PATTERNS OF GROWING STANDARDISATION AND INTERFERENCE IN INTERPRETED GERMAN DISCOURSE

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Abstract

This study compares simultaneously interpreted German speech to non-interpreted German discourse in order to determine whether interpreted language is characterised by any of the laws that have been found to feature in translated text, i.e. the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference. It is hypothesised that interpreters typically exaggerate German communicative norms, thereby producing manifestations of growing standardisation. In order to test this hypothesis, comparative and parallel analyses are carried out using corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted discourse. During the comparative phase, two types of interpreted German speech are each compared to non-interpreted language and to each other in order to determine how interpreted speech differs from non-interpreted discourse. During the parallel analysis, the interpreted German segments are compared to their source language counterparts with the aim of determining the reasons for the production of the patterns discovered during the first phase. The results indicate that interpreters do not produce patterns similar to those that characterise translated text: neither the law of growing standardisation nor the law of interference is manifest in the data. Instead, a different feature, namely an increased degree of generalisation, is discovered in the interpreters' output. This feature appears to be the result of the use of strategies that enable interpreters to deal with time, memory and linearity constraints inherent in SI. It can hence be confirmed that interpreted German differs from non-interpreted German discourse in certain respects.

Key terms: Simultaneous interpreting, Growing Standardisation, Interference, Normalisation, communicative norms, corpus-based interpreting studies, Three-Phase Comparative Analysis

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aim of the study

The purpose of this study is to discover what types of patterns can be found to recur in simultaneously interpreted German discourse, distinguishing it from non-interpreted German speech. As a starting point, it will be assumed that those phenomena that have been found to characterise written translations will also be manifest in simultaneously interpreted discourse.

According to Frawley (1984, 169), translated language, due to its dual lineage, "set[s] its own standards and structural presuppositions and entailments". Toury (1995, 259) formulates two exemplary laws of translation in order to demonstrate the nature of the types of regularities that occur in translated language and that distinguish it from original language production: The law of growing standardisation, which describes the tendency of translated text to contain elements that reflect habitual target language (TL) options (Toury 1995, 268), and the law of interference, according to which translated language may contain features originally pertaining to the make-up of the corresponding source text (ST) (Toury 1995, 275). Toury (1995, 271) goes on to claim that the prevalence of features of either growing standardisation or interference depends on the socio-cultural conditions under which a translation is produced.

Evidence in support of the influence of both of these laws of translational behaviour has been found in written translations; however, very little research has been undertaken in order to establish whether features of growing standardisation and interference also characterise the nature of simultaneously interpreted discourse. This study therefore attempts to determine whether speeches that have been simultaneously interpreted from English and other SLs into German by professional interpreters are characterised by manifestations of either the law of growing standardisation

or the law of interference, or whether neither of these two laws of translational behaviour plays a role in orally interpreted German language.

1.2 Recurring patterns in translational language

A number of translation scholars have examined written translations for manifestations of the laws of growing standardisation and interference. Empirical evidence in favour of the phenomenon of growing standardisation can be found in studies carried out by, amongst others, Vanderauwera (1985), Laviosa-Braithwaite (1995), Kenny (1998), Malmkjær (1998), Munday (1998), Øverås (1998), Dayrell (2008) and Sarma (2008), who analyse various manifestations of this law at lexical, collocational and textual levels. The concept of interference, on the other hand, is empirically supported by studies conducted by scholars such as Mauranen (2000, 2004), Tirkkonen-Condit (2002, 2004), Eskola (2004) and Nilsson (2004). By analysing features such as the occurrence of unique items, the frequencies of certain collocations, and syntactic patterning, they are able to demonstrate that positive interference is a common occurrence in translated texts.

Like Toury (1995), other researchers, too, argue in favour of an effect of the source language's socio-cultural status on the types of regularities that will emerge in translated text. Toury (1995, 271) and Vanderauwera (1985, 77) both maintain that patterns of growing standardisation will prevail in translated texts if the relevant source language (SL) occupies a peripheral position in the recipient culture while features of the law of interference will characterise translations from a SL with a comparatively high socio-cultural status (Toury 1995, 278; House 2006, 354). Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), on the other hand, believes that translators working from a SL with a comparatively high status are more likely to produce target texts that contain features of growing standardisation. An empirical study by Mauranen (2004, 78) supports this hypothesis.

Although no studies have aimed to determine whether regularities similar to those mentioned above also characterise interpreted language, a few studies in the field of interpreting suggest that the law of growing standardisation may leave traces in interpreters' output, too. Hale and Gibbons (1999, 212), for example, describe how court interpreters bring about changes in tenor in favour of more typical TL options and Shlesinger (1991, 150) notes that court interpreters are often found to grammaticise or normalise their output. Henriksen (2007, 10) observes a higher frequency of typical TL formulae, representing habitual TL options, in her subjects' output and furthermore notes that interpreted speeches are usually more homolingual than their non-interpreted counterparts (Henriksen 2007, 16). Features of interference in simultaneously interpreted speech are discovered by Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow (2008) and by Lamberger-Felber and Schneider (2008). The interpreted speeches analysed in these two studies contain phonological elements, lexical items and grammatical structures that have been transferred directly into the interpreters' output from the corresponding SL speeches.

Apart from these studies, research into recurring patterns in simultaneously interpreted discourse and the circumstances under which they are produced remains relatively scarce. A study similar to those cited above should hence be carried out on interpreted discourse in order to provide more information about the extent to which the laws of translational behaviour that have been found to affect the nature of written translations are also evident in simultaneous interpreters' output. In this study, the output of interpreters working from English, a language with a high socio-cultural status, and various other SLs into German is therefore analysed in order to shed more light on the nature of possible recurring patterns that may characterise simultaneously interpreted German discourse.

A discovery of such recurring patterns in simultaneously interpreted discourse may lead to the formulation of hypotheses about professional interpreters' norms by providing information about whether interpreters consider it necessary to adapt their interpreted output to typical TL standards

or whether they believe it is acceptable for certain SL communicative and/or cultural norms to be reflected in their TL output. The identification of regularities in interpreted language may also allow for a better understanding of the pressures and constraints under which simultaneous interpreters work (Baker 1995, 234) and can, according to Olohan (2004, 40), lead to a better understanding of the processes involved in the production of translational language.

1.3 The normalisation hypothesis

In order to uncover the types of regularities that are typically produced by simultaneous interpreters, the frequencies of a number of German collocations in interpreted and non-interpreted speeches are analysed in this study.

Altenberg (1998, 117) arranges the collocations that occur in his corpus according to their functions into groups such as vagueness tags, quantifiers, and qualifying expressions. He argues that vagueness tag are important in oral discourse since they allow for a lack of precision while both quantifiers and qualifying expressions are used in order to meet politeness requirements and show positive solidarity with listeners (Altenberg 1998, 118). As English speakers are considered by House (1996, 346) to be less explicit and direct than speakers of German, they can be expected to make greater use of vagueness tags. Furthermore, English speakers' tendency to be more polite and to focus on the interpersonal, interactive aspect of communication (House 1996, 346) should lead to an increased use of both quantifiers and qualifying expressions.

The frequency of certain collocations, such as vagueness tags, quantifiers and qualifying expressions, in a sample of interpreted German discourse can consequently give an indication of the extent to which either growing

standardisation or interference affects simultaneously interpreted German language. This study investigates whether the above three types of collocations occur more or less frequently in simultaneously interpreted than in independently produced German discourse. A lower occurrence of these items in interpreted language will point towards a preference for growing standardisation by the interpreters since it suggests that they have adapted their output to typical German communicative norms by making it more direct and explicit in nature; a higher frequency, on the other hand, may be interpreted as a manifestation of interference, since it represents behaviour that is typical of the SL.

The translation universal of normalisation or conservatism proposed by Baker (1996, 183) and defined as the tendency of translated language to "exaggerate features of the TL and to conform to its typical patterns" corresponds to Toury's (1995, 268) law of growing standardisation (Pym 2008, 318) and serves as the hypothesis that is tested on simultaneously interpreted discourse in this study. As this hypothesis states that translational language is characterised by a tendency to exaggerate typical TL patterns, it is postulated that speeches simultaneously interpreted into German can be expected to contain a smaller number of collocations such as vagueness tags, quantifiers and qualifying expressions than non-interpreted German speech.

1.4 Data and methodology

The data that is used in order to test the above hypothesis consists of speeches delivered at plenary sessions of the European Parliament. These speeches are downloaded from the European Parliament's Multimedia Library at www.europeanparliament.eu and are then transcribed according to the conventions that have been established for the transcription of the EPIC files at the University of Bologna (SSLMIT 2004). The data includes

interpreted as well as independently produced, non-interpreted language and represents four different types of speeches, namely:

(a) speeches originally produced in German;
(b) speeches interpreted into German from English;
(c) speeches interpreted into German from a variety of other SLs; and
(d) speeches originally produced in English and which served as originals for the interpretations in (b).

Each corpus consists of 68 speeches of comparable length delivered at the European Parliament. In order to assure comparability of all speeches with respect to their language domain, each corpus contains speeches on similar topics, including politics, health, formalities, justice, economics, agriculture, transport, environment and security. Comparability with regard to the time span of the data is ensured as well since all interpreted and non-interpreted speeches date from between 2008 and 2010.

The four corpora described above are used in order to carry out both comparative and parallel analyses. Three comparative analyses serve to detect those instances in which interpreted and non-interpreted language patterns differ. Both interpretations from English and interpretations from other, mixed SLs are compared to non-interpreted German discourse and to each other in order to discover possible differences and determine whether the high socio-cultural status of the English language has an effect on interpreters' behaviour and on the types of patterns they are most likely to produce. Knowledge of the reasons for the inclusion of the relevant expressions in the interpreted data is subsequently gained through the final parallel analysis, i.e. by comparing the relevant TL segments to their SL counterparts.

Two different corpus analysis tools are used in order to uncover all instances of the relevant collocations and identify the possible regularities of interpreted language: The comparative analyses are conducted using the corpus

analysis programme AntConc 3.2.1w (Windows) and the parallel analysis is carried out with a demo version of the programme ParaConc.

The data in these four corpora is analysed from a descriptive angle. Descriptive translation studies accounts for existing translations or interpretations that have been produced by professional translators/interpreters under real-life conditions (Munday 2001, 11). The different types of speeches are hence compared in order to discover and explain similarities as well as differences between interpreted and non-interpreted language. Any patterns identified in the interpreted speeches which differ from non-interpreted language are merely described and are not judged in terms of right and wrong.

In the next chapter, an overview of the literature that deals with growing standardisation and interference in translated and interpreted language is presented. The third chapter then contains a more detailed description of the data analysed in this study and the criteria used for its collection. The methodology used for the analysis of the data is also discussed in this chapter, followed by a presentation and discussion of the results of the three comparative analyses in chapter 4. Chapter 5 contains the parallel comparison between the interpreted German segments and the corresponding SL speeches; the reasons that prompted the inclusion of certain expressions in the interpreted German data are hence discussed in this chapter. Finally, the results obtained in this study are summarised and interpreted in chapter 6.

Chapter 2: Growing standardisation and interference in translation and interpreting research

2.1 Introduction

The literature review below deals with Toury's (1995) two laws of translational behaviour, namely growing standardisation and interference, which are said to exert an influence on translated language by manifesting themselves in translated text in the form of recurring patterns. The discussion of Toury's two laws of translational behaviour in section 2.1 is followed by an overview of different hypotheses, put forward by a number of different translation scholars, regarding the validity of these laws under varying socio-cultural conditions. Finally, the last two sections of the present chapter, 2.3 and 2.4, contain a presentation of the research that has been undertaken in order to provide evidence for or against either of these two laws.

The studies that are included in this literature review analyse authentic translational data produced by professional translators or interpreters in order to yield results that allow for the confirmation or refutation of one of the two laws of translational behaviour based on empirical evidence. Although the present study focuses on recurring patterns in orally translated language only, research analysing written translations is, due to the sparseness of studies dealing with manifestations of such regularities in orally translated discourse, also included in the literature review below.

2.2 Toury's laws of translational behaviour

Toury (1995, 259) formulates two exemplary, probabilistic laws of translational behaviour in order to demonstrate the possible nature of

predictable patterns in translated language: the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference.

The law of growing standardisation describes the tendency of translated language to contain elements that reflect habitual TL options; this tendency is the result of the conversion of ST textemes into TL repertoremes, which takes place during the translation process (Toury 1995, 268). According to Pym (2008, 314), the law of growing standardisation implies that a translator will often replace those features that are specific to a certain ST (= textemes) by other features which belong to the specific genre's normal TL inventory (= repertoremes), a process which results in greater standardisation in the target text (TT) than in the ST. Toury (1995, 271) argues that a translator is under greater pressure to observe the habitual TL options and to make the translated text sound as natural as possible if translation both as an activity and as a product occupies a peripheral position in the recipient culture. Under such circumstances, frequent manifestations of growing standardisation are therefore arguably witnessed in the translated text.

