmes (Falbo 2012a, 2012b). Interpreters have no access to primary speakers who more often than not are unaware that an SI of their speeches is going on somewhere else in the world. The outcome of these speech events is independent of interpreters' performances. Consequently, there is no feedback and hence no "resource enabling interpreters to adjust, remedy or fine-tune their interpretation" (Amato 2002: 271). Outside those situations where a studio audience is present, interpreters can rarely check the effect of what they say on hearers. In a real meeting, participants closely follow the interpreter who is sitting in front of them (or through headphones), so that they can reply, express agreement/disagreement, accept/reject a proposal, vote on a motion, sign an agreement, and so on. Conversely, in TI/MI there is an undifferentiated (invisible) mass with a more passive viewing.

Another constraint concerns speed and delivery. Conference interpreters – in Italy at least – are always given the text of the speeches by heads of state. Therefore, they have at the very least a few minutes to prepare. However, on TV, where politicians who count are more often seen, things are very different. Barring few exceptions (e.g. the Pope's speeches) interpreters

never have the opportunity to see the text. So they have to translate speeches either read or teleprompted at breakneck speed.

Décalage (or ear-voice span) and turn-taking are not always strategies that media interpreters can decide autonomously. One of the main requirements of TI is to finish one's interpretation at the same time as the speaker's, or as close to it as possible, and at times even before the speaker (Viaggio 2001). Interpreters may even be explicitly asked to wait a few more seconds before delivering their translation to let the audience hear the voice of the original speaker (Straniero Sergio 2003).

The conference interpreter usually translates a number of speakers, one after the other, alternating with a booth-mate. Conversely, during a TV programme, when there is more than one foreign speaker (whether physically present or virtual), the norm is "one speaker one interpreter", irrespective of turn length. Moreover, interpreters are usually selected on the basis of the sex of the person/s to be interpreted for the purpose of voice-matching. This may result in an unbalanced workload between interpreters.

Discontinuity and brevity are further important factors influencing the interpreter's work. In war or disaster coverage, SI of foreign TV broadcast news is frequently used intermittently to fill in the idle slots between correspondents' reports and the comments made in the studio. Interpreters translate for a maximum of five minutes, then their voice is faded out by the newscaster who hands over to a correspondent, leads into a report or sight translates news coming from international press agencies. The interpreter's delivery might also be interspersed by the newscaster who stops it to add some narration or to rephrase the interpreter's words (Katan/Straniero Sergio 2003: 142; Darwish 2006: 57).

On television, SI often coexists with other audiovisual translation modalities (narration or free commentary, voiceover and subtitling). It is, for example, quite possible for SI during a programme to be re-edited and subtitled or voiced over by another speaker – and unbeknown to the original interpreter. Sometimes this gives rise to hybrid forms of language mediation which may entail a redefinition of (but also a conflict between) the professional roles and the corresponding norms. This happens when the newscaster/reporter (in a media event) or the host (in a talkshow) takes on the role of the interpreter or when the interpreter is assigned a quasi-journalistic role (Straniero Sergio 1999b; Chiaro 2002; Katan/Straniero Sergio 2003; Jääskeläinen 2003; Cappello 2003; Niemants 2007).

A distinctive feature of TI concerns quality criteria. In *Conference Interpreting*, voice and other related parameters such as intonation, rhythm, fluency and delivery appear to rank the least important aspects affecting quality (Collados Aís 1998). Conversely in TI, where form is preferred over content, these suprasegmental and paralinguistic elements turn out to be of overriding importance (Daly 1985; Kurz 1990; Moreau 1995; Kurz/Pöchhacker 1995; Bros-Brann 1993; Kurz/Bros-Brann 1996; Mizuno 1997; Elsagir 1998; Straniero Sergio 2003, 2007; Katan/Straniero Sergio 2003; Darwish 2006). Interpreters are expected to have good diction and a pleasant lively voice so that listening is comfortable for the audience. Moreover, on TV there seems to be less tolerance of foreign accents and other indications of non-native delivery. An exception to this rule is represented by American newscasters who, as Viaggio

(2001: 30) reports, “will not tolerate an interpreter who does not suffer from the relevant foreign accent”.

Admittedly, interpreters have to adapt to current broadcast standards set by professional speakers; and at least two generations of TV audiences have grown up with the standards offered by the voices of excellent film dubbing actors and TV voiceover professionals. It is these “product norms” (Chesterman 1997) which drive the expectations for similar voice qualities from the interpreter, “whose voice has to be flexible enough to sound like a presenter, a sports reporter or even a deejay, as well as a politician, economist, scientist as well as a whole host of celebrities” (Katan/Straniero Sergio 2003: 138). According to Viaggio (2001: 30), the media interpreter should also have “the cultural sensitivity of the community interpreter, the analytical keenness and background knowledge of the journalist and the rhetorical prowess of the seasoned communicator”.

Visibility and popularity

Television, in general, and talkshows in particular (Straniero Sergio 1999a, 2007; Katan/Straniero Sergio 2001) feature a greater visibility and involvement of the interpreter as compared to other institutional contexts. Being literally in the spotlight, interpreters are expected not just to have the relevant cross cultural communication skills but also exhibit good showmanship. The interpreter is often the object of explicit scrutiny and teasing. Her/his presence (both in the consecutive and the simultaneous modes) is a contextual resource for introducing new topics and vignettes, with ad-libbed sketches often playing on elements of farce, all of which exploit the fact that the interpreted event is ‘live’. Moreover, given the fact that viewers are watching for enjoyment, the interpreter’s performance is often part of the show. Off-stage, the interpreter is exposed to criticism by the mass viewing public. These include not only the (literally) millions of accredited armchair viewers, but also a small number of unaccredited eavesdroppers, colleagues and the other professional interpreters who are likely to assess the quality of the interpreter’s performance.

Indeed, a TV interpreter’s professionalism may well be also judged by the national press, the next day. Thus, for example, in a scathing article published in a respected Italian daily newspaper, *La Stampa*, the day after the funeral of Lady Diana, the author ungraciously demolished the SI of the Earl of Spencer’s eulogy. The performance, according to the author, resembled that of “heavy breathing on a chatline”. On another occasion, another Italian TV critic, reproached the interpreter for having translated President Bush’s expression “I am a liberal” with “Sono un liberale”, rather than leaving the word in English. Other comments may concern the violation of the voice-matching principle (see above) as in the case of the three-hour long SI of Clinton’s Deposition before the Grand Jury in 1998, when the former American President was translated by three women. On the other hand, critics and journalists may also express positive appreciation about interpreters. An emblematic case is that of Olga Fernando (Italy’s most popular Tv interpreter). To quote from the press (*Il Corriere della sera*, *Giornale di Sicilia*): “Ms Fernando has a good word for everybody”, she displays “delicacy”, “profound sensitivity”, “sympathy”, “emotion”, and “does not limit herself to a cold translation”. (Paolo Nosedà, a famous TV interpreter in the 2000s decade)

Since TI gives great visibility and accountability to interpreters, it contributes in shaping not only the public image of interpreters, but, most importantly, the underlying norms (Chesterman 1993; Toury 1995) governing their profession. Indeed, newspaper articles are

“extra-textual sources” (Toury 1995) or “documentary sources” (Dufroux 2007), providing a meta-discursive representation of the interpreter which “does not embody just a neutral description of intrinsic features, but presents a selected and hierarchised set of norms” (Diriker 2004: 25). These norms convert the general values or ideas, shared by a community, into performance instructions which specify what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension (Toury 1995: 55).

Television Interpreting: a multifaceted activity Caterina Falbo

The contributions to this issue on TI can be divided into two groups. The former focuses on analysis of interpreter performance on TV, while the latter deals with working conditions, quality, user expectations, the interpreters’ role(s), visibility and comparison between transfer modes.

Eugenia Dal Fovo gives an account of MA students’ contributions on TI discussed at both the University of Trieste and the University of Bologna at Forlì. MA theses are undoubtedly a valuable instrument to allow research to progress and to identify further developments. Reviewing aspects and methodological approaches applied in MA theses give the author the opportunity of highlighting results and problematic elements. The contribution of MA theses is also one of the aspects dealt with in Franz Pöchhacker’s paper which offers a picture of TI in Austria and outlines the great potential of TI corpora, an issue which will be discussed briefly below. Amalia Amato and Gabriele Mack point out two of the main difficulties interpreters have to face in simultaneous interpreting in television settings such as the Academy Award Ceremony, i.e. proper names and culture-bound references, whose rendition is analysed by applying the categories identified by Cecilia Wadensjö. Modalisation as a device for emphasising or mitigating political discourse is the focus of the paper by Chiara Colucci who analyses simultaneous interpretations of five US presidential debates broadcast by Italian television channels. The fifth paper which concludes the first group of contributions is that of Clara Pignataro. The author investigates how a professional interpreter manages two specific elements of speech production, i.e. prosody and discourse markers, when interpreting Formula One press conference interviews on television.

The second set of contributions starts with the paper by Dörte Andres and Sarah Fünfer who turn their attention to a comparison between interpreting for public television in Germany and for the European cultural channel ARTE, which relies on its own language service. This focus on working conditions also characterises Óscar Jiménez Serrano’s paper. The author suggests “backstage conditions” as a suitable expression to refer to interpreter working conditions on television: a new concept, borrowed from theatre, highlighting “all the elements constraining the interpreter’s work, which mostly belong to the world behind the TV camera”. All these elements have an undeniable influence on TI quality and interpreters’ exposure and visibility. The same train of thought is retrievable in Chikako Tsuruta’s contribution, revealing the Japanese framework of news TI. Flexibility,

linguistic ability and a broad knowledge of current affairs appear to be the essential precondition of broadcast interpreters. Interpreting on television is not always the interpreter's home ground. More often than not, journalists act as an interpreter (cf. *mediazione antagonista*, Straniero Sergio 2007) and interpreters are called upon to suspend their interpreting activity and replace it with updating the audience about the recent developments of an event. This is what Natacha Niemants analyses in her paper focusing on individual types of speech production through a comparison between interpreters acting as interpreters and interpreters acting as journalists in the framework of an Italian morning programme, *Unomattina*, during the Iraq war. In contrast to Niemants' approach, Straniero Sergio goes beyond different speech activities by a single speech producer to depict the coexistence of simultaneous interpreting with other language transfer modes. Broadcasting institutions use voice-over, subtitling and free commentary/narration as a synchronic or diachronic alternative to simultaneous interpreting. Cynthia Jane Kellett and Rita Sala conclude the second part of this issue. Their paper centers on the translation of conflict from speech to Italian Sign Language in news bulletins on Italian television. This last contribution extends to interpreting as a service provided to a social group and constitutes a strong link between television, television interpreting and interpreting as a human right.

From this briefly drafted overview it clearly appears that there are many different threads which can sew together the many aspects dealt with in each contribution. The interplay between television setting constraints – quality standards, broadcast interpreters' prerequisites and interpreters' exposure and visibility – is the background against which analyses of specific aspects of interpreters' performances are carried out. As far as exposure and visibility are concerned, it is worth highlighting that, as Franz Pöchhacker and Óscar Jiménez Serrano put it, TI is the only opportunity for millions of people to get familiar with interpreting. It is easy to imagine the consequent construction of a (television) interpreting/interpreter stereotype.

Thanks to Dörte Andres and Sarah Fünfer's paper, as well as to the contributions by Franz Pöchhacker, Óscar Jiménez Serrano and Chikako Tsuruta, it is possible to trace a picture of TI in Germany, Austria, Spain and Japan respectively, while Eugenia Dal Fovo, Amalia Amato, Gabriele Mack, Chiara Colucci, Clara Pignataro, Francesco Straniero Sergio, Cynthia Jane Kellett and Rita Sala provide an image of Italian TI.

The attention paid to real data is common to all contributions concerning the analyses of interpreted speeches. In particular Eugenia Dal Fovo, Chiara Colucci and Francesco Straniero Sergio draw their data from CorIT (Italian Television Interpreting Corpus), while Óscar Jiménez Serrano plans to create STICor, a Spanish Television Interpreting Corpus. TI and corpus-based Interpreting Studies find in these two corpora – be they already existing or only imagined – their junction point. This very issue is discussed in a recently published volume by Straniero Sergio/Falbo (2012a). The search for classification criteria for CorIT items requires the identification of discrete categories based on specific characteristics of the items making up the corpus (Falbo 2012a, 2012b). Among all the categories, those regarding simultaneous interpreting seem to fit particular

aspects of TI highlighted by several contributors. The distinction between *simultaneous interpreting in presentia* (SIP) and *simultaneous interpreting in absentia* (SIA) proves to be essential: in the former case simultaneous interpreting is performed by an interpreter sharing the *hic et nunc* of the unfolding programme and who is necessary in order for primary interlocutors to mutually understand each other; in the latter case simultaneous interpreting is carried out by an interpreter who is simply ‘useless’ for the primary interlocutors but essential for the television audience and professionals introducing and commenting on the foreign broadcast. In this case interpreters do not share the communicative situation co-constructed by the primary interlocutors; very often, at least in Italy, they share the *hic*, except for recorded programmes which are broadcast later on. Ultimately, SIA is the result of the combination of particular context traits with the simultaneous mode and, on the basis of the television settings described in several contributions, seems to be a recurring interpreting mode in Germany, Austria, Spain and Japan.

This is not the place for rehearsing all the reasons which give strength to a corpus-based approach (cf. Setton 2011) nor the methodological issues deriving from such an approach (Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012b). Suffice it to say that studying TI through corpora is a further step towards new interrogation paradigms, new methodological challenges and, hopefully, more ecologically comparable results.

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Through the CorIT looking-glass and what MA students found there

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Abstract

The present paper is a review of MA theses conducted on data collected in CorIT – Corpus of Television Interpreting (Straniero Sergio 2007, 2012; Falbo 2009, 2012), written by students of the SSLMITs of Trieste and Forlì between the years 2000 and 2011. It provides a snapshot of the number of possible issues to be investigated within the field of Television Interpreting Studies by relying on real-life data, with the aim of taking stock of what has been observed so far, as well as highlighting the great research potential of this branch of studies and the validity of the corpus-based research approach. CorIT MA theses cover a wide range of aspects, such as communication setting/discourse genre, discourse format, native vs. non-native, strategies and errors, interpreter's role and profile, specific interpreting issues and potentially problematic elements, interactional and pragmatic aspects.

Introduction

*The King:
Begin at the beginning and go on till you come to the end: then stop.*

This paper gives an account of a series of studies on television interpreting conducted on data collected in CorIT – Corpus of Television Interpreting (Straniero Sergio 2007, 2012; Falbo 2009, 2012). The studies are all MA theses

written by students of the SSLIMITs of Trieste and Forlì between the years 2000 and 2011.

By providing an account of the broad range of issues investigated within the CorIT project, the present paper aims at highlighting the great potential of research conducted on television interpreting performances, especially from the point of view of data comparability, as it is based on real-life interpreting performances that share one or more discrete features as a result of their belonging to a homogenous set of data (cf. Blanche-Benveniste 2000). CorIT corpora of analysis provide precisely this sort of data set, i.e. “‘high-exposure’ TV interpreting scenario[s]” (cf. Russo 2010). It also aims at proving the validity of the corpus-based approach applied to interpreting studies – CIS (cf. Setton 2011). Indeed, as underlined by Falbo (2012: 178) the creation of CorIT was inspired by the intent of providing “an opportunity to investigate television interpreting, an interpreting sector that is increasingly gaining momentum” and, at the same time, “tackling an issue highlighted by many (Shlesinger 1998), namely overcoming the limitation of single case studies and focusing on more comprehensive analyses”.

CorIT MA theses cover a wide variety of aspects (cf. Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012) pertaining to the communication setting/discourse genre (talkshow, presidential debates, breaking news, press conferences, interviews, special events coverage), discourse format (dialogue vs. monologue), native vs. non-native, strategies and errors (time-lag, false starts, self-repair...), interpreter’s role and profile, specific interpreting issues and potentially problematic elements (CBEs, rhetorical devices, syntax and lexicon, numbers, proper names, lists), interactional aspects (meaning negotiation, turns allocation, non-verbal communication, overlaps and interruptions, question/answer structure), pragmatic aspects (communicative ethos, detachment vs. involvement, discourse markers, face-saving strategies, metadiscourse, mitigation and/or strengthening, politeness, style).

The introductory section (cf. 1) will be dedicated to corpus-based television interpreting (TI) studies, including its research potential and focus, and the relevant methodological framework, with special attention devoted to the latest developments present in literature pertaining to this field. After a brief presentation of CorIT (cf. 2) and its main features (cf. 2.1), the focus will shift to an illustration of results which emerged from the MA-theses analysis (cf. 3) from various perspectives, i.e. IT analysis (cf. 3.1) and the interpreter’s role and impact (cf. 3.2).

1. Corpus-based IT studies

The Caterpillar: What size do you want to be?

Alice: Oh, I’m not particular as to size, only one doesn’t like changing so often, you know.

Almost fifty years have passed since the first interpreting performance on television (cf. Nishiyama 1988). Meanwhile, TI has been an object of countless studies, both as a collateral aspect of the analysis focus or as an object of investigation in its own right. TI studies have so far covered a wide range of features from numerous perspectives, such as the television interpreters’ role and

tasks (cf. Kurz 1991; Bros-Brann 1997; Katan/Straniero Sergio 2001; Mack 2002), quality in television interpreting (cf. Mack 2000) and users' expectations (cf. Kurz/Pöchhacker 1995), event- and setting-related difficulties (cf. Kurz 1993; Viaggio 2001; Straniero Sergio 2007), cognitive perspective in media interpreting in general and TI in particular (cf. Pöchhacker 2007), specific interpreting tendencies and abilities developed within the television environment (cf. Straniero Sergio 2012), possible classification of television interpreting modes (cf. Falbo 2009).

However, only recently the need has been stressed to observe interpreting – and, subsequently, television interpreting – using organized sets of real-life data that go beyond the case-study approach, and whose amount and structure provide for a solid, verifiable basis, on which the analysis may build:

The main reason behind the use of corpora [...] is identifying typical phenomena of translation and interpretation as a whole and on a wide scale, in a more or less overt attempt to confirm or disavow results from 50 years ago, resulting from the analysis of rather limited corpora or case studies. (cf. Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012: 10)

Thanks to the application of this new paradigm, TI is gaining new momentum in terms of relevance within media interpreting studies, as corpus-based studies bear a huge potential of providing for a systematization of outcomes obtained in the last decades of TI research. Moreover, *delimitation* in this area does not imply any sort of *limitation*. Indeed, the careful shaping and definition of this field of analysis results in an expansion – rather than reduction – of the analysis perspectives: what ultimately emerges from the discrete criteria that a collection of data must satisfy in order to be a corpus (cf. Blanche-Benveniste 2000) is the great variety of parameters to be taken into account prior to and during the investigation phases. Such is the case in CorIT, whose design and classification highlight how “television is not merely the situational setting in which the interpretation service is provided: it is also a specific environment, significantly influencing each performance” (cf. Falbo 2012: 155).

2. CorIT

Alice:
*I think I should understand that better, if I had it written down:
but I can't quite follow it as you say it.*

CorIT is an open, multimedia, partially parallel spoken corpus (Falbo 2009: 107). Indeed, it is constantly updated with new recordings of interpreter-mediated television material – *open*; it consists of audio-visual material and transcripts – *multimedia*; it consists of more than 2,700 interpretations (interpreted texts – IT) and some of their original texts (OT) – *partially parallel*; and it is currently being transcribed with the software WinPitch (cf. Martin 2001, 2005), in a way that provides access to CorIT content as a whole, i.e. “making audio and video tracks available simultaneously, as a constant reminder of the multimedia dimension of the text, as opposed to a simple transcript” (cf. Falbo 2012: 175). CorIT ITs consist of various interpretations delivered on Italian television in the last 50 years, from

various foreign languages into Italian, in different interpreting modes (cf. 2.1.1) and within various communication settings, i.e. interaction types (cf. 2.1.2).

2.1 Defining the corpus of analysis: CorIT main features

*The Mock Turtle: What is the use of repeating all that stuff, if you don't explain it as you go on?
It's by far the most confusing thing I ever heard!*

All interpretations (ITs) collected in CorIT were delivered on television within various broadcasts pertaining to different television genres (cf. 3.1.3). These features, i.e. a specific setting – television, and the specific role of at least one of the participants involved – interpreter(s), are ultimately discrete characteristics that render CorIT a homogenous corpus. Such features do not constitute the object of analysis of any CorIT theses, and yet emerge in each one of them as high-impact factors. Indeed, they are the very elements shaping the context in which interpreting performances take place, thereby determining the conditions from which analysed elements (cf. 3) arise. In the next sections, a brief overview of each feature, or macro-factor (Falbo 2012) – *interpreting mode, interaction type and spoken discourse / television genre* – offers a snapshot of the research environment in which MA students conducted their studies.

2.1.1 Interpreting mode¹

Interpreters on television may work in various modes, depending on the broadcast profile (cf. 2.1.3) and interaction type (cf. 2.1.2) they perform in. In this respect, CorIT does not substantially differ from any other interpreting corpus: indeed, here too the traditional distinction between the two main variants identified in literature (cf. Alexieva 1996, 2001; Kurz 2003; Mack 2001; Pöchhacker 1997), i.e. simultaneous and consecutive modes, applies, with simultaneous interpreting (SI) being selected mostly for the interpretation of institutional events (presidential debates, victory speeches, addresses to the nation), link-ups with foreign broadcasting channels (breaking news, briefings, press conferences) and media events (funerals, wedding ceremonies) and consecutive interpreting (CI) being usually selected for face-to-face interactions (talk shows, interviews, press conferences). However, if television is considered as the macro-setting of CorIT ITs, specific sub-settings require an adaptation of the above-mentioned modes to the situation (cf. 3.1.3) they are to be applied to. When interpreting simultaneously, for instance, interpreters may or may not actually ‘take part’ in the event they are translating, i.e. they “may or may not share space (*hic*) and time (*nunc*) with the other participants in the communication event” (cf. Falbo 2012: 163). Talk-show interviews generally require the physical presence of an interpreter either on-screen or off-screen, whose performance is therefore identified as a “simultaneous interpretation *in praesentia* (SIP)” (Falbo 2012: 163). Yet, this is not always the case. Not every television communicative situation

1 For a detailed illustration of CorIT classification criteria, cf. Falbo (2012).

staging some sort of interaction between participants does, in its original form – i.e. OT – necessarily require the presence of an interpreter: broadcasts originally designed and taking place abroad, and then shown on Italian television within an Italian “quoting broadcast” (Falbo 2009: 110-112) are a case in point. So, for instance, American and French presidential debates are broadcast in the US and in France respectively, obviously without any interpretation service. Only subsequently does the Italian broadcaster recruit the interpreter(s’ *équipe*), namely when it comes to broadcasting the above-mentioned events on Italian television. In these cases, interpreters perform a “simultaneous interpretation in absentia (SIA)” (Falbo 2012: 164), as they do not “share the *hic*, nor sometimes the *nunc* (when the broadcast is not live) with the American or French [...] candidates, who do not require any translation to communicate with each other”.

Consecutive mode on television, as already mentioned, is mainly found in face-to-face interactions broadcast live, where interpreters sit next to the guest and translate questions and answers without taking notes. Consecutive mode in CorIT ITs is therefore identified as CIWN, i.e. “consecutive interpreting without notes” (Falbo 2012: 162).

2.1.2 Interaction type

There has been a recent increase of attention regarding the classification of types of interaction. Numerous scholars (Linell 1998, 2005, 2009; Salazar-Orvig 1999; Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2005; Falbo 2007, 2009, 2012) have investigated this subject, reaching almost equivalent conclusions. Illustrating their results and respective positions goes beyond the purpose of the present study. Any observation on this subject will therefore be strictly related to CorIT classification and interrogation. The definitions applied to CorIT items by Falbo (2012: 168) are *dialogue-like interaction*, that “include[s] recordings of press-conferences, debates and interviews”, and *monologue-like interaction*, “which do not allow for any reply – cover declarations of war, inaugural speeches, addresses to the Nation. Both groups include dialogism phenomena, such as sociolinguistic quotes of someone else’s words”. The main difference between the two categories is based on Kerbrat-Orecchioni’s (2005: 17-20) concept of *degré d’interactivité* [degree of interaction], that considers every dialogue-like exchange as interactive, as opposed to monologue-like discourses, which – according to the author – never are².

An interesting case appears in Boccaccio’s (2004) analysis of interpretations delivered during the Cannes Film Festival. In her study Boccaccio specifically focuses on Theo Angelopoulos’ press conference – and the respective ITs – which, despite displaying a typical dialogue format, is subject to a decrease in terms of interaction degree in the target language (TL). Indeed, while the original discourse (i.e. press conference) involves many speakers and follows a turn-taking scheme based on the function of each turn (e.g. question/answer) the interpreted

2 An in-depth illustration of the distinction between monologue- and dialogue-like discourse, i.e. *monologal/dialogal* and *monologique/dialogique* may be found in Falbo (2007, 2009, 2012).

discourse is produced by only two interpreters alternating every 30 minutes, which gives rise to a “monologisation effect” (cf. Straniero Sergio 2007).

2.1.3 Spoken discourse and television genres

Within the monologue- and dialogue-like groups verbal production takes up various forms, with dialogue-like interactions covering debates (e.g. presidential debates in Bassanese 2001), press conferences (e.g. Academy Awards interviews in Zanarini 2001) and interviews (e.g. talk-show interviews in Lentini 2008); and monologue-like discourse being mostly represented by speeches (e.g. Gorbachev’s speech for the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in Bizzocchi 2007) and declarations (e.g. US presidents’ speeches on victory in Gnani 2003) of all sorts.

For the classification of television genres present in CorIT, reference will be made here to Falbo (2012) and Milan’s (2008) MA thesis (cf. footnote 1).

Four television macro-genres may be identified in CorIT, namely information, entertainment – and their combination, i.e. the “infotainment” hybrid genre – fiction and education-culture. Some of their subcategories have been mentioned in the previous paragraphs and include TV news and news coverage, reports, information, entertainment magazines, public service broadcasts, talk shows, analysis features and special news broadcasts. A particular category is made up by media events (cf. Dayan/Katz 1993), namely exceptional events organized by an entity other than television itself – e.g. institutions – that intrude in and interrupt the regular programme schedules. Media events may pertain to the political sphere, such as the coverage of US elections and are identified as *competitions* (cf. Dayan/Katz 1993). They may be exceptional events or celebrations, such as US presidents’ inaugural speeches and are identified as *conquests* (cf. Dayan/Katz 1993). Finally, they may take up the form of public events other than competitions and conquests, like wedding ceremonies or funerals – i.e. *crowning* (cf. Dayan/Katz 1993), such as Lady Diana’s eulogy.

It should be noted that genre classification does not necessarily match the category indicating the topic addressed in a given event. A case in point is the Italian talk show *Che tempo che fa* (cf. Zangoli 2007), in which foreign guests frequently include prominent political personalities: these interviews, despite being political content-wise, pertain to the entertainment genre according to CorIT macro-genre classification.

3. CorIT MA theses³

Doorknob:
Read the directions and directly you will be directed in the right direction.

MA dissertations discussed in the present paper share a non-prescriptive approach to both process- and product-oriented analyses, with the aim of

3 Milan’s (2008) work, carried out within the compilation of her MA dissertation, “Il contributo delle tesi di laurea allo studio dell’interpretazione televisiva” [The

obtaining empirical and data-driven outcomes. Such outcomes should enable the analyst to identify more or less regular features in the interpreters' output within the television setting, allowing him/her to investigate the reasons behind their occurrence (cfr. Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012). However, as clearly formulated by Straniero Sergio/Falbo (2012: 22), "corpora findings may tell us *how* translators translate, but not *why* they translate the way they do. Hence the need to go beyond mere linguistic description and look for cognitive, ethical, social, cultural and even ideological explanations outside translated texts". This is precisely the principle driving the design of CorIT MA theses.

The analysis in CorIT MA theses focuses on two main aspects: analysis of the IT, i.e. interpreter(s)'s rendition/performance, and analysis of the interpreter's role and function. As far as CorIT macro-factors (cf. 2.1) are concerned, they influence the analysis in various ways: they may serve as a frame, within which more punctual aspects are observed, such as in Meacci's (2009) thesis, in which the rendition of individual problem-triggers – proper names, numbers, lists – is observed from the specific perspective of television interpreting; there are cases in which the above-mentioned macro-concepts are the very object of investigation, in terms of their relation to and influence on the overall interpreting performance, as in Simeone (2003), whose intent is to observe the influence of the type of event – Colonel North's court deposition – on the interpreters' work and performance on television. Finally, there are theses in which these macro-concepts constitute the link between investigation and evaluation, as analysis categories are directly derived from them: in Gandino (2007), for instance, the analysis of the ITs of Bill Clinton's court deposition in the Sex Gate proceedings aims at studying IS in real-life working conditions, identifying and evaluating lexical translational choices in terms of plausibility and coherence.

3.1 IT analysis: interpreter's rendition and performance

Alice: Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?

The Cat: That depends a good deal on where you want to get to

Alice: I don't much care where.

The Cat: Then it doesn't much matter which way you go.

Alice: ...so long as I get somewhere.

The Cat: Oh, you're sure to do that, if only you walk long enough

A first example of IT investigation is to be found in the analysis of culture-bound elements, or CBEs (cf. Viezzi 1996). As their very definition suggests, CBEs are strictly related to the source-language (SL) linguistic and cultural system, thus representing potential problem-triggers in the course of the interpreter's activity. CBEs are not only lexical in nature: language in itself is culturally determined, at its primitive stage as well, i.e. the way in which thoughts are formulated and uttered. Indeed, in their traditional form, CBEs refer mainly to the expression of

contribution made by MA theses to the study of television interpreting] provides a detailed list of CorIT MA theses completed between 2000 – 2007 and has provided an extremely useful analysis tool for the present paper.

experiences specific to a given (SL) socio-cultural or language community, which are not shared by the TL community; on the other hand, they may refer to a wider dimension, covering, for instance, geographical names, proper names, or cultural references, i.e. elements that may carry a unique connotative value for a given community in a given culture (cf. Example 1). Di Giovannantonio (2008) focuses precisely on the rendition of CBEs in order to verify the importance of culture and language knowledge for interpreters' training and their influence on IT quality. Di Giovannantonio (2008) draws mainly on Pedersen's (2007) study and distinguishes between transcultural, monocultural and microcultural CBEs to indicate their degree of interpretability – i.e. *transculturality*. On the basis of the identified strategies applied in the analysed ITs, Di Giovannantonio observes that, despite a relatively high-quality level of the overall interpreters' rendition, CBEs are rarely translated in a fashion that allows the TL audience to understand and appreciate them. Indeed, the most frequently applied strategies are omissions and official equivalents, with a general tendency to foreignization directly proportional to the degree of rootedness of a given CBE in the SL culture. This holds true not only for highly connotative formulations, such as official institutional names (Example 1), but also for proper names (Example 2):

ORIGINAL	INTERPRETER 1	INTERPRETER 2
MCCAIN: CONGRESSMAN John Lewis, an American hero [...] And SENATOR Obama, you didn't repudiate those remarks.	INT: (.) il mio COLLEGA John Lewis è una un eroe americano [...] queste menzogne perchè non state eh ripudiate dal mio COLLEGA [my COLLEAGUE John Lewis is a an American hero [...]] these lies why were they not rejected by my COLLEAGUE]	INT: il SENATORE John Lewis un eroe (.) americano [...] e speravo che il SENATORE Obama avesse ripudiato queste affermazioni del (.) MEMBRO DEL CONGRESSO John Lewis [SENATOR John Lewis an American hero [...] and I hoped SENATOR Obama would reject these statements by the MEMBER OF CONGRESS John Lewis]

Example 1. official institutions (omission and official equivalent)

ORIGINAL	INTERPRETER 1	INTERPRETER 2
KERRY: but like NANCY REAGAN and so many other people – you know, I was at forum with MICHAEL J.FOX the other day in NEW HAMPSHIRE, who's suffering from Parkinson	INT: (.) NANCY REAGAN e così tanti altri (.) er appunto hanno preso la parola su questo argomento per quanto riguardava ad esempio il :er la malattia del Parkinson [NANCY REAGAN and so many others indeed have addressed this topic as regards for instance Parkinson's disease]	INT: ho parlato con con l'ex attore MICHAEL J.FOX che voi conoscete che soffre di Parkinson [I spoke with former actor MICHAEL J.FOX whom you know who suffers from Parkinson]

Example 2. proper names (omission)

As a result, the interpreter's role as mediator, i.e. "human link across a cultural frontier" (Chesterman 1993: 74), is *de facto* put into question. The rendition of proper names has been investigated also by Meacci (2009), although with a different aim, namely confirming or disclaiming previous results present in literature. Despite a slight difference in the identification of interpreters' tendencies – which are defined strategies by Di Giovannantonio (2008), whereas Meacci distinguishes between error and strategies – the outcomes of Meacci's analysis seem to confirm Di Giovannantonio's results, i.e. a general tendency to omission and specification of proper names. However, given the purpose of Meacci's study – and the general aim of the present paper – another issue emerging from her findings needs mentioning: despite the great variety of results pertaining to this subject, a contrastive analysis is hardly reliable, as relevant studies greatly differ in terms of analysis parameters and classification criteria. This is one of the main problems of Interpreting Studies, namely the "different ways in which the same findings may be interpreted depending on the variables on which individual researchers choose to focus" (Baker 2004: 167). The creation of interpreting corpora may contribute to tackling this issue by providing an unprecedented "opportunity for productive synergies in view of the much sought-after ecological validity" (cf. Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012: 40), as they may increase the degree of results comparability.

A further culturally relevant aspect pertaining to the cognitive perspective is humour: in her analysis of excerpts from interviews held during the Academy Awards ceremonies in 2000, Zanarini (2001) includes CBEs in the list of laugh-triggers that constitute humour in spoken discourse. Once again, culture-bound references proved extremely problematic in terms of rendition in the TL. In order to verify her hypotheses and results, Zanarini developed two questionnaires, to be completed by a SL and a TL audience respectively. Individuals from both groups had to identify (SL and TL) and evaluate (TL) laugh-triggering passages and their rendition in the TL: 67% of the TL audience found the IT humour passages recognizable and only 47% found them funny⁴.

In Simeone (2003), questionnaires on users' expectations and perception of the IT has a different function: it is used as a tenet by which IT quality is measured, especially in terms of interpreters' ability of mastering and successfully combining different linguistic registers, i.e. court talk and TV talk. Simeone's survey on quality has been conducted on a group representing a close equivalent to a potential audience of the analysed IT and required a precise definition of user-oriented quality criteria. The survey's outcomes highlighted the users' appreciation of the interpreters' performance in terms of register and dialogue format management (turn-taking strategies and elocution speed).

A further investigation into the possible differences between broadcast and non-broadcast events with respect to interpreters' work can be found in Vassallo (2006): in her study on live simultaneous interpretations of French presidential debates, Vassallo looks for specific aspects distinguishing televised communicat-

4 Data pertaining to the answers provided by English mother-tongue interviewees were not included in the statistical analysis carried out with the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and will not, therefore, be discussed in the present paper.

ive events from their non-broadcast equivalent, in order to investigate the influence of the television setting. Vassallo refers to quality in terms of audience perspective exclusively, thus casting a merely cursory glance at information content rendition. Vassallo registers a high incidence of omissions, mostly due to miscomprehension of the OT, or in correspondence of overlaps or excessive time-lag, and underlines the difficulties arising when interpreters have to work *in absentia*.

Pietracaprina (2007) applies a different approach to the evaluation of the IT's rendition of cognitive elements: in her study of interpretations of the 2000 US election night coverage, Pietracaprina gives an account of both linguistic (false starts, self-repair, CBEs, strategies, errors, coherence, cohesion, register) and paralinguistic (prosody, pronunciation, pauses) features through a quantitative analysis. By comparing the results of the three interpreters' *équipes*, Pietracaprina identifies the best performance and rendition, deriving a profile of the ideal IT that can be delivered by IS interpreters on television.

Aspects pertaining to rendition and performance are indeed the most immediate and tangible elements through which quality in interpreting may be measured. Among others, CorIT MA theses focusing on the quality level of ITs concentrate on time-lag (cf. Casalini 2009), linguistic register (cf. Gandino 2007), native vs. non-native (cf. Bizzocchi 2007, Babič 2008), strategies (cf. Zangoli 2007), self repair (cf. Papa 2010) and false starts (cf. De Riva 2003). Despite their differences, these studies share a collateral outcome, both subsequent and parallel to the chosen topic for the analysis: Casalini (2009) notices that time-lag values greatly vary from interpreter to interpreter, thus providing for an indicator of an interpreter's personal style (cf. Straniero Sergio 2012) or at least a constitutive element of his/her profile. The same holds true for Gandino's (2007) study on linguistic register: in his study on the ITs of Clinton's deposition before the Grand Jury, Gandino focuses on lexical choices in the rendition of problematic passages. As far as the cognitive aspect is concerned, the ITs analysis underlined the direct impact of teamwork on the overall quality of an IT, which, in turn, appears to depend mainly on single interpreters' voice, style, register, and telegenicity. These factors typically determine quality of ITs delivered on television, rather than aspects and requirements pertaining to a court interpreting environment. Hence, their value as style indicators, regardless of the topic at hand. The pivotal role played by presentation skills in interpreting emerges also from Bizzocchi's (2007) study on native vs. non native accent: a native accent and an adequate register are often sufficient to reach a high level of quality in the IT, and, ultimately, win users' appreciation. Babič (2008) as well highlights the importance of a native accent to provide for a high-quality presentation level – although the non-native delivery scored higher in the contrastive analysis in terms of completeness of content. However, no substantial difference between native and non-native interpreter's deliveries emerged from Babič's analysis of the error rates, thus suggesting a close relation between IT quality and individual strategic decisions taken under contingent conditions. Native and non-native accents do not appear, therefore, to have a significant influence on the quality of the interpreter's output. Individual strategies have been thoroughly investigated by Zangoli (2007): in her case study on the Italian talk show *Che tempo che fa*, Zangoli focuses on systematic aspects of

talk-show interpreting by tracing a profile of the broadcast official interpreter, Paolo Maria Nosedà. Nosedà's style and strong points are mainly related to his rhetoric ability and telegenicity (e.g. use of strategic pauses and omissions, high register, context recycling in a way that is suitable to the subject matter, context and circumstances). Indeed, the well-nigh absence of false starts and self-repair interventions is crucial to ensure users' appreciation and constitutes a determining factor in outlining an interpreter's profile and stylistic strong points. De Riva (2003) as well observes that context is relatively less influential than interpreters' idiosyncrasies when it comes to identifying an interpreting style. Indeed, the high incidence of false starts and self-repair interventions recorded by De Riva in her analysis of the interpretation of American presidential debates broadcast on television depends mainly on specific interpreters' translational behaviour rather than the communicative event itself.

The investigation of cognitive aspects within CorIT clearly suggests a shift in methodology and data observation: from a mere qualitative IT evaluation, still inevitably marked by the long-standing dominance of the prescription-oriented approach, analysis naturally glides towards a "more neutral (evaluation-free) and description-oriented" approach (cf. Straniero Sergio 2012: 211), which will be discussed in the following section. Within this framework, communicative context does not represent a fixed template, imposing norms and behavioural attitudes to participants – interpreter included; it is rather the lens, through which interactional and translational attitudes are to be understood and evaluated. In this respect, meta-discourse contributions may prove extremely useful, as they constitute one of the extra-textual sources (Toury 1995: 65) that allow the analyst to investigate aspects pertaining not only to "the interpreter's orientation towards the ST (adequacy) or the TT (acceptability)" (Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012: 26) but also to what "[interpreters] are there for" (Marzocchi 2005: 102).

3.2 Interpreter's role and function

The Queen:
Now, here you see, it takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place.
If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that.

Television interpreting implies a higher degree of involvement for interpreters than conference interpreting, both at personal and professional level (cf. Straniero Sergio 2007: 530). Interpreters' visibility is enhanced by the very nature of the communicative setting they work in, due to the ostensive dimension of television (cf. Straniero Sergio 2007: 530). Moreover, their performances are often commented on by the national press the following day (Katan/Straniero Sergio 2003). This invariably leads to the shaping of a television interpreter's profile and, ultimately, the identification of norms⁵ based on the perception of the

5 Toury (1995: 55) defines norms as "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a certain community - as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate - into specific performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to specific situations".

communicative needs of a given setting (cf. Marzocchi 2005). A case in point is Lentini's (2008) MA dissertation on mediated television communication. Lentini asks herself to what extent interpreters' contributions can be described as essential for communication and where the line can be drawn between interpreters' ratified presence and *mal nécessaire*. Through a contrastive analysis of mediated, partially mediated and non-mediated television interviews, Lentini tries to identify specific pragmatic aspects – self-repair, other-completion and reformulation (cf. Schegloff *et al.* 1977), that may serve as indicators of the main differences between mediated and non-mediated discourse⁶, as they are present in any form of spoken interaction. Lentini observes that the most important aspect distinguishing mediated interviews from non-mediated interaction is the interpreters' ability to convey a specific message in a way that is both comprehensible to the TL audience and adequate to the communicative setting and television genre, instead of merely allowing to communicate with each other. The interpreter's presence invariably contributes to the degree of telegenicity of the interview. Hence, the relevance of the identification of interpreting norms and interpreter's role features, in order to enhance television interpreters' awareness as regards their status and tasks, as well as the situational conditions they need to adapt to when operating in the television environment (cf. 3.1).

Equivalent outcomes are obtained by Borgna (2005) in her study on journalist-mediated Formula 1 track-side interviews (cf. Straniero Sergio 2003). In investigating the journalist's role as mediator in terms of applied strategies and adopted techniques, Borgna observes a higher degree of confidence in the journalist-mediator's translational choices as opposed to interpreters' performances. Yet, journalists proved frequently unable to distinguish between mediator and journalist (i.e. reporter)'s role, as their ITs often include comments and additions that have little to do with what the interviewee is actually saying. Similarly, Niemants (2007) illustrates point by point the main differences between journalists and interpreters through a contrastive analysis of CNN link-ups broadcast within the Italian quoting programme *Unomattina*. Link-ups are interpreted by interpreters, commented on by interpreters or summed up and commented on by journalists. Among the indicators of differences in speaking behaviours of the two professional categories are discourse markers (also in Serusi 2010), politeness interventions, turn-allocation and distribution interventions, overlaps and pauses. Niemants notices a great degree of variation in the incidence of these elements, which are patently more frequent in journalists' spoken production than in the interpreters' output. In addition, Borgna (2005) reports that journalists acting as interpreters tend to violate the mediated interview format, i.e. "adjacency trio" (cf. Merlini/Favaron 2005), as the two distinct roles they play, namely interviewer and translator, give them the authority to steer the interview topic – topic management (Straniero Sergio 2007), select the next speaker and take advantage of the translation turn to add new discourse material.

6 Lentini (2008) analyses interviews broadcast on Italian television involving non-Italian guests, and draws a comparison between interpreter-mediated and non-mediated interviews.

The turn-taking system is a crucial component and an extremely telling factor of television interpreters' behaviour in dialogue-like settings, such as talk shows: Beltramone (2010), in her study on interpreters' "face work" (cf. Goffman 1967, 1971; Brown/Levinson 1987) in the Italian talk show *Maurizio Costanzo Show*, notices the significant influence of turn allocation and speaker selection on the quality level of the interpreter's delivery and face-saving interventions.

Turns may also refer exclusively to the IT: such is the case with SIA, when interpreters working in an *équipe* have to translate a dialogue-like form of interaction without sharing the *hic* and *nunc* with the SL interlocutors. In this case, more than in others⁷, interpreters have to be able to start and conclude their translational turn avoiding any possible overlap, as it may prevent the interpreter in charge of the following turn from hearing it properly, and may jeopardize the IT comprehension by the TL audience (cf. Zecchini 2006). Furthermore, irregularities in the *équipe*'s turns allocation may affect the IT as a whole, in terms of topical coherence (cf. Dal Fovo 2012a, 2012b): in her study on the rendition of dialogue-like discourse in the ITs of American presidential debates Dal Fovo (2008) focuses on the interpretation of question / answer (Q/A) exchanges in terms of preservation of topical coherence. Q/A classification and rendition in the IT highlight the importance of teamwork among interpreters working in an *équipe*, in particular as far as turn distribution is concerned.

As opposed to face work and communicative ethos, turn-taking system and Q/A management fall into the socio-cultural category defined as "interactional features" (cf. 3.1). Along with their pragmatic counterparts described in the previous paragraphs, interactional features too may be used to identify the role and tasks of television interpreters. This is the case of Bassanese's (2001) MA thesis on interpretation of American presidential debates broadcast on Italian television. By observing the degree of teamwork among interpreters at procedural (e.g. turn-taking system) and discourse (e.g. textual coherence) level, Bassanese provides an evaluation of interpreters' renditions of the speakers' image and ethos. Bassanese notices that there are substantial differences in the ways interlocutors appear in the OT and in the IT respectively. In particular, candidate Dukakis' attitude (cf. Bush / Dukakis presidential debate, 25.09.1988), extremely determined and convincing in the OT, is negatively affected by the insecure and somewhat unnatural delivery of his interpreter. Similarly, Colucci (2009) observes that a general tendency to mitigation in the interpretation of American presidential debates collected in CorIT (1984-2008) negatively affects the presidential candidates' ethos and image, as interpreters' efforts to level OT hedges greatly reduces the candidates' assertiveness. It should here be noted that television interpreters frequently operate in border-line working conditions, as shown by their widespread resorting to emergency strategies in potentially

7 Clearly, overlaps of interpreting turns should always be avoided. It is, however, of paramount importance that they do not occur in SIA, where interpreters cannot influence the original discourse, as their task is not that of allowing the primary interlocutors – i.e. source-language speakers – to communicate with each other. Primary interlocutors are often not even aware of the interpreters' presence and certainly do not need to wait for the interpreting turns to be over in order to be able to answer or react to what the other speakers say.

problematic passages (cf. Sai 2002). Once again, these outcomes confirm the importance of the television interpreters' awareness of the nature of their task and their ability to perform accordingly, i.e. acquiring a satisfactory level of "comfort", "performing capacity" and "culture" (cf. Katan/Straniero Sergio 2001). Indicators of the interpreter's ability – and factors determining his/her credibility – are, among others, short time-lag, high incidence of automatisms, appropriate – almost idiosyncratic – use of discourse markers, appropriateness repairs and use of intonation, voice and pauses as rhetorical and textual-organization devices. This is what emerges from Serusi's (2010) study on style, identified through the analysis of specific interpreting attitudes and strategies peculiar of one single television interpreter, observed throughout his entire career. Serusi's outcomes confirm the relevant literature, in particular the relation between style improvement, additions or omissions on the one hand, and the "ethics of entertainment" underlying the interpreter's behaviour on the other, as stated by Katan/Straniero Sergio (2001). Further pragmatic devices that – if recurrent – identify the particular style of a given interpreter are phrasal expressions (cf. Colucci 2009), discourse markers (cf. Bettin 2004) and hedges (cf. Colucci 2009). Specifically, Colucci (2009) notices that, despite a general tendency to mitigation, individual displays of rhetoric ability by Bush senior's interpreter significantly improve the former's image, originally insecure and very little incisive. More generally, Colucci, corroborating Di Giovannantonio's (2008) results, points out that modalisation interventions in the IT do not appear to originate from a need to modify the OT; rather, they occur in correspondence with problematic passages and are used as face-saving, time-gaining and/or filling devices. This secondary – and semantically superfluous – function is precisely what turns the above-mentioned pragmatic interventions into useful style indicators.

Interpreters' deliveries and their adequacy and acceptability (cf. Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012) also depend on the degree of success with which interpreters perform face work: in her analysis of French presidential debates and their interpreted versions in terms of *équipe* formation and face work, Gaia (2007) underlines the influence of OT specific features – i.e. high degree of conflict characterizing competitions (cf. Dayan/Katz 1993), such as overlaps, interruptions (interactional factors) and accusations (pragmatic feature), on the level of complexity of the required face work, and ultimately on the interpreters' rendition. Face-work issues are even more evident in mediated dialogue-like interactions (SIP and CIWN), such as talk-show interpreting (cf. Lentini 2008, Zangoli 2007).

4. Concluding remarks

*Alice: I've had nothing yet, so I can't take more.
The Hatter: You mean you can't take less; it's very easy to take more than nothing.*

Aside from aspects pertaining to corpus-linguistics research and digital elaboration of data, which are currently object of research within the on-going classification process of CorIT, and despite their perfectible nature, MA theses provide significant contributions both to CorIT development in particular, and

television interpreting research in general. Indeed, they raise a series of issues that may inspire new studies and trigger further investigations, such as reflections on socio-cultural and ideological aspects of the interpreter profession.

Moreover, CorIT MA theses are a clear evidence of the value of the corpus-approach to Interpreting Studies. CIS cannot yet be considered a fully-fledged branch of Interpreting Studies, mainly due to the lack of comparable sets of data, from which ecologically valid conclusions can be drawn. As highlighted by Straniero Sergio/Falbo (2012), the main issues hampering CIS development lie in the preparation and interrogation phases of spoken corpora. These difficulties, however, do not invalidate the undisputable potential – and urgent need for – corpus-based interpreting research contributions, as they are increasingly being recognized as the only possible approach to interpreting studies able to guarantee the much sought-for rigour this discipline is still lacking. As was the case with television interpreting studies, here too MA theses represent a significant contribution, triggering “a reflection upon problems related to corpus classification and investigation methodology” (cf. Falbo 2012: 178).

As illustrated in the present paper, variables and methods vary greatly, depending on MA students’ choices and preferences. Methodology and outcomes differ from thesis to thesis, both in terms of field of analysis and overall quality, i.e. validity. Aside from any evaluation of MA student contribution results, the very fact that such a variety of issues pertaining to television interpreting could be identified and observed exclusively in one single corpus is ultimate evidence of the huge research potential of the CorIT project.

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Researching TV interpreting: selected studies of US presidential material

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Abstract

This paper presents a selection of empirical studies of television interpreting in the Austrian context. Following an introductory review of the unique features of TV interpreting and the rationale for studying it, the main methodological options, ranging from observational to experimental approaches, are briefly discussed. The paper then reports empirical analyses, several of them conducted in the framework of recent MA theses completed at the University of Vienna under the author's supervision. These examples serve to demonstrate the significant potential of research using corpora of authentic high-exposure interpreting and highlight the great variety of issues to be investigated, which range from the distinction between different target-language varieties to product-oriented analyses of rhetorical devices and to experiments eliciting TV interpreting consumers' preferences and attitudes.

Introduction

Within the field of interpreting studies, the subject of media interpreting has slowly become established as a domain of research. Early contributions to the literature, not least by veteran Austrian media interpreter Ingrid Kurz, date back to the 1980s (e.g. Kurz 1985), mainly describing the special challenges and constraints faced by interpreters working in media settings. Since then, the volume of work in these settings has expanded and become more diverse (e.g.

Kurz 1997). Indeed, what is referred to and investigated under the heading of media interpreting is now characterized by fuzzy boundaries in several respects: to begin with, interpreting in the media has become acknowledged as a specialization in its own right rather than as an aspect of “conference interpreting”. Moreover, as telecommunications technology has advanced, the typical features of media, or broadcast interpreting (such as working from a screen for a “remote” mass audience) have spread to webcast media content and videoconferencing and hence to the “new media” of the 21st century that have come to compete with the early 20th-century medium of television. On a broader level, media interpreting has been seen and studied not only from the perspective of professional interpreting but also as a particular mode of language transfer in the media within the fast-developing field of audiovisual translation (AVT) studies that also includes such innovative approaches as respeaking-based subtitling.

Against this background of new developments in media and mass communication, television interpreting might well be seen as the most “traditional” type of media interpreting. After all, the first widely publicized simultaneously interpreted media events go back to the 1960s (e.g. Nishiyama 1988). The assumption that TV interpreting may not be the locus of exciting new developments holds true to some extent but must be qualified with regard to the increasing diversity of televised content involving interpreters of various kinds. As described by Mack (2002), a major distinction should be made between on-site scenarios that involve interpreters in a studio-based communicative event, with or without the presence of an audience, and simultaneous interpreting of broadcast events occurring in a remote location. In the former case, interpreters may be “on the set”, facing the interactional challenges typical of dialogue interpreting in the short consecutive mode; in the latter, the focus is on simultaneous interpreting (SI), more often than not of speeches with a high level of information density as a result of careful preparation or scripting. It is this type of “high-exposure” TV interpreting scenario that is the subject of the present paper, which will discuss some methodological issues arising from this choice of focus before presenting selected examples of empirical research.

1. TV interpreting as an object of study

As stated by way of introduction, the kind of TV interpreting under study in this paper is nothing new. Nor can it claim to be of overriding importance in terms of the volume of work done in this setting. Compared to the amount of simultaneous interpreting done in international organizations like the EU or UN institutions, TV interpreting assignments would seem marginal from a professional point of view. Admittedly, the practice is more conspicuous and broadly established in some countries, such as Japan, where a special form of previewed news interpreting has emerged (cf. Mizuno in Snelling 1997), or for some broadcasters, such as the Franco-German channel ARTE, but for the most part SI assignments on television are connected with special occasions and limited to only a few language combinations. Why then would one make this practice a focus of empirical research? Aside from the fact that marginal practices

may, by definition, be of great value in exploring the boundary areas of a certain domain of study, I would suggest that the reasons have to do with both the impact of media interpreting and its accessibility, as well as the special challenges it typically holds for the interpreter.

