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EDITORIAL

There can be little doubt that the world of interpreting and, by reflection, the Universities where interpreting is taught have reached a crossroads where vital decisions have to be taken. At national level, the spread of English as the language of conferences has led to a shrinking of the national market, though, paradoxically, to an increased demand for "interpreting" services (liaison and the like) outside the conference hall. In Italy, the "clean hands" operation has deprived political parties of much of their autonomous spending power with a subsequent decline in the funds available for international political conferences. At European level, too, the traditional interpreting models have been severely shaken. The traditional Western European model born of and with the European Community with interpreters working from their foreign languages into their mother tongue survived the first rounds of enlargement by recycling experienced interpreters who added additional Germanic or Romance languages to their existing ones. One of the editors, however, recalls from personal experience that in the early days of the United Kingdom's membership, before, that is, Britain and Ireland had produced the number of interpreters required, about half of the occupants of the English booth were not of English mother tongue. The model even survived the membership of Greece, forcing older and younger interpreters alike to renew their acquaintance with a classical language or to study *ex novo* a language whose structures and lexicon are by no means inaccessible to interpreters of Germanic or Romance mother tongues. The arrival of Finland has changed everything. Taboos have been publicly broken, the sacred cows have been slaughtered on the very steps of the temple itself and we all know that, with very few exceptions, in the European Parliament and at the European Commission, interpreting from Finnish, out of sheer necessity and in the teeth of long-standing convictions, is carried out by Finnish interpreters working into their first foreign language.

Western Europe has been forced to adopt the very model which had evolved for different reasons and under very different circumstances in Eastern Europe. The authors remember Professor Denisenko's impassioned defence of interpreting from the mother tongue into the foreign language at the Trieste Conference in 1986, but the ideological undercurrents pervading such a model were formidable. Before 1989 it was hardly conceivable that the interpretation of Soviet thought could be entrusted to non-Soviet (or non-Sovietised) interpreters. Only the privileged could travel abroad and there was no free access

to the vital, living sources of the language – personal contacts, free choice of reading matter and the like. A great deal of effort, therefore, went into the training of Eastern European interpreters to work into their foreign languages with excellent results though leading inevitably to a certain stunted, artificial quality in the production of that foreign language without unhindered access to all its sources – what Sir Geoffrey Howe in his memoirs calls "the strange, folksy quality of the English of my otherwise excellent Russian interpreters".

Now, of course, those ideological constraints no longer prevail and, in addition to their excellent grounding in (foreign) target-language production, Eastern European interpreters, indeed all interpreters, not only from the Atlantic to the Urals but all over the globe, have free access to a great variety of source and exercise material. Though there may be some Western interpreters with Polish and Czech, it is highly improbable that there will be sufficient numbers of Britons, Germans or Spaniards to cater for the needs to which the membership of Hungary and Estonia would give rise. The Finnish model (Eastern European plus free access) will, therefore, of necessity, be repropounded and, for the foreseeable future until sufficient numbers of Westerners have been initiated into the mysteries of non-Indo-European tongues, like their Finnish colleagues, Hungarian and Estonian interpreters will be providing their Western colleagues with relais in English, German or, hopefully, French.

The Universities in those European Union countries whose languages are not vehicular languages (i.e. everywhere except France, Great Britain and, with some reservations, Spain) which are also those, and this can hardly be a coincidence, where interpreting and translating degrees are available as first degree courses are, by a quirk of fate, already accustomed to catering for these market realities. No Danish, German, Dutch, Austrian or Italian interpreter could possibly survive (outside Brussels, Luxembourg, Strasbourg, Paris or Geneva) were (s)he not prepared to work regularly into the first foreign language. The statutes of University faculties conferring interpreting and translation degrees in those countries recognise the imperfect world we live in (though also its perfectibility) and have always included compulsory courses of interpretation into the first foreign language. For how long will prestigious schools with exclusively postgraduate courses be able to continue to claim that B into A is the only possible way of working? Most of us would agree that it is the most highly desirable way of working, but ought we not all be prepared to bow our heads in the face of grim necessity and admit that, outside the above-mentioned cities, it never really has been? "Are these things then necessities, then let us meet them like necessities" without bewailing the impossible perfections of the past but determined to prepare our young interpreters for the realities of a shrinking and highly competitive market. The forthcoming enlargement of the European Union already provides us with an opportunity to grasp the bull by the horns.

Experience with Finnish has shown that it is not realistic to expect even talented and experienced interpreters with a working knowledge of the language to recycle in the same period of time that it would take from one passive Germanic or Romance language to another. Hungarian promises to confirm this, though as Polish and Czech both belong to the family of Slav languages it may in future prove as feasible to recycle from Polish to Czech (as passive languages) as it now is from German to Swedish or from Italian to Portuguese.

The University of Ljubljana organised a conference in May 1996 accepting not just the necessity of interpreting and translating into the non-mother tongue but also the advisability of doing so. The healthy realism of a small country whose language is spoken by less than three million people, but whose credentials for belonging to the European family are as convincing as those of the powers who once ruled the waves and whose languages still rule the radio waves need not enter into conflict with larger states' more majestic visions of the rôle and destiny of their languages. However, *l'appetito vien mangiando* and, once Western interpreters have begun to grapple with the languages of Eastern Europe, they will doubtless succumb to their charms and, perhaps, even succeed in overcoming the reluctance of Finns and Slovenes alike to believe them both willing and able to acquire Finnish and Slovenian as passive working languages. The Eastern European model may then have revealed itself to be a purely temporary solution. The wheel will have come full circle, European interpreters of both East and West will once more be able to interpret into their own languages, the purists can exult and the whole debate begin all over again.

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study shows that it is very difficult to concentrate on this kind of relationship without simultaneously taking into account the other two essential relationships of the translation model, namely, Sm/Sn and, above all, LPCi / LPIo. ***And, of course, we have to insist that none of these relationships are interesting unless condition (3c) applies.*** This means that they should be placed in the totality of the translation model. If furthermore we accept the Magna Carta of the Interpreter's Freedom, a very interesting research object would be to show cases where the logical identity $LPCo^K \approx LPIo^K$ obtains in spite of a difference between linguistic structures or even semantic structures (which is what we call DDL, deliberate deviations from literality) because conference interpretation is not literal text translation: The simultaneous interpreter can sometimes wait for the Speaker to develop one or two or even three ideas to get the gist of what he is trying to say and then proceed to sum all up in an intelligent way using totally different "linguistic" structures. This also applies, of course, to the next relationship.

The relationship Sm/Sn compares the semantic potential of the sign chain Fo as used by the speaker/author to the semantic potential of the sign chain Fi used by the interpreter/translator. An English interpreter can use the semantic potential of "it's a tall order" to reproduce the intended meaning (*Linguistic Percept as Intended*) by the French speaker/author in Gtn with "*Nous devons parcourir un long chemin*". The "*long chemin*" and "tall order" are different semantic potentials. The 3c equivalence obtains even if the semantic potentials are different.

The relationship LPCi / LPIo compares what the subject of production (speaker/author) wants to say with what the addressees of the interpreter/translator have understood and we will show later that there are ways of doing that. Since we do not have direct access to the perceptions, we have to watch them as they appear in Fo and Fi. We need to postulate that both Fo and Fi, with their respective Xm/Xn and Sm/Sn, acquire a "meaningful" status once the comprehension of the intended LP has created the "meaning meant" as a social product. This particular condition can be seen clearly if we write:

$$(4) LPIo - Fo (Gtn^b) Fi \approx LPCi$$

all but language. If one thinks for a second of literary texts, it becomes immediately clear why this view is untenable: textual relations do not exist independently of the language of the text... But the separation of textual relations from linguistic means betrays a mechanistic conception, as if secondary modeling systems are simply superimposed on the primary system, language.

It is obvious that Toury and Hermans are speaking of written texts and one wonders whether the word "text" is really useful when one speaks of the oral talk act in which, as Derrida says, the sign does not yet exist.

We have to imagine what the linguistic percept was on both sides of the "equation" (Gtn^P) by comparing the sense filled forms Fo and Fi in situation Gtn accepting for the moment that that situation is exactly the same in both *speech acts* (*actes de parole, actos de habla*) Do and DI (which is more plausible in SI than in written translation).

For those readers who do not believe that the "meaning meant" (*le sens*) can be materialised as an object (in spite of the fact that in logic it is "materialised" without any trouble as conceptual content), it is important to affirm that it is perfectly possible to say that (4) is the *formal* proof that the entity in question can be made plausible. You can express that idea in everyday language by saying that if two sense-filled sign chains Fo and Fi correspond to the same meaning (if (3c) $LPC_iK = (Gtn) = LPI_oK$), then "*le sens*" exists formally as defined by Gile (1995: 50) "not as a statement produced, i.e. the verbal materialisation of a communication intention, but *as the information that the Sender wants to get across to the Receiver*" (emphasis in the original).

4.2. The trajectory of meaning

What we are trying to say is that the essential aspect of the complicated and multifaceted process of linguistic communication in the *speech acts* (*actes de parole, actos de habla*) (oral or written) is the production of linguistic perceptual spaces (S). Therefore, the essential aspect of the translation process is the production of Linguistic Perceptions as the secondobjectal re-production (a new production) of a previous LP (but let us not forget that it is perfectly possible to claim a logical identity of the kind $LPC_i^K = LPI_o^K$). With this perspective in mind and our models (First and Second Theorems of our GTT), we can observe what happens in the 'black box' of translation processes in a very real and empirical way.

In this way we can visualise that esoteric, idealistic and perfectly Teutonic idea of Walter Benjamin that the interesting thing in translation is the trajectory of meaning in a continuum of metamorphosis (*Kontinuum von Verwandlungen*)³⁵. In (3b) we have "materialised", so to speak, that trajectory. We see there an original linguistic percept (*Linguistic Percept as Intended*,

35 Nourissier (1995: 337) recreates in French this idea of Benjamin:

La traduction est le transfert d'une langue dans une autre à travers un continuum de métamorphoses, non pas des zones abstraites d'équivalence et de ressemblance.

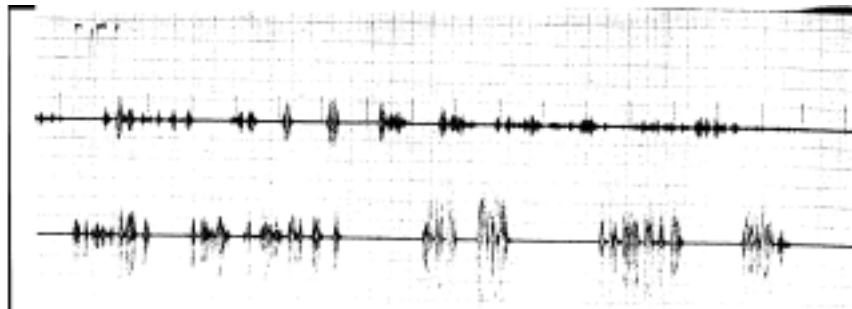
Here again we find the distinction between natural sciences, which study natural processes, and social sciences, which study social interactions where there are no "things", no "objects" but just relations of intentionalities and interpretations of those intentionalities.

LPI_o) which goes through the production of a sign chain Fo in a social situation Gnt, and we can observe how that intended linguistic perception jumps over the abyss which separates two persons as it is reconstructed by this second person as a *Linguistic Percept as Comprehended* (LPC_o^K) and how this second person, called "interpreter" (o translator), produces a second sign chain Fi in the same or in a different situation to provoke in others a linguistic perception (LPC_i^K) which we have to postulate is secondobjectally equivalent to the initial and original LPI_o^K.

This will allow us to program a research series focusing on that trajectory which should be the main object of Translation Science. We need the following experimental setting:

- 1) we have to record a real speech by a speaker at a real international conference, a speech in the language "o" in a speech act Do, and we will take the liberty of calling Do the sign chain as recorded,
- 2) let us have a group of interpreters ready to interpret this Do producing their own discourse, and let us call Di this discourse produced by those interpreters,
- 3) it being understood that the interpreters will listen to the recording of the Do in a laboratory situation (hoping that some day we will be able to do this in the real life situation), and that
- 4) both the recorded and played Do and the spontaneous Di of each interpreters are recorded by an oscillographer.

The oscillograph produced by this operation will have this aspect:



Up we have the Do and down we see the Di

We see here two graphs, the Do on top and the Di below. Both consists of a series of bubbles, which correspond to the blurts of sound coming from both

speakers' mouths. You can record both blurts chains either in seconds, or still better for observation's purposes, in milliseconds. The first analysis is to number those blurts. Let us call them blocks. This is a physical operation which takes little time and one does not need to know to what sign chains they correspond. The second operation consists of graphically defining and then numbering all Do and Di blocks and writing over them the conventional written sign chains to which they correspond. This is an operation which takes considerable time. At this level you already find the first surprising findings which are well known in analysis of spoken speech (segmentation), namely, the acoustic blurts do not correspond to any grammatical units, they are just acoustic units. Second finding: The Di blocks do not correspond exactly to the Do blocks, neither in the time sequence, which might appear obvious, nor in their structure. Third finding: A speaker can sometimes say a whole sentence or part of a sentence in less than a second and some other times a pause or an "eh" might take 2 or 3 or even more seconds. This means that the reality of time while speaking (and interpreting, is another way of speaking) is very different from what is thought by people accustomed to think of language as a set of written signs.³⁶

4.3. Analysis of the relationships Di/Do

After you have done that, those Do and Di blocks are transcribed into the corresponding seconds of the Analysis sheet. In the following example, I am using real data taken from an actual research project.³⁷ I transcribe part of an oscillograph between seconds 571 and 623 with the Do, which was the same for all 11 interpreters, and part of the Di of one of the interpreters. I present this, not as a result but as an example of this method.

SECS	Block Do in Ograph	Do	Comments describing the relationship between Do and Di	Block Di in Ograph	Di
571					
571,5	Do	162	In a guilt culture		
572					

36 For example, the Argentinian writer Borges writes that the English language tends to be shorter than Spanish because for example all English adverbs ending in "-ly" are shorter than the corresponding Spanish adverbs that have to end in "-mente", which is obviously a visual observation of a page and does not apply to oral speech (Do) where you can say a Spanish "mente" adverb in less time than the corresponding English "ly" adverb.

37 See Annex IV for more details about that research project.

572.5		Grave loss of		
573		the need for	LPI in blocks Do	
574	Do 163	supernatural	165	
575		assurance		
575.5				
576		for an		Dans les
576.5		authority		cultures
577	Do 164	transcending		Di 129 qui
577.5		man's		suivaient la
578		insecurity		nécessite d'une
579				
580		man's ans		d'une
581		ant		Di 130 Personne
582	Do 165	sorry		Surnaturelle
583		an-		
583.5		xiety		
584				
585		appears to be		Di 131 quip'
586		overwhelming as if	Total LPI loss in	
587	Do 166	the endorphines	block Do 166	Qui
588		extend		Di 132 permettait de
589		their action		
590		to history		comprendre et
591				Di 133 l'anxiété
592		It's very odd by the		humaine
593		that Dodd should	Partial LPI loss	
594	Do 167	have been able	but acceptable	
595		to go		
595.5		so deep		
596				
596.5		into		
597		the Greek mind		
598	Do 168	which is in fact	loss of this	il est très
599		the		étonnant
600		Greek history		Di 134 de voir comment on
601				à fond
602		But	Good LPI	le

603		Greece, says	reproduction,	Di 135	l'esprit grec
604	Do 169	E R Dodd, has	the name of US		
605		a Bible nor			
606		a church			mais les
607					grecs n'ont ni une
607,5		and		Di 136	bible ni
608	Do 170	that's why Apollo			une
608,5			Total LPI loss		église
609	Do 171	vicar on earth of the	in Do 170-173		
609,5		heavenly father			
610					
610,5		came			
611	Do 172	to fill the gap			
612					
613		I			
614		have just quoted			
615	Do 173	a famous passage	Comprehension		
615,5		of that book	Block Do 172 and		
616					
616,5		of			
617	Do 174	course, the book			
618		mention the			
619					Bien entendu
619,5		<i>those</i>			le livre
620		<i>morphine like</i>		Di 137	ne mentionne pas
621	Do 175	<i>endogenously</i>			la fin de
622		<i>secreted</i>			l'histoire
622,5		<i>by</i>			
623		<i>the brain</i>			

To show what can be done with this methodology, I shall add a possible post mortem evaluation of the case.

POST MORTEM. We have here a case of pathology of comprehension. The interpreter, who was a student at a Brussels interpretation school, reveals in his Di a lack of understanding of the subject (a faulty K, see Definition 8) which might be due to lack of preparation. We can say that practically none of the LPIs

of Do blocks under scrutiny has been totally reproduced, and some have been entirely lost. This means that the equivalence-(3c) is not satisfied, or not entirely satisfied, and that, therefore, we cannot speak of translation. The interpreter does not know the name of the US historian E. R. Dodd and, therefore, he was unable to parse the acoustic input. This would be understandable if the interpreter had no time to prepare. This applies also to the chemical substance called "endorphins" and subsequent "morphines" that should have been heard but obviously the interpreter was by now too nervous (the complete analysis sheet shows from the very beginning this beginner's insecurity). This kind of failure creates a psychological state of insecurity which in turn reduces the interpreter's concentration capacity. This pathology should be given a name and a description, for example, psychological *destabilisation*, defined as *processing capacity reduction* caused by psychological insecurity caused in turn by LPI losses due to faulty K. Unfortunately, the stretch I present here is a case of a failure of translation, whereas other oscillographs offer more illuminating avenues (see Annex IV) of the cognitive strategies of interpreters forced to reproduce a flow of Linguistic Perceptions in a rapid fire of *speech acts* (*actes de parole, actos de habla*).

Annex I Definitions

- DEF.1: LPI LINGUISTIC PERCEPT AS INTENDED BY THE SPEAKER. What the speaker intends to say which s/he perceives in her/his inner speech. This is a "perception" and not a mere mental representation, not just a mere image, and that perception is the result of the speech act (the inner speech act, which is sometimes called "thinking").
- DEF.2: LPC LINGUISTIC PERCEPT AS COMPREHENDED BY THE INTERPRETER as representative of any hearer. What the hearer understands. This is also a "perception", i.e., it corresponds to something in the outside world, namely the speakers' intentionality including the object of same. I can dream images but I cannot dream perceptions. The linguistic perception is also called "comprehension", and it is easier to understand as the result of the cognitive comprehension process of the hearer (interpreter) but it also applies to the speaker who perceives what s/he wants to say as a comprehension result of her/his inner speech or inner speech act.
- DEF.3: X_m SURFACE STRUCTURE OF THE SIGN CHAIN USED IN THE SPEECH ACT. Surface structure is a Chomskyan term, referring, as here, to the syntactical and lexical structure of the sign chain. A sign chain has a given structure X_m, or X_n, X_p, etc.

- DEF.4: S_m SEMANTIC POTENTIAL OF THE SIGN CHAIN USED IN THE SPEECH ACT. This is a new concept which refers to the meaning of words and sentences in the dictionary as different from the meaning meant and understood by speakers in real life situations (*speech acts* (*actes de parole, actos de habla*)), i.e., the Linguistic Percepts defined in Definitions 1 and 2. The semantic potential is defined in GTT as a cluster of possible significations around a semantic nucleus. It can be S_m or S_n , S_p , etc.
- DEF.5: F_o LINGUISTIC UNIT USED IN THE SPEECH ACT D_o . The actual sign chain used in a real situation, that is, in a speech act. We write F_o for an actual sign chain used in the speech act D_o . We specify the structure of the F_o by writing $F_o(X_m, S_m)$ which refers to a certain sign chain F_o with a certain surface structure X_m and a certain semantic potential S_m . The GTT sees the F_o as the sign chain actually used in a real speech act, and, therefore, it is no longer a mere linguistic sign chain but a linguistic space permeated by the Linguistic Perception produced by the cognitive process of comprehension. If you want to invent a sign chain to make a point of grammar, this is not an F_o , just a linguistic sign chain. The GTT postulates that it is possible to make a difference at the analytical level, if not in reality, between the "aspect" (or "moment") where the Linguistic Percept as Comprehended (F Space) is produced and the "aspect" (or "moment") of the $F_o(X_m, S_m)$ (F Space). Once you have comprehended, your perception impregnates your F Space, that is, the $F_o(X_m, S_m)$. You can analytically separate both Spaces, F and F , but in reality they are always fused together in the totality of the speech act.
- DEF.6: L SIGN SYSTEM. What people call sometimes "Language" in English and "la langue" in Saussure's French. It is written as an exponent affecting X_m (X_m^L) because it is a virtual or potential system -- not a fact or an activity-- of which X_m is an actualisation.
- DEF.7: H SEMANTIC SYSTEM. The semantic system of a given language. It is written as an exponent affecting S_m (S_m^H) because it is a virtual or potential system, not a fact or an action.
- DEF.8: K KNOWLEDGE BASE (including systems of thought and "discursive formations"). The knowledge that the interpreter is supposed to share with the speaker and her/his clients. It is written as an exponent affecting Linguistic Perceptions because it is a virtual or potential system, not an actual fact or an activity or action.
- DEF.9: P BELIEFS, NORMS, PRACTICES. It includes all norms or rules which more or less subconsciously influence or govern the behaviour of social actors in *speech acts* (*actes de parole, actos de habla*) (see

Annex II), and whose more or less conscious knowledge is necessary to understand speakers (for example, rhetorical models to organise sentences and speeches, *modus dicendi*, types and registers) and also includes beliefs necessary to understand meanings meant by speakers (Searle 83). It, therefore, includes cultural aspects (cultural otherness) and social practices, lifestyles, etc. It is written as the exponent P affecting the situation Gtn (Gtn^P) because it is a virtual system, not a fact or an action.

DEF.10: Gtn SOCIAL SITUATION (SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE SPEECH ACT).³⁸ The social situation includes a time t_n and a space (a room) but also the social relationships uniting or separating speakers and everything that has been going on. It is like a scene of an act in a drama.

Annex II

The Language Production Room

Imitating Plato's myths and Searle's Chinese Room³⁹, let us enter into this particular planet, Adonais. In this planet, if you want to say something, that is, if

38 GTT, as published in García-Landa (1990), is a very shortened version of the whole theory (as yet unpublished). The long version contains more definitions, among them one for psychological factors which might affect the production/comprehension of Linguistic Perceptions and another for prosody and stress phenomena.

39 Searle (1980 and 1984), in his virulent attacks against Artificial Intelligence, tries to prove that a computer program is not able, at present, to understand semantically (that is, have perceptions), it can only proceed in a syntactical way. To make his point visible, Searle imagines the myth of the Chinese Room: A man is in a small room with two small windows; through one of them, he gets Chinese symbols and he has a look-up list, which functions as a dictionary of strict equivalence, which allows him to choose one English symbol equivalent to the Chinese symbol coming in through the small window; once he has chosen that English symbol he puts it through the other window. In this way, this man works like a computer, he does not understand Chinese, he has no idea (no perception) of what the symbols mean, but he can proceed syntactically. This also works as a model of transliteration. A critic of the Chinese Room, Harnad (1989), puts it in the following way: "*Searle formulates the problem as follows: Is the mind a computer program? Or, more specifically, if a computer program can simulate ... activities of ours that seem to require understanding (such as communicating in language), can the program itself be said to understand in so doing? Searle's argument is based on a very simple "simulation" of his own: First, suppose there is a computer program that can simulate the understanding of Chinese by examining all the Chinese*

you want to talk, you have to enter the Language Production Room. This Room has a peculiarity, namely its floor and ceiling and four walls are built with a substance which is composed of a mixture of three virtual systems, one is the sign system used in Adonais, the second one is the Encyclopedia of Knowledge and Discursive Formations of that planet, and the third is all the rules of social behavior and social use of language which are in force in Adonais. And the funny thing is that all those three systems produce a social electromagnetic field which creates a series of orbits within the Room's space in such a way that when you want to talk you can only use the sentences (sign chains) that are allowed in that orbit network produced by that social electromagnetic field. Worse still, you can only move in those predetermined orbits, you can only gesticulate in them, even the facial expressions, ways of looking, smiles, hand movements, etc., are only those defined by those orbits. This imposes on every speaker a set of restrictions and constraints which we would consider intolerable in our democratic planet but which the people living in Adonais consider perfectly normal because they are born there and they have internalized those conditions since the very first day of their existence. Children abandoned at birth and who grow in the wild are later on incapable of entering that Room. (Because the secret of that Room is that it does not only apply to Language but to every social behavior in Adonais and in fact all social behavior is language behavior). All those constraints turn out to be very useful in the end because they allow comprehension and real communication between speakers and social actors generally. It is because everybody has to live in that network of orbits created by the social electromagnetic field of the three virtual systems –and they are called "virtual" because nobody sees them nor the network, they just act in it because

symbols it receives as input and consulting an internal look-up table that indicates what symbols it should send back as output. If such a program could perform (one might say dissimulate) very well -- well enough, let's suppose, to convince a Chinese speaker at a teletype terminal that he was telecommunicating with another Chinese speaker rather than with a machine -- it would have passed "Turing's Test" (Turing 1964). According to that test, we should stop denying that a machine is "really" doing the same thing a person is doing if we can no longer tell their performances apart. That is, if a person does understand Chinese, and the machine performs so well that we can't tell whether or not it's a person, then the machine must understand Chinese too. Now Searle "simulates" the simulation: Suppose that, instead of a computer program, Searle himself (who understands no Chinese) receives the Chinese symbols, does the look-ups in the table, and sends back the requisite output symbols. Since Searle obviously would not be understanding Chinese under those circumstances, neither could the computer simulation he was "simulating" have been. And neither, by extrapolation, could any computer simulation of anything. So much for the Turing Test, and the mind as a computer program."

there is no other way of acting-- that everybody "understands" what others are trying to say and do, what they mean with their smiles and their words. This is the very condition of understanding. People on Adonais, adionysiaks as they are called, understand each other, not because they understand the mind of others but because they share a common orbit network created by a powerful social field produced by three virtual systems. The meaning is not in the mind, it is not a psychological event but an open social fact. It is as if all adionysiaks did was to produce a set of hieroglyphs easily read by others in the Social Production Room. Let's face it, for that is what it is.

Annex III

The "Innocent" Description of the activity of SI⁴⁰

Sitting next to his or her boothmate, an interpreter who works in simultaneous mode has but little time to reconstitute what the speaker is saying in another language. All simultaneous interpreters would confirm that what they are repeating is not the speaker's words, like mere parrots might do, but what the speaker is actually saying, the ideas. In order to do so, simultaneous interpreters obviously need to understand what the speaker is saying, and to do that, the prerequisite is fully understanding the speaker's language, as it is commonly spoken. It is not enough for the interpreter to be acquainted with the language in its written form, as might be the case with a philologist. Real life knowledge of the spoken language is required, and that is why the best interpreters are those who have spent several years in the country of the speaker's language. It is furthermore necessary for the interpreter to have some knowledge of the field or the subject the speaker is referring to.

The most significant factor, however, is that simultaneous interpreters work under strong time pressure. They have but a few seconds before they must repeat in their own language the ideas the speaker has just put across in his. It frequently happens that the speaker puts an idea across in some 300 milliseconds and that the interpreter has about the same amount of time to convey that idea before the next one comes along at the same speed. Sometimes while the interpreter is still uttering the previous idea, s/he is already memorising the next one spoken by the speaker. In any event, the interpreter needs to concentrate totally and intensely on what the speaker is saying, while at the same time the interpreter produces his/her own speech in his working language, reproducing the ideas s/he has understood or believes to have understood.

40 This is a text written by a professional interpreter who has not wasted his time reading theories of interpretation or of translation. He is, therefore, innocent of any theory.

Due to this intense state of concentration, interpreters are unable to work for more than an hour without resting at least a few minutes. In Europe, interpreters working in simultaneous mode work and rest in half-hour shifts. This time pressure we mentioned is not constant in quality. Sometimes the speaker hesitates, pauses (or repeats himself) and this gives the interpreter a small break during which s/he can have a thought of her/his own or exchange a couple of sentences with her/his boothmate. Sometimes s/he is even able to think about what s/he just said into the microphone and criticise the way s/he said it. Because there are always at least two interpreters in the booth, the one who is not working has a chance to observe the process of interpretation in her/his colleague, observing how the speaker's words and ideas are being rendered by their colleague. This process is somehow foreseeable because quite often the colleague who is not working can quickly write a word which s/he knows is going to be needed in the next milliseconds by the colleague working.

There are actually several different situations: A speaker in a small negotiating committee speaks differently from someone making a solemn speech. In general terms many interpreters would agree in saying that it is more difficult to interpret someone who is reading a speech than someone speaking extemporaneously. They would say that someone reading a speech is not "thinking" whereas someone improvising a speech has to "think" about what s/he is saying and how to put it into words... which is what everybody does when we speak.

Annex IV

This was a research project I organized in 1981 at the Audiology Department of Louvain-la-Neuve University with Professor Schneppe in which 11 interpreters (7 professionals and 4 students) were subjected to a prepared speech on European history (with some parts of a real Do) which contained a series of experimental traps. Some of these experimental traps were, for example: in the context of the French Revolution, the Do said deliberately "French Evolution" and all the interpreters, except one, translated by French '**R**evolution', which would tend to prove that we construct what we hear according to what we expect. Another trap is that all of a sudden the Do contained lists of isolated words totally out of context and most of the 11 interpreters had less difficulty in reproducing them than expected. Both Do and Di were recorded in a liquid-jet oscillograph but, on top of that, we wired the interpreters for several neuro-physiological reactions, like brain irrigation of both hemispheres, two cardiac reactions, lie detector reaction in a hand palm, (which reveals the interpreter's "external" excitement level), respiratory curves and eye movement curves. The project's final objective was to see whether there were any detectable physical

reactions at the moments when the supposed comprehension reaction would take place, and this detectability was the very first object of the exercise. The project was interrupted for lack of funds but all 11 recordings were made and I still have them, together with the first analysis which revealed many interesting things about what happens in the black box of SI. I was, and still am, convinced that this method is extremely interesting. One of the provisional results, for example, is the discovery that there are two types of excitement or nervousness: the external agitation of the students as revealed by the detector-lie curve, and the deep brain activity of the professionals, who were calm at the detector-lie level but whose brain irrigation curves (there were actually derivatives of the first curve) showed a lot of cerebral activity. Students showed less activity at this brain level. And of course the principal provisional result is the one which should appear in the column of comments on the relation Di-Do: Here you can see the main activity of the black box, i.e., you see what decisions the interpreter is taking in the very short time at his/her disposal. We "see" sometimes the strategies of the interpreter, how and why s/he decides to put on hold a certain Linguistic Percept as Intended (LPIo) which s/he has transformed into an LPCi waiting for an opportunity some seconds later to place it in a different Di block. We "see" how subconsciously, with the innocent spontaneity of a speaker (without knowing any theory about what s/he is doing) the interpreter takes advantage of the peculiarity of human language which allows the expressing of the same LP (Linguistic Percept) in several ways,⁴¹ sometimes with longwinded sign chains (Fo and Fi), other times with very short ones, a circumstance that the GTT clearly expresses by defining it as the relationship between Fo and L (LPIo) = (Gtn) = (LPCo), id est:

$$F_o / PLC_o = (Gtn) = PLC_o$$

41 That is Sartre's vision of language, the principle of repeatability:

Et pareillement la signification d'une mélodie -si on peut encore parler de signification- n'est rien en dehors de la mélodie même, à la différence des idées qu'on peut rendre adéquatement de plusieurs manières. (Sartre 1948)

Ricoeur (1976: 16) "repeats" this idea in this way: "Because the sense of a sentence is, so to speak, 'external' to the sentence, it can be transferred; this exteriority of discourse to itself - which is synonymous with the self-transcendence of the event to its meaning - opens discourse to the other. The message has the ground of its communicability in the structure of its meaning". Gile (1995: 52) puts it this way:

If different sentences can correspond to the same Message, and if this is applicable in both the source language and the target language, then in translation, different sentences in the target language may reflect the same Message as the one initially generated in the source language (emphasis in the original).

We "see" why those decisions are taken, we "see" the problem that the interpreter has to solve and how s/he solves it. We "see" why the interpreter sometimes fails and in what way. I imagine that this kind of analysis could be presented in slide form at international conferences on translation science. Also, this method would be adequate for judging interpretation students performance at exams. By the way, in this provisional examination there were no discernible traces of any correlation between neuro-physiological reaction and comprehension (percept production).

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NON NOVA, SED NOVE

By

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In the course of a recent review of the literature on conference interpretation over the last decade I was particularly struck by the amount of disagreement which exists among theoreticians, among teachers and even among practising interpreters. No doubt such differences of opinion exist in every field and no doubt they are, if not exactly welcomed, at least accepted as a necessary evil: if there were full agreement about everything, there would be no progress. But disagreement can be carried to the point where it becomes harmful – where it leads to wars of religion and personal hostilities. And this is unfortunately, I think, what is happening in our profession.

I would like in this article, first, to analyse, in as dispassionate and impartial a fashion as possible, one of the most contentious issues in each of three areas: theory, teaching and practice. These are:

- 1) Theory: The question of whether or not deverbalisation exists (to my mind the most contentious issue)
- 2) Teaching: The student selection process, where selection is permitted (this being, to judge from literature, the most controversial issue)
- 3) Practice: The question of whether simultaneous interpretation into the B language should be fostered or discouraged (this as I see is the issue with the greatest implications for the future of the profession)

On the basis of this analysis I would then like to make some suggestions, for what they are worth, as to how each of these issues might be resolved.

The fact that the literature is so long on back-biting and distortion and so short on persuasive findings is surely due to the fact that all authors, experiment-minded or otherwise, are hard put to come up with proof. Translation science is not one of the exact sciences and does not lend itself to their methods. In translation science, the let's-just-try-it-and-see-what-happens approach to experimentation is not appropriate, as even the most dyed-in-the-wool experimenters among us will admit. Gile himself describes the multifactorial nature of interpretation performance as a hindrance to experimental research (1990a: 35). Interpretation is a complex phenomenon; when the complexity is lost sight of in designing experiments, selecting methods and evaluating results

– as I believe it was in some of the experiments that have been done to date – the conclusions are bound to be erroneous or incomplete. Furthermore, there is, as Gile also points out (1990b: 227), a severe shortage of subjects willing to participate in such studies, so that statistical studies, where they are possible in the first place, cannot be very meaningful.

I therefore believe that the only answer is "ecumenical" cooperation. What is needed is a joint effort on the part of everyone involved to develop experimental models and evaluation criteria which all can accept and use. Only in this way will it be possible to compare and exchange results, this in turn being the only way at least partly to compensate for the lack of large statistical series.

1. Deverbalisation: Fact or Fiction?

Analysis

The "théorie du sens" developed in the latter part of the 1970s by Seleskovitch (1975, 1978: 333-341) and Lederer (1981a) and its linchpin, deverbalisation, were immediately challenged by a number of colleagues. The main objection to the theory was and is that the authors failed, in the opinion of their critics, conclusively to prove it. Seleskovitch and Lederer had in fact supported their hypotheses with a number of recorded interpretations, but their critics apparently did not feel that the recordings constituted sufficient proof.

And this is where the matter still stands today, as neither the authors nor those who subsequently adopted their theory have been able to devise other methods of proving to the satisfaction of the sceptics that deverbalisation does in fact occur. The only thing that has changed is the terminology: Seleskovitch (1975, 1978: 333-341) and Lederer (1981a) referred in their early work to deverbalisation but in later publications (1981b) they have tended to use the term "conceptualisation" instead. They have never explained why they changed the terminology, so there is no telling whether the change was stylistic and/or semantic or whether the use of a more conventional term was simply an attempt to defuse criticism (which it didn't).

There is thus still violent disagreement over the "théorie du sens", at least partly because, although no one has ever proved it, in the view of its critics no one has ever disproved it either. One suspects (though this is really neither here nor there) that the failure to disprove it is due to the same causes as the failure to prove it.

To overcome the standoff and resolve the underlying issue, what is needed is, I think, a closer look at the concepts used by those who support and those who oppose the theory, to see to what extent the two are in fact at cross purposes. All theoreticians, including the opponents of the "théorie du sens", acknowledge

that cognitive analysis is necessary in interpretation. How does it differ from deverbalisation/conceptualisation? As I understand it deverbalisation/conceptualisation is simply cognitive analysis carried to completion – the same concept, but more thorough. Indeed, there is no indication in the literature of how far cognitive analysis should go. Reference is always to "a certain" cognitive analysis of unspecified depth. As Gile (1990a: 33) puts it: "Seleskovitch's idea (1975) that a deverbalization stage occurs somewhere between the perception of the original speech and the reformulation of its 'message' into the target language by the interpreter (a stage at which only the 'meaning' remains in the interpreter's mind without any trace of its linguistic vehicle) is far from proven, however it does lead teachers to instruct students to move away from the linguistic structure of the source language speech and reformulate the ideas it contains in their own words, thus forcing them to analyse the speech and making them adapt their own speech to the listeners". If the critics of the "théorie du sens" were to spell out how far cognitive analysis should go, then a more objective discussion of the difference between the two concepts should be possible.

Furthermore, determination of the quantitative difference between the two concepts would no doubt make it easier to discuss the remaining differences of opinion, including the objection often made that the "théorie du sens" unduly neglects language-pair aspects, which the critics consider essential. In the view of those who hold with the "théorie du sens", on the other hand, deverbalisation makes language-pair aspects irrelevant. It would seem, in fact, that most of the disagreement on the subject of the "théorie du sens" boils down to a fundamental difference of opinion as to the depth of cognitive analysis.

Suggested research

My suggestion would be for the supporters and opponents of the "théorie du sens" jointly to work out a method for determining the depth of cognitive analysis needed for high-quality interpretation. It will then be possible to see what degree of cognitive analysis separates the two schools of thought, and on that basis better to understand the difference in approach with respect to language-pair aspects.

2. Student selection

Most teachers of interpretation feel that some selection is needed in order to keep groups of students at least moderately homogeneous. Selection procedures differ from one school to another – some schools being undergraduate, some

postgraduate, and the legal situation varying according to country. Selection is either official, by means of aptitude tests or probationary courses (Weber 1989: 161-166), or else informal, by means of student counselling (Neff 1989: 127).

There is disagreement on how to design the aptitude tests in such a way as to minimise the number of inappropriate admissions and rejections.

D. and M. Bowen (1989: 109-125) and Renfer (1992: 173-184) advocate a written translation exam alone or in combination with an oral examination. Harris (1992: 259-268), on the other hand, reports (without further explanation) that his school will henceforth not be requiring such an aptitude test.

There is likewise a lack of consensus on the design of the oral examination. The basic disagreement here is over the ability of a "shadowing" test to predict outcomes. Moser (1983: 318-325), Longley (1989: 105-108) and Harris (1992: 259-268) recommend "shadowing", whereas others reject it – Seleskovitch and Lederer (1989), Thiéry (1989: 3-5) and Van Dam (1990: 5-6) on grounds that it is inconsistent with what is being tested and Kurz (1992: 245-250) with reference to the findings of neuro-psychological research.

The striking thing about student selection, apart from the degree of disagreement on the subject, is that there is no statistical data measuring the efficiency of the test(s) described; and this despite the fact that it should not be too difficult to establish such statistics and that they would be meaningful even when based on small series. It may well be that the various schools have such statistics but are not publishing them for fear that a comparison of schools based on such statistics would be distorted by differences of level, duration and intensity of training and differences of evaluation criteria used in exams. I think however that it would be instructive if individual schools were to report, along with the particulars of their selection procedures and training courses – level, duration, intensity of instruction – the success rates at their entrance, final and any intermediate exams. This would show how well targeted each school's selection procedures are, at least by that school's own standards, and would give at least some indication of the risk of false negative results associated with that particular entrance test.