The second of Toury's laws, the law of interference, asserts that translated language contains features originally pertaining to the make-up of the ST on which the translation is based (Toury 1995, 275). These features can either agree with normally accepted TL behaviour (= positive interference) or deviate from it (= negative interference). Toury (1995, 278) argues that if the language and culture from which the ST emanates occupy a high position in relation to the TL and its culture, then the translator can expect more tolerance amongst his TL readership for features normally pertaining to the SL make-up and is therefore more likely to produce a text containing higher levels of interference.

Although the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference appear to contradict each other – the former claims that a translated text will be characterised by typical TL features, the latter that it will contain ST patterns – it is therefore possible for both laws to hold at the same time as long as different socio-cultural conditions apply. The effect that a translator's

socio-cultural environment has on the translated product has been studied by several other translation scholars as well, some of whom have arrived at different conclusions. The various viewpoints are outlined in section 2.3 below.

2.3 The effect of socio-cultural conditions on translational language

It has already been pointed out in the previous section that, according to Toury (1995), the prevalence of a translational law depends on the socio-cultural conditions under which the translator is working: Manifestations of growing standardisation can be expected to occur in translated texts when both the product and the process of translation occupy a peripheral position in the recipient culture (Toury 1995, 271). Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger (2008) expect similar consequences from a low status of translation in a TL's culture and argue that translators conform to TL norms (and therefore produce growing standardisation) as a result of the low status of their occupation (Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger 2008, 81). Baker (1996, 183), too, believes that a lower SL status results in a greater likelihood of translators producing normalised language. Vanderauwera (1985, 77), who studies the translation of Dutch novels into English, notices that translators adjust original Dutch texts in favour of habitual Anglo-American literary norms. Her findings thus substantiate the hypothesis that translators prefer to exaggerate typical TL norms when the SL has a relatively low status in the recipient culture. The above five scholars therefore concur that when the status of translations, translators and/or SLs is considered by the recipient cultures to be comparatively low, patterns of growing standardisation prevail in the translated product.

The occurrence of interference, too, appears to be linked to the socio-cultural conditions under which a translation is produced. Toury (1995, 278) believes that when a SL occupies a dominant position in the recipient culture's system, then the translator is more likely to produce a TT that contains features pertaining to the make-up of that SL, or interference. House (2006) comes to a similar conclusion regarding the occurrence of interference in translated text. The tendency of translations from English into German to contain patterns indicative of interference does, she argues, owe to the dominant or hegemonic status of the Anglo-American language and culture (House 2006, 354). House (2006, 356) believes that as a result of this dominant status, German translators of English texts have ceased to apply the cultural filter typically employed in covert translations and instead reproduce features of the ST's make-up in their translations into German. She therefore supports Toury's (1995) hypothesis which states that a high SL status induces the inclusion of features of interference in the translated text.

Contrary to the above scholars' viewpoints and observations, Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) believes that translators working from a SL with a comparatively high status into a less dominant language tend to exaggerate the less dominant TL's habitual norms in order to create a work that is accessible for the masses, thereby producing a translation that contains features of growing standardisation instead of manifestations of interference as predicted by Toury (1995) and House (2006). According to Toury (1995), Vanderauwera (1985), and Sela-Sheffy and Shlesinger (2008), growing standardisation mostly occurs in combination with a low, not a high, SL status. However, Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis is substantiated by an empirical study carried out by Mauranen, who finds that translations into Finnish from a high-status SL such as English result in less interference in the TT than translations from a SL with a lower status, in this case Russian (Mauranen 2004, 78). This finding indeed supports Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis, which contends that translations from a high- into a low-status language are characterised by patterns of growing standardisation.

Although not all scholars seem to concur regarding the circumstances under which translations are expected to display a certain type of pattern, there is general consensus that the prevalence of any of the two laws of translational behaviour is affected by the relevant socio-cultural conditions and the relative dominance of the languages involved. Manifestations of both growing standardisation and interference have been researched by a number of translation scholars who have carried out empirical analyses of authentic translational language involving a variety of language combinations. An overview of this research is presented in the following two sections: studies dealing with growing standardisation are presented in section 2.4, followed by studies investigating occurrences of interference in section 2.5.

2.4 Growing standardisation

Toury's law of growing standardisation in translational language is endorsed by a number of other translation scholars, too. The translation universal of normalisation or conservatism proposed by Baker (1996) and defined by her as the tendency of translated language to "exaggerate features of the target language and to conform to its typical patterns" (Baker 1996, 183), for example, appears to be consistent with the phenomenon of growing standardisation (Pym 2008, 318). Baker (1996, 183) argues that manifestations of normalisation can most easily be discovered by analysing aspects such as punctuation, grammatical structures and collocational patterns in translated language. She furthermore suggests that research aimed at identifying universal features of translation can be facilitated by comparing translated and non-translated texts in the same language, i.e. by compiling and analysing comparable corpora (Baker 1995, 235). Non-translated text is here defined as "text produced in relative freedom from an individual script in another language" (Baker 1995, 233).

The following overview of studies investigating patterns of growing standardisation in translational language consists of two parts, with section 2.3.1 focusing on studies undertaken on written translations and section 2.3.2 presenting research into similar patterns in orally interpreted discourse.

2.4.1 Growing standardisation in translated text

A number of translation scholars have analysed various types of translational corpora in order to provide evidence in favour of the presence of patterns of growing standardisation in translated text. These studies include Vanderauwera (1985), Øverås (1998), Sarma (2008), Laviosa-Braithwaite (1995), Dayrell (2008), Kenny (1998), Munday (1998), Malmkjær (1998) and Balsakó (2008). Patterns of growing standardisation are detected at all three of the levels mentioned by Baker (1996, 183), namely with regard to TL collocations (Kenny 1998; Laviosa-Braithwaite 1995; Dayrell 2008; Øverås 1998; Sarma 2008), punctuation (Vanderauwera 1985), and grammatical structuring (Øverås 1998). Other manifestations of growing standardisation that have been discovered include lexical choice (Munday 1998; Malmkjær 1998; Balsakó 2008), the neutralisation of metaphors and imagery (Vanderauwera 1985; Øverås 1998), as well as shifts in tense, syntax and narrative style (Vanderauwera 1985). All of the above researchers study translated texts produced by professional translators under real-life conditions; however, not all of them make use of the comparable corpus methodology advocated by Baker (1995, 235).

Vanderauwera (1985), Øverås (1998) and Sarma (2008), for example, analyse parallel corpus data in order to investigate patterns of growing standardisation in translated text. Vanderauwera (1985) studies original Dutch novels together with their corresponding translations into English in order to show that many of the shifts that have occurred, such as the insertion of punctuation marks and changes in tense, are the result of a translator's effort to "suppress all kinds of irregularities, smoothen out unusual style and rhythm, and remove "irrelevant" fragments" (Vanderauwera 1985, 72). She ascribes these shifts to a "tendency towards textual

conventionality" (Vanderauwera 1985, 93) and target-accommodating strategies on the part of the translator or editor of the TT (Vanderauwera 1985, 76). This phenomenon furthermore affects not only the linguistic level but also the ideological contents of the novels under investigation (Vanderauwera 1985, 75).

Øverås (1998, 575) sets out to examine the explicitation universal in translated language by analysing the way in which cohesive markers have been translated. Her parallel corpus comprises English source and Norwegian target language texts. She argues that some of the explicitating shifts that she discovers in her data are in fact the result of a translator's tendency to accommodate the TL's stylistic requirements (Øverås 1998, 578). Her analysis furthermore indicates that the neutralisation of features such as collocations, colligations, metaphors and irony is a common occurrence in her data (Øverås 1998, 581–583) and ultimately improves the readability of the TT.

Sarma (2008), too, uses a parallel corpus in order to carry out his analysis. His data consists of texts translated from English and Hindi into Assamese (Sarma 2008, 75) and he identifies a number of translation universals, including explicitation, simplification and normalisation, in the translated texts. The modifications of certain English and Hindi lexical strings in the Assamese translations (Sarma 2008, 83) serve as examples of occurrences of normalisation in his corpus.

Laviosa-Braithwaite (1995, 156–157), on the other hand, supports the use of an entirely monolingual, comparable corpus – consisting of translated and non-translated texts in the same language while excluding the corresponding STs – in order to carry out research into manifestations of growing standardisation. She encourages the search for patterns such as the neutralisation of collocational clashes in translated language (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1995, 161) and believes that a comparison of the frequencies of such clashes in translated as compared to non-translated English will provide more information regarding the nature of normalisation (Laviosa-Braithwaite

1995, 161). Laviosa-Braithwaite (1995, 161) goes on to hypothesise that collocational clashes occur less frequently in translated than in non-translated texts, which would indicate that translators typically exaggerate TL norms and therefore introduce features of normalisation into their translated products. She does not, however, provide empirical evidence for this claim.

Dayrell (2008) similarly analyses an exclusively monolingual, comparable corpus consisting of translated as well as non-translated Brazilian Portuguese texts. She aims to establish whether translators use recurring TL lexical patterns, which serve as examples of typical TL behaviour, more frequently than authors of original texts (Dayrell 2008, 37). Dayrell's analysis confirms that the translated Brazilian Portuguese novels in her corpus exhibit a preference for the use of such recurring lexical patterns, a finding which points towards a tendency of translated Brazilian Portuguese to conform to typical TL behaviour (Dayrell 2008, 50).

Kenny (1998), Munday (1998), Malmkjær (1998) and Balaskó (2008) rely on different methodologies, which allow them to integrate the above two approaches and examine a combination of both comparable and parallel corpora in order to identify patterns of growing standardisation in translated language. Kenny (1998) studies the degree to which unusual English SL collocations have been normalised in translations into German, as suggested by Laviosa-Braithwaite (1995). She relies on an English reference corpus in order to establish the degree of originality of certain English ST collocations before comparing them to their translated German counterparts supplied by the parallel corpus (Kenny 1998, 517). The third step of her analysis consists of determining the originality of the translated collocations by means of a comparable German corpus, which then allows drawing conclusions regarding the extent of normalisation that the collocation has undergone in translation (Kenny 1998, 519). Kenny (1998, 520) concludes that normalisation or sanitisation, often resulting in the TT being "tamer" or "more toned down" than its original, is evident in her corpus.

Munday (1998, 548–552) similarly relies on a combination of parallel and comparable corpora in order to investigate shifts produced during the process of translation; however, he starts off with an analysis of his parallel corpus data. Based on this parallel analysis, Munday (1998, 549) identifies potentially interesting shifts, such as the replacement of definite articles with possessive pronouns, which has a distancing effect on the TL reader. In a subsequent comparison of these TL renderings with non-translated English texts it becomes evident that most shifts are the result of the translator's adherence to typical TL norms (Munday 1998, 553–554).

Malmkjær (1998), too, relies on both parallel and comparable data in order to show that the majority of translators in her corpus have adhered to normal TL behaviour and therefore produced normalised translated language (Malmkjær 1998, 537). Her parallel corpus consists of an extract from a Danish ST together with ten English translations of that same extract produced by different translators. Malmkjær (1998, 537) discusses the different translation equivalents produced by these ten translators before assessing their conventionality in the TL by means of comparable English data extracted from the COBUILD dictionary. This comparable analysis confirms Malmkjær's initial hypothesis: Most translators in her corpus have indeed normalised the unusual collocation in the Danish ST (Malmkjær 1998, 537).

Balaskó (2008) analyses a corpus of translated and non-translated Hungarian texts together with their corresponding English STs in order to detect some of the traces that the process of translation leaves in the TT (Balaskó 2008, 60). She notes that the translated texts in her corpus display a total absence of the foreign loan words which frequently occur in the comparable non-translated Hungarian texts (Balaskó 2008, 71). The relevant translators appear to have exaggerated the use of typical TL lexis by neglecting alternative options, a discovery which points towards normalising translator behaviour.

All of the above scholars therefore confirm the presence of patterns of growing standardisation in translated language at various linguistic levels. Studies revealing similar patterns in interpreted discourse are discussed in the following section.

2.4.2 Growing standardisation in interpreted discourse

Although a few existing studies have tested the validity of some of Baker's translation universals for interpreted discourse (e.g. Sandrelli and Bendazzoli 2005; Russo, Bendazzoli and Sandrelli 2006) with regard to simplification and Gumul (2006) with regard to explicitation), the phenomenon of normalisation and the law of growing standardisation have not yet received much attention from interpreting scholars. However, there are a few studies in the field of interpreting that point to a possible trend towards growing standardisation in interpreters' output, too, namely research conducted by Henriksen (2007), Hale and Gibbons (1999), and Shlesinger (1991). The levels at which features of growing standardisation have been observed in these studies include grammaticality (Shlesinger 1991), tenor (Hale and Gibbons 1999), and the use of formulae (Henriksen 2007) in interpreted language. Unlike some of the scholars cited in the above section, all of whom work with translated text, these researchers analyse parallel corpus data consisting of original SL speeches and their corresponding interpreted TL renderings.