1.1 Exposure

Given the nature of the medium, the performance of a single interpreter can reach thousands, if not millions of viewers and listeners. The quality of a given interpreting performance therefore has a high impact on the audience and is likely to shape public perceptions of interpreting one way or another. Since most members of the general public are familiar with the practice of simultaneous interpreting only or mainly from its use in TV programs, the individual interpreter will project a certain professional image much more so than in other settings, where the number of users is comparatively small. (An interesting exception are the proceedings of the European Parliament, which are made publicly available on the World Wide Web.) This high level of “exposure” felt by the media interpreter was confirmed by Kurz (2002) in a study measuring an interpreter’s stress levels in a live broadcast compared to a conference interpreting assignment. As indicated by her measurements of heart rate and skin conductance (perspiration) levels, even a seasoned professional is likely to experience considerably more stress when working for a mass audience in a live broadcast than during a highly specialized gathering of experts.

While public exposure is thus one of the key challenges in media interpreting, it is greatly exacerbated by the various pressures and constraints typically associated with TV broadcast assignments. As described by Kurz (1990), interpreters may be called at very short notice (as in the case of emergency coverage and press conferences) and need to work at unusual times of day – or night – when events are carried live from different time zones. Poor sound and image quality may be additional inconveniences, but perhaps the crucial challenges in many assignments have to do with the nature of the source speech. Unlike studio-based talk-show scenarios, the speeches delivered at events that are broadcast live from remote locations can be assumed to have special significance. They are, by definition, high-status originals whose content and wording, particularly in the political and diplomatic realm, are carefully chosen and crafted. Consequently, such speeches are likely to be delivered from a script to which TV interpreters in distant locations may not have access, so that aggravations such as a fast delivery and the high level of information density resulting from the syntactic and lexical choices typical of scripted speech are concurrently present. This kind of source material thus exposes the TV interpreter to a high level of objective difficulty with which s/he has to cope in a situation of high public exposure that also stems from the degree of exposure and significance of the original speech.

As evident from this account of a prototypical off-site TV interpreting assignment, the special challenges involved can be met only by interpreters with a correspondingly high level of expertise. Such premier-league interpreters can

be expected to deliver (simultaneous) interpreting at its best, or rather, “as good as it gets”, considering the special challenges mentioned above. This makes TV interpreting particularly valuable as a benchmark in interpreting studies, indicating the level of professional performance that is feasible under a given set of conditions.

1.2 Access

Research on TV interpreting is highly attractive also for another reason that can be related to the notion of public exposure, namely the accessibility of public broadcasting content for the purpose of recording-based analysis. This helps overcome one of the main and most lamented obstacles to corpus-based empirical research, namely access to and scholarly use of authentic performances. This advantage is eroded to some extent by the widespread practice of broadcasting interpreted speeches in voice-over mode in a single audio channel. When the original is only barely audible, source–target comparisons are possible only if an original-language broadcast is available for transcription. The latter is typically the case with speeches by world leaders (often US presidents) that are broadcast by CNN, as in the examples described in this paper. With the crucial problem of access thus resolved, interpreting researchers, also and especially at the level of Master’s theses, can turn to questions of methodology and study design, which will be discussed in more detail below.

2. Methodological issues

Thanks to sources such as the European Parliament and, albeit to a lesser extent, the media broadcasts under consideration, corpus-based studies of simultaneous interpreting have made great strides. Even so, the observational approach to studying authentic interpreting data “from the field” is not the only option available, and survey or experimental strategies, or combinations thereof, can be and have been adopted in studies of interpreting on television.

Based on the three-fold distinction of overall research orientations, or “strategies”, proposed by Robson (1993), research on TV interpreting is usually conceived as “fieldwork”, relying on observational techniques for the analysis of the raw data available in the form of a video recording. Such investigations are often referred to as case studies, but as such they are rather limited in terms of data sources – unless the researcher can actually be present as an observer and/or interviewer at the TV station. An ethnographic approach to TV interpreting is thus uncommon.

So is experimenting, one might think, since broadcast interpreting would be difficult to (re)create in a laboratory setting. And yet, broadcast interpreting lends itself quite well to what can be viewed as natural experimenting. In one of the earliest such studies, Stolz (2000) compared the performances of two highly experienced Austrian interpreters working under comparable conditions from the same (English) source speech. Using data gathered at around the same time,

I analyzed three versions of the 1992 US Presidential Debate interpreted into German (Pöchhhacker 2007), and Amato (2002) studied the team interpreting efforts on the occasion of President Clinton's deposition with the Grand Jury on four Italian TV channels.

Among the variables whose effect can be examined in such studies is the placement of the interpreting team members: turn-taking overlap is common in multi-party events when interpreters are assigned to a given participant and placed in an individual booth; in contrast, overlap is avoided when interpreters sit next to each other. Another key variable is the availability of a script, as in the case of one of the analyses reported below.

Considering the large target population, TV interpreting would also seem to lend itself very well to survey research approaches as used in studies among users of conference interpreting (e.g. Kurz 2002/1993; Moser 1996). Surprisingly little work of this kind has been carried out, however, which may also indicate a lack of interest in such audience studies among TV executives.

Where audiences have been involved in studies on spoken-language TV interpreting (for signed-language interpreting, see e.g. Steiner 1998), the approach has been experimental, with researchers confronting audiences recruited for the purpose with samples of media interpreting to be assessed for various criteria. A well-known example in German-speaking countries is the study by Elsagir (2000), who had 57 respondents to a questionnaire on TV-interpreting-related expectations assess two samples of interpreting in German talkshows. While the study mainly builds on user expectation research in conference interpreting, it also exhibits parallels with what I would call the Granada paradigm, contrasting an audience's generic expectations with responses to an actual interpreting performance. Indeed, the approach pioneered by researchers at the University of Granada (e.g. Collados Aís 2002/1998), who presented their subjects with experimental stimulus material in the form of a video-filmed speech with voice-over SI, is even better suited to TV interpreting research, as it closely approximates authentic reception conditions.

The motivations and methodological choices outlined above are exemplified in the selection of TV interpreting research presented in the following section. I will draw on some of my own work but also report on empirical studies by Master's students who designed and completed their theses under my supervision. Making these research efforts at the University of Vienna more widely available in this manner should be in line with the tradition of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* that has made many an MA thesis written at the University of Trieste and elsewhere a part of the published literature in interpreting studies.

3. Selected topics and findings

The recordings of live broadcasts with simultaneous interpretation that form the basis of the studies reported below were made from Austrian television (ORF) and other German-language broadcasters between 1992 and 2009. All of them involve the presidency of the United States of America and thus interpreting from English into German. The material discussed here includes two presidential debates (1992

and 2008) and the inaugural address of President Barack Obama on January 20, 2009.

The first three sections review analyses of US presidential debates, followed by an audience experiment with two German versions of President Obama's inaugural speech. The latter is investigated further with regard to rhetorical devices and their fate in simultaneous interpretation. The methodological approaches showcased in these studies include computer-linguistic corpus analysis, text-based qualitative comparisons as well as the elicitation of feedback from an experimental audience.

3.1 Idioms

In 1992 I collected a corpus of TV interpreting performances recorded from three German-language broadcasters. The event in question was the first of three televised debates among the three leading candidates in the 1992 US presidential election – George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot. The availability of three sets of English-German simultaneous interpretations by highly professional media interpreters working under comparable conditions allowed for comparative analyses with regard to such problem triggers as high speech rate, proper names and numbers as well as culture-specific items. Even though none of the candidates read from a script, source speech rates were close to 190 words per minute and thus markedly higher than those measured, in syllables per minute, for the corpus of SI at the 1991 Conference of the International Council for Small Business (Pöchhacker 1994).

Under these difficult conditions, interpreters had to cope in particular with source-language expressions that are highly idiomatic and/or specific to American culture. A systematic analysis of the various types of “culture-bound elements” in the 15,800-word source-text corpus, including names of US institutions and policies, person and place names, has been presented elsewhere (Pöchhacker 2007). For further illustration I will mention three items that proved especially difficult. All three were introduced by independent candidate Ross Perot, by far the most unconventional of the three debaters.

Perot's assertion that he was “not playing Lawrence Welk music”, that is, not intending to soften his message about the need for tough political measures, has no counterpart in any of the three German interpretations. In one case it was omitted entirely, and in another it was rendered rather obscurely as “not playing [to] the large world” (*spiele hier nicht äh f der großen Welt*). In the third version, the interpreter similarly obfuscated the speaker's intention, suggesting that he was “not being loudmouthed” (*keine großen Töne spucken*).

In a remark about people with drug money who are in fact too poorly educated to hold down the most menial job, the latter was expressed as “couldn't get a job third shift in a Dairy Queen”. Two of the interpreters omitted this phrase entirely, one of them talking vaguely about people unable to do the job (of solving social problems). The third interpreter came closer to rendering the source-text meaning but spoke about those not *willing* to take on low-level jobs (in a “dairy” rather than the fast-food-style ice cream store Perot was referring to).

More striking still is the way the notion of “bully pulpit”, which was used three times in the debate, was largely lost in the televised translation. It was introduced by Perot in connection with family policy: “And I think you can use the White House as a bully pulpit to stress the importance of these little children.” Luckily for the interpreters, the expression as such was not essential to grasping the meaning of Perot’s statement. One of them made do with “pulpit” and correctly talked about using the White House as a “rostrum” (*Pult*) for “preaching about the importance”; another avoided the image and simply mentioned the “need for the White House to stress the importance...” The third interpreter, in contrast, was evidently non-plussed by the expression and likened the White House to a “cradle” (*als Wiege verwenden*).

When the expression was used again in Perot’s next turn in the debate, that same interpreter changed the image to that of a “cell” from which something could grow (*Keimzelle*) whereas the sense of “bully pulpit” – as a position of authority that gives the officeholder an opportunity to speak up and be listened to – was completely lost in the other two versions. When the expression was taken up by Bush in his response to Perot, the three interpreters assigned to that candidate exhibited different ways of dealing with the notion of “bully pulpit”. One of them succeeded in rendering it as a pulpit (*Kanzel*); in the other two versions the image was omitted.

As indicated by these few examples from the 1992 US Presidential Debate corpus, even the most proficient TV interpreters find it difficult or even impossible to render idiomatic usage in German when source speeches are fast-paced and presumably well rehearsed. A replication of this finding in a different debate corpus would be desirable but has not been carried out to date. Rather, the third debate in the 2008 US presidential elections (Obama vs. McCain) was made the subject of an idiom-oriented analysis of a different kind, as described in the following section.

3.2 Varieties

The 2008 Presidential Debate corpus, compiled by Sandra Märzluft (2010) for her MA thesis, comprised two sets of simultaneous interpretations, recorded from Austria’s public broadcaster ORF as well as the German ARD. The two parallel versions also prompted the basic research question – the extent to which the two sets of interpretations into German pertain to discernibly different varieties of that language as manifested in systematic lexical and syntactic differences. Bearing in mind that the interpreting services of the European Union make no allowance for different national varieties and offer a single German version regardless of nationality, it is clearly of interest to examine the nature and extent of linguistic differences that would justify the production of separate German versions at considerable effort and cost.

The most obvious difference one would expect to see, or rather hear, in the two German versions relates to the sound of the two linguistic varieties. Indeed, the phonetic and phonological analysis carried out by Märzluft (2010) yielded numerous examples that serve to underpin the impression of a different German

“accent” in quantitative linguistic terms. Among the most typical features are contracted forms of such high-frequency function words as indefinite articles, negation particles and verbs. The German indefinite article *ein/e*, for instance, occurs in the corpus over a hundred times; its clipped form (*'ne/n*) is heard 25 times in the ARD version but not a single time in its Austrian counterpart. A similar pattern obtains for the negation particle *nicht*, whose contraction to *nich* is absent from the ORF version but heard nine times in the ARD subcorpus. By the same token, the third-person singular form of the German verb *sein* (*ist*), which is commonly used as an auxiliary verb, is used in the ORF and ARD versions 115 and 124 times, respectively. Whereas the shortened form *is* is pronounced only once by an Austrian interpreter, there are 33 occurrences of it in the ARD subcorpus. Finally, frequent verb forms such as *habe* (the first-person form of German “to have”) and *gesagt* (the past participle of German “to say”) reflect the same pattern of more colloquial usage: the interpreters on ORF use the clipped form *hab* in only two out of a total of 48 cases, whereas ARD interpreters use *hab* nearly as often (24 times) as the standard form *habe* (29 times).

In the broader lexical and syntactic dimensions, the two German varieties can also be distinguished by the use of modal particles such as *doch* and *mal*. The former is used more than twice as often in the ARD version (17 vs. 7 times); in the latter case, the difference is even more striking: while *mal* is entirely absent from the ORF version, it is heard six times from interpreters on the ARD team. Another syntactic difference between the two linguistic varieties is the use of reflexive verbs, which is more common in Austrian German. This is confirmed in the corpus-based analysis, with Austrian interpreters using reflexive verb forms 20% more often than their German counterparts.

On the lexical level, too, the corpus analyzed by Märzluft (2010) reflects many of the differences that have been described as distinctive features of the German and Austrian varieties of German. To begin with, a quantitative analysis using the “WordList” function of WordSmith Tools yielded a significant difference in the number of lexical tokens and types in the two subcorpora. The Austrian version was found to contain 11,376 tokens and 2,315 types, compared to 12,592 and 2,622 in the ARD subcorpus. This difference is also reflected in the interpreters’ speech rates. The team producing the interpreted version on Austrian TV spoke at an average of 126 words per minute, whereas their German counterparts delivered nearly 140 words per minute. This finding is significant in itself and may be indicative of a difference in strategic orientation, that is, a preference for a “saying it all” vs. a more concise approach.

With regard to specific lexical items, some of which may be regarded as tell-tale forms, the analysis by Märzluft (2010) confirmed preferences in usage for such alternative forms as *Pensionist* vs. *Rentner* to refer to a pensioner or retiree in Austria and Germany, respectively, and *Budget* vs. *Haushalt* to denote the (national) budget. A more surprising difference was found between the respective renditions of “small business(es)” in the English source speeches. Whereas the ARD team mostly used the direct German lexical counterpart *Kleinunternehmen*, the ORF interpreters often resorted to the acronym *KMU*, which stands for the German equivalent of “small and medium-sized businesses”, abbreviated in English as “SMBs”.

A significant example in this context is the much-discussed figure of “Joe the Plumber”, which became part of the campaign rhetoric after a videotaped question by one Samuel Joseph Wurzelbacher addressed to Barack Obama in connection with his tax policy for small businesses. The German rendering of “Joe the Plumber” therefore has particular significance, and it is this high-visibility item that also serves to clearly differentiate between the German and Austrian versions of the debate in simultaneous interpretation. Although the two German terms denoting a plumber – *Installateur* and *Klempner* – are equally possible in either linguistic variety, the interpreters’ preferences clearly reflect preferential usage: while the ORF team uses only *Installateur* (eight times), their German colleagues prefer *Klempner* in a ratio of seven to three.

An interesting difference was also established for the German terms corresponding to the largely synonymous adjectives “nuclear” (*Kern-*) vs. “atomic” (*Atom-*). Whereas the Austrian interpreters mainly used the former, their ARD colleagues preferred the latter, even though no such distinct preference for the two varieties has been described in the literature. Whether this finding has to do with the interpreting teams in question and their interaction during the assignment would need to be established in further fieldwork studies.

3.3 Audience preferences

The study by Märzluft (2010) on the distinctive features of simultaneous interpretation into German for TV audiences in Germany vs. Austria shows TV interpreting to be highly user-oriented: broadcasters presumably offer SI in the language variety most familiar to their audiences. However, the study stops short of investigating how such interpreting performances are received and whether different versions are found equally acceptable. An experimental study with this kind of audience orientation was carried out by Schwarnthorer (2010) for her Master’s thesis. Using material collected for a larger corpus-based media interpreting study (Pöchhacker forthcoming), Schwarnthorer drew on the questionnaire developed by Elsagir (2000) to query a group of 44 laypersons from different walks of life about their expectations and opinions regarding simultaneous interpreting on TV. She then elicited the participants’ judgments of two sample interpretations of President Obama’s inaugural address.

The audience members (25 women and 19 men), with an average age of 39 years (min. 17, max. 56), were all native speakers of German with more or less regular exposure to simultaneous interpreting on TV. Asked about the relative importance of output-related features of a simultaneous interpreting performance, the respondents gave the highest ratings – on a six-point scale verbally anchored between “unimportant” (=1) and “very important” (=6) – to “logical cohesion” (5.55), followed by “completeness” and “fluency” (4.59 each), with the criterion of “correct grammatical usage” (4.23) ranking fourth, just before “pleasant voice” (4.05). Their list of major irritants in an interpretation was topped by frequent corrections and repairs, followed by voiced hesitations (“uhms”) and monotonous intonation.

After they had filled in the first part of the questionnaire relating to their expectations, the participants listened to a five-minute sample of SI (taken from the initial part of the speech) as recorded from an Austrian broadcast channel and gave their assessment of the various aspects of performance quality on a reversed six-point scale (verbally anchored between 1 = “very good” and 6 = “very bad”). This was repeated with a second five-minute sample, taken from the final part of the speech, as recorded from a broadcaster in Germany. Both interpretations were of very high quality, with no systematic overall differences regarding correctness and completeness, as established through a prior transcription-based analysis. This was largely confirmed by the audience ratings. Only minor differences were found for such aspects as completeness (1.84 vs. 1.91), correct grammar (1.84 vs. 1.93) and fluent delivery (1.93 vs. 2.00), all of which reflected a slightly poorer assessment of Sample 2. The only exception to this trend was logical cohesion, less favorably in Sample 1 (2.02 vs. 1.95). Notably different, however, was the audience assessment of the two samples with regard to the criterion of pleasant voice, for which Sample 2 scored only a mediocre 3.05 (compared to 1.91 for Sample 1).

In an effort to corroborate these ratings, Schwarnthorer (2010) repeated the study in a group of 33 advanced students of interpreting – and found largely similar trends. Again, the ratings tended to be somewhat poorer (i.e. further away from the positive anchor “1 = very good”) for Sample 2. The only exception was “completeness”, which yielded a 0.21 difference in favor of Sample 2. More importantly, though, the considerable discrepancy with regard to voice quality in Sample 2 was confirmed (1.70 vs. 2.85).

In a final step of her experiment, Schwarnthorer (2010) proceeded to ask her experimental audience(s) for their overall preference. In line with the trend established through the criteria-based ratings, a majority of respondents (52%) expressed a preference for Sample 1, whereas only 32% liked Sample 2 better. (16% of respondents found both interpretations equally good.) Among the reasons for this preference, participants mentioned the interpreter’s pleasant voice (7 times) and familiar accent (twice) in Sample 1. More contradictory were the comments regarding the interpreter’s better understanding of the source message: four participants said this about Sample 1 and six about the interpreter in Sample 2. In a similar vein, four respondents preferred the interpreter in Sample 1 for not sounding unduly emotional, whereas six explained that Sample 2 was better precisely because of the interpreter’s lively and emotional style of delivery.

As demonstrated by Schwarnthorer’s (2010) study, TV interpreting performances lend themselves well to audience experiments along the lines of the Granada paradigm of research on interpreting quality. Subjective judgments as reflected in criteria-based ratings appear to be quite reliable and consistent, in lay audiences as well as those with a background in interpreting. The preference established in Schwarnthorer’s comparison between two highly professional German interpretations of President Obama’s inaugural address appears to be rooted in nonverbal (vocal) features, once again confirming previous findings (e.g. Kurz/Pöchhacker 1995) regarding the special importance of prosodic and voice-related qualities in the media setting.

3.4 Rhetoric

The speech delivery characteristics investigated in the experimental study discussed above are part of the broader subject of rhetoric, the art of using language effectively that has been studied since ancient times. Among the five canons used since Roman times to categorize the main components of oratory they would come under “*pronunciatio*” and “*actio*”, that is, the effective use of vocal resources. However, these aspects of public speaking have not been given as much attention as those that apply to rhetoric regardless of (spoken or written) modality. These include “*inventio*” and “*dispositio*” as the development and structuring of the speaker’s argument as well as “*elocutio*”, which broadly refers to issues of style. The latter includes so-called figures of speech as a particularly salient feature of rhetoric, and it is this aspect of oratory that suggests itself as an object of study when investigating the inaugural address of President Barack Obama, whose skills as a public speaker have won him great acclaim.

The inauguration of America’s first black president on January 20, 2009 was a worldwide media event broadcast live in a number of countries, and I used this occasion to compile a corpus of simultaneous interpretations into German comprised of recordings from six different channels – three in Germany, two in Austria and one in Switzerland. This material was made available to several Master’s students for their thesis projects (including the study by Schwarnthorer presented above). An analysis focusing on rhetorical devices and their fate in simultaneous interpretation was carried out by Neuberger (2010), independently of a study of my own (Pöchhacker forthcoming). Both will be discussed in more detail below.

Neuberger (2010) used five of the six German versions of President Obama’s 18.5-minute speech and examined them for the interpreters’ handling of a broad range of rhetorical devices. For the purpose of her qualitative analysis, she selected 25 examples illustrating different figures of speech (only a few of which can be discussed here for reasons of space).

Among the minor but nevertheless intriguing challenges for the interpreter faced with rhetorical devices is the speaker’s use of alliteration. Unlike the translator, the simultaneous interpreter has little time, if any, to select appropriate renditions of the speaker’s meaning with the added concern for similarities at the level of (initial) letters. Indeed, given the axiomatic focus on sense rather than words, one would not even expect the interpreter to notice the translation problem, let alone manage to resolve it, as in the following examples. The alliterative link between the two adjectives in “We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on earth” is lost in all five interpretations, as there are no suitable alternatives in German for the standard lexical correspondences (*wohlhabend, mächtig*). The same holds true for “the price and the promise of citizenship”, for which none of the interpreters managed to come up with a rhetorically effective German counterpart in the face of the standard equivalents (*Preis, Versprechen*). The fact that successfully rendering alliteration in SI depends on the existence of readily available lexical correspondences is shown in another example, in which the three-fold alliteration in Obama’s reference to “old friends and former foes” is preserved in only two of the five versions (“*mit ... Freunden und*

früheren Feinden”). The other interpreters chose alternatives that express the meaning (“*und ehemaligen Gegnern*”) without attention to form, which means that the mere existence of suitable equivalents does not necessarily result in their effective use under the difficult processing conditions of SI.

There are a number of rhetorical devices that pose relatively little challenge to the interpreter. Indeed, figures of speech that involve repetition would in fact come as a welcome relief by introducing redundancy (which the interpreter may or may not choose to render). Examples in the Obama corpus include anadiplosis (“And yet at this moment, a moment that will define a generation”); anaphora (“new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding”; “... the time has come to set aside childish things. The time has come to reaffirm...”); and epiphora (“Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new.”) In the case of these devices, the interpreters generally noticed and took advantage of the repetitive elements in the source text and retained the repetition in the target language.

A similar approach is possible for asyndeton and polysyndeton, that is, the lack or repetition of conjunctions within a series of coordinate words or phrases. Thus, the polysyndeton in “these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw” is retained by four out of the five interpreters analyzed in Neuberger’s corpus (e.g. “*haben diese Männer und Frauen gekämpft und Opfer gebracht und ihre Hände wund gescheuert*”). Interestingly, the remaining version shows a replacement of the polysyndeton by an asyndeton, as the interpreter renders the three predicates without any conjunctions (“*haben diese Männer und Frauen gekämpft, Opfer gebracht, gearbeitet bis ihre Hände so aufgeraut waren*”). This example clearly shows that this interpreter (and presumably all others as well) can identify the rhetorical force of the original and will seek to preserve it in the target language where possible, sometimes even by using an alternative device.

A particularly impressive example of the interpreters’ awareness of the original’s rhetorical effect, and of their resourcefulness in recreating it, is found in connection with a passage toward the end of Obama’s speech that exhibits great pathos. The rhetorical device at work is a tricolon, that is, in this case a series of three parallel clauses: “The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood.” Of the five interpreters analyzed by Neuberger (2010), none retained the syntactic parallelism in the three sentences, but three used an asyndetic rhythmic pattern that approximates the original’s rhetorical force. Much more effective still, however, is the solution found in the sixth version that is included only in my own analysis (Pöchhacker forthcoming).

The interpreter on one of the Austrian channels rendered the paratactic set of three clauses as only two clauses, dropping the middle one. Moreover, he translated “The capital was abandoned” as “*Die Hauptstadt lag in Trümmern*” (The capital lay in ruins), which is more than was said in the original. And yet, listening to this German rendition, one is struck by the sense of gravity and rhythm emanating from the interpreter’s words: “*Die Hauptstadt lag in Trümmern, der Schnee war voller Blut*”. (The capital [lay] in ruins, the snow was full of blood.) As indicated by the underlined stressed syllables (and the omission bracket in the English back-translation), Obama’s three prose sentences were rendered by the simultaneous interpreter in perfect iambic verse.

two pairs (Pöchhacker forthcoming). In each of these, one of the two series of data points (Interpreter 2 and Interpreter 6, resp.) shows distinctly lower values, as

	INT-1	INT-2	INT-3	INT-4	INT-5	INT-6
AVG. P SCORE (in percent)	82	54	93	83	87	62

confirmed by the average overall P scores by interpreter (Table 1).

Table 1. Average P scores by interpreter (in percent)

As indicated in Table 1, there is a set of four interpreters whose average P scores are at a comparable high level, ranging from 82% for Interpreter 1 to 93% for Interpreter 3. The other two, Interpreters 2 and 6, have distinctly lower P scores, at 54% and 62%, respectively.

The explanation for these uneven scores is not hard to find. As established through various inquiries immediately after the live broadcasts, Interpreter 2 and Interpreter 6 are the only two who were not provided with a script and had to interpret the speech without textual support. Although working in audio-only mode may have allowed these interpreters to adopt a more detached, autonomous style, they clearly had more difficulty in coping with the density and structural complexity of the speech, as manifested in various types of rhetorical structures. These quantitative findings for the fate of rhetorical devices in simultaneous interpretation, together with the qualitative analysis in the study by Neuberger (2010), show that the interpreters in this corpus managed a highly professional performance but found it difficult to cope with the density of Obama’s scripted speech, especially when not provided with an advance copy of the speech.

4. Conclusion

Based on corpora drawn from recordings of live-broadcast simultaneous interpreting on German-language channels between 1992 and 2009, the present paper has sought to demonstrate the potential and value of TV interpreting as an object of study. Analyses of material relating to the US presidency, some of them carried out by MA students for their thesis under the author’s supervision, have highlighted both the wide range of methodological options and the great variety of topics that may be investigated. Methodological strategies and techniques include the use of corpus-linguistic tools and manual source–target comparison as well as listening experiments employing self-administered questionnaires to elicit audience judgments. Likewise, the topics under study range from the rendering of culture-specific elements and alternative varieties of the target language to audience expectations and preferences and the fate of rhetorical devices in simultaneous interpreting. Ideally, this selection from the “Vienna Workshop” can motivate further empirical work in this domain of professional interpreting, which is of interest because of its high degree of exposure but also because of the advantage of public access. As long as different (German-language) broadcasters maintain their policy of making live English content available in a

simultaneous interpretation of their own, TV interpreting could be the subject of further corpus-based and experimental studies, if not “natural experiments” that allow for direct comparisons among the performances of highly experienced and skilled professionals.

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Interpreting the Oscar Night on Italian TV: an interpreters' nightmare?

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Abstract

Simultaneous interpreting is recognised to be an extremely complex cognitive activity placing high demands on linguistic abilities, extra-linguistic knowledge and communication skills of those who perform it.

Specific difficulties identified in literature as the main factors contributing to the complexity of the interpreters' task include high information density, especially if combined with a high speed of talk and/or not well structured utterances, proper names, figures, culture-bound references, humorous, ironical or highly emotional passages, unfamiliar accents and pre-prepared speeches read out with no chance for the interpreter to have access to them.

Simultaneous interpreting for live media ceremonies entails even more difficulties due to the peculiar features, structure and time constraints of the broadcast event. This study discusses simultaneous interpreting of two Academy Award Ceremonies – in 2000 and 2010 – focusing on two specific difficulties: proper names and culture-bound references. The interpreters' performance is analysed using rendition categories based on the work by Wadensjö (1998). Results are discussed in the light of previous studies and Relevance Theory.

1 Paragraphs 1, 5, 6 by G. Mack and 2, 3, 4 by A. Amato.

The rapid evolution of information and communication technologies has changed interpreting from an activity carried out mainly in conference settings into one performed in a variety of macro-contexts including a wide range of communication frameworks. One of the areas where interpreting has been growing rapidly is the media and in particular television. Although TV interpreting only accounts for a limited share of the interpreting private market, it has a remarkable impact on the perception of interpreters and their work among large numbers of people. The major live TV programmes are generally interpreted by experienced professional interpreters and often feature highly skilled performances.

This paper analyses two editions of the Academy Awards Ceremony (AAC) broadcast in Italy and focuses on three main aspects: the complexity of the AAC format, the interpreters' working conditions and the interpreters' renditions of culture-bound items and proper names.

1. The AAC: a complex TV “container”

The AAC – also known as the Oscar Night² – is probably the most famous self-celebrating ritual of the US film industry. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) was established in 1927 and has been awarding prizes for the best films produced during the previous year(s) since 1929. The first AAC to be televised was in 1953, with a reported audience of 34 million. Today the televised Oscar Night, lasting between three and over four hours, is one of the US mainstream cultural traditions. The 2011 ceremony, held in a Hollywood theatre and broadcast live by ABC, drew an average 37.9 million US viewers (Gorman 2011). The AAC is also popular in the rest of the world: it is broadcast in more than 200 countries³ including Italy, where it is interpreted simultaneously.

The socio-cultural and economic aspects of this event have been widely investigated (e.g. Levy 2001; Epstein 2005) and go beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that many interests revolve around the AAC, which acts as a powerful showcase for the US film industry:

The production and distribution of motion pictures and television programs is one of the nation's most valuable cultural and economic resources. The industry is a major private sector employer, supporting 2.4 million jobs, and over \$140 billion in total wages in 2008 [...] The industry is one of the most highly competitive around the world – one of the few that consistently generates a positive balance of trade, in virtually every country in which it does business (MPAA 2010).

Among the various roles played by the ceremony there is an advertising function (Deuchert *et al.* 2005), aiming to catch the attention of the widest possible worldwide audience. Since the AAC's message is partly conveyed through

2 Academy Award® and Oscar® are trademarks and service marks of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

3 AMPAS official site; available at <<http://www.oscars.org/>>.

language, the way the linguistic component is transferred into a foreign language is an interesting aspect to investigate.

1.1 Format

The AAC is a complex, carefully constructed TV show. One or two hosts take the audience through the show, alternating with numerous other on-stage performers and behind-stage announcers. Together with these primary speakers, there are secondary speakers in local TV studios who present the event to their respective audiences – in our case one or more Italian anchors and their guests. In Italy the AAC has been aired live with simultaneous interpreting since at least 1994 (Scalcerle 1994). Since 2005, the show has been broadcast by the satellite pay-TV network SKY, with slight changes in its format. This paper describes the format of the two editions under study.

1.2 The Oscar event – a complex situation and a complex sound track

The modes and conditions of interpreting for the Oscar Night vary according to the different types of talk associated with different speakers and interactions, both on stage and on pre-recorded videos shown during the night. The main primary speakers are hosts, presenters, winners and announcers. These speakers participate in a wide range of interactions: with other protagonists on stage, with members of the public they occasionally address remarks to, with guests intervening also via satellite links. All these interactions take place in English and are thus only partially accessible for an Italian audience. The secondary speakers are Italian presenters and guests who comment on the AAC before and after the show as well as during commercial breaks (which in recent years have coincided exactly with those in the original broadcast).

After the opening welcome by the AMPAS President, the hosts – often famous comedians – have the task of running the show, maintaining attention and entertaining the audience. Presenters usually introduce single award categories or special tributes. They read out the nominees and announce the winners. Their talk is more “informative” although at times they too use humour. Winners make acceptance speeches characterised by a strong emotional component, typically expressing their gratitude to other people and organisations. A voice-off announces presenters and lists winners’ previous nominations and awards as they come on stage.

Even though it is intended to sound spontaneous, what is said on stage is rarely extemporised (cf. 2.1) as is evident from references to the teleprompter, rehearsals, and scripts. Most winners are allowed only 45 seconds for their acceptance speeches and sometimes resort to reading what can sound like “a speed-read version of the telephone book” (Levy 2003: 292). The show also includes live performances by singers and dancers and sometimes by hosts or presenters, pre-recorded clips from nominated films and interviews with show business personalities. The videos are projected on a huge screen behind the

stage, and may also contain writing e.g. the names of nominees or subtitles. In the film clips, talk is often combined with other components of the soundtrack. Finally, there are music breaks played by an orchestra in the theatre. Talk may at times overlap this wealth of sound, making what speakers are saying harder to understand.

2. Interpreting the AAC: behind the scenes

Given the peculiarities of TV simultaneous interpreting, the number of professionals who regularly work in this area in Italy is quite small (Straniero Sergio 2007). Only in a few cases do TV channels have interpreters on their permanent staff. Usually interpreters are recruited by agencies on a daily basis on the free-lance market, as is the case for the AAC. We had the chance to interview a female interpreter who has interpreted all the AACs since 1998⁴. The main issues covered were interpreters' preparation, requirements, guidelines and instructions expressed by the production company and/or the broadcaster, along with peculiar technical and logistical aspects, which all heavily affect the interpreters' working conditions and organisation.

2.1 Preparing for the Oscar Night

Our interviewee told us that at least a month before the ceremony, she starts following all the news about nominations and nominees, and about US entertainment in general. Above all she tries to see as many of the nominated films as possible since these are the ones most frequently referred to during the ceremony.

Two days before the Sunday evening on which the AAC takes place, the interpreters receive a preliminary draft of the script, nicknamed the Bible, which is provided by the US production company. Usually this script contains indications of the order in which presenters will appear and where pre-recorded material and commercial breaks are planned. Most of the presenters' lines are still substituted by the acronym TBD – to be disclosed. The final version of the Bible, which normally contains all the presenters' names and lines (but not those of the hosts), is generally made available a few hours before the start of the ceremony, when there is very little time left for the interpreters to prepare their lines in advance, so much of the talk has to be rendered impromptu. As voice matching is required, the interpreters do at least know which hosts and presenters they are going to interpret. Our interviewee said she usually only manages to prepare the first half of the final script before she starts interpreting, and that she goes on reading and preparing while her colleague is translating the male speakers. Furthermore, only in the first part of the night is there a fair chance that the Bible will be followed closely. If the show runs late, any line may be replaced with a

4 Our thanks go to Elena Scaramuzza for her invaluable contribution.

more concise version, possibly read from the teleprompter at a very fast rate, turning the Oscar Night into an interpreters' nightmare.

2.2 Production requirements and their impact on working conditions and organisation

According to our interviewee, the recruiting agency applies two main criteria to select the interpreters for the AAC: past professional experience and voice matching. The agency has always respected the interpreter's view that a perfect harmony between the two members of the team is essential, and consulted her in the case of substitutions.

The TV producers have only a few explicit requirements. The first is that, for legal reasons, commercials should never be translated. The second is strict voice matching, even if it leads to an unbalanced workload between the female and male interpreter (cf. Table 1) and greater fatigue. The third requirement is that regardless of the quality of the international broadcast (which the Italian channel obviously cannot influence), there must be no apparent or extensive discontinuity in interpreting. It is agreed, however, that poorly audible voice-offs or film clips need not be translated (cf. 1.2).

Certain technical aspects involved in interpreting this TV event make it very different from conference settings. The two interpreters sit in a booth surrounded by numerous TV screens, showing the images broadcast by ABC, the images aired by the channel they work for and programmes that are being broadcast by other networks. When the live images from the US and Italy are the same, the interpreters know they are on air. There is a countdown at the beginning and end of commercials to help them start and stop interpreting at the right time. Interpreters have headsets and consoles as in conference interpreting, but no direct control over their microphones, which are both permanently on. In order to switch them off, both interpreters' mute buttons must be pressed simultaneously. In practice, the mute mode is only used when a call light on the control panel goes on to signal that the programme director needs to talk to the interpreters. This means that by default every word spoken and every noise made in the booth will go on air, making it impossible for the interpreters to talk to each other and rendering any form of cooperation or prompting very difficult. Even leafing through the Bible or scribbling notes has led to complaints from the production company.

Otherwise, producers do not seem particularly sensitive to interpreting issues. It is up to the interpreters to identify potential problems in advance and ask for a briefing with the producers for instance in the case of a speaker who suddenly starts singing. In all cases not discussed with the producers interpreters must choose what to do and make on-the-spot decisions. As the interpreters cannot talk to each other in the booth, our interviewee stressed the need to get along well, adding "We maintain eye contact all the time like TV commentators do. It's a very similar job".

While not expressly mentioned by our interviewee, the mismatch between images and sound deriving from the time-lag needed to listen before interpreting

is considered a negative factor on TV. During the Oscar Night there are often fast exchanges between a male and a female host/presenter, where *décalage* is even more crucial. With both microphones always on, there is the additional problem of avoiding overlapping talk. Yet, in our data this aspect appeared to be well managed by the interpreters and was not studied further.

Another key aspect of interpreting the AAC is the need to deal with many more inputs than in conference settings (Figure 1).

	EARPHONES	US broadcast	music sound effects oversound speakers official speakers occasional speakers (no mike)
		Italian broadcast	Italian commentators
AUDIO INPUT			
	BOOTH	interpreter colleague (on air)	
		US broadcast	non-vocal aspects of speakers written info on screen subtitles video clips
	MONITORS	Italian broadcast other broadcasts	
VISUAL INPUT			
	BOOTH	“Bible” colleague interpreter (<i>non-vocal</i>)	

Figure 1. The interpreter’s input during the AAC

Overall, the AAC is an enormously challenging task for the interpreters. Typically it involves:

- extremely little time to prepare relevant documents;
- several hours night work;
- uncontrolled sound quality (often with interference and not clearly audible speech);
- lack of control over the microphones;
- limited possibilities for interaction in the booth;
- an unbalanced workload between the two interpreters;
- a variety of speech types;
- many different speakers, of different nationalities, with different accents;
- many read-out texts;
- high speech rates;
- many culture-bound elements and proper names;
- many quips and jokes.

3. A closer look at the interpreted version of the AAC

For the purpose of this study we used video recordings of the US and Italian broadcasts of the Oscar Night from 2000⁵ and 2010. This made it possible to compare not only two different interpretations of the same event, but also to try and identify changes in the ceremony itself that could potentially impact on interpreters. The recordings were transcribed⁶ using conventions based on those developed for conversation analysis (Sacks *et al.* 1974)⁷. The two transcripts for each AAC were then aligned turn-by-turn in parallel columns. The main characteristics of the two transcribed datasets are summarised in Table 1.

	AAC 2000 (about 46% of the show*)	AAC 2010
Words (English)	7,758	11,975
Words (Italian)	6,160	11,222
Speakers	52 (M 35, F 17)	103 (M 63, F 40)
Multi-speaker sequences	52 (M 38, F 9, Mixed 5)	105 (M 47, F 43, Mixed 15)
voice matching* (*calculated on the English transcription)	M 75%, F 25% (approx.)	M 55%, F 45% (approx.)

Table 1. Main characteristics of the datasets

We then focused our analysis on two particular aspects of interpreting: the way interpreters handled culture-bound items and proper names. Both types of expressions are peculiar features of the AAC discourse, as well as being known as major problem triggers in simultaneous interpreting. To analyse their occurrence in the AAC discourse and the interpreters' choices, these elements were identified and classified by typology while their renditions were grouped into categories based on Wadensjö's classification (1998: 106-108), to which another category – divergent rendition – was added. This was necessary because some renditions

5 Unfortunately, the Italian 2000 edition was available for only about half the ceremony.

6 Part of the material had been already transcribed by Zanarini (2003); transcriptions of acceptance speeches were also checked against the texts available online in the AMPAS database (<http://aaspeechesdb.oscars.org/>).

7 Transcription conventions used in the examples:

- [] simultaneous or overlapping talk;
- ? question intonation (rising tone);
- = latched to previous;
- e: or e::: lengthened vowel sound;
- (.) short pause (less than one second);
- (1) longer pause (in seconds);
- / abandoned utterance;
- BOLDFACE** emphasis or loudness;
- ° ° quietly or as an aside;
- xxx inaudible.

were found not to fit in the other categories. Non-renditions⁸ were also found, but did not affect the categories discussed here:

- a) close renditions make explicit the same elements of the item (a culture-bound reference or proper name) as those made explicit by the speaker;
- b) reduced renditions only make explicit some of the elements of an item made explicit by the speaker;
- c) zero renditions leave an item made explicit by the speaker implicit or completely unexpressed;
- d) expanded renditions make explicit elements which the speaker left implicit;
- e) divergent renditions contain elements that differ from what the speaker actually said.

In our analysis, these categories were not applied to utterances or turns of talk, but to expressions containing culture-bound references and names. It is therefore possible to have several instances of the same or different types of renditions in the same stretch of the interpreted version.

At times the use of these categories was problematic, as in example 1.

Example 1 - Zero rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2010]	Rendition	Back translation
live from the Kodak Theatre Hollywood and Highland it's the eighty [second annual Academy Awards [(applause)]	[((the public applauds)) [ed ecco a voi la settantaduesima edizione degli Academy Awards	<i>here is the seventy-second edition of the Academy Awards</i>

This excerpt comes from the beginning of the 2010 show when a voice-off announces the beginning of the Oscar Night. The reference to the Kodak Theatre – where the AAC has taken place since 2002 and which is certainly known to the interpreters – was not rendered. All the names were omitted by the interpreter, who produced an announcement that is typical of Italian TV presenters “ed ecco a voi”. In linguistic terms and in terms of explicit information, this was counted as a zero rendition of a cultural reference. In pragmatic terms, however, the Italian expression does exactly what the original does: it announces the beginning of the show. Furthermore, the audience can see the theatre and this information is embedded in the audiovisual message and thus implicitly conveyed. For the purpose of this study we classified as zero or reduced renditions all those cases in which an explicit reference or part of it was omitted by the interpreter, even if the message and the intention of the speaker were clear.

8 “A ‘non-rendition’ is a ‘text’ which is analysable as an interpreter’s initiative or response which does not correspond (as translation) to a prior ‘original’ utterance” (Wadensjö 1998: 108).

4. Culture-bound references and their rendering

There is no general agreement in the literature about a definition of “culture-bound”. Some authors claim that cultural items mainly refer to extralinguistic fields (names of places, flora, fauna, social institutions) while others argue that they include intralinguistic and pragmatic phenomena (idioms, proverbs, puns). Nor is there a common terminology:

These ‘problem triggers’, in Gile’s (1995) terminology, are ‘culture-specific items’ in the source text, variously referred to also as ‘realia’, ‘cultural references’, ‘cultural markers’, ‘culture-bound references’ or ‘culture bumps’ (Leppihalme 1996) – and notoriously hard to define (Pöchhacker 2007: 129).

There is however a general consensus that they are potentially problematic for interpreters to render. Strategies may vary from “functional (i.e. target-cultural) adequacy” (Pöchhacker 2007: 129) to providing additional information to the listeners in order to make the cultural item understandable or omitting items that the interpreter presumes the audience knows (Kurz 1993).

Here we treat cultural references as those references made to the current affairs, history, geography, customs and traditions of a country. For our analysis of the AAC we distinguished between references to US culture, references to the cultures of other countries, and references to the world of entertainment (cf. Table 2).

	2000 (about 46% of the show)	2010
Culture-bound elements - Total	85	97
References to US culture	22 (26%)	4 (4%)
References to the culture of other countries	17 (20%)	16 (17%)
References to the world of entertainment	46 (54%)	77 (79%)

Table 2. Culture-bound elements in the datasets

4.1 References to US culture

Since the AAC is a US popular tradition, we expected to find large numbers of references to US culture, and indeed 22 out of a total of 85 culture-bound elements in the 2000 edition concern US culture (26%). However in 2010, only 4 out of 97 (4%) did. This could be a sign that the show has changed to adjust to a global audience who may not understand references made to US culture.

Year	Number of References	Zero Renditions	Divergent Renditions	Reduced Renditions	Close Renditions	Expanded Renditions
2000	22	6	2	3	10	1
2010	4	1	0	1	2	0

Table 3. References to US culture and their renditions

In the 2000 AAC the six zero renditions include three geographical references: the acronym for Los Angeles (L.A. - in a string of three geographical references together with New York and London), the World Trade Centre, and Bell (a little town close to L.A.). This town is mentioned twice by the host Billy Crystal when joking about the theft of some Oscar statues⁹, saying that Bell is where one of them was found. The first time Bell is mentioned the interpreter omits it, while the second time he renders the name correctly, though no explanation is given to the Italian audience about its meaning (a place close to Hollywood where it would be difficult to hide anything). Another two zero renditions are also names. The first is Planned Parenthood, a civil society organisation mentioned in an acceptance speech in a stretch full of names, the second is a Jewish-American name contained in a joke that the interpreter failed to convey in Italian. The sixth case of a zero rendition is more than just a multiple name deletion as shown in example 2¹⁰.

Example 2 – Zero rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
you know I was just thinking between Andrzej Wajda Chow Yun Fat and Selma Hayek John Rocker must be going nuts (.) ((laughter)) please welcome someone else who is going to upset him (.)	qualcun altro rimarà sconvolto	<i>someone else is going to be upset</i>

In example 2 the interpreter omits the whole first part of the host's turn, where Billy Crystal mentions a series of foreign celebrities and then refers to John Rocker – a baseball player who had made racist comments in a notorious interview that year – saying that he must be going crazy to see so many non-US people being celebrated. This is an extremely culture-bound reference, impossible to understand unless one knows who Rocker is and what he stands for, exactly as in the case of Bell. Without an explanation, even repeating the name correctly would not have conveyed the meaning to an Italian audience; here too the interpreter omitted the reference, presumably because he did not know who Rocker was or thought the reference would be inaccessible for an Italian audience without an explanation.

Example 3 is another baseball reference. Crystal has just told the audience that he can read people's minds and pretends to know what Meryl Streep is thinking about – a change to the traditional rules of baseball. The interpreter provides a divergent rendition.

9 In 2000 fifty-five Oscar statues were stolen a few days before the ceremony; most were subsequently found in a trash bin.

10 The names of nominees are not included in this category and are discussed in paragraph 5.

Example 3 – Divergent rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
oh yeah ohh ((laughter (2)) the designated hitter rule is ruining baseball ((laughter (3)))	mhm (.) l'autore designato che fa ha realizzato una base al baseball ah	<i>mhm (.) the designated author who does has made base in baseball ah</i>

The reference to baseball is there, but the rendition does not convey the idea that Streep is against this change to the rules (let alone why the public finds this funny).

Another reference to baseball is made at the beginning of the show. Here Crystal tells Jack Nicholson to interrupt him whenever he wants as he considers Nicholson as great a figure as Babe Ruth. Here the interpreter produces a reduced rendition, which conveys Crystal's regard for Nicholson, but omits the name of the celebrated baseball player:

Example 4 – Reduced rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
ok feel free to talk to me at any time big daddy ((laughs (4)) it's just me and you ((laughs (1)) Jack you know you are Babe Ruth to me	si va bene prenditi pure la libertà di interrompermi quando vuoi (.) solo tu e io (.) Jack sai cosa sei per me	<i>(.) yes all right feel free do interrupt me when you want (.) just you and I (.) Jack you know what you are for me</i>

Close renditions represent the largest category. These include seven geographical references, two references to President Clinton and a joke about the missing Oscar statues that the interpreter rendered effectively. Example 5 shows a successful close rendition of a reference to US current affairs:

Example 5 – Close rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
you know that is the strangest thing that has happened to the suburbs since the Clins decided to move to Westchester you know	sapete. (.) qualcosa di strano è successo: (.) alla periferia da quando appunto Clinton si è trasferito a Westchester	<i>you know (.) something strange happened: (.) in the suburbs since Clinton moved to Westchester</i>

These lines follow the presentation of a clip from “American Beauty” in which the protagonist is a depressed middle-aged man who becomes infatuated with a friend of his daughter's. Crystal's reference to the Clintons' purchase of a house in Westchester clearly alludes to the Lewinsky scandal. The interpreter conveys both the reference to Clinton and to the suburb.

The 2010 edition of the AAC contains only four references to US culture. The only case of zero rendition was discussed in example 1 above. The two close renditions are geographical – Chicago and Omaha. The one reduced rendition is in a list of security forces thanked by Kathryn Bigelow in her acceptance speech, which is shortened by the interpreter.

The cultural references in the 2000 edition were definitely more challenging and caused more problems for the interpreters, with a greater proportion of zero

or divergent renditions. References to US culture are often to humorous effect, and a detailed investigation of humour in the AAC and the challenges it presents for interpreters would give a more complete picture of the interpreting problems (cf. Antonini 2010).

4.2 References to other cultures

In both editions of the AAC, references to non-US cultures were mainly geographical names. Table 4 shows the number of references and rendition types.

Year	Number of References	Zero Renditions	Divergent Renditions	Reduced Renditions	Close Renditions	Expanded Renditions
2000	17	7	0	1	9	0
2010	16	1	1	0	14	0

Table 4. References to other cultures and their renditions

In the 2000 AAC, 10 out of 17 references were names of cities and countries, and two were specific references to a theatre and an area in London. Six related to Spanish religious traditions and one to the recent history of Poland. While the latter was well rendered, the Spanish references, and in particular a list of saints pronounced with a heavy accent by director Pedro Almodovar, caused more problems, as shown in example 6.

Example 6 - Zero rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
I also want to thank my sisters Maria Jesus and Antonia for the amount of candles that they lit to their favourite saints during the last months (.) you know (.) culture different (.) thanks to the virgin of Guadalupe the virgin of la Cabeza de Miraculos the Sacred heart of Mary Saint Judas Tadeo (xxx) and el Jesus de Medinaceli	vorrei anche ringraziare mia sorella Maria Jesus Antonia (.) per la fiducia riposta nei suoi santi preferiti in questi ultimi mesi a Guadalupe (.) sta elencando tutti i santi protettori	<i>I would also like to thank my sister Maria Jesus Antonia (.) for the trust placed in her favourite saints in the last few months in Guadalupe (.) he is listing all the patron saints</i>

In the excerpt above the interpreter produced five zero renditions, but by switching to reporting mode was able to inform the audience that the speaker was enumerating saints¹¹.

In the 2010 edition, close renditions included 12 names of countries and two of cities. The only case of a zero rendition relates to apartheid in South Africa.

11 On the use of reporting as a coping strategy during live TV programmes, cf. Amato (2002).

Example 7 – Zero rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2010]	Rendition	Back translation
this year (...) inspired by events in South Africa during the era of apartheid this (.) is District Nine	ispirato da ah eventi in Sudafrica District Nine	<i>inspired by ah events in South Africa District Nine</i>

This excerpt comes from the introduction to “District Nine”, nominated as best film. Here the interpreter renders the presenter’s geographical reference but not the political one, producing the general expression “events” as in the original but leaving out “the era of apartheid”.

There is one divergent rendition, clearly deriving from a misunderstanding when a winner speaks about his “team in Jordan” and the interpreter renders it with a name (cf. 5.4).

Overall, references to other cultures are well handled by the interpreters. Although the proportion of zero renditions in 2000 may seem high, these included five names of Spanish saints and two locations in London with which an Italian audience is unlikely to be familiar, and the main intention of the speakers was in any case conveyed. While the performance of the interpreters in the 2010 edition seems more accurate and complete, the latter had mainly to deal with the names of cities and countries – there were no lists of Spanish saints in 2010!

4.3 References to the world of entertainment

References to the world of entertainment include specific references to the nominated films and references to awards, celebrities or films not among the nominees that year. All other proper names are not included in this category, but will be discussed in paragraph 5.

The variety of references is huge. It may include past films, characters, lines or scenes from nominated films, references to past and present celebrities, or names of previous winners in any of the AAC categories. Even previous award winners for “technical” categories, such as mixing and editing, can be referred to, and it is simply a “mission impossible” for interpreters to know them all. Each type of reference implies a different kind of difficulty and deserves a detailed analysis. For these reasons, although all references were counted and grouped according to rendition categories, examples will focus on references to nominated films only, which interpreters can easily read about and even see before the show, as our interviewee stressed.

Year	Number of References	Zero Renditions	Divergent Renditions	Reduced Renditions	Close Renditions	Expanded Renditions
2000	46	15	6	1	24	0
2010	77	8	2	4	62	1

Table 5. References to the world of entertainment and their renditions

This group of cultural references is by far the largest in both years (54% and 79% respectively), confirming the self-referential nature of the AAC and its function of promoting the film industry. In the 2000 data there were 46 references to the world of entertainment. The most represented category is close renditions, followed by zero renditions and divergent renditions. Close renditions include six titles of past films, 11 references to celebrities, five references to nominated films and two references to the Thalberg Award. Zero renditions include five titles of past films, six references to celebrities and four references to nominated films. Divergent renditions include four references to nominated films and two references to celebrities. There is one reduced rendition of a reference to a past film. References to nominated films, which we imagined would have posed a lesser challenge than the others, were in fact a source of difficulty for the interpreters: of the 13 references to nominated films, only five were accurately rendered in 2000.