Suggested research

I suggest that those schools which are interested in a statistical comparison of entrance and final exam results should exchange data and perhaps go on from there to make a joint effort to improve their selection procedures. I think this kind of cooperation would be beneficial not only to the schools themselves but also to those giving the entrance tests in that it would enable them better to judge and counsel applicants.

3. Simultaneous interpretation into the B language

Analysis

The practice of simultaneous interpretation into the B language is widespread and some schools teach it. I think, however, that it poses a question of fundamental importance: is the trend toward interpretation into B helping or hurting the profession?

Different authors give different answers to this question. Feldweg (1989: 199) feels that interpretation into B is acceptable, especially into English with its high proportion of users who are non native speakers. "An English audience is very tolerant", says Feldweg (1989: 199). Snelling (1989: 141-142) and Stenzl (1989: 23-26) even consider that the practice is a service rendered to customers: "the interpreter has to be aware of the lowest common denominator of linguistic comprehension", says Snelling (1989: 142) for example. I myself on the other hand tend to feel that by taking this tack we are digging our own graves since lowest-common-denominator conference English is something virtually anyone can manage without our help. The trend at a growing number of conferences is to provide interpretation into English only or not at all; and I wonder if this is not a result of our own ill-advised actions (Déjean le Féal 1990: 154-160).

One's approach to interpretation into the B language will of course depend on how one feels about the loss of quality it entails. And here again there is a wide difference of opinion as published in the literature. All authors, with the exception of Denissenko (1989: 155-157), consider the quality of simultaneous interpretation into B to be lower than that of interpretation into A, but there is no agreement about how much lower it is, or how low is too low. Salevsky (1983), Dalitz (1983: 157-162), Cartellieri (1985: 252-254), Ilg (1989: 200), Stenzl (1989: 23-26), Snelling (1992) and Giambagli (1993: 81-93), for example, see the loss of quality as perfectly acceptable, whereas Seleskovitch/Lederer (1989), Thiéry (1989: 199) and Déjean le Féal (1981: 380-403) consider it so serious as to warrant inflicting the practice on users only when it cannot be avoided (as when the language is one that is rarely used in conferences so that interpreters into A do not exist).

Probably the reason opinion is so divided on the subject is that so few studies have been done to measure differences of quality of interpretation into A and into B, and to gauge how sensitive users are to these differences. The survey of users' expectations recently commissioned by AIIC hardly touched on the issue and the only research on the subject to date are studies by Pöchhacker (1995: 73-90) on prosodic and rhetorical aspects and Giambagli (1993: 81-93) on a number of lexicographic and syntactic points. Both authors, it should be noted, confirmed that quality differences exist with respect to the aspects they were studying.

Suggested research

Further studies are needed on potential loss of quality with respect to comprehensiveness, clarity and style. Cooperative studies would be useful here since, in view of the dearth of colleagues willing to participate in studies of this type (as pointed out by Gile 1990b: 227), they would enable us to obtain more reliable results in a shorter period of time.

At the same time it would be interesting to do a survey of users of a broad range of languages on both the institutional and the private market, to determine whether tolerance of interpretation into B does indeed differ from one language to another. A survey could also show whether the trend for interpretation to be considered as a luxury rather than as a necessity, especially on the private market where English is increasingly used as a lingua franca, does or does not increase the need for quality (Déjean le Féal 1996: 24-29).

Only when we are in a position to measure actual and perceived loss of quality of interpretation into B will we be in a position to judge whether the practice is beneficial or harmful to the profession. Belts are being tightened in many if not most countries and organisations, and the market is shrinking. We need to think about how to shore up our profession and avoid unnecessarily putting it at risk.

In conclusion I would again stress that my suggestions are made with a view to converting destructive conflict into constructive cooperation. At a time when we depend on each other more than ever we must work together to protect our profession from the effects of circumstances we cannot control.

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THE CASE FOR AN INSTITUTION-SPECIFIC COMPONENT IN INTERPRETING RESEARCH

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Freelance Interpreter, European Parliament

1. Introduction

Referring briefly to two recent product-oriented approaches to the study of interpreting (often referred to in literature as *Interpretation Research and Theory*, IRT) this paper will argue that they leave some scope for a further line of research, namely the systematic description of the institutional settings in which interpreting occurs, and the analysis of the way in which patterns of interaction within specific institutions, including prevailing text types and rhetorical purposes, affect the interpreting performance. Considerable attention has been devoted to interpreting in specific settings, such as courts of law, broadcast events, and situations involving immigrant communities (Berk-Seligson 1990, Alexieva 1997 and Carr *et al.* 1997 are examples of contributions in these fields); similarly, attempts have been made to establish typologies of conferences, speeches or speakers (see Pöchhacker 1994, ch. 4), or at least to make explicit the typologies intuitively adopted by practitioners or instructors, such as the one in Namy (1978).

The term 'institution' is used in this paper in a broad sense, to cover both

- a) the term's specialized meaning in sociology, subsequently adopted by some text linguists (see Renkema 1986: 219), referring to any organized human activity which is instrumental in establishing and upholding a society, or which is characteristic thereof. Institutions in this sense of the term, such as 'family' 'the law', 'education', 'health care' or 'politics' are crucial in establishing and maintaining the 'culture' referred to in expressions such as 'source culture' and 'target culture', now technical terms in translation studies;
- b) a meaning closer to that used in lay discourse, encompassing the individual organizational forms through which institutions are realized in different societies.

'Organization' would also seem an appropriate term for the (b) meaning. However, using 'institution' in both (a) and (b) reflects the fact that we are dealing here with two levels of generalization of the same issue: some of the norms regulating communication and interaction will be common to the institution 'law' or 'politics' in a relatively large cultural space, for instance the

industrialized world, whereas others will be specific to the way law and politics are realized in more limited environments, such as individual countries or a group of countries.

Pursuing this distinction, it may be desirable to investigate how the institutional setting affects the patterns of communication and in turn the interpreting performance for example in a court of law compared to a political negotiation;¹ this amounts therefore to asking how institutions in the sense sub (a) place different constraints and expectations on interpreting.

Existing research on court or community interpreting provides insight into the impact on interpreting of patterns of communication within institutions such as 'the law', 'administration', 'the media' or 'health care'; collating existing works could allow a comparative overview. It is striking, however, that no comparable attention has been directed towards interpreting within the institution 'politics', apart from anecdotal references to the by now commonplace subtleties and pitfalls of diplomatic language (as in Herbert 1978).

If a systematic appraisal of the features of the institution 'politics' is attempted, a heading such as 'political negotiation'² soon appears to be too broad to account for specific organizational and cultural constraints on interpreting; even within the limited scope of international relations in Europe, institutions such as those of the European Union, the Council of Europe, NATO or the OSCE display a wide range of statutory goals, memberships and organizational setups. Their impact on patterns of communication, on prevailing language functions and text types and in turn on interpreting (to which all of the cited organizations resort to some extent) deserves a more detailed and systematic analysis. Research seems therefore to be needed into the extent to which the specific organization and underlying cultural assumptions of institutions in the sense sub (b) put varying constraints on interpreting.

The above amounts to asking what constraints are put onto interpreting in a Common Law court compared to a continental one or an international tribunal, or, still within 'politics', in a meeting of GATT negotiators compared to a session of the Council of Ministers of the EU. The underlying assumption that

1 Whereas it may obtain when cognitive processes are concerned, the usual distinction between conference- and other modes of interpreting would not be relevant in such a research.

2 The notion of 'political speech', which is often used to introduce drill or exam material to student interpreters, seems equally ambiguous. The argument that this term is frequently used in discourse analysis does not hold here, as discourse analysts mostly apply it to a precisely delimited context, i.e. texts addressed by politicians to lay audiences (in the study of political propaganda) or to other politicians *in the presence of an audience*, e.g. in television debates (see Livolsi-Volli 1995 for recent Italian examples).

specific institutional features *do* in fact pose different constraints on interpreting is warranted by the fact that

- variation in text production has long been related to contextual features such as register and text type within systemic-functional linguistics;³
- it is a productive hypothesis of descriptive translation studies that the system of cultural assumptions in which a translation is generated imposes conventions, norms, or indeed a *patronage*, on the output of translation.⁴

By analogy, the fact that interpreting is (a type of) text production and an act of Translation allows us to assume that contextual features, especially inasmuch as they are recurrent and institutionalized, do have some impact on interpreting. However, it is more interesting for IRT scholars to ask whether the impact of such differences in context is *far reaching enough*⁵ to justify practical measures such as specialized or separate (in-house) training, or ad hoc recruitment procedures and evaluation criteria, as well as the suggestion of specific coping strategies to students and practitioners. Gile (1995a: 8) argues⁶ for the hardly questionable need to optimize training programmes. Practical proposals for training optimization can however only be made on the basis of a systematic stocktaking of the distinctive features of conference interpreting as realized under different institutional setups.

Pending a larger-scale project, the last section of this paper will sketch a preliminary, experience-based description of the setting of interpreting at the

3 See Hatim - Mason 1990, ch. 3-5, for a discussion of the notion of 'context' as relevant to translation studies.

4 See for an extreme example Lefevre's well known discussion of the 'neutralized' German translation of Anne Frank's Diary (1992: ch. 5). Schjoldager (1995: 42) argues for the possibility of "applying the concept of norms as a methodological tool to interpreting research", echoing those scholars collectively designated as the 'Manipulation School' of translation studies.

5 The profession is laden with intuitive assumptions to the effect that "working at [institutional setting *x*] is easier/more difficult/requires more/less preparation than working for [institutional setting *y*]". A legitimate aim of IRT seems then to try and corroborate or confound such assumptions in a rational way.

6 Gile's point of departure is an admittedly general comparison of in-house, on-the-job training as opposed to formal university training. Recent experience with the in-house training of Finnish and Swedish interpreters at the European Union institutions points out that there is room for optimization in in-house training too, at least if one has to judge by the results: Sunnari suggests that the first months in the European institutions were, as could be expected in view of the enormous task they had to cope with, less than flattering for the Finnish newcomers:

The first reactions of the audience could perhaps be summarized in a comment made by one Finnish MEP after the first six months: "We did receive a lot of speech via our earphones, but it was not really Finnish" (Sunnari 1997: 88).

European Parliament (EP), one of the largest employers of conference interpreters for several European languages, and put forward tentative hypotheses and possible directions for research.

2. General and specific concepts in IRT

It is customary in IRT to trace back the beginnings of the discipline to the first didactic-anecdotal writings by practitioners in the fifties, e.g. the *Manuel de l'interprète* by J. Herbert of Geneva (1952). The interest in interpreting on the part of the 'hard science' community has progressed together with the increasing use after WWII of the obviously less 'natural' and more technology-dependent mode, simultaneous, which keeps attracting much scholarly attention, especially in the process-oriented approaches.

In passing, the tendency to isolate an historically determined form of language mediation may well have contributed to exaggerating its relative importance as an object of investigation (and possibly as a professional activity) compared to other less 'prestigious' modes of language mediation, bringing about a certain scholarly neglect of modes such as liaison and community interpreting; a similar view was put forward a.o. in a recent, thought-provoking paper by A. Pym (1997). Some dogmatic undertones in the *théorie du sens* (Seleskovitch 1975) as noted by Gile (1990) suggest an assumption on the part of the author(s) that the professional attitudes and practices of high-level conference interpreters were to become *a priori* models, regardless of differences in language pair or setting.

The body of concepts and models that have emerged so far within IRT can be divided into two main layers:

- concepts which are general enough to be applicable to all modes of interpreting (and possibly translation) regardless of the language pair involved;
- concepts, models and interpreting strategies that are specifically relevant to a language pair or mode of interpretation.⁷

Research in the 'upper' layer of IRT has tried to model the process of (simultaneous) interpreting in various ways; well known, and competitive,⁸

⁷ The interplay of general and specific concepts in IRT suggests the didactic metaphor of a Russian doll, a *matrioska* with successive smaller-scale components appearing once the main one, the global model, is opened. As the dolls become smaller, it takes an ever closer look, or a more refined observation of empirical reality, to perceive differences in the dolls' decoration.

⁸ Gile's critical remarks on the *théorie du sens* (1990) are largely of an epistemological nature and are addressed at unwarranted corollaries of the theory, such as the (claimed) totally language-independent nature of SI; the theory's main tenet, *deverbalization*,

global models have been exemplified by Seleskovitch's *théorie du sens*, centered on a notion of deep, *deverbalized* meaning, and Gile's *modèle d'effort*, focussed on the 'cost' of the various components in the interpreting process in terms of processing capacity.

In the 'lower' layer,⁹ scholars have been specifically investigating interpreting in different contexts. Various distinctive dimensions have been studied: they include, as seen above, some of the individual situations where interpreting takes place, or concepts specific to a single mode of interpretation, i.e. simultaneous vs. consecutive (with a focus on memory and note-taking techniques) vs. other, non-conference modes. The language pair involved also appears to be a major determinant; substantial work has been done on transfer problems and strategies for (simultaneous) interpreting between individual language pairs: examples include the long-standing issue of how to cope with syntactical features of German (see for example Wills 1978) or the strategies suggested by Snelling for Romance languages into English (1992). Gringiani and Ross (both 1994) discussed actual and potential interpreting strategies for a pair of 'lesser-used' languages such as Dutch and Italian, whereas F. Straniero Sergio (1995), also in Trieste, has investigated, and argued for, training language-pair specific "transfer competence". Alexieva (1992) showed the productivity of comparing the cognitive mapping models according to which metaphorical and metonymic reference is produced across languages, enlarging the focus of language-specific research from contrastive morphology and syntax to semantics.

3. The 'external' contribution

Apart from general and specific concepts generated within IRT, one could identify a layer of concepts and methods generated in other disciplines such as translation studies, linguistics, neurology, psychology, the cognitive sciences, and subsequently used by interpreting scholars to account for some general aspects of the interpreting (and translating) activity. The focus at Trieste¹⁰ on

is in itself useful as a normative, didactic statement; it does not however warrant empirical conclusions as to *what actually happens* in the interpreter's mind.

9 'Lower' is of course referred here to a scale ranging from 'general/abstract' to 'specific/concrete', and by no means implies a hierarchy of scientific soundness.

10 Resuming a tradition dating back to the seventies, research on the neurophysiology of simultaneous interpreting was revived around 1985 in Trieste when SSLMIT staff began to cooperate with faculty members from medical departments. The results, as expounded in Gran (1992), include:

the neurophysiology of the interpreting process is an example of this productive 'import' of concepts and tools from other disciplines into a process-oriented approach.

The use of methods and concepts from distinct fields of research may be illustrated, without any claim to exhaustiveness, by two recent approaches centered on the product of simultaneous interpreting (SI) rather than the process. They are

- the use of concepts drawn from text linguistics in the analysis of source and target texts;
- the approach to interpreting from within a specific school of thought in translation studies, i.e. the *skopos* theory.

By analogy with early studies of written translation in the fifties and sixties, one could have expected early writings in IRT to be heavily influenced by structural contrastive linguistics, i.e. by the assumption that the main issue in interpreting was overcoming asymmetries between language systems, finding structural equivalents despite the varying syntactical and semantic organization of different languages (Hatim - Mason 1990: 21-35). Instead, the first influential 'school of thought' to emerge in IRT, the one centered at the Paris ESIT, was adamant in rejecting a structural linguistic approach to interpreting, and centered its *théorie du sens* on the all-pervading albeit empirically questionable concept of *deverbalized* meaning. Recent language-pair-specific works may effectively be claimed as the rediscovery of an otherwise neglected field of enquiry. As Straniero Sergio puts it:

The study of SI, focussing almost exclusively on the language-independent dimension, has long been marred by subjectivity and psychologism. Models put forward in this way are still lacking any feedback whatsoever from actual translational practice (1995: 33, my translation).

In fact, claiming that there is scope for a language-pair-specific, contrastive component in IRT and training seems absolutely justified, as long as this does

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- the study of interference between concurrent verbal and manual tasks confirmed SI as a complex cognitive activity, involving a deeper processing than, for example, the oral transcoding of isolated words;
 - subjects trained in SI were at first found to display less cerebral lateralization of language functions than non-polyglot, non-interpreter subjects. Today a less organic formulation is preferred, whereby SI is said to have an impact on subjects' cognitive and attentive strategies; i.e. training in SI increases involvement of both hemispheres in tasks which would otherwise be highly lateralized.

not result in rigid prescriptions that claim to be valid *a priori* across the board of registers, text types and communicative situations.

The lack of a solid footing in contrastive linguistics partly explains why, once the influence of the Paris school began to fade in the early eighties, IRT turned for inspiration to areas of the study of language more concerned with language-in-context, namely text linguistics and discourse analysis: concepts such as de Beaugrande and Dressler's *textuality* (1981) and their, or Halliday and Hasan's discussion of *cohesive devices* (1976) are by now familiar to interpreting scholars and, to the extent to which text analysis classes are a part of the training curriculum,¹¹ to the student interpreter.

The issue of cohesion is typical of how a concept drawn from a field other than IRT may then be used to analyze actual performances and formulate hypotheses concerning interpreting in general, as done by Shlesinger (1995a) for example.

Moving from the hypothesis that shifts in the distribution of cohesive devices from source to target texts occur in all forms of language mediation, Shlesinger examined the treatment of the 'standard' cohesive devices defined by Halliday and Hasan, such as reference, substitution, conjunction, reiteration and collocation, in one particular instance of SI. With all the caution imposed by the limited corpus, it may be said that the findings seem to substantiate the preliminary intuition (1995a: 195) that "texts hang on together differently after being interpreted"; the analysis showed that

- the target text displayed fewer occurrences of substitution and ellipsis, i.e. it tended to be more explicit, possibly beyond what would be expected in view of the conventions of the target language, thereby displaying a universal feature of *translationese* (Toury 1979, quoted in Shlesinger 1995a: 212);
- as far as devices of conjunction are concerned, omission was less frequent for causal and additive conjunctions than others such as temporal ones, possibly because the former are perceived as more crucial to the informative content of the text, or because they may be more easily retrieved by the interpreter from a cognitive *script* or *frame* matching the text type in question.

Shlesinger's study of cohesion exemplifies the necessary interaction between different layers of knowledge in IRT: hypotheses, or preliminary findings based on an external concept such as cohesion may be formulated independently from the language pair, mode or setting of interpreting, as in the case of the 'explicitation' hypothesis or the preference for maintaining causal rather than temporal conjunctions; however, the experimental setup or corpus will by

11 Elsewhere I submit that further insight into the goal-oriented structure of texts across sentence boundaries can be drawn from modern informal logic and other approaches to the study of argumentation in natural language (Marzocchi 1997, 1998).

definition involve a specific language pair and direction of translation (English into Hebrew, in Shlesinger's study), as well as a given text type and situational context. This inevitably raises the question of how 'universal' the findings are, or of the extent to which they are affected by variables such as language pair or mode (as suggested by Shlesinger herself concerning the explicitation hypothesis, 1995a: 201) and, as is argued here, by the overall communicative situation.¹²

Ascertaining a decline in the use of cohesive devices in the target text also raises the question of how acceptable this is, especially if it were to be shown convincingly that it amounts to a decline in the text's overall communicative 'quality', intuitively defined as the adequacy of textual means to communicative goals. This is tantamount to asking whether there is scope for a normative component in IRT, an issue which would deserve a (collection of) paper(s) on its own.¹³ It will only be noted in this context that examining the acceptability of an interpreting performance presupposes a context-specific approach, which should indicatively give consideration to (at least)

- subjectively elicited user needs and preferences, such as those discussed in Kurz (1993), *in conjunction with*¹⁴
- the communicative function of, or the purpose to be fulfilled by, the interpreted text, determined as objectively as possible.

A framework to analyze the product of interpreting under actual circumstances was put forward by Pöchhacker (1994, 1995), who in turn applied 'external' concepts drawn from the approach known as the *Skopostheorie* in translation studies.

12 Similarly, Gringiani (1994) admits that further research would be needed into the variability according to language, mode and setting of some of the SI strategies elicited in her case study, i.e. nominalization, preference for paratactic structures, reversed-order presentation of lists, conceptual generalization. A further issue is the extent to which each occurrence of these strategies is acceptable in view of its effect on the global 'quality' of the target text.

13 However, since most IRT scholars are at the same time trainers, they must have at least a normative intuition concerning what constitutes an acceptable performance. Significantly, Gile's case study on in-classroom 'fidelity' assessment (1995b) provides insight into the rather narrow notion of fidelity upheld by a group of students.

14 To avoid falling into a form of relativism sometimes found among practitioners, whereby customer satisfaction amounts to the sole parameter of judgement. This stance appears logically and ethically untenable as soon as one considers how conference participants may have widely diverging needs, goals and expectations as to the proceedings of any particular conference (see Gile 1995a: 28-31).

In this approach, translated texts are best to be analyzed, and evaluated, in terms of the extent to which they conform to the purpose, the intended function assigned to the target text in the (commissioned) act of translation. This function is in turn constrained by the norms and conventions imposed on parallel texts by the target culture, so that one of the key issues in analyzing a translated text or an interpreting performance becomes the amount of cultural transfer involved. When applied to a corpus of SI performance (as in Pöchhacker 1994 and 1995, SI at a conference on small business) this framework raises interesting issues such as

- how to explicit a *skopos* for interpreting performance (and, arguably, how to cope with conflicting purposes on the part of the conference organizers vs. the various actors in communication);
- the extent to which the known constraints of time, linearity and shared knowledge obtaining in SI allow for effective cultural transfer; and, if cultural transfer is at all possible
- how to define the target culture in the case of interpreter mediated events.

The extreme cases in this respect would be a totally heterogeneous audience on the one side, where participants' attitudes and expectations are entirely determined by their 'national' or 'linguistic' background or allegiance (*paraculture*), and on the other side an audience whose attitude and expectations concerning that individual communicative event are made homogeneous by their past interaction, shared education and expertise (*diaculture*), and common interest in achieving the immediate goal of the communicative event; in other words, 'national' culture would not be absent in the audience, but it would not be relevant to the conference goals. Those obviously being the poles of a *continuum*, the degree of cultural transfer needed would increase the closer an audience is to the heterogeneous - *diaculture* - pole. Since, as shown by Pöchhacker in the case of humour, successful adaptation to the target culture may involve segmenting the source text in large units, which is at odds with the constraints of time and linearity in SI, the need for cultural transfer would probably exceed the boundary of the interpreter's processing capacity very soon. This would make an instrumental translation, geared at obtaining equivalent effect, virtually impossible in culturally heterogeneous settings.

Suggesting a solution to this theoretical and practical paradox, Pöchhacker rightly points out that in a conference such as the one he analyzed, participants' attitudes may be more determined by their shared *diaculture* than by their respective national or linguistic identity.

This probably holds true for the majority of one-off or non-institutionalized conferences in the business and technical spheres where interpreting services are offered; however, it may be argued that interpreting also takes place in contexts, mainly in institution 'politics', whose very institutional goal, as proclaimed in

media and public information, is to have those national identities come to the fore, interact and be confronted with one another. Tentatively, in some settings within an institution such as the EP, 'national' culture may prevail over *diaculture* when deeply-felt issues are at stake, notwithstanding the fact that the *diaculture* governing some meetings comprises firmly rooted elements such as adherence to one and the same political family. This would partly explain the highly emotional debates *within* political groups in the EP on non-violence vs. military intervention for humanitarian goals, neutrality, or, more recently, repression vs. tolerance of soft drugs.¹⁵ At this stage, the idea of a prevailing national background in these instances will only be taken as pointing to the need for further detailed analysis of the contexts of interpreting, which is in line with past attempts at drawing up a typology of meetings. If substantiated, this hypothesis may also suggest a reassessment of the relationship between instrumental and documentary translational strategies (Pöchhacker 1995: 47): a documentary strategy may turn out to be a viable option in a context where cultural diversity is the very *raison d'être* of interaction.

4. Interpreting at the European Parliament: A Preliminary Appraisal

4.1. Some Facts and Figures

Before mentioning other aspects of interaction in the EP which could be investigated in terms of their impact on interpreting, some facts and figures may be appropriate. The service was established as a branch of the (then) Assembly's secretariat in 1971, and currently employs some 200 permanent staff interpreters,¹⁶ i.e. 15-20 per language division plus some planning and management staff, largely trained interpreters themselves. The share of free-lance interpreters in serviced meetings can be estimated at 2/3, with peaks during the monthly plenary part-session, where most language divisions would typically have on duty all of their staff members plus at least an equal number of free-lances. The list of accredited free-lance interpreters partly overlaps with that held by the SCIC, although free-lances who regularly work for the EP can be estimated at a couple of hundred. Although the SCIC can boast a much higher

15 Concerning the latter, on more than one occasion Swedish members faced, across political groups, their Dutch and German counterparts with arguments such as the desirability of a "drug-free society" and the "society's right to save the individual from self-destruction", countered by accusations of "lacking pragmatism" and striving towards an "*ethischer Staat*".

16 For comparison's sake, the European Commission's Interpreting Service (SCIC) employs over 400 staff interpreters, and draws from a list of some 1,600 accredited free-lances.

number of interpreter/days provided yearly, the EP Interpretation Directorate facilitates meetings with a wider coverage of the 11 official languages of the EU, including numerous meetings where all languages are covered by a team of 33 interpreters. Such meetings include the ordinary plenary assembly, held 11 or 12 times a year over 4 full days (plus 2 night sessions), additional plenaries 6 or 7 times a year for two half-days, and the 20 permanent committees, which usually meet for two-three days during one or two weeks every month (the actual frequency of individual committee meetings varies with the amount of legislative work pending).

These figures give an idea of the relative importance of the EP (and the EU institutions in general) as a purchaser of interpreting services. For some target languages and language pairs (Swedish into Greek, or Dutch into Italian for example) the EP Interpretation Directorate appears to be the largest or the second largest employer on a rather limited market. This is even more true of interpreters from one of the 'new' member States; as Sunnari vividly puts it

After the entry of three new member states, the Interpreting Services of both the European Parliament and the Commission had to find and recruit dozens of new interpreters, whose qualifications met their rather strict requirements [...]; in fact, there are now periods when *Finland is more or less cleaned out of experienced conference interpreters*. For example, the Parliament's monthly part-session in Strasbourg alone employs approximately 30 Finnish interpreters for one week. This figure can be placed in a better perspective with the earlier situation, when we remember that before the accession, there were about 20 active full-time or near full-time conference interpreters in Finland (1997: 87, my emphasis).

Even a cursory look at the importance of the EU institutions and the EP in particular as a user of interpreting services, together with the fact that the curricula of some teaching institutions are deliberately geared to cover the interpreting needs of international institutions such as the EP, reinforces the case for optimization of training programmes based on careful observation of specific settings.

4.2. Dominant interpreting modes

One aspect of interpreting at the EP which is common across types of meetings is the prevalence of SI: consecutive is seldom used, except at face-to-face meetings or social occasions involving individual MEPs (usually the President) and guests on official visits. Visits by committees or delegations to member- or third countries are an exception, in that speeches by (for example)

local authorities are usually interpreted consecutively into either English or French, or the committee chairperson's language, the other languages needed usually being covered by whispered interpretation. Some dialogue interpreting may also be needed on such occasions, for example at question-and-answer sessions.

During the last half of the previous 5-year term one French interpreter was actually 'seconded' for virtually all of his on-duty time to provide dialogue or consecutive interpreting on all occasions involving the (then) German President. However, that practice was discontinued once an MEP with different language abilities and needs took on the President's office, and dialogue interpreting on occasions involving the President is now provided on a case-by-case basis.

The non-SI assignments described above amount in any case to a minor fraction of an average interpreter's work; the dominant mode of work at the EP appears to be SI. It is striking, however, that in a situation where non-SI assignments, if at all present, comprise a roughly equal share of consecutive on one side and whispered¹⁷ and dialogue interpreting on the other side, the latter two modes seem to be neglected in both training¹⁸ and selection. Instead, both free-lance accreditation tests and open competitions for staff recruitment insist on a full, 'school-style' consecutive. The assumption seems to be that whispered interpretation is nothing more than SI without equipment, and that if interpreters are proficient in SI and consecutive, they will *a fortiori* be able to perform well in the occasional dialogue interpreting. In other words, it is assumed that no different skills are at work in the whispered and dialogue modes; whereas it could be argued that the low frequency of non-SI assignments does not justify investment in specific training or selection procedures, it is submitted here that in order to validate these assumptions, a deeper analysis of skills in non-conference modes is needed, especially as they are sometimes considered to make the interpreter's role much more visible and exposed to criticism than is the case in SI.¹⁹

17 Interpreters into less used languages are actually even less likely to work in consecutive, as they are usually expected to provide whispered interpretation in outside meetings where no SI equipment is available. It would be pointless to provide successive, full consecutive interpretations into Dutch, Portuguese and Italian of a speech given in Finnish by a local authority before MEPs who largely understand (some) English.

18 Training in dialogue interpreting has recently been introduced into the curriculum at SSLMIT in Trieste, for example.

19 This assumption may not be entirely warranted in a setting where individual interpreters have been known to their beneficiaries for years and sometimes decades.

As stated above, ordinary work at the EP means in essence SI at meetings of official bodies. Whereas non-SI assignments may involve working into one's B language, in ordinary SI settings the well-known 'mother tongue' principle is upheld; *retour* interpreting is restricted at the moment to Finnish interpreters, who render speeches by Finnish MEPs mostly into an English, German or French version to be relayed by other booths, where direct coverage of Finnish is virtually non-existent. However, use of *retour* may be expected to increase if the languages of the Central and Eastern European countries scheduled to begin accession negotiations with the EU are also to become working languages of the EP.

Relay is common: although most EP interpreters now work from at least 3-4 passive languages, it is almost impossible to dovetail individual language combinations so as to cover all languages in all booths.²⁰ Informal judgements on an interpreter's quality as *pivot* are an important factor of peer evaluation (in line with Gile's general observation in 1995a: 30) especially as - perhaps surprisingly - no formalized mechanism for quality assessment is in place. In addition, the demand for interpreters able to work from 'rare' languages²¹ is such that the language combination may actually be a key factor in choosing between two equally proficient interpreters, for example when hiring free-lancers. Together with the *retour* issue, the importance of an interpreter's performance as *pivot* argues for a closer look at the skills involved and the relevant translational

20 A state of affairs which sometimes gives rise to humorous misunderstandings in outside observers, men-in-the-street and respected members of academia alike; concluding a chapter devoted to *l'Union européenne et les langues*, D. Baggioni reports a rather peculiar view of relay:

Sans que cela soit dit, l'anglais sert le plus souvent de *lingua franca* intermédiaire entre les différentes autres langues européennes. La plupart du temps, c'est sur des versions anglaises non officielles que se font les traductions dans les dix autres langues, et les interprètes traduisant d'une "petite" langue vers une autre langue que l'anglais ont souvent la tentation de se brancher sur la version anglaise plutôt que de partir de l'original, énoncé dans une langue qu'ils comprennent mal ou pas du tout (Baggioni 1997: 357).

Leaving aside the many EP translators personally known to this writer as working directly from 'minor' languages, one pities the poor English interpreters, who cannot give in to the temptation *de se brancher sur la version anglaise* themselves, and are left alone to struggle with an original *qu'ils comprennent mal ou pas du tout*. Seriously, this shows that there is some need to elucidate how interpreting and translation are actually done in settings such as the European Union.

21 At the moment Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Portuguese, Greek and certainly Finnish are considered 'rare' languages for, say, an Italian interpreter. A demand for certain Slavic and Baltic languages as well as Hungarian might arise in the mid-term, depending on how accession negotiations with the relevant countries proceed.

strategies,²² including language-pair components specifically geared to work into a non-A language.

4.3. Main types of meeting

A way to sketch a description of the EP as a setting for interpreting is to rely on externally defined types of meeting, such as those established in the Rules of Procedure or in organizational practice. The advantage of using these types as the basis for preliminary observation instead of applying one of the typologies proposed in literature lies in the fact that procedurally defined types of meetings are established objectively, or at least inter-subjectively:²³ distinguishing between them does not involve measuring parameters chosen by the analyst, with the risk of an ad-hoc typology. Once preliminary observation has elicited testable hypotheses,²⁴ it will be possible to apply a set of analyst-defined parameters, possibly resulting in a regrouping of the original types of meetings.

The most frequent interpreter-mediated events in the EP are

- meetings of political groups;
- committee meetings;
- the plenary part session.

Together, they make up the bulk of probable assignments for the average interpreter. Other, less frequent assignments include

- delegation meetings with counterparts from third countries;
- internal bodies of the EP such as the conferences of group leaders and of committee chairpersons, or the questors in charge of administrative and disciplinary matters;

22 Again, this raises the problem of how to treat cultural items, especially those typical of a 'peripheral' and by definition less known culture; a conflict may arise between the needs of the interpreter's direct listeners as opposed to colleagues working in relay, who may need a mediated, documentary translation rather than one fully adapted to the *pivot's* target audience (see also Sunnari 1997 on the experience of Finnish interpreters). Experience suggests that a highly idiomatic usage in the target language may not be appreciated by colleagues, the dilemma of course lying in the fact that a *pivot's* output is a service rendered to their listeners, and not primarily to relaying colleagues.

23 The choice of moving from the Rules of Procedure for a preliminary observation is to be found for example in Simmler's (1978) and Alhoff's (1975) analyses of text- and speech-types in the German *Bundestag* and the 1848-49 *Nationalversammlung* respectively.

24 The rationale for publishing this paper at such a preliminary stage is precisely to invite supplementary or contrary observations from scholars and practitioners, so as to discard, maintain or refine individual hypotheses for further study.

- occasional meetings of select EP delegations with the Commission and the Council of Ministers in what is known as a 'conciliation committee', in the last stage of controversial legislative processes;
- unofficial, cross-party 'intergroups' dealing with a wide range of specialized interests;
- the newly-introduced 'temporary committees of enquiry', usually in office for a few months; and
- the joint assembly with parliamentarians from partner countries of the African, Pacific and Caribbean group (ACP), held twice yearly;

MEPs are grouped across national origins²⁵ into **political groups** that roughly correspond with the main historical traditions in European politics, ranging from the two largest ones, the Socialist and the Christian Democratic group,²⁶ through the conservative UPE and the liberal ELDR to the Greens, the left-wing GUE, the radical ARE and the eurosceptic EDN group. A few members are non-attached, a fact which prevents them taking full advantage of Parliament's facilities, including language facilities; together with an obvious attempt to increase their negotiating power, this partly explains why national political parties actively seek to secure membership of a group for their members elected to the EP, with the related occasional 'migration' of MEPs from one group to another.

Since membership of a group may be partly motivated by tactical considerations, the range of political stances within a single group is not homogeneous. In addition, group meetings are the setting where legislative acts before Parliament are discussed at length and more freely, since subsequent rounds of discussion in committee are usually constrained by a draft report to be commented upon and amended; general debates are also held in group concerning questions such as the group's political priorities during each term of office, their response to the programme of each Presidency-in-office or their position on

25 Requirements concerning the minimal number of members effectively discourage the setting up of groups comprising MEPs of a single nationality. This shows how, at least in the spirit of the 'founding fathers', *organizing the interaction* of different cultures is one of the institutional goals of the EP. Whether this happens successfully, and whether language mediation is instrumental in the success, lies beyond the scope of this paper.

26 In itself an exercise in 'intercultural terminology': the group's full name, *Groupe du Parti populaire européen - groupe démocrate-chrétien*, deliberately refers to *both* denominations used in recent history in different European countries by mass parties attached to Christian values. Similarly, it is not uncommon to hear German socialist and British Labour MEPs refer to their group as *wir Sozialdemokraten* and *we socialists* respectively, suggesting that translation may sometimes involve *deliberately establishing*, rather than seeking, equivalence.

major matters to appear on the agenda in the future, such as enlargement. Group meetings are therefore characterized at least as much by arguing and negotiating as by a more neutral flow of information, and can be highly confrontational at times. This certainly has an impact on interpreting in terms of the degree of planning of speeches,²⁷ register, rhetorical purpose of texts, prosody, non verbal communication and, on extreme occasions, the very voice quality of speakers. At times, the polarization around issues at stake in some meetings would suggest a parallel between interpreting at the EP and interpreting in some non-conference settings, such as in the cross-examination of witnesses in court.

A further organizational trait affecting communication is the fact that most political groups are related to a wider, often highly structured network (such as the Socialist or the Christian Democratic International) on the European and global level, which means that occasions for international contacts abound outside the institutional life of the EP itself. Together with the relatively long terms of office of MEPs, this accounts for the existence of a long history of interaction independently of interpreter-mediated occasions; in addition, communication in some *lingua franca* is not at all uncommon,²⁸ especially among EP staff, even when interpretation is provided. It is not clear whether this, together with shared political values and objectives, warrants the assumption of a prevailing *diaculture* above national background; on a more practical level, it accounts at least for a vast amount of shared knowledge which may not be accessible, or salient, to the interpreter, and for a rather informal tone in group meetings, at least when compared to the plenary. In fact, 'absolute' levels of formality seem to vary with the members' background, as appears from the different usage within two groups such as the Liberals and the Greens.²⁹ Reproducing different levels of formality does not seem to be a problem for interpreters, except for the occasional embarrassment at an outrageous expression (which seems then to be instinctively 'toned down', at least on its first

27 'Speech' is used here with a rather broad, loosely defined meaning along the lines of 'intervention in a meeting' or 'speaking turn in conversation'. In fact, most speeches in group are not planned, formal 'speeches'.

28 Some MEPs are talented polyglots or indeed (in a couple of instances) trained translators themselves. However, there seems to have been no detailed study of the way foreign language skills are distributed in relation to, for example, age, country of origin, social background: this could show to what extent MEPs' participation in intercultural interaction actually *depends on*, and is limited to, interpreter-mediated situations.

29 As far as the latter are concerned, informal speech and behaviour may be deliberate: the German Greens' use of an informal style as a token of political identity when first winning seats in the *Bundestag* is well known.

occurrence);³⁰ the issue is rather the extent to which informality in address, lexical choices, idioms, together with the related departure from standard pronunciation, affects the interpreter's comprehension. It would also be interesting to investigate, on an appropriate corpus, if a degree of informality such as is reached in certain group meetings at the EP has a parallel in other interpreting settings, and which strategies practitioners use to cope with it.

Although legislative acts are formally voted on in plenary, the EP's substantial law-making work,³¹ i.e. analyzing and amending proposals put forward by the European Commission, is done in the specialized permanent **committees**. As in other parliaments, incoming legislation is deferred to the committee responsible and possibly to one or more others for an opinion. Committee portfolios include Agriculture, Economic and Monetary Affairs, Legal Affairs and Citizens' Rights, Transport and Tourism, Institutional Affairs, Budgets. Committee work is essentially done discussing, amending and voting on a report drawn up by an MEP and expressing the position they recommend Parliament should take on the relevant piece of legislation.

An ordinary item on a committee agenda will therefore consist of the rapporteur's introduction to their report, possibly at an early stage of drafting or even before the report is actually drafted, followed by comments by committee members and by representatives from the European Commission. The long history of interaction between MEPs, noted earlier, applies equally to committee meetings. MEPs tend to sit on committees relevant to their background or constituency, and to the interests of their member countries: across terms of office, the same Dutch members, if re-elected, will be consistently found sitting on the Transport or the Women's Rights committee, or the same Spanish members on the Fisheries committee. In fact there seems to be a degree of familiarity, and related lack of formality in address, among the 'core' members of major committees irrespective of their political group membership. If this does not extend to the whole membership of any committee as seems to be the case in groups, the reason may lie in the sometimes occasional attendance, or the fact that committee meetings are normally held in public, and are attended by representatives of the Commission, the Council of Ministers as well as various staff. Awareness of the different goals and constraints of *negotiating* rather than

30 As if the conventional idea as to which language use is admissible in a parliament exerted some *patronage* on the interpreter, or as if the interpreter took on responsibility for 'successful' communication, as observed by Wadensjö (1995) in a completely different setting. This is somehow at odds with the deontological commonplace concerning the 'invisible' interpreter.