Shlesinger (1991, 148) discusses the latitude of interpreters at a multilingual trial; the data she examines comprises original SL speeches in Hebrew and their interpretations into English. She notes that interpreters often introduce stylistic shifts in their output, which results in a TL version that appears normalised when compared to the SL discourse (Shlesinger 1991, 150). Examples of the adoption of a normalising approach by the interpreters include the correction of ungrammatical discourse, the finishing of sentences that had been left incomplete by the SL speaker and the deletion of hesitations and false starts even where these had been used deliberately by the SL speaker (Shlesinger 1991, 150). By introducing these shifts the

interpreters ensure that their output adheres to typical TL norms of grammaticality.

Hale and Gibbons (1999) analyse changes that the English to Spanish courtroom interpreters in their parallel corpus have made to barristers' original speech. Their comparison of the SL speech with the interpreted discourse reveals that interpreters' changes, such as omissions of references to the courtroom reality and of introductory phrases for reported speech, as well as changes in tenor and question form, are a common occurrence in this data (Hale and Gibbons 1999, 217). As a result of these changes legal professionals cannot successfully use specialised legal language in order to achieve their very specific communicative goals (Hale and Gibbons 1999, 218). Apart from these negative consequences ensuing from the interpreters' behaviour, Hale and Gibbons' (1999) data appears to provide evidence for the phenomenon of growing standardisation in interpreted discourse, too. Changes to the tenor of the SL message, such as the substitution of an imperative or the omission of the word "please" in the interpreted Spanish rendition, for example, could be the result of standardising interpreter behaviour since the imperative mood is typically used more frequently in Spanish than in English while the use of "por favor" in this context would be considered unusual in non-interpreted Spanish discourse (Hale and Gibbons 1999, 212).

Henriksen (2007) studies formulaic expressions in interpreted discourse and observes a higher frequency of typical TL formulae in interpreters' output. Her parallel corpus data, consisting of original English and German speeches interpreted into Danish, suggests that interpreted language is more homogeneous and displays less variation than the corresponding SL speeches with regard to the use of formulae (Henriksen 2007, 15). Established TL formulae often offer viable solutions to recurrent translation problems or typical ST ideas regardless of their form, and therefore several formally different SL elements are frequently interpreted into one single TL formula (Henriksen 2007, 10). This tendency results in a more uniform and conventional TL product, and this uniformity becomes even more pronounced

as interpreters tend to glean useful phrases from their colleagues (Henriksen 2007, 14). Since formulae can be considered habitual TL options, this phenomenon reflects a trend towards standardisation in interpreted discourse. Like Balsakó (2008), cited in section 2.3.1 above, Henriksen (2007, 16) furthermore notes that interpreted speech is often more homolingual, and therefore more conservative, than non-interpreted discourse, which often includes foreign loan words from high-status languages. Again, this is arguably the result of normalising behaviour on the part of the interpreters.

Despite the scarcity of research dealing with growing standardisation in interpreted discourse, there are a few existing studies that appear to disprove the existence of this law of translational behaviour as a characteristic feature of interpreted language in general. These studies focus on the range of literacy (Shlesinger 1989, cited in Pym 2007) as well as features of intonation (Shlesinger 1994; Ahrens 2005), using either parallel or comparable corpora of interpreted discourse in order to substantiate their claims.

Shlesinger (1989, cited in Pym 2007, 176) uses a parallel corpus of speeches interpreted from English into Hebrew and vice versa in order to establish whether the process of SI results in shifts in the degree of literacy, causing oral-like language to become more literate and literate-like language to become more oral in the process. Her analysis confirms that interpreted discourse displays a reduced range of literacy (Shlesinger 1989, cited in Pym 2007, 183) – a feature which Baker (1996, 184) terms the “equalising universal”. All literate-like SL speeches in Shlesinger’s corpus have become more oral-like while most oral-like speeches have become more literate-like in the process of interpretation. This levelling out of different degrees of literacy occurs regardless of typical TL usage: Hebrew source speeches, for example, which should be expected to become more literate in translation in order to conform to the TL’s literacy-tradition, become more oral-like when interpreted into English. Instead of adhering to normal literacy TL behaviour, some TTs have instead moved in an opposite direction on the oral-literate

scale, proving that the interpreters in this corpus have not adhered to the principle of growing standardisation.

Interpreters' intonation does not appear to be subject to normalisation either. Shlesinger (1994, 227) compares speeches interpreted from English into Hebrew and vice versa with texts read aloud by her subjects in the same languages. She observes that interpreters' output contains certain intonational features that are not present in her comparable read aloud data (Shlesinger 1994, 226). Intonation in interpreted discourse seems to be characterised by ungrammatical pauses, tentative sentence-final pauses, stress that is incompatible with semantic contrast, non-standard pitch-movement and the unnatural lengthening and acceleration of some segments (Shlesinger 1994, 229–233). Furthermore, these features appear to be language-independent, at least with regard to the two languages under investigation in her study (Shlesinger 1994, 229). Shlesinger (1994, 234) concludes that interpreted language has its own distinctive features of intonation when compared to non-interpreted speech.

Intonation as a distinctive feature of interpreted language has also been studied by Ahrens (2005), who analyses a parallel corpus consisting of an English SL speech and its three simultaneous interpretations into German. Ahrens demonstrates that intonation units in interpreted language are typically shorter and more numerous than in spontaneous speech (Ahrens 2005, 65), resulting in a more pronounced segmentation and a tiring and monotonous staccato rhythm that hinders comprehension (Ahrens 2005, 67). She furthermore identifies a salient rise-level pitch movement at the end of an interpreted intonation unit, which lends the interpreted text the "singsong" rhythm which in non-interpreted discourse is typically used for enumerations and lists only (Ahrens 2005, 68). Interpreters, Ahrens (2005, 72) argues, employ these distinctive intonational patterns in order to allow for the possibility of inserting additional information should the unfolding SL speech require such additions. Intonation in interpreted discourse therefore clearly differs from non-interpreted language intonation, indicating that this aspect of interpreted discourse is not governed by the law of growing standardisation.

Although many of the above studies analysing translated text and interpreted discourse support the presence of patterns of growing standardisation in translational language, it has to be noted that most of these researchers analyse translations based on a single SL; it is therefore possible to argue that certain of the patterns of standardisation discovered in these studies are language-specific and do not qualify as universal features or laws of translated language in general.

The following section presents a number of studies that discover features of interference, the second of Toury's laws of translational behaviour, in translational language.

2.5 Interference

While there is ample evidence in favour of the effect that the law of growing standardisation has on the nature of translated and interpreted language, there are equally many studies that demonstrate the presence of features of interference in translational language by examining translations between a variety of language combinations. An overview of studies that analyse patterns of interference in translational language is provided below. Again, this overview consists of two parts, namely section 2.5.1, which presents studies conducted on written translations, followed by section 2.5.2, which discusses research into patterns of interference in interpreted discourse.

2.5.1 Interference in translated text

A number of different scholars have discovered patterns of interference in translated text. Relevant studies that point towards the existence of this phenomenon include House (2006), Tirkkonen-Condit (2002, 2004), Mauranen (2000, 2004), Eskola (2004), Nilsson (2004), and Balsakó (2008). The linguistic levels at which manifestations of interference in translated

language have been investigated and confirmed include the use of lexis in translated language (Nilsson 2004; Mauranen 2004; Balaskó 2008), including the occurrence and frequency of unique lexical items and strings (Tirkkonen-Condit 2002, 2004; Mauranen 2000), the frequencies of certain collocations (Nilsson 2004), the degree of variation of multi-word strings (Mauranen 2000), and syntactic patterning (Eskola 2004). Interference with regard to communicative norms, i.e. at the level of pragmatics, is studied by House (2006).

Most of the above studies affirm the existence of patterns of positive interference. The relevant ST features that have been transferred into the TT do therefore not deviate from normally accepted TL usage; however, they are untypical of normal TL behaviour and consequently occur with a higher frequency in translated than in non-translated texts. None of the above scholars discovers instances of negative interference, i.e. translations that contain features deviating from accepted TL behaviour. The majority of the researchers cited below rely on either monolingual comparable corpora or a combination of comparable and parallel corpora, incorporating the relevant STs in order to allow for conclusions regarding the influence of a specific SL and the degree of universality of the patterns discovered.

House (2006) analyses both parallel translational data, consisting of English ST extracts together with their corresponding translations into German, and comparable monolingual reference texts in German. The analysis of the German non-translated extracts reveals a tendency of German authors to produce content-oriented and explicit language (House 2006, 352–353); a subsequent comparison of the English SL texts with their translations reveals that certain Anglophone communicative norms pertaining to the STs, for instance the personalisation of inanimate, abstract entities or a tendency towards colloquialisation, have been transferred into the TTs (House 2006, 355–256). House (2006, 356) concludes that the translators in her corpus have ceased to apply the cultural filter typically employed for covert translations. She interprets these findings as providing evidence for

interference in translations from a dominant language, such as English, into a less dominant recipient culture.

Tirkkonen-Condit (2002, 210) uses an entirely monolingual comparable corpus of translated and non-translated Finnish texts in order to test whether it is possible for readers to distinguish between translated and non-translated language on the basis of the texts' linguistic features alone. The experiment shows that translations appear to be virtually indistinguishable from non-translations (Tirkkonen-Condit 2002, 216). However, Tirkkonen-Condit's (2002) subjects typically attribute features of normalcy and the occurrence of unique items (i.e. elements specific to the TL) to non-translated language production, and the use of deviant language to translations (Tirkkonen-Condit 2002, 211–212). Tirkkonen-Condit (2002, 216) argues that while there is no evidence of deviant language use in her corpus of translated texts, it is true that translated language is characterised by a lower frequency of unique items. She further elaborates on this phenomenon in a different study, in which she analyses a monolingual comparable corpus of Finnish translated and non-translated texts (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004, 178). The results of this analysis show that lexical items specific to original Finnish are in fact under-represented in the translations and thus occur less frequently in translated Finnish texts than in the comparable non-translated texts (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004, 181). The author ascribes these findings to the phenomenon of positive interference: Unique items, having no direct counterparts in the SL, do not suggest themselves as translation equivalents for inclusion in the TTs (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004, 183). She furthermore argues that this finding contradicts Toury's law of growing standardisation (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004, 182), according to which unique items typical of the Finnish language should have been over-represented in the corpus of translated texts.

Mauranen (2000, 120) intends to establish whether translated language contains unusual word combinations, and whether these combinations are genre- or source language-specific. Her corpus includes comparable data from translated and non-translated Finnish, which she analyses in order to determine the frequency and variation of certain metatextual elements in both

translated and non-translated language. She then analyses parallel data comprising translations from English into Finnish and vice versa in order to obtain information about the ST structures that prompted certain of the translational patterns. Although the word combinations in the translated Finnish data differ from those found in the originally produced texts, these patterns do not deviate from accepted TL usage and therefore constitute instances of positive interference (Mauranen 2000, 136). Mauranen (2000, 137) argues that the patterns discovered in the translated texts show more variation than those in the originals, a finding which is not consistent with the translation universal of normalisation. Like Tirkkonen-Condit (2004), she furthermore finds that target-language specific items are under-represented in translated language due to the absence of source-language stimuli (Mauranen 2000, 137). In a different study, Mauranen (2004, 72) goes on to establish whether this type of interference is a universal feature of all translations regardless of the SL involved, or whether it is instead a source-language specific phenomenon. Her comparable corpus consists of non-translated Finnish texts as well as three corpora of translations into Finnish from (i) English, (ii) Russian and (iii) mixed SLs (Mauranen 2004, 74). While interference per se appears to be a universal feature of translation regardless of the SL (Mauranen 2004, 79), Mauranen's findings contradict Toury's hypothesis that tolerance for inference increases with SL dominance: in her corpus, interference occurs most frequently in the translations from Russian, a SL with a lower socio-cultural status than English (Mauranen 2004, 78).

Like Mauranen, Eskola (2004, 88) compares non-translated Finnish texts with translations from English and Russian into Finnish in order to examine the impact of specific SL structures on translated Finnish. By examining the syntax of the translational data, she is able to demonstrate that those Finnish structures that do not have direct equivalents in English or Russian are often excluded from the translated texts, resulting in the under-representation of unique TL patterns (Eskola 2004, 89) which is also observed by Tirkkonen-Condit (2004) and Mauranen (2000). In addition to this confirmation, Eskola (2004, 96) also points out that those items which do have direct equivalents

in the respective SLs are frequently over-represented in her corpus of translated texts.

Nilsson (2004) undertakes a similar study in order to compare the behaviour of collocational patterns in translated Swedish to the types of collocations typically found in non-translated Swedish texts (Nilsson 2004, 130). His comparable corpus contains translated and non-translated Swedish texts; the parallel data consists of translations from English into Swedish and vice versa (Nilsson 2004, 131). Nilsson begins his analysis with a comparison between the translated and the non-translated texts before proceeding to compare interesting structures identified during the first step to their corresponding SL patterns (Nilsson 2004, 134). Like Eskola (2004), Nilsson (2004) finds that certain collocational patterns are overrepresented in translational language as a result of similar patterns occurring in the SL. These patterns act as stimuli that prompt the inclusion of their direct Swedish equivalents in the translation (Nilsson 2004, 138). As in the above studies, this finding points towards a manifestation of Toury's law of positive interference.