Example 8 – Zero rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
a movie with action suspense and an intelligent provocative message (.) take the blue pill and stay where you are (.) or take the red pill and see just how deep the rabbit hole goes we had a great team	con azione suspense e messaggi provocativi in un unico film continua così (.) abbiamo avuto un grande team	<i>with action suspense and provocative messages in a single film keep doing this (.) we had a great team</i>

In example 8, the speaker quotes a line by one of the supporting characters in “The Matrix” offering the leading character the possibility to see that he lives in a virtual world under the absolute power of computers: he can either take a blue pill and remain in the virtual world or take the red pill and “see how deep the rabbit hole goes” – clearly alluding to Carroll’s “Alice in Wonderland”¹². Even if the interpreter had had the script in front of him, it would have been impossible to render the implications of this line without having seen the film or at least preparing the script in advance. The reference was not conveyed and the expression “stay where you are” rendered with “continua così” (“*keep doing this*”). The same line was quoted later by another winner, and in that case the interpreter produced a divergent rendition.

References to another nominated film, “American Beauty”, caused similar problems. Apparently the interpreter did not recognise the names of the two families in the film:

Example 9 – Divergent rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
oh my god (.) feels like family night with the Burnhams and the Fittses	oh mio dio (.) è una notte movimentata:	<i>oh my god (.) it is an eventful night</i>

12 The dubbed Italian version is: “Pillola azzurra fine della storia. Pillola rossa e resti nel paese delle meraviglie e vedrai quanto è profonda la tana del bianconiglio”.

By omitting these names, the interpreter deleted the reference to the film and the expression used, “movimentata” (“*eventful*”), conveys a different meaning from the original. The same two names were also mentioned by another winner in his acceptance speech and once again they were omitted by the interpreter.

Another reference to the same movie was made by the screenplay writer during his acceptance speech, who referred to the situation that inspired the plastic bag scene (a cult scene for movie buffs). This was an uninterpretable reference if one had not seen or read about this scene: since it was at the end of a sequence of thanks, the interpreter omitted it and produced a general expression of gratitude instead.

The 2000 AAC also contained two references to “Sixth Sense”, one of which was literally rendered and its meaning effectively conveyed, while the other was omitted.

In our 2010 data, close renditions are definitely the most represented category. These include 18 references to nominated films, 14 titles of past films, 12 names of characters from unnominated films, 12 references to celebrities, three award names (Grammy, Emmy, Governors Award) and three references to technicalities of the film industry (one studio and two acronyms). Zero renditions include the name of a singer, three names of bands, two titles of past films, one reference to a family who helped Sandra Bullock prepare for her role in “The Blind Side” (the only reference to a nominated film not rendered), and one character of a past film. The two divergent renditions involve a punch line referring to the title of a movie and a negative sentence that was rendered as an affirmative one. There is just one expanded rendition where the interpreter adds the family name to the first name of a character (cf. 5.5). The two following examples show close renditions of references to nominated films.

Example 10 – Close rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2010]	Rendition	Back translation
I want to thank the Academy (.) for not considering Na’vi a foreign language (.) first of all (.)	voglio (.) ringraziare l’academy per non aver considerato il Na’vi un:a lingua straniera innanzitutto (.)	<i>I want (.) to thank the academy for not considering Na’vi a foreign language first of all</i>

This is the first line of the acceptance speech by the winner for best foreign language film, Juan José Campanella, who starts by thanking the Academy for not considering Na’vi – the language spoken by the people of Pandora in “Avatar” – a foreign language (because otherwise Avatar could have won the award). This is both a reference to a nominee and a joke, and their successful rendering would have been impossible if the interpreter had not seen or read about the movie before the show. The two hosts also referred to the religious habits of the Na’vi people and these references were also accurately rendered in the Italian version.

Another reference is to the pointed ears of Dr. Spock, a character in “Star Trek”. The presenter, Ben Stiller, has gone on stage dressed and made up as a Na’vi, but says he should have been wearing Spock ears instead since “Avatar” did not get a nomination for best makeup, while “Star Trek” did. This reference is accurately rendered by the interpreter.

Example 11 – Close rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2010]	Rendition	Back translation
I should just have worn my Spock ears because Star Trek was actually nominated and I own two pairs from the original series	avrei dovuto mettere le orecchie di Spock perché Star Trek ce l'ha la nomination e io avevo due (.) paia di orecchie della serie originale	<i>I should have worn Spock's ears because Star Trek has a nomination and I had two (.) pairs of ears from the original series</i>

Overall references to nominated films were more accurately rendered in the 2010 edition than in 2000. Our data suggest that a thorough preparation on nominated films is essential to successfully render references to them.

5. Proper names in the AAC

Though the difficulty of names in translation is often mentioned in literature¹³, there are few specific studies on names in interpreting¹⁴. Even the definition itself of proper names is far from being a trivial question¹⁵. Recent works highlight that proper names are “social, ethnic, affective, cultural and pragmatic indicators” (Salmon Kovarski 2002: 83), and rules for their use – standard or idiosyncratic – are considered one of the most difficult aspects to master in a foreign language. Names are recognised to be “important elements of discourse structure which contribute to the overall communicative purposes of talk” (Meyer 2008: 110) and can carry implicitly a wealth of additional information immediately available to a native speaker, but mostly obscure for foreigners – e.g. ethnic origin, social class, speaker attitude or the relationship between different people. Names can play any kind of functions, from communicative to vocative, expressive, deictic and ideological¹⁶. This is particularly true of the AAC, where owing to the self-celebrative nature of the event, proper names are extremely frequent. Another peculiarity of the AAC is the high degree of message redundancy: names of people, films and characters are repeated almost obsessively, along with references to the awards and the body bestowing them.

We adopted a very broad definition of proper names, as identifying a specific individual among a category or a species (Serianni *et al.* 1988: 87). They can be constituted by a variable number of elements, ranging from a single letter to a whole phrase. In our data we identified 1700 such items (689 in 2000, 1011 in 2010), containing between one and twelve elements. These names were divided into six functionally determined classes: anthroponyms (i.e. real people or fictional characters), places, companies/institutions/organisations, awards, film titles, and a miscellaneous ragbag category. The interpreters' renditions of names were classified according to the categories described in paragraph 3.

13 For a more extensive discussion, cf. e.g. Ballard (2001), Viezzi (2004).

14 E.g. Gile (1984), Hanaoka (2002), Medici (2007), Meyer (2008), Meacci (2009).

15 E.g. Allerton (1996), Grass *et al.* (2006).

16 After Superanskaja 1973 (in Russian), quoted in Salmon Kovarski (2002: 86).

Proper names often go together with qualifying elements that give additional information about the individual they denote. Under certain circumstances these qualifying elements can be at least as informative as the names themselves, especially for listeners with a different cultural background. Such qualifiers, classified as nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and titles, will be discussed here only in relation to reduced renditions, the sum of elements per name being given in brackets (cf. Table 6).

		2000 (data referring to about 46% of the show)	2010
ratio words in names/ total words		18% (English version) 19% (Italian version)	16% (English version) 15% (Italian version)
total proper names		689	1011
DETAILS OF THE ENGLISH VERSION:	EXAMPLE		
anthroponyms	Paul N. J. Ottosson (4); dame Judy Dench (3);	437 (63.4%)	633 (62.6%)
film titles	Sleepy Hollow (2); The Most Dangerous Man in America - Daniel Ellsberg and the Pentagon Papers (12)	122 (17.7%)	210 (20.8%)
awards	Academy Award (2); Oscar (1)	50 (7.3%)	66 (6.5%)
toponyms	Hollywood (1); Santa Monica (2)	30 (4.4%)	34 (3.4%)
companies and institutions	Warner Brothers (2)	33 (4.8%)	49 (4.8%)
miscellaneous - songs, literary works, buildings, brands etc.	Music in My Heart (4), the World Trade Center (3), Toyota (1)	17 (2.5%)	19 (1.9%)

Table 6. Proper names in the datasets

A crucial aspect when analysing proper names in interpreting contexts is pronunciation - both by primary speakers and by interpreters. In the AAC a broad variety of pronunciations can be found, not to mention various degrees of accuracy in articulation as English is the native language of most, but not all the speakers. There are also frequent overlaps with music and sound effects. Names, especially non-English anthroponyms, may be pronounced differently by different speakers and their familiarity to a heterogeneous audience may vary widely. Interpreters often 'adapt' their pronunciation of names to their listeners' ears. Phonetic precision was therefore not considered in this study. The English transcription uses conventional orthography for identifiable names, while names pronounced by the interpreters (as well as those of unidentified people in the original) were transcribed using what was deemed to be the most likely spelling

given the pronunciation actually used. Table 7 shows the number of proper names and their rendering.

Year	Proper names	Zero Renditions	Divergent Renditions	Reduced Renditions	Close Renditions	Expanded Renditions
2000	689	146 21.2 %	11 1.6 %	38 5.5 %	488 70.8 %	6 0.9 %
2010	1011	104 10.3 %	8 0.8 %	34 3.4 %	852 84.3 %	13 1.3 %

Table 7. Renditions of names

5.1 Close renditions

This is the most frequent category in both years, confirming that also in this context interpreters respect the basic norm of faithful and complete interpreting. Close renditions with very approximate pronunciation were less than 10%. Relatively low percentages (51% to 71%) of close renditions were found for interviewee, voice-off and winner talk; the highest proportion (over 90%) occurred in the speech of presenters, highlighting once again the crucial role of reference documents (cf. 2.1). Only in a very few cases were close renditions associated with an incorrect interpretation of the qualifier referring to the name¹⁷.

5.2 Zero renditions

This category ranks second in terms of number of occurrences (cf. Table 7). In both years zero renditions occurred primarily in winners' acceptance speeches, followed by voice-off and host turns. Again a purely statistical analysis of rendition categories can be misleading since zero renditions do not always entail a loss of information. They can also be the consequence of strategic decisions not to render certain text types. In the case of voice-off announcements of celebrities coming on stage, if the interpreter remains silent, the audience can just hear the original sound track, which includes the celebrity's name, and the information is not completely lost. In other cases, too, the interpreter's silence during a speech allows the audience to hear names that are not rendered. Interpreters can also exploit redundancy, using deictic devices by which an item recurrently explicit in one language can be left implicit in the other. Indeed, at least a quarter of the 2010 zero renditions of names involved redundant elements in the original¹⁸, and another quarter (in both years) involved names in voice-off announcements.

17 See example 1 with the very first segment of the 2010 event, where the name "Academy Awards" is closely rendered, but the numeral "eighty-second" becomes "la settantaduesima edizione" ("the seventy-second edition").

18 E.g. in the 2000 opening sequence, host Billy Crystal had a 'private' conversation with Jack Nicholson, who was seated in the front row. Crystal said 'Jack' four times, the interpreter only two times.

In some cases zero renditions can alter the meaning of the original utterance, as when Sandra Bullock expressed her admiration for Gabourey Sidibe and Carey Mulligan in her acceptance speech, which in the Italian version omitted the latter:

Example 12 - Zero rendition¹⁹

Original Speech [AAC 2010]	Rendition	Back translation
Gabby I love you so much (.) you are exquisite you are beyond words to me (.) Carey your grace and your elegance and your beauty and your talent make me sick	Gabourey ti voglio un gran bene (.) sei squisita sei straordinaria la tua grazia la tua eleganza la tua bellezza il tuo talento mi mi fanno star male	<i>Gabourey I love you very much (.) you are exquisite you are extraordinary your grace your elegance your beauty your talent make me sick</i>

One particular use of zero renditions was observed where it was precisely the interpreter's silence that preserved the effect intended by the speaker, as when Penelope Cruz announced the best foreign language film by simply crying out "Pedro". In 2010, the winner for cinematography, Mauro Fiore, said a few words in Italian, which the interpreter left untranslated. Such cases show that the interpreters are very much aware that they are working in a multichannel context where their voices are only one of the many elements contributing to successful communication.

Occurrences in the remaining four rendition categories are relatively marginal, amounting in total to less than 10% in both years.

5.3 Reduced renditions

Reduced renditions accounted for 5.5% and 3.4% (i.e. 38 and 34) of all renditions in 2000 and 2010 respectively. They are of particular interest insofar as they allow us to see which elements interpreters choose to maintain and which to omit, though they do not tell us why this happened.

Reduced renditions occurred mainly in anthroponyms, followed by film titles (mostly foreign film titles announced in two languages in the original, but only in one language by the interpreters). With anthroponyms associated to qualifiers (34 and 20 occurrences), the types of reduction applied show a clear pattern: overall in 50% of cases qualifiers were preferred to personal names or surnames (e.g. "il mio manager" for "my manager Tony Smith"), while in only two instances was the opposite found. The other reductions mostly concern parts of multiple-element personal names or titles.

19 This excerpt contains an expanded rendition as well since "Gabby" was rendered with "Gabourey". Arguably this translation also lacks the idea of a feeling of friendship between the two women – perhaps in favour of a greater intelligibility of a rather uncommon first name.

5.4 Divergent renditions

Divergent renditions convey a different meaning from the original - in other words distort information - and are therefore particularly sensitive. They are rare in our data, with 11 items (1.6%) in 2000 and 8 (0.8%) in 2010. Generalisation is obviously difficult, but some trends can be detected. In most cases they concern anthroponyms and occur in acceptance speeches. In some cases there is an incorrect reference as in the case of “Rob and Patrick” and “Dan and Bruce” becoming just one person called “Robert Patrick” and “Danny Bruce” and “the American friends of Poland” becoming “gli amici americani polacchi” (“*the Polish American friends*”). In other cases these renditions generate a change of name category, e.g. when “my team in Jordan” becomes “Tim Jordan” or “my friends at Disney” becomes “il mio amico Dizzie” (“*my friend Dizzie*”).

5.5 Expanded renditions

Expanded renditions, where the interpreter makes something explicit or adds information with respect to the original, account for only about 1% of the total. This may appear in contradiction to the need to give foreign listeners access to implicit information available to native speakers (cf. 4 and 5), but it is hardly surprising given the time pressure under which interpreters generally work. Expansions of names may repeat information previously conveyed as shown in example 13.

Example 13 – Expanded rendition

Original Speech [AAC 2000]	Rendition	Back translation
if you had your choice and you could get the Thalberg Award or the White House (.) I think I'd stick with this	(.) hm se si potesse scegliere tra il premio Thalberg e non so (.) la Casa Bianca (.) eh credo che rimarrei attaccato piuttosto al premio Thalberg (.) lascerei perdere la Casa bianca devo dire eh (.)	hm if you could choose between the Thalberg Award and I do not know (.) the White House (.) eh I think I'd rather stick to the Thalberg Award (.) I'd forget about the White House I must say

Expansions can also occur when the interpreter adds information which was not made explicit by the speaker as when “did you know the moustache Brad Pitt wore in “Inglorious Basterds” is the same one Salma Hayek wore in Frida?” is rendered with “lo sapevi che i baffi di Brad Pitt in Bastardi Senza Gloria sono gli stessi di Salma Hayek in Frida (.) Frida Kahlo”. Or when a presenter makes a pun with the words of the movie “The Blind Side”, and the interpreter adds a more literal translation to explain its meaning in English: “si chiama The Blind Side come dire l'angolo morto” (“*It's called The Blind Side, that's to say the dead angle*”).

6. Discussion of results

Relevance Theory (RT; cf. Sperber/Wilson 1995/1986) has been applied to various aspects of simultaneous interpreting, but not to interpreters' choices on how to render culture-bound terms or names. The RT approach is based on an inferential model of communication, according to which a speaker provides evidence of his/her intention to convey a certain meaning to the listener. The latter infers this meaning by presuming optimal relevance in what is communicated and applying the principle of economy, i.e. stopping the interpretation process when a satisfactory explanation has been reached.

The interpreter, who is both a hearer and a speaker, has a double task: achieving a satisfactory idea of what the speaker wants to communicate and conveying to his/her listeners sufficient elements to guide their understanding in the same direction. While doing this, the interpreter is subject to multiple constraints, such as clients' wishes, speaker characteristics, (presumed) audience requirements and technical and process-specific aspects – above all background knowledge, cognitive processing capacity and time limits. In our case the leading maxim for the interpreters seems to be that of rendering the elements explicit by the speaker as precisely and completely as possible, close renditions being by far the most numerous category both for culture-bound elements and for names. It is striking to note how rarely the interpreters take advantage of the huge amount of redundant elements they could delete or of deictic devices which could shorten their output without information loss. In relevance theoretical terms this might mean that the patent redundancy of many expressions is considered by interpreters to be part of the speakers' intention, and the aim to give accurate and complete renditions prevails over the possibility of conveying the same message using fewer words, which would make the task of both the interpreters and listeners far easier²⁰.

Zero and reduced renditions appear as only second and third choices – arguably imposed by process constraints, e.g. insufficient time to reproduce the incoming speech completely. In the case of names, the zero renditions causing information loss occurred mainly in acceptance speeches, which contain a high concentration of problem triggers (cf. 2.2). In the case of reduced renditions, there seems to be a hierarchy of elements guiding the interpreter's choice of how to compress the message, but this aspect needs to be further investigated on a more extended database. Extended renditions entailing the explicitation of implicit meaning, on the other hand, are quite marginal. Even considering the time constraints, this is surprising, especially in relation to culture-bound references, since many aspects of implicit meaning that are perfectly understandable to an American audience remain obscure to Italians without an explanation. It would be interesting to study this aspect further, comparing extended renditions in different settings.

There is a high variability in rendition types associated with speaker categories: for names, winners seem the most difficult to translate – with 100% and 75%

20 For instance, the possibility of allowing the audience to infer information from the context by rendering the expression "Academy Award winner" without the specification "Academy Award" was rarely found in our data.

divergent renditions in 2000 and 2010 respectively. Names in presenters' speeches (which are included in the final version of the script provided to the interpreters) were rendered much more accurately. This is a strong case for giving the interpreters all available documentation as they showed that they use it efficiently.

Discussing the main results of our study on the basis of interpreting literature, some interesting observations emerge. Our datasets confirm some of the conclusions on the rendering of names reached by Gile (1984: 84) on a much smaller sample²¹:

- [...] il semblerait que dans leur choix, les interprètes cherchent essentiellement à:
- Restituer dans la mesure du possible l'intégralité de l'information véhiculée par chaque segment de discours, y compris les noms propres.
 - Limiter au maximum le risque de perte d'une information voisine par une concentration excessive sur l'information en cours de restitution.
 - Economiser leurs efforts.

With appropriate documentation available, Gile (1984 : 84) observed that:

[...] le taux de restitution des noms propres [...] se rapproche de 100% si le sujet dispose de documents qui les contiennent; rappelons que sans les documents, il est dans l'ensemble nettement inférieur à 50%.

Another point worth noting is variability between interpreters, suggesting that there are personal preferences or even specific profiles. This feature, put forward by Straniero Sergio (2007) and confirmed by Meyer (2008), was also found in our data. Renderings of names by the female interpreter in 2000 and 2010 were very similar in terms of categories: close renditions amount to 87.2% and 90.4% respectively, zero renditions to 7.6% and 7%, while reduced renditions were 2.5% in both years. A greater variability was found in rendition categories for the two male interpreters, with 68.1% of close renditions in 2000 and 85.5% in 2010; 21.9% of zero renditions in 2000 and 8.7% in 2010; and 6.7% reduced renditions in 2000 and 4.2% in 2010. These and other aspects deserve further investigation. There is undoubtedly a great deal more that can be learnt from the interpreters of the Oscar Night, for whom, at least on the basis of our analysis, this experience does not seem to be a nightmare after all.

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Modalisation and pragmatics in simultaneous TV interpreting. A case study: American presidential debates

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Abstract

“Politics is quintessentially a language game”, as Geis (1987: 13) wrote. As such it has its own rules, which politicians are expected to abide by, especially when addressing a television audience during a debate. Interpreters having to cope with media events¹ are required to act professionally while remain pragmatically and interactionally aware of the situation. Therefore, they may use a number of linguistic strategies and devices primarily aiming at accomplishing specific communicative functions. However, such process may lead to a change in the pragmatic level of the interpreted text (IT) if compared to the original one (OT).

This paper aims at analysing the impact discourse modalisation has on ITs. The research carried out on simultaneous interpreting (SI) of five American presidential debates ranging from 1984 to 2008 would suggest that modality markers used in the target language may emphasise the pragmatic level of ITs, whereas omissions and inaccurate renditions of speakers' statements would determine a mitigation of the emotional impact as perceived by interpretation users.

- 1 The term is used with reference to events having a particular “grammar”: they are characterised by “elements of monopoly, being broadcasted live, and being remote”. Moreover, “they put a full stop on everything else on the air; [...] they speak of the greatness of the event”. And, pragmatically speaking, “the interruption of the sequence of television puts a stop to the normal flow of life” (Dayan/Katz 1992: 10-1).

There is certainly no need to recall here the well-known role interpreters play in a communicative event and the responsibility they have as language and cultural mediators (cf. Rucci 1999: 152-153). However, the very notion of mediation entails a ‘filtering process’, whose (linguistic) consequences may be worth considering. This author humbly believes that in spite of theory, in practice interpretation is never completely unbiased – no matter how desirable. Additions and omissions are to be expected, as simultaneous translation implies mental processing and modulation.

Interestingly, when associated with sensitive events and speeches, such process may bring about unexpected consequences, for instance a different nuance in meaning or tone. This is particularly evident in televised political discourse during electoral campaigns², where a single word, body language or tone of voice can determine a contender’s victory. George Orwell (1946) caustically asserted that “political language [...] is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind”. Is it legitimate to ask whether it applies also to interpreted speeches or not? In other words, can interpreters’ lexical choices contribute to shape (unintentionally) the candidates’ image and if so, to what extent? And can discourse modalisation, i.e. the aforementioned filter, affect interpreted-mediated interactions?

This research tries to answer the previous questions through a qualitative and quantitative study of five TV-broadcasted American presidential debates – material selected from a wider corpus named CorIT (*Corpus di Interpretazione Televisiva, Italian Television Interpreting Corpus*) (cf. Straniero Sergio 1999a, 1999b, 2005, 2007; Falbo 2009, 2012).

As regards the organisation of the paper, a few short initial paragraphs will serve as theoretical reference in order to better identify the key concepts dealt with. A methodology description and examples will follow. Finally, results will be presented and discussed.

1. A short guide to modalisation.

Bally (in Tucci 2008) synthetically describes discourse modalisation as “l’atteggiamento del parlante sulla propria locuzione [speaker’s attitude towards his utterances]”. He underlines the speaker’s wish to express his/her individuality through speech. Bazzanella (2001: 48) corroborates his view when she explains that modality refers to “l’espressione di atteggiamenti soggettivi del parlante in

- 2 Political discourse is built around a number of recurring linguistic and metalinguistic pillars: persuasive tone, smart rhetoric and creativity – which is why it is highly responsive to the slightest lexical change. As regards the emotive function of language, cf. Nida (1990).

relazione [...] al contenuto proposizionale [the expression of speaker's subjective attitudes with reference to the propositional content]⁴".

Such a device is largely used in everyday talk, and it is extremely powerful in political speeches – the latter being centred upon modulation, prosody and strategic lexical choices⁵. However, it should not be the case of interpreters, given their gatekeeper⁶, non person nature. Yet interpretation is not the equivalent of mechanic translation. On the one hand, language mediators are indeed qualified professionals, and as such they are required to render a complete and accurate delivery with no alterations nor omissions. On the other, they are aware of (and comply with) communication needs, which include interactional pragmatics, emotional dimension, event management and audience orientation⁷. Therefore, it is plausible that they occasionally adopt discourse modalisation devices too – reasons include professional ethics (e.g. bridging a conceptual gap in the target language) and the need for a better rhetoric-stylistic rendition.

In particular, when dealing with television interpreting, modality markers aim primarily at enhancing communication between message sender (in the case studied, the politician speaking) and recipients (TV viewers), a task entailing spectacularisation and ordinary language amplification⁸. But how are they used, and with what results?

Strategies are numerous, and are indeed part of daily, unplanned communication. A good example is the use of discourse markers – lexical items that “costellano il discorso quotidiano [are an integral part of daily speech]” and are adopted “per lo più inconsapevolmente dal parlante [mostly without the speaker being aware of it]” (Bazzanella 1994: 146).

Besides, there is the subgroup of hedges, typically associated with the expression of modality as they are linguistic devices used to mitigate the impact of an utterance. Although they are generally used as fillers, in fact they have the power to intensify not only contents but also emotional involvement conveyed by words (cf. Lakoff in Markkanen/Schröder 1997: 4).

For instance, speakers use hedges to mitigate a negative face threatening act⁹ (e.g. English expression *what you might call*) or to express the degree of certainty

4 All the translations from Italian into English are of the author of the present paper.

5 Cf. Eco (1973: 93); Tosi (2001: 106). On mediatised political discourse cf. also Fairclough (1995).

6 On the interpreter's role of “reporter”, “responder”, “recapitulator” and “gatekeeper” cf. Wadensjö (1998).

7 On interpreters' creativity cf. Riccardi (1998) and Alexieva (1990).

8 It is worth noticing that modality markers (e.g. *sostanzialmente, praticamente, diciamo che* [basically, practically, let's say]) have become part of the ordinary vocabulary of mainstream TV and consequently of ‘the man in the street’, who uses them extensively in daily talk. As a result, such expressions have been popularised yet often deprived of their semantic value, which is why speakers commonly view them as interchangeable ‘empty’ fillers.

9 *Negative face* is linked to personal wish of autonomy and independence (Goffman's notion of preserving one's own territory); thus, *negative politeness* strategies are connected to mitigation of any *face-threatening act* (e.g. an order). Cf. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1992: 167-8).

of a statement (e.g. adverbs *maybe, probably*, verbal expressions such as *I believe, it seems to me*). Here, modalising function applies (cf. Heino *et al.* 2002: 134-5).

The use of hedging as modalisation strategy is a relatively new study topic. It was firstly explored in the second half of last century and has flourished since. Zadeh (1965) and Weinreich (1966) pioneered the field, initially describing hedges as *metalinguistic operators*. Their definition was later complemented by Lakoff (1972), Fraser (1975) and Brown/Levinson (1978, 1987), the latter specifically applying the concept of hedging to politeness in verbal interaction. In the eighties, research was further developed by House/Kasper (1981), who established a connection between these items and the expression of modality, and Prince *et al.* (1982) who distinguished two main groups within the category, i.e. *approximators* and *shields*. Most recently, Salager-Meyer (1994), Yule (1996) and Markkanen/Schröder (1997) contributed to the analysis of hedging expressions in English¹⁰.

Given the large number of relevant articles and publications, this author does not presume to review here all literature in the area, but hopes to have sufficiently outlined the theoretical basis for this study. Building upon it, precise criteria may be identified.

2. Research criteria

Specific guidelines were set for the purpose of this ad-hoc corpus analysis. The whole group of discourse modalisation markers was taken into account and considered according to the classification suggested by Straniero Sergio (2007: 498, 501):

- modal adverbs (*forse, probabilmente, magari, un po', almeno, un pochino, tutto sommato*, etc. [maybe, probably, perhaps, a little, at least, a bit, all things considered, etc.]);
- phrasal adverbs (*ovviamente, sostanzialmente, praticamente*, etc. [obviously, basically, practically, etc.]);
- prepositional phrases (*in qualche modo, in un certo senso, una specie di, una sorta di, tra virgolette*, etc. [somehow, in a way, a kind of, a sort of, in inverted commas, etc.]);
- phrasal expressions (*direi, mi sembra, diciamo, per così dire, devo dire che*, etc. [I would say, let's say, so to say, I must say that, etc.]), including subcategories as performatives modified by verbs (*mi è consentito dire, mi permetto di*, etc. [allow me to say, I dare to, etc.]) and by adverbs (*se così vogliamo dire, dico semplicemente, chiamiamola così*, etc. [if we may say so, I simply say, let's call it this way, etc.]);
- adjectives (*cosiddetto, un certo*, etc. [so-called, a certain (something), etc.]).

The aforementioned mitigating devices are further complemented by strengthening ones, aimed at emphasizing originally neutral speech parts. In this respect, Straniero Sergio (2007: 514) considers two groups:

10 For an extensive bibliography on hedging research, cf. Schröder/Zimmer (1997).

- *certainty markers*, aimed at asserting the truth and which include two subgroups, the emphatic (*veramente, sicuramente, letteralmente, in realtà, addirittura, etc.* [truly, surely, literally, in fact, even, etc.]) and assessment (*interessante, notevole, purtroppo, etc.* [interesting, remarkable, unfortunately, etc.]);
- *saliency markers*, aimed at pointing out the core content of the statement (*in sostanza, fondamentalemente, esattamente, proprio, etc.* [substantially, essentially, exactly, really, just, etc.]).

The textual analysis consisted of three phases: initially, the OT was compared with its interpreted counterpart (IT) for each debate of the chosen corpus. The objective was to identify the parts of the Italian transcript where the modalising elements listed above were deliberately added – i.e. without a correspondence in the source text.

Then, data were considered quantitatively. During this stage the recurrence frequency of the markers was noted and cross-correlated with further criteria (e.g. pragmatic functions, perceived textual mitigation and strengthening, etc.). Finally, data were presented in a tabular form for a better overall view.

3. Selected corpus.

As specified in the introductory section, the research was carried out on a selected corpus comprising five American presidential debates, i.e. Mondale-Reagan (1984), Bush-Dukakis (1988), Bush-Clinton-Perot (1992), Bush (George W.)-Kerry (2004) and the most recent McCain-Obama (2008). It has to be recalled that in 1984 and 1988 two TV-broadcasted debates were organised, whereas in 1992, 2004 and 2008 there were three. However, for research purpose, only one per electoral campaign has been selected.

As regards their brief description, the main features of the texts and recordings are listed in the table below:

Debate	Broadcast time and mode	Interpreters' team
1. MONDALE-REAGAN	wholly and pre-recorded	4 interpreters (3 men and 1 woman)
2. BUSH-DUKAKIS	wholly and pre-recorded	3 interpreters (2 men and 1 woman)
3. BUSH-CLINTON-PEROT	wholly and live	4 male interpreters
4. BUSH (G. W.)-KERRY	wholly and live	1 female interpreter
5. MCCAIN-OBAMA	wholly and live	2 male interpreters

total time of SI analysed: =/-7 hours

Figure 1. Corpus features overview

It has to be stressed that the choice of the debates was not based upon these elements (broadcast time and mode, interpreters' team). Nevertheless, in debate 4 the team composition was worth considering, especially if related both to the number of the event participants (three men) and to the transmission mode (in Italy the whole debate here considered was broadcasted live and interpreted entirely by one, unassisted woman). It goes without saying that in this instance

modalising features were easily identified and ascribed to the only performer. Hence, individual style clearly emerges.

4. Qualitative analysis.

Research involved an initial exam of the target language text, although light was mainly cast upon OT-IT comparison. Efforts were aimed primarily at detecting modality markers and strategies¹¹. Furthermore, the initial hypotheses needed to be verified, i.e. whether or not modalisation occurs and if it has repercussions on the interpretation users' perception.

For the purpose of this paper, a number of examples featuring different mechanisms have been selected.

To begin with, here is an excerpt from debate 1, where the interpreter of former President Reagan introduces modal adverbs in a number of occasions. According to ordinary language habits, adverbs such as *chiaramente*, *naturalmente* [clearly, naturally] would be very popular among Italian speakers and would be often used as qualifiers in communication. Under certain circumstances, they have the potential to intensify speakers' statements, as shown in the examples below:

Example 1

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>we're not in the habit of assigning guilt before THERE HAS BEEN PROPER EVIDENCE PRODUCED AND PROOF OF THAT GUILT. But if guilt is established, whoever is guilty we will treat with that situation then, and they will be removed</i>	<i>non siamo soliti attribuire la colpa prima che non si siano prodotte le prove CHIARAMENTE della colpevolezza ma una volta stabilita [...] chi [...] risulta colpevole NATURALMENTE dovrà tenere in considerazione questa cosa</i>	<i>we are not in the habit of assigning guilt before there has been proof clearly of the guilt but once it is established, whoever is guilty of course will have to consider this</i>
<i>we're retaliating with THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE for the terrorist acts</i>	<i>colpire VERAMENTE i responsabili</i>	<i>we will hit those responsible indeed</i>
<i>no, Morton, I don't agree to all of those things</i>	<i>no PROPRIO non mi sento di sottoscrivere quello che lei dice</i>	<i>no, I definitely cannot endorse what you are saying</i>

In IT, Ronald Reagan's declarations are notably strengthened through the interpreter additions – a choice likely to affect the Italian-speaking audience

11 Notably, Palmer (in Raynaud 1992: 129) describes modalisation “grammaticalizzazione degli atteggiamenti e delle opinioni (soggettive) del parlante [grammaticalisation of speaker's attitudes and (subjective) opinions]”, whereas Lewandowski (in Raynaud 1992: 129) defines it “una categoria inclusiva ed estensiva [...] morfosintattica e semantico-pragmatica (comunicativa) [...] e può essere realizzata grammaticalmente e/o lessicalmente, intonazionalmente, retoricamente ecc. [an inclusive and extensive morphosyntactic and pragmatic-semantic (communicative) category, which can be expressed through grammar and/or lexicon, intonation, rhetoric, etc.]”.

perception too, as the candidate appears more clear-headed than he really is. However, results can be opposite when modality markers are used improperly, e.g. bringing about the unintended mitigation of what happens to be the debate key statement. Here, the choice of the conditional mode does not seem to mirror the assertiveness expressed by the future tenses originally used:

Example 2

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
I WILL NOT MAKE <i>age an issue of this campaign</i> . I AM NOT GOING TO EXPLOIT, <i>for political purposes, my opponent's youth and inexperience</i>	io non FAREI dell'età una questione in questa campagna io non SFRUTTEREI questa situazione per motivi politici	I would not make <i>age an issue in this campaign</i> I would not exploit this situation for <i>political reasons</i>

Switching to a different function of discourse modalisation performed through hedges, a defensive use is well exemplified in Bush-Dukakis face-to-face. Here, interpreters seem to be concerned with safeguarding their public image while assuring the smooth message transmission. Indeed, strategic modality markers may help in overcoming linguistic difficulties and preserving effective communication, as well expressed by the following example:

Example 3

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
(Dukakis referring to Bush) [...] <i>he is gonna be the JOE ISUZU of American politics</i>	[...] <i>sarà VERAMENTE UNA SPECIE DI m- un Pinocchio della politica americana</i>	[...] <i>he will be really a sort of Pinocchio of American politics</i>

The challenge is clear: Michael Dukakis is using a culture-bound term which cannot be literally translated if the Italian-speaking audience is to understand the meaning and the irony of the statement¹². Therefore, the interpreter wisely chooses a linguistic and cultural adaptation, which requires a few seconds to be uttered. This time is filled with an emphatic expression, a prepositional phrase and a little hesitation – suggesting that markers may carry out a time-gaining¹³ and word-searching function, too.

When used with a modalising connotation, verbs and adverbs can partially solve delivery problems, as they would disguise the inaccurate renditions and mark detachment in case of unsatisfactory translations. For instance, in the same

12 During the second half of the eighties, Joe Isuzu became famous as the spokesman of a series of adverts of the Isuzu car company; he was mainly known for the blatant lies used in his overinflated claims – which is the idea Dukakis wants to convey about his opponent's declarations.

13 According to Setton (1999: 185) “interpreters often introduce connectives and/or conative rhetorical phrases” called *stalling devices*, specifying that “some are purely performance variations of spoken discourse [...] but others carry meaning [...] including adverbs, conjunctions, parenthetical additions and discourse connectives”.

IT the verbal expression *diciamo* [let's say] often appears when interpreters face a problematic point in the text (due to e.g. a syntactic structure). Here are some interesting cases:

Example 4

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>full enforcement of the catastrophic health insurance</i>	<i>applicare pienamente il programma di assistenza sanitaria per eventi DICIAMO di emergenza</i>	<i>fully apply the health insurance program for events let's say of emergency</i>
<i>he was moving away from his own record, from what his passion has been over the years</i>	<i>stava facendo marcia indietro dalla sua storia dalla DICIAMO dalle cause che avevano infiammato la sua passione nel passato</i>	<i>he was stepping off from his story from let's say from the causes which had fuelled his passion in the past</i>
<i>in using food as a political weapon</i>	<i>utilizzando DICIAMO gli alimenti come un'arma DICIAMO una leva di ricatto</i>	<i>using let's say food as a weapon let's say for blackmail</i>
<i>there are three people on our ticket that are acknowledgeable</i>	<i>nel mio gruppo DICIAMO ci sono tante persone competenti</i>	<i>in my group let's say there are a lot of qualified people</i>

So much for the eighties debates, now for the ninety decade. An excerpt from three-way duel Bush-Clinton-Perot offers the opportunity to explore further an unusual aspect of modalisation, namely its association with gesture and onomatopoeia.

Example 5

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>There was a momentary fear that he might win and that THE MARKETS WENT PHWEE, DOWN LIKE THAT</i> (accompanying the sound with the gesture of a free-falling hand)	<i>i mercati sono crollati L'AVETE VISTO ANCHE VOI</i>	<i>markets have crashed you saw it too</i>

In the example above, former President Bush is commenting on the markets' reaction to the possible victory of Governor Clinton and chooses to support his words with a clear gesture. The interpreter addresses directly the audience adding to the main clause a verbal expression – thus stimulating its active hearing and bringing the conversation on a more intimate level. This choice would appear particularly significant if the context is taken into account: neither the sound nor the gesture can be repeated, hence the verbalisation and modalisation of both a visual act and an acoustic feature through a sort of meta-discourse reference to the words, gesture and onomatopoeia in the OT¹⁴. Interestingly, semantics is safeguarded, as is rhetoric.

14 As regards the explicit rendition of deictic gestures, cf. Straniero Sergio (2007: 358).

A few minutes later, a similar situation has to be dealt with, yet this time the approach is totally different:

Example 6

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>I might say to Mr. Perot, I CAN UNDERSTAND WHY YOU MIGHT HAVE MISSED IT [...] but I worked out a deal with Boris Yeltsin to eliminate, get rid of entirely, the most destabilizing weapons of all</i>	<i>io ho dovuto negoziare con Boris Eltsin per eliminare l'arma più destabilizzante [...] GLI È SFUGGITO A PEROT</i>	<i>I had to negotiate with Boris Eltsin in order to eliminate the most destabilizing weapon [...] Perot must have missed it</i>

In the very beginning of his intervention, Mr. Bush is attacking Mr. Perot using a direct tone and a past conditional, but in the IT the allocution is recalled at the end of the sentence. Specifically, it takes the form of a speaker's comment on his opponent and it involves a pronominal shift from "you" to "he". While the meaning is mostly well expressed, the pragmatic level is slightly distorted, as the original speaker's intentions are conveyed indirectly through a mitigating closing remark.

As mentioned earlier, in ITs hedges and markers may be combined with imperfect translations – as a matter of fact, they are often to be read as 'warnings' about language uncertainties, as the following examples indicate:

Example 7

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>confirmed addicts</i>	<i>i tossicodipendenti DICIAMO da lungo tempo</i>	<i>long-time drug addicts</i>
<i>DEA</i>	<i>agenti DICIAMO del servizio antidroga</i>	<i>officials let's say of the anti-drug service</i>

Modalisation devices as such must not be confused with their use as discourse fillers. For instance, in the IT of debate 4 the expression *come sapete* [as you know] is recurrently found – it would appear a sort of verbal tic of the interpreter translating alone the whole event. However, under specific circumstances, the results obtained are worth considering:

Example 8

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>The A.Q. KHAN NETWORK has been brought to justice</i>	<i>COME SAPETE abbiamo portato davanti alla giustizia molti terroristi</i>	<i>as you know we have brought to justice many terrorists</i>
<i>as a matter of fact, this is a global effort (talking about fight against terrorism)</i>	<i>infatti COME SAPETE questo è uno sforzo globale</i>	<i>as a matter of fact as you know this is a global effort</i>

In the first case, the double difficulty listening comprehension-name (re)production has to be coped with; the chosen option is a generalisation,

significantly introduced by a hedge marker – as Zecchini (2006) already suggested in her research. Consequently, the politician seems to get closer to the audience and the least-commitment strategy saves the interpreter’s face.

In the second, the (properly translated) declarative conjunction is coupled with the verbal expression added by the interpreter. The resulting incipit reinforces the whole idea, since it seems to reflect the speaker’s wish to involve the general public in his remark on such a sensitive topic.

Markers analysed thus far primarily affect textual pragmatics, if the latter refers to audience reception of the original message and its effects on the hearers. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that hedging strategies may have an effect not only on the literal meaning of a sentence but also on the implicit declaration of intents to the general public. Suffice it to compare the following OT with the corresponding IT, again from Bush-Kerry TV duel:

Example 9

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>I would hope I never have to. I UNDERSTAND HOW HARD IT IS TO COMMIT TROOPS. Never wanted to commit troops.</i>	<i>spero di non doverlo fare mai più DOVETE CAPIRE QUANT'È DIFFICILE IMPEGNAR LE TRUPPE non avrei mai voluto impegnare i miei soldati</i>	<i>I hope I will never have to do it again you must understand how hard is to commit troops I would have never wanted to commit my soldiers</i>

At a first glance the shift is clear: the first person singular is replaced by the second person plural. On the semantic level, it entails a double switch: from the individual level to the community level and from assertion to exhortation. On the emotional level, it may be argued that the speaker is no longer directly involved as the spotlight is put on the audience understanding rather than on his. It is particularly meaningful if two factors are taken into account: the sensitive topic discussed is the military action in Iraq and the sentence appears in between two short, powerful statements all referred to the pronoun I – correctly kept in the Italian translation. In such a case the omission (or rather the switch) of the personal pronoun ‘breaks’ the lexical continuity of the OT and results in a slight detachment of the ‘interpreted candidate’ of the IT from his original attitude.

Discourse markers are best known for their contribution to textual cohesion and expression of speakers’ views, which are key aspects of all communication but especially of politics. Therefore, when interpreting a presidential candidate speech, their use in OTs should be noticed, rapidly analyzed and conveyed accordingly – as the issue at stake might be the informal, inspired and charismatic image of themselves which politicians wish to project.

It is the case of the McCain-Obama debate, which is built around colloquial expressions, crosstalk, overlaps and direct appeals to the middle-class electorate through the constant reference to *Joe the plumber*¹⁵. Yet, all these elements are often

15 Maurizio Molinari (2010) writes that “di Joe l’idraulico si è parlato per ben 26 volte in 90 minuti di dibattito, rispetto alle 16 occasioni in cui si è trattato dell’economia, il tema centrale delle elezioni, e le nove volte in cui si è affrontato il tema dell’Iraq [Joe the plumber was mentioned twenty-six times in a 90-minute debate, whereas

omitted in IT, as are those defining speakers' views – i.e. verbs of opinion, modal adverbs, etc. As a consequence, when drawing a comparison between the original and the interpreted version, the impact of the personal component seems greatly reduced.

However, interpreters of debate 5 are not immune to modalisation strategies. On the contrary, they use them in a number of cases with repair and expansion functions:

Example 10

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
(talking about Sarah Palin) she negotiated with the oil companies and faced them down, a \$40 billion pipeline [...] that's going to relieve the energy needs of the United	si è messa intorno a un tavolo con le aziende petrolifere e ha rifiutato o MEGLIO ha costruito un oleodotto che CHIARAMENTE andrà ad aiutare gli abitanti americani	she sat at a negotiating table with oil companies and she refused, or rather, she built a pipeline that will obviously help American people
it's mortgaging our children's future	QUESTO SIGNIFICA ipotecare il futuro dei nostri figli	this means mortgaging the future of our children
I am a free trader	io sono ASSOLUTAMENTE a favore del libero mercato e del commercio	I am absolutely in favour of free market and trade

Significantly, in the first instance the initial inaccuracy is swiftly corrected through a reformulation and a subsequent modal adverb which aims at casting light upon the second part of the sentence.

Examples two and three show how hedges may be used as introductory elements. In this capacity they emphasize the value of the statements – especially in the third case, where the concise nominal expression requires a further explanation to be properly conveyed in the target language.

The aforementioned cases are indeed a subset of all the occurrences which emerged from the comparison OT/IT. They have been selected with the aim of identifying the range of functions, effects and textual/pragmatic implications of modalisation strategies.

The qualitative stage proved helpful in the initial description of the studied topic. Yet a quantitative follow-up was needed to make sense of the information gathered and to establish connections.

5. Presentation of results and discussion

Numerical data were analysed as follows: for each text, the frequency of use of the described modality markers was firstly counted separately, then figures were grouped in three macro-categories and summed up. This enabled a plainer visual representation of results:

economics, the main topic in the elections, was mentioned sixteen times and Iraq nine”.

Debate	Categories	Adverbial expressions	Phrasal expressions	Discourse markers
1. Reagan – Mondale		42	17	12
2. Bush – Dukakis		44	36	25
3. Bush – Clinton – Perot		20	21	26
4. Bush – Kerry		49	50	11
5. McCain – Obama		20	10	24
Total		175	134	98

Figure 2. Modality strategies distribution within the analysed presidential debates.

The table provides a clearer insight of the phenomenon, as it shows clearly the primacy of adverbs – among which, certainty markers (e.g. *veramente* [really], *sicuramente* [certainly]) prevail upon saliency ones (e.g. *in sostanza* [in substance], *fondamentalmente* [basically]), in a 6:1 ratio.

Once qualitative and quantitative research outputs were combined, it became evident that within specific text sections markers carry out a number of functions. According to available data, they may be classed into four different groups:

- micro-planning and stalling;
- interpretation imperfection and detachment marking;
- repair (aimed at “disguising” a mistake or an imperfection);
- ‘simple’ adding which does not accomplish any of the aforementioned functions.

At this point, it was possible to establish a relation between the markers use and their roles. The following pie chart visually exemplifies it:

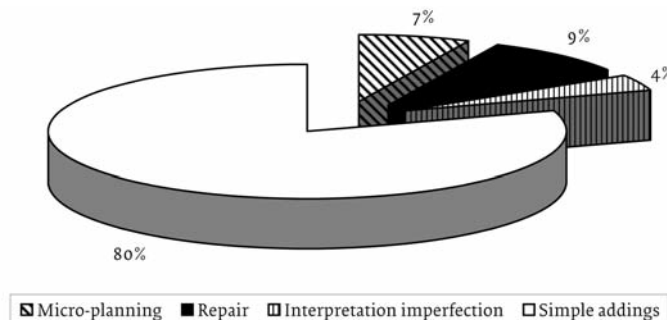


Figure 3. Markers frequency sorted by function.

As clearly shown, modality markers not accomplishing a specific function are used the most. Given that they do play neither a pragmatic nor a syntactic role in the IT, this author suggests that they might be considered ‘simple’ additions to the source text. Repair-oriented markers rank second, with a few percentage points difference than micro-planning. Lastly, interpretation imperfections correspond to four percent – a percentage value not extremely significant from the statistical point of view but still suggesting that modalisation is one of the face-saving strategies used in case of inaccuracies.

Once the markers' roles were spotted, attention was drawn to the contribution of each macro-category (i.e. adverbs, discourse markers and phrasal expressions) to modalisation. In particular, the focus was placed upon the relation between the functional groups listed above and the modal categories of figure 2. The column chart below sums up the total figures for the three classes and the relevant occurrences in the target texts:

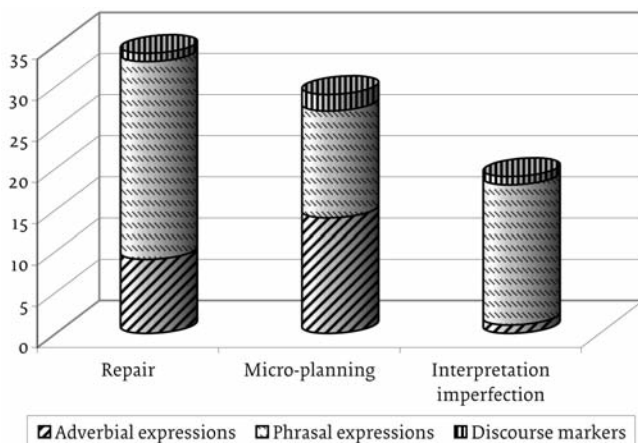


Figure 4. Modality markers functional contribution - grouped by category.

Looking at the first and at the last column, phrasal expressions appear to have the largest share (which is also due to the fact that the category includes both phrasal and verbal idioms, and there were fifty of them in debate 4 only, hence the higher figures).

Adverbs are in second place, mainly associated to stalling, whereas discourse markers (DMs) rank third. This might be explained bearing in mind that in ordinary language (which is in fact the source of political language) their role tends to be 'limited' to textual cohesion and coherence. Besides, they carry no propositional content, which is why speakers often consider them 'mere' additions to the conversation. However, in the case of presidential debates interpretation, there seems to be a thin dividing line between DMs translated as part of the faithful delivery of the original message and DMs used as fillers or interpreters' automatisms (such as the expression *come sapete* [as you know] in debate 4). In the latter case, they do not contribute functionally to IT, as shown in the bar chart above, but are likely to fall within the simple additions category of figure 3.

Lastly, changes to the pragmatic level of the IT compared to the OT deserve attention: the chart below exemplifies the number of occurrences in which an emphasis (marked in dark grey) or a down-toning effect (marked in light grey) was noticed. The column on the left refers to the cases connected to discourse modalisation¹⁶, whereas the one on the right to other interpreters' inputs on the

¹⁶ Which is to say, when the strengthening or the mitigation are likely to be due to the use of markers, i.e. hedges.

OT – e.g. omissions, inaccuracies, reformulation strategies, generalisations, inappropriate lexical choices, etc.

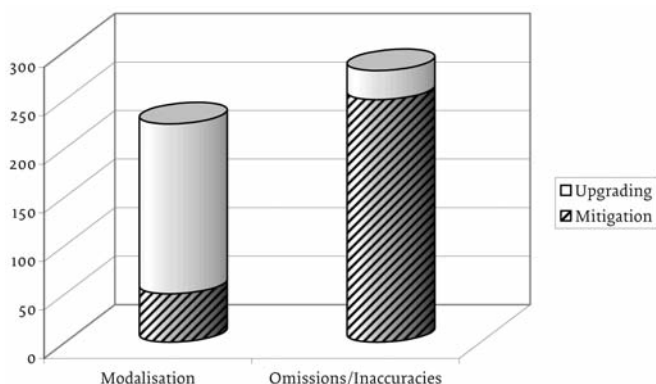


Figure 5. Pragmatic-semantic shift of the OT and possible language-related causes.

Data appear to confirm initial impressions deriving from the qualitative analysis: modalising elements would enhance the pragmatic value of the original text, rendering the tone of those specific IT excerpts more confident and expressive. A good example is the upgrading of the speaker's rhetoric style – e.g. in the Bush-Clinton-Perot debate, there is a subtle change of nuances between the English original and the Italian version:

Example 11

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>And are you at all of a mind that maybe it ought to go to another level, if not to what's advocated by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Milton Friedman, LEGALIZATION, SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THERE AND WHERE WE ARE NOW?</i>	<i>secondo lei la lotta dovrebbe passare a un altro livello se non proprio quello che viene promosso da Milton Friedman e Buckley OVVERO la liberalizzazione SI DOVREBBE ARRIVARE a una soluzione di compromesso?</i>	<i>do you think that the fight should go to another level if not exactly the one promoted by Milton Friedman and Buckley, which is to say liberalisation, a compromise solution should be achieved?</i>

On the contrary, a careless use of markers may bring about downtoning effects, as shown in this passage from the Bush-Dukakis debate:

Example 12

Original text	Interpreted text	English translation of the interpreted text
<i>THERE'S A MATTER OF FACT the system that the administration is now talking about is very different from the one it was originally proposed in nineteen hundred eighty-three</i>	<i>CIOÈ VERAMENTE il sistema che l'amministrazione ora di cui ora sta trattando è molto diverso da quello concepito nell'ottantatré</i>	<i>well really the system that the administration now is now considering is very different from the one conceived in the eighty-three</i>

OT formality and clarity are lacking in the IT, mainly due to the inaccurate introductory string “che l’amministrazione ora di cui ora sta trattando [that the administration now is now considering]”. Besides, in the Italian rendition the combination discourse marker-adverb at the very beginning does not seem to open the sentence as elegantly and directly as the English original. As a result, the IT appears slightly confused in comparison with the corresponding source excerpt.

Generally, from the contrastive exam OTs/ITs this author perceived a diminished assertiveness as well as a mitigation of speakers’ remarks. Furthermore, utterance truth level is often negatively affected. Reasons include the omission of single words or longer clusters, interpretation imperfections, hesitant and unintelligible delivery¹⁷. In other words, if the Italian-speaking viewers were to give credit to the candidates on the basis of the interpreted version of their interventions in the debates, there would be discrepancies with the English one: some of them would appear deliberately lacking emphasis (Reagan), little clear-minded (Dukakis) and more distant (Obama) than in reality. Others, whose original performance was not particularly brilliant (Bush senior), would be saved (together with their faces)¹⁸ by a “telegenic”¹⁹, skilled interpreter.