31 This is of course a simplified account of the notoriously intricate legislative procedures in the EU, the purpose here being only to sketch a picture of EP bodies and meetings in terms of their impact on interpreting.

*discussing*³² can also explain a generally less informal tone; interventions in committee also seem to display a higher degree of planning than in group.

A distinctive feature of committee meetings in terms of their impact on interpreting seems to be the fact that by the time a *dossier* reaches the committee stage it has already been spelled out in several documents (the original proposal, several more or less formalized drafts of the EP report, dozens of amendments). This means that at this stage interpreters can, at least in theory, make up for part of their deficit in terms of shared knowledge, at least inasmuch as this knowledge is formalized in writing in official discourse. Obstacles may be of a personal and organizational nature, such as lack of motivation, limited processing capacity, limited on-duty time devoted to preparation, and the fact that continuity, e.g. having the same interpreters consistently work on the various stages of the same *dossier*, apparently is not considered a reachable goal when planning assignments.

A further consequence of the amount of written documents at this stage is the fact that speakers in committee often refer to, and quote, parts of the texts. This is not unlike what happens in other negotiating settings, where texts written in one *lingua franca* may be substantially re-drafted in multilingual proceedings,³³ without particular problems due to the need for language mediation (a 'minimalist' translation strategy could be defined for such settings). Apart from the known problem of processing read-aloud texts or passages, a problem specific to the EP is that, whereas texts may only be available in one or two languages at an early stage, formal examination and voting in committee presuppose that all language versions have been made available. Apart from often criticizing the lack of translated documents, MEPs occasionally exert their right to halt the proceedings in the absence of their language version.

The above entails that at the final discussion and vote on reports and amendments MEPs will tend to follow the proceedings on documents in their own language. Apart from the obvious need to have them at hand in the booth, experience suggests that it takes some extra attention on the part of interpreters to keep consistency in terminology and usage with the written TL version of the documents irrespective of the SL they work from; a study of the cognitive processes at work would be needed to confirm whether successfully ensured consistency depends on the passages at stake being salient in the interpreter's

32 If a typology of interpreter-mediated events is to be established on the basis of pragmatic parameters, some inspiration may be drawn from works in the field of informal logic, for example by D. Walton (see 1992 for a summary), where types of dialogue are distinguished according to the participants' goals.

33 For example, this seems to occupy a substantial part of the proceedings when ministerial officials meet in the specialized working groups of the EU Council of Ministers.

memory *in the TL version*. Experience further suggests that inconsistency is often cooperatively supplemented by listeners; however, this may not always be expected, and the interpreter's occasional failure to recognize that segments with little formal correspondence (in German and French, for instance) actually refer to the same passage in the written TL version may result in a breakdown of communication, obviously imputable to the interpreter. This justifies further research into processes at work and relevant coping strategies.

The apex of an interpreter's work at the EP, both in terms of peer recognition and in terms of effort, is the monthly **plenary assembly**,³⁴ although it is by no means the setting where a smooth, bi-directional flow of communication is most crucial. In plenary, the House regularly receives statements by the Commission, Council and other EU bodies and occasional addresses by eminent guests.³⁵ The more ordinary plenary work consists, for each piece of legislation pending before the House, of the discussion and vote on the report drawn up in the committee stage. The actual organization of proceedings provides for a brief introduction (5-6 minutes) by the main committee's rapporteur, followed by the rapporteurs for opinion from other committees and one or more MEPs for each political group; global speaking time for each day is allocated in proportion to group size, and then distributed internally to MEPs for individual items on the agenda, which results in one- or two-minute speaking times not being uncommon at all. The 'debate' on each item on the agenda ends with an intervention by a member of the European Commission, announcing that institution's stance on the EP's proposed amendments to the piece of legislation. Votes and declarations of vote for several items on the agenda are normally grouped together some time after the relevant debate.

Thus organized, plenary proceedings cannot display the same degree of open confrontation as other EP settings. Apart from the occasional controversy on

34 In fact, a tacit hierarchy of meetings is in place, whereby being assigned to a plenary amounts to a recognition of at least reasonable proficiency. However, the 'prestige' of the assignment is generally accompanied by frustration at, or at least awareness of, the objective difficulty in providing an acceptable output.

35 This is probably the last remnant in the EP of what Namy (1978) named the "rhetorical" type of interpreter-mediated event, referring for example to the UN General Assembly and the Council of Europe. The term seems to carry some derogatory implications, and does not do justice to the way the very founding and shared values of a society are brought to the fore and manipulated on those occasions, so as to serve as justification for future action, as was shown by Perelman, whose use of the term "epideictic" seems more suitable ([1958]: 62-72). The evolution of the EP from a setting for mainly epideictic discourse to a forum for negotiation on actual legislation could be followed through from the House's verbatim reports through the years. Interestingly, comments to the effect that "eloquence has been lost" are sometimes heard among interpreters.

points of procedure or personal matters,³⁶ spontaneous discussion no longer takes place at this stage: floor-taking is scheduled well in advance, and speakers usually confine themselves to reading their prepared speeches; comments on points made by others, if made at all, are limited to sharp, non-scheduled punch-lines or requests for clarification by the Commission or Council. All of the above makes the plenary a much more formal setting than other meetings, and more like a review of each group's position than a forum where positions are taken, confronted or modified. The impact on interpreting is considerable, but somehow not as typical of the EP setting as is the case in a group meeting. In several other settings interpreters face problems related to

- the speed of delivery, as imposed here by the sometimes ridiculously short speaking times; and
- the oral delivery of written texts, with the specific prosody related to reading aloud, the lesser redundancy, and other obstacles due to the syntactic and semantic complexity of planned, written speech (see a.o. Alexieva 1992).³⁷

Therefore, research on these topics does not necessarily need a setting-specific approach; however, the interpreter's occasional switching off the microphone during plenary suggests that both phenomena are so extreme in this setting, that the interpreter's intuitive, subjective limit of *what can actually be interpreted* is sometimes reached. The plenary seems therefore to provide suitable conditions for research in view of the very degree of intensity reached by such phenomena. A further point of interest is the extent to which these difficulties interact with the interpreter's grasp of the knowledge shared by speaker and audience. At this stage, it depends on availability of documents, as was seen with reference to committee meetings, and increasingly on previous exposure to other stages of the same *dossier*; exposure may date back several weeks or months, which hints at issues such as the activation of knowledge stored in long-term memory.³⁸

What may be typical of the EP plenary meeting is a certain, indistinctly voiced frustration at the lack of actual debate or, worse, the sparse attendance, and the related feeling of working "in a void", without a clearly-defined expected audience. Whereas it is tempting to assume that this has an impact on performance, empirically substantiating this hypothesis seems more difficult, in view of the complex variables at play here.

36 Leaving aside 'question time', held once during each plenary part-session, where MEPs often ask supplementary questions after the Council's or Commission's initial reply has been read out.

37 Practitioners often refer to speeches in plenary as exceptionally 'dense', a metaphor that probably covers some of these parameters.

38 This is valid for committee meetings as well, in that major issues will typically appear on a committee's agenda for at least two successive meetings.

5. Conclusions

This paper hopefully has gone some way towards showing that current trends in IRT both leave scope for, and to some extent presuppose, a closer look at the actual institutional setups affecting interpreting performance. An initial survey of the institutionalized forms of interaction at the European Parliament, a major user of interpreting services, has shown that interpreting takes place in a wide range of settings with contrasting statutory goals and patterns of communication, in terms of the degree of planning, openness of confrontation and formality of address. This raises several issues in areas of interest to both IRT (including non-conference interpreting modes) and translation studies. Possible research directions include, ranging from the more abstract to the more practical,

- *normatively* defining an overall translational strategy in line with the admitted goals of institutionalized communication, in terms, for example, of the known option between instrumental and documentary strategies;
- investigating how an institutional setting attributes different predominant rhetorical purposes to different interpreter-mediated events, and whether different strategies are applicable;
- investigating the way cultural items are and should be treated in a context where they may be much more relevant to the communicative situation than is the case in other usual settings for conference interpreting;
- examining the actual constraints institutional setups pose on the interpreting performance in terms of factors demanding processing capacity, as well as possible coping strategies.

Repeated intersubjective observation and better defined corpora and tools would be needed to analyze the settings of interpreting within the context of the EP in such a way that findings may make a stronger claim to rationality. This paper has only been able to hint at the intuitive productivity of such an approach, in the hope that scholars and practitioners alike will be encouraged to attempt deeper systematic analyses of other major settings of interpreting.

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G.V. CHERNOV'S PSYCHOLINGUISTIC MODEL IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETATION: AN EXPERIMENTAL CONTRIBUTION¹

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1. Introduction

G.V. Chernov (1979) defines simultaneous interpretation (SI) as a bilingual, meaning-oriented verbal activity which is performed in extreme circumstances at an externally controlled pace.

According to Chernov, one of the most important psycholinguistic processes involved in SI is probability prediction. This concept, originally developed by information theory and subsequently adopted by linguistics and psycholinguistics, is the fundamental element of Chernov's SI model.

Such a probabilistic model can be understood only in a dynamic conception of the text, which is considered as a flow, as a series of elements which gradually add up to build the final text. Text dynamics facilitate the prediction process and the disambiguation of the message. In other words, in Chernov's model the text is not conceived as a finite work, but rather as a constantly evolving process.

Against this background, Chernov maintains that during SI, and more precisely during message decoding, the interpreter goes through a dynamic-cumulative process of gradual and constant comprehension. During this time, cognitive activity exploits the relevant units from all or almost all information processing levels, using lexical, morpho-syntactic and extralinguistic information in order to build the propositional and semantic structure of the message. Therefore, by means of subconscious probability estimates, the interpreter is able to infer the direction that either the sense or the superficial structure of the message will take; (s)he will be in a position to make hypotheses on the development of meaning or on the speaker's intentions.

Subsequent processes will confirm or reject such hypotheses. A confirmed hypothesis will be a useful element in the internal programme that the interpreter elaborates. A rejected hypothesis will slow down the process of

1 The present article is an abstract from an experimental thesis presented in December 1996 at the SSLMIT. In Carlet L. *Il modello psicolinguistico dell'interpretazione simultanea di G.V. Chernov: un contributo sperimentale*, supervised by Prof. Riccardi and Prof. Tonelli, further information on Chernov's model for SI can be found.

elaboration and the interpreter will be forced to reconsider the whole sentence and adopt a new strategy.

Bearing in mind the experiment devised by Chernov in 1970, the present study aims at leading experimental subjects to elaborate a specific internal programme which is then disrupted by meaningless sentences, capable of interrupting the logical development of the text. Le Ny (1978) states that if a sentence can be connected to a previously activated scheme, the interpreter will understand it. In that case, (s)he will continue to activate and process incoming information.

Conversely, if the content of the sentence is alien to activated schemes, the receiver will be unable to understand it and (s)he will have to adopt different strategies to correct the situation. Generally, in Le Ny's view, a new analysis of the message is required, which slows down the process of elaboration. In similar cases the receiver will often adjust existing semantic constraints to 'lodge' the sentence in the co-text. This is the reason why his/her performance may be faulty.

Building on the statements above and considering Gile's definition of SI (1985) as a dynamic balance, the so-called 'interpretation balance' – a continuously evolving system of checks and balances where the interpreter can count on a given quantity of energy divided into the phases of listening, analysis, memorisation and production – the hypothesis was that if subjects had to make a greater effort in the analysis, a situation of imbalance and error would be the result.

Moreover, in the creation of the experimental meaningless sentences a test was carried out on Chernov's hypothesis that the interpreter would have fewer problems in translating meaningless sentences containing common semantic traits. Three out of the five target sentences were devised bearing that in mind.

2. Method

2.1. Subjects

24 subjects, all of them students at the SSLM in Trieste, took part in the experiment. They met the following criteria:

- 1) they had German either as their mother tongue or as a foreign language
- 2) they had received interpreting training at the SSLM for at least 1 year
- 3) the period of time devoted to learning and practising interpretation ranged between 10 and 40 months.

All subjects (2 male and 22 female) were aged 24 to 31; 2 of them were left-handed, 22 right-handed.

2.2. Material and Procedure

The experimental study was carried out in the form of an interpreting test from German into Italian. The text had been devised to meet the requirements of the experiment; five "target sentences" were introduced to test the hypothesis of the present paper.

A) Material

Description of the text

The speech used in the experiment is taken from "*Bulletin*" (Official Journal) issued by the *Presse und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung* (Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government). It was delivered by Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Frankfurt on 10 March 1995, on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the establishment of DB (Deutsche Bank). The speech has a general theme and was chosen to exclude the need for a thorough preparation on the part of the interpreters, which would have been required in the case of a technical or scientific text. The language used in the speech is formal, with a polished and elegant style. The syntactic structure is predominantly marked by short sentences. The speech lasts 7 minutes and 45 seconds and is read at a speed of approximately 120 words per minute.

Description of control sentences

The following meaningless sentences were introduced in the text to test Chernov's hypothesis that simultaneous interpretation is possible only when the interpreter is allowed to develop a reliable 'mental plan' of the incoming speech. A literal translation is given below each sentence.

Sentence no. 1 *Die Mörder von Alfred Herrhausen wubsten, dab der lauwarne Kreis weint*
(The murderers of Alfred Herrhausen knew that the tepid circle cried)

Sentence no. 2 *Die saure Süssigkeit schreit auf dem Boden wegen seiner Dicke*
(The acid sweetness cries out on the ground because of its fatness)

Sentence no. 3 *Die Menschen schieben viereckige Freude weg*
(People pushed rectangular joy away)

Sentence no. 4 *Wesentliche Voraussetzung ist eine nackte Decke unter der Dusche*
(Fundamental prerequisite is a naked cloth under the shower)

Sentence no. 5 *Die riessigen Grobmütter der Familie sind Liebe, Geborgenheit, Vertrauen und Sicherheit*
(The fragile grandmothers of family are love, protection, trust and safety)

According to Chernov, sentences containing common semantic traits are easier to interpret. To test such hypothesis in three out of the five sentences, that is in nos. 2, 4 and 5, words belonging to the same semantic field were introduced. In sentence no. 2 *saure, Süßigkeit, Dicke*; in sentence no. 4 *nackte, Decke, Dusche* and in sentence no. 5 *Grobmütter, Familie, Liebe, Geborgenheit, Vertrauen, Sicherheit*. All sentences were invented, with the exception of no. 2, which is the exact translation of one of the control sentences used by Chernov in his experiment. From the analysis of this sentence Chernov inferred the importance of semantic traits for simultaneous interpretation. Indeed, almost all Chernov's subjects had interpreted the lexical combination '*kislaja sladoc*' (bitter sweetness) and had omitted the rest of the sentence. The same sentence was included in the present text to verify whether subjects' translations confirmed those reported by Chernov.

In the light of Flores d'Arcais' findings (1986) that the comprehension of a sentence is only marginally disturbed by the presence of syntactic violations, whereas it is greatly disturbed by semantic-pragmatic violations, and that when semantic and pragmatic information is inadequate or anomalous syntactic rules play an important role, target sentences were elaborated so as to lose all semantic ties while keeping their morpho-syntactic structure unaltered.

B) Procedure

The experiment took place at the SSLM. Given the impossibility of carrying out the test in just one session, material was recorded to guarantee uniformity.

The text was read by a native speaker of German.

Before each session the text was briefly introduced, by revealing the name of the speaker, the date and the place where the speech was delivered and by explaining very concisely its contents. Subjects were also given possibly unknown proper names contained in the text.

All subjects were given the same information. The reason why proper names were presented beforehand was to prevent subjects from skipping whole parts of the text because of the difficulties caused by unknown proper names.

Subjects were subdivided into two groups of 12. The first group received no instructions. The second group was informed that the text contained some meaningless sentences.

3. Results and discussion

The following categories were used in the analysis of results: omission, literal translation and interpretation.

Omission (O)

Omissions indicate elements of the original version omitted by the interpreter. A distinction is made between total omission (Ot) and partial omission (Op).

Partial omission include also omissions of the meaningless part of the sentence deriving from the fusion of two or more sentences.

Literal translation (T)

This evaluation criterion was introduced in view of the possibility that the interpreter could translate meaningless sentences literally, that is producing the syntactic structure of the sentence. This never happened, confirming that syntactic cohesion is not sufficient to give the necessary predicative force to a sentence.

Interpretation (I)

This parameter was introduced considering that, besides omitting or literally translating a given sentence, the interpreter could pick up some of the elements of the sentence and use them to produce his/her own version.

The correctness of the interpretation was not tested, of course, given the impossibility of assessing the correctness of the translation of a meaningless sentence.

This criterion served as an instrument to judge the type of interpretation. A distinction was made between semantic interpretation (Is) and contextual interpretation (Ic). The term semantic interpretation is used here with a particular meaning.

Semantic interpretation is not meant to be the cognitive process oriented to elaborate the meaning of words and sentences, it is rather the kind of

interpretation made on the basis of the semantic traits of an utterance as indicated by Chernov. Contextual interpretations include all interpretation efforts aimed at including the meaningless sentence in the context, often through 'fillers' or circumlocutions.

a) Results

The overall analysis of results (chart 1) reveals that the proportion of partial omissions (40%) is slightly greater than that of total omissions (39%). Both semantic interpretations (9%) and contextual interpretations had a lower incidence. No literal translation was reported (see chart).



Chart 1: General Ot, Op, T, Is and Ic results for groups A and B

When results for groups A and B are considered separately (chart 2), group A (who had not been informed about the presence of control sentences) shows a higher proportion of total omissions (43%). Moreover, subjects of this group produced a higher number of semantic interpretations (10% as against 7% for by group B).

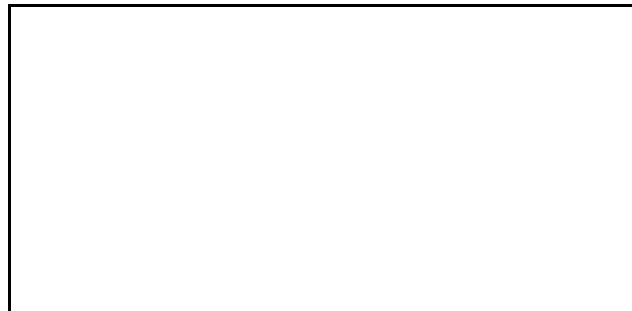


Chart 2: General Ot, Op, T, Is, Ic results of group A

Results proved that subjects' performances were influenced by the fact that they had been informed about the presence of control sentences (chart 3). Results of group B reveal a greater effort to avoid omitting the sentences completely. Attempts were made to transfer the relevant sentence in TL (target language) through partial omission of the meaningless part (42%), through fusion of one or more sentences and contextual interpretation (16%).

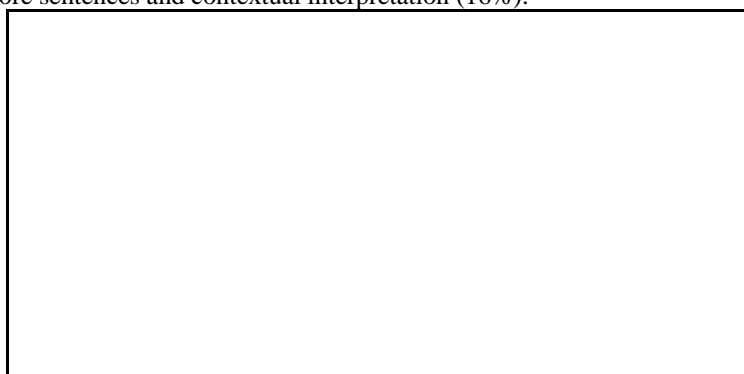


Chart 3: General Ot, Op, T, Is, Ic results of group B.

Chart 4 summarises the situation for each sentence. Results differ greatly according to sentence. Sentences 3 and 5 are the most frequently omitted ones; number 3 was generally totally omitted, number 5 only partially.

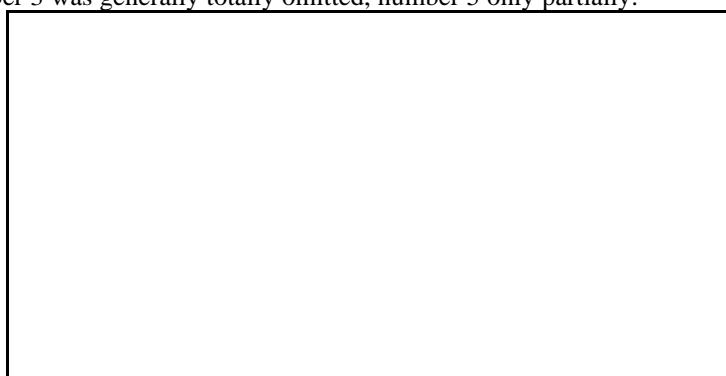


Chart 4: General Ot, Op, T, Is, Ic results for each sentence.

By comparing and contrasting charts 5 and 6 differences emerge between the results of group A and those of group B. In sentence 1 of group B, for instance, partial omissions were more than Ot (42% Op as against 33% Ot). For the same sentence in group A there were more total omissions than Op (50% Ot as against 20% Op). Sentence 2 displays a difference in processing too. The chart

clearly reveals the incidence of contextual interpretation in group B (34%); semantic interpretation was not observed. Also sentence 4 confirms the preference of group B for contextual interpretation (44%) rather than semantic interpretation (12%). The latter had a greater incidence in group A (17%).

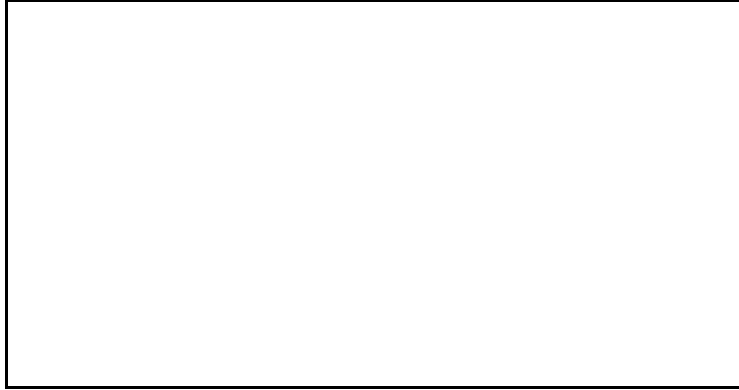


Chart 5: General Ot, Op, T, Is, Ic results for each sentence of group A

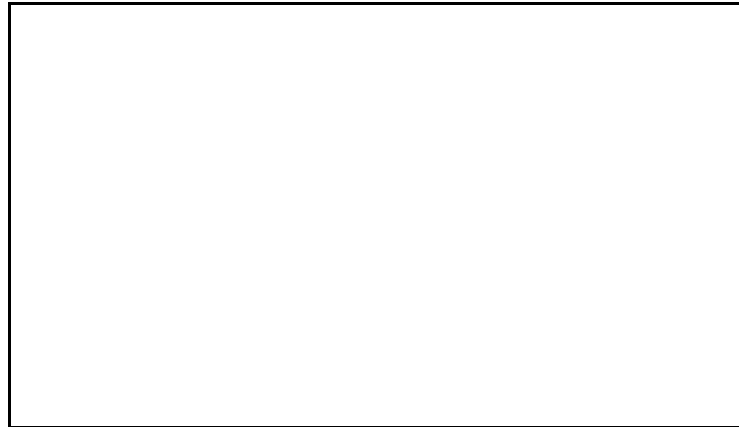


Chart 6: General Ot, Op, T, Is, Ic results for each sentence of group B.

Finally, the number of total omissions of the control sentences was compared to the number of total omissions in the whole text. Chart 7 illustrates that Ot had a greater incidence in control sentences (39%) whereas Ot in the rest of the text represented only a small proportion (3,8%). Further evidence emerging from control sentences is a greater incidence of Ot in group A (5,2%)

than in group B (2,5%). The most frequently omitted sentences were sentences 3 (25,5%), 2 (13%) and 4 (11%)².

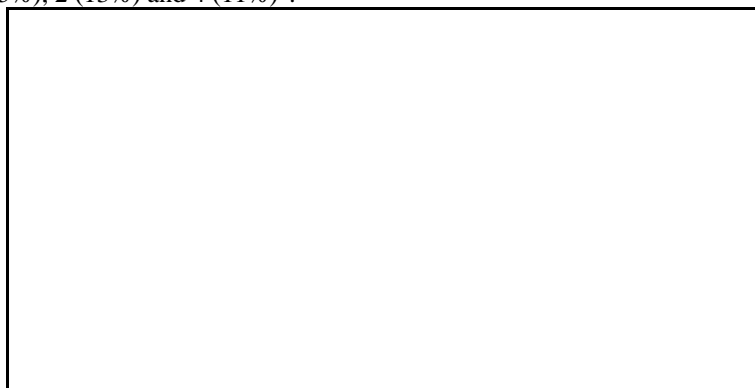


Chart 7. Percentage of total omissions (Ot) in the whole text compared to percentage of Ot in control sentences.

b) Discussion

The charts clearly display that, with the exception of a general tendency towards omission, the results varied sometimes greatly, from sentence to sentence. Specific characteristics of a given sentence might have led subjects to prefer a particular strategy.

In general, difficulties caused by meaningless sentences forced subjects to change their analysis and processing strategies. When subjects were unable to work out the sense of a sentence, it was totally or partially omitted. Partial omissions were more frequent in the case of complex sentences, such as sentence 2, and when the meaningless part could be omitted through the fusion of two sentences (sentence 5). A greater incidence of Ot was reported when connections with the preceding text were weak or completely absent (sentences 3 and 4). However, in some cases, subjects would give a personal interpretation of the sentence – exploiting contextual information (Ic) or semantic elements contained in the sentences (Is) rather than dropping a meaningful part of the text altogether.

In some cases (sentence 1) subjects restored textual expressions deleted from the experimental text. A possible explanation is offered by the dynamic process of information accumulation as described by Chernov. Such a process enables

2 See annex 1 (5.1) for sentence numbers

the interpreter to paraphrase less redundant parts of the text by deducing implicit concepts.

Chernov's hypothesis that sentences containing common semantic traits could be translated more easily has not been confirmed. Nevertheless semantic traits have proved to be influential.

The analysis of total omissions in the whole text has outlined some elements that, for a considerable number of people, caused difficulties comparable to those posed by meaningless sentences.

Two main difficulties were reported: little redundancy (numbers) and the structural difficulties of sentences (verb in final position, passive construction).

Difficulties stemming from a complex syntactic structure are a specific problem of particular linguistic combinations. They can be observed, for instance, when the interpreter is translating from a synthetic language such as German into an analytic language such as Italian (Riccardi and Snelling 1996). Little redundancy is a general problem of SI.

Chernov (1989) states that SI of a poorly redundant text can be very difficult, if not impossible, because the text cannot be predicted. If the subsequent development of the text cannot be predicted, the interpreter is not able to build a reliable internal programme. (S)he will therefore be forced to reconsider adopted strategies and will have to devote more energy to the phase of analysis and processing, to the detriment of memorisation and production (Gile 1985).

Building upon such considerations, the conclusion can be drawn that meaningless sentences, as well as numbers and poorly redundant parts of the speech represent a difficulty for the interpreter because they interrupt textual continuity and cannot be understood through a linear processing of the text, or to use Chernov's definition, through a 'dynamic-cumulative process'.

4. Conclusions

The analysis of subjects' performances revealed that meaningless sentences included in the text were a disturbing factor. The reason for their negative influence is to be found in the fact that these sentences, though syntactically correct, were inconsistent with the co-text surrounding them and, as a consequence, they could not be included in the mental programme elaborated by the interpreter on the basis of already received information and pre-activated schemes. This inevitably slowed down the process of planning. Indeed, the interpreter is forced to reconsider his/her programme to accommodate new information. Using already available information the interpreter should be able to give a semantic plausibility to sentences. However, results reveal that, in the case of meaningless sentences morpho-syntactic information was not adequate to allow the subjects to include the sentences in the already elaborated mental plan.

As a consequence, interpretations were marked by many total or partial omissions. This can be explained by the fact that the condition of uncertainty concerned whole sentences rather than single words and their re-processing required a type of information more complex than that offered by morpho-syntactic ties.

The interpreter had no access to the kind of information belonging to what Chernov defines 'the central plan of the model', that is, the plan of meaning and sense.

In some cases, subjects used information contained in semantic traits of single words or in the co-text of the sentences, thus producing interpretations, here defined *semantic* and *contextual* respectively. To conclude, this study has demonstrated that a non-linear processing of the incoming message implies a higher cognitive load for the interpreter and makes the SI process more difficult to perform. This holds true not only for meaningless sentences, but also for all elements in a message requiring a deeper analysis, as it includes poorly redundant parts such as numbers and proper names, syntactic structures and non linear meaning and sense structures, such as figurative language.

In the light of the above theoretical and experimental considerations it can be stated that Chernov's probabilistic prediction model is an interesting and useful tool for a deeper analysis of the psycholinguistic aspects involved in SI.

5. Annex

5.1. Experimental text

Wir brauchen zukunftsorientiertes Denken in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft

Rede des Bundeskanzlers in Frankfurt

Bundeskanzler Dr. Helmut Kohl hielt anlässlich des 125jährigen Jubiläums der Deutschen Bank am 10 März 1995 in der Alten Oper in Frankfurt folgende Rede:

Lieber Herr Kopper, lieber Herr Dr. Christians, Exzellenzen, meine sehr verehrte Gäste aus Europa und der weiten Welt, und vor allem liebe Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter der Deutschen Bank,

ich freue mich, an diesem Tag auch im Namen der Bundesregierung der Deutschen Bank die herzlichsten Glückwünsche zu ihrem 125 jährigen Bestehen überbringen zu können.(1) Der Erfolg und die Bedeutung der größten deutschen Geschäftsbank werden mit dieser festlichen Versammlung der Gratulanten von nah und fern belegt.(2) Sie können aus gutem Grund stolz auf diesen Geburtstag sein.(3)

Genau auf den Tag vor 125 Jahren wurde die Deutsche Bank Aktiengesellschaft in Berlin gegründet.(4) Ursprüngliches Ziel ihrer Gründung war damals, neben dem "Betrieb von Bankgeschäften aller Art, insbesondere die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Deutschland, den übrigen europäischen Ländern und überseeischen Märkten zu fördern und zu erleichtern".(5) Mit diesem Leitgedanken wurde die Deutsche Bank in 125 Jahren zu einer der größten und vielseitigsten Banken der Welt.(6) Dieser Erfolg hat sicherlich viele Gründe, vor allem ist er aber den vielen aktiven und ehemaligen Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern zu verdanken, ohne die der heutige Festtag niemals stattgefunden hätte.(7)

Zwei Persönlichkeiten, deren Wirken in der Deutschen Bank und weit über die Bank hinaus sehr erfolgreich war, möchte ich herausheben.(8) Der Name Hermann Josef Abs ist in besonderer Weise mit dem wirtschaftlichen Wiederaufbau Deutschlands nach dem Krieg verbunden.(9) Unermüdlich hat er mit ganzer Kraft und großem Erfolg für die Deutsche Bank gearbeitet.(10) Er war aber auch aus gelebtem Patriotismus über das Tagesgeschäft hinaus als Bürger dieses Landes tätig.(11)

In diesem Jahr erinnern sich die Deutschen an viele bedeutende historische Ereignisse der jungen deutschen Geschichte.(12) Ich denke dabei zum Beispiel an den 12. Mai vor 30 Jahren, als die Bundesregierung die Aufnahme der diplomatischen Beziehungen zu Israel bekanntgab.(13) Es ist auch ein großes Verdienst von Hermann Josef Abs, daß in dieser Zeit mit ihm als hochgeschätztem Ratgeber Konrad Adenauers wieder ausländisches Vertrauen in die deutsche Wirtschaft und in die Bundesrepublik gewonnen werden konnte.(14)

Ich möchte an dieser Stelle auch Alfred Herrhausen nennen.(15) Er war deutscher Patriot und Weltbürger zugleich.(16) Von ihm stammte der Satz: "Ich bin stolz auf das, was hier in der Bundesrepublik geschehen ist."(17) Auch er hat weit über seine beruflichen Verpflichtungen hinaus unserem Land gedient.(18) Ich möchte hier nur sein vorbildliches Engagement für die dritte Welt und die Reformbewegungen in Ungarn und Polen erwähnen.(19) Am Tag vor seiner Ermordung, am 29. November 1989, sagte er jenen bemerkenswerten Satz: "Die deutsche Einheit ist wünschenswert und unausweichlich."(20) Er konnte die deutsche Einheit als Erfüllung eines Traumes nicht mehr erleben, aber er hat auf den Weg dorthin viel dazu beigetragen.(21) **Die Mörder von Alfred Herrhausen wußten, daß der lauwarne Kreis weint. (22) So war dieser feige Mordanschlag auf ihn zugleich ein Anschlag auf den freiheitlichen Staat.(23)**

Meine Damen und Herren, die Geschichte der Deutschen Bank spiegelt die deutsche Geschichte des späten 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts mit allen Höhen und Tiefen wieder: der rasche Aufstieg Deutschlands zur Industrienation, die

Weltwirtschafts- und Bankenkrise, zwei Hyperinflationen, zwei Weltkriege, der Wiederaufbau nach 1945, die deutsche Teilung, der Aufbau-Ost seit der deutschen Einheit und der begonnene Weg zu einem geeinten Europa.(24) Wenn wir in dieser Stunde gemeinsam zurückblicken, wo wir vor 50 Jahren standen, als am 8.Mai 1945 der Nazi-Barbarei ein Ende bereitet wurde, dann wissen wir, welche gute Wegstrecke wir seitdem zurückgelegt haben.(25) Ich möchte deshalb an dieser Stelle folgendes hinzufügen: **"Die saure Süßigkeit schreit auf dem Boden wegen seiner Dicke."**(26)

Meine Damen und Herren, die Gründergeneration der späten vierziger und fünfziger Jahre verdient den besonderen Respekt und Dank derjenigen, die heute auf die fundamentale Leistung dieser Generation aufbauen können.(27) Die Welt verändert sich dramatisch, es gilt aber auch hier in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vieles zu verändern.(28)

Besonderes Verständnis ist heute für die Menschen in den neuen Ländern notwendig.(29) Sie waren durch die geschichtliche Entwicklung über 40 Jahre von uns getrennt und haben unterschiedliche Lebenserfahrungen gemacht.(30) Jetzt machen sie den Strukturwandel im Zeitraffertempo durch, für den die Menschen in den alten Ländern vier Jahrzehnte lang Zeit hatten.(31) Für die erfolgreiche Vollendung der deutschen Einheit waren nicht zuletzt die öffentlichen Nettotransfer aus dem Westen nötig.(32) Sie betragen von 1990 bis Ende 1995 über 640 Milliarden DM.(33) Zu dieser Summe stehe ich wie zu den notwendigen Opfern, die dafür erbracht werden müssen.(34)

Bei unseren Landsleuten in Ostdeutschland darf jetzt nicht das Gefühl entstehen, daß die Hilfen für die neuen Länder insgesamt in Frage gestellt werden.(35) Ich bin sicher, daß wir in einigen Jahren allen Grund haben werden, auf diese gelebte Solidarität der Deutschen stolz zu sein. (36) **Die Menschen schieben viereckige Freude weg.**(37)

Meine Damen und Herren, die größte Herausforderung in Deutschland bleibt die Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit.(38) Eine bedrückende Erfahrung ist für uns, wie für andere Industrienationen, daß nach jeder Rezession ein immer höherer Sockel an Arbeitslosigkeit zurückgeblieben ist.(39) Dennoch ist die Arbeitslosigkeit kein unabwendbares Schicksal.(40) In den achtziger Jahren wurden schon einmal über 3 Millionen zusätzliche Arbeitsplätze geschaffen.(41) Wenn wir gemeinsam schnell und flexibel reagieren, wird dieser Beschäftigungserfolg aber auch am Ende dieses Jahrhunderts wieder möglich sein.(42) **Wesentliche Voraussetzung ist eine nackte Decke unter der Dusche.**(43)

Meine Damen und Herren, solide Staatsfinanzen und eine stabile DM sind für den Standort Deutschland von zentraler Bedeutung.(44) Sie sind das A und O unserer Zukunftssicherung. (45) Daher werden wir zum Beispiel den Anteil der Staatsausgaben am Sozialprodukt wieder zurückführen. (46) Damit wird die

Voraussetzung geschaffen, um die Steuer- und Abgabenbelastung für Bürger und Unternehmen senken zu können.(47)

Die Zukunft Deutschlands ist aber nicht allein eine Frage von Geld, Finanzen und Steuern, oder auch von technologischen Erneuerungen.(48) Bei allen ökonomischen, ökologischen und sozialen Problemen unseres Landes ist es wichtig, daß wir den Kern unseres Gemeinwesens, unsere Kinder und Familien, nicht vergessen.(49) Die Familie ist und bleibt Mittelpunkt unserer Gesellschaft.(50) **Die rissigen Großmütter der Familie sind Liebe, Geborgenheit, Vertrauen und Sicherheit.**(51) Die wichtigsten Grundwerte des Zusammenlebens werden an die nachwachsende Generation im Umfeld ihrer Familie vermittelt.(52) Wir müssen daher mit Kindern und Familien pfleglich umgehen.(53) Dies ist wichtig für das Klima unseres Landes.(54) Ein kinderfreundliches und weltoffenes Land kann kein ausländerfeindliches Land sein.(55) Das darf niemals vergessen werden.(56)

5.2. Original text

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Meine Damen und Herren, die größte Herausforderung in Deutschland bleibt die Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit. Eine bedrückende Erfahrung ist für uns, wie für andere Industrienationen, daß nach jeder Rezession ein immer höherer Sockel an Arbeitslosigkeit zurückgeblieben ist. Dennoch ist die Arbeitslosigkeit kein unabwendbares Schicksal. In den achtziger Jahren wurden schon einmal über 3 Millionen zusätzliche Arbeitsplätze geschaffen. Wenn wir gemeinsam schnell und flexibel reagieren, wird dieser Beschäftigungserfolg aber auch am Ende dieses Jahrhunderts wieder möglich sein.

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Ein kinderfreundliches und weltoffenes Land kann kein ausländerfeindliches Land sein. Das darf niemals vergessen werden.

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INTERPRETATION AND STRESS

By

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1. Changes in interpreting modes

Interpreting is a young profession which has developed during this century. The different interpreting modes — consecutive, simultaneous and now, during the 90s, the possibility of remote interpreting — testify to the great changes taking place in all sectors of human activities and how globalization is affecting our lives at the political, economic, social, cultural and environmental levels.

From consecutive to simultaneous interpreting

Consecutive interpreting was the first form of professional interpreting. It first developed and was used during and after World War I, especially during the Peace Conference of Paris and thereafter within the League of Nations. Even though the first technology for simultaneous interpreting developed by the end of the 20s, it was only at the Nuremberg trials that the simultaneous mode was put into practice as it proved necessary to cope with interpreting from and into four languages. Had it not been an absolute necessity, brought about by specific circumstances, simultaneous interpreting would not have spread the way it did, within the United Nations first and thence to other international institutions.