Lastly, Balaskó (2008, 70), too, discovers examples of positive interference in her corpus of translated and non-translated Hungarian. She analyses the frequency and distribution of the Hungarian word 'ábra' in her comparable corpus and discovers differences between translated and non-translated texts with regard to the frequency, patterning and distribution of the word (Balaskó 2008, 69). She subsequently carries out a concordance search for the corresponding English ST patterns and finds that the unusual distribution and behaviour of the word 'ábra' in translated Hungarian is the result of corresponding SL patterns and argumentative structures that have been transferred into the translation (Balaskó 2008, 68), leaving traces of positive interference in the TT.

The above studies demonstrate that patterns of interference exist at various linguistic levels in translated language. Studies revealing features of interference in interpreted discourse are discussed in section 2.5.2 below.

2.5.2 Interference in interpreted discourse

Pöchhacker (1992, 176) describes interference in interpreted discourse as "a well-known form of target-text contamination with source-cultural material", which may occur at phonological, lexical and syntactic level. Although it is generally accepted by interpreting theorists that interference plays an important role in simultaneous interpreting (SI) (e.g. Seleskovitch 1978, 90), scholars analysing authentic interpreted discourse have not supplied much empirical evidence in support of a possible effect of SL interference on interpreters' TL output. Examples of studies undertaken in order to analyse features of interference in interpreted discourse include Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow (2008), who analyse instances of lexical and grammatical interference, and Lamberger-Felber and Schneider (2008). Both of these studies rely on parallel corpora in order to identify pertinent patterns. Unlike the features of positive interference discovered in the translated texts in the previous section, the patterns identified in these two studies on interpreted discourse constitute instances of negative interference and are therefore examples of cases in which the relevant TTs deviate from normally accepted TL behaviour.

Several examples of interference in interpreted discourse are provided by Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow (2008), who also discover patterns of interference in written translations. The authors examine a parallel corpus containing speeches consecutively interpreted from French and English into German and notice that lexical items as well as grammatical structures appear to have been affected by interference from the SL's linguistic make-up (Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow 2008, 93–94). Instead of using typically accepted TL equivalents, some interpreters in this corpus include certain lexical items borrowed from the respective SL in their TL output (Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow 2008, 93) and also produce incorrect grammatical structures in analogy with corresponding SL structures (Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow 2008, 94). These features deviate from normally accepted TL behaviour and are hence examples of the law of (negative) interference.

Lamberger-Felber and Schneider (2008, 221) conduct an empirical study during which professional conference interpreters are asked to interpret three English speeches into German under different working conditions. The researchers subsequently compare the interpreted German speeches to the English originals in order to discover instances of various types of interference, which are then classified as phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic, grammatical and "simultaneous short circuit" (Lamberger-Felber and Schneider 2008, 219). Their findings indicate that while different working conditions seem to have little effect on the frequency and types of interference introduced by the interpreters, individual subject variability plays a more significant role (Lamberger-Felber and Schneider 2008, 233). Based on the figures obtained by this study, the authors conclude that interference in general is a frequent occurrence in the output typically produced by professional conference interpreters (Lamberger-Felber and Schneider 2008, 232).

2.6 Summary

The above studies suggest that both growing standardisation and interference play a role in translational language. Relevant distinctive patterns to this effect, which are not found in independently produced language, are discovered in translators' and interpreters' output by a number of different translation and interpreting researchers working with a variety of different languages and using different types of corpora, either parallel, comparable or a combination of these two. The patterns identified in support of the above laws manifest themselves at various linguistic levels, for example those of lexis, collocation, grammar, punctuation and phonology.

However, although most scholars concur on the important effect of the socio-cultural circumstances under which a translation is produced on the nature of the translator's output, there is no clarity regarding the types of conditions

that prompt translators and interpreters to produce language adhering to either of these two laws. The existing studies presented in the above sections do not provide any additional information on this issue either: Certain of these scholars detect patterns of normalisation in a corpus of texts translated from a low- to a high-status language, e.g. Vanderauwera (1985) with regard to Dutch texts translated into English, Munday (1998) for Spanish into English, Malmkjær (1998) for Danish into English and Shlesinger (1991) for Hebrew into English. These studies therefore substantiate the hypothesis that normalisation occurs during translation from a low- to a high-status language. Other studies, however, identify normalised features in texts translated from a language with a dominant status into a lower-status recipient language and culture, as predicted by Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis. This is the case in studies undertaken by Øverås (1998) on English texts translated into Norwegian, by Sarma (2008) for English into Assamese, by Kenny (1998) for English into German, by Ahrens (2005) for English into German and by Hale and Gibbons (1999) for English into German.

Furthermore, based on the above literature review there appears to be very little information available regarding the applicability of these laws of translational behaviour to orally translated discourse. A study similar to those described above for translated text must therefore be carried out in order to provide more information about the existence of patterns of growing standardisation and/or interference in interpreted language and about the influence of the SL's status on the occurrence of the relevant features. An attempt to identify such patterns in interpreted discourse is made in the present study. Details on the research design of this study are provided in the following chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Based on the literature review in the previous chapter it can be concluded that both of Toury's two laws of translational behaviour play a significant role in the production of written translations. Features of growing standardisation have been discovered by Vanderauwera (1985), Øverås (1998), Sarma (2008), Dayrell (2008), Kenny (1998), Munday (1998), Malmkjær (1998) and Balaskó (2008) in their corpus data. Elements of interference have been found to prevail in the translational data analysed by House (2006), Tirkkonen-Condit (2002, 2004), Mauranen (2000, 2004), Eskola (2004), Nilsson (2004) and Balaskó (2008).

It has however also become clear that translation scholars' knowledge of the effects of growing standardisation and interference on other modes of translation, such as SI, remains very limited. This lack of information regarding the influence of growing standardisation and interference on interpreted discourse presents a gap in researchers' knowledge of translational language in general and calls for further research into the nature of interpreted speech. This study therefore attempts to determine whether speeches that have been simultaneously interpreted by professional interpreters from English and other SLs into German are characterised by features of either growing standardisation or interference, or whether these two laws of translational behaviour do not play a role in orally translated language.

3.2 The normalisation hypothesis

Baker elaborates on one of Toury's laws of translational behaviour, the law of growing standardisation, by suggesting that all translated language is characterised by a general tendency to "exaggerate features of the TL and to conform to its typical patterns" (Baker 1996, 183). She calls this phenomenon the normalisation or conservatism universal of translated language. In the present study, this normalisation universal proposed by Baker serves as the hypothesis that is tested on discourse simultaneously interpreted from English and other SLs into German in order to determine whether professional interpreters, like translators, resort to the use of typical TL patterns in the production of their output.

Since English is a SL with a dominant status compared to the TL German, it can be expected, according to Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), that interpreters working with this language combination will exaggerate typical TL norms, resulting in the production of normalised German interpreted discourse. Similar patterns have already been discovered by a number of scholars examining written translations (e.g. Øverås 1998; Sarma 2008; Kenny 1998) and interpreted speech (Ahrens 2005; Hale and Gibbons 1999). It is therefore reasonable to expect that speeches simultaneously interpreted from English into German will be characterised by certain features of normalisation.

Since Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) believes that a high SL status results in a translation into the TL that is accessible for the masses and therefore normalised, it can furthermore be hypothesised that interpreters working from English into German are more likely to produce manifestations of growing standardisation in their output than interpreters working from a variety of other SLs that do not have a similarly dominant status in relation to the German language. This means that the high status of English as a global lingua franca could influence the way in which German interpreters behave when interpreting English SL speeches. German

interpreted discourse with English as SL should, according to Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis, contain higher levels of normalisation than German discourse that has been interpreted from other, less dominant SLs. The present study verifies whether this is indeed the case or whether, as other scholars such as Toury (1995, 278) argue, translations from a dominant SL will result in patterns of interference in the translated product.

Although the normalisation hypothesis appears to have originally been formulated for written translations, Baker (1996, 184) also includes studies relating to simultaneously interpreted discourse in her list of examples of translation universals, such as Shlesinger's (1989, cited in Pym 2007) research on the degree of literacy of interpreted discourse as an illustration of the "levelling out" universal. It can therefore be argued that Baker's universals of translation are indeed meant to apply not only to the type of language found in written translations, but also include other modes of translation, such as that of SI. Consequently, it is also possible to analyse simultaneously interpreted, oral language with an eye to the occurrence of manifestations of the translation universal of normalisation or conservatism. Furthermore, two of Baker's translation universals have already received some attention in interpreting studies, namely the universal of simplification, which has been examined by Russo, Bendazzoli and Sandrelli (2006), and the universal of explicitation, which has been found by Gumul (2006) to characterise interpreted discourse. These studies demonstrate that it is indeed possible to successfully apply the concept of translation universals to interpreted discourse, too.

Whether or not patterns of normalisation or growing standardisation also apply to interpreted discourse can be determined by comparing interpreted speech to autonomously produced discourse with regard to the occurrences, frequencies and distributions of selected features in the data, as has been demonstrated by some of the studies examining written translations which have been discussed in the previous chapter. Baker (1996, 183) argues that the types of features whose frequencies typically give researchers a good

indication of the presence of normalisation include the use of grammatical structures, punctuation, collocational patterns and clichés. The present study focuses on the way in which certain collocational patterns are used in interpreted and non-interpreted German discourse in relation to the requirements of the language's communicative norms. The following section of this chapter discusses these collocational patterns in more detail.

3.3 Vagueness tags, quantifiers and qualifying expressions

In order to determine whether patterns of growing standardisation characterise German interpreted discourse, the occurrences of certain types of collocations identified by Altenberg (1998, 117), namely vagueness tags, intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions, in interpreted and autonomously produced German discourse are compared and analysed.

Altenberg (1998, 103) classifies the recurring lexical patterns he identifies in his corpus of spoken English according to the grammatical types they represent into independent and dependent full clauses, multiple and single clause constituents, and incomplete phrases. According to their functions, the single clause constituents are then arranged into subcategories such as vagueness tags, qualifying expressions, intensifiers/qualifiers, connectors, temporal expressions and spatial expressions (Altenberg 1998, 117). Altenberg argues that all of these single clause constituents serve important functions in spoken discourse. Vagueness tags, for example, are vital in the production of oral discourse since they allow for a lack of precision by the speaker while intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions can be used in order to meet politeness requirements and to show positive solidarity with the listener/s (Altenberg 1998, 118). The table below summarises the oral discourse requirements that these three types of collocations serve.

TYPE OF COLLOCATION	EXAMPLE	FUNCTION
Vagueness tags	and so on	lack of precision to allow for real-time production of oral discourse
Intensifiers/quantifiers	the whole thing	politeness/positive solidarity with interlocutor
Qualifying expressions	more or less	politeness/positive solidarity with interlocutor; hedging device

Table 1: Collocations with their functions

It will subsequently be argued that as a result of different communicative norms, speakers of the relevant source and target languages used in this study, namely German and English, show different degrees of preference for the inclusion of the above three types of collocations in their speech. The following section concentrates on the communicative norms that are characteristic of German and English speech.

3.4 Communicative norms in German, English and other languages

House carries out several studies in order to point out differences between the communicative norms adhered to by speakers of German and English. In a study contrasting German and English discourse, for example, House (1996, 346) lists a number of differences between the communicative norms adhered to by speakers of German and English respectively. She notes that speakers of German typically produce discourse that is characterised by directness, a focus on the contents of the message, truth, explicitness of expression, ad hoc formulation and an orientation towards the speaker him- or herself. English speakers, on the other hand, typically adhere to contrasting communicative norms, such as indirectness, a focus on the addressees or the interpersonal function of the discourse, politeness, implicitness of expression, the use of verbal routines and an orientation towards the other (House 1996, 347). The communicative norms typically

adhered to by speakers of German and English respectively are summarised in the table below.

GERMAN	ENGLISH
Directness	Indirectness
Focus on contents	Focus on addressees
Truth	Politeness
Explicitness	Implicitness
Ad hoc formulation	Verbal routines
Orientation towards speaker him-/herself	Orientation towards other

Table 2: Communicative norms in German and English

As, according to Altenberg (1998, 118), vagueness tags are typically used in order to allow for a lack of precision, this type of collocation is well-suited for the formulation of implicit and indirect messages like those preferred by speakers of English. It can consequently be argued that English discourse will be characterised by the frequent occurrence of vagueness tags, while these collocations should occur relatively infrequently in German discourse since German speakers prefer formulating messages in which all information is contained explicitly without the lack of precision typically associated with the use of vagueness tags.

Intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions, on the other hand, are used in order to express politeness and positive solidarity with the listeners (Altenberg 1998, 118). Once again, these collocations correspond well with the demands of certain communicative norms identified by House (1996, 347) as being typical features of English discourse, namely politeness, an orientation towards the addressee or the other and a focus on the interpersonal function of discourse. It can therefore be expected that speakers of English will use intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions more frequently in order to adhere to their linguistic community's communicative norms and their own preferences while speakers of German, who instead tend to focus on the truth and the contents of their messages when communicating orally, will use these collocations much less frequently.