A further related aspect is worth considering. Indeed, all modalisation strategies are implemented through additions. Thus, it could be argued that the two categories do not only resemble each other but may also overlap. Literature seems to confirm it: Rucci/Russo (1997: 183) quote Altman in describing additions “che assolvono fini pragmatici [performing pragmatic functions], whereas Falbo (2002) adopts the definitions of understatement and overstatement²⁰, which can be reasonably matched with the notions of mitigation and strengthening here discussed. In an extensive study on media interpreting, Straniero Sergio (2007) observes that additions having an effect on the semantic-pragmatic level are not an exception but the rule. Finally, Jacobsen (2004: 244) identifies emphasizing and down-toning additions having an impact on the source text, and tries to

17 Viezzi (2001: 184) correctly advocates that “nella comunicazione politica il senso è non solo e non tanto il *vouloir dire*, ma anche, forse soprattutto, *la façon de le dire* [in political communication, meaning lays not only and not mainly in the communicative intention but also, and perhaps primarily, in the way things are said].

18 The notion of face is to be read according to the approach suggested by Brown/Levinson (1987).

19 Here the concept of telegenic quality refers to “la misura in cui un’interpretazione può considerarsi *televisivamente* fruibile [the extent to which an interpretation performance responds to TV users’ needs]”, which includes elements as pleasant voice, good pronunciation, fluent and clear expression (Straniero Sergio 2007: 544-46), not to mention wise use of pauses, textual cohesion awareness and the search for equivalent rhetoric strategies (Viezzi 2001: 183-86).

20 Falbo (2002: 121) mentions respectively “an idea in the OT [which] is toned down in the IT” and “an idea in the OT [which] is emphasized in the IT”; moreover, she completes her classification with the notion of intensity, i.e. “emotional and rhetorical features of an OT unit” which can be transferred or not in the IT. It has to be pointed out that in her paper the terms understatement and overstatement are used with reference to a particular information loss inferred from the comparison OT/IT.

explain their use with the specific purpose of “making speakers’ intentions available, or more easily available, to end receivers” Jacobsen (2004: 247) – definition that applies also to discourse modalisation purpose.

In conclusion, simultaneous TV interpreters would use modalisation strategies too, and they are likely to do it through additions having a pragmatic effect on the target text. As outlined in the previous paragraphs, markers include:

- hedges (phrasal and verbal expressions)
- prepositional phrases
- modal verbs
- adjectives
- discourse markers

and the functions they carry out may be distinguished between:

- time-gaining
- repair and politeness-oriented purpose
- interpretation imperfection disguise
- verbalisation of a visual act/suprasegmental feature
- marking detachment from an inaccurate translation (defensive use).

Their use may result in:

- either a toning up
- or a toning down

of speakers’ statements and therefore of the IT pragmatic surface.

6. Conclusions

The study drew on the features and effects of lexical *manipulation* mechanisms applied to a specific area of SI: media interpreting. Italian ITs and English OTs were comparatively examined with a view to verify the presence and impact of modality markers (i.e. propositional-content modifiers reflecting speakers’ attitudes). Both the corpus (a selection of American presidential debates) and criteria used (modalisation strategies) were deliberately customized.

Initially, the hypothesis was based upon a general remark: every interpreter-mediated interaction entails a filtering process which has an impact on the target text. Indeed, interpreters are professionally committed to excellence and integrity, and their linguistic choices comply with such criteria. Yet, contrary to machine translation, they activate a complex mental process which does not disregard situational factors, interactional conventions and speakers’ intentions. Therefore, it is plausible that they make use of discourse modalisation devices in order to accomplish specific communicative tasks.

Data collected during both the qualitative and quantitative stages seem to confirm it: modalisation occurs frequently in TV interpreting and it can take

different forms. Strategies used are various (prepositional phrases, verbs, hedging, phrasal expressions, etc.) yet adverbs seem to be preferred to others.

Indeed, these markers are not used *intentionally*, i.e. interpreters do not *aim* at modifying speakers' utterances but pursue different objectives (cf. fig. 2)²¹. Furthermore, professionally trained interpreters will certainly give priority to discourse comprehension and faithful reproduction of the speakers' image and *vouloir dire*. However, when modalisation techniques are found in IT, a pragmatic effect on the text may be reasonably expected.

Far from claiming that the interpreted version of a televised political debate may affect the candidate's image or his electoral performance, the impact on the IT of such modalising additions needs to be considered. They may tone down sentences, mitigate declarations or intensify the emotional charge of the speech and emphasise the value of a statement.

Similarly, from the comparative analysis of source/target text it emerged that mitigating or omitting OT modality markers may have equal effects. In other words, placing (unintentional) emphasis on a candidate statement would alter as much the text pragmatics as reducing the speaker's assertiveness, verve and irony would. In this sense, this small-scale research would suggest that modalisation applied to SI of TV-broadcasted presidential debates partly contributes to shape the politicians' TV-mediated profile (mainly in terms of language and in the way their discourse impacts the audience). Interpreters whose services are called upon in these particular working circumstances certainly have to be trained properly, to make inferential and interactional efforts and above all to recall one of the profession's golden rules: the weight of words must be always considered. And if there is something that cannot be put into words, then it might need to be kept silent.

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21 Di Giovannantonio (2008) explains in her research on eighteen presidential debates that hedging techniques are greatly used by interpreters when dealing with CBE (culture-bound elements), with time gaining and detachment functions.

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Skilled-based and knowledge-based strategies in Television Interpreting

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Interpreting, especially simultaneous,
does not yield up its secrets easily
(Setton 2005: 277).

Abstract

*Television Interpreting and Conference Interpreting have always been regarded as profoundly different in terms of the expected performance and the interpreting strategies utilized. Television interpreting is a multi-faceted activity, requiring a particular mind-set and special communicative skills: television interpreters produce their own text, in an attempt to ensure coherence and convey the same effect that the speaker wants to obtain, with little or no possibility of using *décalage* due to the pragmatic context. The paper investigates how the flow of discourse is managed by television interpreters, with a special focus on the use of prosody and discourse markers. The analysis is conducted on a corpus of recorded texts, interpreted in simultaneous mode by a professional conference interpreter, working for public television. The typology of the interpreted event is the press conference interview, characterized by a rapid question and answer format. Through this analysis, we shall outline a profile of television interpreters and their interpreting strategies.*

Introduction

The study consists of a corpus-driven analysis of Formula One press conference interviews broadcast on Italian television and interpreted simultaneously from English into Italian by the same interpreter. This case study is part of a larger corpus of simultaneously-interpreted interviews that was drawn upon to illustrate interpreters' behaviour in practice. The text belongs to the "interview" genre and, more specifically to the "press conference" format. In our sub-corpus we analyzed 10 interviews in order to observe how the interpreter manages the information flow, with limited use of *décalage*, as dictated by the context. In line with Straniero Sergio (2003: 140) the approach is not that of error analysis: the focus is instead on observing translation practices in a real setting. Transcription of the target text (TT) was made using Winpitch¹, while the source text (ST) transcription was retrieved from the Fédération Internationale de l'Automobile (FIA) website². The audio TTs were provided by Teche RAI³ upon our request. The available interpreted version per interview is extremely brief (four minutes, on average) with a maximum of three questions. Synchronization of the ST with the TT was not possible because the original audio was not available; only the transcripts of the ST were available, therefore an objective quantification of *décalage* in seconds or in words was not possible. However, in the translated version the original sound is never entirely covered by the interpreter's voice and always remains in the background, allowing the researcher to make some observations, as noted by other researchers (among others, Straniero Sergio 2007: 13; Kurz 1995: 197). Our initial assumption was that the use of *décalage* is very much limited for the media interpreter. Excluding the possibility to use the time lag depending on ST difficulty, source language speaker accent or speed, our intention was to observe which production strategies were used by the interpreter in order to achieve cohesion and coherence. The observation of phenomena like pauses, latching and prosody yielded interesting results.

1. Conference and Television Interpreting

Though no clear-cut distinctions can be made between conference interpreting and television interpreting (TI), from our corpus analysis some peculiar features characterizing TI can be outlined. Generally speaking, television interpreters are conference interpreters with a common background in terms of their experience in conference interpreting. Talking about conference interpreting in general terms is unrealistic; there are several "sub-genres" that determine different interpreting strategies and approaches; different types of communication settings involve different participants (Fairclough 1995: 39) with different needs

1 www.winpitch.com

2 www.fia.com

3 Rai Multimedia Archive.

4 The fact that long *décalage* is not used in real practice was confirmed by the interpreter himself when asked to explain the major difficulties encountered in a media context, during an informal conversation with the author.

and expectations. Rather than outlining these differences, we prefer to talk about the context where TI is occurring; considering the context is a pre-requisite in order to understand the distinctive features of TI and to understand the nature of the context is to grasp the principles that govern the interpreting strategies and its requirements. Interpreting is a “specialized complex type of bi-lingual, sense-oriented communicative verbal activity” (Chernov 1985: 170) whose specific function is to deliver a service, in a specific context and for the benefit of a specific group of users. The specificity of the context determines users’ expectations and influences interpreters’ strategies.

1.1 The context

Talk is context-shaped in the sense that, in constructing their talks, participants address themselves to preceding talk (Heritage 1998).

In TI the preexisting repertoire of possible roles played by the interpreter is deeply transformed by the context where interpreting takes place. According to Auer (1992: 22), drawing upon Goffman’s theories:

Social roles have to be made relevant in interaction in order to provide the context for interpretation: a doctor is not a doctor because he or she holds a diploma and a patient isn’t a patient because s/he entered a doctor’s office; but because they become incumbents of the complementary roles of doctor and patient, because of the way they interact, taking on the rights and obligations of the partners in this unequal relationship.

The context helps the interpreter to find the appropriate strategy but this requires flexibility and fast reaction times. Sperber/Wilson (in Auer 1992: 22) see the context as “a set of assumptions which have to be selected by the individual from a larger set of assumptions [...] and as soon as such a set has been chosen, the processing of a new utterance (comprehension) can take place”. In institutional talk, unlike ordinary conversation, participants “are fundamentally constrained” by the context (Heritage 1998: 7). Interviewers (IR) and interviewees (IE) play different roles: IRs restrict themselves to asking questions and cannot discuss the IE’s position; likewise, IEs “restrict themselves to answer to questions and they cannot ask questions, or at least responding to them. This constraint shapes the form taken by participants’ talk” (Heritage 1998: 7) and places the IR in control of the interactional management of the interview. The timing of the turns and the exact moment when each question is asked are determined by the IR who does not wait for the interpreter to conclude his translation. In the press conferences analyzed in our corpus the question is not translated to the IE by the interpreter but the Italian IR⁵ asks the question in English and then the interpreter translates it into Italian for the TV viewers. The point in all this is that for the interpreter it

5 The communicative situation is not monolingual. The interviewer is an Italian journalist but he asks questions in English and drivers need no translation. In this instance, the interpreting service is an additional service provided for TV viewers. Even though the interpreting of the IR question has no bearing on the press conference itself, it has a strong impact on the final outcome of the TT.

is imperative to finish translating his turn on time not to overlap with the IR formulation of the question for two main reasons: the question needs to be interpreted into Italian; the question may “nominate a newsworthy topic which will be developed in the answer” (Heritage 1985: 96).

Before focusing on the interpreter’s strategies and skills we want to outline some features characterizing TI Formula One press conferences.

1.2. Some features of Formula One press conferences

Decontextualization. Discourse on TV has a double function: to create a communicative interaction and to be heard by absent hearers (Scannell 1991: 1). One of the most apparent features of TI is that the interpreter speaks to an *overhearing* audience, nowhere to be seen, whose needs and expectations are specific but not easily inferable from the context at the moment of speaking; the interpreter will have a chance to receive the audience’s *affiliative response* (Atkinson 1984) through indirect channels, mainly blogs, but only when the event is over⁶. The interpreting work is carried out “without the benefit of moment-to-moment feedback as to whether the listener is following the argument, understanding the point in general and various items in particular” (Gumperz *et al.* 1984: 3). Unlike in CI, situationality is not shared (Straniero Sergio 2007) and this de-contextualization creates a “bubble” around the interpreter, who must rely on his sensitivity and on the general requirements of the broadcasters: interpreters adjust their strategies on the basis of audience presence and feedback, not possible in a media context. Mack (2002: 207) describes media audiences as “undifferentiated, anonymous and numerous, with no possibility of active participation”; the mass nature of audiences is “an obvious and important feature of media events” (Fairclough 1995: 39): a fact television interpreters have to come to terms with.

Colloquiality. Media discourse has “listenable properties intentionally built in” (Scannell 1991: 1). Television programs are recorded in such a way “as to preserve the effect of liveliness”. The voices of television are heard in the context of domesticity and this is what drives the communicative style; media communication is more similar to the ordinary and informal conversation rather than to the public form of talk” (Scannell 1991: 3). Even though interviews are regarded to be “less than spontaneous [...] and staged for audience consumption” (Clayman 1991: 55) spontaneity and familiarity of tone is the distinctive feature of the interview genre in press conferences. As remarked by Straniero Sergio (2003: 138-139), in Formula One Press Conferences (F1PC) the “intensity of actions is often conveyed by colloquial expressions and idioms”; the interaction “takes place in a relaxed and informal atmosphere, in which speakers laugh, joke and slap each other on the back”. This is something conference interpreters are not

6 Personal communication with the interpreter during an informal conversation with the author. The interpreter was asked if and when he received feedback from his audience and the answer was that the only feedback was through the comments of the bloggers.

used to, since most speeches delivered in a standard conference setting have a formal style. In a media context interpreters must adjust their register in order to be more “listenable” for the overhearing audience.

Extralinguistic Knowledge. Technicalities are extremely abundant in F1PC and, as was demonstrated by Romeo (2001), one of the main problems in TI is recognising technical terminology in the extremely rapid flow of the speech. Extra-linguistic knowledge and prior preparation are a prerequisite to guarantee completeness of information and to cope with the extremely difficult working conditions. Interviews are characterized by “very short turns and [...] the narration is based on continuous references to what happened during the race” (Straniero Sergio 2003: 136). Knowing exactly what happened during the race or during previous races provides a sort of “safety net” for the interpreter; in case of obscure expressions or disturbed sound the interpreter may resort to parallel reformulations selecting *contextually plausible* solutions.

Time constraints and stress. Time is a limit imposed on television interpreters in all circumstances, and this constraint is even more pressing during press conference interviews, where turns sometimes overlap (Straniero Sergio 2007). The interpreter is required to have rapid reaction times, translating simultaneously at a “supersonic pace” (Bros-Brann 1994: 26), utterance by utterance, without delaying the delivery due to the time constraints imposed by TV broadcasters. In TI time is of the essence and the TT cannot be longer than the ST, regardless of the syntactic and linguistic differences between source language (SL) and target language (TL): sentences must begin and end in synchrony with the IE’s utterance, obliging the interpreter to act more as a dubber, synchronizing the TT with the ST and ending each turn almost exactly at the same time as the source language speaker. The dialogic context, characterized by rapid turn sequences of questions and answers, as well as the absence of pauses between question and answer, places the interpreter in a condition of “always being late” (Straniero Sergio 2003: 141). Hence, under these circumstances *ad hoc* strategies must be adopted. The interpreter knows that his/her voice must coincide with that of the person being interpreted (Kurz 1995: 197) and that s/he cannot fall too far behind; hence time synchronisation of the ST with the TT is a further element of stress imposed on the interpreter. Synchronicity in itself is a concept contrary to the nature of interpreting. Synchronicity does not simply mean to conclude the sentence at the same time as the person being interpreted, it also means avoiding silent pauses. This is something that particularly concerns TV broadcasters; the idea that blanks may have a detrimental effect on the audience: “il faut donc ‘coller au plus près’ à l’orateur, car la télévision ne tolère aucun ‘blanc’; questions et réponses doivent se faire du tac au tac” (Kurz/Bros-Brann 1996: 209). The interpreter needs to fill in all the available space but no more than that. The interpreter is also required to have rapid adjustment times: as observed by Straniero Sergio (2003: 136) press conference interviews are extremely short; unlike in a standard conference situation where the interpreter can get used to the speaker’s accent or style, in press conferences the duration of the interview does not allow for adjustments. At this point some questions may arise: how can you listen to a segment, process it and reproduce it without using *décalage*, especially when the interpreter translates from English as a specialized language into Italian, from a more concise

to a less concise language? According to Gotti (2008: 40) one of the most distinctive features of English as a specialized lexis as compared to general language is conciseness “which means that concepts are expressed in the shortest possible form”. Conciseness in English “recurs to acronyms and abbreviations” (Gotti 2008: 41) but there are some other “linguistic devices that make language denser” (Gotti 2008: 69); a rather frequent phenomenon according to Gotti (2008: 73) is the relative clause reduction and the frequent use of premodification:

The phenomenon of relative clause reduction shows a frequent switch from postmodification to premodification. This transition is particularly straightforward in English because its syntactic rules allow several adjectival uses of phrasal elements. While Italian relies on left-to-right construction, English can easily employ right-to-left construction, which shortens sentences and makes the noun-phrase especially dense.

This implies that during the Production Effort the cognitive load is particularly intense in terms of the number of words to be uttered (Gile 2005). Fluency, quick reaction times and extralinguistic knowledge seems to be the natural, albeit tentative answer that emerges from our sub-corpus analysis. It is from this curiosity that we decided to collect a corpus of interpreted texts, with the aim to analyse the interpreting strategies in a television context. If TI is “a form of communicative language transfer requiring editorial decisions, content-related judgments” (Kurz 1995: 197), our desire was to observe the *editorial decisions* made by the interpreter.

In the following chapter we intend to outline some of the interpreting strategies that we observed in our corpus.

2. Knowledge-based and skilled-based strategies

The objective of a strategy is not only the reaching of a goal but that of reaching it in some optimal way (Van Dijk/Kintsch 1983: 62).

The basic task of professional journalism is to serve as a channel for public figures and the experts to communicate with the audience, that is to say “the primary recipients of the expressed information or opinions [...] for whose benefit the talk is ultimately produced” (Heritage 1998: 15). All the actions of the interpreter are undertaken and coordinated in order to achieve a precise goal, to communicate effectively, with a smooth and rapid delivery with a high level of precision, to the benefit of the *primary recipients*.

According to Heritage (1990) any interactant – in our case the interpreter – is acting strategically when two or more actions that appear to be directed towards the same goal have been produced; this often involves some kind of manipulation, “to stake the odds in favor of the desired outcome” (Heritage 1990: 316). Riccardi (2005) outlines two categories of strategies which interact with one another during simultaneous interpreting (SI): “skill-based” and “knowledge-based” strategies. Skill-based strategies are the result of procedural knowledge and their use confers spontaneity and fluency to the output; they refer to

conversational abilities which are usually taken for granted until we listen to an interpreter who does not possess them.

Such conversational skills which we usually take for granted (until we find someone who does not have them or ignore their social implications) are not too different from the ways in which a skilled jazz musician can enter someone else's composition, by embellishing it, playing around with its main motif, emphasizing some elements of the melody over others [...] trying out different harmonic connections, all of this done without losing track of what everyone else in the band is doing (Berliner in Duranti 1997: 16-17).

By contrast, knowledge-based strategies “differ from skilled-based strategies because their activation is the result of a conscious analytical process and they are employed when actions must be planned on-line, because something has caused a momentary cognitive overload” (Riccardi 2005: 762) due to high delivery speed or high information density. Even though they both interact in the SI process, knowledge-based strategies are those most widely adopted, as highlighted in our data, above all in the segments where the speech is extremely rapid.

2.1 Pauses and intra-turn latching

An indication of interpreting strategy can be inferred from an analysis of pauses and the way they are used or avoided. According to Halliday (in Schlesinger 1994: 229) functional pauses “serve to divide discourse into tone groups and organize it into information units”. In contrast, non-functional pauses are those caused by hesitations. According to Riccardi (2005: 760) the insertion of short pauses indicate the implementation of skill-based strategies:

Hesitation, pauses, slowly constructed sentences, are by contrast the result of explicit knowledge application. Skill-based strategies derive from an implicit competence and they remain at a subconscious level. Skill-based strategies favor a fluent output when interpreting into a structurally different language.

The following excerpts illustrate the rapid reaction times of the interpreter, who manages to conclude his utterance without delaying with respect to the utterance of the IE, using functional pauses inside the turn and accelerating immediately after in order to catch up using *intra-turn latching*. Though rarely described in the literature, “intra-turn latching is a common turn-holding device [...] where the speakers work hard to create the space to make their point” (Gumperz/Berenz 1993: 116). Here we are suggesting that the interpreter uses intra-turn latching as a strategy to create his space and stay in synchrony with the IE's utterance. According to Gardner (2001: XII) “within-turn latching shows that the same speaker produces a new intonation unit without a pause between units”. As it is illustrated in the following example the interpreter is hurrying up to conclude his translation to listen to the question asked by the journalist to the driver:

Example 1⁷

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: It is great to be back up here again. Another one-two for the team. Another one to this guy. I'd rather it was the other way around but I must say the team did a great job this weekend.	I: È bello essere ancora una volta sul podio=altra doppietta per la squadra (.) grazie a (.) questo mio compagno=avrei preferito che fosse il contrario =ma la squadra ha fatto un ottimo lavoro questo weekend.	I: It's nice to be on the podium again=another one-two for the team (.) thanks to my partner=I would have preferred the order inverted= but the team did an excellent job this weekend

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In 1, accelerating the pace is not enough and an utterance needs to be latched onto the following one without leaving gaps (“It’s nice to be on the podium=another one-two for the team”).

Example 2

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: But an incredible day for the team. Another victory. One-two was our goal. Unfortunately we didn't get that, so we still got a big chunk of the points, so it was a good day.	I: Alla fine diciamo è stata una giornata incredibile per il team=un'altra vittoria=l'obiettivo era chiaramente una doppietta=purtroppo non ci siamo riusciti (.) per cui abbiamo fatto dei buoni punti.	All in all, I'd say it has been an incredible day for the team=another victory= we clearly wanted the one-two finish =unfortunately we couldn't pull it off (.) so we did collect some important points.

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Intra-turn latching recurs more often when one or more pauses have been used previously as if the interpreter realized that he has to speed up before it is too late, as it is shown in the following excerpts:

7 Transcription conventions:

IR: interviewer

IE: interviewee

I: interpreter

(.): short pause (< 3")

(...): long pause (> 3")

>...<: speech uttered at a quicker pace

WORD: segments pronounced in a louder voice

Word: emphasized word/segment

Example 3

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: [...] with the safety car in the end it was the right choice not to try to pull away too much, to have some tyres left. Then I focused on the first couple of laps, built a gap and then just brought the car home.	I: [...] e poi con la safety car che è entrata alla fine=chiaramente:: ho cercato (...) semplicemente=di tenere un po' anche i pneumatici=mi sono concentrato sul RICOSTITUIRE diciamo il divario e portare la macchina a casa=è stato >...<veramente incredibile.	I: [...] and then with the safety car that entered at the end=clearly:: I tried (...) simply to preserve a little bit the tyres=I focused on RE-ESTABLISHING let's say the gap and bringing the car home=it was>...< really incredible

Brazilian GP 07/11/2010 – Press Conference 4

In 3, functional pauses are used by the interpreter in order to reorganize the utterance into information units (“I tried [...] simply to preserve a little bit the tyres=I focused”) but immediately after there is an acceleration of his speech rate and intra-turn latching is used to recover space providing a seamless transition to the next segment (“preserve a little bit the tyres”).

Example 4

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: [...] not an easy season, especially with races we just had in Korea. I think it was the right answer for all the people to come back here.	I: [...] una stagione devo dire NON facile:: (...) in alcune:: corse: come quella di (.) Corea=diciamo non ci è andata bene=e questa è stata la risposta GIUSTA da parte di TUTTI.	I: [...] I must say NOT an easy season:: (...) in some:: races: as (.) in Korea= let's say things didn't go right for us=and this was the RIGHT reaction from EVERYBODY.

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Example 5

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: [...] never mind what happened in Korea, just stay focused and the whole team pulling on one string.	I: [...] siamo quindi (.) tornati per vincere = quindi >...<indipendentemente da quanto successo in Corea (.) siamo rimasti concentrati:e tutta la squadra ha=diciamo tirato tutti insieme.	I: [...] so (.) we came back to win= so >...< despite what happened in Korea (.) we stayed focused: and the whole team has=let's say pulled all together.

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In 5, the reaction times of the interpreter are amazingly rapid and perfectly synchronized with the IE's utterance. The ST's utterance (“never mind what happened in Korea”) is efficaciously and elegantly rendered with (“indipendentemente da quanto accaduto in Corea” / “Despite what happened in Korea”). This move has caused a delay, evidenced by the insertion of a functional pause in order

to reorganize the segment which required processing time; the interpreter is conscious of this fact and decides to use intra-turn latching, fastening the utterance onto the next one (“ha=diciamo tirato tutti insieme” / “has=let’s say pulled all together”) to nest all the information into the allotted space and time.

Example 6

ST	TT	Gloss
IE: [...] and getting us both up here, one-two, and getting the Constructors’ Championship one race before the end. I think it is fantastic. We are still fighting for the Drivers’. I want to get rid of this guy (Alonso), but it is an unbelievable achievement.	I: [...] quindi doppietta:: quindi vittoria del titolo costruttori (.) prima dell’ultima gara=quindi risultato fantastico=stiamo poi lottando anche per il titolo dei piloti::=vorrei cercare di superare QUESTI miei colleghi:: comunque è stato un risultato molto bello.	I: [...] so one-two::which means winning the Constructors’ Championship (.) before the last race=a super result, then=we are also in the fight for the Drivers’ title::=I would like to overtake THESE colleagues of mine::anyway it was a great result.

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In 6, it is the end of the turn and delays are not acceptable. This is an exemplification of fast-pace latching (Tannen 1990), a device used by the interpreter to gain speed and despite that, the utterance is not disrupted. The fact that the interpreter is in a hurry is evidenced by the constant use of intra-turn latching in our data.

2.2 Prosody and cohesion

Despite the extremely rapid pace of the speech, the interpreter manages to produce a cohesive text thanks to his communicative skills. De Beaugrande/ Dressler (1981) define a text as a communicative occurrence that can be made manifest in sound or print. For a text to be communicative, certain standards of textuality must be met; the first two of these are cohesion and coherence. The standard of cohesion refers to “the ways in which the components of the surface text, i.e. the actual words we hear [...] are mutually connected within a sequence” (Bühler 1989: 131). Coherence is not “a mere feature of texts, but rather the outcome of cognitive processes among text users [...] a text does not make sense by itself but the sense is attained by the interaction of the knowledge present in the text with the receiver’s stored knowledge of the world” (De Beaugrande/ Dressler 1981: 6); “it is the listener’s search for a relationship [...] that motivates the interpretation” (Gumperz 1982: 33). In spoken language “much semantic and pragmatic information concerning what the talk is about, and how it is to be chunked, is signaled through prosody” (Gumperz 1982: 3). Prosody is among the most important of the devices that produce cohesion in spoken interaction; one of the main linguistic differences between speech and writing is that “speech relies in part on prosody (i.e. intonation, stress, tone of voice, and other paralinguistic signals) for information that in writing must be conveyed through words and punctuation” (Gumperz 1982: 5). Therefore, the achievement of

cohesion by the television interpreter relies on strategies such as voice intonation and other rhetorical skills to stress focal elements (Pignataro/Velardi 2011). Tone plays a key role and helps the listener to disambiguate or infer the exact meaning of the utterance: the “functionality of intonational choices and their role in facilitating or obstructing communication is by now a universal point of departure in the literature” (Shlesinger 1994: 231). The following examples illustrate the communicative style of the interpreter and the use of intonation to stress focal points:

Example 7

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: To be honest I didn't know anything until I crossed the checkered flag.	I: Detto questo (.) <u>IO NON SAPEVO VERAMENTE NULLA</u> fino a quando non ho attraversato la barriera a scacchi.	I: this said (.) <u>I REALLY DIDN'T KNOW ANYTHING</u> until I crossed the checkered flag.

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Example 8

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: [...] It is looking good, but we have to wait until the cars finish. I was thinking 'what does he mean'?	I: [...] <u>AH SEMBRA MESSO BENE</u> >...< dobbiamo aspettare fino alla fine delle altre macchine (.) e pensavo= insomma (.) <u>MA COSA INTENDE?</u>	I: <u>AH, HE'S IN GOOD SHAPE</u> >...< but we have to wait until the other cars finish (.) and I thought= (.) <u>WHAT ON EARTH IS HE TALKING ABOUT, ANYWAY?</u>

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Example 9

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: I got here Wednesday and things have just gone so well throughout the weekend. I have had incredible support from the fans. There are so many Brits out here which is great to see and the team did an exceptional job.	I: Ma Sono arrivato mercoledì e devo dire che ho avuto un supporto <u>INCREDIBILE</u> dai tifosi=c'erano anche molti inglesi qua in Canada e devo dire che la squadra (.) <u>VERAMENTE</u> ha fatto un lavoro (.) eccezionale (...).	I: I arrived on Wednesday and I must say that I have enjoyed <u>INCREDIBLE</u> support from the fans=there were a lot of British (fans) here in Canada (.) and I must say that the team (.) <u>REALLY</u> did a fantastic job (...)

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In all these excerpts there is excitement in the narration of the driver and the pace is extremely quick, despite the fact that the interpreter uses his voice to stress some focal elements. In 10, the expression: “in a bloody good position” is rendered in Italian with “in una bella posizione [in a really good position]” and “really good” is rendered by rising voice intonation and the emphasis is put on “really good position”. For spoken texts “intonation and stress not only link together spoken

surface texts, but also serve to qualify the linkage of concepts and relations” (Bühler 1989: 131).

Example 10

ST	TT	Gloss
IE: I was thinking why is this guy nervous, we must be in a bloody good position. Then crossing the line he came on the radio very silently.	I: >...< <u>MA PERCHÉ È COSI' NERVOSO?</u> (.) si vede che dovevo essere messo <u>IN UNA BELLA POSIZIONE</u> :: Poi (.) quando ho attraversato il traguardo alla radio è stato <u>MOLTO</u> silenzioso.	I: >...< <u>BUT WHY IS HE SO NERVOUS?</u> It means I must have been <u>IN A REALLY GOOD POSITION</u> :: then (.) when I crossed the line he went <u>VERY</u> silent on the radio.

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2.3 Discourse markers

Despite the extreme rapidity of the ST, the interpreter manages to produce a fluent output, thanks to the use of markers. Discourse markers are typical of spoken language (connectives, rhetorical phrases, fillers) and according to Riccardi (2005: 765) some of the subclasses are the following:

- markers of text segmentation/chunking (*so, in this respect*),
- markers stressing focal elements (*exactly, correct, that is, I mean*)
- markers signaling reformulations (*in other words*)
- markers for modulation operations (*to soften or strengthen the impact, maybe, sure, really*).

In the corpus, the interpreter constantly uses the pro-adverb “so/ I must say/ actually” with the intent to link to previous segments (cf. Straniero Sergio 2003: 153) and to segment the utterance. These markers do not appear only in final positions, but also act as “discourse lubricants”. In her work on pragmatic fluency, House (1996: 232) defines “discourse lubricants as elements of oral interaction, helping to cement segments of talk into a discourse” enhancing fluency, as is exemplified in the following excerpts:

Example 11

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: Enjoyed the grand prix to be honest. It was a good fight with Lewis.	I: <i>Quindi</i> (.) <i>devo dire</i> (.) <i>che ho veramente apprezzato il Gran Premio. Ho lottato con Lewis.</i>	I: <i>So</i> (.) <i>I must say</i> (.) <i>I really appreciated the Gran Prix (...)</i> <i>I battled with Lewis.</i>

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Example 12

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE : [...] people don't really see how we are still having a bit of a fight even if it is against the pit board and just having a bit of a look how the gap is going to pan out.	I : [...] e non tutti riescono a vedere (.) quanto (.) in realtà (...) <i>diciamo</i> , si combatta (.) anche se lo si fa solo con i distacchi.	I: [...] Not everybody is able to see (.) how hard wet (.) actually (...) <i>let's say</i> (.) one fight (.) even if we do it only with gaps

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Example 13

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE : [...] but it was enjoyable, particularly the first part of the grand prix. [...].	I : [...] ed è stata (.) <i>devo dire</i> (.) soprattutto la prima parte del GP (.) particolarmente piacevole [...].	I: : [...] it was (.) <i>I must say</i> (.) above all the first part of the GP (.) that was particularly pleasant [...]

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2.4 Markers of global coherence

Coherence can be signalled locally or globally. At the local level of coherence the items used indicate how two immediately adjacent utterances are related to one another; at the global level of coherence “utterances do not connect to an immediately adjacent utterance but refer back to something that was mentioned earlier in the conversation, or else project ahead to something that a speaker intends to mention in a subsequent stretch of discourse” (Lenk 1998: 29). These markers of global coherence (*anyway, actually, however, incidentally* and *still*) have a structuring function and they are mainly used in “longer stretches of discourse and they are functional with different topical actions like digressions (*anyway, however, still*), the introduction of a new topic (*incidentally, actually*) and turn maintenance (*what else*)” (*ibid.*: 29). According to Lenk (1998: 30) coherence is not a text-inherent property and the establishment of coherence is a dynamic and interactive process involving all participants in a conversation. The speaker – in our case the interpreter – has an influence on the hearer’s interpretation: “coherence is achieved through the hearer interpretation according to speaker-given guidelines, especially in cases where the connections between segments is not obvious” (*ibid.*: 30).

The following are examples of the use of *anyway* as a marker of global coherence.

Example 14

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: I had a very good start, so I think <i>we made good progress on that</i> .	I: sono <i>comunque</i> partito bene oggi e sicuramente da questo punto di vista sono migliorato (.) con le partenze.	I: <i>Anyway</i> I started well today and <i>from this standpoint</i> I definitely improved (.) with the starts.

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In 14, the interpreter is concluding a digression adding *anyway* which contributes to convey coherence to the text. Then he resumes by pointing to the previous topic (“I started well today”), stressing a focal point for the interaction. Finally, he concludes by adding “from this viewpoint I improved with the starts”. With this move the interpreter clarifies the SL speaker utterance, making reference to the context, to what really happened during the race, thanks to his extralinguistic knowledge.

Example 15

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: [...] I had a little mistake but I think it would have been very close.	I: [...] Ho fatto un pò un errore al pit stop (.) ma:: <i>comunque</i> >...< non penso che sia riuscito a superarlo.	I: I made a bit of a mistake at the pit stop (.) but :: <i>anyway</i> >...< I don't think I managed to overtake him.

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Lenk (1998) considers *anyway* as a compound adverb that expresses a resumptive summary relation, and it is also used as a continuative item. According to Lenk (1998), the most frequent use of *anyway* as marker of global coherence “indicates that a digression is being closed and that either the topic immediately prior to the digression or an earlier topic of the conversation is being resumed” (*ibid.* 1998: 60) as is shown in 15: *anyway* concludes the IE’s digression and points to the fact that he could not overtake. This holds true for almost all the turns concluded by the interpreter, where *anyway* comes after a digression and the interpreter supplies “additional background information” (*ibid.* 1998: 61) in order “to make the comprehension of the utterance clearer for the hearer” (*ibid.* 1998: 65).

Example 16

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: but the most important is that the car is quick, competitive all weekend.	I: ma la cosa più importante <i>comunque</i> è che la macchina è veloce, è stata veloce per tutto il weekend, competitiva.	I: but the most important thing <i>anyway</i> is that the car is quick, it has been quick all weekend, competitive.

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In 16, the use of *anyway* is a propositional use, as “indication of explanation” (Lenk 1998: 68). The interpreter closes the digression with *anyway* and adds a conclusive remark (“it has been quick all week end”) and then resumes the topic, using the

adjective “competitive” placed in final position, stressing what is most important for the speaker in this turn, i.e. the competitive quality of the car. This is a further confirmation of his active role in managing the speech flow and his attempt to convey coherence and smoothness to his delivery.

2.5 Contextualization cues

In agreement with Straniero Sergio (2001), we are assuming here that the television interpreter is very much involved in creating topic coherence, far more than would be ethically tolerated in other contexts. The following excerpt is a case in point:

Example 17

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: I am sure the team did everything for the right reasons. At the time we needed to try and jump Sebastian. I think it was unfortunate we came up behind a Renault.	I: <i>Sicuramente</i> il team ha fatto la scelta giusta a seconda delle circostanze. Io volevo cercare di superare Sebastian (.) purtroppo sono rientrato dietro una Renault (.) e <i>questo è andato sicuramente a suo vantaggio</i> .	I: <i>Certainly</i> the team made the right choice in these circumstances (.) I wanted to try to pass Sebastian (.) unfortunately I came up behind a Renault (.) <i>and this certainly worked to his advantage</i>

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In 17, the interpreter takes an active role in providing additional explanations: (“e questo è andato sicuramente a suo vantaggio [and this certainly worked to his advantage]”). The interpreter is giving clear guidelines to his hearers improving the comprehensibility of the segment.

Despite the extra fast pace of the IE the interpreter is adding items to the TT in order to make it clear and understandable. Another case of topic coherence is when the interpreter adds “contextualization cues” for the benefit of the hearers. In Gumperz’s notion (1982: 131) they are “any feature of linguistic form that contribute to the signaling of contextual presuppositions” and they refer to the information interactants need to send off in addition to what they want to convey as a message, in order to mark the boundaries of a message (Auer 1992).

Contextualization cues are [...] verbal and non-verbal metalinguistic signs that serve to retrieve the context-bound presuppositions in terms of which component messages are interpreted. A contextualization cue is one of a cluster of indexical signs, produced in the act of speaking that jointly index, that is invoke, a frame of interpretation for the linguistic content of the utterance (Gumperz 1996: 379) .

According to Auer (1992: 23) contextualization cues are “all the form-related means by which participants contextualize language”, and they possess “an inherent semantic potential” (Auer 1992: 32) in that they give directions in the inferential process. The use of contextualization cues is exemplified in the following excerpts:

Example 18

ST	TT	GLOSS
IE: there was a bit missing yesterday and probably that was what I was missing today.	I: <i>Abbiamo avuto un problema (.) un po' ieri per la pole e forse questo è quello che è mancato.</i>	I: <i>we had a problem (.) a bit yesterday for the pole and probably that was what was missing.</i>

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In 18, the driver maintains: “there was a bit missing”, but to those who did not follow the race, this might be an ambiguous utterance. The interpreter *marks the boundaries of the message* adding a clarification: “we had a problem [...] for the pole”, “steering the interpretation of what is going on” (Auer 1992: 29). Additional information about the context is provided, as demonstrated by Gumperz (1995: 120) who has proved that “lack of shared background knowledge leads to misunderstanding”. It is as if the interpreter assumed that “the hearer would not be able to understand the development of the topic without the additional information” (Lenk 1998: 68). In order to manipulate the text and reconstruct obscure segments, extra linguistic knowledge is required (Romeo 2001); there is no mention of the pole position in the ST, but the interpreter knows exactly what happened during the race, and despite time constraints he inserts a “contextually plausible rendition”, giving his audience directions in the inferential process (Auer 1992).

3. Concluding remarks

In this paper the active role and the communicative skills of a television interpreter were illustrated based on small data extracts. Starting from this empirical study some general considerations of the role of television interpreting can be outlined. In particular, it could be said that the interpreter takes an active role in managing the flow of information thus ensuring a cohesive and coherent text. Data show that the interpreter activates both *skill-based* and *knowledge-based strategies* (Riccardi 2005) in order to cope with time constraints and high information density. In our study we are assuming that the interpreter has a conscious and effective control over the interpreting process, dynamically negotiating the meaning of the text for the benefit of his audience (Pomerantz/Fehr in Straniero Sergio 2001: 221). We attempted to “spell out the logic of human actions” (Duranti 1997: 16) without ignoring the importance of the unknown, the unforeseeable, which tinges the various phases of an exchange with tension and uncertainty.

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TV interpreting in Germany: the television broadcasting company ARTE in comparison to public broadcasting companies¹

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Abstract

TV interpreting is a special form of interpreting for several reasons. Not only the challenges interpreters are faced with, but also the expectations towards their performance as well as the technology involved differ greatly from conventional conference interpreting.

Unlike public broadcasting companies in Germany, the European culture channel ARTE (Association Relative à la Télévision Européenne) works with interpreters on a regular basis and has its own language service. A comprehensive survey was conducted amongst TV interpreters working both for ARTE and other broadcasters. Additionally, editors and TV interpreters from public television in Germany were questioned. These studies as well as insights gained from ARTE staff paint a clear picture of interpreting for public television in Germany and highlight the differences between ARTE and other broadcasting companies.

Introduction

Whether it be at press conferences with athletes at major sporting events or the Olympic Games, entertainment shows such as “Wetten, dass...”?, talkshows such as “SternTV” and “Kerner” or the televising of US President Obama’s inauguration, interpreters are needed whenever non-German-speaking guests/persons appear

1 Translated from German by James A. Turner.

and speak on the media of television in German-speaking countries in order to make communication possible first of all between the persons conversing on the television screen, but also above all with the audience sitting in front of their TV sets at home.

The term “media interpreter” has now arrived in Germany, as media interpreting – which in this article is limited to live interpreting for television programmes of all kinds – constitutes a special form of interpreting in many respects. It can also be viewed as a new occupation in the age of globalisation (cf. Riccardi 2000: 83).

Even though only a relatively low number of interpreters work for television, it is especially their interpreting which reaches the largest group of recipients, thus having a major impact on the image the public has of interpreters. For Jürgen Stähle, an experienced TV interpreter who works inter alia at ARD, ZDF and ARTE² and has been awarded the Adolf Grimme Prize³, simultaneous interpreting on television is the showcase of the profession (cf. Stähle 2009: 55). A similar view is expressed by Ingrid Kurz, also a TV interpreter for many years, working mainly for ORF⁴: “Ein Millionenpublikum [bekommt] ein unmittelbares Bild vom Beruf des Dolmetschers ins Haus geliefert [Millions of television viewers gain direct insight into the profession of interpreters]” (Kurz 2000: 89). She assumes that good interpreting enhances the standing of the profession (cf. Kurz 2000: 90). Vice versa this means that poor interpreting, in which the audience demand for a “satisfactory product” (Lerke 2010) is not met, has a negative impact on the image of the profession. This is confirmed by commentaries in various newspapers on the (poor) Arab-German interpreting on 10 February 2011 broadcast on ZDF’s *Heute-Journal*, covering President Mubarak’s address to the Egyptian people⁵.

In contrast to countries like Italy and Austria, where there have been numerous publications on TV interpreting since 1990 (summaries can be found in Straniero Sergio 2007; Kurz 2003, 2007; Pöchhacker 2007), there is a relative dearth of information on it in Germany. Only recently has the topic been addressed more intensively, especially in the form of academic theses and dissertations at universities (cf. Elsagir 1999; Fünfer 2009; Lerke 2010). Interpreters themselves have remained more or less silent on the topic to date with the exception of interviews with Sybille von Mühlmann (2002) or the “close-up inside” *Vom Übersetzen zum Simultandolmetschen* by Jürgen Stähle (2009).

All publications emphasise that television interpreting is of a rather impersonal nature all its own. This is attributed among other things to the group of recipients: on the one hand there are the *on-screen users*, who communicate with each other on various topics with the interpreter acting as a mediator between

2 ARD, Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland; ZDF, Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen; ARTE, Association Relative à la Télévision Européenne.

3 Prize awarded annually to major contributions to television broadcasting and production.

4 ORF, Österreichischer Rundfunk.

5 Cf. <<http://www.main-netz.de/nachrichten/kultur/kultur/art4214,1527953>>.

them, interpreting both in the foreign language and the mother tongue, and on the other hand viewers as *off-screen participants* in communication, i.e. a virtual audience with whom interpreters have no contact whatsoever, even if they act as mediators between this group and the *on-screen participants* (cf. Mack 2002: 205f.) – but generally only from the foreign language into the mother tongue in order to produce an interpretation which sounds as similar as possible to a news presenter. As the publications cited in the foregoing suggest, additional factors also contribute to the special nature of interpreting on television⁶: the special working conditions/technical aspects (cf. Mack 2002: 208), the high demands placed on quality (cf. Kurz 2000: 94f.), the need to complete the interpretation at the same time as the original (cf. Kurz 1997: 197), no influence on what is being shown on the TV, brief spoken passages and thus in most cases the impossibility of accustoming oneself to the style of the speaker. The task of TV interpreters and the whole dilemma they face has been aptly summed up by Sergio Viaggio (2001: 30):

[...] he is expected to be a consummate mediator with the psychomotor reflexes of the conference interpreter, the cultural sensitivity of the community interpreter, the analytical keenness and background knowledge of the journalist and the rhetorical prowess of the seasoned communicator.

What is television interpreting like on public television in Germany? What demands do broadcasters and interpreters place on media interpreting? In view of all this, what makes interpreting high-quality? Where do changes need to be made? These are some of the questions explored in the following. As a result of its special profile, the cultural broadcasting company ARTE plays a key role in the analysis as does the question as to whether and how work at ARTE differs from work at other media companies such as the broadcasting companies ARD, ZDF and PHOENIX.

1. The broadcaster ARTE

As a result of the excellent contact between the School of Translation, Interpreting, Linguistics and Cultural Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz/Germersheim and interpreters at ARTE and its Language Service, this broadcaster is the focus of attention in this article. By the same token, its situation is of course unique and is in some respects not representative of interpreting on television in Germany. For this reason, attention is also devoted to ARD, ZDF and PHOENIX.

In spite of the special requirements and the growing importance of TV interpreting, only ARTE⁷, which is headquartered in Strasbourg, has its own

6 A comprehensive overview of these special aspects is provided in Mack (2001).

7 “ARTE is a European cultural television channel targeting audiences from different cultural backgrounds, in particular French and German” (<<http://www.artetv.fr/2197470.html>>).

Language Service to date. The fact that the broadcasting and working languages are German and French not only means that two language versions are needed for each broadcast, but also for programme and administration texts as well. Internal meetings also have to be interpreted if need be, and the Internet site is multilingual. This means a considerable amount of language and cultural mediation, requiring a professional, systematic approach in order to ensure the desired high quality. It was for this reason that the Language Service was set up right away when the broadcasting company was founded. It is integrated into the company headquarters in Strasbourg and performs not only translating and internal company interpreting, but also organises and assists in the work with free-lance language mediators who among other things are used for TV interpreting (cf. Völker in Fünfer 2009).

The TV channel ARTE only uses self-employed TV interpreters. A total of 1,066 programmes were interpreted in 2008 (corresponding to 1,435 interpreting days) (cf. Völker in Lerke 2010). Since it began televising in 1992, four main different models of TV interpreting have developed at ARTE: (1) simultaneous spontaneous interpreting of a live broadcast; (2) live-on-tape interpreting, entailing the simultaneous spontaneous interpreting of a programme which will be broadcast at a later stage; (3) interpreting of previously recorded programmes, which offers the possibility of later corrections; (4) simultaneous interpreting of a live broadcast on the basis of scripts previously translated by the interpreters. New forms of interpreting have been added to this, such as the interpreting of Internet chats or videos (cf. Völker in Fünfer 2009). In contrast to public broadcasters in Germany, ARTE regularly uses TV interpreters, even if the number of spontaneous live interpreting performances is on the decline there. Live interpreting is used for televised festivals, e.g. broadcasts of the Berlinale or the Cannes International Film Festival, and at major media events such as presidential elections or royal weddings. Interviews with teleconnected guests, studio guests and live broadcasts with correspondents are also spontaneously interpreted live (cf. Krone 2006).

2. Surveys on TV interpreting in Germany

As there are at present very few publications on TV interpreting in Germany, a first comprehensive survey was carried out within the framework of a BA dissertation dealing solely with interpretation for the TV channel ARTE. A questionnaire with multiple choice and open-ended questions was sent by e-mail to 41 interpreters who work for ARTE on a relatively regular basis. This was made possible thanks to the support of the Language Service of ARTE who established contact with the interpreters. The decision to use a questionnaire was taken because of the geographical distance to the high number of respondents and in order to give the interpreters sufficient time to reflect on the questions posed. 18 responses were able to be used in the assessment (cf. Fünfer 2009). Excerpts from the analysis conducted in 2009 are presented in the following.

In order to learn more about TV interpreting for public broadcasters in Germany, a field which has been given scant attention up until now, the authors contacted the Director-Generals of seven major public broadcasters in Germany

(ARD, Bayerischer Rundfunk, MDR, PHOENIX, SWR, WDR, ZDF). Responses were disappointing but contact was made with three editors working at ARD and ZDF and six TV interpreters who were interviewed by phone in the autumn of 2010. This method was selected as it seemed appropriate in view of the small number of interpreters and the time pressure under which the programme editors work, which was reflected in the few responses. Those interviewed were given information about the project in advance and a preparatory questionnaire.

The responses provided by the six interpreters working for public broadcasters in Germany are compared with the answers given by the ARTE interpreters. Wherever appropriate, the statements are supplemented with the views of the three editors working at ARD and ZDF. Moreover, the views of two Language Service staff members of ARTE have also been taken into consideration.

In addition to general questions relating *inter alia* to the frequency and length of time of jobs, the interpreters were surveyed about their preparation, technical aspects, demands relating to quality, expectations and stress factors. The interviews with the editors ranged across topics such as the selection and preparation of interpreters, issues relating to target group orientation and quality assurance.

2.1 Frequency of assignments

As for the frequency of assignments performed by TV interpreters, it would appear that there are considerable fluctuations on the whole. These relate both to general as well as individual frequency of assignments. At ARTE it is notable that some interpreters are used very frequently, i.e. with 60-100 interpreting days/year, which is due to the interpreting of regular programmes such as *ARTEInfo*, in which one or two interpreters are assigned to a television presenter on a more or less fixed basis. Discontinuation of the programme or a change in television presenters can at the same time lead to a significant change in the general or even individual amount of assignments. A majority of the interpreters who work for public broadcasters (referred to in the following as PB interpreters) state that they work live as TV interpreters between three and twelve days a year (cf. interpreting model (1) of ARTE). Two male interpreters stated they worked 40 days. There is one female interpreter who in the past also worked approximately 40 days a year. This volume has dropped considerably since 2010 however and she indicated that she has assignments on twelve days a year at present. She attributed this drop to voice-matching, which is gaining in importance for public broadcasters.

2.2 Recruitment

It is in this connection that the question arises as to the recruitment criteria for interpreters. At ARTE a search for suitable interpreters is triggered by enquiries made by the editorial desk in charge of the Language Service, which supports the interpreting jobs. In selecting the interpreters, the Language Service uses a pool

of experienced free-lance interpreters and/or who have gone through a casting procedure which takes place at irregular intervals and in which interpreting skills and voice quality are tested. The precondition for an assignment at ARTE is first of all an excellent command of conference techniques. Additional “musts” include a pleasant voice and a fluent presentation. The Language Service also makes sure that the voice of the interpreter is appropriate for the person who is being interpreted. The criteria here are gender, age and voice tone, but also character traits and temperament, i.e. physical and psychological traits. It is also important, however, that voices are not overly similar. The voice of the interpreter should differ from the person being interpreted in order to help viewers readily understand what is being said (cf. Moreau in Fünfer 2009). Generally speaking, each person who takes part in a broadcast is interpreted by one respective interpreter. Television presenters at ARTE moreover often have their own “fixed” voice in the foreign language (cf. Völker in Fünfer 2009).

In contrast to ARTE, where the Language Service organises the wide-ranging assignments of interpreters and their recruitment, the editorial desks at public broadcasters in Germany are responsible for assigning appropriate interpreters for the various broadcasts. As the interviews with the editors showed, interpreters are used by public broadcasters especially for talk shows/interviews of all kinds, major media events such as the funeral of the Pope and for sporting events. Recruitment often focuses on people who have performed well in the past or who have been recommended. Interpreting agencies with a good reputation are also used frequently. If there is enough time, and no interpreters or not enough interpreters can be found using this procedure, casting events are carried out, with which broadcasters such as ARD have had positive experience.

2.3 Preparation and planning of assignments

With regard to the question as to preparation for the interpreting job, all ARTE and PB interpreters surveyed unanimously agreed as to the need for such preparation, although there are considerable differences with regard to the form and scope of that preparation, as this depends on the respective programme or the editors in charge.

The interpreters are generally notified about the broadcast and topic as well as the name of the person who is to be interpreted so that they can conduct their own research. In the case of entertainment and magazine broadcasts, PB interpreters in particular usually receive documents with information on the persons who are to be interpreted as well as a list of possible questions which may be asked – the same lists which are supplied to the television presenters and editorial desk. In some cases it is also possible to converse with the guest before the broadcast. In the case of news and sports events, editors assume that the interpreter is informed about the speaking style, pertinent terminology and current developments.

Nevertheless, even at ARTE there are differences depending upon the broadcast, the way in which it is produced and the manner in which the second language version is produced. In addition to basic information regarding the individual

and the broadcast, the interpreter is if possible provided information on the script, the moderation texts and given additional information in the form of dossiers, research material, notes and Internet links. Which material the interpreter receives ultimately depends on the respective editors, who are requested to transmit the documents to the Language Service for forwarding to the interpreters.

If television presenters are to be interpreted, interpreters can contact them directly via the Language Service in order to become acquainted with the way they speak and the content of the broadcast. In the case of guests, interpreters are in some cases able to discuss things with them by telephone directly before the broadcast. 22% of the ARTE interpreters surveyed lamented the fact that they are nevertheless in some cases insufficiently informed before the assignment, however.