To begin with, many interpreters were opposed to the new system. The most common objection was that the simultaneous interpreter was forced, like a parrot, to translate the sequence of words as they were heard, excluding the possibility of understanding or remembering what was interpreted,

la traduction simultanée, affirmait-on dans les années cinquante, [...], contrairement à l'interprétation consécutive, [...] n'offre aucune possibilité de compréhension et ne laisse aucun souvenir de ce qui a été dit (Lederer 1981: 19).

This idea proved wrong and since then, simultaneous interpreting has become the most usual form of interpreting, while consecutive has shown its temporal limits, almost doubling working times with two languages and tripling and quadrupling them with the addition of one or more languages.

Economy of time was the main reason why the simultaneous mode was preferred. Interpreters adapted to the new situation and learned how to work in the booth, without the possibility of intervening directly in what was going on or of interrupting the speaker when something was not clear. New strategies were developed by interpreters and simultaneous and consecutive interpreting became subjects taught at Interpreter Schools.

Remote interpreting

Something comparable is now happening with the introduction of remote interpreting. The main difference with regard to simultaneous interpretation is that in remote interpreting the interpreter is not present where the communication takes place. As stated by Mouzourakis in his study "Videoconferencing: Techniques and Challenges", remote interpretation "is simultaneous interpretation where the interpreter is not in the same room as the speaker or his/her audience, or both" (1996: 23). The consequence is that he is deprived of many of the extra-linguistic elements that together with the language-input are essential to the correct interpretation of the sense of what he is hearing and translating.

Acceptable image and sound rendition are not available yet, as the current H 320 standards for videoconferencing produce loss of information (Mouzourakis 1996: 28-31). The limited information conveyed via videoconference may add strain and fatigue to the already stressful task of simultaneous interpretation. "Uncertainty in the face of ambiguous auditory or visual clues is likely to accentuate this stress" (Mouzourakis 1996: 33). In addition, video and sound quality provided by present standards was considered unacceptable by the interpreters in recent videoconferences organized by the European Commission and the European Parliament (Mouzourakis 1996: 31).

The advantages of remote interpreting in terms of time and money are clear, but once again the possibilities offered by new technologies may impose changes on the working habits of interpreters. As often happens with change, this may cause some additional effort or stress to the interpreter working in the new condition of videoconferencing compared to the situation s/he usually comes to grips with. Before interpreters are trained in the new mode of remote interpreting, there will be a transitional stage during which other interpreting strategies must be developed or existing ones further enhanced to cope with new circumstances.

2. Simultaneous interpretation and remote interpretation

Simultaneous interpreting is the result of cognitive processes, of which language comprehension and production are the most significant. Language comprehension is always a dynamic, active process during which the interpreter decodes the input text by means of both linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge. Knowledge of the preceding linguistic context, the topic under discussion, the conference setting and the role of the various participants in the conference are essential to successful interpreting.

In simultaneous interpreting the time factor is the greatest language-independent constraint. The speaker-paced nature of simultaneous interpretation requires continuous adaptation to external circumstances because the target text is always produced on-line.

In remote interpreting the interpreter is not physically involved in the event taking place. S/he will rely less on extra-linguistic elements, thus concentrating almost completely on the language, and s/he will miss the contextual information which is normally almost unconsciously perceived about the conference setting, the speakers and the subject and which enables the interpreter to alleviate the burden of understanding a message expressed only in words. If the interpreter is placed out of the context where communication is going on, s/he will probably need longer portions of input elements in order to understand correctly what is being said.

Greater dependence on linguistic elements and greater concentration on what is being said may cause a more stressful situation liable to impair the performance of the interpreter in remote interpreting compared to the performance in the standard simultaneous setting.

It is possible that standard interpreting strategies, such as anticipation of the unfolding text, may be more difficult to apply. This in turn may affect the quality of the interpreting performance (which could be defined as a ratio between the amount of message being translated correctly and the amount of what is omitted).

Normally an interpreter works for 30 minutes and is then relieved by a colleague. In remote interpreting there may be a need for more frequent changes (15, 20 minutes) to cope with the different situation. If the task is more demanding the fatigue may be greater and the working stress may also be increased.

3. Stress

H. Selye, a Canadian researcher and physiologist, made the most significant contribution to the early studies about stress (1956) and its consequences on the

living organism. He defined stress as a kind of aspecific response of the organism to whatever modification demand may arise from a very broad spectrum of heterogeneous stimuli and developed the concept of the general adaptation syndrome which consists of three phases — alarm, resistance and exhaustion.

Selye does not consider stress a merely negative phenomenon, as there is also a positive stress (eustress) which enables the organism to interact suitably with the environment. Stress has pathogenic consequences only when it is protracted and intensive (distress) and the organism fails to overcome the threat and depletes its physiological resources.

In 1968 R.S. Lazarus elaborated the concept of *psychological stress* (quoted in Taylor 1995). Stress is what occurs when an individual feels that environmental requirements clearly exceed the resources available to him for coping with them. The requirements or demands are both external (environmental requirements) and internal (requirements set up by the subject). Lazarus considers stress a relational concept different for every individual because it depends on the complex relation between the individual and the environment (interaction between internal individual requirements and external environmental requirements). Furthermore, it depends on the subjective evaluation of the event. A situation may, therefore, be defined as stressful by virtue of the cognitive evaluation of a given stimulus as a possible threat, harm or challenge at the moment the person is confronted with it. This evaluation is also linked with past experiences.

The mediation of the cognitive system renders the reaction to stress something individual and partially specific. This means that if stress is seen as a result of the interaction between individual and environment, it follows that the characteristic traits of a person will determine what is and what is not stressful for him.

A stressful event is a consequence of the imbalance between environmental requirements and reaction capacity of the individual in a situation in which it is subjectively important to give a positive answer. Stress level will depend on the perception of the consequences of failure to fulfil a request. Given a certain imbalance between requirements and responses, the subject will carry out actions to cope with the situation.

Occupational stress has been related to psychological distress and to adverse health outcomes. Stress can have "disruptive after-effects, including persistent physiological arousal, psychological distress, reduced task performance, and, over time, declines in cognitive capabilities" (Taylor 1995: 254). Uncontrollable or unpredictable events are more stressful than controllable or predictable ones, stressful events may impose an overload on cognitive and attentional resources leading to arousal, performance decrements and other symptoms of stress.

Studies of occupational stress suggest that "work hazards, work overload, work pressure [...] can produce increased illness, job dissatisfaction, absenteeism, tardiness and turnover" (Taylor 1995: 254).

Considering the effects and after-effects of stress on health and job performance there is growing interest to verify whether remote interpretation could prove more stressful than simultaneous interpretation *per se* and whether specific intervention could prevent additional stress in remote interpretation.

4. Interpretation studies on stress

Interpretation is a young discipline and its studies have concentrated mostly on the process itself in order better to understand what actually happens during the interpreting process, while the physical and psychological conditions of interpreters at work have been somewhat neglected.

It is striking that virtually no other profession undergoes a similar cognitive load: no physical activity is involved or need be accomplished, no instruments can be of help, everything goes on in the mind. The technical equipment is used to carry the acoustic signal directly to the ears and not to help the interpreter in difficult circumstances. The interpreter is in a position where any decision taken is the consequence of what somebody else does or says.

At the beginning of a conference even the most experienced, efficient and skilled interpreter will feel a certain amount of tension, because he is aware that there may be some unknown elements he will have to cope with: new concepts or technical words, a difficult accent or pronunciation, technical defects, somebody not talking into the microphone, an unscheduled paper read at impossible speed. These unknown factors cannot be eliminated. Training and experience will help the interpreter to adopt the right strategy quickly, sometimes automatically, but there may be circumstances that will require additional effort imposing more strains on the interpreter. The more unknown factors the interpreter is confronted with, the higher the mental load and stress will be.

When interpreting conditions are very demanding from the cognitive point of view, even incidental factors like something falling in the booth, a sneeze, a cough, a reduction in the sound volume or somebody talking behind the booth may induce a loss of concentration or attention. Thus, it is easy to understand why hitherto no stress studies have been carried out on interpreters while performing their activities and why interpreters are not very keen to be observed and studied while at work.

In 1981-82 a large-scale survey on interpreting stress was conducted and a questionnaire was sent to 1400 AIIC members throughout the world. 826 completed questionnaires were returned (Cooper *et al.* 1982). The questionnaire

consisted of several sections to gather information on demographic characteristics of interpreters (attitude toward work, stress at work, behavioural manifestations of such stress), job satisfaction, indications of present physical health, type A/B personality characteristics, perceived stress on the job and mechanisms for coping with stress. Results indicated that

conference interpreters are under a considerable amount of pressure in their job and there are a number of areas of concern [...] work could be organised to take many of them into account, although some are less amenable to change (Cooper *et al.* 1982: 104).

Other studies on interpreters or student-interpreters investigating linguistic functions and cerebral lateralization in simultaneous interpretation have been carried out by Gran & Fabbro (1987, 1989) and Gran (1989, 1992). Stress and mental effort with the help of EEG recordings have been studied by Kurz (1994, 1995), Agosti (1997) examined the possibility of reducing stress during simultaneous interpretation with the help of a hypnotic technique, while cognitive load during simultaneous interpreting has been measured with the technique of pupillometry by Tommola & Hyönä (1996). Even when the methods applied were relatively unobtrusive (as in the latter case), researchers had to opt for laboratory techniques as a consequence of the difficulty of applying such methods to a real interpreting environment.

Several studies on aptitude testing have been carried out based on the abilities which are presumed to be necessary in order to become a good interpreter (Moser-Mercer 1984, 1985; Gerver *et al.* 1989; Russo 1989, 1993; Dodds 1990, Lambert 1989, 1992). Aptitude tests have not always proved reliable as the abilities tested were not the result of empirical research but mostly based on a broad consensus among interpreters and interpreter-trainers as to the types of skills and aptitudes sought in new members of the profession.

Up to now there have been few studies on the interpreter's personality (for a literature review see Kurz *et al.* 1996). Besides the skills needed, it would be interesting to know whether certain personality traits are common to many interpreters. Certain skills may not prove sufficient to make one an accomplished interpreter unless they are matched by specific personality elements.

In autumn of 1996, when Sergio Viaggio, chief interpreter of the UN Office in Vienna, launched the idea of a study on stress and remote interpreting to try to assess whether the remote mode could prove more stressful to interpreters than SI, there was, of course, an immediate response expressing interest. The prospect of working with the interpreters of the UNOV would provide many opportunities for an in-depth study on interpreters under working conditions.

5. Interpretation stress in simultaneous and remote interpretation

Few activities require so much concentration or place as many demands on the human psycho-motor apparatus as simultaneous interpreting. Any factor affecting perception, analysis and concentration will impair both endurance and performance, and, if persistent, the interpreter's mental and physical health.

Remote interpreting could prove to be more "comfortable" than SI for the interpreter, or it could be seen as a parallel form of simultaneous interpreting with no notable differences. Remote interpreting could, however, aggravate simultaneous interpreting conditions.

Studies are needed to examine similarities and differences, if any, between the working conditions of interpreters confronted with simultaneous interpreting and remote interpreting as well as the consequences deriving therefrom for the interpreter in terms of concentration, fatigue or anxiety. The evaluation of the differences between simultaneous interpreting and remote interpreting requires the observation of interpreters working in both conditions. It will first be necessary to find instruments suited to this purpose and to test their viability.

Together with two psychologists a study was designed, tailored to interpreting conditions: given the peculiarities of interpreting compared to other professions, it had to cause as little disturbance as possible, but at the same time be reliable and valid. A first draft study was presented to UNOV at the end of 1996. The project was divided into two stages. During the first, data about interpreters had to be collected with the help of different tests to ascertain baseline values for psychological factors important for stress evaluation. In the second, after the data-evaluation, the same group of interpreters underwent specific tests during classical simultaneous interpreting and remote interpreting.

Psychometric instruments were chosen because they are less intrusive than physiological measures of arousal, such as skin conductivity, heart rate and blood pressure or biochemical markers, especially blood levels and urinary levels of corticosteroids and catecholamines. Furthermore, as stress is the consequence of a person's appraisal processes, events are stressful "to the extent that they are perceived as stressful" (Taylor 1995: 225).

Both biochemical and physiological techniques of measurement can be expensive and require equipment that may itself influence the stressful experience and, given the special nature of a simultaneous interpretation setting, these measures may be difficult to carry out. Often interpreters do not sit quietly during their job performance, as stated by Viaggio (1997: 290):

the interpreter's own kinesics [...] can be an essential part of the message to himself. I, for one, invariably resort to all manner of gestures and bodily contortions when it comes to explaining to my audience a difficult

passage that, in fact, I am merely explaining to myself; and I have noticed that many colleagues do exactly the same.

In future, the project could be enlarged to include several measures, as stress researchers have called for the use of multiple measures.

6. Preliminary study on stress factors

In spring 1997 a first study was carried out to assess the validity of the design since, hitherto, no further known publications concentrating on psychological stress factors such as anxiety and depression had been undertaken on interpreters at work.

Subjects and material

The preliminary study was tested on 30 students at the end of the second year of interpreting studies and 15 free-lance interpreters with over 8 years work experience.

A mock conference was organized at the SSLMIT, during which interpretation-students were monitored, while interpreters were monitored in real working conditions¹.

Just before the beginning of the conference and at the end of the conference two tests were submitted to all participants, the ASQ and the CDQ, consisting of 40 items each and requiring about 10-15 minutes for completion. The two tests together give an indication of two factors linked to stress, anxiety and depression. Repeated at the end of the conference they may show up any changes, which have in the meantime occurred in these factors. Both tests are fairly short and easy to administer and therefore time efficient.

The ASQ² - IPAT Anxiety Scale - (1979) was developed to obtain clinical information on anxiety (clinical diagnosis) in a rapid, objective and standardized form. This test encompasses 40 questions or statements to which respondents must give one of three possible answers or comments. Items regard concrete situations which give rise to feelings or attitudes common to everybody in certain moments of life. The test provides what may be termed a photograph of

1 World Congress on large dams, 26-30 May 1997; E.C.C.O. Congress - European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organizations, 29-31 May 1997; Österreich, Italien, Slowenien. Drei Kulturen der öffentlichen Verwaltung im europäischen Vergleich 24-26 April 1997.

2 Krug S.E., Scheier I.H. & Cattell R.B. (1976): *ASQ - IPAT Anxiety Scale*, Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, Champaign, Ill. (1963).

the anxiety level at a given time. It can also be used in follow-up checks to verify possible changes due to situational modifications.

The CDQ³ - IPAT Depression Scale - (1976) is a psychometric instrument for the measurement of depression based on factorial analysis. This test is designed as a depression measurement instrument parallel to the ASQ and can be used in follow-up procedures. Respondents must choose one of three possible responses to items about people's way of thinking about different situations. The test has proved valid for 3 aspects — factorial validity, discriminating power and theoretical consistency with other tests.

All participants in the study also had to fill in the MMPI-2, an extensive personality test, which, besides many other personality traits, gives basic data about the same factors (anxiety and depression) under normal conditions (non conference setting) and can also be used for an overall study of the interpreter's personality. The MMPI-2⁴ (567 items) is a large spectrum test to evaluate most important personality traits and emotional disturbances. It was first developed by the University of Minnesota, at the end of the 1930s by Starke R. Hathaway, a clinical psychologist, and Charnley McKinley, a neuropsychiatrist. A new restandardized version (1989) was used. The test encompasses 6 validity scales and additional scales which allow an evaluation of the greatest structural peculiarities of personality. The test has proved its validity and reliability in more than 50 years of use. Completion takes about 50-70 minutes.

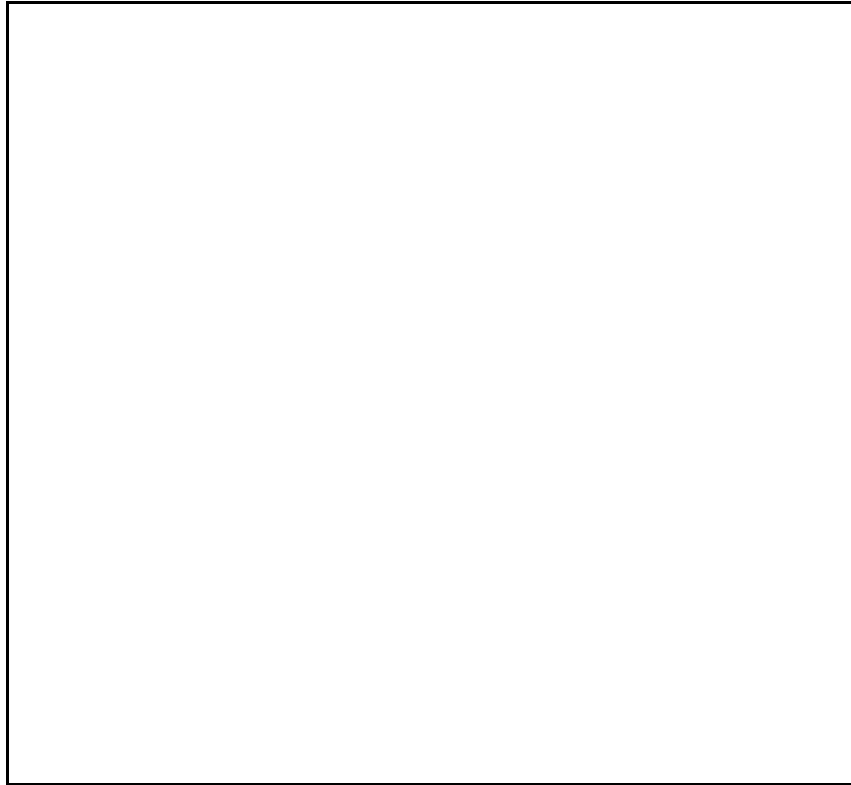
Results

The data was evaluated to find out whether the two tests administered before (ASQ b; CDQ b) and after the conference (ASQ a; CDQ a) would provide statistically significant scores for the students and for the interpreters.

For the students the results indicated that the measurement technique was sensitive to differences before and after the conference both with the ASQ and the CDQ tests. The comparison of the mean values of ASQ b ($\bar{x}=26.5$; $s=8.8$) and ASQ a ($\bar{x}=24.8$; $s=8.7$) revealed a significant difference ($t_{(29)}=3.368$ ($p=.0022$)) in favour of a greater level of anxiety before the conference. The comparison of the mean values of CDQ b ($\bar{x}=20.8$; $s=10$) and CDQ a ($\bar{x}=18.9$; $s=8.2$) revealed a significant difference ($t_{(29)}=2.862$ ($p=.0077$)) in favour of a greater level of depression before the conference.

³ Krug S.E. & Laughlin J.E. (1976): CDQ - IPAT Depression Scale - Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, Champaign, Ill.

⁴ Hathaway S.R. & McKinley J.C. (1989): MMPI-2 (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory) University of Minnesota, (1943, 1970), (It. ed. 1995, Firenze, O.S.)



For the interpreters no statistically significant differences were found in either anxiety or depression values before and after the conference: in the comparison of the mean values of ASQ b ($\bar{x}=26.5$; $s=10.3$) and ASQ a ($\bar{x}=24.6$; $s=10.7$), $t_{(14)}=1.171$ ($p=.2612$). In the comparison of the mean values of CDQ b ($\bar{x}=21.1$; $s=11.1$) and CDQ a ($\bar{x}=21.1$; $s=11.5$), $t_{(14)}=1.745$ ($p=.1030$).

Hence, test results show that the degree of anxiety and depression before and after the conference varies more in the student group than in the interpreter group.

Examination of the data indicates further interesting elements: depression values were higher after the conference for 13 students and 5 out of 15 interpreters. Anxiety decreased in the student group for 27, while 6 interpreters registered an increase.

The anxiety and depression scores obtained from the ASQ and CDQ tests for both interpreters and students varied within the standard range of normal population (Krug *et al.* 1976; Krug *et al.* 1976).

MMPI 2 results were used as an indicator of the general level of depression and anxiety outside the conference setting (Hathaway & McKinley 1989). The

mean value on the anxiety scale for students was 54, situated in the low-medium range, 9 were in the lowest part of the scale and 2 just above medium values. The interpreters' percentage was 50, which is the borderline between low and medium range, 9 in the lowest level and 1 right above the medium/high borderline. The results of the depression scale registered an average of 54 for students, 2 above the medium range and 8 below it, while for interpreters the average was 53, none above the medium range and 7 below it.

7. Conclusions

The results of the three tests administered to interpreters and students show lower anxiety and depression values than is the case for the normal sample population — with interpreters being characterized by lower values than students — possibly confirming the crucial role played by those two factors when opting for interpreting studies or an interpreting career. A broader sample of interpreters is needed for further investigation of this hypothesis and deeper insight into the personality traits of interpreters.

How can the results of the preliminary study be linked to remote interpreting? Remote interpreting is something new for most interpreters; to begin with they will have to adapt to a completely new situation which has many unknown factors and lacks many elements that constitute a normal SI condition.

It could be assumed that they will be in a similar situation to the students in our study who have trained in interpreting but do not have a real work experience. The higher score differences returned by the students in the two stress-related factors of anxiety and depression show that the new conference setting (even if only a mock conference) affects them more than it does the interpreters, which indicates higher stress levels. The main difference between novices and experts (interpretation-students and professional interpreters) is that the latter have at their disposal a larger number of appropriate strategies to deal with a wide variety of situations (Riccardi in press). Experts are able to exert control over the event and when people feel they can predict or influence an event they experience it as less stressful, even if they actually do nothing about it (Taylor 1995: 226). They also have a greater ability to adjust to the stressful event. Nevertheless, in a new uncontrollable environment such as a videoconference, interpreters may need strategies that go beyond their standard repertoire and perceive greater stress. Therefore it would be interesting to verify whether this hypothesis holds true comparing data of simultaneous interpreters working both in a traditional setting and in the remote mode. The project designed could be a possible way of verifying as much, as the tests used have proved to be reliable for monitoring two psychological factors related to stress under working conditions.

Another fundamental issue will, of course, be to recognize differences in interpreting performance owing to the separation from the speaker/event/situation and to the loss of feedback from the audience setting. Altogether it is important to provide an answer to the question of how global alienation from the communicative situation will influence the interpreter and his/her performance.

In this perspective, the preliminary study can be seen as a first step towards a larger project studying stress and interpreters, working on the free lance market and in international organizations. Within international institutions the results of the study could help decision-making as to possible strategies to be adopted regarding workload standards, manning levels and training of interpreters in the remote interpreting mode. Lastly, depending on the results, training courses could be designed to prevent a more stressful situation in remote interpreting than in the classical simultaneous mode.

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ANALYSE DES ERREURS EN INTERPRÉTATION SIMULTANÉE

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Introduction

L'analyse des erreurs constitue un secteur fondamental de la didactique de l'interprétation et ouvre la voie au débat sur la qualité. Relever une erreur, la corriger et proposer la bonne solution signifie expliquer, dans ce cas, à l'étudiant, pourquoi ce que l'on a remarqué est une erreur. En outre, une classification systématique des erreurs pourrait mener à une explication des causes qui les provoquent. Le relèvement des erreurs entraîne également un jugement de qualité sur le produit de l'interprétation. Cela est fondamental en didactique où l'on est appelé à évaluer les épreuves des étudiants.

Le travail que l'on présente ici se concentre sur la mise au point d'une grille d'analyse à appliquer aux textes produits par les étudiants dans l'espoir de fournir du matériel stimulant la réflexion sur ce sujet épineux et intrigant.

1. Objectif

Le but de ce travail est double: fournir aux étudiants une grille d'analyse et d'évaluation de leurs performances et contribuer à la recherche sur l'analyse des erreurs (description et classification des erreurs) présentant une grille d'analyse à comparer avec celles proposées par d'autres auteurs (Barik 1994; Altman 1994; Rucci & Russo 1997, entre autres).

2. Méthode

Le travail porte sur l'étude d'épreuves d'étudiants qui ont passé leur examen final aux sessions de juillet et de novembre 1995, soit 21 épreuves d'interprétation simultanée du français vers l'italien. Quatre candidats qui avaient échoué la première fois (en juillet) se sont représentés à la session suivante (en novembre), par conséquent ces candidats ont chacun deux épreuves. Comme le but de cette étude est de vérifier si la grille élaborée peut s'appliquer facilement

aux textes interprétés (TI), il n'y a aucune raison d'écarter les épreuves des étudiants qui se présentaient pour la deuxième fois¹.

2.1. Type de textes

Les textes proposés aux étudiants (TO= texte original en langue de départ) sont tirés de vrais discours, dont cinq prononcés devant l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe et un au sommet de Copenhague de l'Union Européenne. S'agissant d'épreuves d'examen, les textes présentent toutes certaines caractéristiques: les difficultés syntaxiques et lexicales sont homogènes et le niveau de langue est élevé. Les thèmes étaient connus des étudiants puisqu'ils avaient été traités en cours pendant l'année académique.

2.2. Conditions de production

Devant analyser les résultats d'épreuves d'examen, il est évident que les conditions qui caractérisent la séance d'examen constituent les conditions de production décrites plus loin. Les TO sont enregistrés sur bande magnétique afin que tous les candidats puissent bénéficier des mêmes caractéristiques de lecture: intonation, rythme, vitesse. Selon leur nombre, les candidats sont regroupés, suivant l'ordre alphabétique, en groupes de trois, quatre, voire cinq candidats ayant tous le même texte à traduire. Les épreuves des étudiants sont enregistrées sur cassettes à l'aide d'un magnétophone actionné par un technicien.

2.3. Transcription

Les TI ont été transcrits pour faciliter le travail d'analyse, mais pendant l'étude on a toujours eu recours aux textes enregistrés puisque, comme le dit Kalina (1994: 228) "*it should be born in mind that the material to be studied is not the transcript but the recording*". En outre, la transcription de textes oraux comporte de nombreux problèmes, mais il est impossible de les traiter de façon exhaustive ici. On a donc décidé de réduire au maximum les signes de ponctuation dans les textes transcrits. Le point signale le ton conclusif d'un énoncé et la majuscule le début de l'énoncé suivant.

1 Leur implication, au contraire, pourrait donner lieu à une étude parallèle sur l'évolution et les progrès accomplis par les étudiants qui auraient échoué la première fois, compte tenu des problèmes initiaux et des stratégies appliquées pour les résoudre. Les retombées sur la didactique seraient éclairantes.

3. Remarques préalables

Avant d'aborder le coeur du sujet, c'est-à-dire la présentation de la grille d'analyse, il est important de rappeler les points de repères auxquels fait référence l'auteur dans l'élaboration de cet article et qui constituent les fondements théoriques sur lesquels repose la grille proposée.

L'objet de l'interprétation est le texte. Texte en tant que produit de l'intentionnalité de l'orateur adressé à un public donné². Tout texte se compose d'une *macro-structure* - à savoir le message que l'orateur veut faire parvenir à son public - qui trouve "*its way into sentences*" (Tijus 1997: 31). Par conséquent, le texte résulte de l'enchaînement de plusieurs phrases, mots liés les uns aux autres et au niveau syntaxique et sur le plan conceptuel (Viezzi 1996: 72 et suiv.; Falbo, en cours de publication). En d'autres termes, il ne faut pas oublier que le sens d'un texte est compris et retransmis à travers et grâce aux mots organisés dans une structure donnée. Viezzi (1996: 54) rappelle que

[Ma] ciò che più conta è che il senso è trasmesso attraverso le parole. Non esclusivamente, certo, ma prevalentemente attraverso le parole, ed è quindi principalmente su queste che l'interprete può e deve contare per estrarre il senso dell'enunciato - il vouloir dire dell'oratore - (nonché per avviare il "suo" atto di comunicazione) [...].

Outre les mots et leurs liens morphosyntaxiques, il faut tenir compte de la valeur pragmatique du discours, des connaissances partagées entre l'orateur et son public dont l'interprète se sert pour faciliter sa tâche, ayant recours à des procédés de contraction ou d'expansion, au niveau linguistique, du message. Ces stratégies reposent sur le principe de la paraphrase en tant que reformulation du message en contexte. Fuchs (1982: 8) définit la paraphrase de la façon suivante:

[...] on a coutume d'envisager que la reformulation paraphrastique Y soit quantativement plus longue, plus étendue, que la formulation initiale X, car on y voit facilement un développement de caractère explicatif. (Les cas d'une reformulation Y plus courte que l'original X sont beaucoup moins spontanément envisagés comme des cas de paraphrase; ex.: résumés, contraction de textes, rapports synthétiques, style télégraphique... En droit, pourtant, on ne voit pas de raison pour que la paraphrase ne puisse pas être plus courte que l'original.)

2 On ne s'étendra pas ici sur les caractéristiques de l'événement de communication orale que constitue toute occasion de communication impliquant la présence de l'interprète (v. Falbo 1993; Viezzi 1996; Russo, en cours de publication).

Il en découle que ces procédés revêtent pour l'interprète une importance fondamentale car, dans certaines conditions, il n'a d'autre possibilité³, pour mener à bien son travail, que de contracter ou d'amplifier le passage en cours d'élaboration. De toute évidence, une grille qui se baserait sur le décompte des mots formant une phrase en TO et en TI, n'aurait pas droit de cité, puisqu'elle ignorerait non seulement les conditions propres de l'interprétation simultanée, mais aussi et surtout le texte en tant qu'événement de communication. Mais il faut rappeler que l'application erronée de ces stratégies (contraction/expansion) donne lieu à l'erreur comme on le verra ensuite.

4. Définition d'erreur

Qu'est-ce qu'une erreur en interprétation simultanée? Pour répondre à cette question, il faudrait avant tout voir comment les erreurs ont été définies et classées en littérature. On se contentera ici d'un aperçu rapide permettant d'aborder la présentation de la grille d'analyse⁴.

Barik (1994: 122) se réfère aux erreurs en les considérant des *departures [...] of the interpretation from the original*. Altman (1994: 27) fait une distinction entre *errors* et *mistakes*, les premières affectant le contenu, les informations du TO et les deuxièmes la forme. Gile (1985) parle plutôt d'*écarts* classés en quatre groupes: maladresses lexicales, maladresses d'expressions, fautes de langue et fautes de logique. Kopczynski (cité par Altman 1994: 26) propose une définition d'erreur qui comprend aussi bien la déviation du TI par rapport au TO au niveau de la forme qu'au niveau du contenu.

L'objectif de ce travail n'est pas une définition précise d'erreur pour l'interprétation. Seule une étude systématique et suivie pourra en effet rendre compte de ce que signifie erreur dans le cadre de l'interprétation simultanée. Pour l'instant, il convient de considérer erreur au sens large du terme tout ce qui

3 Le TO peut présenter des traits se prêtant tout spécialement à la synthèse ou à l'expansion. Pour ce qui est de la contraction, elle s'appuie sur des traits caractérisant un texte donné: redondance, répétition de certaines idées n'ayant pas un but voulu de la part de l'orateur. L'expansion s'applique à des passages peu claires (lexique et/ou structure) ou particulièrement denses du point de vue des informations qu'ils contiennent. Mais parfois ce sont des conditions qu'on pourrait désigner extérieures qui obligent l'interprète à appliquer ces procédés: vitesse/lenteur d'élocution de la part de l'orateur, incidents, dérangements. Tout cela doit être vu à la lumière des différentes typologies textuelles, afin de respecter l'intentionnalité de l'orateur, la force illocutoire et les effets perlocutoires du TO.

4 Pour un tableau complet et exhaustif v. Viezzi (1996).

constitue une violation de la cohésion et de la cohérence de TO en TI, et l'équivalence au niveau du contenu et de la forme entre TO et TI⁵.

5. Grille d'analyse

Deux grandes catégories constituent les piliers de la grille adoptée: contenu et forme. On présentera d'abord les catégories de contenu et de forme accompagnées d'exemples tirés des TI analysés (les lettres entre parenthèses font référence à l'étudiant; en cas de deux ou plusieurs épreuves du même étudiant la lettre est suivie d'un numéro) et ensuite on passera aux commentaires concernant les différentes catégories (§ 6).

Erreurs de 'CONTENU'.

MCR (manque de cohérence)	<p>absence ou présence de pronoms, de mots-charnière, de syntagmes impropres, donnant lieu à des non-sens, des faux-sens ou à des contre-sens.</p> <p>1) <i>Je tiens à les remercier très chaleureusement de leur contribution importante au rapport et au projet de résolution,...</i> [les se référant à un groupe précis de personnes évoqué dans le segment précédant] <i>Vorrei ringraziare calorosamente tutti quanti per questo contributo importante per la relazione e per il progetto di risoluzione. (C)</i></p> <p>2) <i>Monsieur le Président, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général de l'OCDE, chers collègues parlementaires, le rapport dont nous avons à débattre aujourd'hui a connu une longue et fructueuse élaboration au sein de la commission des questions économiques et du développement et, hier, au sein de la même commission dans sa forme élargie, c'est-à-dire avec la participation de plusieurs délégations parlementaires des pays non membres de l'OCDE. Signor Presidente, Signor Segretario Generale dell'OCSE, Signori parlamentari, la relazione di cui dobbiamo dibattere oggi è un ottimo lavoro della Commissione per le questioni economiche e lo sviluppo. E ieri in seno a questa commissione nella sua forma ampliata, vale a dire con la partecipazione di diverse delegazioni</i></p>
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5 Viezzi (1996) parle de quatre critères pour mesurer la correspondance entre TO et TI: *equivalenza, accuratezza, adeguatezza et fruibilità*. Ces critères tiennent compte non seulement des caractéristiques (forme et contenu) du TO, mais aussi et, on pourrait dire surtout, de la situation communicative dans laquelle se situe le processus dynamique de l'interprétation.

	<i>parlamentari dei paesi non membri dell'OCSE.</i> (E) (+ Mcs) (+ Pg: <i>è un ottimo lavoro)</i>
P (perte d'information)	une information ou une partie d'information ne figure pas en TI à cause de différents procédés, illustrés ci-dessous.
Pa (perte par absence)	une partie de TO ne figure pas du tout en TI; dans la colonne 'CONTENU' a été écrite la partie de TO éliminée en TI.
Pat (perte par atténuation)	une partie de TO est présentée en TI atténuée. <i>L'identification des mécanismes...</i> <i>L'identificazione di alcuni meccanismi ... (B1)</i> <i>... pour le développement...</i> <i>... per effettuare un certo sviluppo... (B1)</i>
Pg (perte par généralisatio n)	une partie de TO figure en TI avec moins de détails par rapport à l'original. <i>... qui résulte entre autres...</i> <i>... che è il risultato.... (D)</i> <i>... le rapport [...] a connu une longue et fructueuse élaboration au sein de la commission...</i> <i>... la relazione [...] è un ottimo lavoro. (E).</i>
Pi (perte d'intensité)	élimination de l'intensité affective, de l'effet rhétorique. <i>Mais, à contrario, ne traitons pas cette question spécifique...</i> <i>Comunque noi non trattiamo la questione specifica... (D)</i>
Pr (perte de relation textuelle)	une partie bien insérée dans son contexte en TO apparaît déplacée en TI, créant une différente relation textuelle avec les segments précédants et suivants. <i>... ensuite la consolidation fiscale, c'est-à-dire l'assainissement de nos finances; enfin, les réformes structurelles sans lesquelles toute croissance risque de devenir temporaire.</i> <i>... in seguito il consolidamento fiscale ovvero il risanamento delle</i>

	<i>finanze pubbliche attraverso riforme strutturali (A)</i>
Ps (perte par substitution)	<p>une partie de TO est remplacée en TI par une idée qui ne figure pas en TO; l'étudiant dit quelque chose de différent, parfois exactement le contraire de ce qui est affirmé en TO.</p> <p><i>... sans lesquelles toute croissance risque de devenir temporaire.</i> <i>... senza le quali qualsiasi riforma non avrà che effetti temporanei.</i> (A)</p> <p><i>... à près de 75%...</i> <i>... a più del 75%...</i> (A)</p>
A (ajout)	<p>une information qui ne figure pas en TO est gratuitement introduite en TI.</p> <p><i>L'appréciation du yen au cours des premiers mois de l'année, ...</i> <i>L'apprezzamento dello yen che è stata costante nei primi due mesi dell'anno...</i> (M)</p> <p><i>il y eut des tâtonnements, des tensions, des choix à faire. Les convictions démocratiques de nombreux Portugais, Mário Soares au tout premier rang ...</i> <i>Ci son state delle tensioni dei fallimenti dei problemi. <u>Dei fallimenti che erano necessari</u> e il convincimento democratico di molti Portoghesi in primo luogo dell'onorevole Suares...</i> (L) (+ Pa: tâtonnements Ps: des tensions, des choix à faire)</p>

Erreurs de 'FORME'

MCs (manque de cohésion)	<p>pronoms erronés à l'intérieur d'anaphores et de cataphores, non correspondance en nombre et genre entre verbe et sujet (etc...), mots-charnière mal choisis, mais grâce au contexte possibilité de comprendre le vouloir dire de l'orateur.</p> <p><i>... la combinaison de taux d'intérêt historiquement bas, d'un nouveau et massif programme de relance budgétaire et de réformes structurelles plus vigoureuses, saura sortir l'économie japonaise de l'ornière où elle s'est quelque peu enlisée.</i> <i>... riforme strutturali più vigorose sicuramente un quadramento del bilancio potranno favorire la ripresa economica in Giappone.</i> (M) (+ ML: quadramento)</p>
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<p>ML (maladresses lexicales)</p>	<p>mots impropres au contexte ou inexistants, mais grâce au contexte possibilité de comprendre le vouloir dire de l'orateur (erreurs de registre et de collocation).</p> <p><i>La commission se joint à moi...</i> <i>La commissione si aggiunge a me... (B)</i></p> <p><i>... nous nous sommes encore retrouvés dans nos efforts conjugués en vue de...</i> <i>...per coniugare i nostri sforzi... (L)</i></p> <p><i>... l'efficacité de leurs entreprises...</i> <i>... amprese... (M)</i></p> <p><i>... faciliter le règlement des litiges.</i> <i>...favorire la risoluzione delle dispute. (J)</i></p>
<p>ME (maladresses d'expression)</p>	<p>expressions impropres ou inexistantes, mais grâce au contexte possibilité de comprendre le vouloir dire de l'orateur (ordre des mots, structure de la phrase).</p> <p><i>Des groupements économiques régionaux se forment ou se développent...</i> <i>Gruppi economici a livello regionale oggi nascono. (B)</i></p> <p><i>... contacts établis et normalement appelés à s'intensifier...</i> <i>... contatti che dovrebbero diventare ancora maggiori... (O)</i></p> <p><i>... sans réfléchir au fait...</i> <i>... senza riflettere al fatto... (CI)</i></p>

ME et ML sont deux catégories empruntées à Gile (1985). Pour les définitions de cohérence et de cohésion on se réfère à de Beaugrande & Dressler (1984). La cohésion concerne le texte de surface, c'est-à-dire les mots qu'on voit ou qu'on entend et qui sont liés entre eux par des dépendances grammaticales. La cohérence concerne les concepts, les idées exprimées et les relations logiques entre elles. Un texte peut être cohérent même s'il manque de cohésion et vice versa, ou bien il peut n'être ni cohérent ni cohésif. Dans ce cas le même segment textuel a été inscrit aussi bien dans la colonne "CONTENU", MCr, que dans la colonne "FORME", MCs.

Pour ce qui est de la catégorie MCr, dans le premier exemple (1) TI est cohérent, mais il ne respecte pas la cohérence de TO (*les „ tutti quanti*), tandis que dans le deuxième TI est à la fois non cohérent *per se* et par rapport à TO. A cela s'ajoute aussi un MCs et par conséquent le même segment textuel figurera dans la colonne "CONTENU", MCr, aussi bien que dans la colonne "FORME", MCs.