In addition, collocations are recurrent lexical patterns or “pre-patterned expressions” (Altenberg 1998, 101), i.e. expressions which occur “more than once in identical form” (Renouf and Sinclair 1991, 128). As such, they are also typical examples of verbal routines and since the use of verbal routines is identified by House (1996, 347) as one of the typical features of English discourse norms, this communicative preference should consequently add to the greater frequency of occurrence of these recurring patterns in discourse produced by English speakers. Speakers of German, on the other hand, prefer ad hoc formulations to verbal routines and are hence not expected to resort to recurring patterns such as collocations as frequently as speakers of English.

Katan (1999, 254) ranks a number of different cultures on a cline that represents the context dependency of their respective language systems. Languages spoken in high-context cultures are characterised by speakers’ preference for expressing themselves more implicitly and focussing on relationships and social appearances while speakers belonging to low-context cultures usually express themselves more explicitly and focus on the substance and facts of a message (Katan 1999, 250). Katan (1999, 254) places the German language at the very bottom of the scale, where low-context cultures are found, while other languages, such as Italian, French and the Scandinavian languages appear closer to the high-context end of the scale. German speech is therefore more content-oriented and direct in comparison with not only English, but also with other European languages. Collocations such as vagueness tags, intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions can hence be expected to occur more frequently in other European languages, too, and can consequently also be used as an indicator of the degree of growing standardisation or interference that has taken place in German discourse interpreted from SLs other than English.

It can be expected that under the influence of the normalisation universal, which serves as the hypothesis for the present study, German interpreters will exaggerate typical German TL norms, including directness, explicitness, a content orientation, a focus on the truth of the message and a preference

for ad hoc formulation. Adhering to these typical German discourse norms would mean that the interpreters in question should use fewer collocations such as vagueness tags, intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions, which do not correspond to habitual German communicative preferences, in their interpreted output than autonomous German speakers employ in non-interpreted German speech. Instances of these collocations occurring in the SL speech would consequently have to be omitted from the interpreter's TL product and be replaced by more explicit, content-oriented ad hoc expressions. The occurrence of certain collocations such as vagueness tags, intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions in interpreted discourse can consequently be taken as an indication of the extent to which normalisation or growing standardisation has taken place in a sample of interpreted discourse.

This study therefore investigates whether examples of the above three types of collocations occur more or less frequently in simultaneously interpreted than in non-interpreted, autonomously produced German discourse. A lower frequency of these items in interpreted language would provide evidence for a preference for growing standardisation among interpreters since it would indicate that the interpreters have adapted their TL output to typical German discourse norms. A higher occurrence of these collocations in interpreted discourse, on the other hand, could be interpreted as a manifestation of interference since it represents a pattern that is normally more frequently found in the SL.

The normalisation hypothesis, together with Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) claim that translation from a dominant into a less dominant language enhances translators' normalising behaviour, would mean that German discourse interpreted from English should be characterised by a tendency to exaggerate typical TL patterns; therefore it is to be expected that speeches simultaneously interpreted into German from English will contain a smaller number of collocations such as vagueness tags, intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions than non-interpreted German speech, and a smaller number of these collocations than a corpus of

German interpreted discourse in general, consisting of interpretations based on a variety of different SLs.

This study consequently analyses the occurrences of the above three types of collocations in interpreted and non-interpreted German discourse in order to establish whether evidence exists in support of patterns of growing standardisation in interpreted German discourse, and in order to determine the effect of the SL's socio-cultural status on interpreters' production of such normalised patterns. The following section contains a description of the data that is analysed in the present study in order to test the validity of the normalisation hypothesis for interpreted discourse.

3.5 Data

3.5.1 Corpora in interpreting studies

In order to determine whether either of Toury's laws of translational behaviour affects interpreted German discourse, data in the form of an electronic corpus is analysed. An electronic corpus can be defined as "a large collection of electronic texts that have been gathered according to explicit criteria" (Bowker 2002, 44). Its advantages include the fact that electronic corpora make it possible for researchers to examine relatively large amounts of data through the use of corpus analysis software specifically developed for data manipulation and analysis. These tools can save researchers time and therefore allow for the analysis of larger amounts of data. In addition, the analysis of electronic corpora also has the advantage of being less error-prone than manual analyses (Bowker 2002, 44). In translation and interpreting studies, electronic corpora are considered particularly valuable because they provide a method for the description of the kind of language used in existing translations (Olohan 2004, 17). Furthermore, corpus-based approaches enable researchers to carry out empirical analyses on translated text in order to arrive at an "empirically

justified theory of translation", which is, according to Toury (2004, 15), the ultimate aim of translation studies as a discipline.

The approach used in this study is corpus-based as opposed to corpus driven, which means that the corpus is used "as an inventory of language data [...] to find proof for existing theories" (Storjohann 2005, 9) and in this case proof for Baker's (1996) theory of the existence of normalisation phenomena in translational language. Corpus-driven approaches, on the other hand, refer to the analysis of corpus data without the application of prior assumptions or theories (Tognini-Bonelli 2001, cited in Storjohann 2005, 5).

There are two main types of corpora that are relevant to the study of translated text, namely parallel and comparable corpora. Parallel corpora consist of original SL texts in one language together with their translation(s) into (an)other language(s) (Olohan 2004, 24). A parallel corpus is usually queried in order to analyse shifts that have occurred in translation, and thus to identify translators' strategies and norms. Monolingual comparable corpora, on the other hand, consist of texts originally composed in one language and similar texts translated into the same language from one or several SLs (Olohan 2004, 25). This type of corpus is mainly used for "comparing text production per se with translation" (Olohan 2004, 36) and is hence useful for the identification of patterns specific to translated text, such as the recurring features of translational language which are examined in the present study.

Since the aim of the present study is to identify patterns specific to interpreted German discourse, the material analysed consists of monolingual comparable corpora, which are, as it has been pointed out above, well-suited for this purpose. However, in order to allow for an understanding of the reasons behind the production of certain patterns in interpreted discourse, a parallel corpus comprising the corresponding SL speeches is consulted in combination with the comparable data, as has already been done in studies by translation scholars such as Mauranan (2000), Nilsson (2004) and Balsakó (2008).

Although translational corpora, especially of the comparable type, have so far mainly been employed in analyses of written translations, the use of corpora in interpreting studies, too, has been endorsed by numerous interpreting scholars. Bendazzoli and Sandrelli (2009, 6), for example, regret the fact that "Corpus-based Interpreting Studies are still at a less advanced stage of development than Corpus-based (written) Translation studies". Using electronic corpora for the analysis of interpreted language has several advantages. Amongst other things, it becomes feasible to analyse large amounts of authentic interpreting data, thereby allowing interpreting scholars to move from "non-systematic, uncontrolled observation or from personal experience-based theories to empirical research" (Shlesinger 1995, 8), a transition which Shlesinger (1995) considers a necessary step in the further develop of interpreting studies as a discipline.

Despite certain problems inherent in the use of electronic corpora in interpreting studies, such as the selection, collection and manual transcription of the data and a lack of enough suitable tools for analysis (Cencini 2002, n.p.), Shlesinger (1998, 486) argues that "corpus-based interpreting studies offer a tool which is both viable and revelatory". She supports the use of comparable corpora in interpreting studies and maintains that their advantages furthermore include the possibility to identify patterns that are specific to oral translational products in a given language irrespective of their SLs (Shlesinger 1998, 488), as intended in the present study. Setton (forthcoming, n.p.), too, argues with regard to electronic corpora that "the prospects seem particularly exciting for the study of interpretation". Although he believes that parallel, not comparable, corpora will yield the most useful findings for the interpreting community, he concedes that corpus-based interpreting research relying on monolingual comparable corpora can yield interesting findings, too (Setton forthcoming, n.p.).

The following section provides details on the types of interpreted and non-interpreted German speeches that have been included in the corpora analysed in this study.

3.5.2 The speeches

Some interpreting scholars, such as Shlesinger (1998, 490), believe that authentic interpreting data cannot yield an adequate concentration of relevant material for the study of interpretation. Shlesinger (1998, 490) therefore argues in favour of the use of experimental data in interpreting studies. Other interpreting scholars, such as Gile (1998, 73), however, believe that there are certain problems related to experimental research and that authentic, observational data should therefore be preferred for research purposes. Gile (1998, 69) argues that "the most important contribution to interpreting research can be expected from observational procedures", which have the advantage of allowing for the investigation of phenomena "as they occur naturally, with no distortion induced by the study" (Gile 1998, 73).

The present study hence relies on authentic observational, as opposed to experimental, data consisting of full speeches delivered by Members of the European Parliament at plenary sessions of the European Parliament, and of simultaneous interpretations of these speeches into German. Recordings in the form of both video and audio files of these speeches and their corresponding interpretations into the European Parliament's official languages are available online for download at the Multimedia Library of the European Parliament's website (www.europeanparliament.eu). All of the speeches delivered as part of these plenary sessions as well as the corresponding interpretations are routinely recorded by the European Parliament authorities. The data collection method can be considered non-interactive since the subjects do not play an active role in the collecting, analysing or interpreting of the data (Gile 1998, 71), nor are they aware of their output being subject to subsequent analysis. Therefore the collection of the data does not constitute an intrusive element that could affect the subjects' behaviour. Interference, for example in the form of data-distorting influences, is thus precluded (Gile 1998, 71) and the validity of the data is ensured.

Four different types of speeches, which are grouped into four different corpora, are analysed in this study:

corpus (a): speeches originally delivered in the German language by native German speakers from Germany;

corpus (b): speeches interpreted into German by native German-speaking interpreters, based on original speeches delivered in the English language;

corpus (c): speeches interpreted into German by native German-speaking interpreters, based on original speeches delivered in a variety of different SLs used at the European Parliament, excluding English; and

corpus (d): those speeches originally produced in English by English speakers from the UK or Ireland on which the interpretations in corpus (b) are based.

Each different corpus of interpreted and non-interpreted discourse contains the same number of speeches, namely 68. The corpus size therefore equals 272 speeches/interpretations and contains a total of 68 333 words. This word count is distributed as follows across the four different corpora: corpus (a) = 20 853 words; corpus (b) = 14 182 words; corpus (c) = 17 069 words; and corpus (d) = 16 229 words. Comparability with regard to the number of speeches across the four corpora is therefore ensured. However, the same does not apply to the four corpora's word counts as the non-interpreted German speeches contain significantly more words than the other three corpora. A clear imbalance regarding the number of words per corpus therefore exists in the data; this poses a problem which is addressed in the final section of this chapter.

Suitable speeches for inclusion in the corpus have been chosen in such a manner as to ensure representativeness of the data by covering a wide variety of different speakers and topics. Apart from the video and audio files containing original and interpreted speeches, the European Parliament's

website provides additional, extra-linguistic information about each speech. This information includes the name, nationality and political group of the original speaker, the title, date and time of the debate and the duration of the speaker's contribution.

Based on this information, it is possible to select speeches for inclusion in the corpus in such a manner as to ensure that a wide variety of different speakers, both male and female and representing all major political groups present in the European Parliament, are included in the corpus in order to diversity the nature of selected speeches and interpretations as much as possible. Due to this variety of speakers and interpreters included in each corpus, the possibility of an individual speaker's idiosyncrasies or an interpreter's style or performance influencing the findings is precluded; different syntactic and lexical patterns are more likely to be included in the corpus and the representativeness of the data is consequently improved (Gile 1998, 75).

Most speeches vary in length from approximately one to three minutes. All corpora therefore contain speeches of corresponding lengths.

Comparability with regard to the temporal distribution of the data is ensured as the speeches range from 13 June 2008 to 19 January 2010 for corpus (a), from 10 July 2008 to 22 October 2009 for corpora (b) and (d) and from 24 September 2008 to 9 February 2010 for corpus (c); all corpora therefore represent contemporary discourse dating from between 2008 and 2010.

The speeches have furthermore been selected in such a way as to represent a variety of topics typically discussed at the European Parliament and to ensure approximate comparability with regard to the topics covered by all speeches across the four different corpora. The speeches included in the corpora deal with issues concerning politics, health, formalities, justice, economics, agriculture, transport, environment and security. The precise number of speeches per topic in each corpus respectively is illustrated by the figure below.