The PB interpreters also noted that better preparation would be desirable in some cases, as an interpreter suggests: “When one has the material and time – that is half the battle, and this is no different for television than it is for conference interpreting”.

How much time in advance the interpreters learn about their assignment depends on the type of programme both at ARTE and at the public broadcasters. Notification is especially short-term in the case of news programmes, which is frequently due to unforeseen developments in the world. Sometimes interpreters are only ordered one hour before the broadcast. But also guests of entertainment programs and talk shows and thus their interpreters as well are invited on relatively short notice. In contrast, television presenters at ARTE and other events such as festivals, galas, presidential elections and sporting events are planned a relatively long time in advance by all broadcasters. Enquiries to interpreters are frequently made in the form of an option which can, however, also be cancelled on short notice. One example here is the World Cup, where the need for interpreters depends on whether a certain team advances.

Even though TV assignments on public television may last several hours or even an entire day, the net interpreting time in Germany is usually only between 10 and 20 min. The interpreters are frequently requested to arrive several hours before the actual beginning of the programme and they spend a lot of time waiting, whether it be at a press conference whose beginning is postponed again and again, or at assignments where they have to wait for different interview partners, i.e. at sporting events such as the Olympic Games. In the interviews with public television interpreters, it was noted that procedures could definitely be organised in a more efficient manner, and that several hours of waiting around, which fatigues the interpreters or contributes to their nervousness, should be avoided.

The length of assignments at ARTE also varies according to the mode and type of programme, ranging from a few minutes to over one hour.

2.4 Equipment

Major differences are evident with regards to the technology and equipment used at ARTE and the public broadcasters. ARTE interpreters at headquarters in Strasbourg have three sound-proof interpreting booths, each with three interpreting workstations available for TV interpreting. Each workstation is equipped with a monitor and an interpreting console with individual headsets and a microphone designed for television recordings. The interpreters can adjust the volume of the headsets individually, switch the microphone on and off themselves and see the picture being broadcast. There is even a “cough” muting key. Via an additional channel the interpreters have direct contact with the sound engineers, who are described as helpful and patient, but make significant demands on the interpreters in the sense that the interpreters are forced to adjust their microphones and modulate their voice levels in line with the instructions of the sound engineers. Thus it is important, for instance, to keep a constant distance to the microphone. The ARTE interpreters expressed their satisfaction regarding the equipment at the headquarters in Strasbourg.

There are no special booths exclusively used for interpreting by the public broadcasters. In the booths used the interpreter has a monitor with an image of the programme. The interpreting consoles are described by the interpreters *inter alia* as “home-made” or “makeshift”. In other words, the equipment and the operation of the equipment varies from assignment to assignment and broadcaster to broadcaster, which means that the interpreters have to be flexible and have an ability to adapt. On the whole, the interpreters depend to a high degree on the sound engineers and their willingness to take the needs of interpreters into account. Good communication with the sound engineers is therefore held to be important. This is in line with statements by the programme editors who for their part have an interest in close collaboration between the production team, the sound engineers and the interpreters.

Even if the public broadcasting interpreters interviewed indicated that they were on the whole satisfied with the technical conditions, two specific suggestions for improvement were made. One interpreter expressed a desire for interpreters to have more responsibility regarding technical issues, in particular the possibility of switching on the microphone and going live oneself. Especially when the sound engineers “are asleep at the wheel”, i.e. when they fail to switch on the interpreter’s microphone, more control and autonomy on the part of the interpreter would expedite and improve their work. It was furthermore suggested that standard operating consoles such as those used in conference interpreting be used.

The technical conditions at “field” locations, where the interpreter is for example in the driver’s cabin of the outside broadcast van or in a lorry standing next to it, appear to be more problematic both at ARTE and the public broadcasters. Generally speaking, technical problems tend to crop up more often in such situations. On the whole, technical problems cannot be entirely eliminated either at ARTE or the public broadcasting companies, however. These problems are therefore still considered one of the biggest stress factors in TV

interpreting, as the public broadcasting interpreters interviewed have confirmed: “additional excitement or stress is usually related to the equipment”, but:

Having to depend on the attentiveness of a sound engineer who occasionally switches the mike on too late is also stressful [...]. When the sound engineer is somewhere else, the first part is sometimes simply lost. That is annoying. It doesn't happen all the time, but it does every now and then. That means that you are already exasperated when you start working and still have to stay calm.

2.5 Skills and abilities

Although technical conditions definitely influence the quality of interpreting, it is primarily a function of the skills and abilities of the interpreters themselves. Both the interpreters at ARTE as well as those at the public broadcasters were therefore asked⁸ what skills an interpreter who would like to work for ARTE or on public television should have. The answers provided by the ARTE interpreters can be divided up into six topical areas. Interpreters accordingly have to have an excellent command of the source language and target language, have a pleasant voice and presentation, good or excellent reactions – including in order to be able to minimize the time lag to the speaker (*décalage*) – an ability to withstand stress, the possession of cultural knowledge and on the whole an excellent command of simultaneous interpreting technique.

In the interviews the PB interpreters in particular emphasise the need for a smooth, even flow of speech, without fillers or interruptions and a calm, pleasant voice with clear pronunciation and an intonation and emphasis appropriate to the situation. In their opinion as well, a short *décalage* and thus the ability to react quickly are important, as is a broad general education and curiosity. According to the interpreters, TV interpreters should be aware that they are “in the limelight” and feel good in such a situation. Keeping cool is held to be another key trait.

In conclusion one can say that both ARTE and PB interpreters interviewed were in agreement concerning the skills required for TV interpreting.

2.6 Quality-related criteria

Following the study by Kurz/Pöchhacker (1995) on quality criteria from the perspective of *inter alia* persons in charge of television programming, the questionnaire for the ARTE interpreters (cf. Fünfer 2009) contains a list of five criteria⁹, whose importance is rated on a scale from 1 (most important criterion) to 5 (least important criterion). Respondents were only allowed to use each number once. This rule was only observed by ten interpreters, however. Four interpreters evaluated some of the criteria in accordance with the rule, while

8 The questions concerning the skills and abilities were in both cases open questions.

9 Pleasant voice (angenehme Stimme); fluency of delivery (flüssige Wiedergabe); logical cohesion of utterance (logisch zusammenhängender Text); sense consistency with the original message (inhaltliche Übereinstimmung); native accent (Muttersprachler).

assigning the same weight to others because they did not feel that they were able to assign a ranking sequence. Four other interpreters thought that all the criteria were equally important (cf. Fünfer 2009). The latter were not taken into account in Diagram 1.

The interviews conducted with the public broadcasting interpreters and editors did not stipulate such a ranking scale, instead merely requested a “relative” weighting of fluency, voice and sense consistency¹⁰. These three criteria were selected in order to gain an overall view of the weighting of form and content. In this analysis we only focussed on the above mentioned three criteria in order to ensure comparability.

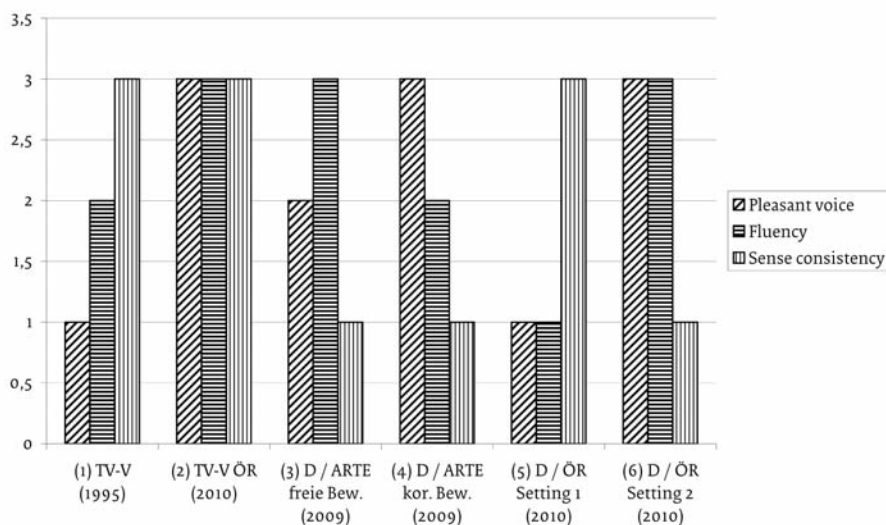


Diagram 1: Assessment of the quality criteria *pleasant voice*, *fluency*, *sense consistency* by persons in charge of television programming (Kurz/Pöchhacker 1995), ARTE interpreters (Fünfer 2009), persons in charge of public broadcasting programming (data collected for the present paper by Andres/Fünfer 2010-2011) and public broadcasting interpreters (data collected for the present paper by Andres/Fünfer 2010-2011). Overview of the relative weighting of the quality criteria. The higher the value, the more important it is.

1. Persons in charge of TV programming (1995) surveyed within the framework of a study by Kurz/Pöchhacker.
 2. Persons in charge of TV programming at public broadcasting television companies in Germany (2010).
 3. TV interpreters surveyed on their work at ARTE (2009). Ranking rules were not observed.
 4. TV interpreters surveyed on their work at ARTE (2009). Ranking rules were observed.
- 10 The PB interpreters were asked to weight the importance of content and form, whereby fluency and pleasant voice were considered as form and sense consistency as content in order to ensure a better comparability.

5. TV interpreters interviewed on their work on public broadcasting television in Germany (2010). The answers relate to a setting which is of a more political or informative nature.
6. TV interpreters surveyed on their work on public broadcasting television in Germany (2010). The answers relate to settings in which priority is assigned to entertainment (entertainment shows, sporting events).

The assessment by the ARTE interpreters who were only allowed to assign each weight once and those who in some cases assigned the same weight are not identical to the results of the study by Kurz/Pöchhacker (1995). While persons in charge of television programming (1995) emphasised content, the ARTE interpreters considered the criteria of pleasant voice and fluency of the presentation to be more important. This could be related to the fact that interpreters at ARTE are integrated into everyday television production and a halting presentation over time would be very disturbing. What is not readily evident from Diagram 1 is that a majority of the ARTE interpreters were of the opinion that there is a difference compared to conference interpreting assignments in their weighting of the criteria – thus, they viewed sense consistency to be more important and the criteria involving the presentation such as pleasant voice or fluency to be less crucial. A distinction according to setting – even if within television interpreting and not between television interpreting and conference interpreting – was also made by the public broadcasting interpreters (2010), accordingly making different weightings (cf. Diagram 1). It is interesting that more than 20% of the ARTE interpreters surveyed did not or were not inclined to assign any weighting. This is mirrored by the weighting assigned by the public broadcasting editors who ranked the various factors equally, but also by the public broadcasting interpreters who made a distinction according to the setting (cf. Diagram 1). It is apparently difficult for all respondents to decide on a clear weighting. Hence if the interpreters are not able to successfully achieve sense consistency and fluency of presentation together, and if they are forced as a result of cognitive overload to make sacrifices of one sort or another, their decision depends on the genre of the broadcast or the discourse: in the case of an information programme or political declarations, the content is considered to be more important than with entertainment programmes or broadcasts of sporting events in which the “comfort factor” and “consumer capitalism” play a significant role (cf. Katan/Straniero Sergio 2003: 131). If there are any technical or acoustic deficits causing the interpreter problems in understanding what is said, there is a tendency to rely on intuition and, in case of doubt, as one interpreter states in the survey, “to say something which sounds good in the given situation”.

If one examines the statements made by the public broadcasting editors and thus those persons in charge of the TV programming (2010) regarding the same topic in detail, it becomes clear that an orientation towards the target group, i.e. a presentation which is appropriate for the media and thus a pleasant voice are considered to be absolutely imperative. The word “pleasant”, which was mentioned in each of the interviews, is by the same token a rubric for a broad range of adjectives such as lively, interesting, lovely, credible and clearly articulated. Fluency in speaking is also part of this. Hesitating noises, so typical of

spoken language, or slips of the tongue, etc., are frowned upon. At the same time, however, all of the persons interviewed attached great value to an accurate interpretation of the original. According to the statements made by the public broadcasting editors, no television broadcaster can afford to have an interpreter who interprets beautifully, but incorrectly.

The evaluations of the ARTE interpreters from 2009 who assigned all the criteria the same weight and those of the public broadcasting interpreters and the public broadcasting editors from 2010 show that the expectations of everyone involved have converged as a result of close collaboration in Germany, especially over the last 15 years – possibly as a result of the increase in TV interpreting. This was also confirmed by the statements made by the interpreters who were interviewed:

The broadcasting companies have become aware of interpreters. Everything depends on the various individuals involved, however. While in conference interpreting there are conference sound engineers, the staff at broadcasting companies usually do not have anything to do with interpreters. Good will and sensitivity to the situation of the interpreter are therefore needed as well. There is always a sympathetic ear to be found, however.

The answers provided by the interviewed public broadcasting interpreters and public broadcasting editors are, however, diametrically opposed to Mack's assertion, referring to the situation in Italy, that "Completeness and even sense consistency with the original seem to be considered as fairly secondary aspects. As long as the interpreter's output sounds coherent and plausible" (Mack 2001: 129f.). Apparently there are specific country-related differences. Audience appeal appears to play an even greater role in Italy than in Germany.

2.7 Stress factors

Statements made by 12 ARTE interpreters who have also worked for other broadcasters differed as far as expectations at ARTE regarding the quality of interpreting is concerned as well as with regard to the question as to whether they believe that the expectations on the part of ARTE are greater than those for other broadcasters. While some of the interpreters surveyed answered this question in the affirmative, others did not believe there was any difference, noting that demands on TV are greater on the whole.

There was greater unison with regard to the assessment of requirements at ARTE in comparison to conferences. Two-thirds of the persons surveyed stated that demands at ARTE are greater – with this applying to language, reactions, speed, pronunciation, voice, voice-leading, but also with respect to factors specific to ARTE such as reviews by the Language Service or the editors, who apply higher standards than conference audiences.

The amount of stress in live recordings was also held to be greater than at conferences: nine out of twelve interpreters who assessed work at ARTE as being stressful on the whole made explicit statements in this regard. The reasons they cited corresponded to those put forward in the literature (cf. Kurz 2002b): no contact with the audience, large numbers of listeners and no possibilities for corrections. Out of the five interpreters who described work at ARTE as not being

stressful, two of these attributed this to a generally constructive working atmosphere, a familiar work setting, familiar staff and the fact that performance on a particular day has less salience when there are regular assignments.

For the public broadcasting interpreters, the stress factors include fast and/or unclear speakers, the brief length of assignments, which makes it more difficult to “compensate” for a mistake, and dependence on the decisions of others, who determine when the broadcast goes live and when the microphone is switched on. Technical difficulties also cause stress. The rapid change in language from the foreign into the mother tongue and vice versa, the *décalage* and the need to “reduce” associated with this were also cited as factors. The fact that the interpreting can be followed by an audience in the millions, including other interpreters, is assessed differently by the interpreters. Two interpreters cited this as a stress factor, while two others stated that they had only perceived this as stressful at the beginning of their careers. Two interpreters see their work on TV in a positive light, on the other hand, and as a type of work which is especially fun as a result of the challenges involved. Their statements align with Kurz’ finding: “Fernsehdolmetschen ist für einen Konferenzdolmetscher immer spannend und befriedigend – vorausgesetzt, er mag Stress, verfügt über gute Nerven, geistige Wendigkeit und Schnelligkeit und besitzt daneben auch ein gewisses Improvisationstalent [TV interpreting is always exciting and rewarding for a conference interpreter – as long as he enjoys stress, has strong nerves, a quick and agile mind, and in addition possesses a certain talent for improvisation]” (Kurz 2002a: 164). Such an attitude is no doubt helpful in coping with stress. And live interpreting on television means stress, as measurements of interpreters’ pulses working live on TV in comparison to interpreters at a medical symposium have confirmed (cf. Kurz 2002b: 200).

2.8 Feedback and recognition

Interpreting of live broadcasts at ARTE, according to this broadcasting company, are always supported by a staff member from the Language Service who, however, is not able to directly intervene in the work. The interpreting performances are discussed internally in the Language Service afterwards (cf. Moreau in Fünfer 2009). The interpreters frequently receive feedback on their work, but not always. The latter is explained by one interpreter as follows: “interpreting is an everyday matter. It is assumed that everything will go well. Nobody comments on normal everyday work.” It is only when problems crop up repeatedly that the respective interpreter is approached following an internal discussion at the Language Service. The interpreters also usually receive feedback from the editors of the public broadcasters. How detailed this turns out to be depends on the relationship between the interpreter and the editors and the time pressure on the staff in general. One interpreter stated that the editors take the time for a briefing and/or debriefing of the interpreter approximately one out of every ten assignments. One interpreter also reported having been passed on the reactions from the audience. On the whole, the interpreters stated that television presenters and their contact partners express a lot of appreciation and recognition.

The representatives of the public broadcasting companies also consider feedback to be essential, as this improves the quality of interpreting. Moreover, they firmly advocate a survey of audiences on the quality of the interpreting on television in order to recognise the needs of the audience more precisely and to be able to react more effectively to these. But the interests of the interpreters are also important to them. A majority of those interviewed stated their interest in a brochure describing the most important aspects of work with TV interpreters in a short, concise and cogent manner. International rules such as those issued by the International Professional Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) on TV interpreting do not appear to apply in this context, as none of the TV editors surveyed were aware of them. This means that they are also unaware of the AIIC demand according to which “interpreters’ names and reference to AIIC must be shown – this is not a favor but a right, just as it is for electricians, camera-men etc.”¹¹. Because with interpreting on public television the exploitation rights are sold as well, all of the interpreters stated that they thought it would be appropriate to insert the name of the interpreter or to mention them in the credits, as is generally the case at ARTE. This had already been recognised and put into practice as far back as 1994 by Horst Friedrich Mayer, the former Director of *Aktueller Dienst* at ORF (cf. Mayer 1994: 11). On the other hand, inserting the picture of the interpreter, as is sometimes the case with football commentators, is felt to be going too far by all the PB interpreters. They are even of the opinion that this would be disturbing in the case of a live insert. According to the statements of those persons in charge of TV programming, it is in the interest of the broadcasting company to have good interpreters, as they can definitely boost ratings considerably. That is why the public broadcasting editors interviewed were also very willing to mention the name of the interpreter “as a sign of appreciation and motivation”.

3. Prospects

On the whole, it would appear that both people in charge of television programming and interpreters have very high expectations regarding the quality of the interpreting product (on this cf. also Kurz 2000: 94). For this reason a majority of those interviewed also believe that it would be a good idea to institute an introductory course on TV interpreting in university studies programmes and in continuing education courses. TV interpreting apparently requires skills which differ considerably from those needed in conference interpreting. The interviews and the ARTE survey reveal that these skills are not solely related to the voice production as stated by Stähle (2009: 54), but also include a wide range of other factors. Perhaps it is thus time for educational and training institutes to finally notice which way the wind is blowing, as Ingrid Kurz suggested more than 20 years ago: “Serious thought will have to be given to the development of training programs for these new media translators/interpreters to help them meet the challenges of the future” (Kurz 1990: 173).

11 <<http://www.aiic.net/viewpage.cfm/article456>>.

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Backstage conditions and interpreter's performance in live television interpreting: quality, visibility and exposure

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Abstract

Live television interpreting has increased in recent years and is commonly seen as one of the most difficult and stressing forms of interpreting. However, both the actual difficulty and stress involved highly depend on the physical and technical conditions the interpreter has to face in every particular situation. The main goal of the present paper is to examine a corpus – which partly draws on the author's professional experience in various international events broadcast in the media – of digital video recordings of live interpretations from Spanish and international TV channels to discuss the backstage conditions of the interpreting assignments. Backstage conditions (a new concept introduced in this paper) are understood as a factor affecting quality according to two salient variables: visibility and exposure. Since they will determine the quality standards achievable in each particular case, and the quality of the interpreter's performance will thus be negotiated and assessed accordingly, awareness of all actors involved in the process shall be raised with regard to their relevance. Further stages of the current project will expand the corpus into a more comprehensive one that will eventually become STICor (Spanish Television Interpreting Corpus).

Introduction

Television (or TV) interpreting, media interpreting, and broadcast interpreting are different terms used to describe an important field of specialization that is

increasingly gaining relevance within Interpreting Studies. Most of the literature on the topic has been published under the heading of those three terms, although some other related ones, such as *telecast simultaneous interpreting* (Darwish 2009, 2010) also fall within its scope.

According to both researchers and interpreters, interpreting for live TV broadcasts is almost unanimously regarded as more stressful than other forms of interpreting (Strolz 1997; Kurz 2002), the main reason being that interpreting for a mass audience entails a much bigger exposure in case of failure than the one felt in conventional conference settings. Although the impact exercised not only by stress but also by other (mainly technical) constraints on TV interpreters is frequently examined in the publications that are increasingly being published on the topic – especially in the last decade –, hardly any of them are aimed at resolving the conflict that this poses for such professionals. The recent explosion of TV interpreting research provides us, for instance, with analyses on particular thematic fields such as legal discourse (Amato 2002), or sports (Straniero Sergio 2003); on specific TV channels (Darwish 2009) or programmes (Niemants 2007); and even establishes comparisons between different TV channel approaches (Shibahara 2003; Tsuruta 2008). On a more detailed scale, only regarding linguistic aspects, we find studies on proper names (Hanaoka 2002), compensatory strategies (Al-Khanji *et al.* 2000), rhetoric (Kwak 2007; Neuburger 2010), coherence (Dal Fovo 2011) or prosody (Moritz 2010). However, the question of how to reconcile the constraints imposed by this special interpreting modality remains unsolved.

The author of this paper can actually confirm the intrinsic difficulty of this form of interpretation, having interpreted events broadcast by Spanish international TV for a potential audience of many million viewers. Living this experience in the backstage of the event provided valuable insights into a complex phenomenon that deserved further research. As a result of that research, this paper presents a corpus of digital video recordings from live interpretations for Spanish and international TV channels. The 41 videos included in the current corpus are divided in two different sections: the Prince of Asturias Corpus (PAC) (23 videos) draws mainly on the 5 year experience in one of the most important cultural events worldwide: the Prince of Asturias Awards, presented every year by Prince Felipe of Spain. The Supplementary Corpus (SC) (18 videos) has been compiled to complete the PAC by resorting to recordings from various Spanish and international channels.

The main goal of the present paper is to use these corpora to analyze the backstage conditions of the interpreting assignments as a factor affecting quality according to two salient variables: visibility and exposure. The framework proposed here intends to draw on the corpora to compile, systematize, and discuss a number of examples of authentic TV interpreting performances, so that awareness of all actors involved in the process is raised with regard to the relevance of those backstage conditions. They will determine the quality standards achievable in each particular case, and quality will thus be negotiated and assessed accordingly. Further stages of the current project will expand the

corpora into a single, more comprehensive corpus that will eventually become *STICor* (Spanish Television Interpreting Corpus)¹.

1. Backstage conditions

In an attempt to clarify the specific nature of TV interpreting, comparisons have been established with other forms of interpreting: conference (Kurz 2002), film (Russo 2005), simultaneous and delayed simultaneous (Lee 2006) interpreting are interesting examples of such comparisons. However, one of the most recurring topics, both in those particular analyses and in the body of research as a whole, is the fact that media interpreters are confronted with additional difficulties, constraints and challenges in a much harder working scenario than conference interpreting in general. This favours the appearance of resounding headings to describe the complex nature of the task: “translation doubly constrained” (Viaggio 2001), “a high-wire act” (Kurz 2003), or even “a different sort of world” (AIIC 2004).

In considering the need for a new job profile, “media translators/interpreters”, Kurz (1990: 173) suggests, following Laine (1985: 212), that “the media require a new breed of translator/interpreter: a hybrid – someone who is a successful translator, interpreter, and editor, all in one” and this profile should include “flexibility, speed, a wide general knowledge and a complete lack of fear when it comes to using new equipment”. Being open to technological changes is indeed a must for today’s media interpreters, but the impact of multimedia communication technologies on interpreting is certainly manifold (Braun 2006), and it is worth underlining that concrete implications for media interpreting have a lot to do with areas such as remote (Moser-Mercer 2005; Mouzourakis 2006; Roziner/Shlesinger 2010) and videoconference (Jiménez Serrano/Martin 2003; Jiménez Serrano 2003) interpreting, which represent a common challenge that has to be faced by interpreters in general.

In the literature, there are constant references to the problems faced by TV interpreters, regardless of the label employed by the scholar in question (*problems, challenges, working conditions, drawbacks*), and this generates a lengthy list of elements that should be taken into consideration by prospective interpreters before embarking themselves upon such a venture; to the point that, according to Mack (2001: 130), the job of TV interpreters (at least in Italy) is “extremely risky and stressful”. At the same time, several adjectives have also been used in various studies to arrange these problems into more general fields for methodological purposes. However, although Kurz’s publications are frequently quoted, there is no standard classification available. *Logistic, technical, medium-related, emotional, or psychological* are some of those adjectives, but this paper only finds evidence to establish two groups that are presented in the following paragraphs, the full list is a summary based on various publications, notably Cheng-shu (2002), Kurz (1990, 1997, 2002), Kurz/Pöchhacker (1995), Mack (2001, 2002) and Viaggio (2001).

1 The name draws inspiration from CorIT (Italian Television Interpreting Corpus), as described in Straniero Sergio (2007) and Falbo (2012).

Firstly, those aspects where the interpreter may find at least some (even if slight) room to manoeuvre, that is, where different degrees of response will be seen depending on the interpreter's ability to cope with such conditions. This still makes it possible to find professionals that are (again even if slightly) more suitable for the job. Amongst these requirements we may find: maximum coordination when revoicing or matching speech with images; reduced *décalage*; matching speaking skills to those of TV professionals; meeting high expectations on the part of the viewers, who see interpretation as part of the product they are watching; having to cope with typical TV time management, since things happen at a very high speed; additional stress if failure, due to media exposure; interpreting late at night or on short notice, therefore, not having time to prepare the assignments; having to deal with a large number of topics, a variety of formats and structures, numerous participants and various viewpoints; not having time to get used to a particular accent or speaking style; having to meet different and high expectations from both the participants, the audience and the employers.

In this regard, the situation in Italian television seems to show an increasing tendency "towards a hybridisation of roles with leading journalists and showmen/women acting (also) as interpreters and professional interpreters becoming (also) primary communication partners" (Mack 2002: 204). This is apparently creating a conflict between "old style" or "traditional" interpreters, that do not seem to be suitable for this kind of job; and those who use their power as mediators to respond to the special needs of the media environment. Mack's (2002: 212) warning in this regard is that "failing to recognise and react to these different circumstances could result in an increasingly frequent substitution of *traditional* interpreters with other mediators, who prove more adaptable".

Secondly, we have those conditions that will affect all interpreters in practically the same way, because there is nothing they can do to mitigate them: not being able to communicate directly with either the speakers or the listeners; feedback from the interpreter's own voice; problems stemming from original sound being audible in the background (the audience may check the performance); no direct view of the speaker, having to rely on monitors; booths being located in rooms other than those where the interpretation is actually taking place; no sound-proof booths, or even no booths whatsoever; poor sound quality; technicians not being familiar with the work of the interpreter; inadequate headphones; no volume and/or mute control.

These circumstances only test the interpreter's physical and psychological ability to work under truly extreme conditions. This is a feature presupposed, only to a reasonable extent, in every interpreter, but obviously not to such degree. The immediate solution to these problems would be to improve the technical and physical environment in which TV interpreting is carried out. It certainly seems paradoxical that, in spite of the existence of directives aimed precisely at regulating this environment – the famous AIIC "do's and don'ts" (AIIC 1999) – they are hardly ever enforced.

A consolidated list including both types of handicaps would become so overwhelming that, as it was mentioned earlier, not only a "new breed of professional" shall be found for the job; but, as Kurz (1997: 198) rightly points out, someone who is very special amongst those who are already special (conference

interpreters) will be required. It does seem hard to explain that, after more than forty years of history in this particular type of interpretation, professionals still find themselves working in such conditions, especially if we take into consideration the amazing technological development achieved in the same period.

This is even more striking if we take into consideration their prototypical significance for the profession. Viaggio (2001: 29), for instance, suggests that “the media interpreter takes on the heavy burden of incarnating the profession before the general public, who witness and judge it and its practitioners exclusively by him”. Although the use of “exclusively” might be an overstatement in this particular opinion, television undoubtedly plays an important role in shaping the image of the interpreter, since a big part of the audience may only have access to live interpreting performances through the ones they watch on TV, as we read from Jääskeläinen (2003: 14) through the case of Finland where “for ordinary Finns who do not attend international conferences” this form of interpreting “may be the only kind of interpreting they ever come across”. We also learn from the web page of AICE (Spanish Association of Conference Interpreters), that the biggest landmark in the history of interpreting in Spain is the appearance of simultaneous interpreters in a TV programme, *La Clave*, back in the 1970s. Their performances became so influential that – as any interpreter who has been working in the Spanish market for more than twenty years may confirm – it actually conditioned the so-called “interpreting tone” used for many years by most Spanish professional interpreters (the specific university training received by less senior ones has fortunately changed this pattern), in an attempt to imitate the one of those working for *La Clave*, who practically became role models for the profession. The prototypical role of TV interpreters for a mass audience is closely related with two crucial aspects for this paper, visibility and exposure, which will be dealt with further on.

So if TV interpreters have to face considerably more hostile conditions, are not protected in the practice by existing directives, and constitute a role model for the profession in the eyes of the audience, a few questions may then be posed: how can any interpreter cope with the aforementioned demands, who would like to face those extremely challenging working conditions anyway, and can quality be guaranteed in such conditions?

These questions suggest that the issue of *quality*, which is a key element within Interpreting Studies in general, becomes even more relevant in this particular context. Although some research is being published on the topic such as Straniero Sergio’s (2003) account of interpretations in Formula One press conferences, few studies have been devoted specifically to the issue of quality in TV interpreting, but the findings obtained by those who did examine it (Kurz/Pöchhacker 1995; Kurz 1997) seem to show that media professionals’ expectations and demands regarding the performance of TV interpreters are at least similar, and frequently even higher, than those of ordinary conference interpreters.

These conclusions seem to be contradictory with the conditions that have been described in detail in previous paragraphs. One would certainly expect that, in view of the peculiar difficulties faced by TV interpreters, quality standards should be less and not more demanding than the ones expected from ordinary

interpreting performances. Along this line, Straniero Sergio (2003: 171) believes that “interpreters cannot be held totally responsible” for the achievement of quality objectives and that “quality standards should be adjusted to concrete SI situations” of this kind. In his opinion “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”. Following this proposal and in an attempt to answer the questions that were posed above, it would seem reasonable to consider that if the quality standards that may be achieved by the interpreter (from a realistic, and not an ideal perspective) are previously established and agreed upon according to the particular working conditions of the assignment, the actual interpreter’s task (although still quite challenging) would become considerably more bearable.

In connection with this, the present paper proposes a common label for all the elements in the previous list (and all the other similar ones that could be part of it). The term is *backstage conditions*, which is borrowed from the world of theatre. It is used here to describe a wide concept that covers all the elements constraining the interpreter’s work, which mostly belong to the world behind the TV camera. The media environment where TV interpreting takes place favours the use of a term of this kind, since it evokes the existence of a big divide between the audience as recipient of the final interpreted message, and everything else *on the other side* that is unknown to the viewer but has a tremendous influence in the quality of the final output. An output that, as opposed to many other forms of interpretation, will be most likely recorded and replayed. *Quality*, the big word for interpreters, would then be flexible and adjusted to those particular *backstage conditions* of the TV interpreting assignment. Likewise, expectations on the part of viewers, other participants in the communicative process, employers and even *interpreters themselves* (the most demanding ones with regard to quality) should also be built accordingly. Two important variables would also affect *quality*, and shall therefore be taken into consideration, within this framework: *visibility*, the manifestation of the actual presence of the interpreter in the TV broadcast; and *exposure*, understood beyond that of the live broadcast because it would also include, if it were the case, retrospective examination of the recorded product.

Visibility is negotiated in many diverse ways depending on the particular backstage conditions involved in every TV interpreting assignment. Sometimes we hear mainly the voice of the interpreter in voice-over mode with the voice of the original speaker simultaneously in the background; or we can also just hear the interpreter instead of the original speech; or a consecutive interpretation once the speaker has finished. In some occasions we may even physically see the interpreter in the TV studio or other settings, normally working in consecutive mode; and sometimes the role of the professional interpreter might surprisingly be adopted by the TV host resulting in performances that can range from positive to disastrous.

These last two options are becoming increasingly more popular in some countries, and as a result of this we find some studies dealing specifically with the issue of TV hosts as interpreters (Chiaro 2002; Jääskeläinen 2003), or others suggesting that “the interpreter’s physical presence helps shape a shared image of him as someone *just translating*” (Wadensjö 2008: 184). In countries like Italy,

where television is an important employer of interpreters according to Katan/Straniero Sergio (2001: 213-214) between 100 and 200 days are offered each year, these issues are being analyzed in detail by interpreting scholars. In this context, these authors believe that “the visibility of the interpreter is creating a new model of ethics, based on management or mediation between partners and the assumption of a multivariate role”. In the specific case of talk shows, the interpreter “enjoys a flexibility that is almost inconceivable (and ethically unacceptable) for other dialogue interpreters”, but fellow interpreters are not particularly happy with this approach adopted by some colleagues and “a number of influential members of the Italian Interpreter’s Association have expressed their unhappiness with this trend toward visibility” (Katan/Straniero Sergio 2001: 234).

The following sections will make use of a professional corpus to illustrate and discuss the manifold implications of the new concept of backstage conditions proposed in this paper. As it has been explained in this section, visibility and exposure will also be considered as two fundamental variables influencing quality within this context.

2. Towards a Spanish Television Interpreting Corpus

The Prince of Asturias Awards are a series of annual prizes awarded in Spain by the Prince of Asturias Foundation to individuals, entities or organizations from around the world who make notable achievements in the sciences, humanities, and public affairs, according to the following categories: Letters, Sports, Social Sciences, Communication and Humanities, Concord, International Cooperation, Scientific and Technical Research, and Arts.

The Awards are presented in Oviedo, the capital of the Principality of Asturias, at a ceremony presided by Prince Felipe, heir to the throne of Spain. When commemorating the 25th anniversary in 2005, the Foundation received its most international support by UNESCO, which recognized the “extraordinary work done by the Foundation to promote and celebrate the exceptional achievements of humanity in the fields of culture, science and the humanities” (UNESCO 2004). The award presentation ceremony is regarded as one of the most important cultural ceremonies in the world, and the awards are considered the Spanish-speaking world’s equivalent of Nobel Prizes. In fact, prestigious media such as *The Financial Times* refer to them as the “Spanish Nobels” (Crawford 2008).

Every year by the end of October, the Prince of Asturias Foundation requires a team of interpreters working from and into various languages, depending on the ones spoken by the specific laureates. On 2006, the author of this paper joined that team for the first time to work from English into Spanish and Spanish into English, and has also been part of it since then. With a view to carrying out an eventual analysis of the interpretation of the award-related events (which is presented now in this paper according to the elements described in the previous section), systematic recording of those events was started from October 2006 either directly from the live source, or by retrospectively resorting to either the Foundation’s web page media channel, or the specific station’s web page. The

corpus was obtained from three sources: the regional TV station, Televisión del Principado de Asturias (TPA); Spanish national public station TVE 1; and TVE 24h, Spain's public channel for worldwide broadcasting. After five editions (2006-2010), 22 videos have been incorporated to the corpus to illustrate the interpreter-mediated events that take place in this setting. The corpus includes 23 videos because Stephen Hawking's acceptance speech from 1989 was added for comparative purposes that will be explained further on.

The interpreter-mediated events were divided into five categories: acceptance speeches, press conferences, talks, interviews and conferences. What follows is a description of the 23 videos included in the PAC.

Prince of Asturias Corpus (PAC)

CODE	SPEAKER	TYPE	DATE	LENGTH	SOURCE
AS1	Stephen Hawking	Acceptance Speech (Consecutive)	Oct 22 1989	20:46 m	TVE 1
AS2	Paul Auster	Acceptance Speech	Oct 20 2006	6:57 m	TVE 1
AS3	William H. Gates	Acceptance Speech	Oct 22 2006	4:29 m	TVE 1
AS4	Al Gore	Acceptance Speech	Oct 26 2007	11:18 m	TVE 1
AS5	Margaret Chan	Acceptance Speech	Oct 23 2009	8:39 m	TVE 1
AS6	Zygmunt Bauman	Acceptance Speech	Oct 22 2010	5:56 m	TVE 1

Table 1. Acceptance Speeches

CODE	SPEAKER	TYPE	DATE	LENGTH	SOURCE
PC1	William H. Gates	Press Conference (excerpt, newscast)	Oct 20 2006	18 sec (6:57 m)	TVE 1
PC2	Margaret Chan	Press Conference	Oct 22 2009	27:53 m	TVE 1
PC3	Norman Foster	Press Conference (full)	Oct 23 2009	22:59 m	TVE 1
PC4	Norman Foster	Press Conference (excerpt, newscast)	Oct 23 2009	19 sec (1:23 m)	TVE 1
PC5	Norman Foster	Press Conference (excerpt, newscast)	Oct 23 2009	19 sec (1:35 m)	TVE 24h
PC6	Transplantation Society	Press Conference	Oct 21 2010	24:38 m	TVE 1
PC7	Richard Serra	Press Conference	Oct 22 2010	23:56 m	TVE 1

Table 2. Press Conferences

CODE	SPEAKER	TYPE	DATE	LENGTH	SOURCE
T1	Paul Auster, Pedro Almodóvar	Talk (summary)	Oct 19 2006	11:04 m	TPA
T2	Alain Touraine, Zygmunt Bauman	Talk (summary)	Oct 20 2010	8:49 m	TPA
T3	Richard Serra	Talk (summary)	Oct 21 2010	11:27 m	TPA

Table 3. Talks

CODE	SPEAKER	TYPE	DATE	LENGTH	SOURCE
I1	Paul Auster	Interview (newscast)	Oct 20 2006	2:56 m	TVE 1
I2	Margaret Chan	Interview (newscast)	Oct 23 2009	3:40 m	TVE 1
I3	David Attenborough	Interview (newscast)	Oct 23 2009	3:35 m	TVE 1
I4	Yelena Isinbayeva	Interview (newscast)	Oct 23 2009	3:30 m	TVE 1
I5	Richard Serra	Interview <i>Informe Semanal</i> (weekly programme)	Oct 23 2010	2:07 m (14:26 m)	TVE 1

Table 4. Interviews

CODE	SPEAKER	TYPE	DATE	LENGTH	SOURCE
C1	Bill Gates	Conference	Nov 11 2006	29:38 m	TVE 24h
C2	Bill Gates	Conference (excerpt, newscast)	Nov 11 2006	35 sec (1:45 m)	TVE 1

Table 5. Conferences

The recordings are grouped in five categories according to the various types of communicative situations that were faced by interpreters within the period described. The selection of videos was performed for each category according to three criteria: 1) availability in any of the three sources (in further stages of the project, the corpus may be enhanced by virtue of an eventual agreement with the Foundation); 2) interest for the goal of this paper, that is, discussing the relevance of backstage conditions with regard to quality, visibility and exposure; and 3) when possible, preferably direct, or otherwise indirect, participation of the author. In this context, direct participation means that the interpretation was solely or jointly performed by the author, and indirect participation means that the author was part of the team but did not perform the interpretation personally. In both cases, for obvious reasons, more data on the backstage requirements are obtained this way. Fifty seven per cent (13/23) of the videos meet the first criterion, and thirty nine per cent (9/23) meet the second.

Award acceptance speeches are the type of assignment that entail the highest degree of interpreting visibility and exposure, since millions of viewers will be watching live the interpreter's performance in voice-over mode worldwide. The award presentation ceremony represents the culmination of a whole year of hard work for the Foundation. After 30 editions, they have taken its organization close to perfection. We hear several voices in this ceremony, there is a female master of ceremonies who introduces the laureates every year, a male speaker who announces the Awards (both working for the Foundation), a TVE 1 journalist hosting the event, the interpreters (always matching male and female voices, which is a must), and of course the laureates.

With regard to the interpretation itself, the author has never had any interpreting assignment as meticulously prepared by the client as this event. The speeches have to be in the hands of the Foundation's team of translators well in advance, so that they are fully translated for the ceremony. There are two groups of translators: those who translate the various foreign speeches into Spanish for

the mass audience, and those who translate both speeches by Spanish-speaking laureates and Prince Felipe's speech into English for non-Spanish-speaking attendants at the impressive venue, Teatro Campoamor, in Oviedo. The interpreters taking part in the live broadcast can resort to both the original speeches and their corresponding translations as support to perform the simultaneous interpretation that will be enjoyed in Spanish as live voice-over with the original speaker still audible in the background. But the surprise comes when they reach the theatre's underground floor where the monitors and the booths are awaiting (the ceremony is followed by TVE 1 signal through monitors placed in front of the booths), and learn that instead of providing simultaneous interpretation, they are actually expected to read aloud the translation they have in their folders.

Clips AS2, AS3, AS5 and AS6 are examples of this situation performed by three different interpreters. These videos are useful to analyze the quality standards of the performance from the point of view of how well the interpreter simulates the simultaneous mode by reading as naturally as possible, with adequate intonation and *décalage*. Preliminary surveys of these videos on the matter with both undergraduate and postgraduate interpreting students show significant differences in this regard, even to the extent of collecting comments such as "this one is being read, but this other one is being interpreted".

AS1, the only video in this corpus where the author did not directly or indirectly participate, has been included because it is an odd exception to the rule. The laureate was scientist Stephen Hawking, who had to speak through his adapted computer device, so it was decided to provide the interpretation in consecutive and not simultaneous mode. In this particular occasion, the ceremony's speaker read the official translation and there was no professional interpreting involved in the process. The most salient consequence of this change is that the speech is much longer than all the other ones, and this alters the traditional dynamic nature of the event.

AS5 is an example of how unexpected events may alter the broadcast dynamics, since Margaret Chan, Director General of UNESCO, found out when she was about to start speaking that she had not been given the right speech. When she tells the assistant about the mistake and later confirms that the second time she has been given the right one, the interpreter translates her words into Spanish for the audience as required, but the journalist hosting the broadcast (probably unaware of this translation) decides to speak simultaneously so as to clarify what is going on, and the three voices therefore overlap. As both Queen Sofía and Prince Felipe smile, this situation, together with an ironic sentence used by Chan before she actually starts reading "This is not an accident. It's planned", changes the tone of an otherwise extremely formal (and, as we have explained, carefully rehearsed) event.

AS6 would appear to be a perfect example of an ordinary speech within the ceremony's dynamics to those who were not involved in the preparation. However, an analysis of its backstage conditions reveals an important translation problem. When the author was given the translation into Spanish of sociologist Zygmunt Bauman's (2010) speech, he observed a problem in the translation of the word "curtain". Bauman referred with this word to a book by Milan Kundera, *The*

Curtain, where Cervantes' *Don Quixote* was mentioned "Cervantes sent Don Quixote to tear up the curtains patched together of myths, masks, stereotypes, prejudices and pre-interpretations". The term "curtain" has several meanings in Spanish depending on the context, but in this case the author's opinion was that "telón" (as in the case of theatre) was the correct one; the translation provided by the Foundation, however, opted for "velo" (*veil*). In a metaphoric sense and within a different context, this might have been an option, but in this particular case "telón" was the best choice, and *veil* was not only incorrect, but could even raise controversy because of its Muslim connotations. In the author's opinion, in this particular occasion it was worth going against the general rule through which the exact translation provided (with no changes by the interpreter) is read and, after a negotiation with the Interpreting Team Leader, the author's opinion was preferred: "telón" was used instead of "velo" in the ceremony. Once the event had finished, the author was pleased to confirm by a web search that Kundera's book had actually been translated into Spanish as *El telón*. The interpreter had been seriously exposed by using a translation in the ceremony that was different from the one proposed in the text officially handed out to the media (press, TV, etc.), and in spite of "telón" being the correct one, most of the press preferred to reflect the incorrect written version (the one with "velo") in their chronicles.

Finally, in AS4 former US Vice-President Al Gore was the only laureate who refused to provide a speech beforehand in five years. That meant there was, of course, no translation available this time, and the mode had to be changed to a truly simultaneous interpretation. It is an ideal opportunity to compare Al Gore's simultaneously interpreted video with the other four *apparently simultaneous* ones, on the grounds of both performance as such, and stress due to mass media exposure. Within an overall good interpretation, we hear some of the usual minor problems found in most simultaneous interpretations (hesitations, false starts, changes in fluency under pressure, pauses, repairs). A couple of more serious problems were that "the earth's crust" becomes "*la costra de la tierra*" instead of "*la corteza terrestre*", and the question "Why were you deaf, dumb and blind to the consequences of what was being done to the truth, of what was unfolding?" is interpreted as "*¿por qué de pronto os enceguecisteis* (a word that does not even exist in Spanish) *frente a las consecuencias de lo que se estaba haciendo?*" However, several newspapers failed to notice, and actually repeated, the most serious interpreting mistake (even if it was a matter of just one letter), because they resorted to the interpreted version of the speech and included a reference to a famous writer, M. Scott Peck, who wrongly became "Ian" Scott Peck. What would normally remain unnoticed as a minor, and even typical, spelling mistake in an ordinary interpretation, is magnified by the enormous media exposure of this kind of event.

In view of the description of this group of videos, the ability to compare those which follow the pattern deliberately established by the organizers (AS2, AS3, AS5 and AS6) with the exceptions to the rule (AS1 and AS4) enables us to illustrate that voice-over is a much more dynamic option than consecutive (AS1); and that when a true interpretation is required because the speech is not available in advance (AS4), the pressure exercised by a very high degree of both visibility and exposure implies a renegotiation of our quality expectations.

Press conferences by the laureates are broadcast live by Spanish public TV and this gives them a high degree of exposure as well. Interpreting is performed simultaneously and this type of event is similar to any press conference from other contexts. The interpretation, as in the case of the ceremony, is presented in live voice-over mode with the original speaker still audible in the background, so visibility is also high again. Excerpts of the full conference are often included in Spanish prime-time newscasts, which provides additional exposure to these performances: PC1, PC4 and PC5 are examples of this kind.

PC1, however, is the most relevant video in this group. William H. Gates had to do his press conference in the consecutive mode due to a mild hearing impairment. The author had to sit by his side to do consecutive interpretation into Spanish for the audience and whispering interpretation into English for Mr. Gates. A small excerpt of the press conference was broadcast in the 03:00 pm newscast, which has maximum audience. For only eighteen seconds, the interpreter could physically be seen by the audience, and this provided more nationwide visibility than all the rest of the work for the Foundation in five years. In line with the references to maximum stress involved in TV interpreting from previous sections, it becomes obvious that much more pressure is felt by physical than by voice-only visibility. The level of stress perceived by the author in this particular conference was subsequently much higher than in the other assignments of the same type, since being on-screen or off-screen makes a big difference in this regard.

Talks are organized by the Foundation to bring the laureates closer to the citizens of Asturias. They are a peculiar form of interview/chat/conference with a chairperson who moderates the event, interpreted in simultaneous mode and only seen through the regional TV station. Their much lower degree of media exposure makes them similar to regular conference settings as far as stress levels are concerned. However, some excerpts reach bigger media if the laureate is interesting enough for the general public. That was the case of T1, which obtained much more exposure due to the fact that film director Pedro Almodóvar is a true celebrity in Spain. In any case, since this particular aspect cannot be anticipated and the atmosphere of the setting is usually less formal and more relaxed, the pressure felt by the interpreter is far from the one experienced in the other interpreting scenarios: acceptance speeches, press conferences or interviews.

Interviews are broadcast live every year for a peak audience in the 09:00 pm public newscast during the night of the award presentation ceremony from the courtyard of the hotel where both the laureates and the Royal Family stay, Hotel de la Reconquista, a famous venue that was used, for example, by Woody Allen as the location for some of the scenes of his award-winning film *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (clips I1, I2, I3 and I4 belong to this category).

Backstage conditions become extremely relevant in this particular type of assignment, because in spite of the glamorous venue where the broadcast takes place, the interpreter is actually performing his translation alone in the passenger seat of a mobile unit parked by Spanish public television in the back street of the hotel. A tiny monitor and a pair of headphones are the only equipment to perform

an interpretation that will be part of one of the peak prime-time events of the season. Since there is no communication with the technicians, and live interviews have a completely different dynamics from the one of the ceremony (there are no rehearsals, they are much shorter, and turn taking is very fast), voice-over control becomes difficult as well as essential. It is not surprising, therefore, that technical problems occurred in two of the five videos: I1 and I4. The supposedly hidden version into English was broadcast in both videos, generating problems with the host, particularly in I4. Yelena Isinbayeva had some problems in understanding the translation into English of one of the questions asked by the journalist through her earpiece. He assumed that the interpretation was not working (he was not using the earphone to hear the translation), and decided to perform the interpretation himself, even though he was not particularly fluent in English. Something similar occurred with I1, although this time the journalist did not decide to become an improvised interpreter. The technician apparently had some problems in managing channels into English and into Spanish, and this left the audience with no translation of a great part of one of Auster's answers; while the interpreter's version into English of one of the questions, that was supposedly for Auster's ears only, was also heard by the audience. Therefore, I1 and I4 are excellent examples of a worst-case technical scenario for the interpreter regarding both visibility and exposure.

I5, however, is different from the other four videos. As a part of the various assignments involved in the Awards, the author interpreted an interview with sculptor Richard Serra for TVE 1. A half-hour interview was recorded with the interpreter hidden from the camera behind the sculptor and in consecutive mode, supposedly to be shown by this channel as part of the coverage of the Awards. Instead of that, what was finally broadcast in a weekly programme, *Informe Semanal*, was only a 2:07 minute excerpt as part of a 14:26 minute general documentary on the Awards. However, in this version the interpreter's live voice was replaced by a recorded studio version where the translation was read aloud. Final visibility and exposure were therefore completely different from the expected ones when the assignment was originally recorded.

Conferences are not common in the Awards. These two videos, however, illustrate an exception that took place only because Bill Gates could not make it to the ceremony in October and visited Oviedo three weeks later to personally thank Prince Felipe for the award. C2 is a short live connection with the conference for the 9:00 pm newscast. This 35-second excerpt is only a little fragment of the half-hour conference chosen by TVE 1 at random to cover a quick live feed, but received maximum media exposure in Spain, since the average national audience is much higher in the TVE 1 evening newscast; but the full conference had a much bigger impact worldwide, due to the international dissemination of TVE 24h.

This interpretation was performed by the author of this paper, who had in advance what was supposedly going to be the speech delivered by Bill Gates, thus reproducing the dynamics of the interpretations carried out in the award presentation ceremony. Unfortunately, Bill Gates unexpectedly decided to change his speech completely at the last minute and the effects of this change can be perceived during the first few minutes of the performance (proliferation of

hesitations, false starts, backtracking, etc.). After a couple of minutes, though, once the new situation (that of a regular simultaneous interpretation in a conference setting) is assumed by the interpreter, the quality perception goes back to normal. Being aware of these details about the particular backstage conditions enables us to realize the significance of the actual fragment selected by the channel for the live feed, as the previous paragraph has explained.

The description of these five groups of videos shows that these recordings become useful to further illustrate and discuss both backstage conditions, quality, visibility and performance in future stages of the project (and according to the rationale explained in previous sections). However, a more detailed and accurate analysis may be provided if the corpus is completed by resorting to recordings of other different interpreting scenarios (that is, outside the formats of the Awards) from various Spanish and international channels. To achieve this goal, 18 new videos are included in the Supplementary Corpus (SC, cf. table 6).

The Supplementary Corpus (SC) intends to complete the PAC through 18 videos (5 groups and 3 independent videos). Only 11% (2/17) are interpreted by the author; the rest by TV hosts or fellow interpreters, some of them actually frequent booth mates (which also guarantees better access to backstage conditions). However, those situations in which the information on backstage conditions was not so comprehensive in advance (that is, if the interpreter is not the author or a frequent booth mate) have been submitted to further research in order to homogenize the data available on the whole corpus.

Group 1 clips belong to Sarkozy/Royal's presidential debate (which is also analyzed in Falbo 2012). DEB2 matches the male/female voices (just like AS videos in the PAC), whereas DEB1 does not. At a certain stage, the discussion turns sour when Sarkozy mentions handicapped children, and the candidates constantly and aggressively interrupt each other for a while. DEB1 becomes an interpreting nightmare in this particular passage, because the two candidates and the two journalists (two male and two female voices) speak simultaneously, and since the two interpreters are women (and the interpretation is presented in voice-over mode), it becomes impossible to identify who is speaking. Although the difficulty of the situation remains, DEB2 solves the problem much better with different gender interpreting voices.