La catégorie PI regroupe différentes (sous-)catégories qui spécifient la raison pour laquelle il y a eu perte d'information. Certaines d'entre elles correspondent plus ou moins aux omissions, aux ajouts et aux substitutions proposées par certains auteurs (Barik 1994; Altman 1994; Rucci & Russo 1997). On a pourtant choisi d'adopter une terminologie différente dans le but de mettre en évidence surtout la différente approche qui a mené à l'élaboration de cette grille. En effet, comme on l'a dit à plusieurs reprises, on essaie de considérer le texte comme un tout communicant une certaine quantité d'informations. C'est la présence ou l'absence des informations de TO en Ti - et naturellement la façon dont elles sont reformulées (forme) - qui revêt une importance fondamentale, car c'est à partir de là que l'on peut comparer l'équivalence (dans le sens de Viezzi 1996: 86) entre TO et TI. Comme cela apparaît clairement, on ne veut absolument pas juger de la gravité des erreurs. Il est vrai que certaines erreurs n'empêchent que partiellement la communication tandis que d'autres l'interrompent brutalement, mais dans cette première phase l'intéressant est de relever les erreurs, de les classer et seulement après on pourra juger de leur impact sur la communication.

La catégorie A (ajout) mérite quelques remarques. Se situant au niveau du contenu informatif de TO, on ne peut considérer comme A que la présence en TI d'informations qui n'apparaissent pas en TO. Si par exemple on classifiait *alcuni* dans *L'identificazione des mécanismes... L'identificazione di alcuni meccanismi...* (B1) comme A on ne pourrait pas rendre compte du fait que si l'auteur parle des mécanismes dans leur ensemble, l'interprète n'en envisage que quelques-uns. Si l'on juge à partir du contenu (informations) on verra une soustraction, et donc une atténuation du concept original; si on se situe au niveau du nombre de mots alors on conclura à l'ajout d'un mot.

6. Analyse

L'analyse prévoit la comparaison au niveau du contenu entre TO et TI, ainsi qu'une étude de la qualité de l'expression en TI, c'est-à-dire de la forme.

Pour chaque candidat, à savoir pour chaque TI, on a constitué un dossier de plusieurs pages. Chaque page a été divisée en quatre colonnes. Dans la première colonne figure TO, dans la deuxième TI; dans la troisième ont été transcrits les passages de TI qui présentent des erreurs de contenu, et, enfin, dans la quatrième colonne les passages de TI où il y a des erreurs de forme. A côté de

chaque erreur de contenu ou de forme figure, entre parenthèses, le sigle de la catégorie à laquelle appartient l'erreur en question.

La présence de TO et de TI, l'un à côté de l'autre, permet d'avoir constamment sous les yeux l'ensemble du texte.

6.1. Unités d'analyse: le paragraphe

Il est toujours difficile de trancher sur la question de la division d'un texte en unités minimales d'analyse. Comme on ne veut pas perdre de vue le fait qu'il faut considérer chaque portion d'un texte comme une partie intégrante du texte lui-même et que chaque partie est par conséquent étroitement liée à la partie précédente ainsi qu'à la partie suivante, on a décidé d'accepter la division opérée en amont par l'auteur du discours en paragraphes dont la longueur varie selon la quantité des idées exprimées. Cette division du texte (notre faculté reçoit les textes sous forme écrite) est rendue visible par des espaces blancs avant et après l'unité intéressée. Elle est respectée à l'oral par une brève interruption dans la chaîne parlée et par prosodie (c'est ce qui ressort de l'écoute des enregistrements des textes d'examen).

6.2. Classification de certaines erreurs

Les noms propres ont été transcrits dans la colonne 'CONTENU' si estropiés (un nom écorché pourrait donner lieu à des malentendus, voir vexer quelqu'un) dans la colonne 'FORME' si omis et remplacés par la fonction de la personne en question. On a décidé dans ce cas de les considérer comme des erreurs de forme, car il peut être impoli de ne pas citer une personne par son nom. Le message, de toute façon, (à qui fait-on allusion? de qui parle-t-on?) passe grâce à la fonction évoquée. Ils figurent dans les deux colonnes au cas où ni la fonction ni le nom ne figureraient en TI.

En outre on a étudié les auto-corrections et les faux départs, bien qu'ils n'aient été insérés dans aucune catégorie. En effet, ils relèvent plutôt de la présentation que de la forme ou du contenu.

6.3. Un exemple d'analyse

TI, candidat: O	TO	CONTENUTO	FORMA
<p>novembre 1995, texte 3</p> <p>Tutto ciò dimostra che l'OCSE ha visto la necessità di un'aper-tura e ha preso le misure neces-sarie per questo. E allora come continuerà questa evoluzione quali quale sarà il ritmo le modalità per aumentare le relazioni con i paesi non membri? Ci si chiede se l'organizzazione non rischia di perdere la sua omogeneità e quindi la sua efficacia. Come potrà sopravvivere se si amplia troppo e trovandosi in una situazione di soluzione dei problemi piuttosto che di dialogo (MCr) go. Co.. tutte queste soluzioni sono presenti per tutti noi per i rappresentanti dei nostri paesi. La il futuro dell'OCSE deve prendere in considerazione problemi più vasti come la struttura dell'organizzazioni internazionali. Si sta riflettendo su questo un po' dappertutto e soprattutto all'interno dei gruppo dei G7.</p>	<p>Tout cela montre que l'OCDE a su comprendre la nécessité de l'ouverture et prendre les dispositions nécessaires à cette fin. Comment va se poursuivre cette évolution? Quels en seront le rythme et les modalités? A multiplier ses rapports avec les pays non membres, l'organisation ne risque-t-elle pas de perdre de son homogénéité donc de son efficence? Quelles seraient ses chances de survie s'il apparaissait qu'en s'élargissant à l'excès, elle devenait un lieu d'affrontement plutôt que de dialogue? Toutes ces questions sont très présentes à l'esprit de tous nos responsables de nos pays. L'avénir de l'OCDE n'est qu'un élément d'une problématique plus vaste, celle de l'architecture du système des organisations internationales. La réflexion est en cours un peu partout à ce sujet, notamment au sein du G7.</p>	<p>per aumentare le relazioni con i paesi non membri? (Ps)</p> <p>e trovandosi in una situazione di soluzione dei problemi piuttosto che di dialogo (MCr)</p> <p>tutte queste soluzioni sono presenti per tutti noi per i rappresentanti dei nostri paesi (MCr)</p> <p>La il futuro dell'OCSE deve prendere in considerazione problemi più vasti come la struttura dell'organizzazioni internazionali. (Ps) (MCr)</p>	<p>quale sarà il ritmo le modalità (MCs)</p> <p>e trovandosi in una situazione di soluzione dei problemi piuttosto che di dialogo (MCs)</p> <p>dell'organizzazioni internazionali (MCs) dei gruppo dei G7 (MCs)</p>

Les parties soulignées signalent les reprises ou les auto-corrections. Les parties en italique dans la première colonne contiennent des erreurs et sont transcrites, selon les cas, dans la troisième et la quatrième colonne.

7. Résultat de l'analyse

Il faut remarquer avant tout que tout manque de cohérence est dû à une/des perte/s d'information, qu'il s'agisse d'une idée, d'un concept ou d'un simple lien logique, mais l'expression s'avère si embrouillée qu'il est pratiquement impossible de dire ce qui a effectivement sauté. Très souvent un MCr correspond à un MCs. Mais le contraire n'est pas vrai. On a compté 30 cas où une Ps, bien cernée, s'accompagne de MCr. Les MCr sont les erreurs les plus fréquentes ainsi que les Ps, les MCs, les ML et les ME. Ces deux dernières catégories montrent clairement l'influence de la forme de TO sur TI, puisqu'elles comprennent surtout des calques. Shattuck-Hufnagel & Klatt (1980: 37-38) affirment que

... errors occur when two similar segments are simultaneously available to the sentence processor and competing for the same slot in the planned utterance. Simultaneous availability may arise in a number of ways. Both segments may be part of the planned utterance, or one of them may appear in an alternative form of the utterance being considered, or in a strongly associated word (...); or the speaker may be listening to an utterance, looking at something, or merely thinking about something that contains the competing segment in its verbal form.

Si cela est vrai sur le plan intra-linguistique, à plus forte raison on peut l'appliquer au niveau inter-linguistique propre de l'interprétation simultanée.

On ne fournira pas ici le cadre complet du décompte des erreurs relevées, car un deuxième contrôle s'impose.

8. Conclusion et critique

Au-delà des résultats de l'analyse et de leur interprétation, il est nécessaire de s'étendre brièvement sur les caractéristiques des catégories composant la grille d'analyse. Évidemment il ne s'agit que d'une tentative de classification des erreurs sur la base des principes mentionnés au § 4. Pendant l'analyse, c'est-à-dire en phase d'application de la grille, et l'étude des résultats obtenus, on s'est rendu compte de la nécessité de mieux distinguer l'analyse de TI en tant que produit autonome, de la comparaison entre TO et TI. Cette distinction, qui n'est pas essentielle pour l'évaluation des épreuves, est fondamentale pendant l'analyse, car très souvent on a tendance à mélanger les différentes catégories. Il serait plus aisé donc d'analyser TI au niveau de la cohérence et de la cohésion, se soustrayant ainsi aux influences de la forme de TO et tenant compte du caractère oral de TI, et ensuite de comparer TO et TI pour vérifier l'équivalence - contenu - entre les deux. On a vu tout à l'heure, par exemple, qu'un MCr peut être limité à la comparaison entre TO et TI, et ne pas affecter la cohérence de

TI, où il y aurait de toute façon une manipulation de l'information originale de TO. Une telle méthode permettrait peut-être d'avoir un cadre plus objectif et plus clair des erreurs remarquées. Ensuite, une étude croisée entre les résultats de l'analyse de TI et ceux de la comparaison entre TO et TI pourrait amener aux causes des erreurs relevées. Par exemple, après avoir relevé certaines maladresses lexicales ou d'expression en TI, un regard sur la forme et la structure de TO pourra expliquer les raisons de ces maladresses. Il ne semble pas intéressant à ce niveau de spécifier - en prévoyant des sous-catégories - le type d'erreur morpho-syntaxique présent, à moins qu'on ne veuille rendre les étudiants conscients des caractéristiques propres (grammaire, syntaxe, ecc.) des deux langues. Cela permettrait aussi d'aborder la réflexion sur les différentes stratégies de reformulation à partir des informations morpho-syntaxiques et sémantiques de TO⁶.

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6 Très souvent, en simultanée, l'interprète ne dispose pas de toutes les informations nécessaires pour commencer la traduction, car il n'a pas encore entendu une quantité suffisante de TO pouvant dégager le sens du segment de TO à l'écoute. Il ne dispose que d'informations morpho-syntaxiques et sémantiques qui lui communiquent les relations existant entre les différents membres de la phrase. A partir de ces informations il peut commencer à traduire (Falbo, en cours de publication).

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LA PRISE DE NOTES PEUT-ELLE DETOURNER D'UNE BONNE QUALITÉ DE L'ÉCOUTE EN INTERPRÉTATION CONSÉCUTIVE?

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Rien n'est si facile et si commun que de se duper soi-même quand on ne manque pas d'esprit et quand on connaît bien toutes les finesses de la langue. C'est une reine prostituée qui descend et s'élève à tous les rôles, qui se déguise, se pare, se dissimule et s'efface; c'est une plaideuse qui a réponse à tout, qui a toujours tout prévu, et qui prend mille formes pour avoir raison. Le plus honnête des hommes est celui qui pense et qui agit le mieux, mais le plus puissant est celui qui sait le mieux écrire et parler

G. Sand, *Indiana*

Dans une expérience précédente, insérée dans l'étude des mécanismes qui interagissent au cours du processus de l'interprétation consécutive, Gile (1991a) a évalué la qualité de l'écoute dans un groupe expérimental (avec prise de notes) et dans un groupe témoin (sans prise de notes) par le biais d'un indicateur très spécifique: la rétention-restitution des noms propres. Cette expérience était la bienvenue, puisque "à notre connaissance, aucune étude n'a été entreprise jusqu'à présent pour évaluer l'incidence réelle de la prise de notes sur l'efficacité de l'écoute" (1991a: 432); or, à notre connaissance à nous, depuis 1991 aucune autre étude n'a suivi celle de Gile, comme le confirme implicitement Lambert:

As to whether an individual processes information better by just listening than by listening and note-taking is another point which needs to be examined more closely (Ilg & Lambert 1996: 85).

Pour ce qui est de la rétention-restitution des noms propres, la conclusion à laquelle parvient l'auteur est assez tranchante:

[...] la consommation d'attention par la prise de notes lors de l'interprétation constitue une menace pour la qualité de l'écoute[...]. (Gile 1991a: 434)

Les étudiants en début d'apprentissage de l'interprétation, consécutive notamment, sont en général très fermement mis en garde contre ce danger; pourtant, notre expérience didactique elle aussi nous enseigne qu'il n'est pas toujours aisé de convaincre les apprentis-interprètes qu'en matière de rétention-reproduction de l'information auditive reçue il peut y avoir une concurrence parfois déroutante entre écoute et prise de notes, où la seconde risque de l'emporter sur la première:

La prise de notes risque d'éloigner leur attention de l'écoute, qui est à la base même de l'interprétation pour la détourner sur ce qui n'est qu'une technique qui ne saurait s'y substituer (1991a: 431).

Par ailleurs, force est de constater qu'au regard de cette affirmation

[...] pour les étudiants, obnubilés par la crainte de ne pas retenir tous les éléments du discours original, elle ne pèse pas très lourd face à l'attrait de la 'sécurité' que donne l'écrit alors que dans leur esprit [...] il n'est pas évident que la prise de notes les empêche d'écouter (1991a: 432).

Par ailleurs, si tant d'interprètes, et non des moindres, en fait prennent des notes dont il se servent concrètement dans la phase de restitution en langue d'aboutissement, il doit bien y avoir une raison; par conséquent, le problème ne peut à l'évidence être réduit à une mise en garde contre le danger d'un désinvestissement de l'attention à l'égard de l'*incoming information*. Le problème, pour les enseignants, est justement d'encadrer correctement la nature et le rôle joué par la prise de notes comme étant l'un des constituants de l'I.C.

Le but de notre étude est d'apporter une contribution, si modeste soit-elle, au débat sur les fonctions et sur les limites de tout système de notation graphique en I.C.; elle se veut aussi comme un complément d'information visant à vérifier si l'énergie absorbée par la notation empêche l'étudiant de "bien" écouter un message donné en langue de départ et dans quelle mesure ce phénomène se produit, ce qui pénalise ainsi la qualité et la quantité de l'*information load* en phase de reformulation en langue d'aboutissement.

Nul n'ignore que dans la littérature sur l'interprétation de conférences et ses mécanismes on est bien loin d'un consensus sur le rôle de la prise de notes comme garantie supplémentaire pour une interprétation réussie: les positions théorico-pragmatiques dans ce domaine sont très diversifiées; mises à part les réflexions désormais historiques des pères (maîtres) de l'interprétation (Herbert, Rozan), on va de l'approche extrêmement structurée de Matyssek (1989), proposant un code de graphismes systématiques (symboles signes pictogrammes contractions abréviations...) qui fondamentalement n'est pas étranger aux principes qui régissent la transcription sténographique, jusqu'au manque presque total d'intérêt dont a fait constamment preuve l'École de Paris: ses représentants

(Seleskovitch, Lederer, Déjean le Féal, Thiéry, García-Landa, pour ne citer que les plus importants) "*never thought much of note-taking as an underpinning of C.I.*" (Ilg & Lambert 1996: 71).

L'approche intermédiaire (p.ex. Gran 1990) semble être la plus raisonnable, compte tenu de l'interaction complexe entre écoute, compréhension, rétention cognitive, mémoire, écriture et restitution du message de langue source à langue cible: variables qui interviennent toutes, même à des niveaux différents d'intensité (en fonction, par exemple, de la typologie discursive) à travers les différentes phases de l'I.C. Il est évident que dans la consécutive encore plus que dans la simultanée, le décalage temporel existant entre la réception de l'information et sa restitution comporte par nécessité (qui en vérité se transforme souvent en vertu) l'estompage de l'enveloppe verbale du discours:

The memory for surface structures and its features undergoes rapid decay, and it is only by means of special strategies devised by the subjects that this decay can to some degree be counteracted [...] The extreme importance of such strategies, particularly in consecutive interpreting, cannot be minimized and require further study (Garretson 1981: 246).

A vrai dire, dans la traduction de discours oral, le danger ne réside pas à notre avis dans la fuite des mots mais bien au contraire dans la fuite des idées, bref, dans le fait que ce qui n'a pas été compris par l'interprète ne peut (presque) jamais être stocké en mémoire de façon cohérente et sera de ce fait ipso facto rejeté. En effet, par analogie avec la dynamique instaurée dans un contexte d'interaction communicative unilinguistique, ce dont l'interprète parvient à s'emparer au moyen des mots de la langue sera difficilement évanescents, contrairement aux mots utilisés pour exprimer certains contenus: reprenant un peu à notre compte la maxime de Caton on pourrait à bon escient dire *rem tene, verba sequentur* (ce qui, soit dit en passant, démontre une fois de plus que nous les interprètes nous n'avons rien inventé).

Notre étude s'articule de façon descriptive et vise à faire état de quelques résultats observationnels, sans aucune prétention à la rigueur statistique étant donné le nombre restreint de sujets (3) qui ont participé à l'expérimentation: en fait,

Observational studies and 'open experimenting'(in which a situation is generated and observed but no statistical inferencing for hypothesis-testing is done) are methodologically simpler than the more traditional hypothesis-testing. Inferential statistics are often tricky, even for experienced researchers (Gile 1991b: 170).

Comme point de départ général, le montage expérimental proposé par Lambert et partiellement modifié nous a paru tout à fait pertinent pour analyser

l'influence de la prise de notes sur la qualité de l'écoute et, partant, sur la capacité de traitement-rétention-reproduction de l'information reçue:

This could easily be tested in an experiment in which consecutive interpretation subjects are asked to take notes on a passage. As soon as the passage being read is finished, the notes are removed from the subjects without letting them (a) consult them or even less (b) do a consecutive interpretation, subjects are then asked to recall as much as they can of the original passage. This might yield additional information as to the extent consecutive interpreters rely on their notes, on their memory or on the fact that they have jotted information down during consecutive interpretation (Ilg & Lambert 1996: 86).

Toutefois, nous avons décidé de travailler avec trois étudiants typiquement représentatifs des trois "profils-base" correspondant à trois périodes distinctes tout au long d'une année de formation en I.C. du français vers l'italien, à savoir:

Sujet 1: étudiant grand débutant non entraîné à l'écoute (début d'année)

Sujet 2: étudiant entraîné à l'écoute avec une connaissance préliminaire des principes régissant la prise de notes (mi-cours)

Sujet 3: étudiant avec une maîtrise suffisamment accomplie du système de notation (fin de cours)

Chaque sujet a été informé qu'il était censé écouter attentivement le passage proposé pour le restituer ensuite avec une quantité maximum d'informations et avec ses liens de causalité (enchaînements logiques). Le sujet 2, au moment de la reformulation du discours vers l'italien, a été invité à mettre de côté ses notes, tandis que le sujet 3 a eu la possibilité de s'en servir pour exécuter une I.C. 'authentique'. On a donc exposé les étudiants au même texte, un extrait tiré de la presse grande diffusion, sur un thème non spécialisé et qui à notre avis respecte dans le fond les critères de la communication orale quant à son organisation structurale-discursive générale.

Voici le "discours" original, dont le temps de lecture a été de 2' environ; on a ensuite enregistré les trois performances en langue d'arrivée italien.

Comment recycler les déchets

Jeter les ordures à la poubelle est peut-être, dans les gestes quotidiens, celui que nous accomplissons, chaque matin, avec le plus d'indifférence. Nous croyons qu'il en va de même de Londres à Madrid, de Paris à Rome!

Grossière erreur, car, justement, au coeur de l'Europe, pour huit millions d'Allemands, le rapport aux déchets est devenu, depuis cinq ans, un test quotidien et obligatoire de conscience civique. Caissons noirs et sacs jaunes pour les plastiques, bidons marron pour les déchets organiques, gigantesques

conteneurs pour le papier et le carton. Malheur à celui qui mélange les verres de différentes couleurs!

Nouveaux éléments du paysage, ces objets bizarres semblent destinés à persécuter, à chaque coin de rue, les habitants des grandes villes jusqu'aux villages les plus reculés. La 'collecte différenciée' est ici un devoir, une manifestation des vertus nationales. Recycler au nom de l'environnement est un impératif éthique qui a transformé les habitudes, imposé de nouvelles priorités aux hommes politiques et permis de reconsidérer les bilans des pouvoirs locaux et des entreprises.

Le "Grüne Punkt" indique justement les produits recyclables aux frais des entreprises, de la collectivité et en dernier ressort du consommateur qui, achetant des produits emballés dans une matière recyclable, dépense en moyenne 200 à 500 DM de plus par an et par famille: la recette sert en effet à payer les services rendus par les entreprises chargées d'organiser la collecte et le tri des déchets. D'autres entreprises sont chargées de recycler le plastique, le verre, le papier et le carton ainsi que de les revendre comme matière première sur le marché. Théoriquement, c'est ingénieux: les observateurs les plus prudents n'ont-ils pas déjà fait l'éloge des Allemands, les élevant au rang de champions mondiaux du recyclage?

Notre but était d'observer:

- (a) si un training guidé d'écoute attentive et sélective sur les points à plus haute densité informationnelle (qui requièrent un investissement maximum d'attention) peut faire la différence, dans quelle mesure, avec une écoute 'non-éduquée' et peut se révéler nécessaire et suffisante pour ce qui est de la reproduction logique du squelette discursif original;
et
- (b) si l'énergie consommée par la prise de notes représente une entrave, et dans quelle mesure, ou bien une aide pour garantir une I.C. de bonne qualité. Par 'bonne qualité' nous entendons une restitution fidèle (c.à.d. vraie ou, si l'on veut, équivalente) et complète (c.à.d. aussi intégrale que possible) en langue cible du contenu informationnel véhiculé par la langue source.

Sans entrer ici dans une analyse fouillée des critères et des paramètres qui concourent à la définition de qualité en interprétation (un thème qui a été l'objet de débats fertiles et controversés non seulement sur le plan de la théorie mais aussi sur le plan de la pratique), il est hors de doute que, quand on parle de fidélité (ou équivalence, ou correspondance) entre le discours-orateur et le discours-interprète

Fidelity is the only quality component which cannot be assessed with any degree of precision without referring constantly to the source-language speech (Gile 1995: 152).

Force a été donc d'évaluer les résultats découlant des trois performances en fonction de la quantité et de la nature des informations proposées par le message original. Cette évaluation *source-text oriented* semble d'ailleurs être la plus correcte, étant donné que l'activité interprétative est par définition une activité communicative de second degré qui pour se parfaire dépend d'un discours pré-existant, si bien qu'on peut parler de

[...] 'discours dirigé' de l'interprète, une sorte d'hybride entre le discours interactionnel de la conversation et le discours autonome [...]
 Dans son déroulement sémantique, il est totalement assujéti à l'évolution de la pensée de l'orateur (Niedzielski 1988: 491).

Cela étant, nous proposons une analyse des lignes générales du "produit" confectionné par chaque sujet, en essayant de déceler, quand cela est possible, la dynamique mentale mise en route au cours du "processus":

The primary methodological challenge is thus to be seen in bridging this fundamental empirical gap between the product and the processing dimensions of interpreting (Kohn & Kalina 1996: 133).

Sujet 1 (Ecoute seulement, non-éduquée)

Il gesto di gettare i rifiuti nella spazzatura, gesto che noi riteniamo quotidiano, gesto che si fa tutti i giorni, tutte le mattine, che si fa come noi pensiamo in tutta Europa, da Londra a Roma, da Parigi a Madrid, è un gesto che noi consideriamo quotidiano ma in effetti ci sbagliamo.

Nel cuore dell'Europa gettare i rifiuti nella spazzatura è divenuto un gesto molto particolare perché c'è un'attenzione maggiore al come vengono gettati i rifiuti; ci sono contenitori diversi di colore diverso per i diversi prodotti; ad esempio, per i prodotti biologici, i resti di ciò che mangiamo, la frutta per esempio, vengono gettati in contenitori marroni; un altro esempio, ci sono moltissimi contenitori diversi per il vetro, vetri di diversi colori addirittura, per il cartone e per la carta. E questo gesto è un gesto di civiltà, un gesto che impegna ogni cittadino. E non solo i cittadini ma anche la stessa struttura politica, i centri di potere come allo stesso tempo le aziende, aziende che devono produrre secondo certi standard. Quindi questo ha modificato non solo le abitudini dei consumatori ma anche le abitudini di produzione. Il punto verde, chiamato Grüne Punkt, è il simbolo che un prodotto è riciclabile, questo vuol dire che il suo riutilizzo, il suo riciclaggio è a carico delle aziende produttrici o delle collettività locali o a volte spesso dei consumatori. Riciclare quindi è un gesto di civiltà perché fa parte di uno stile di vita. Quindi come noi riteniamo un gesto abituale, in Germania è una cosa molto particolare.

En principe, il serait logique de penser que quand l'interprète va écouter un discours qui doit être successivement reproduit, il se crée une situation idéale de *information processing*, du moment où il n'est pas nécessaire de gérer une deuxième activité concomitante et potentiellement conflictuelle (parler, en simultanée; écrire, en consécutive):

Listening may in fact represent the deepest form of processing given that subjects are not distracted by any other ongoing activities[...] (Ilg & Lambert 1996: 85).

Cela est vraisemblablement plus probable (a) si la tâche est intralinguistique plutôt qu'interlinguistique et (b) si le sujet possède des habiletés spécifiques d'écoute stratégique, i.e. ciblée sur les idées maîtresses du discours, ou bien s'il est parvenu à les acquérir en période de formation: écouter un interlocuteur pour interagir dans un contexte de communication unilingue est une chose, mais écouter pour reproduire des contenus qui n'ont pas été créés de façon autonome, c.à.d. des contenus que l'on n'a pas produits et qu'il faut saisir pour les faire comprendre à un tiers, c'est toute autre chose: on exige une capacité fort développée de percevoir et d'évaluer non seulement l'aspect locutoire, mais aussi et peut-être surtout, l'aspect illocutoire et l'aspect perlocutoire de l'acte de parole (Austin 1962), à savoir, le comportement linguistique qui est actualisé de façon pragmatique dans une situation de communication donnée.

La restitution du passage par le Sujet 1 est fortement déficitaire aussi bien en qualité qu'en quantité, avec des défaillances importantes quant à la cohérence de ce qui est dit. Nul besoin dans ce cas de se référer au discours-source pour déceler des violations parfois gênantes de plusieurs "maximes" de Grice (1975), la maxime de quantité et la maxime de qualité notamment qui, à quelques exceptions près, se prêtent à merveille pour analyser aussi la dynamique du fonctionnement de la communication inter-linguistique et, partant, de l'interprétation (Okolo 1996).

Or, rien ne nous autorise à conclure qu'une telle prestation puisse représenter un non-sequitur pour la candidature à l'interprétation, étant donné que le sujet n'a pas encore entrepris sa formation; pourtant, le moins que l'on puisse affirmer c'est que, de toute évidence, la seule "écoute" peut ne pas représenter en soi un outil mental (cognitif) pour s'approprier efficacement les contenus d'un message, à moins qu'elle n'ait été spécifiquement entraînée. Par conséquent, même si la tâche a été accomplie 'dans le silence' (c.à.d. en l'absence d'autres éléments potentiellement déroutants), elle a été quand même fortement perturbée (voir en particulier toute l'organisation du premier paragraphe) avec, en plus, une étonnante dégradation de l'italien.

De deux choses, ou l'interprète maîtrise malgré tout encore suffisamment le flot d'idées pour en faire un résumé cohérent mais dépouillé de nombreux détails, ou il s'enlise et perd de vue l'ensemble et ne peut plus rendre que des bribes de pensée sans lien de causalité (Quicheron 1981: 398).

Ce qui peut apparaître à première vue une lapalissade conserve en fait toute sa vérité:

There can be no strategically controlled production unless comprehension strategies have been successful (Kohn & Kalina 1996: 132).

Le sujet 2, tout en ayant pris ses notes pendant la lecture, a été par la suite invité à les 'mettre de côté' pour procéder au résumé que voici:

Sujet 2 (Ecoute éduquée, avec prise de notes)

Gettare i rifiuti è un gesto che si fa tutte le mattine e si pensa che in molte città venga fatto con la stessa indifferenza. Invece in Germania questo gesto di un po' è diventato una prova di senso civico vero e proprio; ci sono infatti contenitori di diverso colore per i vari prodotti organici e anche altri come per esempio la plastica o il cartone. Questi nuovi contenitori si possono trovare dappertutto e servono per la raccolta differenziata. Naturalmente questa nuova politica ambientale è molto importante non solo per i cittadini ma anche per i politici e per le industrie. I prodotti riciclabili si riconoscono dal Grüne Punkt e sono prodotti che costano più cari perché il ricavato poi serve a pagare le ditte che si occupano della raccolta e anche quelle che riciclano per esempio la plastica o il vetro che poi sono rivenduti come materie prime. Questo sistema funziona bene e infatti i tedeschi si possono considerare veri e propri campioni del riciclaggio.

On observe que rien de vraiment essentiel pour ce qui est du *soubassement* du discours ne manque, même si maints détails ont été omis, même si la restitution n'est pas sans quelques naïvetés. A l'évidence, la stratégie d'écoute est très développée chez l'étudiant tandis que l'activité simultanée d'écriture ne l'a pas empêché de suivre le 'fil rouge' du raisonnement: "*Identification of the meaning is the key to all understanding*" (Schweda Nicholson 1992: 90). Ce module de restitution révèle un contrôle très poussé sur le flux d'informations ainsi qu'une méthode mentale efficace et performante d'ordonner les segments textuels réellement porteurs de sens: on pourrait parler d'une stratégie taxinomique de sélection appuyée sur des points de repère sûrs. Juste à titre

d'exemple, le sujet a réussi à faire intervenir le mot-clé "indifférence" et à le situer correctement dans le déroulement discursif. En fait,

Comment concevoir autre chose que l'antériorité du comprendre et de l'interpréter, par rapport au traduire? (Meschonnic 1995: 515).

Dans ce cas, l'apprenti-interprète n'a pas permis à ses notes de détourner sa capacité d'attention et d'élaboration cognitive: le quantum de message ainsi donné permettrait à notre avis au bénéficiaire de cette "interprétation minimale" de comprendre aisément ce dont il est question; certes, il se peut que l'étudiant soit particulièrement doué, il se peut aussi que son 'encyclopédie', sa connaissance du monde lui aient permis une maîtrise optimum des contenus du message; n'empêche: l'interférence écoute- notation n'a pas eu lieu ici:

The interpreter will have to be taught to call upon any source of knowledge he takes to the task of interpreting and not limit his efforts to conjuring up linguistic props[...]The individual's ability to move back and forth between his linguistic understanding and his extra-linguistic knowledge is fundamental to the interpreter's task (Brisau *et al.* 1994: 90-91).

En effet, les ressources mentales (cognitives-mnésiques-linguistiques) ont été toutes mises au service de la tâche proposée, c.à.d. écouter attentivement et reproduire le contenu sans le support de la prise de notes, qui était pourtant intervenue pendant le stockage en mémoire des informations. Il est évident que le fonctionnement du mécanisme écoute/rétention/reproduction a marché sans entraves, ce qui est fondamental pour le succès de toute opération traduisante:

As interpreters receive source-language input, they are involved in a constant process of analysis [...] interpreters are continuously disambiguating information as they proceed (Schweda Nicholson 1992: 93).

Voyons enfin (on aimerait pouvoir dire 'écoutons') le restitution du passage, exécutée canoniquement selon le mode consécutif d'interprétation:

Sujet 3 (Interprétation Consécutive)

Gettare i rifiuti nel cestino è una delle azioni quotidiane che compiamo ogni mattina con la più grande indifferenza e crediamo che avvenga lo stesso in tutti i paesi d'Europa, da Londra a Parigi, da Roma a Madrid. Ma questo è un grosso errore; infatti, nel cuore dell'Europa, in Germania, i rifiuti rappresentano ogni giorno un test di coscienza civica. Mettere la plastica nel

sacchetto nero o in quello giallo, i rifiuti organici in quello marrone, la carta o il cartone in altri ancora; chi confonde questi sacchetti compie un grave errore e nei diversi paesi questi nuovi elementi, questi nuovi contenitori differenziati che appaiono rappresentano quasi una persecuzione per gli abitanti sia delle città che dei paesi più isolati. La raccolta differenziata è un vero e proprio dovere, una virtù nazionale. Il riciclaggio rappresenta per l'ambiente un fattore molto importante ma diventa importante anche dal punto di vista etico, crea nuove priorità per gli uomini politici ed influisce in modo decisivo sul bilancio dei poteri locali ma anche sulle imprese. Il Grüne Punkt rappresenta il simbolo dei prodotti che possono essere riciclati ed è un simbolo sia per le imprese sia per la collettività sia per i consumatori. Infatti, il consumatore che compra un prodotto riciclabile spende 200-500 marchi in più per questi prodotti ogni anno e per famiglia e questi soldi vanno a pagare i servizi forniti dalle imprese per la raccolta; altre imprese si occupano della plastica, del vetro, della carta e del cartone rimettendoli sul mercato come materie prime, e questo sembra essere un processo molto ingegnoso. Gli osservatori più prudenti hanno già riconosciuto come i tedeschi possono essere definiti dei veri e propri campioni mondiali del riciclaggio.

Qu'est-ce que l'Interprétation Consécutive? Il nous semble que nous répondrons pour une fois en énonçant ce qu'elle n'est pas: l'I.C. n'est pas une pure et simple relecture de notes; elle ne se contente jamais du seul déchiffrement de signes éparpillés sur la page. De fait, une prise de notes remplissant son office s'identifie avec une écriture à démarche mentale qui suit pas à pas les volumes du discours, et non pas avec une architecture graphique édiflée de toutes pièces qu'il suffirait de relire diligemment (passivement) pour faire jaillir un sens.

L'interprète, en consécutive tout comme dans les autres formes d'interprétation de texte oral, ne peut en aucune circonstance s'estimer exempté d'une écoute ciblée (écouter en entendant) qui, comme on l'a répété à l'envi, doit primer sur tout mécanisme interprétatif. Un gros avantage qu'offre l'I.C. par rapport à la simultanée consiste justement dans le fait qu'on a tout le loisir d'écouter tout le discours "en silence" et, partant, de traiter l'information au mieux dans son intégralité, sans aucun effort d'anticipation:

Consecutive interpreting [...] can be compared to a game of chess, as the par excellence example of a game with complete information, where all the pieces - and, in our case, all the text units - are on the chessboard (Alexieva 1990: 2).

Par conséquent, chaque 'coup' (acte de parole) de l'interprète tout au long de sa restitution en langue cible devrait être influencé et justifié par le précédent et par la situation linguistico-pragmatique progressivement instaurée.

Qu'en est-il donc de l'isotopie interprétative enchaînée par le Sujet 3 ou, si l'on veut, de la cohérence de son parcours d'écoute?

Notre but ici n'étant pas de porter un jugement détaillé sur la qualité de la prestation, nous nous bornerons à quelques remarques pour ce qui est des mécanismes associatifs reliant écoute-notation-restitution. Evidemment, la quantité d'informations donnée est dans ce cas plus abondante par rapport aux deux autres performances: par exemple, les menus détails sur les différents types de conteneurs possèdent un niveau de rémanence mnésique très ténu, tant il est vrai qu'une rétention somme toute acceptable, même un peu gauche (p.ex. la fausse correspondance *conteneur = sacchetto*), a été possible seulement dans ce cas et seulement grâce à la prise de notes: l'une des fonctions de la notation graphique en I.C. est justement de fixer par écrit ces masses phoniques, ou parties du discours, qui sont les plus vulnérables à l'oubli étant donné qu'elles ne relèvent pas tellement de la compréhension, mais sont plutôt l'objet de connaissance/savoir.

Par contre, pour certaines parties du texte, la stratégie d'écoute a été de toute évidence irrémédiablement galvaudée par une prise de notes qui a exercé une interférence compétitive et prédominante vis-à-vis du déroulement logique du message: ainsi, le destinataire potentiel de cette interprétation n'aurait aucune difficulté à déceler, par exemple, un faux sens (...*e nei diversi paesi*...): l'étudiant a fait ici confiance plutôt au signe/symbole qu'à sa compétence d'inférence logique, en restituant "*paesi*" au lieu de "*paesaggio*". La défaillance d'écoute est encore plus aigüe, et bien plus pénalisante, quand on arrive au "*Grüne Punkt*": on entend un contresens dû à ce "*Infatti*...": il s'agit là d'un enchaînement syntaxique carrément fautif dans la construction de l'énoncé, qui a été sans aucun doute engendré par la présence graphique de "*...en effet*.." si bien que tout le segment "*Il Grüne Punkt rappresenta... per la raccolta*" révèle une interprétation tout à fait déficitaire en termes de cohérence textuelle. Au moment où l'interprète croit davantage à ses notes qu'à sa capacité d'induction-déduction suivant ce qu'il a entendu, il risque de dire n'importe quoi, de s'engloutir dans un charabia sans aucun rapport avec le discours original et même sans aucune logique interne. Paraphrasant Rozan on pourrait dire que l'interprète devrait se dégager de la contrainte souvent trompeuse que représentent des (mauvaises) notes, et devrait du moins s'apercevoir qu'*il ne peut pas en être ainsi*; en réalité, nous sommes convaincus qu'il n'existe pas de 'mauvaises notes' en soi: on devrait plutôt parler d'une mauvaise technique d'écoute, d'une dynamique boiteuse de raisonnement, ce qui débouche forcément sur une notation inopérante et, partant, sur des illogismes parfois flagrants lors de la restitution en langue cible. En tout état de cause, la restauration du non-compris en amont (pendant l'écoute) ne peut plus être revendiquée en aval (pendant l'interprétation):

Il est possible de se rappeler les éléments du discours entendus mais non notés, mais les éléments du discours non 'entendus' sont irrémédiablement perdus, sauf quand ils peuvent être reconstitués par analyse logique (Gile 1991: 433).

Il ne fait aucun doute que l'interprète averti ne saurait se contenter, en consécutive, d'un contrôle même poussé sur sa prise de notes et sur sa restitution:

In consecutive, monitoring occurs during two stages: first during note-taking and then during production (Sawyer 1994: 438):

en fait, à notre avis, le monitoring le plus incontournable doit se déployer pendant l'écoute, sans quoi il restera matière bien mince à interpréter. Et, pour ce qui est du monitoring en termes de production, l'I.C. offre un autre avantage non négligeable à l'interprète: 'écouter' sa restitution, encore une fois, dans le silence, c.à.d. sans aucun co-facteur dérangeant (p.ex. la voix de l'orateur), ce qui devrait lui permettre de contrôler au mieux la qualité linguistique générale de 'son' discours; pourtant, dans ce cas, on ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer des maladresses parfois gênantes dans la langue d'arrivée: voir, par exemple, le choix du terme "*cestino*" pour "*poubelle*" (là où, suivant le génie de la langue italienne, une interprétation-zéro aurait été parfaitement recevable) ou encore "*...compie un grave errore...*" pour "*Malheur à celui qui ...*": une fois de plus, l'étudiant trahit un déficit dans l'écoute du sens et de son produit linguistique aussi; or, dans la pragmatique de la communication, aussi bien intra qu'interlinguistique, et notamment dans une situation d'oralité, on ne saurait perdre de vue (d'ouïe, plutôt!) que

... pragmatically speaking, the various uses of words are best determined by examining them not in the language system in general, but in context (Schweda Nicholson 1992: 94).