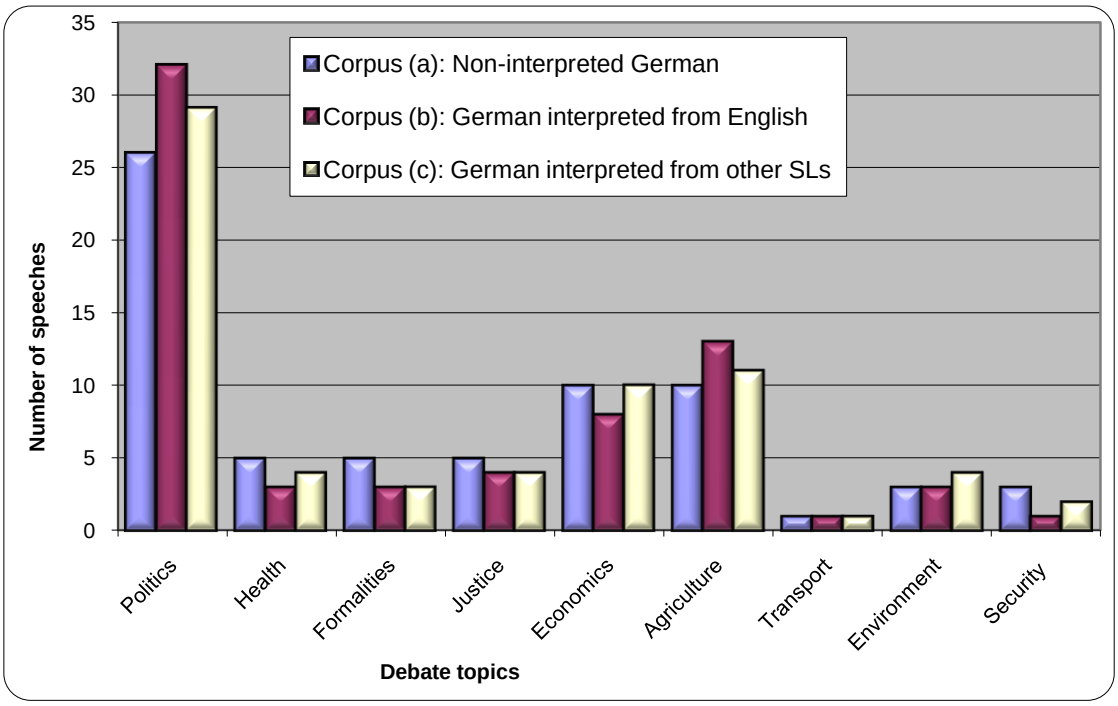

Figure 1: Topics included in the different corpora

Conclusively, it can be said that all speeches included in the four different corpora have been selected in such a way as to ensure that they belong to a similar domain, language variety, time span, and are of a comparable length. Due to the homogeneity of the institutionalised European Parliament setting, variables such as the type of interpreter-mediated event, interpreting mode, topic, length, the degree of technicality of the speech, the type of target audience and the interpreters' working environment are likewise controlled (Bendazzoli and Sandrelli 2009, 3). The data therefore complies with the most important requirements of comparability commonly used in translation studies for the compilation of comparable corpora (Baker 1995, 234).

With regard to the interpreted German speeches in corpus (c), the relevant data has been chosen in such as way as to ensure the inclusion of a variety of different SLs that represent different language groups, such as Baltic, Germanic, Hellenic, Romance and Slavic as well as Finno-Ugric languages. None of the 21 SLs included is dominant in this corpus, which ensures that the findings yielded by this corpus do not merely reflect SL or language group specific patterns but are representative of interpreted German discourse in

general, regardless of the SL or language group involved. However, contrary to the mono-source-language corpus of translated Finnish compiled by Jantunen (2004, 109), English SLs are excluded from the corpus of mixed SLs in the present study in order to achieve a clear contrast between the data in corpus (b) and corpus (c). The figure below illustrates what number of interpreted speeches included in this corpus corresponds to which SL.

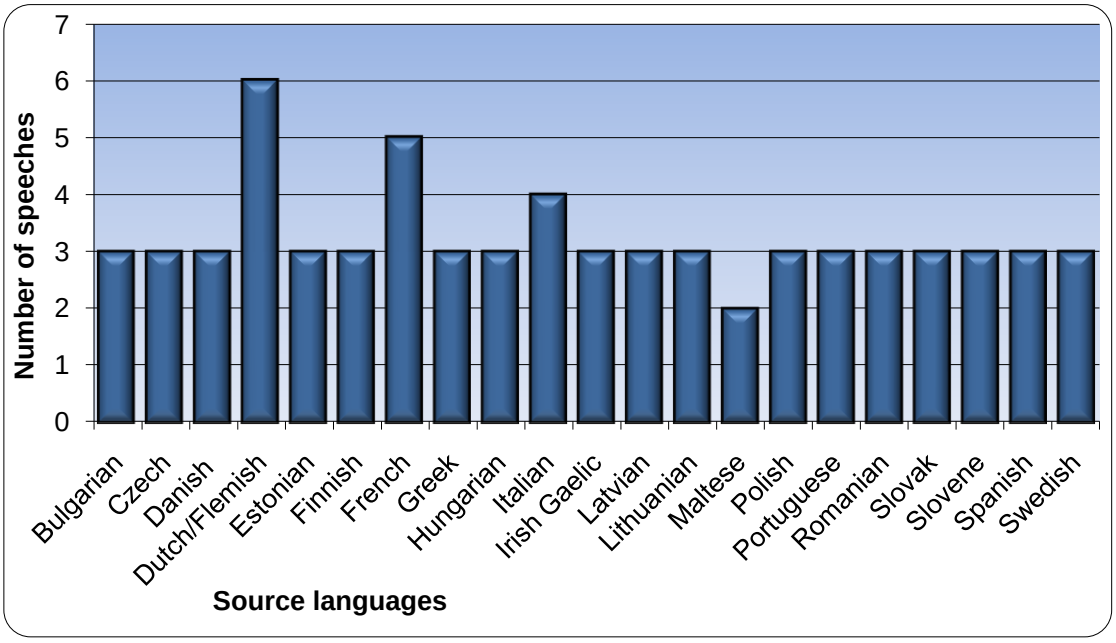

Figure 2: Different source languages in corpus (c)

The selection of speeches for inclusion in all three comparable corpora outlined above therefore guarantees the representativeness of the data with regard to all relevant aspects. Details about the types of conventions observed during the process of transcription of the audio data into written form are provided below.

3.5.3 Transcription conventions

After the selection of suitable speeches for inclusion in the corpus, the relevant audio files need to be downloaded from the European Parliament's Multimedia Library and transcribed into written form in order to make it

possible to analyse the data using the electronic corpus analysis tools which are described further below in section 3.6.

For the transcription of the interpreted as well as the non-interpreted speeches the transcription conventions that have been established for the EPIC corpora (SSLMIT 2004) are adopted. These conventions provide simple guidelines for the transcription of spoken discourse at several levels in order to include linguistic, paralinguistic and extra-linguistic information in the final, transcribed document.

At the linguistic level, all words are transcribed orthographically according to the spelling conventions applied in all EU documents; however, all punctuations marks are omitted from the transcripts. Instead, a double forward slash sign (//) is used in order to indicate the end of a segment, which is determined based on the speaker's or interpreter's intonation. Furthermore, figures, dates and percentages are fully spelt out (SSLMIT 2004, n.p.). At the paralinguistic level, truncated and mispronounced words are included in the transcript but preceded by the correct form of the word, e.g. "truncated [trunc-]", in order to ensure that the relevant item is retrieved during automated searches carried out using electronic corpus analysis software. Unfilled pauses are indicated by (...) and filled pauses by (uhm) or similar expressions. (SSLMIT 2004, n.p.). Extra-linguistic information about the speeches includes details relating to the original speaker, the interpreter, and to the spoken material itself, such as the length of the speech (SSLMIT 2004, n.p.). This additional extra-linguistic information makes it possible to select only a certain subgroup of speeches for analysis, for example in order to analyse only those speeches interpreted from a specific SL.

No annotations, such as part-of-speech tagging, are added to the data; the analysis is therefore undertaken using "raw" corpora. Scholars such as Mason (1997, cited in Dayrell 2008, 38) and Mauranen (2004, 75) do not support the use of annotation for collocational analyses as they believe that different forms of the same word may behave in different ways. Furthermore,

Disanto (2009, 67) argues that there are not yet any good tools available for the general annotation of transcribed translational data.

In order to determine whether interpreted German discourse contains patterns of normalised language use, or features that distinguish it from independently produced German speech, the different corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted German have to be compared to each other. The following section outlines the steps that are followed in order to compare the occurrences of the relevant collocations described above in the various corpora compiled for this study.

3.6 Methods of corpus comparison

Jantunen (2004, 107–109) has developed a method for identifying the characteristics of translational language in general as compared to the characteristics of translations based on one specific SL. He calls this method the Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis (TPCA) and argues that it can be used "for investigating the impact of a source language on translations" (Jantunen 2004, 107).

The comparisons between the three comparable corpora in this study are based on Jantunen's Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis as this will assist in determining whether dealing with a SL with a particularly high socio-cultural status, such as that of the English language, induces interpreters to behave differently than when interpreting from other SLs and to produce patterns that differ from the types of patterns found in interpreted language in general, as is generally accepted to be the case by many translation scholars. It will become possible based on this Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis to determine whether interpreters interpreting from a SL with a comparatively dominant status produce higher levels of normalisation than interpreters interpreting discourse based on other, less or equally dominant SLs, as it has

been predicted by Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31). Finally, these comparative analyses are complemented by a fourth, parallel corpus analysis step which serves to identify the SL structures that prompted the relevant patterns discovered during the first three comparative steps.

Although the TPCA method has been developed for, and so far only been applied to, the analysis of written translations, scholars such as Diriker (2008) have argued in favour of the application of theories and methods originating from translation studies to interpreting studies, too, in order to comply with a pressing need for more dialogue between the two disciplines. According to Diriker (2008, 210),

> research on conference interpreting [will] not only benefit from the theoretical and methodological discussion in TS, but will also enrich the discussion in both TS and IS by opening up a highly complex social practice to critical reflection.

Jantunen's Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis consists of three different steps, each of which is based on a comparison between two of the three different types of speeches: Step 1 compares non-translated language with translational language in general (i.e. texts translated from a variety of different SLs); comparison 2 is conducted between non-translated language and language translated from one specific, high-status SL (English in the case of both Jantunen's and the present study); and comparison 3 involves the two different corpora of translational language (Jantunen 2004, 108). These three comparative steps are also carried out during the comparative phase of the present study. These comparative analyses hence involve comparisons of various combinations of corpora (a), (b) and (c) and are described in more detail in sections 3.5.1 – 3.5.3 of this chapter. The last two sections, 3.5.4 and 3.5.5, deal with the final parallel analysis during which the speeches interpreted into German from English in corpus (b) are compared to their corresponding SL originals comprising corpus (d).

3.6.1 Non-interpreted German vs. German interpreted from mixed source languages

The first phase of the comparative analysis consists of comparing corpus (a) with corpus (c). Here, non-interpreted German discourse is compared to speeches interpreted into German from a variety of different SLs, but excluding English SL speeches. Based on this comparison, patterns that are specific to interpreted German discourse in general, regardless of the nature of the SL involved, are identified, making it possible to establish whether German interpreted discourse as such is characterised by features of growing standardisation or interference. Due to the large variety of SLs included in corpus (c), the possibility of these results reflecting source-language specific patterns is precluded. If collocations such as vagueness tags, intensifiers/quantifiers and qualifying expressions occur less frequently in corpus (a) than in corpus (c), it will be assumed that growing standardisation has taken place as German speakers typically express themselves in more direct and explicit manners than speakers of other European languages; if the opposite is found to be the case, then this could possibly be the result of the law of interference from more implicit, interpersonally-oriented SLs.

3.6.2 Non-interpreted German vs. German interpreted from English

The second comparative step of the corpus analysis consists of a comparison between corpus (a) and corpus (b), i.e. between non-interpreted German language and speeches interpreted into German from English. This step permits to isolate those patterns that are specific to interpreted German discourse based on a high-status SL such as English. The influence that this specific SL has on interpreted German due to its comparatively dominant status can therefore be determined in this phase of the comparison. If the results obtained during this comparative step resemble those patterns that were revealed in the first phase described in 3.5.1, it can be assumed that the dominant status of English does not have an influence on the way in

which interpreters behave. If, on the other hand, the findings between the two comparative steps differ, as is expected, then this could be an indication of the SL status having an effect on the German interpreters' behaviour. According to Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis, it should be expected that more collocational patterns, and hence more features of growing standardisation, appear in corpus (b) – the German discourse interpreted from English – than in corpus (c), which contains the speeches interpreted from mixed SLs.

3.6.3 German interpreted from English vs. German interpreted from mixed source languages

The third phase of the analysis consists of a comparison between the two corpora containing interpreted German data, namely corpora (b) and (c). The interpreted German speeches with English as their SL are compared to German discourse interpreted from various other SLs. Based on this comparison, it can be established whether the patterns found in German discourse interpreted from English are language-specific phenomena or whether they are laws that apply to interpreted discourse in general, regardless of the SL. This part of the comparative analysis can therefore confirm whether or not the high status of English as a global lingual franca has an effect on the way in which German interpreters interpret English SL speeches into German, and whether this effect takes the form of an increased occurrence of either growing standardisation or interference. If the comparison shows that both corpus (b) and corpus (c) contain largely corresponding patterns then this indicates that a high SL status does not make a difference to interpreters' behaviour. However, according to Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) the speeches in corpus (b) should contain substantially more instances of the relevant collocations than the data in corpus (c), as the comparatively high SL status is expected to result in manifestations of growing standardisation in the TT.

Possible outcomes of the three comparative steps and ensuing conclusions about the validity of the laws of translational behaviour with regard to interpreted discourse are summarised in the table below.