Group 2 includes three Formula One press conferences. When GP1 and GP2 were recorded, Tele 5 channel had the rights to broadcast Formula 1 and the host, who became a celebrity in Spain, carried out all the interpretations (press conferences, live radio, interviews) himself during those seasons. The quality delivered was of course far from professional standards, but the audience seemed to accept that. Interestingly enough, a professional interpreter was hired for the last race of the championship, as an exception for the special occasion. GP2 in particular is an amazing video where he became so stressed with the interpreting task and the variety of accents in English (by British, Finnish and Spanish drivers) that at a certain stage he shouted live (in Spanish) what we could translate as: "Wow, give me a hand, these dudes are going like the clappers", asking his colleagues to help

CODE	SPEAKER	TYPE	DATE	LENGTH	SOURCE
DEB1	Segolene Royal Nicolas Sarkozy	Debate (Presidential Elections)	May 2 2007	9:42 m	CNN +
DEB2	Segolene Royal Nicolas Sarkozy	Debate (Presidential Elections)	May 2 2007	(4 clips) 8:08 m 3:30 m 5:47 m 9:10 m	TVE 24h
GP1	Fernando Alonso Lewis Hamilton Felipe Massa	Press Conference (Montecarlo GP) (excerpt)	May 27 2007	2:30 m	Tele 5
GP2	Fernando Alonso Nico Rosberg Lewis Hamilton	Press Conference (Singapore GP) (excerpt)	Sept 28 2008	4:20 m	Tele 5
GP3	Sebastian Vettel Fernando Alonso Mark Webber	Press Conference (Shanghai GP) (excerpt)	Apr 19 2009	1:04 m	La Sexta
EV1	Various speakers	Exhibition coverage in newscast (Everstill Exhibition)	Nov 24 2007	1:14 m	Cuatro
EV2	Various speakers	Exhibition coverage in newscast (Everstill Exhibition)	Nov 27 2007	1:06 m	TVE 1
AW1	Various speakers	Awards Ceremony (Golden Globes) (excerpt)	Jan 17 2009	27:45 m	Sony
AW2	Various speakers	Awards Ceremony (Spanish Film Academy Awards)	Feb 14 2010	37:05 m	TVE 1
AW3	Various speakers	Awards Ceremony (MTV European Music Awards)	Nov 7 2010	132 m	MTV Europe
ES1	Mats Wilander Annabel Croft Kim Clijsters	Interview (Game, Set and Mats)	Dec 12 2010	6:	Eurosport
AH1	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad Ana Pastor	Interview	Mar 15 2011	30:17 m	TVE 1
MV1	Vicky Martín Berrocal Jordi González Anne Germain	Talk show (Más allá de la vida)	Dic 5 2010	15:00 m	Tele 5
H1	Jorge García Pablo Motos	Talk show (El hormiguero)	April 20 2009	3:02 m	Cuatro
H2	Will Smith Pablo Motos	Talk show (El hormiguero)	Jan 12 2009	10:58 m	Cuatro
H3	Novak Djokovic Pablo Motos	Talk show (El hormiguero)	May 11 2009	6:53	Cuatro
H4	Justin Timberlake Jesse Eisenberg Andrew Garfield Pablo Motos	Talk show (El hormiguero)	Nov 6 2010	9:11	Cuatro

Table 6. Supplementary Corpus: sub-corpora

him with the translation. This peak moment of visibility and exposure of the (amateur) interpreter is one of the highlights of the corpora.

It is interesting to contrast these two videos with GP3, because in 2009, when la Sexta channel obtained the rights to broadcast Formula One races, a professional interpreter was hired for the job and broadcasts have been offered this way since then. The result is that the interpretations enjoyed by the audience are far better now, as we can confirm by comparing this video with the other two.

Group 3 shows coverage of *Everstill*, an art exhibition that brought together many international artists in Federico García Lorca's home in Granada. Famous British duo Gilbert and George were the stars of the exhibition with a piece that was actually a picture of themselves in Lorca's bed. The author interpreted their interviews for several TV stations. In EV1, the interview was subtitled and the interpretation was not used at all.

In EV2, however, we can see that TVE 1 decided to use for their quick one-minute report on the exhibition the author's live interpretation of the original interview, which was several minutes long; but the only part used from the original was an isolated shocking sentence by the duo (in reference to their picture in Lorca's bed): "It is a great opportunity to indulge in necrophilia without going to prison". The interpreter was heard in the prime-time newscast only for a couple of seconds and only to reproduce such a controversial statement. Therefore, a sentence that appeared much more in context within the whole interview seemed totally deprived from it for the sake of media dynamics.

Group 4 includes three awards ceremony broadcasts, which are usually a challenge for interpreters because of the amount of unexpected things they have to deal with (unlike the speeches in the PAC awards ceremony, as we have seen). Ceremonies of this kind are often very hard to prepare as well: live interpretation of the Oscar's, for instance, also means dealing with a 200 pages script (Cf. Carantoña 2011). In AW1, when receiving his award during the Golden Globes, actor Colin Farrell said: "They must have done the counting in Florida", in a reference to the 2000 US presidential election, and the interpreter turns mute in the Spanish interpreted version at this stage. The actor's Irish accent is hard and he refers (with a peculiar sense of humour) to something that took place nine years earlier, which makes the task of the interpreter even harder than the average one in this type of assignment (usually full of acknowledgments and jokes not present in the script), but silence is always difficult to justify on TV. Unlikely as it may seem, having this type of comment in the booth in advance would make the life of the interpreter much easier, and the interpreted event much richer.

In the 2010 edition of the Goya Awards (the Spanish equivalent of the American Academy Awards), as we can see in AW2, three speakers thanked the Academy in English and one in Italian, no interpretation whatsoever was provided into Spanish. It seems difficult to explain why a prime-time event with massive audience did not provide interpretation of those acknowledgments into Spanish.

AW3 is a two-hour clip with the full broadcast of the 2010 European Music Awards (EMA) by MTV. The event takes place in Madrid but English is, of course, the main language, so live interpretation is provided into Spanish. The use of

slang, incredibly fast comments, local US references and even dirty language is quite frequent and highly problematic for the interpreter in this kind of show; and this clip is a good source of examples. One of the most difficult ones came when the host, actress Eva Longoria, introduced singer Ke\$ha (who uses her name with a dollar symbol instead of an “s”) this way: “I am not sure how you pronounce her name in euros. Where I come from, we call her Ke\$ha”. The translation provided was a more or less literal one, and this made no sense in Spanish without time for an explanation of the dollar issue. Likewise, all through the broadcast we hear too much English into Spanish from the interpreters (the acronym for the name of these awards, for instance, is pronounced in English instead of Spanish all the time); and the translation of slang and swear words in particular (which is frequently used in events mainly directed to young people) sounds too predictive and artificial.

ES1 is an interview in a tennis tournament where the host provides simultaneous interpretation for every speaker. His performance is far from acceptable, but he does not seem to be worried about the exposure. He introduces jokes of his own, makes personal comments here and there, and summarizes or eliminates information as he pleases. The version of the programme into Spanish is therefore much different from the original one in English, and visibility is magnified to the extent that the host becomes the protagonist. This type of behaviour is sometimes seen in talk show interpreting, but a sports programme is certainly an odd example.

AH1 is an interview with Iran’s Prime Minister Ahmadinejad by a Spanish female journalist that became a world trending topic in twitter a few months ago, the reason being that the journalist’s scarf slipped to the back of her head and her hair was uncovered during part of the interview. The video, interpreted from Farsi into Spanish and Spanish into Farsi, achieved a lot of media exposure worldwide. The interpretation is full of both technical and linguistic problems of all kinds (misinterpretations of the questions, important omissions, problems in the voice-over mix, and even strange noises apparently coming from the booth). Dozens of comments could be read in the Internet about the poor translation, which actually became one of the most frequently mentioned aspects together with the scarf issue.

Both MV1 and the next group of videos are some of the best examples of TV interpreting visibility in Spain. MV1 belongs to *Más allá de la vida* (Beyond Life), a bizarre programme where spiritual medium Anne Germain connects with dead people who are friends or family of TV celebrities. The host makes interpreting become part of the show, since he performs all the translation from and into Spanish in consecutive mode himself. The programme reproduces the same scheme used in Portugal (the programme is called there *Depois da vida*) with a female TV host and improvised interpreter. Interpretation into Spanish by the host in examples such as MV1 (which is used prototypically, since all programmes are quite similar) is frequently discussed in Internet fora (mainly the quality of the interpretation, or whether he is being assisted by a professional translator through the earpiece, etc.). There is even an article in Spain’s most important newspaper, *El País*, by novelist and TV celebrity Boris Izaguirre (2011) wondering how those we love suddenly speak English when they die.

Group 5 has incorporated interpretation as an essential part of the show. *El hormiguero* (The Anthill) is a talk show (which has now moved from Cuatro to Antena 3 channel) where more than a hundred international celebrities have enjoyed the humorous atmosphere of the programme's ironic and self-exposing approach. When foreign visitors come to the programme, interviews are rehearsed with both the guest and the interpreter in advance (or guests are at least shown a script before they go on air, so they have some idea of the tone of the show) to anticipate problems and make jokes work smoothly. The interpreter has therefore become so famous that she even has a fan group in Facebook. To illustrate the visibility of the interpreter in this particular programme, we have an H1 clip where, in a situation hardly ever seen on TV, a whole minute of valuable prime-time is spent to show the guest how to go backstage and get to the interpreter's booth to meet her, and see her waving at the camera from there. The interpreter's visibility is also magnified in H2, where actor Will Smith jokes about the sexy voice (and body according to his gestures) of the interpreter; and H3, where tennis player Novak Djokovic, with a sudden and wild gesture, gets rid of the earphone to prove that he needs no translation because his Spanish is very good.

However, maximum exposure was achieved by the so-called *Isenberggate*, illustrated here by H4 and H5. Jesse Eisenberg, protagonist of the *The Social Network* blockbuster (and other two co-actors), was expected to join in the fun of the show like any other guest, but he apparently did not. A few days after his performance in the show, he strongly criticized it in Conan O'Brien's US late night show, saying he had been "humiliated" in Spain: "the audience laughs, and you listen to the translation and realize that yes, they are laughing at you. But you do not have time to answer, because they have moved to something else in Spanish". O'Brien found an interesting topic there and continued to ask Eisenberg about his terrible experience, to the point that he even said that Spaniards were "ungrateful for what we did for them in World War II", the problem being that Spain, of course, did not take part in World War II.

The controversy was widely reflected in the Spanish media and, in line with the tone of the programme *El hormiguero*'s host, Pablo Motos, spent a good part of the November 22 programme (H5) building a reply to Eisenberg's performance in the US. He decided to subtitle his words in English (as if Eisenberg or O'Brien were directly viewing it), apologized to Eisenberg, but explained that more than a hundred international guests had enjoyed the program (and celebrities such as Mel Gibson, Hugh Jackman or Will Smith were shown actually joining in the fun and having a great time), and finally challenged O'Brien in a funny mixture of English and Spanish.

International media also echoed the translation controversy, as we read in *Associated Content* (Wakefield 2010) "it is a pity that nobody translated the show to Eisenberg before he complained to O'Brien because he would have realized that he was not being laughed at"; but translation seems to be in the eye of the hurricane once again: "The one thing that could have and should have been better is the translation. The translators did a terrible job and should be the ones to blame for the lack of sync between guests and host". Unfortunately, in spite of all

their efforts and usually good performances under pressure, TV interpreters receive more criticism than praise in the media.

3. Conclusions

After establishing the current relevance of TV interpreting as a field of research, this paper has highlighted the role of backstage conditions for professional TV interpreting performance. By means of an observational, descriptive, comparative, and retrospective approach, the audiovisual content of the corpora has underlined the significance of such concept for TV interpretation performed by professional and amateur interpreters in Spain. Visibility and exposure parameters have proved to be essential to model a new concept of flexible quality that is required in this highly constrained environment. Quality expectations on the part of all actors involved (media professionals, audience and interpreters themselves) must be negotiated according to the standards that may reasonably be achieved in view of the specific backstage requirements of each assignment.

As it has been explained, this is only the first stage of an ongoing project that should eventually lead to the construction of STICor, a Spanish Television Interpreting Corpus. To pursue this more ambitious and comprehensive instrument, recording of as many interpreter-mediated events as possible will be performed, so that the body of videos integrating the expanded corpus reflects the manifold events of the Spanish market TV interpreting reality.

The preliminary analysis of the two corpora introduced in this paper is therefore an initial proposal of a new framework that intends to facilitate the aforementioned negotiation of quality standards by illustrating a wide range of communicative problems and their subsequent consequences for interpreting performance, by resorting to as many relevant authentic examples as possible. The material presented, both in the corpora used here and in those to be compiled to build the future STICor, will hopefully contribute to better frame and understand the true value of the mediating task of TV interpreters.

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Quand les interprètes font les journalistes : une analyse linguistique

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Abstract

Against the background of current literature on media interpreting and journalism, this paper presents an analysis of a corpus obtained from the Italian state TV programme Unomattina in 2001. The corpus was built with the aim of comparing two roles: journalists as in-the-field professionals reporting the latest news on the Iraq war from abroad (Journalists-as-Journalists: JJ); interpreters watching CNN and Al Jazeera from a booth in the studio, and giving journalistic updates from these to the Italian audience (Interpreters-as-Journalists: IJ). If we assume that audiences judge the journalists and interpreters by the same standards, differences between JJ and IJ could be seen as failings on the part of IJ to be as effectively telegenic as their JJ counterparts. Combining notions from Conversation Analysis, Sociolinguistics, and Media Studies this paper sets out to characterise interpreters' linguistic behaviour when they play this hybrid role of interpreter/journalist. Are there linguistic differences between JJ and IJ? And are there additional skills interpreters need to develop in order to be more telegenic and better meet the needs of TV programmers and audiences?

Introduction

Les interprètes de télévision flirtent souvent avec les limites de leur rôle pour mieux répondre aux exigences particulières d'un média – et d'un public – qui ne pardonnent pas (Moreau 1998). Comparée au milieu de conférence,

l'interprétation en télévision requiert une flexibilité considérable de la part des interprètes, devant remplir des conditions supplémentaires de qualité de la voix et du message (Kurz 1990) et devant faire face à des difficultés logistiques et psychologiques accrues (Mack 2001). Il se peut également que la télé exige de nouvelles formes de transfert linguistique, qui n'impliquent pas la traduction de messages d'autrui en simultanée ou en consécutive (rôle traditionnel), mais aussi la production de messages autonomes contenant des informations collectées dans une langue étrangère (rôle journalistique). L'interprète pour les médias correspondrait donc à un nouveau profil d'emploi : un professionnel hybride devant s'acquitter de tâches journalistiques autant que linguistiques (Kurz/Bros-Brann 1996). Ce qui soulève des questions quant à la nécessité d'une formation spécifique (Viaggio 2001).

Ces pages voudraient apporter une contribution au débat sur le rôle hybride de l'interprète-journaliste en présentant quelques résultats de l'analyse d'un corpus tiré du programme télévisé italien *Unomattina* en 2001, où tout en continuant d'exercer leur rôle traditionnel lorsque des invités étrangers avaient besoin d'une traduction (interprètes-interprètes : II), les interprètes avaient la parole pour raconter au public italien les nouvelles transmises en anglais par la chaîne d'infos américaine CNN et en arabe par la chaîne pan-arabe Al Jazeera (interprètes-journalistes : IJ). Notre but n'étant pas ici de résumer tous les résultats découlant d'une analyse qui visait également à vérifier les écarts linguistiques entre II et IJ (Niemants 2007), nous nous bornerons à quelques réflexions sur trois différences qui se sont dégagées lorsqu'on a comparé les interprètes-journalistes avec des journalistes professionnels qui intervenaient, au cours de la même émission, en tant que correspondants à l'étranger (JJ).

Puisque le discours des interprètes et des journalistes de télévision est jugé d'après les mêmes standards (Kurz 1990 : 169), les différences entre JJ et IJ peuvent être vues comme des manques de télégenie de la part de ces derniers. Il peut donc être éclairant de vérifier leur comportement linguistique lorsqu'ils assument ce rôle inhabituel, afin de répondre à deux questions prioritaires : y a-t-il des différences linguistiques entre les interprètes qui font les journalistes et les journalistes professionnels qui interviennent dans le même programme ? Le cas échéant, y a-t-il des capacités supplémentaires que les interprètes pourraient développer, par le biais de l'(auto)formation, afin de se rapprocher de la langue parlée par les journalistes et de mieux satisfaire les exigences de ceux qui font la télévision et de ceux qui la regardent?

1. Données et méthode

Pour répondre à ces questions de recherche, nous avons construit un corpus de 40.365 *tokens* incluant les mots prononcés par 10 journalistes professionnels et 17 interprètes comme journalistes, ainsi que par les 2 présentateurs du programme qui leur donnent la parole au cours de chaque épisode. La construction de notre corpus a prévu deux volets : la collecte et la transcription des données, la sélection des variables et des méthodes.

Nous avons collecté 35 épisodes du programme d'info-divertissement *Unomattina*, transmis par la chaîne publique italienne Rai Uno au moment de l'invasion de l'Iraq en 2001 et couvrant à peu-près quatre mois d'émission.¹ Nous avons ensuite décidé quelles données transcrire pour les deux rôles : celui des correspondants à l'étranger intervenant – lorsque les présentateurs leur donnent la parole – afin de fournir des informations du terrain (JJ) ; celui des interprètes qui – suivant la CNN et Al Jazeera depuis une cabine placée dans le studio du programme et n'intervenant que lorsque les présentateurs s'adressent directement à eux – à tour de rôle racontent les nouvelles transmises par les deux chaînes étrangères (IJ).

Sachant qu'aucune transcription "is a complete record of a spoken event" (Cencini/Aston 2002 : 47), nous avons essayé de fournir un certain nombre de détails afin de placer les interventions de JJ et IJ dans le plus vaste contexte du programme à l'intérieur duquel elles se situent. Ainsi, nous avons pu identifier la charpente de chaque épisode et l'emplacement le plus récurrent des contributions des deux rôles : les IJ intervenant une fois au début du programme, vers 6h45, une fois à moitié, après le JT de 8h00 et la météo, et une fois à la fin du programme, peu avant 10h00 ; les JJ n'intervenant qu'une seule fois, généralement après la première contribution des IJ, donc peu avant 7h. Nous avons donc commencé à remplir la charpente des épisodes du programme en transcrivant environ une heure d'interactions impliquant les JJ (64') et une heure d'interactions impliquant les IJ (61'). Si nous les qualifions d'interactions c'est parce que nous avons considéré tout l'échange verbal avec les deux présentateurs, afin de rendre également compte du comportement de ces derniers vis-à-vis des deux rôles.

Force est de constater que tout en étant équitablement représentés dans le corpus (avec environ la même durée totale et la même quantité de mots par rôle), JJ et IJ affichent des différences sur lesquelles on ne manquera pas de revenir :

Mots par rôle	JJ : 9.112	IJ : 9.032
Énoncés ² par rôle	JJ : 88	IJ : 184
Rapport mots/énoncé	JJ : 103,5	IJ : 49,1

Une fois établis quoi et combien transcrire, il nous restait à décider comment le faire. Transcrire c'est en effet une "tâche paradoxale" (Falbo 2005), se situant au croisement de deux exigences en quelque sorte contradictoires : la volonté de transcrire tout ce que l'on entend/voit dans l'enregistrement et le besoin d'être lisible. Notre solution de compromis a été de transcrire en divisant les informations textuelles (c'est-à-dire les mots prononcés) des informations méta-textuelles (c'est-à-dire celles qui montrent qui dit quoi, quand et comment) et en suivant les lignes directrices TEI, qui s'étaient déjà avérées utiles dans l'encodage

- 1 Les enregistrements sur cassette vidéo, qui nous ont été gentiment prêtés par le professeur Francesco Straniero Sergio de l'Université de Trieste, ont été passés sur DVD.
- 2 D'après le système de notation que nous avons utilisé (cf. la suite) un énoncé est une unité de discours qui est généralement précédée et suivie par un silence ou par un changement de locuteur (TEI element u = utterance). Dans un dialogue, chaque tour d'un locuteur peut être considéré un énoncé. Nous préférons toutefois distinguer ici entre l'unité telle que nous l'avons repérée en cours de transcription – l'énoncé – et l'unité qui s'est dégagée de l'analyse qui a suivi – le tour de parole.

de données d'interprétation en TEI-XML (Cencini/Aston 2002) et dans le dépassement des limites de méthodes conçues à une époque pré-numérique.³ Pour contrecarrer la difficulté de consultation d'un corpus en XML, qui est parfait pour la machine mais moins pour l'œil humain, nous avons choisi de l'indexer avec le logiciel Xaira⁴ et de le visualiser en utilisant un *stylesheet* spécifiquement conçu. C'est ainsi que l' "apparent dichotomy between machine-friendly and reader-friendly formats" (Cencini/Aston 2002 : 57) a été résolue.

Le but du deuxième volet dans la construction de notre corpus a été de fournir des lentilles analytiques pour une observation plus réfléchie et moins casuelle de la langue parlée par JJ et IJ. En d'autres termes, nous voulions avoir une idée générale, si vague soit-elle, de ce que nous étions en train de chercher dans nos transcriptions. C'est pourquoi, nous avons recensé les traits typiques du langage journalistique italien en consultant plusieurs volumes sur le sujet (*inter alia*, Diadori 1997 ; Maraschio 1997 ; Bonomi 2002 ; Petrone 2004 et Mazzei 2005). Une première liste de plus de 40 variables linguistiques a été progressivement raccourcie en éliminant celles qui étaient les moins fréquentes ou les moins aisément analysables dans notre corpus. A titre d'exemple, la variable "remplacement du subjonctif par l'indicatif" suggérée, entre autres, par Maraschio (1997), n'a pas été considérée en raison du fait que notre corpus n'était pas lemmatisé et qu'il aurait été impossible de distinguer automatiquement les temps verbaux. Il en a été de même pour les variables "ton" de Diadori (1997) et "langage du corps" de Petrone (2004), puisque une recherche automatique pour ces types de variables aurait requis le *tagging* des données avec des informations sur le ton de la voix ou les gestes. Nous avons enfin abouti à une liste de 8 variables.

1. Tours de parole et chevauchements (cf. énoncés et interruptions)
2. Coordination vs. Subordination (par ex. *e, ma* vs. *perché, se*)
3. Pronoms relatifs (par ex. *che, cui*)
4. Signaux discursifs (par ex. *si, insomma*)
5. Marqueurs d'explication (par ex. *cioè, come dire*)
6. Référence à la deuxième personne (par ex. *vedete, voi*)
7. Référence à la première personne (par ex. *io, noi*)
8. Adverbes d'affirmation (par ex. *appunto, naturalmente*)

La méthode d'analyse a consisté à identifier (et compter) toutes les occurrences de ces variables. L'observation de leur contexte conversationnel et le cadre théorique nous ont ensuite aidé à donner une explication fonctionnelle de ces

3 La méthode de transcription proposée par Sacks *et al.* (1974) a été la plus utilisée au cours des trente dernières années dans l'analyse des interactions verbales. Tout comme les autres qui se sont développées dans son sillage, cette méthode ne répond toutefois pas aux nouveaux besoins de *machine-readability*, puisque certaines de ses conventions (en particulier celles pour la transcription des superpositions entre locuteurs) ne sont pas directement lisibles par la machine. C'est pourquoi nous avons décidé de nous refaire au cadre théorique de l'Analyse Conversationnelle, sans pour autant utiliser ses conventions traditionnelles de transcription.

4 <<http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/rts/xaira/Doc/refman.xml?ID=X01>>

faits linguistiques (Levinson 1983) et à décrire quelques phénomènes sociolinguistiques qui semblent caractériser l'interprétation à la télévision.

2. Cadre théorique

Cette recherche s'inscrit dans un cadre théorique interdisciplinaire allant de l'Analyse Conversationnelle (AC : Sacks *et al.* 1974) aux études sur le langage du journalisme (Mazzei 2005), en passant par la sociolinguistique (Goffman 1981).

L'AC vise à décrire la succession d'actions menées par les participants à un quelconque échange communicatif (Gülich/Mondada 2001). Par action s'entend tout comportement expressif verbal (les tours de parole) ou non verbal (par exemple les gestes et les regards) d'un locuteur qui s'adresse à un/des autre/s, conditionnant ainsi les actions successives (l'acceptation ou le refus de ce qui a été dit). En appliquant ce que Sacks *et al.* (1974) ont nommé *next turn proof procedure*, c'est-à-dire en observant les réponses des interlocuteurs aux tours de parole qui précèdent, l'AC explique comment les participants interprètent les actions de leurs pairs et comment ils aboutissent à une co-construction de l'interaction et à une co-compréhension de ce qui se passe. Ce que nous utilisons de l'AC, en particulier, ce sont les mécanismes d'*allocation des tours de parole*, c'est-à-dire les règles implicites qui régissent la conversation et que tout locuteur applique afin de passer ou de prendre la parole au moment approprié (*transition relevance point*) sans chevaucher (*overlap*) les autres. Dans la conversation ordinaire, les règles d'allocations font que tout participant a le même droit à la parole ainsi que le même pouvoir de faire évoluer l'interaction dans une direction plutôt que dans une autre (Traverso 1999). Dans les interactions institutionnelles, par contre, l'asymétrie des rôles se traduit par des systèmes alternatifs de prise de parole, où un locuteur a différents pouvoirs par rapport aux autres. Nous assistons, dans ces cas-là, à des "conversations inégales" (Orletti 2000) où un "metteur en scène" contrôle le déroulement de l'interaction et a accès à des droits conversationnels qui sont niés aux autres (c'est pour nous le cas des deux présentateurs du programme).

Tout en offrant une lentille analytique très utile pour observer les tours de parole des locuteurs, l'AC ne suffit pas à interpréter des pratiques discursives typiquement journalistiques. C'est pourquoi notre cadre théorique a été doublé par la littérature sur le langage journalistique italien et sur le journalisme radiotélévisé en particulier. D'après Mazzei (2005), ce type de langage obéit à des règles particulières qui dépendent du média de diffusion, ainsi que du public de masse auquel l'information s'adresse. Télé oblige, en quelque sorte, à utiliser un langage familier, immédiat, complet et précis (Mazzei 2005 : 157-162). Elle demande une plus grande "digeribilità mentale" (*ibid.* : 163) par rapport à la presse écrite et elle privilégie la coordination à la subordination (*ibid.* : 171). La télé requiert, en outre, une certaine "cortesia didascalica" (*ibid.* : 169), à savoir une attention au téléspectateur qui pourrait brancher l'appareil à tout moment et qui a donc besoin d'une boussole pour savoir de quoi on parle. Cette courtoisie se traduit, toujours d'après Mazzei, par un nombre élevé de répétitions et d'explications qui visent à aider le téléspectateur distrait où le nouvel entrant à

recupérer le fil rouge du discours. Or, si l'on considère que les journalistes de *Unomattina* (et donc les interprètes) travaillent sur deux plans de communication différents – le plan interne parmi les participants au programme et le plan externe entre les participants au programme et les téléspectateurs à la maison (Dodd 1983) – le concept de courtoisie de Mazzei nous paraît limitant. Nous nous tournons donc vers une étiquette plus générale, celle d' "attention au public", afin de couvrir non seulement les répétitions et les explications mais aussi d'autres phénomènes linguistiques montrant comment les journalistes (et, souhaitablement, les interprètes) travaillent sur les deux plans de communication.

La notion de *footing* de Goffman (1981) vient compléter ce cadre théorique restreint afin de nous aider à fournir, entre autres, des explications fonctionnelles de deux faits linguistiques qui s'avèreront assez fréquents (Levinson 1983): l'utilisation de certains pronoms personnels et le recours à des adverbes d'affirmation. Goffman a introduit le concept de *footing* pour explorer la négociation linguistique de nos identités sociales et conversationnelles au gré du flux continu de la parole. Le *footing* se réfère à "the multiple senses in which the self of the speaker can appear, that is the multiple self-implicatory projections discoverable in what is said and done" (Goffman 1981 : 173). En d'autres termes les locuteurs signalent aux interlocuteurs qui ils sont et ce qu'ils font à n'importe quel moment de l'interaction. Cela renvoie aux processus discursifs par lesquels les locuteurs et interlocuteurs s'alignent et alignent leurs propos les uns sur les autres dans la structuration de l'expérience. Une modification du *footing* implique donc "a change in 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" (Goffman 1981 : 128).

3. Analyse

Notre but n'étant pas ici de porter un jugement détaillé sur toutes les différences existant entre la langue des JJ et des IJ, nous nous bornerons à quelques remarques pour ce qui est de leur droit à la parole (3.1), leur degré d'attention au public (3.2) et leur *footing* dans le programme (3.3).

ETIQUETTE FONCTIONNELLE	OBJET D'ANALYSE
Droit à la parole	1. Tours de parole et chevauchements
Attention au public	2. Coordination vs. Subordination
	3. Pronoms relatifs
	4. Signaux discursifs
	5. Marqueurs d'explication
	6. Référence à la deuxième personne
Footing	7. Référence à la première personne
	8. Adverbes d'affirmation

3.1 Droit à la parole

Un tour de parole est constitué par ce qu'un parlant dit sans que personne n'intervienne. La quantité de choses qu'un locuteur peut prononcer dans un seul tour dépend de toute une série de variables. Lors d'une conversation inégale, le temps accordé par le "metteur en scène" de l'interaction en est une variable importante. Dans le cas de notre programme, ce sont en effet les deux présentateurs qui contrôlent l'allocation des tours, sélectionnant le prochain intervenant et influençant, en prenant la parole lors des points de transition ou en chevauchant le locuteur pour l'interrompre, la longueur de son tour. Vis-à-vis de ces deux "metteurs en scène", JJ et IJ sont tous deux dans une position d'inégalité conversationnelle: leurs tours sont pareillement conditionnés par le comportement linguistique des présentateurs.

Les tours de parole de JJ et IJ diffèrent toutefois quant à leur longueur. En calculant le rapport entre les mots et les énoncés on s'aperçoit, en effet, que la longueur des tours est deux fois plus élevée chez les JJ (103.5 contre 49.1). Ces données suggèrent que malgré toutes les ressemblances entre JJ et IJ, et malgré les efforts de la part des IJ de parler à la manière des journalistes, une différence demeure : les interprètes ont la parole visiblement moins longtemps que leur collègues.

Cette observation a été doublée par une analyse des chevauchements entre présentateurs et JJ/IJ. Ce terme "parapluie" couvre ici à la fois les chevauchements qui n'interrompent pas, "the initiation of next speaker's utterance slightly before the current speaker comes to the ending he was coming to" (Goffman 1981 : 207), et ceux qui interrompent, "the stridently voiced attempt at takeover by a candidate speaker while the current one is still lodged in his utterance". Par souci de clarté, ce grand groupe de transitions marquées a été divisé en trois sous-catégories : les chevauchements se vérifiant aux début des énoncés de JJ et IJ (B = *Beginning*), au milieu (M = *Middle*) et à la fin (F = *Final*). L'interrogation du corpus pour B, M et F n'a pas montré de différences quantitatives remarquables⁵ entre JJ et IJ (occurrences/1.000 mots) :

JJ	B : 0.79;	M : 2.03 ;	F: 0.22
IJ	B : 1.37;	M : 2.17 ;	F: 0.34

Ces chiffres semblent donc suggérer que les deux présentateurs ont, vis-à-vis de JJ et IJ, un comportement analogue. Si l'on observe de près les chevauchements au milieu des énoncés, l'on remarque toutefois une différence qualitative. Plus précisément, il semble que les présentateurs chevauchent les IJ au milieu de leur énoncé quand ils veulent demander des éclaircissements sur des informations qui n'ont pas été bien comprises, comme dans l'Ex. 1

5 Nous considérons remarquable une différence d'au moins 3/1.000 mots.

Example 1⁶

- P <giurato> 4b *no scusa* 4b + no scusa non ho capito + l' inizio della storia sulla siria + dunque sono i talebani che dicono che + non ho capito
- IJ <laie> dunque la prima notizia è questa 5a + i 5a taliban affermano che i morti 6a sono 6a più di trecento
- P <giurato> 5b *ehm* 5b + 6b *si* 6b + purtroppo questo l' ho sentito + quel- quello sulla siria

Les chevauchements impliquant les JJ affichent, par contre, une plus vaste gamme de motivations. Les présentateurs interrompent non seulement pour demander des éclaircissements, mais également pour poser d'autres questions sur un sujet,

Example 2

- JJ <greco> in questo palazzo era arrivata come forse sapete la lettera + al senatore + dashiell + l' antrace che è stato trovato ieri era + a parecchie centinaia di metri di distanza + insomma + gli investigatori non riescono 2a *a spiegarsi che giro abbia fatto* + questi che invece vedete 2a + prego
- P <giurato> 2b *gerardo ti chiedo scusa* ++ 2b gerardo ti chiedo scusa + rispondimi in un secondo + perché il + il tempo è volato + il corriere della sera sta mattina ha questo titolo in prima pagina le poste + americane + nessuna lettera è sicura + ma possibile che siamo a questo?

ou pour avoir un *feedback* de la part de correspondants à l'étranger qui font du travail de terrain:

Example 3

- P <giurato> sandro benissimo + sei stat- sei stato chiarissimo + una domanda solo e una risposta proprio al volo + si si ha idea *ehm* di quando può scattare la prima parte di un con- di questa *ehm* si dice adesso che è operazione infinita e non giustizia infinita + pare che il nome sia cambiato ma non so se ho capito bene sta mattina presto + si ha idea di 6a *quando può partire?* 6a
- JJ <petrone> 6b [*incomprensibile*] 6b solo solo che c' era una piccola offesa al mondo islamico in quanto + solo dio + è capace della 7a *giustizia infinita* 7a
- P <giurato> 7b *allora è vero* 7b è cambiata? + operazione infinita e non giustizia infinita + ecco si + si ha 8a *idea di* 8a quando la prima parte di operazione infinita scatterà? + si ha 9a *qualche indiscrezione?* 9a

Cette différence qualitative dans les chevauchements au milieu de l'énoncé paraît montrer que tout en jouant le même rôle, JJ et IJ ont des *footings* différents. Ou

6 Dans cet exemple et dans ceux qui suivront les locuteurs sont identifiés deux fois : les premières lettres indiquent leur rôle (P = Présentateur ; JJ = Journaliste-Journaliste ; IJ = Interprète-Journaliste) ; les deux chevrons (< >) contiennent leur nom (Giurato et Saluzzi sont les deux présentateurs, les autres sont les noms réels ou imaginaires des JJ ou des IJ). Le signe + indique une pause, le signe -, en fin de mot, indique une troncation, et les chiffres suivis par "a" ou "b" indiquent le début et la fin d'un chevauchement, qui est visualisé en italique. Plus précisément, la lettre "a" indique la première partie d'un chevauchement (voir l'article "i" prononcé par IJ <laie> lors de son premier tour) ; la lettre "b" indique la deuxième partie (voir l'hésitation "ehm" prononcée par P <giurato> en superposition avec <laie>) ; le numéro permet l'identification précise de ce qui se chevauche (la machine ne pourrait pas savoir, sinon, que "i" se superpose à "ehm" et non pas au "si" qui suit).

mieux, les IJ semblent couvrir seulement une partie du rôle des JJ, c'est-à-dire celle qui implique le reportage d'informations. Mais quand il s'agit de répondre à d'autres questions sur un sujet, ou quand il est question de partager sa propre expérience sur le terrain, les IJ sont décidément hors du jeu.

En guise de conclusion provisoire de ce premier paragraphe d'analyse, la longueur et la gestion des tours de parole présentent des différences entre JJ et IJ. Nous avons déjà anticipé que cela peut être lié au fait que tout en jouant un même rôle journalistique, les IJ ne couvrent pas certains des *footings* couverts par les JJ. Ce qui prouve que les trois démarches d'analyse ne sont pas étanches, mais qu'elles s'entrecroisent dans le processus dynamique qui amènera à la discussion et aux conclusions.

3.2 Attention au public

Dans son manuel sur le journalisme à la radio et à la télé, Mazzei (2005) présente maintes choses que les journalistes devraient faire, ou dire, afin d'être considérés comme de bons journalistes. Nous retrouvons tout d'abord les répétitions et les explications qui simplifient le texte et qui trahissent un certain degré de courtoisie envers des téléspectateurs distraits ou qui viennent de se brancher (variable 5). Mazzei invite en outre les journalistes à utiliser des liens de coordination plutôt que des liens de subordination (cf. également Petrone 2004), puisque la coordination est plus facile à suivre (variable 2). Il les incite aussi à un usage important des signaux discursif qui structurent le discours et qui le rendent plus aisément compréhensible et plus mentalement digestible (variable 4). Pour ce qui est des pronoms relatifs (variable 3), c'est en lisant Diadori (1997) ainsi que l'étude de Maraschio (1997) que nous avons remarqué une préférence pour la forme simple *che* plutôt que pour les formes complexes *il/la quale* et *i/le quali*. Nous avons donc pensé que l'utilisation des relatifs simples pouvait être un signe de l'effort de s'exprimer de la façon la plus claire, en prêtant ainsi attention à un public non homogène. Les références à la deuxième personne (variable 6) nous paraissent enfin des marqueurs d'orientation du discours pour un public dans la salle et à la maison (Dodd 1983). Se référer aux spectateurs en s'adressant directement à eux ne fait que renforcer un espace commun en montrant que eux aussi ils sont pris en compte.

En croisant les réflexions de Mazzei (2005) et Petrone (2004) sur le langage journalistique, ainsi que celles d'autres auteurs qui ont également traité de la coordination et de la subordination dans la langue parlée (Bonomi 2002 ; Diadori 1997), nous avons créé la liste des conjonctions possibles. Nous avons donc fait une simple recherche par mot dans notre corpus pour vérifier combien de fois chaque conjonction était utilisée. Pour celles qui se sont avérées les plus fréquentes (au moins 5 occurrences), nous avons ensuite affiné la recherche afin de compter le nombre de fois où elles étaient présentes chez JJ et IJ. Nous avons enfin calculé le rapport occurrences/1.000 mots.

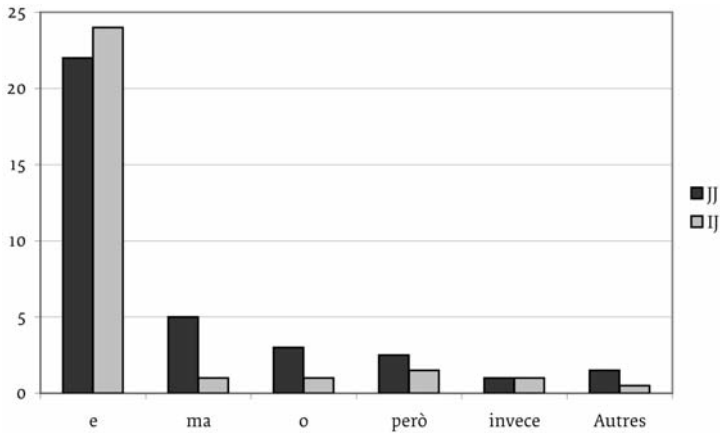


Fig. 1 Conjonctions de coordination par rôle: JJ 33,67/1.000 mots ; IJ 28,34/1.000 mots

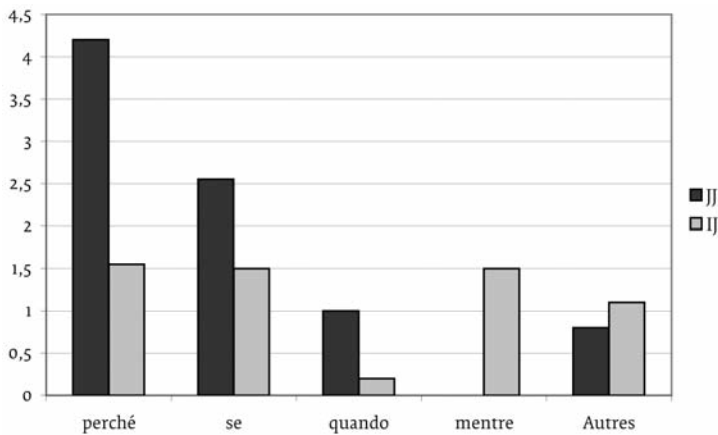


Fig. 2 Conjonctions de subordination par rôle : JJ 8,70/1.000 mots ; IJ 5,94/1.000 mots

Ces graphiques montrent la prédominance de la coordination par rapport à la subordination, avec les conjonctions *e* et *ma* comme têtes de liste. Pour ce qui est des liens de subordination, les plus fréquents sont *perché* et *se*. Force est de préciser que le nombre plus élevé de *mentre* chez les IJ peut être dû à l'emploi de cette conjonction de subordination pour passer de la chaîne CNN à Al Jazeera, comme dans l'Ex. 4, où la conjonction est indiquée en gras.

Exemple 4

- IJ <pallottino> per quanto riguarda la cnn ++ sembra che + sull' onda di nuovi attacchi + terroristici e la grande paura che c' è negli stati uniti per questi nuovi attacchi gli stati uniti stanno cominciando a prendere serie misure di sicurezza per proteggere tutte le centrali nucleari
- P <giurato> la signora di al jazeera?
- IJ <lese> **MENTRE** secondo al jazeera + i talebani affermano di aver respinto + un attacco particolarmente violento dell' alleanza del nord + nei pressi di mazari sharif

Pour ce qui est des pronoms relatifs, les résultats qui se sont dégagés de notre analyse confirment ceux de Diadori (1997 : 115), à savoir : les occurrences de *il/la quale* et de *i/le quali* (ce que j'ai appelé *qual.** dans le graphique) sont décidément moins nombreuses que celles de *che* et *cui*.

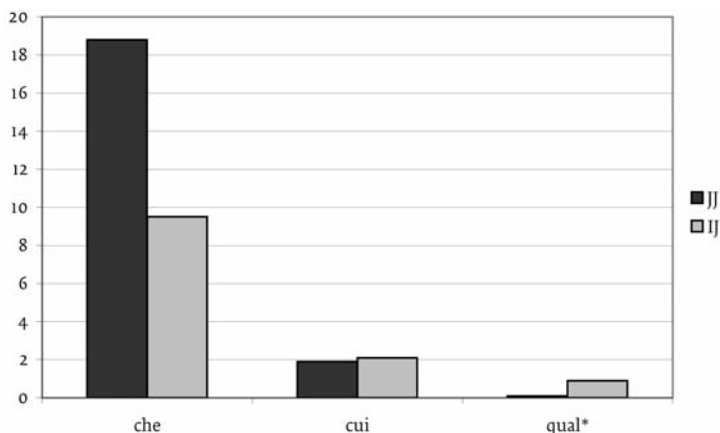


Fig. 3 Pronoms relatifs par rôle : JJ 20,78/1.000 mots ; IJ 12,91/1.000 mots

Le pronom *che* est le plus fréquent, mais les JJ l'utilisent presque deux fois plus que les IJ. Ces derniers ont plus recours aux formes *qual.** et au pronom *cui*, qui requièrent une organisation plus complexe du discours. En rapprochant ces résultats de ceux sur la subordination, nous en déduisons une plus grande complexité syntaxique chez les IJ.

L'étiquette "signaux discursif" s'applique à nombre d'éléments différents ayant une fonction phatique liée à la dimension interpersonnelle et une dimension syntaxique liée à la prise et à la gestion des tours (Straniero Sergio 2007 : 318-321). L'on peut en repérer un grand nombre dans le discours des interprètes et, d'après Straniero Sergio (2007 : 300-357), les plus fréquents seraient: *prima di tutto, è che, allora, così, devo dire, ecco, insomma, intanto, ora, come dire, appunto, in effetti, dunque, beh, per quanto riguarda, in realtà, per esempio, quindi, tutto sommato, diciamo, mah*. Chez les journalistes, ces signaux sont également présents, et les plus fréquents seraient: *allora, comunque, dunque, bene, guardi, senta, sa, vede, diciamo, voglio dire, in qualche modo, certo* selon Maraschio (1997: 828-830), ainsi que *sì, oddio, insomma, allora, così si dice, diciamo così, appunto, praticamente* selon Bonomi (2002 : 337-339). Afin de comparer la langue des JJ et des IJ par rapport à cette variable, nous avons répété la même procédure adoptée pour les conjonctions.

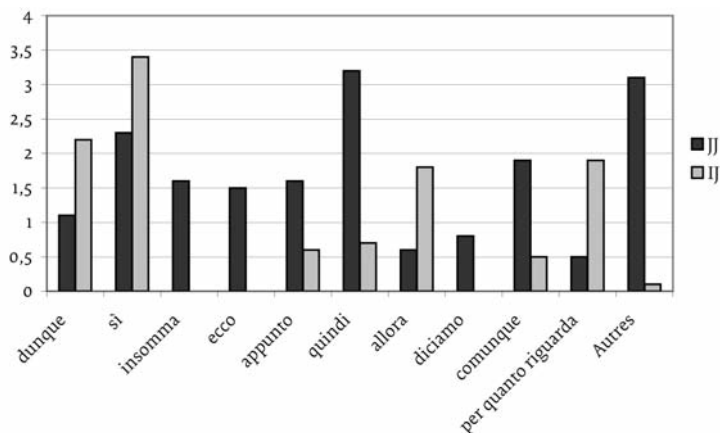


Fig. 4 Signaux discursifs par rôle : JJ 16,38/1.000 mots ; IJ 10,63/1.000 mots

En général, les JJ utilisent davantage de signaux discursifs. Seuls quatre signaux, *dunque*, *sì*, *allora* et *per quanto riguarda* affichent des rapports plus élevés chez les IJ. Il faut préciser que les occurrences de ces quatre signaux chez les IJ sont presque exclusivement en début de tour, lorsque les présentateurs donnent la parole aux interprètes (Ex. 5, en gras) ou lorsque le premier interprète passe la parole au deuxième (Ex. 6, en gras).

Example 5

P <giurato>ehm cnn?

IJ <demico>**sì** la cnn innanzitutto riporta la dichiarazione del padre di uno degli otto sequestrati gli operatori stranieri che si trovavano in afghanistan che sono stati sequestrati e arrestati con l'accusa di proselitismo cristiano

Example 6

IJ <pallina>il sito internet + della cnn ci informa che sono praticamente ultimate + le misure: di sicurezza antidirottamento all'interno degli aerei + e a londra saranno operative già dalla fine di questo mese

IJ <pallottino>**PER QUANTO RIGUARDA** la cnn ++ sembra che + sull'onda di nuovi attacchi + terroristici e la grande paura che c'è negli stati uniti per questi nuovi attacchi gli stati uniti stanno cominciando a prendere serie misure di sicurezza per proteggere tutte le centrali nucleari

L'attention au public est bien évidente dans l'utilisation des marqueurs d'explication (variable 5) introduisant des clarifications de mots ou de concepts difficiles pour les non spécialistes. Comme indicateurs d'attention au public nous avons choisi des expressions qui servent à introduire des reformulations ou des explications, comme *che è*, *ciòè*, *come dire*, *per esempio* et nous avons interrogé le corpus par rapport aux deux rôles.

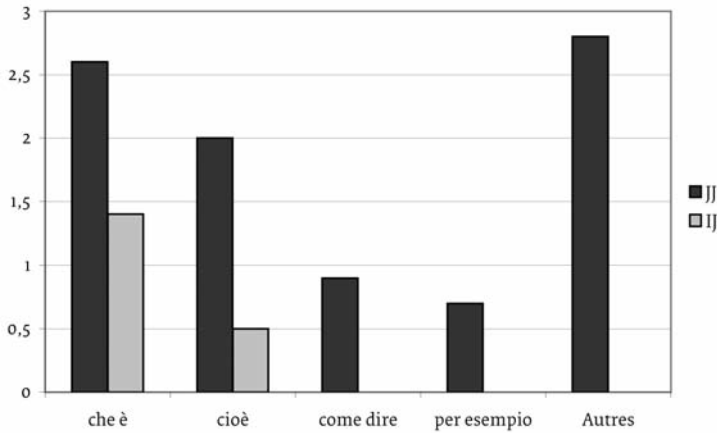


Fig. 5 Marqueurs d'explication par rôle : JJ 9,03/1.000 mots ; IJ 1,82/1.000 mots

Si l'on considère les résultats pour chaque marqueur, il ressort que les JJ en utilisent davantage. Si l'on observe le total sur 1.000 mots, l'écart est encore plus important.

L'analyse des références à la deuxième personne ne fait que renforcer l'impression que les JJ fassent une plus grande attention à leur double public non homogène. Nous entendons par références une série de pronoms, de possessifs et de clitiques qui sont utilisés par les journalistes pour impliquer les participants au programme (axe interne) et les téléspectateurs à la maison (axe externe). Nous donnons ici aux termes interne et externe la signification qui leur a été attribuée par Dodd (1983 : 45) dans ses travaux sur le théâtre, là où il affirme que

Lo sdoppiamento del modello comunicazionale nel sistema teatrale fa sì che abbiamo due assi nei quali il contatto è in gioco: quello esterno (autore-pubblico), e quello interno (personaggio-personaggio).

Cette dichotomie rend l'espace télévisé, comme théâtral, plus complexe qu'une interaction normale, ce qui complique les choses pour nos deux rôles. En comptant les références à la deuxième personne (*tu, te, ti, tuo, voi, ve, vi, vostro*) et en vérifiant leur emplacement sur l'axe interne ou externe, nous avons donc vérifié si la dichotomie de Dodd se reflétait dans la langue de JJ et IJ. Malheureusement **te* (incluant les terminaisons des formes verbales à la deuxième personne du pluriel) et *voi* ont été les seules références à produire des résultats dignes de présentation.

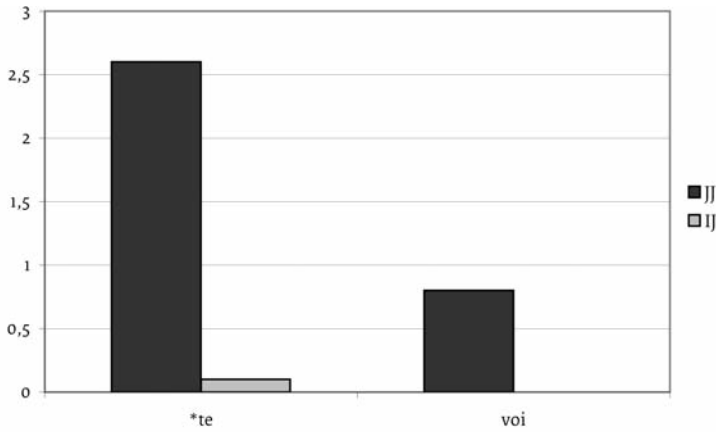


Fig. 6 Références à la deuxième personne par rôle : JJ 4,40/1.000 mots ;
IJ 0,22/1.000 mots

Notre analyse nous dit non seulement que les JJ utilisent davantage de références à la deuxième personne (avec **te* et *voi* comme têtes de liste), mais également que la seule référence présente chez les IJ est placée sur l'axe interne. Dans l'Ex. 7, où cette référence est en gras, l'interprète De Mico s'adresse aux présentateurs pour vérifier s'ils entendent ce qu'il est en train de dire :

Exemple 7

IJ <demico>mi sentite? elicotteri israeliani avrebbero non avrebbero colpito hanno colpito sicuramente dei i quartier generali vicino a rafat a ramallah hanno lanciato dei missili sul gli uffici di della sede di arafat

Les résultats pour le même élément chez les JJ montrent, par contre, que la majorité des **te* sont placés sur l'axe externe (19 occurrences sur 23). Voici deux exemples tirés du même JJ afin de montrer la différence entre les deux plans de communication : interne (Ex. 8, en gras) et externe (Ex. 9, en gras).

Exemple 8

JJ <deblasio>in questo momento giungono dall'afghanistan tutte le notizie di cui sta**te** dando conto anche con i vostri ospiti e i vostri collegamenti

Exemple 9

JJ <deblasio>siamo a trenta giorni dall'undici settembre quando alle otto e quarantotto del mattino il volo undici dell' american airlines possono partire le immagini proveniente da boston e diretto a los angeles si andava a schiantare sulla torre nord del world trade center cominciava la giornata più difficile una giornata indimenticabile per new york poco dopo eccolo lo ved**te** un secondo aereo andava a colpire la torre sud era l' inizio di una tragedia senza fine l' inizio di un momento difficilissimo per gli stati uniti

Pour ce qui en est du degré d'attention au public, nous avons donc trouvé que les JJ affichent un plus grand nombre de liens de coordination, de relatifs simples, de signaux discursifs, de marqueurs d'explication et de références à la deuxième

personne. Nous estimons que cela pourrait signaler à quel point le discours des journalistes est fait en fonction du public auquel ils s'adressent. L'utilisation plus restreinte de ces variables linguistiques chez les IJ pourrait par contre signaler que les interprètes n'adressent leur discours qu'aux personnes qui se trouvent sur l'axe interne, ce qui pourrait affecter l'engagement des spectateurs.

3.3 Footing

Puisque le *footing* est un alignement que nous prenons par rapport à nous-mêmes et aux autres, il est évident que le fait qu'un locuteur dise *io* plutôt que *noi* nous dit quelque chose à propos de la position qu'il assume par rapport à ce qu'il dit. Il en est de même pour les adverbess d'affirmation, puisqu'ils nous disent à quel point le locuteur est sûr de ce qu'il raconte.