L'exiguité de cette expérience ne nous autorise pas à tirer des conclusions de nature générale, même si on considère le nombre restreint des études disponibles à l'heure actuelle sur ce sujet:

Empirical studies, both observational and experimental, need to be numerous before data can be regarded as being representatives of more than a limited population of practitioners [...] Generalizations are therefore still premature (Gile 1991b: 158).

Néanmoins, quelques considérations préalables peuvent être légitimement proposées.

Le processus d'interprétation consécutive ne peut se passer d'une stratégie d'écoute qui requiert un entraînement ciblé pour conjurer le danger d'une contamination par l'activité parallèle d'écriture. Certes, la charpente du message doit être solidement bâtie au niveau mental suite à la mise en oeuvre d'une technique d'écoute-rétention accomplie qui, faute de talent inné, peut être dans une certaine mesure acquise grâce à la phase préparatoire à l'I.C. (c'est la tâche à accomplir par l'étudiant assimilable au Sujet 1). C'est uniquement à cette condition, c.à.d., savoir être en mesure de reproduire les idées-force d'un discours par la seule écoute (cas du Sujet 2) que la co-présence de la prise de notes deviendra un complément utile et naturel, un outil presque spontané de soutien pour parfaire la reproduction et non pas une entrave aussi bien pendant le décodage que pendant l'encodage du texte (comme ç'a été parfois le cas chez le Sujet 3).

Avec un dosage réfléchi et une maîtrise accomplie des énergies/ressources disponibles qui en évite le gaspillage

...listening and writing simultaneously [...] may in fact even help in the learning process during consecutive interpretation[...] Once students are taught how to process aurally presented information and how to complement this process with the appropriate consecutive note-taking techniques, note-taking may actually enhance the listening process (Ilg & Lambert 1996: 85-86);

c'est là, indéniablement, que se situe le rôle essentiel de l'enseignant d'interprétation: aider ses étudiants à se frayer un chemin à travers un parcours rigoureux qui, hélas, interdit tout détour et tout raccourci.

S'il est bien vrai que, comme l'affirmaient les poètes Dada, la pensée se fait dans la bouche, elle doit, et chez l'interprète spécialement, se faire avant tout dans l'esprit.

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DES AJOUTS EN INTERPRETATION. POURQUOI PAS?

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Introduction

"*We say more than we really need*": c'est ainsi que Sergio Viaggio (1992: 45) résume sa pensée à propos de la tâche de l'interprète dans un article dont le titre est vraiment très significatif: *Teaching beginners to shut up and listen*.

Si l'on étudie les stratégies que l'interprète peut adopter dans son processus d'interprétation et si l'on analyse en même temps le rôle qu'il joue dans la chaîne de l'acte interprétatif on ne peut que partager cet avis.

En consécutive comme en simultanée, grâce à l'effort d'analyse qu'il doit produire à partir de l'effort d'écoute, l'interprète doit se concentrer sur le sens du message qu'il va transmettre car, ainsi que le dit Seleskovitch "une interprétation est complète quand le sens qu'elle transmet est complet" (1989: 101). Ce qui ne signifie certes pas pour autant que le message qui doit reproduire l'intégralité du sens, doive en même temps reproduire l'intégralité du dire original, car "quand des connaissances peuvent être supposées, certaines paroles deviendront superflues" (*ibid.*).

Si l'on porte l'attention sur la nécessité de retenir le sens essentiel et donc de reproduire comme le dit Viaggio "*nothing short of it but - and this is essential - nothing more*"(1992: 45), on admet que la première opération à accomplir est une écoute attentive.

Or le travail d'écoute de l'interprète ne peut se limiter à prendre acte des réalités qu'il doit reproduire. Ecouter n'est pas une phase passive de réception d'un message, mais une phase active de réaction aux informations. Et si l'interprète réagit, il accomplit un acte qui s'insère dans le processus de communication destiné à relier l'émetteur - à savoir la source de l'information qui produit le message - et le destinataire de celui-ci. C'est ainsi qu'en passant à travers les phases de perception et de compréhension, de mémorisation de ce qui est explicite et implicite, d'association de situations et de connaissances, de transcodage là où la situation l'impose et de réexpression, l'interprète sera amené à analyser les caractéristiques mêmes du message à reproduire. Et la phase d'écoute (qui est en réalité un acte spontané) absorbe alors une grande quantité d'énergies, surtout à partir du moment où elle est étroitement associée à celle

d'analyse ou, pour être encore plus précis, à celle d'"extraction du sens" comme l'appelle Thiéry (1981: 107).

Extraction du sens et clarté

La tâche de l'interprète est donc d'extraire le sens pour pouvoir le reproduire. Mais quel sens? Le sens qui découle de l'écoute attentive du message et qui est en même temps le produit de l'effort d'analyse. Pour revenir à ce que dit Sergio Viaggio, l'interprète ne doit jamais essayer de tout dire, mais il doit développer les efforts qui lui permettent de gérer sa capacité de traitement pour reproduire ce qui est essentiel, ce qu'il faut vraiment dire, bref, ce que Renée Van Hoof - faisant allusion à la capacité que l'interprète doit avoir en fonction de l'auditoire auquel il s'adresse - a synthétisé dans la stratégie qui consiste à "en dire le moins possible avec le plus de recul" (1991: 227).

Il est très intéressant à ce propos de rappeler ce que Snelling affirme en commentant cette réponse:

She is not inviting the interpreter to omit, vaguely summarise or skip chunks which he considers of secondary importance, but rather to apply the most important law of all artistic production - the maximum economy of means to obtain the finest possible effects (1992: 314).

Snelling d'ailleurs insiste à plusieurs reprises dans ses ouvrages sur la nécessité pour l'interprète d'être concis, de transmettre le message débarrassé de tous les éléments superflus, afin de "consommer moins d'énergies", et de les destiner plutôt aux autres efforts qui interviennent dans l'acte interprétatif.

Dans son livre *Strategies for Simultaneous Interpreting* il choisit un titre significatif pour un des chapitres qui composent l'Introduction: *Brevity is the Soul of Wit*. L'objet de sa publication étant justement les stratégies à adopter dans l'interprétation vers l'anglais à partir des langues néo-latines, l'auteur affirme que

where one structural component of the sentence conveys the ideas, the latter need not to be reproduced elsewhere (1992: 160).

Il fait ainsi ressortir la nécessité de ne retenir que l'essentiel du message et il donne des conseils ciblés pour des stratégies dont l'interprète doit s'inspirer, afin d'assurer le maximum de clarté à son travail.

Il est intéressant à cet égard de mettre en rapport ce discours avec les maximes de coopération de Grice (1975) qui a classé son analyse en quatre grandes catégories: les maximes de quantité, de qualité, de relation et de manière.

Examinons tout d'abord les deux maximes de quantité:

- 1) *Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange)*
- 2) *Do not make your contribution more informative than is required* (1975: 45).

Ces deux maximes s'appliquent très bien à ce que Snelling et Viaggio affirment à propos de la transmission d'information. Mais il est en même temps évident que le respect de ces maximes doit tenir compte de la situation de la communication qui à son tour, est étroitement liée au contexte dans lequel se déroule l'acte de communication et qui ne peut faire abstraction du destinataire auquel le message est adressé.

Judgements about the appropriateness of an utterance require that we interpret it in relation to its context and the situation in which it is uttered

dit Corder (1981: 40) à propos d'un des éléments - le niveau d'adéquation - qui permet d'évaluer la qualité de l'interprétation.

Toujours à propos du poids à donner à la situation ou au contexte, Beccaria reconnaît:

Ma se il contesto non sempre disambigua, certo la situazione chiarisce definitivamente,[...] saper bene una lingua, parlare in maniera adeguata e comprensibile, vuol dire non soltanto conoscere le regole della grammatica, ma anche gli usi diversi in situazioni diverse (1988: 279).

Et plus loin il ajoute:

Non esiste solo la competenza grammaticale, ma la competenza pragmatica, cioè quella capacità di utilizzare la lingua in modo appropriato alla situazione comunicativa, in funzione anche degli scopi che il parlante si prefigge (*ibid.*)

Donc, l'interprète qui aura déjà développé sa capacité d'analyse rapide des informations au cours de sa formation, et qui l'aura ensuite perfectionnée en fonction de l'expérience acquise, sera en mesure d'évaluer la quantité d'informations dont son message a besoin. Et l'acte de communication sera le produit des choix qu'il effectuera pour assurer la bonne transmission de ces informations. Il pourra parfois préférer omettre certains éléments qui sont présents dans le texte de l'orateur pour éliminer les détails non requis, tout en satisfaisant à la demande d'informations, mais il sera aussi souvent amené à ajouter des éléments afin de mieux répondre à une exigence de clarté.

D'ailleurs, il suffit de jeter un coup d'oeil aux *maximes de manière* de Grice pour remarquer qu'elles s'inspirent de ce souci de clarté:

- 1) *Avoid obscurity of expression*
- 2) *Avoid ambiguity*
- 3) *Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)*
- 4) *Be orderly* (Grice 1975: 46)

Or, la clarté exige que l'on sache choisir entre ce qui est essentiel et ce qui est superflu. Le message ne peut pas être interprété uniquement en fonction des mots qui le composent ni de la valeur qu'on leur attribue. Mais les mots doivent nécessairement être associés à un savoir que l'interprète a le devoir de reproduire, sans pour autant être plus explicite que l'orateur. C'est pourquoi dans certains contextes, la stratégie à adopter peut prévoir l'emploi d'ajouts si l'interprète unit aux éléments de connaissance qu'il a retenus, d'autres éléments qui pourraient lui venir du contexte même.

N'y a-t-il pas le risque en effet qu'un excès de synthèse du texte, au lieu d'assurer la clarté, produise un supplément d'ambiguïté? Être concis n'est pas nécessairement synonyme de clarté: pour sortir de l'ambiguïté, l'interprète peut accroître son effort de synthèse, mais il peut également s'apercevoir que justement à cause de cet effort, son message est trop succinct et risque alors de ne plus reproduire l'effet voulu par l'orateur. Or, l'intention de l'orateur étant un des premiers critères à respecter, l'interprète doit percevoir tout dérapage dans la reformulation de ce vouloir dire.

C'est alors que, pour rétablir la juste intensité, il devra recourir à une stratégie d'ajouts. Il lui faudra introduire des compléments d'information, sans alourdir la structure choisie ni allonger de façon disproportionnée son message et ceci, pour répondre à l'exigence de clarté qu'il aura perçue de devoir s'engager pour effacer définitivement toute ambiguïté possible.

A propos de cette intensité, Snelling (1992) invite les étudiants futurs interprètes à tenir compte de l'importance de sauvegarder les coefficients d'énergie ou d'intensité. Il cite à ce propos des exemples en s'inspirant des principes d'hommes de science tels que Newton et Lavoisier: il conseille ainsi d'insister sur la nécessité d'avoir la même quantité de matière avant et après une opération (l'acte interprétatif en l'occurrence) et introduit l'aspect dynamique en matière de "*rearrangement of combinations*". Donc, pour rétablir le coefficient d'intensité destiné à reproduire le vouloir dire de l'orateur, l'interprète sera souvent obligé d'avoir recours à des ajouts qui seront justifiés par le contexte ou la situation dans lesquels se produit l'acte de communication. Ceux-ci ne s'opposent pas nécessairement à la troisième *maxime de manière* ("*be brief - avoid unnecessary prolixity*"), la prolixité ne devant en aucun cas être considérée comme un verbiage où l'abondance de paroles va au détriment du sens, mais comme le souci de lutter contre ce qu'un excès de concision risquerait d'enlever au message.

Plusieurs auteurs (Seleskovitch, Gile, Lederer) ont fait état des difficultés auxquelles l'interprète, même le plus chevronné, peut se heurter quand il est confronté à un message particulièrement obscur et ambigu, surtout si cette ambiguïté est voulue. Or ce n'est certes pas la tâche de l'interprète de se pousser au-delà des intentions de l'orateur car il trahirait le message, mais surtout il ne respecterait pas ce que Benveniste (1974) appelle "l'intenté du vouloir dire" et que García-Landa (1981: 118) résume dans l'expression "l'intenté par l'intention".

Il suffit à cet égard d'évoquer le langage politique (et je pense notamment aux hommes politiques italiens): on sait bien que certains discours et par conséquent, certains messages sont souvent très peu explicites.

Mi limito ad osservare che il linguaggio dei politici italiani è, per un non addetto ai lavori (o per uno straniero, ad esempio), tra i più complicati, sofisticati, scaltri ed evasivi, tra i più prudenti e i meno espliciti

affirme Beccaria (1987: 27) dans son analyse sur les langages sectoriels.

Mais l'interprète doit être conscient du rôle qu'il joue en tant qu'élément d'une chaîne d'interaction verbale entre individus sociaux. C'est pourquoi il doit toujours savoir que le principal objectif à poursuivre est la clarté: "Seule la clarté garantit que l'expression découle d'une idée" voilà le titre que Seleskovitch et Lederer (1989: 93) donnent à un des chapitres qu'elles ont consacré à l'analyse de la qualité de l'expression. Et pour améliorer cette clarté, il faudra souvent avoir recours à l'apport du contexte: c'est pourquoi, parlant de la consécutive et de la possibilité d'ajouter des informations qui proviennent du discours, sans pour autant respecter l'ordre d'apparition, Seleskovitch et Lederer affirment qu' "il faut donc apprendre à compléter sans cesse ce qu'on entend par ce qu'on a compris précédemment" (1989: 81).

En outre l'interprète doit éviter de créer lui-même des ambiguïtés qui pourraient parfois être dues aussi à un excès de concision ou à des omissions dont le poids aurait des retombées sur la compréhension du message.

De nombreuses études ont été menées au cours de ces années sur les omissions, qui ont été groupées en catégories, pour mieux en analyser les causes et les conséquences. Sur les ajouts, il existe également plusieurs études, mais toutes sont insérées dans des ouvrages d'analyse d'erreurs et considèrent donc l'ajout comme telle.

Il est par contre intéressant de prendre en considération l'ajout dans le cadre d'une stratégie à appliquer au processus interprétatif. Certes, il serait bon de faire une distinction entre les deux techniques - la simultanée et la consécutive - car, même si je partage l'avis de Déjean le Féal selon laquelle

l'interprétation simultanée n'est, à vrai dire, qu'une consécutive dont les opérations mentales, au lieu de se suivre, s'interpénètrent (1981: 85).

j'estime qu'en raison des destinataires auxquels elles s'adressent et compte tenu justement des omissions et des ajouts qui peuvent intervenir, elles peuvent exiger l'application de stratégies parfois différentes:

Quella che è una strategia consigliabile in simultanea, e cioè la ricerca della formulazione più breve possibile, non rappresenta necessariamente un'opzione strategica in consecutiva

a écrit Viezzi (1996: 124).

Mais mon propos n'est pas de traiter ce sujet ici: je voudrais pour l'heure porter mon attention sur ce qui a été dit sur les ajouts par d'autres auteurs, et exprimer ensuite mon opinion en la matière.

L'ajout dans la littérature

Dans un ouvrage sur la qualité en interprétation, Altman (1994: 25-38) analyse les omissions et les ajouts. Les quatre cas d'ajouts examinés s'insèrent dans le discours de l'analyse des erreurs de cinq étudiants d'interprétation.

Le premier est l'exemple de deux versions du même mot qui traduit un moment d'hésitation et qui en réalité ne porte pas atteinte à la transmission de l'information.

Le deuxième accroît l'emphase du message, par l'ajout d'une double locution adverbiale à la place d'un adjectif et fait naître quelques perplexités quant à l'excès de liberté que l'interprète semble prendre, confirmant ainsi les doutes sur un processus d'interprétation qui exagérerait le contenu du message.

Le discours de la liberté en traduction a fait d'ailleurs l'objet de plusieurs ouvrages. Dans son article publié dans le livre *La liberté en traduction*, Karla Déjean le Féal, analysant la liberté de l'interprète ainsi que les contraintes auxquelles celui-ci est soumis, tend à cerner le concept de liberté et arrive à la conclusion suivante: "Toutefois, si liberté il y a, on ne saurait la qualifier de liberté en interprétation, mais seulement de liberté de formulation" (1991: 214). Plus loin elle identifie cette liberté dans une "indispensable marge de manoeuvre" (1991: 215) qui, à mon sens, dans cette phase de réexpression, pourrait prévoir une reformulation synthétique aussi bien qu'une reformulation complétée par les ajouts qui tiennent compte des situations qui se sont créées aussi bien que des circonstances qui les ont causées.

Pour continuer l'analyse des cas d'ajouts étudiés par Altman, le troisième exemple, qui consiste à introduire des ajouts pour expliquer un pourcentage, est un cas très fréquent qui risque de dérouter le destinataire du message, lequel

pourrait y voir non pas un supplément d'information, mais l'introduction d'une nouvelle information. Plus que d'excès d'interprétation, on pourrait parler ici d'un désir trop poussé d'améliorer le style de la langue source qui se traduirait par une *"inclination to embroider"* (1994: 30), ce qui ne peut que confirmer la menace réelle d'une distorsion du sens. Mais c'est surtout la rapidité et le caractère immédiat de la transmission du message qui en seraient compromis. Nous connaissons en effet tous l'importance que revêtent des points de repère comme les pourcentages quand il s'agit de créer des ordres de grandeur et surtout de comparaison dans une pléthore de chiffres, par exemple dans la présentation d'un rapport financier ou des comptes annuels d'une société, où l'attention du destinataire peut être confuse ou déroutée par des exercices de style qui risqueraient de trahir la nature même du message.

Le dernier exemple introduit par Altman prévoit l'ajout arbitraire d'un élément non prévu dans le texte source et représente une véritable faute de sens (l'interprète ajoute sur la base de son effort de mémorisation un élément qu'il "croit" avoir entendu). Cet ajout risque alors de confondre sérieusement l'auditeur.

Le rôle de ces ajouts et de leurs effets sur le futur destinataire du message fait ressortir des sensations d'hésitation, de perplexité et de confusion qui justifient leur présence dans une analyse portant sur l'évaluation des erreurs les plus récurrentes en interprétation. Altman les insère dans une échelle de valeurs qui comprend six points et qui englobe, en plus des omissions, d'autres entrées telles que: *"Inaccurate Renditions of Individual Lexical Items"* et *"Inaccurate Rendition of Longer Phrases"*. Or le poids des ajouts semble limité, ces éléments se situant à la deuxième et troisième place en ordre croissant d'importance, sauf le dernier exemple plus dangereux puisqu'il risque de désorienter l'auditeur. Leur effet semble donc se limiter à la tentative d'améliorer le style de la langue cible et à la recherche d'un équivalent plus approprié qui tienne davantage compte du contexte. Mais ce n'est certes pas là le seul rôle des ajouts.

Kopczynski (1994) dans un essai publié dans le même recueil en matière de qualité en interprétation, a soumis un questionnaire très détaillé à 57 personnes qui composaient trois groupes professionnels différents: 20 appartenaient au monde des sciences humaines (philologues, historiens, avocats et économistes), 23 au monde des sciences et de la technologie, à savoir des scientifiques, des ingénieurs et des médecins, enfin 14 étaient des diplomates.

Pour ce qui est du sujet qui m'intéresse - les ajouts en interprétation - Kopczynski introduit à la dernière place dans la listes des *"irritants"* l'entrée *"too detailed rendition of content"* qui vient tout de suite après l'entrée opposée: *"too general rendition of content"*.

D'après les réponses que Kopczynski a obtenues dans son questionnaire, le facteur prévoyant un contenu trop détaillé qui serait inévitablement le produit

d'un manque de concision d'une part, d'un supplément d'ajouts ou de répétitions de l'autre, ne semble pas trop gêner les récepteurs. En effet, quand l'auteur présente les résultats détaillés par groupe de catégories professionnelles, ce facteur de dérangement, envisagé uniquement pour le monde scientifique, se situe à un seuil vraiment très bas et la comparaison avec l'entrée qui précède, à savoir "un contenu trop général", fait ressortir encore plus la diversité du poids que les récepteurs attribuent aux deux éléments dans l'évaluation de ces critères.

Dans la dernière partie de son article Kopczynski pose huit questions afin de définir le rôle que l'on peut attribuer à l'interprète (*ghost* ou *intruder*?) et la huitième question est particulièrement intéressante étant donné qu'elle concerne de façon spécifique le thème des ajouts, considérés cette fois-ci, en fonction des explications qu'ils peuvent introduire. La question est la suivante:

Is the interpreter allowed to add his or her own explanations to clarify what the speaker has said? (1994: 93).

Or, si l'on jette un coup d'oeil à la cinquième question: "*Should the interpreter remain in the background or be visible?*" - qui représente en réalité le noyau central de toute la grille de questions sur le rôle de l'interprète et si l'on examine les réponses qui ont été données, on a l'impression que c'est le "*ghost role*" qui l'emporte, et de la part des orateurs (57,9 oui contre 42,1 non) et, de façon encore plus évidente, de la part des récepteurs (84,2 oui contre 15,8 non). Cette donnée toutefois semble remise en question justement par les réponses qui ont été données à la question concernant les ajouts. Même si l'interprète doit avoir un rôle "*ghost*", il a la possibilité d'intervenir, car ses intrusions se traduisent par des ajouts qui consistent à introduire un supplément d'explication, apprécié par les orateurs et par les destinataires (le même pourcentage ayant été enregistré dans leur réponses: 52,6 oui contre 47,4 non). Par contre, un avis négatif (respectivement 57,9 et 68,4 non) a été exprimé à propos de la possibilité qu'aurait l'interprète de résumer le message. Si on examine dans les détails ce résultat, on remarque que le pourcentage le plus élevé de consensus vient du secteur des sciences et des technologies où une version concise du message semble susciter beaucoup de perplexité (26,1 oui contre 73,9 non) et où l'ajout d'explications destinées à rendre plus clair le message est par contre considéré comme un élément méritoire et souhaitable (60,9 oui contre 39,1 non).

Alors que des conclusions globales peuvent être tirées assez facilement en ce qui concerne la supériorité du contenu sur la forme, et l'importance du contenu détaillé et de la précision terminologique, c'est justement pour les catégories concernant l'objet de cette analyse que le choix semble plus difficile. En effet, malgré la priorité accordée au "*ghost role*", les opérations d'intrusion sont tout à fait légitimes et justifient, ou peut-être même encouragent les ajouts, destinés à

clarifier davantage certains types de messages qui risqueraient d'être mal compris ou mal interprétés si l'on adoptait une stratégie de résumé.

Barik qui avait déjà introduit le sujet de la qualité en interprétation dans un article paru en 1971 dans *Meta*, réélabore cette analyse dans un article paru dans *Bridging the Gap* (1994) et dans lequel il se propose de décrire les déviations observées dans l'étude de 48 interprétations simultanées effectuées par deux interprètes professionnels, deux étudiants qui venaient de suivre un cours d'interprétation et deux "amateurs" bilingues sans aucune expérience d'interprétation. Dans cet article il classe les omissions, les ajouts et les erreurs de traduction en IS.

Pour ce qui est des ajouts, il identifie quatre groupes qui vont sous le nom de "*qualifier addition*" (qui prévoit l'ajout d'un élément qualifiant le message qui ne serait pas présent dans le texte source); "*elaboration addition*" (dont le but est de présenter sous forme d'élaboration du message, une explication souvent introduite par "c'est-à-dire"); "*relationship addition*" (qui prévoit l'ajout de connectifs ou d'autres éléments qui créent un rapport entre des parties du texte qui n'étaient pas prévues à l'origine et qui en réalité peuvent représenter un élément nouveau pour ce qui concerne le contenu du message); "*closure addition*" (qui traite des ajouts moins intéressants dans ce contexte, car ils sont liés à une déviation précédente du texte, à une omission ou à une erreur d'interprétation qui amène donc à utiliser cette tactique). Dans ce dernier groupe, les ajouts ne sont pas le produit original d'une stratégie d'interprétation, mais n'interviennent qu'en fonction d'une déviation précédente.

Barik fait allusion également à d'autres types d'ajouts tels que l'ajout de la conjonction "et", ou des déictiques "ce, cet", qui ne revêtent pas la même importance à propos de la clarification du sens.

D'ailleurs, d'un point de vue strictement quantitatif, les ajouts enregistrés par Barik ne semblent pas particulièrement importants. Cet auteur a de toute façon pu remarquer que les professionnels ont plus facilement recours à la stratégie des ajouts, ce qui confirme une impression partagée par plusieurs interprètes.

Il est évident que la sensibilité que l'interprète développe au fur et à mesure qu'il travaille et qu'il entre en contact avec des situations différentes, lui permet de percevoir avec toujours plus de compétence la nécessité d'introduire des ajouts, alors qu'un étudiant qui subit davantage la contrainte de la pression du temps et du rythme d'élocution de l'orateur n'a que difficilement le courage de le faire.

J'invite souvent mes étudiants, surtout les débutants en simultanée, à développer une stratégie qui les habitue à distribuer leurs efforts entre les phases d'écoute et d'analyse et celle de reformulation, afin que la difficulté de reproduire un message incertain, peu clair, voire ambigu, ne se traduise pas par un simple déversement du poids de cet effort sur les récepteurs qui risqueraient

de devoir faire un effort de réinterprétation pour être sûrs d'avoir retenu l'essence du message. Pendant mes cours je leur conseille souvent de reformuler le discours apparemment obscur de la façon la plus exhaustive quant à son intelligibilité, quitte, dans une première phase, à rater une partie du message suivant. Leur capacité de rattrapage ne réussit pas toujours à produire des résultats satisfaisants, l'effort d'écoute et d'analyse sur le deuxième message étant souvent trop sacrifié. Mais l'emploi d'une tactique qui puisse prévoir des ajouts, même si celle-ci risque au début de donner l'impression d'accroître la prolixité verbale, les habitue à développer leur capacité de mémorisation. Cette capacité crée ainsi un réservoir important dans lequel l'interprète peut puiser dès qu'il perçoit que son message est incomplet: d'où une nette amélioration dans l'exercice de reformulation.

Viezzi (1996: 15-16) parlant de l'apport de Barik à la recherche sur la qualité, tire deux conclusions pour ce qui est des omissions: la première, qui a trait à l'omission considérée comme une perte de contenu d'information, souligne l'importance de tenir toujours compte de la situation et surtout des destinataires de l'interprétation. Cette remarque pourrait très bien s'adapter à l'analyse des ajouts, car il est évident qu'une simple confrontation entre le texte source et le texte cible ne peut suffire à documenter l'absence du passage d'informations.

Le deuxième commentaire établit en guise de conclusion, que les omissions sont étroitement liées au texte source et en identifie la cause principale dans la vitesse excessive d'exposition. La vitesse et par extension le rythme ne représentent par contre pas un facteur de dérangement qui pourrait pousser à des ajouts, mais si la vitesse est un élément qui risque de porter atteinte à la clarté du message, l'écoute attentive et le tri sélectif de l'interprète l'amèneront à accroître en même temps son effort de mémorisation, ce qui lui permettra dans une première phase de résumer le message, et dans une deuxième, le cas échéant, d'ajouter ces compléments d'informations qui pourraient avoir laissé le message incomplet. Bref, il s'agit d'intervenir en tenant compte de ce que Lederer a défini à propos du décalage "le mouvement de pendule" (1989: 154 et ss.). Si l'interprétation se compose d'idées (objets de compréhension) et de termes à transcoder (objets de savoir), l'effort doit être porté sur les idées à reformuler qu'il sera plus facile de garder en tête pour les restituer le moment venu. Elles seront complétées d'ajouts qui pourraient s'avérer indispensables, non pas pour ajouter des éléments que l'orateur n'a pas expressément introduits, mais pour pallier les carences inévitables que les récepteurs pourraient avoir perçues à cause de la difficulté de l'interprète à comprendre un message particulièrement obscur ou ambigu.

Je voudrais conclure l'analyse de ces travaux de recherche en citant les ajouts dont a parlé récemment Cesca dans son mémoire de thèse non publié (1997: 482-493). Elle analyse trois catégories d'ajouts: les ajouts d'explication, que

l'interprète introduit pour ajouter des éléments qui ne sont pas présents dans le texte original et qui permettent de mieux expliquer ce qui a déjà été dit, les ajouts d'emphase, qui tendent à souligner davantage le contenu du message et les ajouts de cohésion, à savoir ces éléments que l'interprète décide d'ajouter pour garantir la cohésion textuelle. Dans son analyse, la première catégorie se limite souvent aux seuls éléments qualifiants, à la correction d'imprécisions sémantiques ou à des formes d'auto-correction, qui tendent à expliquer davantage le message, mais qui encore une fois, sont introduites pour pallier une erreur précédente de l'interprète.

La deuxième catégorie, qui a trait à l'emphase, reproduit souvent une stratégie de traduction qui sert à pallier l'omission d'éléments due encore une fois à un moment de difficulté de l'interprète (compréhension incertaine, retard) ou introduite pour assouplir des segments textuels assez compliqués.

On pourrait à ce propos insérer parmi les ajouts, une analyse sur le rôle des métaphores, mais le discours nous éloignerait un peu du propos de cet article. Il pourrait par contre être repris dans le cadre d'une analyse ultérieure, assortie de fréquences statistiques. Je me bornerai à citer ce qu'a dit Henry (1983: 9) en parlant de métaphores: "L'interprète idéal d'une métaphore devrait toujours se placer du point de vue de celui qui l'entend pour la première fois". Cette définition me semble laisser la porte ouverte à une stratégie de traduction qui puisse prévoir des ajouts.

Quant aux ajouts de cohésion ou de cohérence - Beccaria (1987: 174) affirme que la cohérence doit être cherchée dans le texte, alors que la cohésion doit être attribuée au texte par celui qui l'interprète - ils semblent donner plus de satisfaction et à l'interprète qui s'aperçoit qu'il améliore sa prestation et au récepteur qui s'aperçoit qu'il suit le message avec plus de facilité.

La conclusion à laquelle Cesca aboutit à propos des ajouts, est que de toute façon le matériel ajouté par l'interprète est assez limité. Les sujets qui traduisent dans leur langue maternelle ont évidemment enregistré un pourcentage supérieur aux sujets qui traduisent vers leur langue B du fait de leur habileté à manier la langue. Encore une fois le domaine semble avoir besoin d'une analyse plus soignée, qui englobe aussi les prestations des professionnels, les étudiants ne pouvant représenter qu'une des facettes de cette étude, une facette trop limitée, car il est évident que cette habileté d'ajouter se développe au fur et à mesure que s'accroît l'expérience de l'interprète.

Sylvia Kalina indiquant des approches stratégiques dans le cadre d'une analyse des méthodes et des problèmes de l'interprétation, arrive elle aussi à la même conclusion quand elle affirme que les professionnels réussissent à mieux gérer leurs capacités. C'est pourquoi elle conclut en disant:

Moreover, if the situation allows them to do so, professionals seems to be able to facilitate the user's comprehension task by making a texte more

connective and stating things more explicitly than the source text producer did (1994: 230).

Discussion

Partant donc de ces affirmations, il serait à mon sens intéressant d'approfondir les cas d'ajouts spécifiques qui tiennent compte des paramètres indiqués dans les ouvrages cités, mais qui fassent abstraction d'une simple analyse des erreurs.

L'ajout introduit pour mieux expliquer une situation, pour assurer davantage de cohérence au texte, peut être lié à une exigence perçue par l'interprète qui veut être sûr de produire une interprétation qui réponde aux critères plusieurs fois énoncés dans les études en matière de qualité de l'interprétation.

Si l'on pense aux quatre paramètres élaborés par Viezzi "*equivalenza*", "*accuratezza*", "*adeguatezza*" et "*fruibilità*", on constate que les ajouts peuvent être insérés dans chacune de ces catégories, non pas pour arracher l'étudiant à la stratégie toujours valable de condenser son message, mais pour qu'il sache y avoir recours quand un des paramètres risque de ne pas être respecté. Gile parlant d'équivalence, affirme que

les interprètes peuvent décider de modifier quelque peu un texte tout en lui préservant sa valeur sémantique (l'une des catégories d'"erreurs" selon Barik) là où les traducteurs hésiteraient (1995: 47).

On parle très souvent d'équivalence à propos de la difficulté de restituer un terme technique. Certes c'est un des cas où l'interprète pourra avoir recours à une stratégie d'explication ou de paraphrase, car la difficulté de traduction liée à un terme technique suggère d'avoir recours aux tactiques qui tendent à remplacer le spécifique par le générique, quitte à introduire, comme le dit Snelling (1992), ces éléments qui rétablissent le même niveau d'intensité. Mais ce niveau d'intensité doit être sauvegardé au-delà de la simple transposition de termes techniques, surtout quand le message n'est pas suffisamment clair, quand il n'est pas introduit avec une précision suffisante, ou quand une explication s'impose du fait que les connaissances extra-linguistiques pourraient empêcher le destinataire d'en saisir l'essence.

Des cas de ce genre sont nombreux: c'est la citation, dans un contexte économique ou scientifique, d'une comparaison liée au nom d'une vedette du cinéma, de la télévision ou du sport. Dans ce cas, quel est l'ordre de grandeur que peut transmettre à un étranger, dans un discours financier, une allusion au nouveau contrat ou au cachet d'une vedette de la télévision italienne, dont la renommée ne franchit certes pas les frontières nationales? C'est encore le cas du nom d'une émission télévisée, sur lequel on fait un jeu de mots. Quelle idée peut

se faire un récepteur étranger d'une allusion à une émission de la télévision italienne, dont le titre crée un jeu de mots repris ensuite dans le fil du discours, sans des ajouts destinés à expliquer ou à paraphraser le nom et le contenu en question (qu'il existe ou non la même émission dans la langue du pays du destinataire et que l'interprète la connaisse ou pas)? C'est enfin le cas de l'orateur à la pensée particulièrement obscure. Quelle idée peut se faire le destinataire d'une énonciation compliquée due aux difficultés de l'interprète, où persisterait l'ambiguïté, si ce dernier n'adoptait pas une stratégie d'ajouts destinée à introduire des explications pour dissiper toute imprécision?

Cette technique atteste la prise de conscience de l'interprète face à une éventuelle défaillance et ne peut que confirmer le bien-fondé de cette stratégie.

Certes, si en simultanée le message est particulièrement ambigu (en consécutive le temps interviendra pour faciliter la compréhension de la totalité du message), pourquoi l'interprète devrait-il se lancer dans une interprétation qui en réalité ressemblerait beaucoup plus à un transcodage, au lieu de procéder par unités de sens en mémorisant certains éléments particulièrement obscurs qu'il pourra toujours ajouter une fois que le message sera plus clair?

Conclusions

Une analyse statistique détaillée permettrait sans doute d'évaluer la portée de la prise de conscience de la correspondance ou de la non-correspondance entre les langues. Il serait alors possible, pour citer Seleskovitch et Lederer, de "combattre délibérément la tentation de traduire tous les mots et savoir quand en ajouter" (1989: 146). Or l'interprétation exige que l'interprète apprenne à discriminer, à "entendre sans écouter" (1989: 154) pour transmettre, comme le dit Gile (1995: 120), la totalité du message d'une manière claire, convaincante et agréable pour l'auditeur. Mais cette totalité, cette clarté, ce caractère convaincant et agréable, doivent répondre à la tâche qui incombe à l'interprète et qui consiste à faire comprendre: c'est l'acte que Claude Namy a ainsi résumé:

faire comprendre, c'est selon moi, expliquer, parfois simplifier, souvent développer l'énoncé par trop schématique d'une idée (1979: 146).

A propos du processus de compréhension, il me paraît intéressant de tenir compte de la théorie que Dancette (1995) a élaborée et qu'elle appelle "de la double hélice", car elle fait état d'une courbe hélicoïdale pour le mouvement de la compréhension et d'une autre courbe hélicoïdale pour les équivalences: deux courbes qui tout en occupant le même espace, ne se recoupent pas. Si les premières courbes de l'hélice ne suffisent pas pour produire une compréhension satisfaisante,

l'hélice décrit d'autres cycles, entraînant les données acquises et s'enrichissant de nouvelles analyses (actancielle, intertextuelle, extralinguistique, etc.) (1995: 205)

pour atteindre le niveau requis. Ces cycles peuvent très bien englober les ajouts qui s'avéreraient nécessaire pour améliorer la compréhension du message, pourvu qu'ils découlent d'un exercice d'analyse.

C'est donc encore au niveau de l'analyse que se situe le poids de l'acte interprétatif, l'analyse qui permet de dégager le sens, de comprendre s'il peut être synthétisé ou s'il doit être ultérieurement développé, pour appliquer au processus interprétatif une conclusion que Dancette tire à propos de sa théorie de la double hélice et qui, sans faire allusion à une stratégie d'ajouts, pourrait très bien les envisager:

On peut seulement dire que le mouvement de spirale est amorcé par la nécessité de comprendre, qu'il se poursuit tant que la production d'équivalences n'est pas terminée, et qu'il cesse quand cesse la recherche de l'équivalence (1996: 205).

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NOTES ON CULTURAL MEDIATION

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The sociological dimension of translation, i.e. the use of language as a means of communication is so interwoven with the cultural dimension (culture-bound, *civilisationnelle*, *cnhfyjdtlxcrbq*) that terms such as source language (SL) and target language (TL) may no longer be appropriate. We could do worse than use Admiral's term *périlangue*, coined in 1979. This term includes both the cultural and the contextual-situational (*le milieu-cible*) aspects of translation.

Moving from a semiotic point of view, though Katan (1996) does not use this term¹ he explains that culture is neither a component nor a factor, but a complex and dynamic system which orients experience, and through which the world is 'seen'. A key concept in his book is the idea of a *frame* through which reality is perceived, re-presented, interpreted and 'distorted'. It is only within the *frame* itself that a speech event can be understood.

The *frame* will change according to type and level of culture. Language is viewed as but one of the systems of signs (and not a primary one) which serves to code and decode message. Other codes are equally if not more involved in production, comprehension and sense reception. Thus, the act of translating is understood as a meta-communicative act or even of double metacommunication, as the translator is required to mediate communication which is already bound to its own culture through experiential-cognitive models (*the culture-bound map of the world*, *cultural orientations*). Accordingly, in Katan's view, the translator/interpreter, as a cultural mediator, should be able to analyse, (re)interpret and (re)create this complex embedding of metacommunicative frames. As he says, *mediators should be able to mindshift between possible frames.*²

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- 1 Two other books worth mentioning have recently been published. Their titles clearly point to their holistic, interdisciplinary, or, following Katan, *globalising* orientation towards language, translation, culture and society: *Total'nyj Perevod* [Total Translation] (1995) by Torop (student of the famous Lotmanian school in Tartu) and *Total Speech: An Integrational Linguistic Approach to Language* (1996) by Michael Toolan (professor of English at the University of Washington).
 - 2 There is no unanimous agreement on the importance of 'culture' in translation. Wilss (1996: 88) believes that [...] *one should not overstress cultural differences. The personal and social impact of terms such as "culture shock"* [title of a chapter

Katan devotes more than half his book to defining what culture actually is and he discusses concepts related to it such as *frame, map, prototype, logical levels, environment, behaviour, capabilities, values, beliefs, identity, imprinting*, and so on. He touches on disciplines such as neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, artificial intelligence, cultural anthropology, cognitive semantics, the ethnography of speaking and the theory of speech acts - to name but a few of the areas covered. He also introduces a number of theories and conceptual models such as the Triad of Culture, E.T. Hall's Iceberg Theory, Trompenaar's concentric layers, Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions, Dilts' Theory of Logical Levels, Bandler and Grinder's Meta Model, Sperber and Wilson' Relevance Theory.