Possible frequency relationships					**Implications**	
(a) Original German	<	(c) German interpreted from mixed SLs	<	(b) German interpreted from English	=	Points towards interference; phenomenon increases with a higher SL status
(a) Original German	>	(c) German interpreted from mixed SLs	>	(b) German interpreted from English	=	Points towards normalisation; phenomenon increases with a higher SL status
(c) German interpreted from mixed SLs	>	(a) Original German	<	(b) German interpreted from English	=	A high-status SL induces interference; a low- or equal-status SL induces normalisation
(c) German interpreted from mixed SLs	<	(a) Original German	>	(b) German interpreted from English	=	A high-status SL induces normalisation; a low- or equal-status SL induces interference
(c) German interpreted from mixed SLs	=	(a) Original German	=	(b) German interpreted from English	=	The process of SI does not affect the communicative norms adhered to
< contains fewer collocations than				*> contains more collocations than*		

Table 3: Possible outcomes of the comparative analyses and implications

In order to gain a better understanding of the reasons for the occurrences of the patterns identified during the above three comparative steps as characteristic features of interpreted German discourse, the SL structures in corpus (b) that prompted the relevant TL patterns have to be consulted as well. This is done during a final, parallel step of the analysis, which is described in the following sections.

3.6.4 German interpreted from English vs. corresponding source language speeches

Carried out in addition to the Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis that serves to discover instances of how and when interpreted and independently produced language differs, the parallel corpus analysis aims to establish whether the relevant phenomena discovered during the comparative steps above have been caused by strategies employed deliberately by the

interpreters or whether they are the result of general laws of translation such as growing standardisation or interference. Bernardini and Zanettin (2004, 59) argue that in order to determine the reasons that have prompted the inclusion of certain TL patterns discovered during comparative analyses, it is necessary to analyse parallel corpora consisting of the corresponding STs, too. The fourth phase of the analysis carried out in this study is therefore parallel in nature and consists of a comparison between corpus (b) and corpus (d), i.e. between the speeches interpreted from English into German and the corresponding original English SL speeches, in order to determine whether the patterns discovered in the interpreted German discourse that differ from non-interpreted German discourse can indeed be ascribed to the influence of a law of translational behaviour or whether they are conscious interpreting strategies employed by the interpreters in order to overcome certain problems presented by the particular SL or speech.

3.6.5 Descriptive Translation Studies in interpreting studies

The above analysis is carried out in a descriptive way, that is, without applying a preconceived notion of equivalence to the data. Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) provides a useful basis for corpus-based studies and Olohan (2004, 17), for example, believes that a

> corpus methodology clearly has some applicability within the broad theoretical framework of DTS, since it provides a method for the description of language use in translation, whether this concerns the target text only, or both source and target texts in parallel.

Like Olohan, Disanto (2009, 68), too, argues with regard to the use of corpora in translation studies that, as corpus-based studies deal with the observation and description of data, Descriptive Translations Studies must be considered a very useful method of approaching the data in a given corpus. Since DTS focuses on describing the translators' output, corpus-based studies are well-suited for use in combination with DTS: the corpora serve to provide the data that can subsequently be described by the researcher.

Furthermore, DTS focuses on analysing a translated product in order to make generalisations about the norms and laws that apply to translation. Since this study aims to identify such laws in interpreted language, DTS provides a useful framework.

Descriptive Translation Studies represents a shift away from prescriptive approaches, which only judge a translation in terms of good or bad, and instead focuses on describing the relationships between specific texts without expressing any value judgements about these relationships. Based on the DTS approach, the status that the translation occupies within the target culture also plays an important role as it influences the specific translation strategy chosen. The methodology advocated for DTS consists of first determining the position the TT occupies in the target culture before identifying relevant shifts and then drawing implications about decision-making in the future. The ST is therefore considered to be much less relevant within the DTS approach and does not serve as the guideline based on which the translation has to be judged.

Although the concept of Descriptive Translation Studies originates from the field of translation studies, and not interpreting studies, it is possible to apply the approach to interpreting studies, too, and in particular to the analysis of parallel interpreting corpora. Diriker, for example, believes that “conference interpreting [...] will benefit from the theoretical and methodological discussion in TS” (Diriker 2008, 210) and draws attention to the “need for more dialogue between translation and conference interpreting scholars” (Diriker 2008, 217). Shlesinger (1995, 9) similarly believes that “interpreting studies may be expected [...] to draw upon whatever paradigms evolve within the domain of descriptive translation studies”.

The fourth, parallel comparison between the interpreted German discourse and the original English source speeches described in the preceding section is therefore based on a descriptive analysis of the data. Collocations that have been identified in the speeches interpreted from English into German during the comparative analyses are compared to their corresponding

English ST segments and the relationship between both is described assuming translational equivalence between the two segments. This last, parallel step can offer information as to whether the relevant interpreters have adhered to the law of growing standardisation or the law of interference in the production of their output, or whether neither of these two laws has affected the interpreters' behaviour.

The figure below illustrates the four steps followed during the analyses of the corpora used in this study in a graphical way, with arrows 1, 2 and 3 representing the three comparative steps of Jantunen's Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis and the fourth arrow representing the parallel phase of the corpus analysis carried out in the present study.

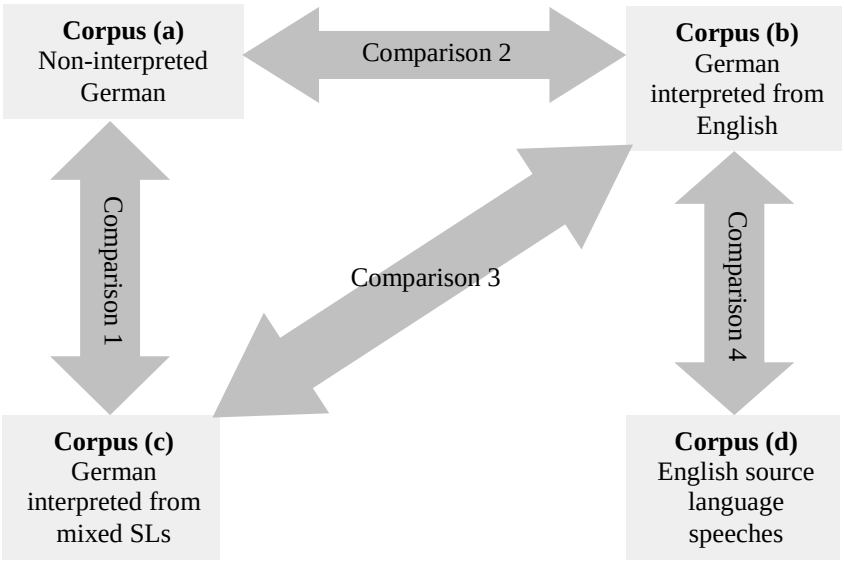

Figure 3: Comparative and parallel analyses

In order to detect the relevant collocations in the various corpora of transcribed data and to carry out the four steps of comparative and parallel comparisons described above, electronic corpus analysis tools are used. The following section describes the types of programmes that are used in this study.

3.7 Corpus analysis tools

The software programme AntConc 3.2.1w (Windows) 2007, which has been developed by the Center for English Language Education in Science and Engineering at Waseda University and can be downloaded from the internet at www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html, is used for the comparative analyses conducted in this study. This programme allows the user to open all relevant files that form part of the two corpora to be compared in the relevant step. The search term, i.e. the relevant German expression, is typed into the programme's search box and the concordance lines containing the search term are then displayed in the programme's main window in the form of a KWIK display. The name of the file to which a concordance line belongs appears to the right of the KWIK window, indicating (i) the relevant corpus and thus whether the search term occurred in an interpreted or non-interpreted speech, (ii) the name of the speaker, (iii) the topic of the speech and (iv) the SL in the case of a corpus comprising interpreted speeches. The total number of hits appears in a box below the KWIK window. The results can be sorted according to words occurring to the left and to the right of the search term. A click on the search term itself as it appears in the KWIK concordance line takes the user to a different window which contains the entire speech in which the relevant expression appears, thereby providing additional context for the expression under investigation.

In order to detect the relevant SL segments during the parallel analysis, the parallel concordance software programme ParaConc, which can be downloaded from the internet at www.paraconc.com/demo.html, is used. This programme enables its users to search elements in one text while at the same time displaying aligned items in up to three other texts. After the programme's automatic alignment has been verified and corrected, the relevant German search term can be typed into the search box, which then displays the interpreted German segments from corpus (b) that contain this expression as well as the corresponding SL segment from corpus (d).

In the following section, several shortcomings of the data used in this study are discussed.

3.8 Shortcomings of the data

Although both the representativeness and the relative comparability of the speeches included in the different corpora have been ensured, there are certain shortcomings inherent in the data that need to be addressed, namely uncontrolled variability, corpus size, directness of interpretation, the speakers' degree of preparation and the nature of the European Parliament setting from which the data has been taken.,

3.8.1 Uncontrolled variability in observational studies

The nature of the data used in this study presents problems with regard to uncontrolled variability. This is a data-related problem that is inherent in observational studies (Gile 1998, 71). Due to the non-experimental nature of the data, it becomes difficult to isolate one single variable by excluding all other possible external influences that could have an effect on the interpreter's performance (Gile 1998, 73). Although factors such as the interpreter's previous knowledge of the subject to be interpreted, the interpreter's fatigue, and his or her motivation may have an influence on the interpreter's product, no information on these conditions is available for the interpreted data, making it impossible to control these variables (Gile 1998, 75).

Another variable that could not be controlled in this study concerns comparability regarding gender distribution. Equal gender distribution is considered an important factor in the creation of corpora of translated text by translation scholars such as Laviosa-Braithwaite (1995). However, both the German- and the English-speaking Members of the European Parliament are

often male (70% of all speakers chosen for this corpus) while the German interpreters working from English and from other SLs are predominantly female (73% of all interpreters used in this study). As a result of this situation, the majority of speakers in the corpora of non-interpreted speeches, i.e. corpora (a) and (d), are male while the speakers in the corpora of interpreted language, (b) and (c), are predominantly female, creating an unequal gender distribution across these corpora. This unequal distribution is illustrated in the figure below.

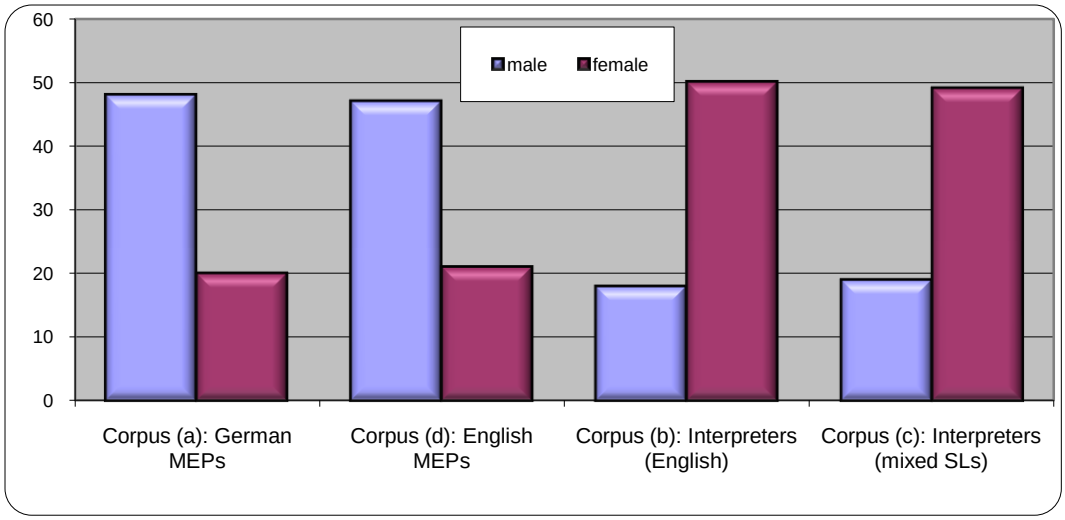

Figure 4: Gender distribution original speakers vs. interpreters

3.8.2 Corpus size

A second data-related problem concerns that of corpus size. Setton (forthcoming, n.p.) argues that sample size is a common problem in all interpreting research, with samples often being too small. Due to the laborious transcription processes involved in compiling electronic interpreting corpora, the size of this corpus remains limited to 68 333 words, a drawback which affects the validity of possible generalisations made based on the data (Gile 1998, 75).

Another shortcoming of the data that relates to corpus size concerns the number of words per corpus. The inclusion of the same number of speeches in every corpus makes it impossible to ensure that each corpus at the same

time also contains an equal number of words. With 20 853 words, corpus (a), consisting of non-interpreted German speeches, contains the largest word count while corpus (b), which contains the speeches interpreted from English into German, is the smallest corpus with only 14 182 words. Some scholars (e.g. Eskola 2004, 87) have pointed out that it is desirable for the word counts of the relevant corpora to be equal as this ensures direct comparability of the data. The lack of comparability regarding word counts of the four different corpora hence remains a shortcoming that needs to be considered in the interpretation of the data. The figure below shows the distribution of the word counts across the four different corpora.