De la simple interrogation du corpus pour les deux pronoms à la première personne (*io*, *noi*) s'est dégagée une différence nette : les journalistes en font usage (2.82 occurrences totales/1.000 mots, dont 1,58 occurrences de *io* e 1,24 occurrences de *noi*) alors que les interprètes ne les utilisent jamais. L'absence de ces deux pronoms chez les IJ pourrait être due au fait que les interprètes ne sont pas exactement dans les mêmes *footings* que les journalistes : ils partagent quelques traits de la situation générale (le rôle des JJ) mais pas nécessairement des traits de la situation locale qui est négociée interactivement par les participants au contexte (des *footings* impliquées dans JJ). En d'autres termes, les interprètes sont ici des personnes qui annoncent des nouvelles, et sont traités de la sorte par les présentateurs (cf. la discussion), mais ils ne sont pas libres de parler pour eux-mêmes ou ils n'ont de toute façon pas assez d'espace pour le faire.

Les résultats pour les quelques adverbess d'affirmation que nous avons considérés, comme *appunto*, *naturalmente*, *addirittura*, *proprio*, *assolutamente*, ne font que confirmer que les IJ évitent de se positionner de façon personnelle alors que les JJ le font assez fréquemment.

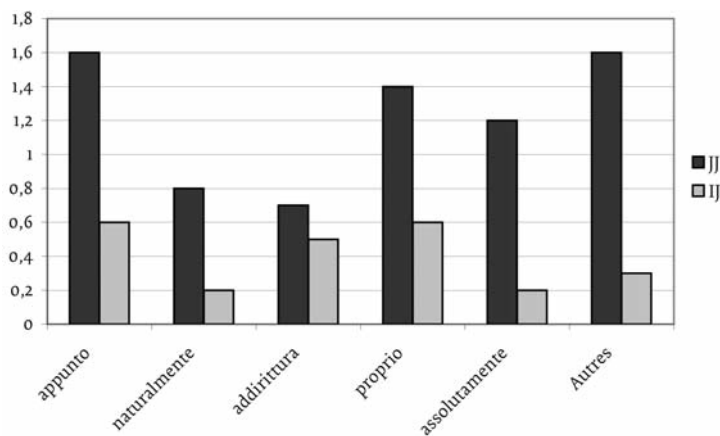


Fig. 7 Adverbess d'affirmation par rôle: JJ 7,23/1.000 mots ; IJ 2,40/1.000 mots

Les résultats pour les pronoms à la première personne et les adverbes d'affirmation semblent alors confirmer une différence que nous avons également retrouvée dans la longueur des tours et dans les chevauchements au milieu de l'énoncé, là où tout en jouant apparemment le même rôle, JJ et IJ paraissaient avoir des *footings* différents. L'on retiendra que les IJ semblent couvrir seulement une partie du rôle des JJ, c'est-à-dire celle qui implique le reportage d'informations, mais pas celle qui suppose une prise de parole et de position plus personnelle.

4. Discussion

L'analyse du droit à la parole et du *footing* suggère que nonobstant toutes les similarités que nous pouvons repérer entre JJ et IJ, et malgré les efforts de la part des IJ de parler le plus journalistiquement possible, une différence demeure : les interprètes ont des tours visiblement moins longs que leur collègues où ils ne prennent pas de positions personnelles. Ces résultats débouchent sur une considération qui implique une vision plus ample des séquences et des mécanismes d'allocations. En fait, JJ et IJ sont tous deux soumis à l'autorité conversationnelle des présentateurs du programme, qui sélectionnent le prochain intervenant et qui influencent la longueur et l'alignement de son tour.

Généralement les présentateurs interpellent les journalistes en utilisant leur prénom – ce que Straniero Sergio (2007 : 407) appelle *allocuzione lessicale*. Ce procédé d'appellation est beaucoup moins exploité lorsqu'ils s'adressent aux interprètes. A quelques exceptions près (7 Silvia, 5 Giacomo, 4 Hammam, 2 Lese et 1 Laie), les interprètes racontant les nouvelles de la CNN et de Al Jazeera sont nommés *i nostri interpreti*, *i nostri amici* ou simplement CNN et Al Jazeera. En outre, si l'on descend dans le détail des tours des présentateurs qui précèdent ou qui suivent ceux de JJ et IJ, l'on remarque la présence de formulations différentes. L'activité des JJ est généralement formulée comme *novità*, ce qui implique qu'ils ont la parole pour annoncer des nouvelles ; alors que l'activité des IJ est formulée comme *aggiornamenti*, ce qui trahit une attente de mises à jour de leur part.

Si nous en croyons Sacks *et al.* (1974), toute interaction est co-construite par ses participants. Cela signifie que tout en étant soumis à l'autorité des présentateurs, JJ et IJ peuvent à leur tour influencer le déroulement de l'interaction. Est-ce que les deux présentateurs décident *a priori* de présenter et de formuler différemment JJ et IJ ainsi que leurs activités ? Ou c'est plutôt une réaction à la façon dont JJ et IJ s'alignent vis-à-vis de ce qu'ils disent et de leurs interlocuteurs ? Difficile de trancher une question qui s'apparente à l'éternel débat de l'œuf et de la poule. Plus aisé, estimons-nous, de s'interroger sur les quelques différences qui tiennent plus aux présentateurs et au programme, sur lesquelles les interprètes ont probablement une moindre marge d'influence, et sur celles qui sont par contre plus directement liées aux choix linguistiques des interprètes, sur lesquelles ces derniers ont peut-être une plus grande marge de co-construction.

Pour ce qui est des éléments sur lesquels les interprètes ont une moindre influence, comme la longueur des tours, les pronoms à la première personne, les adverbes d'affirmation et la langue plus informelle, nous avons proposé que

certaines différences entre JJ et IJ pourraient indiquer des changements de *footing* dans un même rôle. Plus précisément : les JJ ont des tours plus longs, ce qui suggère qu'ils en ont le droit ; ils utilisent les pronoms *io* et *noi*, ce qui implique que leur rôle leur permet d'exprimer des opinions et des expériences personnelles; ils intensifient souvent ce qu'ils disent, ce qui montre, encore une fois, qu'ils peuvent manifester une évaluation personnelle par rapport à ce qu'ils racontent ; enfin, ce sont des personnages bien connus auxquels les présentateurs s'adressent en utilisant leur prénom, à savoir des correspondants qui racontent les dernières nouvelles du terrain et qui sont donc dans la position de pouvoir fournir plus d'informations ou de répondre aux questions spécifiques des présentateurs. Tout en jouant un rôle apparemment journalistique, les IJ sont à l'opposé par rapport à nombre de ces aspects : ils ont des tours plus courts ; ils n'utilisent jamais de pronoms à la première personne ; ils évitent les adverbes d'affirmation ; ils sont rarement adressés par leur prénom; ils ne sont surtout pas dans la position de fournir plus d'informations ou de répondre à des questions spécifiques, puisqu'ils ne sont pas des correspondants à l'étranger qui travaillent sur le terrain, mais plutôt des reporters éloignés de la scène où se déroulent les événements. Cela pourrait signifier que JJ et IJ ne sont pas deux rôles symétriques, puisque JJ permet certains alignements qui ne sont pas trouvés chez IJ, possiblement en raison du différent degré d'accès aux informations racontées : alors que les JJ ont une connaissance directe des faits racontés qui puise aussi bien dans les "territories of knowledge" que dans les "territories of experience" (Heritage 2011), les IJ n'ont qu'une connaissance indirecte au travers des chaînes d'information qu'ils regardent.

La tendance des interprètes à ne pas prendre une position personnelle par rapport aux informations de seconde main qu'ils transmettent pourrait être renforcée par leur formation en interprétation de conférence, où neutralité et fidélité sont les principes généralement prônés. C'est là que pourrait intervenir une formation spécifique au contexte télévisé, aidant les interprètes à réfléchir sur les nouveaux rôles/alignements qui peuvent y être requis et à travailler sur les éléments sur lesquels ils ont peut-être une plus grande marge d'influence et de co-construction. En effet, nous avons trouvé que les interprètes utilisent moins de conjonctions de coordination, de relatifs simples, de signaux discursifs, de marqueurs d'explication et de références à la deuxième personne par rapport à leur collègues journalistes. Les fréquences remarquablement moins élevées de ces variables chez les IJ semblent suggérer que les interprètes n'adressent leur discours qu'aux gens qui se trouvent sur l'axe interne de communication, alors que les JJ s'adressent aussi aux récepteurs sur l'axe externe. Cette utilisation différente des deux plans de communication pourrait avoir des retombées sur le degré d'engagement et de participation du public, influençant ainsi le jugement qu'il porte sur le programme et sur les deux rôles. En cherchant à utiliser davantage les éléments linguistiques que nous avons attribués aux JJ, par exemple les signaux discursifs qui augmentent la digestibilité mentale du discours, les interprètes pourraient se rapprocher de la langue des journalistes et remporter un plus grand succès auprès du public qui se trouve sur le plan externe, mais crucial, de la communication.

5. Conclusion

Si l'on assume que le discours des interprètes et des journalistes de télévision est jugé d'après les mêmes standards (Kurz 1990 : 169), les différences entre JJ et IJ peuvent être vues comme des manques de télégenie de la part de ces derniers. Ou, en termes positifs, une fois ces différences établies, il y a moyen de rendre la langue des interprètes plus télégénique en la rapprochant de la langue parlée par les journalistes.

Certaines différences tiennent probablement plus au présentateurs et au programme qu'aux interprètes, comme la longueur des tours de parole ou l'alignement. Mais en étant formés à la complexité de la communication télévisée ainsi qu'à certains de ses facteurs incontrôlables, les interprètes peuvent mieux s'insérer dans les dynamiques d'un programme donné.

D'autres différences sont par contre plus directement liées aux choix linguistiques des interprètes, comme le degré d'attention au public et ses multiples manifestations. Cela signifie qu'il y a une marge d'amélioration et que l'(auto)formation à l'utilisation de certains traits linguistiques (cf. coordination, relatifs simples, signaux discursifs, explications, références à la deuxième personne) pourrait contribuer à combler les écarts entre IJ et JJ.

On retiendra que certaines différences relèvent sans doute du style personnel des quelques participants pris en considération ; d'autres différences sont peut-être liées au format du programme analysé et donc peu généralisables ; quoi qu'il en soit, la comparaison entre la langue de JJ et de IJ semble à même d'explicitier certains éléments dont ces professionnels hybrides ont besoin, outre leur formation générale en interprétation et leur expérience en milieu de conférence, pour satisfaire les exigences de ceux qui font la télévision et de ceux qui la regardent. Sans quoi, les interprètes ne cesseront d'être perçus comme moins télégéniques que leurs collègues journalistes.

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Broadcast interpreters in Japan: bringing news to and from the world

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Abstract

During the past twenty years, interpreters have been an active force in broadcasting TV news in Japan. This article looks at how this mode of interpreting has taken root in Japan and then examines the constraints, requirements and challenges for the future. It first reviews how interpreting television news from English into Japanese is performed on regular news programs. Interpreting Japanese news programs into English is also discussed in light of the remarkable events of 2011.

The two essential constraints in TV news interpreting are the short preparation time and the undefined audience. More often than not, prepared texts are not available and preparation time is extremely limited. Broadcast interpreters need to be flexible and to be equipped with not only linguistic ability but also with a broad knowledge of current affairs. They also need to be skilled at conveying the news using their voice as a tool. To convey the news accurately and intelligibly, broadcast interpreters need to constantly update not only their linguistic ability but also their background knowledge and announcer-grade speaking skills. As a result of the increased prominence broadcast interpreting as a profession has its own niche as part of news reporting in journalism.

Introduction

Broadcast interpreting has come to hold a unique position in Japan¹. In various European countries and also at the European channel ARTE, media interpreting

1 Here the term “broadcast interpreter” is used to describe those interpreters that

is regularly employed (Pochhacker 2004). Interpreting for TV is done on an ad-hoc basis mostly by conference interpreters to convey key addresses by top political figures or major events in entertainment. ARTE, where this author visited in May 2011, is the only other place where conference interpreters are employed to broadcast regular news programs. In South Korea, as described by Lee (2011) media interpreting is used for major news events and entertainment such as the Academy Awards Ceremony. In Japan there are regular TV programs that are produced with the premise of using broadcast interpreters. Some interpreters specialize in broadcast interpreting (cf. BS Hōsōtsūyaku gurūpu 1998). It is usually the case that in the interpreting of news into Japanese, such interpreters' names are shown on the TV screen so the viewers can know whose voice they are hearing.

In the last 50 years, numerous major news events occurred, leading to increased demands on interpreters to accurately convey the news. The first big event was the landing of NASA's Apollo Eleven on the moon in 1967. This was before the word "hoso tsuyaku", or broadcast interpreter in Japanese, was created. The expression "hoso tsuyaku" came into existence around 1990 when NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyokai), Japan Public Broadcasting Corporation, started its Broadcast by Satellite television on channel number seven at that time. This channel was dedicated to sports and news, and from about 1988 test operations using conference interpreters took place, and NHK began to regularly broadcast the news from the United States and Europe.

What brought increased attention to broadcast interpreters were events such as the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989 in Beijing and the First Gulf War in 1991. A major incident that resulted in the employment of broadcast interpreters on a wide scale was the Japanese Embassy hostage crisis in Peru in 1996. Spanish interpreters were put on standby for four months until the matter was finally resolved by Peruvian government forces storming the embassy complex. Another big incident that employed an even larger number of broadcast interpreters was the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York City on September 11, 2001, which led up to the Iraq war of 2003. Interpreters were on alert around the clock at NHK and also at JCTV (Japan Cable Television), which broadcast CNN news in Japan. As documented by Tsuruta (2003) heavy usage of interpreters in conveying news about the Iraq war continued for over one month on a wide scale until the declaration of the end of active combat in May 2003.

On the other hand, in the area of Japanese-to-English interpreting, a major series of events (the Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami followed by a nuclear accident) happened on March 11, 2011 that warranted the use of interpreters from Japanese into English for NHK World, the NHK subsidiary for broadcasting news from Japan to the world on cable television and on the Internet. The operation was the biggest that NHK Global Media Services (G-Media) had ever experienced in dispatching broadcast interpreters. For interpreting from Japanese into English, NHK broadcasts its news programs at 7 p.m. and 9 p.m. bilingually with partial use of broadcast interpreters for

predominantly interpret for TV programs. However, the word "media interpreter" as used in foreign literature will be used as well.

domestic viewers, but employing broadcast interpreters in such a massive operation which continued for 45 days was the largest in scale in the history of NHK and is of historic significance in the history of broadcast interpreting as well.

According to NHK officials, NHK-BS has now over 20 years of history in having broadcast interpreters interpret news programs from abroad on a regular basis. Dedicated news channels such as CNN and BBC World news are also broadcast with simultaneous interpreting from seven in the morning until midnight on cable television. Such is the landscape of broadcast interpreting in Japan.

In the next section, this paper will review the current situation of Japanese broadcast interpreting. Then the article will examine the constraints and requirements that are inherent in performing this task, followed by a look at how training is conducted for this profession and finally, it will conclude with the future challenges for the profession. The following was compiled with much help from NHK officials who generously answered this author’s questions and is based on the exchange of opinions with colleagues who have taken part in the broadcast interpreting of TV news.

1 The current situation of TV news interpreting

1.1 Foreign news into Japanese

The current situation of TV news interpreting can be classified according to audience, language direction and mode of interpreting. As shown in Figure 1, media interpreters are employed in conveying foreign TV news for the Japanese audience. The mode of interpreting can be strictly simultaneous with almost no preparation time or what is called “prepared interpreting”, where interpreters can view video clips of stories that they will interpret in advance².

	Prepared Interpretation	Live Simultaneous Interpretation
Over 10 hrs per day	NHK-BS World Wave	JCTV CNNj BBC World BBC World
About 30 min. per day		TBS JNN CBS Evening News Nikkei CNBC Squawk on the Street

Figure 1. Foreign News Programs interpreted into Japanese by broadcast interpreters

2 As documented for example by Ino/Kawahara (2008).

The mode of interpreting employed has much to do with how the foreign news is incorporated into the regular news program. In the case of NHK, as a public broadcasting corporation it needs to cut commercials and also be mindful that no product names be broadcast. For example, interpreters will not say “Barbie” or “Lego” but will give generic names such as dolls or toy blocks. We will say “soda” instead of “Fanta”. There are instances when a TV program deals with the launch of a new product and the product name is used throughout the show. In such cases, it could well be that this program will not be aired by NHK BS (broadcast by satellite), the satellite broadcasting channel of NHK which employs broadcast interpreters constantly in regular programming.

NHK makes use of broadcast interpreters on an ad-hoc basis on its two terrestrial channels, namely NHK-G (G stands for general - in Japanese this channel is called NHK Sogo, meaning “general”, and this is channel one) and NHK-E (E stands for Educational; in Japanese this channel is called NHK Kyouiku meaning “educational” and this has been designated channel two). For example, live simultaneous interpreting was used in a news program on NHK-G (Channel One) when the space shuttle Atlantis returned to Earth on July 21, 2011 after completing its final flight. On NHK-E (Channel Two) interpreters can be called to interpret, for example, for interview programs with guests appearing via satellite hook-up.

NHK-BS currently broadcasts news programs from 23 TV stations in 17 countries and one region using broadcast interpreters. For some countries there are more than one station. For example there are four TV stations from the United States, namely ABC, CNN, PBS and Bloomberg. There are two from Germany, namely ZDF and ARD, and two from China, CCTV and Shanghai RTS. The newest addition is New Delhi TV from India. The details are as shown in Table 1.

NHK chooses the broadcasting stations so as to have a balanced selection from around the world. However, there are none from the African continent. NHK had tried to have a TV station in South Africa at the time of the World Cup in South Africa, but was not able to find a reliable TV station that transmits TV news on a regular basis. Since NHK-BS incorporates TV news programs from overseas TV stations into its regular news programs, it is imperative that the transmissions arrive on time on a regular basis. For the TV stations listed above, most of the news programs are broadcast with the interpreters’ voice regularly on weekdays, but for Brazil’s Bdeirantes and Turkey’s TRT the broadcast is aired only on Saturdays.

Over the years there has been some change in the style of morning news programs. One thing that does remain unchanged is that the “peak hour” for interpreters is around 5 a.m. The morning news called “World Wave” from 4 a.m. to 8:49 a.m., is the main news program on NHK-BS airing various portions from news programs around the world. Hourly, at ten minutes to the next hour, a 10-minute news program called BS50 is aired. This program is designed to be different from the news programs aired on NHK-G. News programs at 7 a.m. and in the evening are the most popular news programs in Japan.

North and South America	
ABC	United States
Bloomberg	United States
CNN (Cable News Network)	United States
PBS (Public Broadcasting Service)	United States
TV Bandeirantes	Brazil
Europe	
BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation)	U.K.
F2 (France Deux), France, ARD Germany, ZDF Germany, TVE (Television Espanola) Spain, RTR Russia _ Asia, KBS Korean Broadcasting System South Korea, CCTV (China Central Television) China, Shanghai TV China, ATV (Asia Television) Hong Kong, ABS-CBN Philippines, VTV (Vietnam Television)	Vietnam
CH9 (Channel 9)	Thailand
CNA (Channel News Asia)	Singapore
Al Jazeera	Qatar
TRT	Turkey
New Delhi TV	India
Australia	

Table 1. Foreign news programs broadcast on NHK-BS

BS news strives to be different from the news program on NHK-G. BS50 is a news program that summarizes in 10 minutes the latest news aired on NHK-G. It is aired at 10 minutes to the hour since the news programs on NHK-G are aired exactly on the hour. In the morning, World Wave from 4 a.m. to 4:49 a.m. shows mainly programs from Asian news stations. From 5 a.m. to 5:49 a.m. it shows mainly news from European stations. From 6 a.m. to 6:49 a.m. and from 7 a.m. to 7:49 a.m. are the two major time frames in which the main news is presented with two newscasters, one male and one female³. The two presenters explain the news from five European stations from 6 a.m. to 6:49 a.m. From 7 a.m. to 7:49 a.m. there is a section called “Sekai no Tobira” (Door to the World) in which the main topic of the day is introduced. Sometimes guests appear in this section. This section lasts for about eight minutes⁴.

From 8 a.m. to 8:49 a.m. there is basically a mixture of European, Asian and US news. In what is called the “News Hour” from 12 noon, the same contents from 8 a.m. to 8:49 a.m. is repeated. In the afternoon, from 3 p.m. World Wave Asia goes on air, followed by Tokyo Market Information. From 4 p.m. there is World Wave, including the PBS News Hour and ABC Nightline. From 5 p.m. a program called “Hot @ Asia” is broadcast. There are newscasters who appear with what is called the “caster lead” that lasts between 40 to 50 seconds to explain the news.

3 This is in the summer. In the winter, it is aired one hour later, from 7 a.m. to 7:49 a.m. and from 8 a.m. to 8:49 a.m.

4 Right after the US elections of 2008 this author had a chance to appear on this section with a senior colleague: we were asked by the two newscasters what we broadcast interpreters thought about the presidential race that culminated in the Democratic candidate Barack Obama eventually taking the Presidency.

Thus, of the 24 hours of the broadcast by satellite by NHK-BS, eight hours are devoted to airing news. There are two notable features about the news broadcast using interpreters on NHK-BS. One is that the news programs from overseas are not used in their entirety but are “cut” based on the editorial decisions of the day. For example, from 6 a.m. to 6:49 a.m. news from mainly European TV stations is broadcast. There are two interpreters working for each of the TV stations. The interpreters assigned to each program view the transmitted programs on the digital server and write down the main news items. The NHK-BS editors collect those lists and select the main news items of the day to be transmitted. Which news from which TV station will be selected will depend on what takes place that day. The “cut” pieces of the news program are all aired with what is called prepared interpreting. The broadcast interpreters who come as early as 2 a.m. to prepare for the World Wave have between one to two hours to prepare for such a flow of work. The exception is “ABC World News” from ABC in the United States. This program is shown with only 10 minutes’ preparation time to show the TV program with Japanese voice-over with a 10-minute delay as it is aired in the United States. For the two American talk show style TV programs shown in the afternoon, the PBS News Hour and ABC Nightline, there is more preparation time available so it is possible to assign different interpreters for host and guests.

Another notable feature is that NHK-BS makes it clear that it is NHK-BS that is airing those news programs from abroad. The decision as to what to show on its airwaves is made by the NHK-BS. In the past it used to be the case that longer blocks of news broadcast from each of the TV stations were used. Since this is a news program, speed and accuracy is the key. However, these two elements are in competition. When there is a contradiction in what is transmitted in the foreign TV news and NHK news, NHK must make a decision as to broadcast the news or not. NHK would especially like to show how Japan is viewed in the overseas news. But it is sometimes the case involving news concerning conflict and natural disasters that the figures concerning the victims or damage can be at variance. In such cases with considerable pressure of time and resources, NHK must take a difficult decision whether to air that foreign news or not. A case in point that happened in relation to the natural disaster that struck Japan recently was that a foreign television news organization reported that Japan intended to import much-needed temporary housing. As it so happened, that information was found to be untrue after it was aired. Even if NHK-BS is not the originator of the news, what is aired on NHK-BS is viewed as aired by NHK.

If there is more time to prepare, the preferred method is to show foreign news clips with subtitles after checking for the accuracy of the report. This is the way it is usually handled on NHK-G, other than for live media events, such as the US President’s Inaugural Address. From the second showing, it is usually the case that subtitles will be chosen. The decision is always taken based on time and cost effectiveness.

The broadcast interpreters are always conscious of the fact that they are working for NHK as interpreters. For example, an interpreter working to interpret France 2 news would want to convey the spirit of the French newscaster, but the viewers are a Japanese audience viewing NHK-BS. The role expected of the interpreter is to convey to the Japanese TV viewers in an intelligible way the latest news

conveyed in France. Here two things are also asked of broadcast interpreters. One is to consider human rights and refrain from showing minors with handcuffs or dead bodies lying in a field and to address criminals without honorifics. It is customary in Japanese media to refer to a crime suspect with the Japanese word “yogisha”, meaning “suspect”, after the suspect’s name. After the suspect is indicted then the Japanese word “hikoku” meaning “plaintiff” would be added after the name.

The other consideration is to alert the news desk in case material other than that from the original TV station is used in the program to avoid expensive royalty claims that might arise if broadcast. This may well happen in case of sports programs where there can be exclusive broadcast rights signed with specific TV stations.

Such a way of handling the TV news “in pieces”, so to speak, might not be welcomed by language learners who want to watch foreign news in the original foreign language. Also, viewers might like to know the top news headlines from a certain country. A recently introduced section on World Wave called “Headline pick-up” conveys the choice of the day made by the newscasters with a focus on one of the foreign TV stations’ headlines (for example one of the European stations) and broadcasts it with Japanese subtitles (here voiceover is not used and viewers watch the original). Usually, on NHK-BS the main voice is in Japanese (the voice of the broadcast interpreter) and the sub voice is the original foreign language.

In the case of NHK, the broadcast interpreters are basically registered with a subsidiary of NHK namely NHK Global Media Services. Most of the broadcast interpreters who are currently working have been with NHK for over 10 years.

1.1.2 CNN and BBC

Cable networks that broadcast content provided by CNN or BBC World might have different points of emphasis from NHK, and seem to place more importance on mainly transmitting news content “in real time” using live simultaneous interpreting and not prepared interpreting as we saw in the previous section. The general rule concerning the human rights and royalty issues also holds for those networks specialized in news. However, what is different is the interpreting type. Whereas NHK employs mainly “prepared interpreting”, the two news channels mainly use “simultaneous interpreting”. JCTV (Japan Cable Television) airs CNNj, which is a mixture of CNN International, CNN domestic and CNN financial. BBC World is aired by BBC World Japan. On both of those channels, interpreters basically work in pairs to interpret half an hour each for three hours. That would mean around 12 interpreters would be needed for one day to cover 18 hours of broadcasting with interpreters.

Japanese is on the main audio track for those two cable news channels as well. Japan is unique in the sense that those specialized news channels make a special marketing effort to provide the news in Japanese to penetrate the market. Here again, the main concern is time and cost effectiveness. It is quicker to show news with simultaneous interpreters and more cost effective, as there is not the necessity to provide remuneration for the interpreters’ preparation time.

JCTV's interpreting service is provided through three interpreter agencies by their registered interpreters. Since the broadcast is on cable TV, the number of viewers is not as large as for NHK or other terrestrial TV networks, but it is said that CNN is watched and followed by the media, and thus we often see such accreditation in newspapers as "as reported by CNN". In the case of JCTV, it can be said that the well-known name of CNN in live news reporting is its biggest asset. In the case of BBC World, the interpreters are either registered directly or work through one interpreter agency.

One notable difference between Japan and the rest of the world is whether the persons appearing in TV programs will be matched by respective genders when interpreted into Japanese by broadcast interpreters. According to Bros-Brann (1997), during the live coverage of the US presidential election "there was interpretation on all the major French TV channels, meaning that interpreters with the right voice, the right accent and the right sex were in great demand. Let's not forget that TV anchormen and journalists insist on having male voices for male speakers, as this goes back to a notion that interpretation and dubbing are similar beasts".

Japanese television stations tend to prefer a different voice for each guest but do not insist on gender-based assignment in media interpreting except for a few exceptions. For example, on ABC Nightline aired on NHK, whenever it is possible, a male interpreter is instructed to translate the main anchor when the anchor is male. When Ted Koppel was the anchor, there was a period when a specific male interpreter was assigned on a weekly basis to be the Japanese voice of Koppel, but that was later stopped. Currently, there are four interpreters assigned to this talk show, but they are all female. At CNN, for a brief period in 2002, a specific interpreter was assigned as the voice for Paula Zhan who was the anchor for "American Morning". However, this was stopped after a month and a half due to the start of the Iraq war.

1.2 Japanese news into English

1.2.1 NHK

Under normal circumstances, the two major news programs shown on NHK-G, namely "News Seven" and "News Watch Nine", are broadcast bilingually for those residing in Japan who need to see news in English. There are basically three steps in getting the NHK news ready to be transmitted in English. The first step is to involve "writers" who are in most cases bilingual Japanese to translate the NHK news into English. The second step is to involve "rewriters", mostly English natives who rewrite the translation to make it more natural. The third step is that of the "readers" reading the English news script. The part of the script that cannot be prepared, for example breaking news or natural disasters, would be covered by simultaneous interpreters. In normal circumstances, there are seven writers, two rewriters and two simultaneous interpreters to do this job. It should be noted that as a public broadcaster, NHK is required by its charter to provide coverage of natural disasters. It has an extraordinary network in place to cover crises in any part of Japan. NHK holds emergency broadcast drills every night at midnight to

prepare for those eventualities, so as to ensure that the cut from regular broadcasting is made swiftly for that coverage.

However, what happened on March 11 2011, the day the Great East Japan Earthquake occurred was something that was “beyond imagination”, or “soutei-gai” in Japanese, to quote a frequently-used phrase used by government officials. For the first time since its inception in 1926, NHK used all the channels it had to broadcast the triple disaster, for the full 24 hours of the day. That did not happen at the time of the Great Hanshin Earthquake 16 years earlier, nor was it done on such a large scale. Just a few minutes after 3:20 p.m. on March 11, there was an urgent call placed to G-Media from the program “Newslines” aired every hour on NHK World, an international service operated by the International Planning and Broadcasting Department of NHK. The request was made in order to transmit internationally Japanese news in English and they needed to have three simultaneous interpreters ready as soon as possible. Public transport was stopped due to the earthquake that also hit the Tokyo area. The simultaneous interpreters who lived in the relative vicinity of NHK were summoned, and three interpreters went into the simultaneous interpreting booths at a little past 4:30 of that day.

The magnitude of the disaster came to be well known on NHK-G. However, since news scripts were not available in English, the reporting by NHK-G was directly transmitted in English via live simultaneous interpreting for a few days after the triple disaster.

Four days later on March 15, it was decided that “Ohayou Nippon” (Good Morning Japan) the news program that is broadcast at 7 a.m. and the news at 12:00 noon should also be bilingual. NHK World also wanted to broadcast the news around the clock through simultaneous interpreting.

The number of simultaneous interpreters for “News 7” and “News Watch 9” were increased from two to three. Two simultaneous interpreters were called to interpret for “Ohayou Nippon” and the mid-noon news. For NHK World, Every day, 11 simultaneous interpreters were needed. The usual 12 interpreters who regularly worked in those shifts were not enough to fill all the slots. Conference interpreters who are registered with NHK G-Media were called upon to fill the need. Almost all the international conferences in the month of March 2011 were cancelled, so it was possible to have twenty interpreters who came to help.

The media in other parts of the world used footage and sound from NHK World to broadcast the disaster. This served as an added incentive to the broadcast interpreters. Among the interpreters who came to help, some were well-equipped with knowledge on nuclear reactors from their past experience. They teamed up to prepare a glossary of nuclear terminology. This helped greatly to prepare the interpreters for the news conferences by the Chief Cabinet Secretary, Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry.

Such urgent simultaneous interpreting shifts continued until April 24, 2011. This was the largest operation in the 68-year history of NHK. All available channels were used for the reporting of the disaster. From March 11, 2011, the day of the disaster, 382 people worked for the 45 days that required simultaneous interpreting for NHK-G and the NHK World. NHK G-Media was able to provide

the necessary service thanks to the work of 20 simultaneous interpreters, 50 English news writers and 50 native staff readers and rewriters.

1.2.2 Private TV stations

Currently, NHK remains the only provider of bilingual news programs for those residing in Japan. Until the end of 2009, a TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System) news program called “News no Mori” was broadcast from 6 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. bilingually. This program was broadcast for 26 years. It was staffed with seven writers, two simultaneous interpreters and two readers registered with an agency to provide TBS with the language service. On any given day, out of those registered members, four writers, one simultaneous interpreter and one reader worked. Some writers would also work as simultaneous interpreters doing both tasks.

The other private TV stations also had bilingual news programs in the 1980s but with the worsening of the economy all but TBS had ceased to provide this costly service; TBS was the one that remained until the very end. It seems unlikely, in the light of the large difference in staffing and resources compared with the NHK, that there will be any private TV station that would go back to airing their news programs bilingually.

There have been special provisions made in the past. For example, during the 2002 Soccer World Cup held jointly with South Korea, Fuji Television decided to air its late evening news program, “News Japan” with two simultaneous interpreters. This continued for two months during the period the soccer games were held.

In the 1980s, the other two major private television stations, NTV (Nippon Television) and TV Asahi, the television station that is the parent company of JCTV that airs CNNj, also aired bilingual news programs but they were discontinued. This is thought to have been based on decisions by management that the resources of their news departments could be better used elsewhere. Other attempts by private television stations to revive or initiate bilingual broadcasts cannot be ruled out in view of increased attention worldwide on Japanese media in light of the March 11, 2011 triple disaster.

2. Major constraints and requirements

The difficulties of media interpreting are well documented. For example, Bros-Brann (1997) says: “Interpreting live for television requires special skills, namely even greater rapidity than for normal conference interpretation as well as constraints for delivery (pleasant lively voice, regular rhythm, good diction)”. Interpreters’ capacity to take on the journalistic role has been investigated for some years in the literature. Moreover, Straniero Sergio (2003) stresses the similarities between journalism and interpreting, two “gate keeping activities” that are increasingly often condensed in a single professional role.

Broadcast interpreters are in fact functioning as part of TV journalism. As such, the two most difficult aspects are that 1) they are addressing a mass audience and

not specialists, as in conference interpreting, and 2) the interpreting has to be in synch with the images shown on the screen. The mass audience expects to watch news in an easy-to-understand manner. They expect to see news with conversion into meters and Celsius, rather than in miles and Fahrenheit. Such conversion is usually done with the help of the production staff. The work of broadcast interpreters also requires teamwork so as to keep the translation coherent. Glossaries are prepared in cooperation with colleagues together with the production staff. In the case of major events, there have been ad-hoc training sessions held by TV stations to deal with specialist language pertaining to those events. When such special attention is required, the word lists are posted on the interpreters' booths. Also there is a need to keep an eye on how the terms are handled by the particular TV stations that broadcast the news. For example, if working for NHK, the interpreters need to be aware of how NHK reports the same news. But just relying on the information given to them is not enough. The interpreters also are expected to individually keep track of the current terms to stay abreast of the news. And most importantly, they need to be aware of cultural literacy, as pointed out by Mizuno (1997).

The three key requirements necessary to become a broadcast interpreter can be summarized as follows: language ability, including that of their mother tongue, background knowledge of international news, and presentation skills. Language ability would mean that they should be able to have multiple ways of translating a word and that they are capable of paraphrasing to transmit what the foreign news is trying to convey to the audience with a rich vocabulary of their own. Background knowledge means that they keep track of current affairs, in other words have a keen interest in what is happening in world affairs. Broadcast interpreters need to fully understand the news they are conveying to make themselves intelligible. In some cases the interpreters need to be mindful of the difference in news reporting style between the original broadcaster and the television station that their interpreting is aired on.

This is also true elsewhere in the world, as echoed in an interview with an AIIC interpreter who works for ARTE, a French-German television channel based in Strasbourg, France. To the question on the essential qualities to be a good media interpreter, the person being interviewed replied: "Being extra quick on the ball helps tremendously. If you're doing news interpreting, you must definitely be a news junkie. A good voice whatever happens is essential. Then, you must learn to adjust your delivery and style so that you can be in synch with the speaker, whatever happens. It's much more important on television than in a regular conference setting⁵."

For broadcast interpreters working in Japan, the bar is set even higher since, unlike at ARTE, where interpreters only interpret for the newscaster part (usually about 20 minutes out of a 30-minute news program), Japanese interpreters also interpret the news package. Moreover, again, as opposed to the situation at, ARTE, broadcast interpreters are dealing with newscasters sitting far away in other parts of the world and not in the studio nearby. Although it is true that for the work at

5 From an interview with Vincent Buck, an AIIC interpreter who works for ARTE, conducted on May 9, 2011 using SKYPE by the author in English.

NHK the assigned news clip might be of only a few minutes in duration, there is a far greater variety in the content than at ARTE. Interpreting the voice of a single person is a much different task from interpreting for the news package that includes voices of several different persons. However, it should be pointed out that veteran broadcast interpreters in Japan more or less feel as though they know the newscasters or the dignitaries they are interpreting for, since they often act as “the voice” for these people for a considerable length of time.

The difficulty involved with broadcast interpreting comes on multiple levels. As analyzed by Gile (2009) in an Effort Model of simultaneous interpreting, there are three core Efforts, namely the Listening and Analysis Effort, the Short-term memory Effort and the Speech production Effort plus a Coordination Effort. The first step is the listening: a broadcast interpreter must be familiar with colloquial expressions and idioms, and also be able to spot a mistake by detecting something that “does not sound correct”. Often news packages are edited to condense much information in a short amount of available air time which further adds to the burden on broadcast interpreters.

As Lee (2011) notes, we should consider the viewer’s attitude when thinking about broadcast interpreting. Most viewers are unaware of the constraints of simultaneous language transfer and thus are not prepared for active and cooperative listening. To such viewers, interpreters need to convey information in an intelligible and viewer-friendly manner. Broadcast interpreters add, omit, adapt and edit information so as to fit into the constrained time and to make the information easy for the viewers to understand. Broadcast interpreters consult, whenever possible, with the news editors of the television station in order to be in line with the administrative policies of that station. As broadcast interpreters working in Japan we constantly feel the need to add information to the news topics that are not familiar to the Japanese and to explain about proper nouns, specifically the names of people, places and events not known to general viewers in Japan. However at the same time we would like to retain attractive expressions in the original language as much as possible. This is always an ongoing challenge.

The next step is to find an appropriate expression in the target language. This mainly pertains to the Speech production Effort. In one instance, the expression “a low hanging fruit” was interpreted literally, rather than with the meaning “to exhaust the easy options”. Translating proper nouns, particularly the names of countries and cities can be quite tricky due to the convention in Japan to follow the original language pronunciation as well as using the katakana syllabary to render non-Japanese names and terms into Japanese. For example, Ivory Coast must be pronounced “Côte d’Ivoire”, and Florence must be “Firenze” in keeping with their original-language pronunciation. Another example, with the influx of immigrants from the African continent, the Schengen Agreement was much in the news. It warrants an explanation for viewers that this is a treaty that enables an immigrant who sets foot on the European continent to travel freely within Europe without being stopped at the border. An Amber alert, much quoted in the US news, in cases of child abduction, might require an explanation, i.e. that it is a child abduction alert bulletin. All this is made further challenging since news covers a wide range of topics.

Titles of dignitaries can be complex at times, because for instance the word “queen” can be interpreted into either “Jyoou” (meaning the monarch as in the case of Queen Elizabeth II) or “Ouhi” in the case of a spouse of the King. “Prince” can be either “Koutaishi” (meaning the Crowned Prince or the heir to the throne, for example Prince Charles) or “Ouji” (meaning prince in general, for instance Prince William). There was an instance of Hilary Clinton, the Secretary of State, interpreted as “gaisho” meaning foreign minister in Japanese, but one should be mindful to follow the journalistic convention in the Japanese language. It should be noted that NHK has a number of publications from its research team at the NHK Broadcasting Culture Institute, that serve as a guide on Japanese language usage. The publications range from word usage, pronunciations of foreign proper nouns including names and places, to weather information. Those are periodically updated. To be a skilled interpreter with solid background knowledge and to stay on top of current affairs, one constantly needs to be aware of what is happening globally. A seasoned interpreter enacts automated cognitive operations to a certain extent, but with the ever-changing world one cannot stop if one wishes to continue to be an active practitioner. These rules and terms are one area that one can become accustomed to with training and experience. As Gile (2009) notes, gradual automation of cognitive operations is important in interpreting skills acquisition. There are automatic and non-automatic operations in the interpreting process, and non-automatic operations may become automatic after enough repetition. When the processing capacity available for a particular task is insufficient, performance deteriorates, but with sufficient practice through trial and correction, more automation can be attained to lessen the burden and free up more processing capacity. That should be the major benefit from training.

But the requirement that should be particularly stressed for broadcast interpreters is their speaking skills. As Kurz (1990: 169) has noted, media interpreters must have a smooth delivery:

The media interpreter must endeavour to make his style and delivery particularly smooth, clear and to the point. The reason is that the audience at home is used to television newsreaders and commentators with very good voices, well-trained in the fluent delivery of a text, and does not understand or appreciate the very different demands made of the interpreter.

Mack (2001: 128) points out the quality necessary for media interpreters as following: “Their voice quality should be as good as that of professional announcers, and hesitations, pauses or peculiar inflections are banned”.

This is reflected in the words of a fellow AIIC interpreter:

As a newscast interpreter, you really need to perform in a way that will not drive the audience away. I remember a colleague’s phrase whereby interpreters should be heard, not seen. I would say that good media interpreting is where interpreters do not sound too much like interpreters.

This colleague also explained: “Your voice is pretty much all you have. ARTE organizes superb voice coaching seminars for its regular interpreters”⁶. At NHK

6 This is also quoted from the same interview with Vincent Buck.

also, most of the veteran interpreters working for over 10 years have attended training provided by NHK announcers.

One thing that should be mentioned is that the hard work by broadcast interpreters is gaining public recognition. Since in Japan it is regularly the case that the media interpreters' names are shown on the screen, some have come to gain media attention. These interpreters are frequently interviewed by language magazines and newspapers. There are also cases of interpreters asked to write for a major newspaper and also making television appearances on programs for learning English, due to their heightened visibility on TV. Becoming a famous interpreter is often a goal for language learners.

3. Training

NHK International Training Institute, which is a part of NHK G-Media, started operating classes in 1992, with the aim to train broadcast interpreters. Even before that the Institute held internal training for NHK staff. From 1991 there was a preparatory office set up within the news department with the understanding that international news requires an international training center. It now has 15 classes geared toward training media interpreters and translators in Japanese to English, for a total of 300 students. The majority of classes are held after office hours on weekdays and on Saturdays, with the most classes on Saturdays. There is a wide variety among those who come to attend the classes, in a wide range of ages and professions, including people that already work as interpreters. However, for the beginners' classes it is not always the case that every one seeks to become a broadcast interpreter. There are those who come to study here because of the uniqueness of the teaching materials, all of which involve actual news. Such students have a desire to learn English using live news material. Another factor that helps trainees, is becoming familiar with the style of news programs. To learn the construct of news programs helps the interpreters in their anticipation efforts.

The three requirements to become a broadcast interpreter as outlined in the previous section, namely language ability, background knowledge, and presentation skills are all addressed in the above training. And as also explained in the previous section, training is conducted to gain benefit through attempts to make non-automatic operations automatic by much repetition. Familiarizing the trainees with the background knowledge and the conventions in TV journalism is also a major asset to be gained.

The first generation of practicing broadcast interpreters, who started working from around the time of the First Gulf War, served as the first generation of trainers. Those who train the aspiring broadcast interpreters are always practicing interpreters, and these in turn become the next generation of trainers. In the early days after its inception, there was an evaluation committee within the International Training Institute that served to evaluate those who were trained at the Institute. Basically, for English, the broadcast interpreters that newly join are all graduates of this Institute. This also serves as a strong motivation for those who come to study at this Institute.

One thing that is worthy of attention is that this Institute started special classes focusing on pronunciation from the fall of 2011: one centering on Japanese to be taught by a former announcer of NHK and another on English pronunciation to be taught by a practicing broadcast and conference interpreter who is also a specialist in phonetics.

Several interpreting schools such as Inter School, Communicators and Simul Academy offer special courses catering to would-be broadcast interpreters. Just to add a remark about the trainers, there many instances of trainers at NHK G-Media and other interpreting schools going on to become university professors.

To join the team of simultaneous interpreters on CNN or BBC World, one needs to pass an “audition.” Most of the newcomers tend to study at these interpreting schools to obtain the skills specific to broadcast interpreting. It should be noted also that the classes at those interpreting schools serve in fact as virtual auditions for the instructors to recommend the prospective broadcast interpreters to the interpreting agencies, which in turn dispatch the interpreters to television stations.

One last point that should be mentioned here is that for broadcast interpreters for languages other than English, there is no fixed training institution or formal program. However, it should be noted that all the broadcast interpreters can profit from voice training or pronunciation classes in Japanese. If there is one thing that can be done to improve the performance of broadcast interpreters in a relatively short amount of time, it is training in speaking skills and delivery.

4. Future Challenges

By way of summary, we can reflect on the following points. Broadcast interpreting is part of journalism and it is here to stay. The biggest challenge is that broadcast interpreters are required to keep to the conventions of TV journalism and especially be aware of the human rights issue. Broadcast interpreters need to be skilled in not only linguistic capabilities but also need to keep track of current affairs and be good speakers in addressing the mass audience. For interpreters to and from English, there are training institutions in place, but for other languages training on the job is still the predominant way of acquiring skills necessary for broadcast interpreters. Since this is a job that requires writing skills similar to that of journalists and speaking skills similar to that of newscasters, broadcast interpreters are required to constantly improve their language abilities, update their knowledge of current affairs, and be good, intelligible speakers.

What is most important is that broadcast interpreters acknowledge themselves as conveyors of news, that they make sure they fully understand the news transmitted through the medium of their voices, and in so doing can find the optimum ways to express to the audience at large the news from the world and news from Japan. It is indeed the first time in history that interpreters are employed on a large scale to address ordinary citizens and not simply address specialists who attend international conferences. Broadcast interpreters can take pride in their work, secure in the knowledge that they are the first in Japan to convey the news from abroad through the interpreting of foreign news programs.

They can also find meaning in the fact that they are a reliable voice to transmit valuable information that can be crucial in the lives of those who do not understand Japanese. A big future challenge is to increase the flow of information from Japan to the world through broadcast interpreting. This is an effort that will require endeavors from the television stations: but just as the current broadcasting of foreign news in Japan has become possible with a pool of dedicated interpreters, having a sufficient number of broadcast interpreters would add impetus to the television stations to enlarge this function.

The challenges for broadcast interpreters continue to be significant, and this will continue as long as broadcast interpreters stay on the job. But as of the summer of 2011, there is no shortage of people who are willing to take this job, and after already 20 years in existence, this profession is well established and charged with an important mission; that of conveying the current situation of the world to Japan and of conveying the Japanese situation to the world.

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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 AUTHORITY 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 ore 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 trattiene (.) 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 припятсивием 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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Interpreting conflict from speech to sign on Italian television

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Abstract

If research on the role of spoken-language interpreting in global news coverage is limited, the role of signed-language interpreting in this area is news in itself! This joint paper focuses on an aspect of international communication for Italian profoundly deaf and hard-of-hearing people: global news coverage through simultaneous Italian Sign Language (LIS) interpreting on television. It looks in particular at the transfer of news related to global conflicts across the linguistic and cultural divide between the deaf and hearing worlds. A comparative linguistic analysis was conducted on a small multimodal corpus (in both spoken Italian and simultaneously interpreted LIS) of brief video recorded Italian television news bulletins, to investigate textual features of interpreted news and the main linguistic challenges facing sign language interpreters in the domain of conflict such as terminology, foreign loans, foreign proper, toponymic and institutional names. These are some of the aspects covered by this paper to reveal how news crosses the international 'sound barrier'.

Introduction

Research on interpreting conflict-related news outlined in this paper, stems from work undertaken since 2002 in three successive Italian university research

¹ Although this paper is the outcome of joint research by the two authors, Cynthia Kellett Bidoli dealt mainly with the source text and Rita Sala with the target text.

projects. They involved a broad investigation on socio-discursive practices in spoken and written English discourse in Italy², including the use of English in the Italian Deaf Community. Regarding the latter, initial study began on the provision of interpreting for Italian deaf people in conference settings when English is used by speakers (Kellett Bidoli 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2007a). Attention was later directed towards other situations in which deaf Italians come into contact with English (Kellett Bidoli 2007b), including media settings. Regarding the media, our research focus shifted to aspects of British or American identity and culture contained in feature films and international news and how they are transferred to deaf audiences either through subtitling or Italian Sign Language (LIS) interpreting (cf. Kellett Bidoli 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010).

In order to investigate the provision of sign language interpreting on Italian television news channels and, initially, to see how Anglo-Saxon identity traits contained therein cross the deaf/hearing divide, a small corpus of video recordings of daily news bulletins was collected. The bulletins were found to incorporate a wide range of lexical and linguistic features to create a blending of generic styles. Because the very nature of news covers diverse topics of interest, the initial corpus terminology was found to fit into six broad domain-specific categories: politico-institutional (26.57%), science and technology (21.91%), law and crime (21.30%), sport (11.76%), conflict (10.95%), economics (7.51%). So far two of these categories have been investigated in detail: politico-institutional terms (cf. Kellett Bidoli 2009c) and terms associated with law and crime (cf. Kellett Bidoli 2009d).

The translation of terminology linked to conflict was taken as the basis for a paper presented in Australia in July 2009, at a panel on *Global news, interpreting/ translating and the projection of cultures* at the 3rd Conference of the International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies (IATIS) on *Mediation and Conflict: Translation and Culture in a Global Context* held at Monash University, Melbourne. This present paper reports our findings, however, discussion diverges from the 'English language focus' of the above mentioned research projects, in that this paper deals with interpreting in the Italian and LIS language combination. The only minor reference to English language use is to occasional English loans found in the conflict-related bulletins that are commonly used in spoken Italian and interpreted into LIS (cf. 4.4). Before turning to interpreting conflict from speech to sign, there follow a brief outline of research on media interpreting and a short section on sign language provision on Italian television.

- 2 Research has been conducted within three national projects coordinated by Professor Maurizio Gotti (University of Bergamo): MIUR project 2002104353 *Intercultural Discourse in Domain-specific English*; PRIN project 2005109911 *Identity and Culture in English Domain-specific Discourse*; PRIN project 2007JCY9Y9 *Tension and Change in English Domain-specific Genres*. Cynthia Kellett is a member of the Turin research unit, coordinated by Professor Giuseppina Cortese. Cf.: <<http://www.unibg.it/cerlis/progetti.htm>>. Rita Sala does not work within the PRIN units but has taught LIS for several years at the SSLMIT and is a freelance LIS interpreter with experience interpreting on Italian television.

1. Media interpreting research

Research on media interpreting is sparse. Spoken language interpreting in media settings is still a largely unexplored area (Gambier 2008: 20) and has not generated as much research interest compared to conference interpreting in institutional settings, or dialogue interpreting in business and public service settings. At media events, interpreters have to cope with many genres in a wide variety of workplace environments such as: live simultaneous film interpreting (Snelling 1990, 1996; Guardini 2000; Simonetto 2000; Viaggio 2001); on-screen television interpreter-mediated communication (among others Alexieva 1996, 2001; Kurz 1997, 2002, 2003; Mack 2001, 2002; Mayer 1994; Bros-Brann 1993; Chiaro 2002); interpretation during televised coverage of particular world events such as speeches by heads of state (Pöschhacker 1997, 2007; Wadensjö 2000; Amato 2002); Formula One press-conferences (Straniero Sergio 2003); television talkshow interpreting (Straniero Sergio 2007).

Research on sign language interpreting in media settings has focused principally on television, mainly in the British Isles, some examples are: a study of the sign language content of *See Hear*, the UK's longest running programme for deaf people (Woll/Allsop 1990); investigation into deaf people's responses to sign language on television from different parts of England and Northern Ireland (Allsop in Woll 1991); a wide national study in the UK involving returns from over 2,500 deaf and hard-of-hearing people on their opinions related to television viewing where international and national news was placed at the top of the list of priorities for access (Kyle 1992); Steiner's (1998: 100) investigation into British Sign Language (BSL) production and comprehension on television; Kyle/Dury's (2003) survey of viewing preferences in the Bristol area; Stone's (2005) examination of 'Deaf translation' by direct comparison between deaf and hearing translators on television news; a description of sign language news interpreting from the point of view of the deaf interpreter (Allsop/Kyle 2008). A broad survey of TV sign language in 17 European countries is reported by Kyle/Allsop (1997) and investigation into Austrian as well as other German-language broadcasters' services for the deaf and hearing impaired is provided by Kurz/Mikulasek (2004).

2. Sign language on Italian television

At present in Italy, television networks air little on-screen sign language interpretation, which is reserved mainly for brief news bulletins or the dissemination of information on voting procedures during election campaigns. During the 2009 European parliamentary election campaign, the European Disability Forum sent institutions its manifesto *Nothing About Disabled Persons, Without Disabled Persons*, which in its first proposal³ called for "The right to equal access for voting and participation in electoral campaigns" and "Electoral material and information must be delivered in fully accessible formats such as large print, braille, electronic format, sign language, easy-to-read language, subtitling of

3 Cf. <http://www.edf-feph.org/Page_Generale.asp?DocID=138546&thebloc=19723>.

television programmes and audio description". On Italian television there were two electoral announcements per day in sign language to explain voting procedure. Some of the live televised electoral debates were subtitled (despite the problem of poor quality captioning), whereas only one debate, broadcast on RAI 2, *L'intervista* [*The Interview*], was interpreted into LIS, but could be viewed only on RaiNews 24 via digital terrestrial transmission.

The subtitling of films, series, and some other TV programmes is more diffuse meeting the needs of both signers and non-signers, as well as hearing immigrants unfamiliar with spoken Italian (listening and reading helps them learn the language; cf. Tucci 2000: 92). In 2007, according to the Italian Deaf Association's website and www.superabile.it the amount of subtitling on television was in the range of 35% of all programmes aired; more recent precise data are unavailable.