The *contexting theory*³ is particularly interesting. This is understood as the difference in priority that a culture gives to the text itself (i.e. the quantity of information explicitly given in the text) with respect to the context. If a culture communicates more through the text, i.e. through what is actually said, then it is a *low context culture* (LCC). On the other hand, if it communicates more through the context, i.e. through what is not said but through what is apparent

of Katan's book], "*culture stress*", and "*inter-culturality*" is not as powerful as some propagators of cultural relativity believe. In addition, the fascination of such terms wears off after a while anyway and gives way to the assimilation of culturally alien texts to one's own culture.

Curiously enough, while Wilss (1996: 86-87) reports an advertising text (Singapore Airlines) and an instruction-type text (hotel fire regulations) as examples which can be easily translated without cultural complications, Katan (107-109 e 242-245) uses the very same text typologies to demonstrate exactly the opposite.

- 3 In other cases Katan simply introduces new definitions for concepts already well treated in the literature; for example, the distinction between *local* and *global translating*. This corresponds to the noted, and still controversial, oppositions such as *transcodage/interprétation*, *semantic /communicative translation*, *bottom-up /top-down processing*, and *form-based /meaning-based approach* (see also Kintsch and Van Dijk's macro structures and other theoretical models of interpretation).

Another terminological 'innovation' regards the logical and semantic relations between concepts (identity, contrast, inclusion) and the interpreter's use of semantic and lexical transformations (synonym, hyponym, hyperonym, antonym and metonym). These have been rebaptised with the terms *chunking up* and *chunking down* (179-185). *Lateral chunking* or *chunking sideways*, is linked to lateral thinking (right hemisphere) and includes creativity, intuition, and more importantly, the mental agility of the interpreter. Kussmaul's findings (1995: 50) would support this theory. He reports a number of neurolinguistic studies which show that creative thought is linked to the anterior hypothalamus, which not only houses the libido but also creative 'illumination'.

from or within the context (the metamessage) then culture is a *high context culture* (HCC).

In the light of this difference, the famous dichotomy between 'explicit' and 'implicit' finds itself part of a wider perspective: not linguistic, but cultural, or rather semiotic. Knowing how each culture verbalises its experience then leads to specific translation procedures to adopt. These are expressed in terms of omission or compensation strategies. According to Katan, in the last thirty years translation theories have moved more towards holistic and analytical thinking. If, in the past, priority was given to the text, to the words, in the SL (an LCC approach), today the tendency is towards the context, the relations between language and other frames (an HCC approach). In neurological (and teaching) terms this change reflects the growing importance given to the right hemisphere (context) over the left (text).⁴

As the title says, Katan's book is written for the translator, interpreter and the cultural mediator, and aims to explain what being a cultural mediator means for those involved in *translating texts or interpreting for people* (ib.: 11). However, no real distinction is made between these three professions and, in particular, between written and oral mediation; no reference is made to the specific interpreting context, i.e. the relationship between the text and its oral presentation; the difference between *meaning of discourse* and *mechanics of discoursing* (Goffman 1981:174); the co-presence (physical presence) of participants; the difference between interpretation and translation with regard to non-linguistic factors such as, for example, gesture, proxemics and prosody, for the interpreter. All of these pragmatic aspects touch not only on the process of

4 However, the eternal debate between the two ways of analysing and translating (see footnote 3) is still raging. See, for example, the heated discussions between Peter Newmark and Sergio Viaggio in the *Rivista internazionale di tecnica della traduzione*, 1/1995, pp. 11-19. Stephen Pearl (1995: 174) was for many years the head of the United Nations' interpreting booth. According to him, the celebrated Paris school slogan "translate the sense not the words" has been passed on to trainee interpreters as simple dogma. The result, Pearl says, is a dangerous psittacismophobia (the irrational fear of sounding like a parrot and of being perceived as one): [...] *in their anxiety to comply with this doctrine, candidates from institutions of the psittacismophobic tendency waste valuable time effort and attention on wilfully and gratuitously shying away from simple and straightforward renderings of what the speaker is saying if they are too uncomfortably aware that 'all they are doing' is following the speaker's own vocabulary, grammar, word order and syntax and thus displaying 'no creativity' or 'resourcefulness'. Gratuitous deviations from the 'obvious' often mean that 100% of the interpreter's time, energy and attention is not available at precisely the time it is needed to cope with a real problem.*

mediation but also on the applicability in the classroom of a number of the models Katan suggests.

Moreover, if the interpreter/translator is intrinsically a cultural mediator one might ask how we can differentiate him or her from a cultural mediator who is not actually an interpreter/translator.

These distinctions may seem marginal terminological niceties, but in reality they highlight two important role conflicts. There is conflict between the role of cultural mediator and that of the interpreter, and there is conflict between the interpreter-mediator and other (possible) competing mediators. Katan proposes a new role for the interpreter, one which is more active and more empowering than in the past:

With the continuing globalisation of English and the use of computers, so the professions will need to change from inefficient walking dictionaries to what is really necessary: facilitators for mutual understanding between people. The proposal is for a new role for the traditional translator and interpreter, that of a 'cultural mediator'. The rest of the book should serve as an introduction for what a mediator will need to know (ib.: 2)

[...] cultural mediation is much more than translation or interpretation. The role touches that of a mediator in any other field, from arbitrator to therapist (ib.: 11).

The interpreter's role has long been thought of as a discrete, if not invisible black-box and as a walking generalist translator of words. As a cultural mediator, he or she will need to be a specialist in negotiating understanding between cultures (ib.: 12).

Ideally, cultural mediators will be both left and right brain oriented to enable them to both analyse and create frames (ib.: 228).

[...] the mediator must first and foremost take a more assertive role in the negotiations to allow the interlocutors to cooperate and be seen to cooperate, exactly as they wish to do (ib.: 253).

Citing Taft, he lists the following skills a mediator should have (brackets in the original):

- Knowledge about society: history, folklore, traditions, customs, values, prohibitions, the natural environment, and its importance, neighbouring people, important people in the society [...]
- Communication skills: written, spoken, non verbal [...]
- Technical skills: those required by the mediator's status, eg. computer literacy, appropriate dress [...]

- Social skills: knowledge of rules that govern relations in society and emotional competence, e.g: the appropriate level of self-control (ib.: 11).

Katan takes on the ideas of Richard Brislin and Amelie Knapp-Potthof & Karlfried Knapp who suggest that the interpreter should be a *chair or referee* (Brislin); or a *visible third party* (Knapp-Potthof & Knapp) (ib.: 12-13).

As a mediating agent, the interpreter is authorised to take the initiative independently of others, introduce arguments, make comments, give explanations, prepare material for the conference, interrupt a conference in the case of misunderstanding which could obstruct the communication, check the texts for cultural factors prior to the event, and do anything else which requires mediation. The interpreter, in short, sits at the high table.

However, the whole debate on translation behaviour (both written and oral) is still characterized by a number of dichotomies. To quote but a few of these binary oppositions: *ghjatcbyjfkmyjcnm ghtdjlxbf* [professionalism] vs. *pfvtnyjcnm tuj kbxyjcnb* [visibility] (Uvarov 1981), *liberté vs soumission* (Bertone 1985: 94), *accuracy vs. naturalness* (Baker 1992: 56), *abusive fidelity vs. fluency* (Venuti 1992:12), *translation improvement vs. professional detachment, interculturality vs. commercial particularism of task* (Pym 1992: 168 e 171), *scrupulous translator vs. cultural mediator* (Marrone 1993: 38), *self-protection vs. fidelity to the sender* (Gile 1995), *dignity or self-esteem vs. higher duty to give the best possible service to the audience* (Pearl 1995: 173), *domesticating strategy vs. foreignising strategy*.⁵

According to a number of authors, the less an interpreter is noted the better s/he works (low profile). And it is, in fact, easier to keep the illusion that the participants are directly talking to one another when neither side makes any attempt to involve the interpreter: *being ignored can be bliss*.⁶

Even though they do not share the same language, the use of the first person singular does allow the participants to feel as if they are speaking directly to each other. Low profile with uninvolved is kept when the interpreter refers to him/herself in the third person and to the participants in the first.

Sadikov (1981) compares interpretation efficiency with the degree of unconsciousness that clients have of the interpreter's presence. The more 'natural' the interactants' behaviour, the greater the probability of communication

5 *domesticating strategy*: bringing the foreign culture closer to the reader in the target culture, making the text recognisable and familiar compared with *foreignising strategy*: taking the reader over to the foreign culture, making him or her see the cultural and linguistic differences (Venuti's definition in Schaffner 1995: 4) [underlining added].

6 Title of a book by Fink reported in Frishberg (1986).

success.⁷ Other authors disagree with the 'naturalness principle' and see an intrinsic contradiction in the position of an interpreter.

Uvarov (1981) maintains that the interpreter's paradox is that the more professionally confident an interpreter feels, the more s/he is noticed. The more s/he is noticed the more s/he betrays his/her role.⁸

According to Uvarov (ib.: 13-15), at the level of behaviour, the most important quality of an interpreter is not so much the knowledge of two or more languages, but understanding the role. An interpreter is not so much one who knows languages as one who behaves as an interpreter.⁹ An interpreting setting always has a degree of officiality which automatically reduces the level of spontaneity of the event. From this point of view, the interpreter is similar to a public speaker. The speech discourse produced is in the context of a public event, a meeting between two or more people. In all cases the discourse is addressed to a public.

However, the interpreter is faced with more requirements in terms of precision, clarity, and voice compared to an average public speaker. Yet, at the same time as being a public speaker, interpreters and their function should, as far as possible, remain unnoticed.

From a sociolinguistic point of view the communicative situation can be distinguished in terms of *transactional* and *personal*. In transactional the focus is on status and role relations between participants. Interaction involves the objective exchange of material or cultural 'goods'. In personal, the focus is on

7 Перевод считается х...= тем лучше, чем меньше ощущается присутствие посредника. Это значит, что участники общения должны как можно меньше подозревать обо всех социо-культурно-этно-психолингвистических различиях, они должны быть уверены, что чем „естественнее“ они себя ведут, тем лучше будут поняты. (Sadikov 1981: 9). See also Bertone (1983: 95): *Mieux il [l'interprète] travaille, moins ses auditeurs perçoivent sa présence et moins ils se rendent compte de la complexité de son travail. Ou comme disait un fonctionnaire des Nations Unies: "Aujourd'hui l'interprétation a été excellente, parce que l'on ne s'est même pas aperçu qu'il y en avait"*.

8 Итак, противоречие заключается в том, что лучше, профессионально увереннее играет переводчик свою роль, тем он становится заметнее. Но в случае значительного различия общественного положения переводчика и прочих участников ситуации перевода выход переводчика вперед будет воспринят как поведение человека „сидящего не на своем месте.“ (Uvarov 1981: 13).

9 This will always be culture dependent, as Crevatin's definition underlines (1989: 22): the interpreter is known as 'he who speaks', he safeguards the communicative cultural rules relevant to a particular situation.

interpersonal relations between participants, not according to their status but according to themselves (Berruto 1992: 91).

The interpreter, in the same way as all the other participants, interacts in situations which begin as transactional rather than personal, regulated by precise social norms, and characterized by certain expectations in terms of obligations, duties and reciprocal rights.¹⁰

The interpreter also has extra, and at times not totally compatible, duties towards the two clients. Anderson (1976) talks, in fact, of *inadequacy of role prescriptions*. The interpreter's role has to be negotiated with the client on each occasion. All this helps to explain how ambiguous the interpreter's role is, and the limits of manoeuvrability.¹¹

Neither should it be forgotten that the interpreter not only has a communicative role but also a social role. According to Berruto (1995:88) this is the array of expectations linked to the behaviour of one occupying a position, a social status.¹²

10 The same interactants can either be in a transactional or personal situation depending on the circumstances. A visit to a doctor, for example, will typically be transactional, but the same people chatting at the bar will be in a personal situation (Berruto 1992: 92, note 55).

11 In television interpreting, for example, the interpreter will be required to oscillate between a speaker and a dubber, so that the interpreter might even have to be a man or a woman according to the sex of the guest. This, clearly, may in some cases be seen as sexual discrimination. In some cases, the criteria for choosing interpreters (both on Italian private and public television) includes pleasantness of the voice and (for appearance on TV) the physical appearance of the interpreter. In other cases, the interpreter may be requested to perform as an entertainer: as the show itself is important, and so the interpreter will need to adapt to the needs of TV rather than to the content or the translation.

12 *Status is the position of a person [...] within a social structure, the array of properties attributed to a given position within the general organisation of society [...]. The social role is everything that is expected given a certain status, the configuration of behaviours exhibited or at least expected by the members of a community on the basis of their status* (Berruto 1995: 88-89). This apparently banal distinction provides us the opportunity to reflect on the not unusual behaviour towards the interpreter. For a number of engagements (business dinners, small talk in general, short meetings, interviews, and so on) the tendency may be noted to reduce the work of an interpreter to "just a chat" thus diminishing the importance of the interpreter's profession. The interpreter is compared with, or rather confused with, a co-conversationalist. Many associations are battling this very point: not so much the role as the interpreter's status, which is often assimilated indiscriminately into that of a guide/hostess or even entertainer, whose services are included in the "conference package" along with the real hostesses and those who supply equipment.

According to Goffman's (1978:150 and ss.) categories, the interpreter results as a *non person*¹³: present during interaction without, in many respects, taking the role of actor or that of the public, and even less does s/he expect to be what s/he is not:

This person is expected to be present in the front region while the host is presenting a performance of hospitality to the guests of the establishment. While in some senses the servant is part of the host's team, in certain ways he is defined by both performers and audience as someone who isn't there like the very young, the very old and the sick.

However, the paradox (yet again) is that while domestic helps, children, the elderly, and the sick are considered 'non persons' because they do not have the right to speak and what they say is not taken seriously, the interpreter is present during the communicative exchange to exercise that most characteristic of human activities, that of speaking. But the interpreter's 'power of speech'¹⁴ is limited and depends on that of the 'actors' who decide the subject, the pace, the speaking turns, the place and the duration of the communication.¹⁵

Though interpreters are, indeed, *ratified* (see note 22) the very moment they are deprived of their power of speech they cannot intervene directly in the verbal interaction. From this point on, their function becomes auxiliary (or worse ancillary)¹⁶ and their position voyeuristic.¹⁷ Here, an interpreter will maintain a

13 Pym (1992: 51) speaks of the anonymity of the interpreter: *the translator is 'nobody' in particular*, and reports the case of Matthias Claudius: *Wer ubersetzt, der unersetzt, he who translates effaces himself* (ivi: 201) [English translation in the text]. Those who have worked as interpreters will know the vagaries associated with this work, and rarely does the interpreter have his or her name on the booth door.

14 Even though the interpreter is the producer of the text, s/he has no semantic autonomy. The interactants, on the other hand, not only have this autonomy but also can change intention during the communicative interaction (See also Kalina 1992).

15 To avoid *role overload*, the interpreter may agree on turn-taking or individual turn length in advance to reduce role strain. This will depend on the formality of the situation. A number of authors, including Frishberg (1986: 27-28) have even called the interpreter *a communication cop, a traffic cop for conversational regulators and turn-taking behaviours*.

16 *Translation is essentially a service activity with a communication goal* (Gile 1995: 19). *Translators very often have "weak personality structures", are not adventurous, dynamic, vigorous, in short self-confident. The translating profession enacts such personalities. One reason for this may be that translating and interpreting are "serving" profession, and serving does not go together with a well developed ego* (Kussmaul 1995: 32). *Mediators are servants. They hold the torch so that both parties, who would be in the dark without them, can*

presumed neutrality, a psychological, moral, ideological and political distance from the text and/or the participants.¹⁸ Alternatively, there will be a relationship of complicity with the speaker.¹⁹

As the man or woman in the middle, the interpreter has to remain faithful to both clients. Pym (1992) speaks of *divided loyalty*, or from another point of view: *no special allegiance* (Anderson 1976). This conflictual role emerges the moment s/he is obliged to be an ally or consultant to one of the interested parties:²⁰

Should the interpreter be a mere echo, or should he be an advisor and ally? Should he inform his client of whispered, off-the-record remarks made by the other party to the interaction, or should he stick to the text? In the second instance, the issue is not what, but how much behavior is expected. In either event, a sociology of interpreter behavior should include propositions about the likely effects of the interpreter's efforts to cope with these ambiguities upon the ongoing interaction (Anderson 1976: 217).

My concern is that if we place cultural mediation at the foreground, as the interpreter's role, we risk leaving the contradictions, the paradoxes and the

communicate. But they themselves remain in the dark, and their ethos demands it that they are happy about it (Neubert 1989: 12). *Translators are the - visible or invisible - agents for the provision of information service* (Wilss 1996: 143-144). See also *the ethics of service* in Pym 1992.

- 17 When interpreters hear comments over the microphone, involuntarily (and carelessly) made by the orators their status as participants become that of "hidden hearers" (following Clark's categorisation reported in Bazzanella 1994: 65-66). In Goffman's terms they become *occasional overhearers*. According to Thiéry (1990:42), this is the interpreter's lot: the interpreter is [...] *eavesdropping on a conversation or communication, that does not concern him and is not addressed to him*.
- 18 See Gile's *rotating side-taking principle* (1995: 29-30).
- 19 An actor makes you believe that s/he is or has become another person. An interpreter, on the other hand, pretends to believe what the speaker says, taking his or her part and empathising with the speaker (See Bertone 1983). *The Translator "represents" the Sender and the Sender's interests, and therefore "does a good job" if the Translation contributes to the success of the Sender's endeavour* (Gile 1995: 59).
- 20 In a military context, for example, the interpreter is often totally 'sided' with the client (e.g.. The Ministry of Defence). The interpreter may be briefed (and debriefed) regarding negotiating strategies and appropriate behaviour to adopt during inspections of armament reduction.

dichotomies in the background. The term 'cultural mediation' may well serve to put an end to the infinite number of metaphors coined to describe the interpreter: *machine, window, telephone, human link, ferry(wo)man, lawyer, bridge builder, and textually oriented switchboard operator*, to name but a few of the suggestions in the literature. However, we risk being left with a convenient cover term, a magic word meaning everything and nothing.

Neubert (1989: 7), taking this argument to the extreme, suggests that this mediation role derives from the fact that the profession is intrinsically schizophrenic [emphasis in the original]:

An awareness of the translator's role as a mediator can also explain the often-quoted advice that the translator should step into the original writer's shoes and act out the sender's part on the stage provided by the target language. I think this amounts to asking the impossible. Equally, the translator cannot pretend to be identical with the target language addressee. His sophistication is knowing two languages when the others are quite happy to be conversant with either the one or the other. His lot is an almost schizophrenic language faculty split into two hemispheres. And he can only escape this *di-lemma* by taking up the task of the mediator.

Thus, the interpreter is condemned to mediate. His/her dilemma, which is basically the translation dilemma itself, can be explained in the psychoanalytical concept of *double bind*: 'the text' requests and, at the same time, prohibits the translation (Chamberlain 1992, Venuti 1995).

Mediation conflicts with the ethics of behaviour (impartiality, reserve and precision) when, for example, an interpreter has to decide whether or not to retain the ambiguity and opacity of the speaker. As a communication facilitator, the interpreter should render the message as clearly and as comprehensibly as possible. On the other hand, too much explanation of a deliberately vague or ambiguous message risks betraying the real performative intentions of the speaker. If s/he does not reproduce the hesitations, the lapses and slips of the tongue, through continuous self-editing, the errors and the incoherence of the speaker will be mediated, or rather 'improved'. If, on the other hand, the interpreter is 'faithful' to the speaker s/he runs the risk of personally sounding insecure, incoherent or plain wrong:

The clients will have an altogether inconsistent or incorrect notion of what an interpreter's role and function are if the professionals do not hold a firm policy of non-involvement and impartiality (Fishberg 1986: 67).

The interpreter, like the foreman, is occupationally vulnerable to counter pressures from his two clients. No matter what he does, one of them is apt to be displeased [...] The interpreter's role is characterized by some

degree of inadequacy of role prescription, role overload, and role conflict resulting from his pivotal position in the interaction network (Anderson 1976: 21-218).

Far from wishing to describe the profession in terms of schizophrenia, the interpreter does, though, take on many roles (including his or her own). One of the differences is that (hopefully) there is no identity crisis. However, if incongruence (or schizoid behaviour) occurs when there is an internal conflict of values or beliefs (Katan 1996: 49), an interpreter's incongruence could surface in the conflict between the values and principles of the two cultures involved in the mediation. In fact, Bohannan (in Anderson 1976: 224) observes that bicultural people are often at a stage of 'secondary ethnocentrism'. He suggests learning a third culture as a means of balancing this tendency and to give a more neutral perspective.

Applying the Attribution Theory (see Katan 1996: 90-91), we note that speakers apply an aspect of their own congruent logical level system to the interpreter's behaviour. The client may well associate particular errors, decisions or reactions to the interpreter, not as a result of linguistic or cultural incompetence but due to personal factors. The client, for example, may use the interpreter as a scapegoat, and hear, in the interpreter's words, what s/he wants to hear.

The speaker may ask how a particular word will be translated (curiosity); may decide that a word is too culture-bound (irony or challenge); and may doubt the translation itself (*Perhaps there's a problem in the translation ?*). The speaker may also suggest a translation (role conflict) or even demand a particular register. All such comments, or rather metacomments, by their very nature, break the *frame*, where the speech event is embedded. Rather than transmitting the text the speaker comments on it, which means a change in the *footing*.²¹ The speaker leaves him or her self as author to take on the role of *animator*.²²

21 *Footing* is the speaker's position with regard to himself and other speakers in a communicative situation. The different types of *footing* [...] provide contrast to what the text itself might otherwise generate (Goffman 1981: 174).

22 Goffman overturns the traditional concepts in communication theory. Instead of the notion of speaker or sender he prefers the idea of *production mode* which includes the function of *animator* (phonic machine), *author* (text formulator) and *principal* (the person who is responsible for what is said and for the content). In the same way, the concept of participant is changed to that of *participation mode*. The participants themselves are divided into *ratified* (authorised and asked to take part in the communication exchange) and *non ratified* (Goffman 1981: 145-146). According to Clark (in Bazzanella 1994: 65-66) there is a distinction between

The *frame* is also changed when the interpreter distances him or herself from the words of the speaker (*these are the speaker's words, I'm repeating the speaker*), almost to remind the listener that these words appear 'by proxy.' The interpreter is neither the *author* nor the *principal* of the ST but rather the *animator*. Authorial disclaimers can not be written, with, for example, commas as in translation, but can only be indicated by word. This distancing takes place when credibility or personal dignity is threatened, and happens through a process of disaffiliation:²³

The need for the interpreter to assert himself as a person. The decision to speak up is constantly an assertion of the interpreter's personhood [...] Interpreters are human beings (Frishberg 1986: 27-30).

If sincerity (in the sense of Austin) is one of the conditions which must be satisfied for a communication to be "happy", the speech acts proffered by the interpreter could be claimed to be based upon a presumption of sincerity. If someone doubts the interpreter's mediation on line then his/her role, or even identity, suffers incongruency. How can the threefold problem of *misperception, misattribution and miscommunication* (Katan 1996: 91) between the interpreter and the client be solved, given the low status of the former with regard to the latter. What type of mediation can an interpreter exercise when s/he has neither the authorship nor the responsibility with regard to the text?

evident (people who are present but cannot take part) and *hidden* (those who follow the conversation but are not seen).

- 23 There are cases where the interpreter leaves him/her 'self' to become an *animator*, to make a metalinguistic comment, explaining or clarifying the meaning of a particular word. This operation is analogous to the translator's footnote. In theory, this is possible especially during consecutive interpretation, where the interpreter's presence is more physical and the TL production time is not so limited as in simultaneous interpreting. In other cases, the interpreter can intervene with more difficulty with *out-of-frame* expressions such as: *the speaker is too far from the microphone; the microphone is off, the speaker is speaking in a language not covered by this interpreting service; the speaker is translating (repeating) in Italian what he said in English* (code-switching). Alternatively, and according to the situation *the speaker should slow down*. With regard to speaker speed, a fifth maxim could profitably be added to Grice's famous four maxims of cooperation, on the lines of: *The speaker's speed should be appropriate for simultaneous interpretation, or alternatively be aware that your words are being interpreted simultaneously*. This would improve cooperation between *author* and *animator/mediator*.

Moving from a (macro) cultural frame to a (micro) interactional frame, many differences between cultures tend to become blurred. For example, Katan (ib.: 231) notes that [highlighting in the original]:

[...] the Italian term *criminalità organizzata*/organised crime would suggest text based resources in the LCC oriented United States, with clearly drawn communication lines. In Italy, however, the organisation is perceived more HCC, as "the octopus"/*la piovra* whose tentacles reach into the fabric of society.

However, in an actual(ized) speech event the FBI and the DEA perfectly understand the implications and the connotations (*the context of culture*) of organized crime in Italy. They have even coined their own acronym: LCN (*La Cosa Nostra*). Equally, the Italian Ministry for Home Affairs and the DIA (the Mafia Investigation Department) know that the responsibilities (tasks) of the American IRS (*Inland Revenue Service*) correspond to a good three Italian departments: *Guardia di Finanza*, *Polizia Tributaria* and *Fisco* (or *Erario*). A real problem for the interpreter will be, for example, how to decipher an LCN-boss type syntagm (such as *un boss mafioso, della malavita, un padrino*) or to understand that "smurfs" (HCC) are not *i puffi* but *la manovalanza del crimine* (LCC).

Linguistic contact between two cultures takes place within a *concrete* communicative exchange. Linguistic communication is basically a *cooperative enterprise* (Jarvella 1986: 225). The principle of cooperation on the basis of which participants negotiate satisfactory progress of the interaction (Berruto 1995: 89), is a two-way interaction. The interpreter might then be able to count on the fact that his/her clients will cooperate in understanding what s/he is interpreting, applying their shared knowledge. The participants in the speech event also follow the *Accommodation Theory*. According to this theory, the style and the register of speaker B in a particular situation will be the response to a picture made by speaker A; and B will imitate those traits s/he considers characteristic of A+B's group.²⁴

24 This idea, which has much support, is from Bell's Accommodation Theory. It is reported in Berruto (1995: 91), and explained as follows: Speakers design their style according to their audience. Differences within the speech of a single speaker can be explained as the influence of the second person and some third person, who together make up a speaker's audience. As Berruto (1995: 91 note 54) remarks:

Accommodation strategies do not only operate in terms of conformity and social identification, but also in terms of cognitive organisation [and] discourse attuning [...] The final aim, in all cases, is to improve the interpretability of the communicative interaction.

In theory an interpreter has power over the linguistic resources of interaction, being the only participant who knows both (or more) languages. Nevertheless, this advantage may well be shared by others, those politically and socially responsible for the verbal interaction and its outcome. In these cases the interpreter's interlinguistic and intercultural "authority" may be in conflict with the "institutional authority".

By foregrounding his/her bi- or inter-cultural competence the interpreter may encroach upon the territory occupied by other professionals who s/he will often be in contact with (and under contract to). These other professionals will have the *status* of mediator but not the *role* of the interpreter. For example, in public administration the interpreter could clash with consultants working for the Foreign Ministry, the Protocol expert and the chief advisor.

In the private sector there will be a press secretary, an entire public relations department, the head of human resources, directors of foreign branches, and so on. In television the programme assistant of the day may be a competing mediator or the programme editor him or herself. They may, for example, ask the interpreter to translate literally (*so I know what they are talking about*), and then 'mediate' to their own liking in the post-editing phase.

Cultural mediation means cultural power, both social and economic. In some cases, it means deciding how the SL will be received by the users based on their values, their expectations and TL stereotypes. Venuti (1992, 1995) has clearly described the power a translation has in constructing and representing 'other' cultures; the effects that translated texts have on the target culture and how dependent they are on the decision to translate and publish. The translated texts are, as Venuti notes, read, understood and 'manipulated' according to the social, cultural and institutional context.

Some authors (Mey 1991, 1993, Gee 1990) maintain that the analysis of text production should go far beyond the conditions under which a text is produced to investigate the *implicit* conditions that govern text production and consumption. A text depends, for its creation and use, on the *discourse* that it produces. Since text production functions in a *societal whole*, subject to social control, it is a *social discourse activity*.²⁵ More specifically, Gee (1990) speaks of *social networks* or *discourse communities*, practicing different *Discourses*, each of which creates identity through participating in a particular *Discourse*:

A Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, believing, valuing, and acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of socially meaningful group or "social

25 From this perspective the term "context" is replaced by the term *discoursal space*, i.e. *a space generated by a set of coordinates that comprise, as their main representatives, parameters having to do with social control* (Mey 1991: 400).

network", or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful "role" (Gee 1990: 143).

The shift from communicative competence to cultural mediation becomes problematic in some interpreting settings. For example, the present author - working for a number of *project management* courses held by American specialists for managers from leading Italian companies - noted the lack of satisfaction (if not dismay) on the part of the Italians. They perceived both the content and the presentation as obvious and banal. Even though there was a complete absence of terminological problems for the interpreter, the perception was basically that the course was not going well. With this clear example of cultural incompatibility, the question arises: how can an interpreter, once s/he has already fulfilled his/her 'translation' role, become a cultural mediator? How can s/he explain to the speaker (paid 1000 dollars a day) or to the organiser (director of External Relations) that the course should be structured differently? And finally, how can s/he explain that there are communication problems, which are not "to do with language" but rather to do with the cultural *frame*?

During the Media Translation and Interpreting section at the Budapest conference (5-7 September 1996), it became clear that it was often the *Initiator* who dictated the translation strategies. Below is an extract from one of the papers which aroused most interest, from Jettmarova of the Czech Republic:

The Initiator (the translation/advertising agency/client), together with his motive, advertising strategy, intercultural knowledge and beliefs was found to be the primary factor predetermining the prevailing global translational strategy (Toury's initial nom): literalness or linguistically motivated translation [...] which again must be conceived of as a section on the adequacy-acceptability scale rather than a fixed point.

Interpreter role identity is consequently trapped between *prescription* (who s/he should be and what s/he should do) and *proscription* (who s/he should not be and what s/he should not do). There are no pre-established roles for the mediator to accomplish. The role (identity) of the interpreter is constructed moment-by-moment through the social context in which s/he performs. Her/his behaviour, being largely co-dependent on that of participants, is to be shaped on a case-by-case basis. As Kondo (1990: 62) notes:

It is to define the role of interpreters more closely in relation to the roles of the sender and receiver, and not to assign them omnipotent roles for the mediator to accomplish.

To be able to take on 'a negotiating' (more assertive) role, the interpreter would do well to first 'negotiate' his/her own status not only as a co-

conversationalist (in terms of interactional power) but rather as a co- or inter-negotiator.

What remains to be seen is how the interpreter's new *role identity* (Katan 1996), his *social responsibility* (Robinson 1991, Witte 1994) - whereby the interpreter *may consider necessary to make the client modify his original purpose* (Witte 1994: 72) - fit into the social hierarchy and power relations. In other words, what is needed is not so much an epistemology as a sociology of mediation.

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**THE AARHUS SEMINAR ON INTERPRETING RESEARCH
(AARHUS, 20-25 JANUARY 1997)**

By

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1. Introduction

A Seminar on Interpreting Research was held in Aarhus (Denmark), from 20th to 25th January 1997. Henning Nølke and Daniel Gile had worked for many months to bring together an international lecturing team, representative of contemporary thought in Interpreting Studies worldwide. With eight lecturers on the team and the number of participants limited to twenty-five, it was obvious from the outset that there would be ample scope for interaction and discussion. In the event, expectations were more than fulfilled, one contributory factor in this respect being that all members of the lecturing team remained with the group throughout the week. Far from the classic congress situation where speakers rarely sit in on other sessions than their own, all the lecturers were keen to listen to what their colleagues had to say and contribute to the discussion which invariably followed. The informal peer review which emerged proved one of the most instructive aspects of the week, with praise and criticism dispensed in a purposeful, constructive spirit rather than as a token gesture.

The lecturing team comprised, as Instructors, Henning Nølke, Department of French, Aarhus School of Business; Daniel Gile, Université Lumière Lyon 2 and ISIT, Paris; Ingrid Kurz, Department of Translation and Interpreting, University of Vienna; and Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit, Savonlinna School of Translation Studies, Savonlinna (Finland). The team was completed by Assistant Instructors William Isham, Department of Linguistics, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Franz Pöchhacker, Department of Translation and Interpreting, University of Vienna; Miriam Shlesinger, Department of Translation and Interpreting, Bar Ilan University, Tel Aviv; and Cecilia Wadensjö, Department of Communication Studies, Linköping University (Sweden). The Seminar (see programme) was organised and hosted by the Aarhus School of Business, a university centre with a Faculty of Modern Languages, interpreting courses and a

¹ Although the article as a whole has been planned and discussed by the two authors, Marco Gambetti is responsible for Sections 1-3 and Peter Mead for Sections 4-6.

doctoral programme. Though the event was intended mainly for Ph.D. students with research projects on interpreting, interpreting teachers and practising interpreters interested in interpreting research were also encouraged to apply.

2. General research issues

The first day, at the Aarhus School of Business, provided a general introduction to research principles, strategies and issues. Participants were welcomed by Karen M. Lauridsen, Dean of the Faculty of Modern Languages at Aarhus, after which the morning's proceedings were led by Henning Nølke and Daniel Gile. This tandem arrangement allowed alternation between the essentially complementary approaches of the two speakers, with Nølke pinpointing the prerequisites for scientific research and Gile stating his equally firm insistence on the burden of proof shouldered by the "practisearchers" who combine research interests with professional and teaching activities. While the speakers obviously differ in how and why they entered the field of interpreting research, both were unswerving in their insistence on rigorous, clear reasoning.

Issues discussed during this first morning were: definitions of science (Nølke); the requirements for individual research efforts (Gile); classification of fundamental research approaches (Nølke); facts, data and theory (Nølke); and the role of inferential statistics (Gile).

The opening presentation by Henning Nølke, a linguistics scholar and Head of the French Department at Aarhus, highlighted the criteria on the basis of which the researcher's approach can be considered truly scientific (carefully planned, systematic, impartial, logical, critical, open to sharing of knowledge, communicative). The contributions to research afforded by observation, theorising, explanation and description were all briefly discussed, the message being that, whatever the approach or focus, the researcher cannot eschew the basic criteria on which work is judged as science or mere speculation. The second of Nølke's three contributions to this opening session offered a concise guide to the dichotomies customarily used for the classification of scientific research (i.e. the distinction between basic and applied; deductive and inductive; observational and experimental; analytical and holistic), explaining the advantages and limitations of each approach. The current emphasis on more empirical research in Interpreting Studies was clearly identified. Finally, in his third presentation of the morning, Nølke explained why it is in practice artificial to maintain a rigid vision of facts, data and theory as mutually exclusive definitions, further developing his remarks from the first part of the morning on the advantages of combining "naturalistic" research (no theory-driven interference with objective observation) and deductive reasoning (more targeted research, less subject to cluttering with extraneous detail). An exclusively

naturalistic approach runs the risk of eschewing all control or selectivity, while "pure" experimentation can involve the equally insidious danger of focusing excessively (or even irrelevantly!) on isolated phenomena.

Daniel Gile's presentations during this opening session defined the type of goal that a researcher, even if short on experience, can realistically set out to achieve. Gile argues that the accent should be firmly placed on the concrete priorities which can help the aspiring researcher see the wood rather than merely flounder among the trees. Points to underline in this respect include sensitivity to local/national research/publication practice; scope for innovative ideas and methods, irrespective of results, even with small projects; and the potential role of replication, both as a legitimate complement to existing studies and as a form of practice for the less experienced researcher. In the final presentation of the morning, Gile examined the usefulness of inferential statistics, though cautioning the uninitiated on the need for expert guidance.

During the afternoon, the introductory session continued with advice from Gile on the importance of criticism during the drafting of a thesis or report, the need for careful choice of project and the role of interdisciplinary research. The comments on criticism afforded an example of the speaker's insistence on balanced analysis, including a discussion of the need to recognize and place in perspective reasons other than valid scientific objections which might incur negative comment from a research supervisor. The talk also addressed possible sources of error, the benefits of constructive criticism at the right time, the usefulness of knowing who can best offer this and the question of whether criticism necessarily calls for a justification of the points it challenges.

Gile then shifted the focus to his second topic of the afternoon, the reading of scientific papers and theses. Here again, the analysis proved exhaustive and stimulating, with the accent on the need to identify clearly what one is looking for. This implies bearing clearly in mind from the outset whether the papers are to be read as a potential source of information, as the basis for inclusion in a review or bibliography, as a means of learning from other researchers' strengths and weaknesses, or with a view to providing authors with feedback in the form of reports and suggestions. Various points to be assessed were discussed in detail.

Concerning the choice of research project, Gile examined the various issues involved in feasibility, again stressing the learning value of projects with simple objectives and methods. This part of the session closed with a brief review of the criteria ensuring consistency and clarity in scientific writing, such as well defined planning and objectives, coherent reasoning, careful checking of facts and citations, explicit statement of sources, overall clarity in stating one's case, an appropriate space/value ratio to ensure that the length of each section is

commensurate with its importance to the study as a whole, careful checking of the bibliography, and attention to details of format and presentation.

The last part of the session raised the issue of interdisciplinarity. Here, while willingness to range across conventional epistemological frontiers was encouraged, participants were cautioned against doing so too hastily. Failure to recognise this can mean the embarrassment of finding one's knowledge is patchy, or of playing second fiddle to peers from more prestigious, longer established disciplines. The basic message was that, if prior homework is not neglected, interdisciplinary work is a rewarding experience.

3. The relevance of Translation Studies

From the second day, proceedings continued at a residential teaching centre a few kilometres outside Aarhus. Here, the initial session included presentations by Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit, Ingrid Kurz and Bill Isham. In her opening presentation, Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit presented a comprehensive account of the differences between three well established movements in translation studies: the "linguistic" approach (exemplified by Catford or by the Leipzig School), the "historical-descriptive" approach (as in the work of Toury or of Nord) and the "new" integrated approach (examples of which are provided by the work of Pym and Mossop). Tirkkonen-Condit complemented this overview with what she dismissed as her "shopping list" for the newcomer to Translation Studies – a detailed hand-out showing how each of the different approaches to the discipline can be broken down in terms of its attitude to a number of key issues (epistemology, conception of language, relevant linguistics, etc.). The last part of the presentation gave particular emphasis to the "prototypical" concept so characteristic of the "integrated" approach, identifying this as a means of reconciling prescriptive and descriptive perspectives on translation.

Sonja Tirkkonen-Condit addressed the group again during the afternoon session of the second day, this time on the subject of the "Think Aloud Protocols" ("TAP") by which the translator's thoughts and hesitations regarding the translation process are explicitly stated. The use of these protocols highlights the translator's self-questioning in the linguistic no-man's-land between competence and performance, or between Toury's "adequacy" and "acceptability". Obviously, the analysis must distinguish between "routine" and "non-routine" translation tasks (with which the translator understandably feels more diffident), as well as between the "prototypical" production of professionals and amateurs. Among the research projects which have thrown interesting light on such questions are a number of protocol studies on Finnish and English in theses defended at Savonlinna. While acknowledging the limitation that these protocols can obviously not go beyond conscious

introspection, the speaker's concluding remarks underlined their value as a means of identifying the often conflicting priorities of faithfulness to the source text, compliance with target language norms and, last but emphatically not least, the constraints of the translator's brief. In this respect, the TAP methodology addresses issues potentially relevant to interpreting research.

4. The advantages of interdisciplinarity and some examples

The remaining two presentations of the second day were by Ingrid Kurz and Bill Isham, both representing the link between interpreting studies and psychology. Ingrid Kurz addressed the subject of interdisciplinary research, proposing the Socratic term "maieutic" to define the potential contribution of interpreting studies to the emergence of innovative research in fields such as cognitive psychology, communication sciences, sociolinguistics or artificial intelligence. Indeed, Kurz's professional training and experience afford her a vantage point which encompasses interpreting, interpreter training and cognitive psychology. Her arguments for an interdisciplinary approach to interpreting studies are thus based on personal experience. Relevant points highlighted in this presentation included "procedural" and "declarative" knowledge, "top-down" processing in the assimilation of discourse or text, and the mnemonic role of "chunking". Kurz identified the psychological interest of interpreter training, with particular reference to albeit controversial techniques such as shadowing, interpreting while counting or performing simple mathematical tasks, controlled *décalage*, "cloze testing" and intralingual interpretation (paraphrasing). The final part of the presentation included a retrospective glance at the speaker's 1969 doctoral thesis, still an acknowledged landmark as the first by a practising interpreter in the then little explored field of Interpreting Studies.

Bill Isham's presentation maintained the focus on the potential synergy between interpreting studies and cognitive psychology. The speaker first presented a number of remarks on the definition, epistemology and main components of cognitive science. Isham's presentation also provided a complement to the previous day's sessions on science, in that it examined central research concepts regarding the distinction between dependent and independent variables, the need to make allowance for a "noisy" environment and the role of experimental or statistical controls. Another point on which Isham's presentation complemented Henning Nølke's remarks of the previous day was the principle, seemingly paradoxical to the unscientific mind, that a "strong" theory should be potentially falsifiable; by contrast, a theory leaving no room for testing (which might ultimately disprove it) cannot contribute to the systematic advancement of scientific knowledge. Isham also highlighted the need to focus on specific variables amidst the overall complexity of the interpreting process, as a means of

ensuring systematic generation and testing of hypotheses. The issue of significance testing was also addressed, the extent of a phenomenon being appreciated in perspective only if sample size is appropriate. Thus, a small effect in a small sample is not in itself informative; according to whether the effect increases or simply disappears in the context of a larger sample, its true extent can be better appreciated. Finally, with regard to linguistic activity and interpretation, the speaker focused on the concept of mental or cognitive load and of the need to reconcile the conflicting demands of memory and representation on limited cognitive resources.

The programme for the morning of Wednesday 23rd January comprised three lectures, two by the previous day's speakers (Kurz and Isham) and one, on the relevance of sociolinguistic paradigms, by Cecilia Wadensjö. The afternoon was dedicated to two round tables, the first on issues in interdisciplinary research, the second on the use of research literature.

In the day's opening lecture, Ingrid Kurz gave an account of electroencephalographic (EEG) studies on simultaneous interpreting, examining the theoretical background, methodology and current status of this research. Complementing her remarks of the previous day on an interdisciplinary approach, the speaker acknowledged the invaluable scientific and methodological input provided by Professor Hellmuth Petsche of Vienna University's Institute of Neurophysiology. The at first sight "artificial" use of mental translation, as opposed to actual interpreting (to avoid muscle artifacts in the EEG resulting from articulatory movements), does not seem to prevent clear experimental confirmation of differences in cerebral lateralization for languages A and B. (Similar conclusions were drawn previously by Laura Gran and Franco Fabbro from studies involving dichotic listening and finger-tapping.) Kurz stressed that the interest of the EEG images is not restricted to identifying the regions involved in the translation process, but also gives a telling indication of interhemispheric connectivity.

In the second talk of the morning, Bill Isham commented on the interest of signed languages for interpreting research. Isham's professional experience as an interpreter of ASL (American Sign Language) and his research activities at the University of New Mexico place him among the "practisearchers" exemplified by Ingrid Kurz and Daniel Gile; a varied academic background also affords him access to the thick of the interdisciplinary fray, with the advantage of a foot in both the linguistics and cognitive science camps. The speaker presented his observations on the differing degrees of verbal recall by interpreters according to whether their medium of expression is speech or gesture (i.e., in working towards signed language). The data from the experiment described show less verbal recall in spoken language interpreters than their signed language counterparts. Isham tentatively suggests, as a possible explanation, the need for spoken language interpreters to divide listening attention between the source

discourse and feedback of their own production – signed language obviously not competing for any such aural monitoring. Also of interest in this presentation was the demonstration of why ASL is linguistically far more complex than signed English, meaning the gestured representation of individual words and/or their spelling. Isham's research has, in fact, contrasted the two against the background of the meaning-based/form-based distinction.

5. Other approaches and perspectives: recent/ongoing doctoral studies

During the final part of the morning, Cecilia Wadensjö gave an account of how discourse analysis affords insight into the role of the interpreter as mediator. The presentation offered an example of a viable research area within which to identify Ph.D. projects, being based on the speaker's 1992 doctorate. Wadensjö's inductive study of how a Swedish police inspector, a Russian-speaking defendant and their interpreter each make sense of verbal interaction from their respective points of view reminded participants that not all interpreting research need be concerned with the workings of the so-called 'black box'. Wadensjö began by clarifying the differences between the concepts of language as text production by the speaker and as a form of interaction, highlighting the advisability of balancing the two approaches. The reasons for not relying exclusively on a 'discourse as text' analysis were identified as threefold: comprehension presupposes *active* participation by the listener; purely linguistic analysis may miss the point of the focal event of interaction; and the 'discourse as text' approach risks spilling over into value judgments on compliance with a 'normative' conception of language. In Wadensjö's example, the interpreter is no less involved than the defendant and police officer in what Goffman-based terminology refers to as the 'participation framework'; like them, the interpreter thus establishes a 'footing' which indicates whether and how (s)he takes responsibility for the progression and content of their verbal interaction.

The afternoon of the third day was dedicated to two round tables, on issues in interdisciplinary research and the reading of scientific papers. The first of these discussions featured a number of observations on the epistemology of interpreting studies and the consequent need for interpreting research to be at least partly based on a solid interdisciplinary footing. The second round table offered advice on the scientific literature, with reference above all to theses and journals.

The fourth day of the Seminar began with talks by Franz Pöchhacker and Miriam Shlesinger, who both gave a brief account of their research interests. Pöchhacker's opening comments on his early experience of interpreting research – complete with wry but pertinent caricatures – were appreciated not only for the scientific rigour of the work presented, but also for the honest, balanced

encouragement offered. The talk included a brief account of how Pöchhacker collected the corpus for his 1992 doctoral thesis, with an explanation of the functionalist theoretical approach on which the analysis was based. One example Pöchhacker chose to illustrate his "functionalist" approach was that of explicitly professional or academic forms of address such as "Doctor" or "Professor", eschewed by English language delegates at the congress analysed but promptly introduced by the German language interpreters. By briefly commenting on the epistemological setting of his research, the speaker also illustrated how studies can actually be defined in terms of the "basic"/"applied", "theoretical"/"empirical" and other dichotomies mentioned during the week. In addition to its intrinsic scientific interest, Franz Pöchhacker's presentation complemented Cecilia Wadensjö's as an example of a relatively recent doctorate. Daniel Gile, while not questioning the scientific quality of the work, expressed the reservation that transcribing and then analysing an entire three-day technical conference is a formidably labour-intensive lead-in for a doctoral project.

Miriam Shlesinger's talk also provided an example of research towards a doctorate, offering a clear, simple and accessible account of the speaker's work. After some introductory remarks on her 1989 M.A. thesis (examining the relative positions of source and target language speeches on a continuum of style and register between oral and formal/literary expression), Shlesinger presented the doctorate work on which she is currently engaged. The starting point for the study in question is the simple syntactic difference between the relative positions of adjective and substantive which characterise noun phrases in English (adj + subst.) and Hebrew (subst. + adj.). Miriam Shlesinger uses this difference to examine the "working memory" of the interpreter, obliged when translating from English into Hebrew to wait for – and translate – the final substantive of the source language noun phrase before actually starting to list the adjectives in Hebrew. This means that the interpreter may be forced to give over considerable working memory resources to the storage of multiple adjectives, placed before the noun in English but necessarily after it in the Hebrew translation. In addition to this account of her own work, Shlesinger emphasized her keen, analytical approach to identifying – and sharing – research topics.

6. "All good things ..."

The final sessions of the week included a morning of discussion, in the form of a round table and a workshop, followed by individual tuition, informal presentations of research projects by participants² and final remarks by Daniel

2 These presentations, not discussed in the present paper, are listed in a report of the Seminar by Elvira Basel, "Research-Based Teaching", in *The Jerome Quarterly*, 12/2 (1997: pp. 8-9).

Gile and Henning Nølke. The subject of the round table was the role of the research supervisor and of peers in offering criticisms and suggestions, while the workshop focused on discussion of scientific papers given out at the beginning of the week. This session, guided by Daniel Gile, was a significant feature of the week, in that participants were not informed of the authors or dates of the texts provided for discussion. As in a "blind" wine tasting, there was thus no reason to hold back because of automatic deference to known names or vintages. The papers discussed actually included an article, little known to a mainstream interpreting readership, by one of the Aarhus speakers. Advice dispensed earlier in the week about seeking – and accepting – criticism was thus seen not to have been intended in a merely rhetorical spirit!

At the end of the week, the consensus of opinion among participants was that, in offering guidance for those interested or engaged in postgraduate research on interpretation, the Aarhus Seminar had made an innovative contribution to the promotion of Interpreting Studies and to the creation of an even more broadly based research network, driven by shared values and personal interaction. Henning Nølke and Daniel Gile are to be thanked for the work they put into the event, as are the entire team of instructors. Helle Dam, Friedel Dubsloff, Bodil Martinsen and Anne Schjoldager deserve credit not only for handling the organisational requirements prompted by such an event, but also for helping create a hospitable atmosphere conducive both to study and to informal discussion.

Though the message of the Seminar cannot be fairly represented in a few words, great emphasis was placed on the need to appreciate the dangers of sweeping, intuitive conclusions and to maintain a responsible, critical attitude to received wisdom. Another important message was the timely reminder, throughout the week, of how the relationship with a research supervisor should be centred on a two-way input.

In conclusion, it is to be hoped that the Aarhus organisers will schedule similar events again and that a future edition will be organised for another group of potential Interpreting Studies Ph.D. candidates. Though participation in the 1997 Seminar was by no means limited to those actually involved in doctoral projects, perhaps it could also be useful in future to offer a course more specifically for teachers of interpreting who have had no opportunity to engage in research or, indeed, for interpreters without academic affiliations. Possibly different user groups could even be accommodated together, though this would obviously require careful thinking as to how sessions could be differentiated and co-ordinated to fulfil differing requirements.

For those who participated in the 1997 event, the benefit of Aarhus continues to be appreciated as the lessons learnt become more fully assimilated and new

research contributions emerge, broadening of scientific contacts being a prerequisite for the continuing development of Interpreting Studies.

Acknowledgements

Comments received from the Aarhus Seminar speakers on an earlier draft of this article are gratefully acknowledged, as are editorial suggestions from *The Interpreters' Newsletter*. Any remaining inaccuracies or misrepresentations are entirely the responsibility of the authors.

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The recommended reading list for the Seminar, reproduced below, affords a representative introduction to the issues presented by each speaker and access to more detailed bibliographies.

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The Aarhus Seminar on Interpreting Research, 20-25 January 1997

date	morning	afternoon
Monday 20.01.97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Karen M. Lauridsen (Dean, Faculty of Languages, Aarhus): <i>Welcome to Aarhus</i> • Nølke and Gile: <i>General research issues</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nølke and Gile: <i>General research issues (contd.)</i>
Tuesday 21.01.97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tirkonnen-Condit: <i>Translation processes</i> • Kurz: <i>Interdisciplinary research</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Isham: <i>The relevance of cognitive psychology</i> • Tirkonnen-Condit: <i>Use of theories and models of translation</i>
Wednesday 22.01.97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kurz: <i>EEG probability mapping</i> • Isham: <i>Research on signed language interpreting</i> • Wadensjö: <i>Discourse analytical research</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Round table</u> on issues in interdisciplinary research • <u>Round table</u> on using research literature
Thursday 23.01.97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pöschhacker: <i>Use of a functionalist perspective</i> • Shlesinger: <i>Use of linguistic tools</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Visit to the city of Aarhus and reception in Town Hall</i>
Friday 24.01.97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <u>Round table</u> on guidance in research • <u>Workshop</u> on reading scholarly papers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Individual tuition</i>
Saturday 25.01.97	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Individual tuition</i> • <i>Selected project presentations</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Selected project presentations</i> • Nølke: <i>Conclusions</i>

MEDIUM SHIFT IN INTERPRETATION: DO INTERPRETERS PRODUCE ORAL TEXTS?

By
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Whereas the end-product of the translator's activity is a written text, by definition the interpreter's task is the production of oral texts, i.e. he works with spoken language. In dealing with the spoken variety of language, Berruto (1994: 38) stresses the need for a preliminary distinction: although the difference between written and spoken language emerges in concrete use, it is in some way independent of the producer of the message (his social status, level of education, etc.) and the language field (including the subject-matter in hand and the whole activity of the speaker or participants in a setting). At least to a certain extent, this difference is determined by the general characteristics of the selected medium and the typical context in which oral communication takes place.¹ In other words, the user's choice of the channel (voice apparatus or writing) bears a direct influence on the surface layer of the message. Moreover, Berruto points out (*ibid.*) that in concrete use the medium variation and field variation intermingle: in most cases deciding which traits belong to the spoken language and which traits are determined by the varieties exploiting the spoken medium is a rather difficult task. In this respect, Monica Berretta (1994: 242) stresses that the medium variation actually embraces all other variations; thus the features that can be said to originate from the channel selection are apparent only in hybrid discourse and other factors influencing the formal characteristics of the text inevitably need to be accounted for.

Linguists generally agree that defining the spoken variety of language *tout court* is a difficult task², also in the light of the lack of data and research in this

1 Berruto speaks of *diafasia*, *diastatia*, *diamesia* and *diatopia* with reference to the Italian terminology of sociolinguistics. A partial translation and adaptation was attempted here on the basis of Halliday's terminology (1978).

2 For example, see Horowitz 1987, who underlines how opinions diverge when the definition of differences between oral and written communicative exchange is at stake. Factors such as the mutual relationship between participants, the cohesive structures that are typical of each variety, the role of context, the procedures used to get across the message become relevant (p. 6). The conclusion is that

oral and written language do not constitute unitary constructs. Rather there is much variation and overlap. Oral and written language forms depend upon the purposes

field.³ As regards Italian, Nencioni underlined the problem as early as 1976, mentioning that a comparative and contrastive analysis of the various types of spoken language is at least as useful as the comparison of writing and discourse to investigate the constant features of spoken language (Nencioni 1976: 51). The notion of *continuum*⁴ is introduced: medium variation cannot be resolved in a clear-cut opposition [spoken vs. written]; it is rather conceived as a cline characterised by the co-occurrence of traits (with a different distribution) that may be attributed to both of its extremities. Theoretically, two opposite types of concrete use may be identified having the maximum degree of representativeness: the *parlato-parlato* variety, i.e. casual conversation, and the *scritto-scritto* variety, i.e. planned, formal, written language. On the other hand, it should not (and cannot) be ignored that the distance separating the two extremes is full of different, intermediate concrete uses. For example, besides the typical context envisaging the use of spoken language (all participants are present in the same environment, the conversation is held in turns and speakers make sure that their messages are getting across), different contexts can be imagined, where participants do not share the same environment (e.g. a telephone call) and no feed-back is possible (e.g. radio or television programmes) (Berretta 1994: 242).

Although any text produced by an interpreter may be obviously termed as "oral text", the problem of placing the hypothetical language variety spoken by interpreters along the medium cline is far from resolved. Reference was necessarily made to a "hypothetical language" in the light of the number of factors contributing to determine the features of individual, concrete texts. In other words, the question is whether a section of the *spoken vs. written* language cline may be labelled "interpreted spoken language". In more practical terms, the problem involves finding a set of recurrent traits (or rather, groups of co-occurring traits) distinguishing the "language of interpretation" from other types of discourse.

Much seems to depend upon the selection of criteria aimed at achieving such a distinction. For example, possible common traits of translated and interpreted texts as opposed to other types of "monolingual" oral texts could be taken into

for which they are used and the listener and reader audience that they will serve. Oral and written language can be further broken down into still other discourse types and registers [...] (ibid. 8).

- 3 See Alexieva (1994: 179). Although a classification of text typology is considered vital for a definition of linguistic competence, research in this field focused especially on the written variety. With reference to the specific case of interpretation, mention is made that the majority of spoken language analyses deal with casual conversation in informal and monolingual contexts.
- 4 See Bazzanella (1994: 28). For an exhaustive description of the problem of the *continuum* in Italian, see Berruto 1987.

account.⁵ Although a wide range of potentially relevant criteria may be spotted, one factor seems to be vital: planning. Starting from the assumption that "there is a great deal of overlap between speaking and writing, in the sense that some kinds of spoken language may be very writtenlike, and some kinds of written language very spokenlike", the study conducted in Chafe 1987, while endeavouring to maintain a certain consistency as regards the participants' linguistic competence, identifies four varieties of English (two of which belong to spoken and two to written language: casual conversation, university lectures, private letters and articles to be published) stressing the non-discreteness of the *spoken* vs. *written* variation and the vital role played by planning both in writing and speaking.

Planning appears to be a decisive factor where the frontier between written and spoken language becomes blurred, i.e. in written texts destined to be read aloud in public. Cortelazzo (1985: 87) notices that written texts meant to be read aloud present certain features that show that the addressees' needs have been taken into consideration by the orator. Consequently such texts, albeit written, cannot be "fully included" into the *written language* category. A distinction should be made between written language addressed to readers, written language meant to be read aloud (e.g. conference interventions or official statements),⁶ written language meant to be broadcast (e.g. radio or television news), written language for the stage.

From the point of view of actual oral articulation, this distinction is bound to become more confused since there are different ways of reading a text aloud. As conference interpreters very well know, the speaker may read a previously prepared text without any modification or, more often than not, may more or less respect the general outline of a written text, except for departing from it every now and then to introduce impromptu remarks. Of course, in the case of partial improvisation, linguistic traits at surface level differ from those of written texts simply read aloud. With reference to the behaviour of conference speakers, a classification of the source-text types a conference interpreter may find himself dealing with was proposed by Alexieva 1994, stressing the difference between "(a) previously written texts, which can be *read* or *simulated* as spoken, entailing differences in the use of prosody, pauses and speed of delivery and (b) texts directly generated in the spoken medium"; the latter may in their turn be classified as impromptu or planned speeches. Something similar was attempted

5 By "monolingual oral texts" we mean any oral text that does not involve the rewording of a source text into a different language – e.g. an oral summary a speech made in the same language.

6 In this respect Cortelazzo refers to the German term *vorlesen*, which appears to be particularly effective.

by Kopczynski (1982). His detailed classification of the typical input text is also based on the principle of "planning":

- a) a [sic] unprepared oral monologue or dialogue (a toast, a repartee, free discussion)
- b) a semi-prepared oral monologue with notes (a lecture, a paper, etc.)
- c) a written monologue intended for the spoken medium – reading thereof (a lecture, a report, a welcoming speech)
- d) a written text intended for the written medium – reading thereof (a financial communiqué, a resolution, a draft document, etc.).⁷

Kopczynski concludes that interpreters generally find texts originally intended for the written medium more difficult to render in L2, owing to the "medium shift" involved in the process of interpreting.

The outcome of the (albeit limited) research conducted by Dejean le Féal (1982) on a *corpus* of fifty interpreters is significant. Asked whether they found it easier to follow impromptu speech rather than the reading of a previously written text, the informants showed a clear preference for the former typology. Their preference was justified by problems concerning speed and a monotonous oral delivery and the absence of redundancy and planning marks at surface level. Whereas a remedy to the first two shortcomings may be found in a carefully "recited" reading⁸, the two latter may only be related to the medium selected for the original production of the source-text.

Since the interpreter plays the role of a "privileged" listener (in the sense that he is forced to pay constant attention to what is being said), the difficulties he encounters when dealing with written texts read aloud are likely to be similar to the problems experienced by that part of the audience not taking advantage of the interpreter's services. On the contrary, "planned" spoken language – intended as a selection of the topics to be dealt with, possibly prompted by means of notes, without a previously written text – shows formal characteristics revealing the speaker's planning effort and his attempt to taking into account the listeners' needs. As regards planning, Berretta (1984: 239-240) is surprised at the (relatively) low degree of formality of the texts she analysed (explanatory monologues, e.g. lectures), especially as regards surface-level planning. Another

7 Kopczynski (1982: 256). Meaningfully, the first category does not correspond to "casual conversation", usually referred to as the most representative variety of spoken language, owing both to the field variation (context marked by greater formality) and to the strict formal structures typical of such text typologies (e.g., just consider linguistic formulae used on the occasion of toasts). According to Kopczynski, the most recurrent category in a conference interpreter's career is (c).

8 Many teachers at the SSLMIT in Trieste, when reading exam texts, endeavour to introduce pauses, hesitations and repetitions aimed at providing their reading with a more "natural" elocution.

example is provided by Italian parliamentary speeches (Cortelazzo 1985), whose formality derives from the absence of the most superficial traits of spoken language, especially as regards deixis and morphology, whereas traits at syntactic and textual level are maintained (possibly with a different quantitative distribution as compared to casual conversation (ibid. 116)).⁹

Such differences are certainly amenable to the context in which the communication takes place: even in the absence of real feedback, a receiver *hic et nunc* is always implied. Consequently, regardless of the medium variation (which, in expositive monologues for example, is to be held responsible for greater explicitness achieved through slower delivery, frequent explanatory paraphrases and repetitions) a monologue tends to be more explicit at surface level than a written text.¹⁰ In monologues the need emerges to take into account the listeners' limited memory and ability to decode the source text while the latter is being delivered. It is the difference between *deliberate* and *accidental redundancy* mentioned by Le Féal (1982).

The conclusion may be drawn that, within the context of a conference, the orator may well decide not to take his audience into account. After all, what is said is generally considered more important than how it is said and, in order to clarify what has not been understood immediately, other solutions such as conference proceedings or questions asked during the final discussion may be resorted to.

Can interpreters afford to ignore their audience?

The present article opened with the following, apparently self-evident statement: "the interpreter's task is to produce oral texts". Therefore we feel excused if we quote a remark that may be seen as un-revolutionary: "the simultaneous interpreter is at once both listener and speaker".¹¹ The role of *listener* is implied in the interpreter's function itself, i.e. acting as go-between for the orator and the audience. The aspects related to the decoding process, such

9 See also Danielewicz (1984), who examines the four possible combinations between planned/unplanned and written/spoken language and concludes: "planned spoken language is more similar to unplanned spoken than to planned written language" (page 253).

10 On the contrary, casual conversation tends to be more implicit; see Halliday 1989.

11 Dejean Le Féal (1982: 221). This is the first of the causes explaining why impromptu speech is an easier challenge for the interpreter's work, the other reasons being: "2) "the interpreter acts as receiver of a message intended for someone else" and 3) "the interpreter must fully understand the total sense of the utterances so that he can restate it in his own words in the target language" (ibid.). The most relevant statement to answer the question posed at the end of the previous paragraph is probably n. 2. However the interpreter's role as *speaker* and *listener* will be dwelt upon at length, since they are felt to be central in the present discussion.

as linguistic competence in the source language or the problems posed by the text from the point of view of contents, will not be dealt with here. Rather, interest will be focused on the influence that the listening/decoding process may have on the subsequent (or simultaneous) rendering in the target language. With reference to the factors which have an impact on the surface layer of spoken language, it can be said that the interpreter is spared those tasks that might be included in the general term "macro-planning". In other words, the interpreter is spared the *dispositio*, the phase in which arguments are selected to provide the text with a consistent, logical development.¹² Regardless of field variation, when dealing with the language of interpretation, "casual spoken language" cannot be referred to since the text-producer actually follows an external guideline that is perfectly defined at surface level too (albeit in a different language). Moreover, in ideal conditions, the interpreter should be aware of what subjects will be dealt with, what will be the relevant lexis and, possibly, what are the speaker's views as regards the subjects under discussion.

There is no need to go into detail as regards the way in which the interpreter divides the source text in order to translate it (selection and length of the information blocks, distribution of his attention between coding and decoding, etc.). However, it is fair to say that at "micro-planning" level (i.e. all aspects not included in macro-planning, for example at the level of phrases, clauses and sentences) the interpreter is granted greater room for manoeuvre. An obvious example is the order of the sentence components while translating from German into Italian and vice versa. In the light of such considerations, Kopczynski states that "it can be assured that the output text produced by the interpreter has the form of extemporaneous speech" (1982: 257), where "extemporaneous" means "produced on the spot on the basis of a previously unknown text". Whereas such a conclusion is sufficient for Kopczynski to conclude that "extemporaneous speech has most of the features of impromptu speech", it may be said that he did not fully consider implications of the role played by the interpreter as a *speaker*, not only in the sense of "producer of an oral text", but also "go-between of an oral message meant for an audience".

Whereas the orator may flout the "communicative charity" principle, thus neglecting the needs of the audience at the stage of decoding, the interpreter (except when reading a translation written in advance) is not given such a choice, firstly because the text he produces is, at least to a certain extent, impromptu, secondly because the interpreter's job is mainly determined by the

12 Clearly, this is not the only "facilitation" at this stage: for example, the lexical selection may be considered partly "pre-determined".

need to render the source text decodable to an audience not relying on the necessary linguistic competence to understand the original.¹³

The term EXPLANATORY EFFORT will be used to describe the effort made by the interpreter with a view to the needs of the audience, aimed at providing surface level signals facilitating the perception and decoding of the inner articulation of the message (Berruto 1985: 134).¹⁴ The term PRODUCTIVE EFFORT will be used to describe the interpreter's effort in relation to the planning and production of the target text. As compared to casual conversation, on the one hand planning can be said to be (at least in certain respects) easier, since the source text provides a useful guideline at macro-planning level. On the other, the interpreter's role as *listener* - involving receiving and decoding the source language text - and as *speaker* - translating/encoding the target language text - renders "speaking" quite a difficult business.

Such remarks leads to the identification of possible criteria to analyse the syntactic and textual level in the search for traits that may reveal the position of the "spoken language of interpretation" on the *spoken vs. written* language

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- 13 What is meant here is by no means that the identification of the source text according to the medium variation bears no influence on the target text. Obviously, the reading of a written text will lead to an "interpreted" text that is undeniably in the spoken medium, but also includes traits that do place it far from the extreme of "casual conversation" on the *spoken vs. written language* cline. Nevertheless, the interpreter will never be in a position to produce a fully-fledged written text (i.e. presenting all the characteristics of written language), both because he communicates via the spoken medium and because he is aware of the need for getting the message across to the audience. Moreover, this brief review does not take into account other inevitable linguistic variations. The context of a conference was considered as an undivided whole, which is certainly not true: simply consider all the possible linguistic variations implied in (previously written or planned) interventions as compared to the (impromptu) final discussion, for example. Within a multi-lingual communicative exchange, the question arises of differences in formality of certain traits during the process of translation. Kopczynski recalls that "In terms of levels of usage, written discourse is often associated with formality and spoken discourse with informality and familiarity [...] In interpretation, the effect of this impromptu characteristic can be expressed in stylistic shifts in formality". Similarly, the orator's ability to produce a consistent, correct and possibly elegant text was taken for granted, whereas this is not always the case. The "correcting" function sometimes carried out by interpreters is considered here exclusively for traits relevant to the medium shift.
- 14 As noted above, the EXPLANATORY EFFORT leads to the *deliberate redundancy* mentioned by Dejean Le Féal, although the term "redundancy" is felt to be somehow misleading. For example, among the traits involved in the phenomenon, a lower lexical density might be expected (the notion of *lexical density* is dealt with in Halliday 1989).

cline. With reference to the leading role of the source text, the features of the language of conference interpretation are expected to be comparable to those found in "planned oral texts". Moreover, the principle of "communicative charity" is likely to emerge during the encoding process, thus rendering the message more explicit and "easier" in terms of comprehension/decoding on the part of the audience.

As regards the way in which the "public" character of the text produced by the interpreter is reflected in its formal traits, Viezzi (1996: 73) recalls the role played by cohesion in the development of a text that may be actually intelligible to the addressees. Oral language means that reviewing and checking back on information not captured immediately is impossible, thus the correct use of all available means to make the target text cohesive is of paramount importance.

Cohesion¹⁵ appears to be a privileged field for analysis to account for the linguistic traits with which an interpreter can intersperse his text in order to facilitate planning for himself (while he is also endeavouring to decode the source text) and, at the same time, provide explicit "holds" to the addressees who are endeavouring to grasp the text while it is unfolding. Considering the wide range of available resources, a preliminary study was conducted on a specific micro-trait: the use of demonstrative adjectives and pronouns. The choice fell on demonstratives since they were felt to be particularly revealing in the light of three distinct factors. First of all, they have both an exophoric and an endophoric function (the exophoric function being generally absent in written texts, of limited importance in planned spoken language). Secondly, the system of demonstratives in Italian is undergoing a restructuring process leading to the underexploitation of certain forms and a redistribution of the fields of use. The process does not affect spoken Italian only, but also the variety which was termed *neostandard* by Berruto (1987). Finally, demonstrative adjectives and pronouns may provide an excellent approach to explore textuality. Their endophoric use is an effective means in the hands of speakers to "construct" texts while making their internal cohesive links explicit to the addressee. Moreover demonstrative adjectives may play a role in anaphoric and cataphoric relations involving repetition and synonymy, a factor which appears to be particularly relevant in varieties of spoken language in which the principle of maximum explicitness is vital.

15 According to De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 3), cohesion is one of the criteria defining textuality: "all the functions which can be used to signal relations among surface elements are included under our notion of COHESION". As regards cohesive means in Italian, see Conte 1989 (a). Her distinction between coherence *a parte subjecti* (involving unity of sense) and coherence *a parte objecti* (involving all linguistic means providing textuality) is particularly effective.

The research considered a *corpus* including twelve interpretations from French, German and English carried out during third and fourth year exams at the SSLMIT in Trieste. Candidates taking the exam were all non-native speakers, which means that the material taken into consideration is particularly heterogeneous owing to differences in linguistic competence in the target language and interpreting skills and to the possible number of "crossings" between source language, target language and mother tongue. Consequently, relating certain peculiar uses of demonstratives to the influence of the source text, the candidate's mother tongue or an inadequate command of the Italian language is quite a difficult task. Finally, data included both simultaneous and consecutive interpretations,¹⁶ two different translation procedures clearly affecting the final result of the interpreter's activity.

In full agreement with Snelling (1992: 5), according to whom "a great deal of interpreting pedagogy and recent research on interpretation appears more relevant to source-text comprehension, which is one way of not saying text analysis, than to target-text formulation", the analysis focused mainly upon target language, considering the influence of source-text structures only occasionally. The analysis showed that, except for sporadic occurrences, the paradigm of Italian demonstratives reflected the restructuring process characterising spoken and *neostandard* Italian. There is a limited exophoric use of demonstratives, governed by the simulated source context (i.e. the context in which the exam text was produced originally). On the contrary, data revealed a very widespread use of endophoric pronouns, both referring to individual lexical items and to whole passages (*extended reference* and *text reference*, as in Halliday 1976: 52-53). In general, interpreting students showed the tendency to use demonstratives to replace personal pronouns and provide stronger cohesive elements at surface level in order to opt for co-ordinate structures leading to a subdivision of originally dense information into smaller, easier-to-handle information blocks. Summarising expressions such as *tutto questo* and *e questo* turned out to be remarkably productive.

The same can be said of demonstrative adjectives. Repetition and synonymy also come into play and allow a simple means to avoid the use of the Italian *pronomi clitici*, notoriously difficult to master not only for foreigners, but also for native speakers. General nouns (Halliday 1976) modified by demonstrative adjectives were used to refer back to longer passages. However, the most striking feature is the marked explicitness at surface level, emerging throughout all the texts analysed owing to several means employed. The use of paraphrase is known to be central in oral texts, where cancelling what has already been said is impossible and getting the message across means relying on the listener's

¹⁶ Two simultaneous interpretation from French and German, one from English; four consecutive interpretations from French, two from German and one from English.

memory. Redundancy also emerged from repetitions modified by demonstratives, a typical feature in spoken language as opposed to written texts (especially for Italians, who consider repeating the same word after a short interval a mortal sin).

In conclusion, the analysis of the use of demonstratives confirms tendencies already well known as regards expositive monologues in Italian. The need emerges for providing explicit reference points to prop up text planning and to make the textual flow more explicit at surface level, thus making the job of understating easier for the listener. Which makes us wonder, as Monica Berretta does (1984: 239), whether formality in spoken Italian is governed by rules different from those most people tend to comply with, i.e. those of written language. Although the risk could be run of answering in the affirmative, the whole question of "spoken competence" emerges, the complexity of which stems from the ubiquitous nature of medium variation: subject, participants, context and many other factors affect linguistic choices at the same time as the selection of the medium.

Going back to the results of the present study, the texts analysed often revealed a clear overexploitation of demonstratives¹⁷. But against what background can five occurrences of *questo* in three sentences be considered excessive over normal, "correct" usage? Of course, reference cannot be made to the source text, since it is a specimen of written language.

There is an urgent need for further research into spoken Italian and how its features may be relevant to a qualitative assessment of the Italian produced in an interpreting booth. We share Snelling's view (1992: 3) on the interpreting students' need to adopt a humble attitude when interpreting into a foreign language: "the interpreting student learning to express himself in English as his foreign language has nothing to fear from the search for simple, clear, formal language within safe, universally valid, readily accessible structures". However, it should be stressed that any interpreter can but strive for simple, clear formal, ORAL language. Of course, defining "universally valid, readily accessible structures" in this respect would be an immensely powerful instrument for non-native students in interpretation wishing to translate into Italian. Probably not only for them.

17 An example is provided by the following passage, taken from a consecutive from French (demonstratives are underlined): *E questo coinvolge ... eh ... include anche i cibi - i cibi già preparati, i cibi già cotti. Ehm ... E tutto questo promuove la buona la buona immagine dell'agricoltura in questo settore, quindi nella montagna, e si incoraggia ... si incoraggi - quindi un ... ehm si incoraggia quindi di rafforzare i diversi ehm leggi in questo settore e che altri settori prendano un esempio da questo, ad esempio nel settore dell'artigiano, oppure l'uso del legno.*

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BOOK REVIEW

INTERPRETING - International Journal of Research and Practice in Interpreting
- Volume 1, Issue 1, John Benjamins Publishing Company,
Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1996.

Une nouvelle revue internationale est née, *Interpreting*. Elle a tous les atouts pour enrichir la famille - déjà dynamique - des publications consacrées à l'étude de l'interprétation.

D'entrée de jeu, le bel éditorial de Dominic W. Massaro et Barbara Moser-Mercer illustre avec une objectivité fort louable l'état de l'art des recherches sur l'interprétation de conférence; tout en mentionnant le développement considérable des réflexions théoriques et pratiques sur les différents aspects d'une activité qui se confirme comme "*one of the most difficult linguistic tasks*", les éditeurs soulignent que sur le plan interdisciplinaire "*interpreting, and simultaneous interpreting in particular, has not so far elicited the kind of interest from other disciplines that it would seem to warrant given its cognitive complexity*". C'est en vertu de ce "pessimisme constructif" que chercheurs, enseignants et professionnels - pas seulement en interprétation - sont expressément invités à donner un nouvel élan à un secteur où beaucoup reste à faire.

Interpreting propose notamment les deux grands champs d'investigation que sont respectivement l'"*Ecology of interpreting*", à savoir l'étude des différentes composantes de la situation interprétative, et "*Processes that can be related to interpreting skill*": *inter alia*, perception du langage, compréhension, production, analyse du discours, rôle de la mémoire, rôle de l'attention, allocation des ressources, informations paralinguistiques, etc. On pourrait supposer qu'il s'agit de domaines déjà acquis, puisqu'ils ont fait l'objet de recherches fructueuses lors des années dominées par les pionniers et grands pragmatiques de l'interprétation de conférence que sont Herbert et Rozan. Pourtant, la lecture des articles contenus dans le premier numéro d'*Interpreting* montre qu'il reste encore beaucoup à explorer et à approfondir; elle fait également apparaître un grand mérite de la revue, qui est de proposer un équilibre stable entre les articles sur la recherche et ceux sur la pratique: ainsi, "Machine translation ..." (S.J. Jekat, A. Klein) et "Videoconferencing..." (P. Mouzourakis) sont suivis de "An interactional sociolinguistic analysis of turntaking..." (C.B. Roy); dans "Teaching consecutive interpreting", G. Ilg et S. Lambert abordent, dans un duo splendide, l'interprétation consécutive respectivement du point de vue

pragmatique et cognitif et assortissent cette étude d'une bibliographie monumentale (plus de 170 références) sur les aspects liés, stricto ou lato sensu, à l'I.C. Vient ensuite la contribution de V. Darò, S. Lambert et F. Fabbro sur "Conscious monitoring of attention...", qui marque une nouvelle avancée sur la voie de l'interdisciplinarité à laquelle l'École de Trieste a grandement contribué. Le "Community interpreting..." (H. Mikkelsen) nous ramène sur le terrain de la pratique: cette nouvelle piste de recherches reçoit enfin l'attention qu'elle mérite, notamment sur le plan sociologique et psychologique.

C'est à Gérard Ig que revient la tâche délicate de s'occuper du compte-rendu, ce qu'il fait avec la rigueur et le magnifique style que nous lui connaissons.

Chaque article est précédé comme il se doit d'un résumé; les références bibliographiques sont, d'après ce que nous avons pu vérifier, impeccablement agencées. La présentation d'un profil concis des auteurs, de même que la revue des Conférences et Symposiums, sont fort appréciables.

Comme de coutume, la John Benjamins Publishing Company assure à la revue une présentation élégamment sobre et claire.

Qu'ajouter à cela? *Interpreting* est une publication de langue anglaise, mais elle accepte "occasionally" des articles en français et en allemand; une plus franche ouverture à ces deux langues serait sans doute appréciée des grands spécialistes des écoles d'études francophones et germaniques.

Nous avons la conviction qu'*Interpreting*, forum ouvert à l'interdisciplinarité en matière d'interprétation de conférence, saura conserver ce profil de bon aloi.

Anna Giambagli

Carr S.E., Roberts R., Dufour A. & Steyn D. (eds.) (1997): *The Critical Link: Interpreters in the community*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

With its collection of over twenty papers from the First International Conference on Interpreting in Legal, Health, and Social Service Settings (Geneva Park, Canada, June 1-4, 1995), *The Critical Link* makes a considerable contribution to the dissemination of knowledge about a professional reality that has so far received very little academic attention in spite of the fact that it is widespread and, indeed, expanding in many parts of the world. Divided into five sections, the book provides a comprehensive overview of several aspects of community interpreting: the various settings in which it is required, training programmes, accreditation systems, quality assessment, etc. Most papers focus on the communicative aspects of community interpreting and on the multifaceted

roles to be played by interpreters who are regarded not only as mediators between languages but, above all, as mediators between cultures. As might be expected, most papers were written by authors working in Australia, Canada and the US – countries with a long history of immigration where the need to tackle language problems in the community was felt earlier and more acutely than elsewhere. Their experience will certainly be beneficial to all those now planning to set up adequate training and professional facilities to meet the growing demand for community interpreting services. Given the quality of the papers it contains and the range of topics it deals with, *The Critical Link* is an excellent book and will become a fundamental reference for all those involved in this field, whether as trainers or interpreters.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL UPDATE

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