More sign language interpretation on Italian television is foreseen in coming years since an agreement reached in 2007 between the RAI and the Italian Ministry for Communications. It endorses access by Italian deaf people to at least 60% of all programmes broadcast with the aid of LIS or subtitling. Particular attention is to be focussed on educational and political information⁴. Commitments for 2007-2009 included one edition a day of signed or subtitled TV news on TG1, TG2 and TG3⁵ and one regional edition of news a day (there are 20 Regions in Italy). In coming years the amount of subtitling and sign language is expected to increase to cover 60% of all programmes; this percentage refers not only to pre-recorded programmes but also to real-time transmission including current affairs, political debates, sport and entertainment (Associazione Eurosordi Onlus 2007).

A clearer idea of deaf people's access to news is illustrated in Table 1, which compares the time allocated to news broadcast to regular RAI viewers (hearing) and news broadcast in LIS.

	Regular news bulletins per day	Minutes aired	LIS news Flash per day	Minutes aired
RAI TG1	11	195	1	3
RAI TG2	6	115	1	3
RAI TG3	7 (plus regional news editions)	255	1	3-4
Rete 4 TG4	4	120	1	8

Table 1. Amount of news aired per day calculated approximately from the TV Guide. (Source Kellett Bidoli 2010: 177)

It is clear from the officially programmed news that only a few minutes a day are broadcast in sign language. These are an average three minutes (excluding 8 minutes for channel 4) compared to approximately 25 minutes for each regular news bulletin per channel with several editions offered per day. In addition there

4 From the online ENS bulletin, <<http://www.ens.it>>.

5 TG stands for *Telegiornale*, i.e. TV news on the Italian national RAI television network, channels 1, 2 and 3.

is one daily subtitled edition of the regular news for each RAI channel. There is evidently, a great reduction in the amount of information that reaches deaf and hard-of-hearing people in LIS which for many deaf people is their first language. There is still a long way to go before broader access to the news is obtained by the Italian deaf community.

Access to information through sign language in Italy is closely linked to its full legal recognition which is lacking despite the European Parliament Resolutions on Sign Language. These Resolutions in 1988 and 1998, established among other requirements that in each member state there be official recognition of the sign language/s used by deaf people and recognition of sign language interpreting as a profession with the provision of full-time sign language interpreter training. A further requirement was the provision of sign language interpreting or subtitles on TV news programmes. In November 2009 the draft of a new Italian bill was rejected by the Italian Parliamentary Committee in charge of it because consensus by all parties involved was not reached over a specific article. A new attempt was made in June 2010 and again in 2011.

Despite a slow response in Italy to increase the number of programmes broadcast with the aid of LIS or subtitling, at least the requirement of one edition a day of signed TV news on TG1, TG2 and TG3 has been met. This paper looks closely at signed news on these channels. We focussed on news referring to conflict for the reasons described in section 1 and began by asking ourselves how and to what extent does news related to global conflicts cross the linguistic and cultural divide between the Italian deaf and hearing worlds. By 'how' we meant to look at some of the strategies needed to interpret TV news effectively in LIS, and 'by what extent' our aim was to discern whether the information was being transferred effectively and adequately. Thus, we selected relevant bulletins from our corpus and proceeded by looking firstly at the Italian source text (ST) and then comparing it to the LIS target text (TT) to discover features of interest in a hitherto unexplored area.

3. The TV corpus

A small corpus of video recordings of RAI news bulletins in spoken Italian simultaneously interpreted into LIS, was collected over two different periods of time. The first set of 18 bulletins, recorded from December 2006 to January 2007, last from two to three minutes each containing from four to seven items of news. The 104 news items were transcribed producing 4,603 tokens (all the words uttered by the newsreader) containing 1,808 types (single words used). A type may occur once or several times in a corpus. For example, there were 815 occurrences of the type *di* (of), 405 for *e* (and), 6 for *soldato/i* (soldier/s) and 1 occurrence of *carr* (tanks). The 104 items have since been expanded to 312, with additional bulletins recorded from RAI TG2 and TG3 as well as signed news from the independent Rete 4 network TG4 news programme. The total number of Italian tokens in the main TV corpus now stands at 19,350 composed of 4,516 types.

The spoken Italian in the 2006-2007 TG1 bulletins was transcribed from the RAI video recordings and manually aligned with glosses of the simultaneously interpreted LIS. We obtained the original studio scripts used by the sign-language interpreters for the 2008-2009 bulletins. We have so far only aligned the conflict-related bulletins in this part of the corpus.

In order to align the Italian and the LIS we looked for an electronic support system. Back in 2002 (in the first research project), a system was used which we had hoped would be capable of handling multimodal source data (sound, images and plain written text) but a number of problems arose. Although we used a system with voice recognition software to speed up the transcription process it was found that so much manual correction was needed that direct manual transcription was simpler and more reliable. Furthermore, although the system allowed images, sound and written text to be combined on the screen and synchronized to run simultaneously, the sign language was shown in an inset that was too small. Therefore, we abandoned the system preferring a normal wide screen TV or PC monitor to observe the macro signs and micro non-verbal communication (minimal movements and facial expressions) during the sign language transcription stage. To speed up the procedure, the sign glosses/labels were recorded orally on audiotape as they appeared on the video and subsequently manually transcribed from those sound recordings into an unpunctuated string of Italian words in upper case letters. The glosses were later broken down into meaningful punctuated segments according to the natural 'intonation' markers and pauses of LIS using a 'musical score' format to create parallel corpora containing: a transcription of the original discourse in Italian (in italics) and the LIS glosses (in upper case). The following example (from TG1 on 10/1/07) has been translated into English below for the convenience of an international readership:

Questa sera Bush illustra alla nazione in diretta televisiva
QUESTA SERA BUSH DISCORSO DIRETTA TV

la nuova strategia per l'Iraq.
NUOVA STRATEGIA PER IRAK.

Pronto l'invio di nuove truppe.
PRONTO MANDARE SOLDATI

Intanto ci sono critiche da ONU e Unione Europea
ANCORA C'È CRITICA O-N-U U-E

per il raid Americano in Somalia.
PER AMERICA AEREI BOMBE "Soma".

Contrario al blitz Americano anche il Ministro degli Interni D'Alema.
ANCHE MINISTRO ESTERI NOSTRO D "D'Alema"

L'Italia non approva ha detto
ITALIA APPROVA NO.

ad iniziative unilaterali che potrebbero innescare nuove tensioni.
DOVE UNILATERALE POSSIBILE TENSIONE PUÒ

[This evening Bush will talk live to the nation
THIS EVENING BUSH SPEECH DIRECT TV
about the new strategy for Iraq.
NEW STRATEGY FOR IRAQ.

He is ready to send more troops.
 READY SEND SOLDIERS.
 Meanwhile there is criticism from the UN and EU
 STILL THERE-IS CRITISCISM U-N E-U
 for the American raid in Somalia
 FOR AMERICA AEROPLANES BOMBS “Somalia”.
 Also the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs D’Alema, is against the raid.
 ALSO MINISTER FOREIGN-AFFAIRS OURS D “D’Alema”
 He said that Italy disapproves
 ITALY APPROVES NO
 any unilateral initiatives that could spark new tensions.
 WHERE UNILATERAL POSSIBLE TENSION CAN.]⁶

The 55 news bulletins containing 312 separate items of news, report events over two similar winter time spans. A small subcorpus of items reporting conflict was extracted covering 17.31 % of the total. The areas of world conflict reported are illustrated in Figure 2, which clearly shows a primary concern with conflict in the Middle East, namely the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and great tensions between the Israeli government and Hamas. This is followed by Iraq and conflict with the U.S.A.

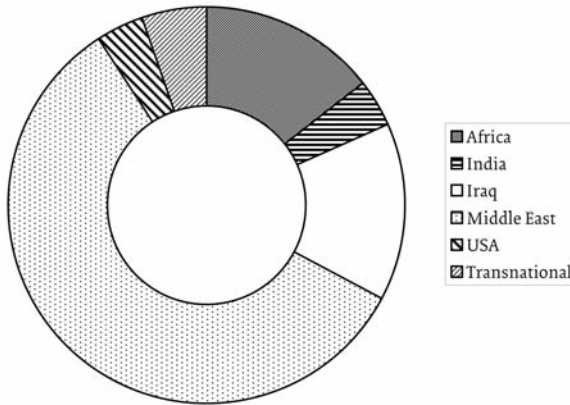


Fig. 2. Geographical source of conflict-related news in the subcorpus

Next, African conflicts are reported including coverage of fighting between various ethnic groups in the Congo and the Horn of Africa and between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria. Conflict in India is related to the terrorist attacks in Mumbai (November 2008) and hence, tension between India and Pakistan. Two reports on ‘American territory’ cover firstly, a terrorist attack (an explosion) at the American Embassy in Athens and secondly, the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base detainment camp where President Barack Obama pledged to end

6 Two glosses joined by a hyphen means that two words are needed to gloss one sign, single letters joined by a hyphen indicate use of the manual alphabet (fingerspelling) and words between double quotation marks in italics represent lexical items that were mouthed. Non-manual signals can be inserted in lower case letters above the glosses on a line if necessary but are not shown here.

torture by American troops at the base or anywhere in war. General transnational events in the subcorpus comprise news from international organizations (e.g. UN or EU) including three military-related items on the expansion of NATO bases in Northern Italy. Two reports on events in Greece on civil unrest and rioting were not counted among the items on military conflict as they lasted a few days and were managed by police. The historical conflict of World War II is mentioned in a couple of items on present day Middle Eastern events coincident with the Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27th January.

4. Textual features of interpreted news in the transfer from speech to sign

Today media discourse can be swiftly transmitted to an invisible nationwide audience through a variety of highly technological digital modes, via television, internet, and mobile phone technology. It belongs to the broad media genre but in the case of this corpus more specifically to the television news report subgenre, an informative genre, reporting events, facts and figures, of which LIS news bulletins can be considered a genrelet. The news items were reported in spoken Italian and interpreted simultaneously into LIS for a culturally homogeneous deaf audience. This interpreting mode shares similarities with conference interpreting, in that the newsreader, like the conference speaker, 'reads' from a pre-prepared source language text (ST) which the interpreter listens to and reformulates into the target language text (TT). However, in contrast to conference interpreters who generally deal with a focussed selected topic presented by each speaker, news interpreters have to cope with a wide range of topics covering different terminological domains within a restricted time span, which stretches their cognitive processing to a maximum with the added difficulty of having to switch from an oral/aural mode to a gestural/visual one.

In Italy, global news on foreign events is mainly based on information received from international English-speaking news agencies or directly from English-speaking 24-hour news networks like BBC World or CNN and subsequently translated into Italian. It is impossible to discern how much the original news was domesticated or foreignised⁷ (cf. Venuti 1995) in this probable transfer from English to Italian by the news script writers, and beyond the scope of this paper. Conoscenti (2004: 53) interestingly likens the role of the journalist (who in this case prepares the reports for the newsreader) to that of the translator:

In fact, as the public is made up of people that must be addressed as individuals, the main task of the journalist is then to translate the institutional language into an interpersonal communicative style, giving an impression of familiarity, which is typical of oral communication.

- 7 Domestication of a ST is when a journalist or translator adapts the TT to the target audience's culture in various ways such as embedding explanations of culture-bound references or using near equivalent institutional terms to bring the translation in line with the dominant conventions and expectancies prevailing in the target culture. Foreignisation leaves the TT essentially unaltered.

The news bulletins report events and factual information, but in order to do so often build on pre-existing reports revealing an evident intertextuality within the news narrative. Past events may be revoked and explained in brief or reference made to the previous day's or week's news in order to clarify the narrative before conveying additional events and facts. Therefore, sign language interpreters must keep fully up to date with current national and world news, be able to cope with a wide range of domain-specific terminology and promptly translate nationalities, foreign place and proper names correctly.

Investigation into the challenges sign language interpreters face when conveying news specifically related to conflict cannot remain divorced from the wider range of challenges they normally face during television interpreting and those strategies they adopt to convey the language of journalism in the most accurate way possible. In television interpreting there is a marked difference between interpreters who speak and interpreters who sign in terms of the strategies used and their location in the studio. Spoken language interpreters working via *chuchotage* are seated immediately behind or next to their clients in the studio and play a secondary role. With ever more frequent recourse to simultaneous interpreting during televised events, interpreters are becoming increasingly invisible, located at a distance from the speakers, often delivering their interpretation in oversound. Riccardi (2003: 120) rightly points out that although television programmes are 'live' events like conferences, the ensuing interpretation is different from conference interpreting and requires specific adaptations to the medium, such as working in restricted time spans. Spoken and signed language interpreters must and do adjust, according to televised or conference settings, but the principal difference between them lies in the fact that during the simultaneous mode the latter are always visible to the audience. This depends on the visual nature of sign languages, therefore, the sign language interpreters must be in constant full camera view in order for signs and gestures to be observed clearly by the public at home. This includes unhindered viewing of any mouthings which are part of the translation technique and of particular relevance in television interpreting as exemplified below.

Italian sign language interpreters are required to work on television according to the so-called 'American style' (screen shot down to the mid thigh or knees), allowing ample space for arm movements without the risk of cutting out signs beyond the viewing frame. Television news interpreting strategies are often linked to particular constraints absent at other interpreting events, to which the interpreters have to adapt: speed of the newsreader, brevity of information, conciseness of the news item, location in the studio and bulletin closing time. For example, there is little time for long lag (voice-hand span), the interpreter has to start and close almost simultaneously with the newsreader, so she is not cut off or creates an excessively prolonged 'silence' while the newsreader waits for her to finish. Linguistic challenges include the constant barrage of ST foreign proper and place names as well as exposure to a wide range of technical terminology and neologisms, found in the news corpus on national and international events, including global conflict the specific area covered by this paper.

In the conflict subcorpus six principle areas were found that contain particular linguistic and textual features that challenge sign language interpreters' cognitive

coping strategies, forcing them to adjust and find suitable solutions in the TT ranging from anticipation to reformulation or even omission of terms or chunks of information. These are:

- domain-specific terminology;
- Italian and foreign proper and institutional names;
- toponymic reference and nationalities;
- foreign loans;
- emphasis through facial expression;
- speed of enunciation and textual reformulation.

Each of these will be discussed according to ST and TT, looking at examples of how interpreters cope with the language transfer from speech to sign and to what extent their choices communicate effectively.

4.1 Domain-specific terminology

Conflict involves an intricate web of complex issues generating discourse focussed on war, civil unrest, territorial rights, resources, humanitarian crises, ethnicity, religion, terrorism, weaponry and among others peace. The ST domain-specific terminology clearly falls into five terminological subcategories or concept fields as illustrated in Figure 3.

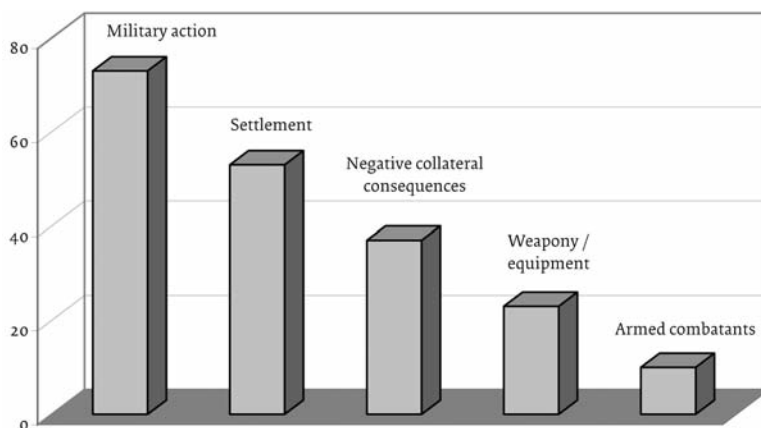


Fig. 3. Onomasiological division of conflict-related tokens (Source Kellett Bidoli 2010: 183)

The first and largest field, containing 75 tokens, comprises, as expected, terms related to military action: ‘advance’, ‘ambush’, ‘army’, ‘attack/s’, ‘barricade’(verb-vb.), ‘blitz’, ‘command’, ‘contingent’, ‘clashes’, ‘explosions’, ‘fighting’, ‘forces’, ‘hostility’, ‘incursion’, ‘offensive’, ‘to open fire’, ‘operations’, ‘raid’, ‘shots’, ‘strike’ (vb.), ‘soldiers’, ‘torture’, ‘tumult’, ‘troops’, ‘violence’ and ‘war’. It is worth noting that the key word ‘war’ (*guerra*) ranks 9th in terms of occurrences (5) and ‘conflict’ (*conflitto*) is totally absent.

Surprisingly, terms associated with the settlement of conflict and hence, positive developments in conflictual situations, comprise the second largest terminological concept field in Figure 3, of which three lexemes are the three top ranking terms: ‘truce’ (*tregua*, 13 occurrences), followed by ‘peace’ (*pace*, 11), ‘withdrawal’ (*ritiro*, 9), and ‘cease fire’ (*cessate il fuoco*, 8) not far behind. Other terms in this field, all related to the mitigation or settlement of conflict, are: ‘agreement’, ‘armistice’, ‘curfew’, ‘negotiations’ and ‘reconciliation’. However, concordancing of the node ‘truce’ (*tregua* always found with reference to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict), highlights its instability in several of the 13 instances it is used, as shown in Table 3. For those readers unacquainted with Italian: the truce is ‘shaky’ among Palestinian factions (*vacilla* l.1); Israel ‘might’ call a truce (*potrebbe* l.2); the truce ‘seems’ to hold (*sembra* l.5); the truce is ‘fragile’ (*fragile* l.8, 6 and 11); the truce ‘has failed’ (*rompe la tregua* [breaks the truce] l.12). A more positive light is shed by the use of terms like: Hamas is ‘favourable’ to a truce (*favorevole* l.3); the truce is a positive sign/indication (*segnale positive* l.4); the truce ‘is holding’ (*regge* l.5 and 7).

1	Vacilla dunque la	TREGUA	tra le due fazioni Palestinesi.
2	Israele potrebbe annunciare una	TREGUA	unilaterale.
3	Hamas si dice favorevole a una	TREGUA	dopo il cessate il fuoco unilaterale proclamato
4	riprenderemo le ostilità. La	TREGUA	di Hamas è un segnale positivo,
5	sembra poter reggere la	TREGUA	dichiarata unilateralmente da Israele.
6	avrebbero aderito. Una	TREGUA	comunque ancora fragile per ora limitata
7	Regge la	TREGUA	nella striscia di Gaza mentre prosegue il ritiro
8	palestinese nonostante la fragile	TREGUA	il cessate il fuoco in vigore da 3 giorni che
9	Intanto regge la	TREGUA	nella striscia di Gaza mentre proseguono
10	il ritiro di Israele, a 4 giorni dalla	TREGUA	e dopo 23 giorni di pesantissimo
11	Gaza dove è in vigore una fragile	TREGUA	che comunque al momento regge.
12	Un attacco palestinese rompe la	TREGUA	ucciso in un agguato un soldato israeliano,
13	settimana dall'accordo per una	TREGUA	a Gaza, ancora morte e violenze nella striscia.

Table 3. Concordance to *tregua*

The third terminological concept field that emerged is related to the mortal consequences of conflict (‘dead’, ‘death/s’, ‘killed’, ‘massacre’ and ‘victims’) and other negative collateral developments and circumstances (‘evacuees’, ‘hostages’, ‘refugees’ and ‘wounded’) with 29 and 11 occurrences respectively.

Two smaller concept fields were identified, one containing lexemes for military weaponry and equipment (‘arms’, ‘aviation’, ‘bomb’, ‘helicopter’, ‘missiles’, ‘mortar’, ‘launch’ (vb.), ‘ships’, ‘tanks’, ‘white phosphorus’) and the other referring to armed non-military or paramilitary combatants: ‘guerrillas’, ‘militias’, ‘rebels’ and ‘terrorist/s’.

Some of the domain-specific ST terms described above have equivalents in LIS but for others rendering the original ST meaning requires the use of particular coping strategies. Sign language being a dynamic form of visual communication (i.e. it uses motion as opposed to the static graphics of written language) manages to convey detailed information about the movement or shape of objects through its particular ‘phonological’ and grammatical characteristics. For example, when

the Italian verb *portare* (to carry) is uttered, the LIS interpreter cannot simply translate it by using an equivalent sign but has to understand what is being carried or where or how it is being carried in order to choose which hand shape is the most appropriate to use for that single term in Italian. In other words, in LIS it is not always appropriate or possible to use a 'standardized' signed verb or noun (the pure equivalent of a spoken word that LIS interpreters call *il termine contenitore* [the container term] or citation form), but a verb-object fusion may be required producing a sign that is radically different to adapt the citation form to the context. In the subcorpus, citation forms related to military action, like the noun *attacco* (attack) or the verb *colpire* ('strike/hit', homonymic in Italian, also meaning 'to shoot'), undergo frequent modification. In the case of 'strike/shoot', the handshape changes according to whether 'a man strikes/hits another man', 'a bomb strikes from above', there is a 'missile strike', or whether shots are from a hand gun, machinegun or mortar. In each case the classifiers used (i.e. the specific shape the hand must assume for the sign corresponding to the verb 'strike/hit') will be different. In deciding which handshape to use the interpreters' 'world knowledge' is fundamental. This knowledge is acquired from previous news editions (that day, week etc.) and personal pre-broadcast preparation. An example of this is taken from the following news item:

Ventiduesimo giorno di attacco israeliano su Gaza. Colpito di nuovo un edificio dell'ONU. È una scuola. Dentro c'erano 1600 sfollati. 2 bambini sono morti. Israele potrebbe annunciare questa sera una tregua unilaterale. Unilaterale perché non accetta di trattare con Hamas ... (TG3 on 17/01/2009)

[Twenty-second day of the Israeli attack on Gaza. A UN building has been hit yet again. It was a school. Inside were 1,600 evacuees. 2 children died. Israel might announce a unilateral truce this evening. Unilateral because negotiations with Hamas are unacceptable ...]

For the sign HIT (COLPITO) the interpreter uses an indication of bombs falling from the sky with a closed 5 figure classifier (5-CL), as indeed she knows that the building was hit by an air strike though it was not explicitly stated in the item and no visuals – images or headlines – accompany signing on this channel.

Another example is the term 'to open fire' (*aprire il fuoco*):

Dopo il ritiro delle forze israeliane da Gaza, rimane alta la tensione nel territorio, è catastrofica la situazione umanitaria. Stamane una nave israeliana ha aperto il fuoco contro imbarcazioni palestinesi, accusate di trovarsi fuori dall'area di pesca loro consentita. (TG3 on 22/01/09)

[Following the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, tension remains high in the territory; humanitarian conditions are catastrophic. This morning an Israeli warship opened fire on Palestinian vessels accused of being outside their permitted fishing area.]

Here the interpreter uses the sign BOMB combined with the -G- handshape, which can be used to indicate MISSILE or ROCKET.

There are some Italian nouns that may be translated by several distinct signs (synonyms) in LIS, for example, 'truce' (*tregua*) or 'cease-fire' (*cessate il fuoco*). Therefore, in the bulletins the signs for these two terms vary constantly: PAUSE, WAR SUSPENDED, SUSPENSION, or FIRING ENOUGH. The signs used for the interpretation of 'truce' are often the same as those used for 'cease-fire' unless both terms are present in the same item of news. In this case the interpreter has

to use a synonymous sign (even if slightly different in meaning) or omit one of them to avoid redundancy:

... *Un rappresentante dell'esercito poco dopo ha fatto rientrare quella che sarebbe potuto essere un'emergenza smentendo che vi fossero stati attacchi nell'enclave palestinese nonostante la fragile tregua, il cessate il fuoco in vigore da 3 giorni che comunque continua a reggere.* ... (TG4 on 20/01/09)

[... Shortly afterwards, an army spokesman solved what could have developed into an emergency situation, by denying that there had been attacks against the Palestinian enclave notwithstanding the fragile truce, or rather the cease-fire in place over the past three days which seems to be holding. ...]

Here the interpreter chooses to use FIRING ENOUGH once.

In the next example the term 'truce' is used in a different context denoting a 'break' in the situation, related to ongoing peace negotiations and hence, the interpreter signs PEACE BREAK which is semantically correct in the wider context of the news item:

Un attacco palestinese rompe la tregua, ucciso in un agguato un soldato israeliano, altri tre feriti ... (TG2 on 27/01/09)

[A Palestinian attack breaks the truce; an Israeli soldier was killed in an ambush, another three wounded ...]

4.2 Proper and institutional names

Wide use (86 occurrences) is made in the ST of 31 foreign proper names mainly of leading politicians and heads of state, 13 of which from the Middle East. The most frequent reference is made to the U.S. President either by name (full or short form) or by the lexeme 'president' accompanied by his name (8 times), or without (9 times: 'American President' – *presidente americano*, or 'U.S. President' – *presidente degli Stati Uniti*). Both full and short forms are also found in the case of better known leaders. In the case of the head of the Vatican, 'Pope' (*papa*) is used on 4 occasions in preference to 'Benedict XVI'.

Institutional names and terms related in some way to the conflict being reported occur 71 times composed of 27 tokens as illustrated in Table 4 which gives an idea of the variety the interpreter can be confronted with:

Al-Arabiya (1)	Islamic factions (1)	Oberoi Hotel (1) (Mumbai)
(Arab Emirates TV network)	Islamic militias (1)	Quirinal Palace (1)
Ambassador (1)	Israeli Rabbinate (2)	(Residence of the Italian President of the Republic)
Chigi Palace (1)	Lefebvrians (4)	Radical Left (2)
(Seat of the Italian government)	Mayer (1)	Revolutionary Tribunal (1)
Congress (1)	(Florentine hospital)	Special Tribunal (1)
Embassy (1)	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (9)	Taj Hotel (Mumbai) (1)
European Commission (1)	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (1)	UN (7)
European Union (7)	Nariman House (1)	United Nations Security Council (2)
Fatah (2)	(Mumbai Jewish Centre)	White House (4)
Hamas (14)		
Holy See (2)		

Table 4. Institutional terms (originally in Italian).

They refer to international organizations, seats of government and diplomacy, political parties, factions, militias, religious groups or institutions, tribunals, a television network and particular locations such as a hospital or the hotels and Jewish centre involved in the Mumbai terrorist attacks. The most frequent of these terms is 'Hamas' with 14 occurrences followed by 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs' related to various countries.

In the TT fingerspelling is the strategy adopted to convey foreign names, surnames and also foreign geographical names with which the interpreter is unacquainted, or for which there is no specific sign, as well as brand names and other foreign terms. Sometimes it is used as a translation strategy to spell out new Italian terms for which no sign has been coined or for Italian terms in which the interpreter lacks fluency or immediacy in the translation into sign language. (Often creative or logical solutions are offered on the spot, such as the translation of 'white phosphorus'. There is no specific sign in LIS for 'phosphorus' so the interpreter fingerspells it adding the sign WHITE).

In the subcorpus most of the interpreters use the full fingerspelling of politicians' names or surnames, or alternatively, initialize one or both of them, by using the letter of the manual alphabet which corresponds to the first letter of the name or surname followed by mouthing of the full name. This strategy is necessary because of the temporal constraint which forces the interpreters to select the quickest solution, at least for those Italian names which are easily recognizable through mouthing and, therefore, can be easily lip read on screen by the deaf audience.

Besides fingerspelling names, there exists a culture-specific peculiarity within the deaf community (not just in Italy), which is reference to a member of that community by means of a 'sign name' which substitutes his/her real name with a sign. This sign name should not be considered a nickname⁸ because by identifying the community member in sign language, it becomes a proper name for that person within the community. Normally, each member of the deaf community has a sign name designated by others, but for practical purposes, sign names can also be given to outsiders, as in the case of politicians. A sign name may highlight some physical trait which might be considered funny or derisive by deaf people. It was noted that one interpreter uses the deaf community's sign name for the Italian Prime Minister Mr Berlusconi, whereas for the American President Barack Obama another interpreter uses the sign name coined by American Sign Language (ASL) interpreters. At this point an ethical question arises (occasionally discussed among the Italian deaf community and interpreters alike) as to whether it is correct to use an informal sign name on television, especially if the person so named is unaware of it and furthermore it denotes some physical trait, as in the case of 'Berlusconi'. His sign name is a flat right hand (-B- sign) moving backwards caressing the side of the head, mimicking an adjustment of his seemingly lacquered and always impeccable hair. Opinions are divided on this issue. Some deaf people and interpreters contend that it is right to use such sign names as they are commonly used within the deaf community and, thus, interpreters should accommodate their sign language for easier

8 For further information cf. Russo (1997).

comprehension on television which provides a public service. Others believe that the use of sign names is not politically correct, as the names can be very ironic and unfair towards the unaware targeted person. Rita Sala after several years of experience interpreting the news on TG2, prefers to use the more formal, professional, approach of initialization of the name (in this case -B- for 'Berlusconi') followed by a clear mouthing of his name.

Regarding the sign for 'Obama', it conveys no physical features but was assigned arbitrarily in the U.S. (as often happens there) with the initials of name and surname (-O-B-) being slightly horizontally modified to render the signing more fluid. The choice to use the ASL sign in the corpus was made by only one interpreter, probably after she had seen how the newly elected president's name was signed in ASL. Loans from other sign languages occur frequently for foreign names. However, when loans are used on television, the interpreter cannot be sure the deaf community will officially endorse them, such as the ASL sign name for Obama.

As far as these two examples are concerned, 'Berlusconi' is signed 'formally' in the subcorpus by all but one interpreter (who uses the informal sign name) by initialization of the surname followed by mouthing of his name (-B- "Berlusconi"). This is the strategy used in most cases for the names of Italian politicians such as ministers (Fini or Frattini: -F- + mouthing). In the case of 'Obama', all but one interpreter (who chose the ASL sign), fingerspell his surname in full (O-B-A-M-A), thus omitting his first name or, as in a couple of cases, adding the -B- initial of 'Barak'. For other foreign proper names most interpreters opt for the strategy of initialization with full name mouthing unless there is time for complete fingerspelling. Sometimes the name is rendered by utilizing more than one letter plus mouthing before or after *e.g.* Williamson – "Williams" O-N; Mubarak – M-U "Barak"; Olmert – O-L "mert".

4.3 Toponymic reference and nationality

A peculiarity of the ST owing to the international nature of the news reports is the large number of toponymic references (names of countries) mentioned: 164 tokens composed of 56 types. A few toponyms are not directly associated with the geographical areas of conflict in Figure 2. For example, 'Brussels', 'New York' and 'Washington' are mentioned in connection with conflict-related negotiations at the European Union Commission, UN Security Council and the U.S. executive. Also nouns and adjectives denoting nationality are abundant in 99 tokens composed of 18 types, the most frequent as expected being 'Israeli', 'Palestinian', and 'American'.

Interpretation of toponyms and nationality in LIS follows similar choices to those described for proper names, i.e. recourse to fingerspelling (the whole word or initial letter) or adoption of a place sign name. In Italy the choice of which sign an Italian sign language interpreter uses is often determined by his/her geographical residence and the working environment most frequently encountered. The influence of the surrounding signing community weighs heavily in determining lexical choice according to factors such as age and regional

background. Television sign language interpreting is influenced by many signed dialects which encroach upon 'standard' LIS (itself originally based on the Roman signed dialect) and may be regarded as a major linguistic variable greatly influencing and shaping language usage within the Italian deaf community today as the TV audience is spread nationwide.

As happens in all languages, sign languages coin new terms that may substitute old, obsolete or politically incorrect ones. Similarly, in LIS changes have occurred over time in the signing of the names of countries and continents which in the past highlighted the physical features of inhabitants like the old sign for 'Africa' (indicating the darkness of the face) or for 'China' (indicating oriental eyes). We noticed this in the corpus. Today the sign for 'Africa' has been transformed into a representation of the triangular shape of the continent (outward facing palm of the right hand with closed fingers) and for 'China', a movement across the chest representing the buttoning of the Chinese 'Mao' jacket (indicated by an upturned L), which has spread throughout Italy. In the former case the old sign is still quite common within the deaf community and interestingly, in the subcorpus for the term 'Congo', the letter -C- precedes the old sign for 'Africa' (-C- AFRICA, i.e. -C- + a hand momentarily covering the face indicating the dark colour of the skin).

This dilemma of sign transformation has been analysed by Stewart *et al.* (1998: 127) who state:

Although the new signs show greater sensitivity to the feelings of others than the older signs, they do not permeate a community of signers overnight. It took several years for the polite sign for China to make its way into the vernacular of ASL signs, and some deaf adults still use the former sign.

They then ask and try to answer:

What sign, then, should an interpreter use, the old or the new sign variation? Is it the interpreter's responsibility to introduce the newer, more acceptable version of a sign to the deaf participants? While interpreting, interpreters are not in a position to endorse or teach a new sign. When there is some uncertainty about which sign is suitable, some interpreters use two sign variations consecutively; as the assignment continues, the participants can indicate which sign they prefer (Stewart *et al.* 1998: 128).

The solution they propose may work during conference interpretation where the interpreter can observe the feedback from participants or see one or two older signs used by a few deaf people present in the audience, but in the television studio this is not possible; the audience is remote. On air choices have to be made rapidly, conditioned by stringent temporal constraints which induce the interpreter to eliminate anything superfluous and certainly not add extra signs to cater to both elderly and young viewers. This is one of many choices an interpreter has to make according to the work setting. Furthermore, Italian interpreters generally agree with their American colleagues that it is certainly not the job of the interpreter to teach new signs to the deaf community.

Turning back to the names of countries or regions, it was noted in the subcorpus that most interpreters prefer to interpret names through full or partial fingerspelling, mainly in the case of countries directly involved in conflict and especially for the Arab states. This is because there are no corresponding sign names in LIS. The same holds true for frequently mentioned, foreign, non-

geographical names such as *Hamas* or *Shoa* (Holocaust) increasingly present in recent years in conflict-related news.

'Gaza' or 'Gaza Strip' is always fingerspelled in full and when necessary, preceded by the LIS sign STRIP. If this name is repeated several times in a news item, the sign for the letter -G- is preferred, or deictic reference is made to the previous spatial location of the fully fingerspelled name. This second option is adopted on TG4 when the speed of the newsreader increases owing to a greater number of news items. This was certainly a stylistic choice of strategy which enabled the interpreter to convey the information correctly and keep pace with the newsreader. This is confirmed by the fact that on the other channels, where the news was read at a slower pace, interpreters chose to fully fingerspell G-A-Z-A every time it was repeated. The same can be said for 'Iraq' another conflict zone. However, in the case of other frequently named states 'Israel', 'Egypt' and the 'United States', as well as the city of 'Jerusalem', respective sign names which exist in LIS are used.

An example of switching strategies in the same bulletin (determined by the pace of enunciation and need for clarity) is offered by one interpreter who in two separate bulletins either fully fingerspells 'Guantanamo' (an extremely long name to spell out only time permitting) or uses the letter -G- followed by PRISON. This is a strategy similar to that adopted for 'Congo' (-C- AFRICA) which permits all information to be conveyed when a conventional sign is lacking.

Another instance of sign transformation was noted regarding the sign for 'Palestine' which is technically an old geographical term (area between the Mediterranean Sea and the River Jordan), politically outdated when referring to the contemporary scene. The 'Palestinian territories' comprise two separate zones: the Gaza Strip and West Bank under the Palestinian National Authority. In LIS however, 'Palestine' is still used and is normally translated by a sign which denotes its Arab origin, or rather the particular male headwear in Arab countries. Yet, on one occasion in the subcorpus it is translated by an alternative iconic sign: a -P- drawing a veil across the forehead to indicate the characteristic Palestinian female headdress. Here it is not clear whether this is a politically correct new sign or not. The Middle East has only entered the daily news for the Deaf in Italy over the past few years of conflict and LIS signs have been slow in adapting to the evolving political scene.

Yet another country with old, new and more recently signed variants is Israel. The old sign for 'Jew' is no longer used even to name the State of Israel. Today there are two main variants for 'Israel'. Firstly, the sign for 'Jew' related to the shape of a beard using a -B- handshape with the thumb closing on the chin, or secondly, a different sign that conveys the same information using a curved -V- handshape that touches first the left part of the chin and then the right part with the knuckles.

4.4 Foreign loans

Foreign loans are commonly found in spoken Italian and found several times in the news corpus. Foreign loans may cause problems for interpreters depending

on their frequency in Italian everyday speech (i.e. whether they are commonly used and easily recognized terms or not) or their pronunciation by the newsreader. A conflict-related anglicism is ‘raid’ for which there is no sign in LIS. It is semantically conveyed as AEROPLANES (-Y- hand shape on the left and right hand) + BOMBING (-B- hand shape closed). A second is ‘leader’ signed as HEAD. A LIS sign does exist for LEADERSHIP borrowed from ASL but is not used in this corpus. ‘Blitz’ of German origin uttered once, is omitted in LIS as obviously deemed redundant owing to the term ‘raid’ preceding it in the same news item.

The Arabic word ‘rais’ is used when referring to Saddam Hussein. It is interpreted once by indication of Saddam’s location in the signed discourse, and twice by the sign for ‘ex/former’ + -R- accompanied by mouthing “rais”:

The biblical Hebrew term ‘Shoah’ meaning desolation, catastrophe or disaster, is uttered in reports referring to the Jewish Holocaust in a couple of items on Middle East events where mention is made of the historical conflict of World War II on the Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27th January. It is always fully fingerspelled S-H-O-A-H.

4.5 Emphasis through facial expression

In sign language facial expression conveys grammatical and semantic information. A sentence can be rendered interrogative through a brow raise. A widening or narrowing of the lips can indicate the size of an object. In most cases, prosody, speed and emphasis are conveyed through particular facial expressions, but to date little research has been done in this area on LIS. The management of facial expression is a problematic area in sign language interpreting and is particularly important when conveying news on conflict where emotions, reactions and the intensity of conflict have to be transmitted in some way and we found that the interpreters were doing so.

Below are some examples from the ST and where emphatic facial expression (its duration in small capitals) is used to effect in the LIS equivalent message on hearing the Italian ST:

Nella Repubblica Democratica del Congo, dove SONO IN CORSO DA MESI FEROCI COMBATTIMENTI tra le forze governative ed i ribelli (TG3 on 21/11/09)

[In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where FIERCE FIGHTING HAS CONTINUED FOR MONTHS between government forces and rebels ...]

Dopo il ritiro delle forze israeliane da Gaza, rimane alta la tensione nel territorio, È CATASTROFICA LA SITUAZIONE UMANITARIA. (TG3 on 22/01/09)

[Following the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza, tension remains high in the territory; HUMANITARIAN CONDITIONS ARE CATASTROPHIC.]

Solenne celebrazione al Quirinale nella giornata della memoria, nell’occasione Napolitano ha parlato delle DRAMMATICHE SETTIMANE DELLA GUERRA A GAZA. (TG3 on 27/01/09)

[Solemn celebrations at the Quirinale Palace on the Holocaust Remembrance Day where President Napolitano spoke of the DRAMATIC WEEKS OF WAR IN GAZA.]

In all three examples, emphasis determined by the Italian adjectives ‘fierce’, ‘catastrophic’ and ‘dramatic’, is accompanied by appropriate facial expression to convey their semantic force. In the first example the adjective ‘fierce’ (*feroci*) is

emphasised by facial expression well before the noun ‘fighting’ (*combattimenti*) it premodifies is signed. It takes the form of: an intense brow squint; face turned slightly to the left as if to avoid observing forward; lips turned downwards; and the addition of a sign/gesture which can be defined as a ‘cover-all’ term that in this context can be translated as ‘terrible’ (i.e. two hands in 5-CL⁹ that move twice from centre outwards). In the second example, the sign TERRIBLE is again present but accompanied by the truncated mouthing of ‘catastrophe’ (*catastrofe*) with a lowered brow. In the third example, this same sign is used again but accompanied by facial expression that conveys the intensity of the adjective ‘dramatic’, thus, semantically emphasising the news contained in the item.

Another way to emphasise the gravity of a given situation is the use of Special Oral Components (SOC), or rather, the use of verbal segmentals such as “*pah*”, that have no phonetic connection to the Italian word being translated. However, when such a segmental is used in conjunction with a sign, it adds intensity or emphasis. For example:

... *mentre Hamas ha detto di voler tornare ad armarsi il primo possibile per COLPIRE IN PROFONDITÀ il territorio israeliano.* (TG3 on 19/01/09)
 [... whereas Hamas has expressed the wish for a return to arms as soon as possible TO STRIKE AT THE VERY HEART of Israeli territory.]

The interpretation of ‘strike at the very heart of’ (literally in Italian: ‘to strike deeply into’) is conveyed in LIS with the appropriate sign for STRIKE to convey the idea of INTERVENTION/ASSAULT, accompanied this time not by facial expression but by this particular, concisely mouthed segmental “*pah*”. It intensifies the meaning and comprehension of ‘deep/profound’.

4.6 Speed of enunciation and textual reformulation

Media are managed through a series of language strategies that journalists learn to use to report news, but because of the time constraint for news flashes, there is very limited space for any journalistic creativity, superfluous language or major “linguistic engineering” (Conoscenti 2004) by those who prepare the scripts for LIS news. “Linguistic engineering” is the adoption of various stylistic and rhetorical strategies like choosing particular lexemes, for example those that generate emotional reactions such as ‘school’ and ‘children’ (as victims of war). We found only two examples in the subcorpus which in both cases could have been omitted:

Colpito di nuovo un edificio dell’ONU. È una scuola. Dentro c’erano 1600 sfollati. 2 bambini sono morti. (TG3 on 17/1/09)
 [A UN building has been hit yet again. It was a school. Inside were 1,600 evacuees. 2 children died.]

Ieri 5 morti e 12 feriti tra i quali diversi bambini. (TG1 on 20/12/08)
 [Yesterday, 5 dead and 12 wounded among which several children.]

9 Both hands with open extended fingers and thumb.

In an average three minutes of reporting, time is the enemy, limiting the reports to a series of facts. The communicative style of the ST has to be concise and brief, yet sufficiently informative. There is generally a lead sentence followed by topic oriented discourse including some background information and connections to possible follow-ups before moving on to the next news item, as for example:

A poche ore dall'insediamento del presidente Obama, l'ultimo dei soldati israeliani ha lasciato la striscia di Gaza. Completato così prima dell'alba il ritiro di Israele, a 4 giorni dalla tregua e dopo 23 giorni di pesantissimo intervento militare. L'esercito israeliano ha anche avviato un'inchiesta interna per l'uso del fosforo bianco secondo i vertici militari, utilizzato solo da un contingente di riservisti e all'insaputa dei comandi. (TG3 on 21/1/09)

[Only a few hours since the inauguration of President Obama, the last Israeli soldiers have left the Gaza Strip. The Israeli retreat was completed before dawn four days after the truce and after 23 days of intense military intervention. The Israeli army has started an investigation into the use of white phosphorus, which according to the military authorities was used only by a contingent of reservists without the knowledge of headquarters.]

It is not so much the conciseness and brevity of the news items which challenges news interpreters but the speed at which the news is read. ST delivery rate is related to quality in spoken-language interpreting from the point of view of meaning accuracy (cf. Gerver 1971; Galli 1990) as well as fluency of delivery (Pio 2003) and length of ear-voice span (lag time). In sign-language interpreting Cokely (1986) found evidence of a relationship between lag time and miscue occurrence during sign language interpretation: shorter lag times led to an increase in errors except omissions whereas longer lag times improved performance despite an increase in omissions. In news flashes it is the brevity of the time slot available which determines the speed of the ST especially if time is running short.

A draft copy of the news bulletins should always be made available to the interpreters beforehand to enable them to fully comprehend the events about to be reported, assimilate the information and prepare their signed rendition. Unfortunately, more often than not, this is not the case. Information aired in LIS news flashes is principally based on the regular midday and evening news broadcasts, condensed and edited right up to the last moment, which means that the interpreters have to watch the regular news in order to prepare for the flash before they see the final script, if at all. Auto cues were used up to a few years ago to provide a written text that could be seen and not just heard, in case of an emergency (e.g. a miscomprehension or the change of a name). In any interpreting event interpreters have to stretch their memories, but since the auto cue has been abandoned (owing to editorial changes allowing the presence of a newsreader in the studio) their memory is taxed to an even greater extent, adding to the stress caused by having to close with the newsreader within the required transmission time.

We noticed in the subcorpus TT that many interpreters choose to risk anticipating their reformulation of the news to gain time and better redistribute their resources in order to achieve a satisfactory interpretation. This is a "compensatory strategy" described by Faerch/Kasper (1980: 92) among "potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a

problem in reaching a particular communicative goal". The strategies mainly adopted by interpreters working in television settings (not only those analyzed in our subcorpus) are indeed anticipation and reformulation where the interpreter foresees what will be read thanks to redundant elements in the text and semantic clues. Anticipation allows the interpreters to immediately focus on the news content by using their memory of previous reports to gain time in order to utilize other strategies such as reformulation which allows them to construct the target language according to its correct rules of grammar. In the subcorpus this strategy is adopted especially during the welcome and salutation at the opening and close of the flash (a well known routine) and at the beginning of each item where the interpreters often divide chunks of information in two parts anticipating the second.

This technique requires good memorization that permits maintenance of a long lag, allowing them time to restructure the sentence in a semantically clear way before it is read completely and finish more or less at the same time as the newsreader. For example:

La giustizia irachena ha confermato la condanna a morte di Saddam Hussein. (TG1 on 27/12/06)
[The Iraqi judiciary has confirmed the death penalty for Saddam Hussein.]

Here the interpreter divides the sentence in two parts using chunk-strategy (cf. Riccardi 1999):

SADDAM HUSSEIN DEATH PENALTY – JUDICIARY IRAQ(I) CONFIRM(ED)

She begins with the proper name of the receiving agent (the indirect object in the original Italian), which is structurally more correct in LIS, permitting her to immediately link it to the static photograph of Saddam Hussein on the screen behind her and to the underlying headline *Sarà impiccato* (He'll Be Hanged). Another example is:

Tutti liberi, compresi i 7 italiani, i 148 ostaggi a Mumbai. (Tg3 on 28/11/2008)
[All 148 Mumbai hostages freed, including the 7 Italians – in the original Italian the word order is: 'All free, including the 7 Italians, the 148 hostages in Mumbai'.]

Here the interpreter chose to start with the introduction of the location of the event INDIA MUMBAI, anticipating the newsreader and continuing with the most important fact, 148 HOSTAGES FREE and ending with 7 ITALIANS. (Interestingly, this is closer to our translation in English). LIS structure requires that the location of the news event be signed first, followed by the event itself. If any numbers are involved, the smaller numerical referent is placed after the larger one which can be transliterated here as "148 hostages, among them, 7 Italians". Such reformulation of word order is normal when interpreting from one language to another, be it signed or spoken. In the subcorpus reformulation strategies are frequently correlated to the temporal constraints of television interpreting, as previously mentioned.

5. Concluding remarks

The aim of this paper was to explore signed news on 4 Italian television channels with a focus on items of news referring to conflict. To our knowledge, no previous detailed research has been undertaken on signed Italian media interpreting so we began by looking at some of the strategies interpreters use on-screen to get the ST message effectively and adequately across to a deaf audience. In particular we focussed on six areas that we felt contained particular linguistic and textual features of interest in the transfer of information from speech to sign.

- domain-specific terminology;
- Italian and foreign proper and institutional names;
- toponymic reference and nationalities;
- foreign loans;
- emphasis through facial expression;
- speed of enunciation and textual reformulation.

Each area was broadly discussed providing some examples of how the interpreters coped with the language transfer and overall it was found that on all four channels the little information that was provided in the ST was conveyed adequately into the TT notwithstanding the technical and cross cultural/linguistic difficulties imposed by the medium and languages involved. However, more precise quantitative studies would be necessary to measure the quality of the interpreting provided, including user assessment, which was not the aim of this paper at this stage of our research.

Despite the requirement for the provision of more sign language interpreting (or subtitles) on Italian TV news programmes, there remain only three TG news flashes interpreted into LIS on the three national RAI channels and the brevity of the bulletins is still a major obstacle to communication. Having included Rete4 LIS news in our corpus, the channel with the longest airing of news in LIS, we were dismayed to learn on March 1st 2010 that after sixteen years the programme was shut down and replaced with a subtitled edition. Such a decision has been explained by the Channel as a renewal of its general programme schedule and the adoption of subtitling as in other European countries. However, although it is true there is much subtitling in other European countries for deaf viewers, the tide is turning and many EU member states are working towards augmenting and improving provision of news on television in sign language. Even the Italian association of interpreters Anios (www.anios.it) and other associations and individuals have joined ENS in protest at this turn of events, but so far the result has been that instead of improving sign language interpretation on Italian television, a daily edition of news in LIS has been lost and Italian deaf people (especially those that struggle to read written Italian) now have a reduced access to information in their own language.

In December 2008, the Integration of People with Disabilities Division, Directorate General of Social Cohesion, Social Policy Department, of the Council of Europe, published a new set of recommendations offered by Krausneker Verena, from the University of Vienna (Austria): *The Protection and Promotion of Sign Languages and the Rights of their Users in Council of Europe Member States: Needs*

*Analysis*¹⁰. It states with regard to the participation of deaf people in the communication of mass media information that:

Spoken language (radio, television) and written language (printed media and subtitles) are rarely fully accessible for many Deaf people. The right to information (e.g. via national television and sign language interpreters or signed homepages) is therefore mostly fulfilled only on a limited scale.

Recommendation 20 on *Barrier-free information and news* states:

Information on daily politics, state developments and news should be made available to sign language users. This should be secured by in-vision sign language interpreters and subtitling in television; and/or by creating broadcasting formats/media (on TV or the Internet) made by sign language users in sign language(s).

In recent years there has been an increase in the presence of sign language on media channels other than television: the Internet owing to Videologs and on-line messages that many deaf people use. Italian websites are www.vlog-sordi.com or the ENS website (www.ens.it) and to access YouTube, look for 'lingua dei segni italiana'. Regarding signed information on-line in LIS, in mid 2009 a website was opened by the Italian motorway association (www.autostrade.it) in collaboration with Anios (*Associazione interpreti di lingua dei segni italiana* [Association of Italian Sign Language Interpreters]) to provide a service in LIS to inform deaf people about motorway traffic. Unfortunately, there are no other similar on-line services in Italy at present.

In order to provide more LIS interpreting on television, not only will more interpreters have to be trained in future, but also the television networks should be encouraged to consider the participation of deaf people in the gathering of news, preparation of scripts and even the interpretation of the news itself. The lack of a constant and significant presence of sign language on Italian television and few members of the deaf community working within the mass media in general has hindered the development of 'LIS journalese'. Perhaps a greater presence of deaf journalists or expert panels including deaf people would lead to the development of specialised signed terminology within the news genre. Such figures, backed by staff (deaf and hearing), could work on the correct journalistic register to use in sign language and develop new signs in response to new, frequently reported names and terms.

It should be noted that in Italy experience in this kind of interpreting is acquired on the job as there are no *ad hoc* courses to train sign language interpreters in the skills required of media interpreting apart from one offered in 1996 by the University of Bologna (Forlì) in cooperation with the Mason Perkins Deafness Fund and a second in 2007 at the University of Tor Vergata, Rome, organized by a group of professional interpreters. Among the recommendations mentioned above, in Recommendation 25 on *Professional sign language interpreting* it is stated:

For linguistic minorities like the sign language communities interpreters are the key to participation in society. More and better interpreters are needed in nearly every

¹⁰ Cf. <http://www.coe.int/t/e/social_cohesion/soc-sp/Report%20Sign%20languages%20final.doc>.

Council of Europe member state. Universities should be strongly encouraged to create sign language interpreter training programmes and the existing interpreter organizations should be encouraged to help organise professional sign language interpreting standards.

At present in Italy there are some curricular university sign language courses: e.g. University of Trieste¹¹, University Cà Foscari in Venice¹², the University of Bologna (SSLMIT – Forlì)¹³, the University of Foggia, and the University for Foreigners (*Università per Stranieri*) in Siena which teaches LIS to foreign deaf students. However, there is to date no curricular university course in sign language interpreting in Italy¹⁴. This might seem in complete contradiction with the European recommendation to provide university training in this field, but it is necessary first to provide widespread LIS language courses at university level in Italy before quality interpreter training can be offered to sufficient applicants. Anios which safeguards the interests of its members and the sign language interpreting profession in general, is working in close collaboration with European interpreter associations and local institutions to accomplish this aim so that, in the short term, Italy can join those European countries which already provide university level sign language interpreter training which will hopefully include training for media interpreting too.

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- 11 University of Trieste, at the Advanced School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators (SSLMIT - *Scuola Superiore di Lingue Moderne per Interpreti e Traduttori*) since 1998/99, a year after LIS was officially recognized by ministerial decree as a university discipline (hidden within two discipline groupings: Glottology and Linguistics and Didactics of Modern Languages rather than a language in its own right).
- 12 It offers a Bachelor's degree in *Lingue e Scienze del Linguaggio* [Languages and Language Science] within the curriculum on *Linguistica per la sordità e i disturbi del linguaggio* [Linguistics for Deafness and Language Disabilities] where LIS can be chosen as an A, B or C language, cf.: <<http://venus.unive.it/lingdida>>.
- 13 Like the Trieste SSLMIT, it offers LIS as an option.
- 14 In the academic year 2005/06 the University Suor Orsola Benincasa in Naples offered a two-year Master's degree to train interpreters working with deaf state school pupils which failed to attract sufficient applicants. From 2006-08 the University Cà Foscari offered a training course with a certification in sign language interpretation but it is not recognized as a University degree. Those same years the SSLMIT in Trieste twice offered a one year Master's degree in Sign Language Interpreting with the same disappointing result as Naples.

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