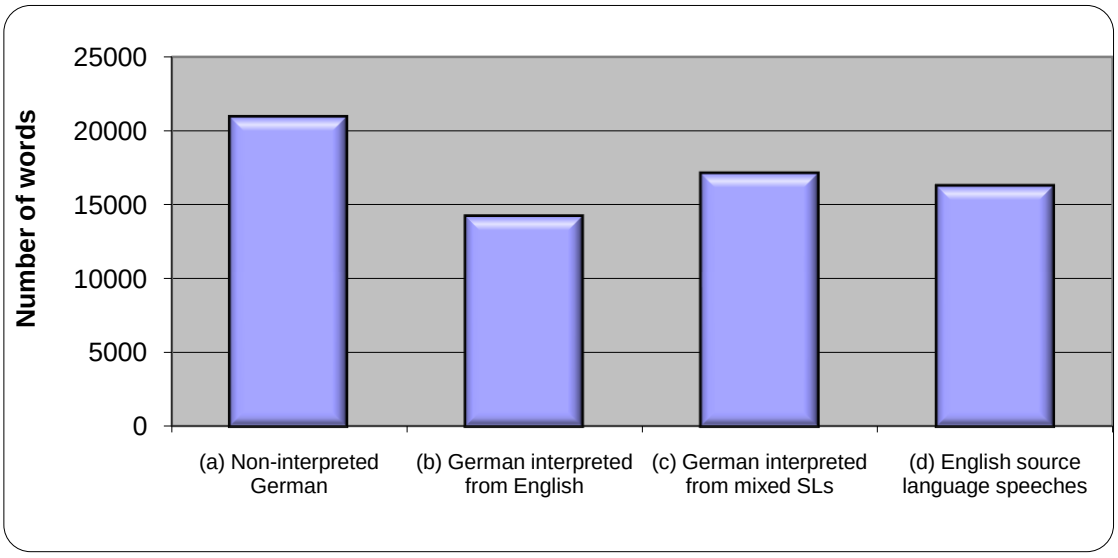

Figure 5: Word counts per corpus

On the other hand, researchers in translation studies often work with corpora containing unequal numbers of words (e.g. Laviosa-Braithwaite 1995; Mauranen 2004) and Dayrell (2008, 49-50), too, argues that equality with regard to the number of texts, rather than the number of words included in the corpora, has the advantage of ensuring equal diversity with regard to topics and speakers.

3.8.3 Directness of interpretation

A third problem concerning the data used in this study relates to the fact that it is not possible to establish whether all of the speeches in corpus (c) have been interpreted directly from the relevant SL or whether they have been interpreted via relay from a different language. While it is reasonable to expect that 'larger' languages such as Italian, French, Spanish, and so forth are interpreted into German directly, there is no certainty as to whether the same has been the case for SL speeches delivered in less well-represented languages such as Irish Gaelic or Maltese, as the European Parliament's use of relay interpreting has risen due to the number of new languages that are being included (European Parliament 2007, n.p.).

3.8.4 Speakers' degrees of preparation and the European Parliament setting

Lastly, the majority of Members of the European Parliament delivering speeches at plenary sessions are well-prepared for their speeches and often read their texts from written scripts instead of speaking extemporaneously. According to Donovan (2005, cited in Russo, Bendazzoli and Sandrelli 2006, 223), conference speeches are therefore often characterised by being closer to written than to spontaneously spoken language. In addition, it should be mentioned that speakers at the European Parliament are usually advised not to use culturally-embedded expressions and idioms and instead to adhere to a more neutral use of language.

As the corpus data for this study was taken exclusively from the European Parliament setting, it was impossible to include only spontaneous, unprepared non-interpreted discourse containing a larger number of culturally-embedded expressions and idioms in the relevant two corpora, namely (a) and (d). As a result, not all of the speeches can be considered entirely representative of spontaneously spoken discourse, and different results may be obtained for data originating from other types of interpreter-mediated events.

However, certain of the collocations mentioned above, such as vagueness tags, are particularly important in spontaneously spoken discourse. Should the non-interpreted data be found to contain a smaller number of collocations than the material produced by the interpreters, who necessarily speak extemporaneously at all times, then the non-spontaneous nature of some of the non-interpreted speeches could have contributed to such a finding, and this fact must be considered during the interpretation of the results yielded by the data. It should also be borne in mind that different results may be obtained when interpreted discourse produced at different types of interpreter-mediated events is analysed as speakers may make more frequent recourse to culturally-embedded expressions when speaking at other types of events.

The results of the analyses outlined in the above sections are presented and discussed in the following two chapters. Chapter 4 contains the results obtained from the three comparative analyses, followed by a presentation of the results yielded by the parallel analysis in chapter 5.

Chapter 4: Comparative analyses: Interpreted German compared to non-interpreted German speech

4.1 Introduction

This chapter consists of a presentation and discussion of the results yielded by the comparative analysis of the three comparable corpora described in the previous chapter. Since the aim of the comparative analyses is the identification of patterns specific to interpreted discourse, the different types of German (interpreted and non-interpreted) language are compared to each other without taking any corresponding SL speeches into account. The three comparative steps can be expected to give an indication of whether interpreted German discourse does indeed contain manifestations of the translation universal of normalisation, as has been found to be the case for written translations. It will also become possible to determine whether the dominant status of a SL such as English has an effect on the frequency with which of standardised patterns occur in interpreted speech, as argued by Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31).

The comparative analysis involves three steps, following the Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis method developed for the analysis of translated texts by Jantunen (2004). These three steps consist of the following comparisons, carried out in three subsequent sections of this chapter:

Section 4.4: This section contains a comparison between corpus (a): non-interpreted German and corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs. The results of this comparison will indicate whether interpreted German discourse in general, independent of the SL, is characterised by manifestations of the law of growing standardisation or the law of interference.

Section 4.5: In this section, corpus (a): non-interpreted German, and corpus (b): German interpreted from English are compared to each other in order to establish whether German discourse interpreted from a comparatively high-

status SL such as English displays manifestations of the law of growing standardisation or the law of interference.

Section 4.6: During this phase, corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs, is compared to corpus (b): German interpreted from English. The results of this comparison will show whether the comparatively high status of a SL affects the manner in which interpreters behave when producing their output, and whether the resulting patterns differ from those that are found to characterise interpreted German discourse in general, independent of the SL.

These three steps described above will furthermore indicate whether interpreted German displays similar differences when compared to non-interpreted German speech as those that have been found by researchers to distinguish written German translations from non-translated German text production.

In order to detect potential patterns of growing standardisation that could distinguish interpreted speech from non-interpreted German language production, five collocations representing discourse norms typical of spoken English have been selected as search terms for the comparative analyses. The frequencies with which these five collocations occur in the three different corpora are compared in the three comparative steps below. The five collocations that have been chosen for these analyses are described in more detail in the following section.

4.2 The collocations

The five collocations that have been selected for the three comparative phases carried out in this study represent three of the categories of expressions identified by Altenberg (1998, 117) as single clause phraseological elements typical of spoken English, namely *vagueness tags*,

intensifiers/quantifiers and *qualifying expressions*. These three types of collocations represent typical English discourse norms, such as indirectness, implicitness and politeness, and will therefore give an indication of whether either the law of growing standardisation or the law of interference is responsible for the types of patterns that are produced by the simultaneous German interpreters.

The first type of collocation that has been selected to act as search term belongs to the category of vagueness tags. Various types of vagueness tags are frequently found in spontaneously spoken English since real-time production often leaves no room for precision, resulting in an increased use of relatively vague expressions. The present study compares the frequencies of a possible German equivalent of the English collocation *and so on*, which is one of the vagueness tags mentioned by Altenberg (1998, 117), namely *und so weiter*, in the three different corpora of German discourse. The collocation *und alles*, based on Altenberg's (1998, 117) phraseological element *and all that*, is included in this category as well as it functions similarly to *und so weiter*.

The second category of collocations chosen for the comparative analyses in this study is that of intensifiers/quantifiers. Expressions in this category are normally used in order to express politeness and positive solidarity with the listener(s), and therefore serve an addressee-oriented function which is representative of English communicative preferences. The occurrences of a German equivalent expression of the English collocation *the whole thing*, identified by Altenberg (1998, 117) as an example of an intensifier/quantifier in his corpus, namely *das Ganze*, are compared in the three comparative phases of this chapter. Together with the German expression *das Ganze*, its derivative forms, such as *des Ganzen, dem Ganzen* and *als Ganzes*, are also included in the searches.

The third category of collocations chosen for the analyses in this study is that of qualifying expressions. These types of collocations are often used for hedging purposes and in order to signal politeness and solidarity with the

listener. Qualifying expressions thus enable the speaker to focus on the interpersonal aspect of a message. The three German qualifying expressions that are analysed in this study correspond to the collocations *in a way*, *in a sense* and *on the whole*, which are identified by Altenberg (1998, 117) in his corpus of spoken English as typical English phraseological elements. The German equivalents of these expressions, whose occurrences in the three corpora are compared, are *sozusagen*, *eigentlich* and *insgesamt*. The table below shows the expressions whose frequencies in the three corpora are compared in the three comparative steps.

	SEARCH TERM	FUNCTION	ENGLISH COLLOCATION
1	*und so weiter/ und alles*	vagueness tag	*and so on/ and all that*
2	*das Ganze*	intensifier/quantifier	*the whole thing*
3	*sozusagen*	qualifying expression	*in a way*
4	*eigentlich*		*in a sense*
5	*insgesamt*		*on the whole*

Table 4: German expressions used as search terms

In each of the above three comparative steps, the frequencies with which these five different collocations occur in the different corpora are thus analysed and compared. The collocations serve as the search terms for which the corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted German discourse are searched before the relevant frequencies of these expressions are compared in order to determine whether the results provide support for the existence of manifestations of growing standardisation in the interpreted corpora. If the corpora of interpreted German discourse contain lower frequencies of the above five collocations typical of English communicative norms than the corpus of non-interpreted German language, this can be considered to be evidence in favour of the existence of manifestations of the law growing standardisation in interpreted language.

In order to ensure that potential differences in the frequencies of occurrence of these collocations detected during the three comparative steps are statistically significant and not merely coincidental or the result of the

differences in corpus size with regard to the number of words, certain statistical procedures need to be applied to the data. The statistical method used is briefly outlined in the following section.

4.3 Statistical significance of differences observed

In order to calculate whether potential differences in the frequencies of occurrence of any of the above five search terms discovered in interpreted and non-interpreted German discourse are statistically significant or whether such results are purely coincidental or the result of the differences in word count per corpus that are described in chapter 3, a logistic regression of the variables needs to be performed. This method of determining statistical significance is a type of predictive model that takes account of the differences in sample size of the different corpora. The problem of unequal word counts in the four corpora, which is discussed in section 3.7.2, is therefore addressed and eliminated by means of this method. For all five of the German expressions, the p values, which give an indication of the degree of statistical significance of potentially differing frequencies, are calculated with every comparative step. Statistical significance is assumed to exist in those cases in which $p < 0,05$, meaning that there is a 95% probability that the differences in frequency are not attributable to chance.

The remaining sections of this chapter contain the comparative analyses of the frequencies of the search terms *und so weiter*, *das Ganze*, *sozusagen*, *eigentlich* and *insgesamt* in the three different corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted German speech. Section 4.4 below compares non-interpreted German language with German discourse interpreted from mixed SLs. This is followed by a comparison between non-interpreted German language and German discourse interpreted from English in section 4.5 and, finally, a comparison between the two different corpora of interpreted German speech in section 4.6.

4.4 Patterns specific to German interpreted discourse

In this section, corpus (a), consisting of speeches originally delivered in German, is compared to speeches interpreted into German from a variety of different SLs used at the European Parliament during plenary sessions, which comprise corpus (c). This comparison forms the first phase of Jantunen's (2004) Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis described in section 3.5 of the previous chapter. The figure below illustrates how the phase carried out in this part of the study fits into the overall analysis.

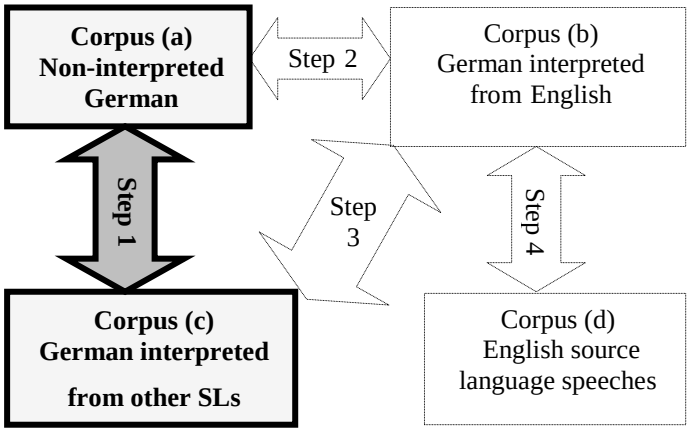

Figure 6: Comparative phase 1

By carrying out this first comparative step, patterns that are specific to German interpreted discourse in general, regardless of the SL on which the interpretation is based, are identified. A comparison of the frequencies of the five search terms in the two corpora will show whether one of Toury's laws of translational behaviour, either growing standardisation or interference, affects the nature of interpreted German discourse, or whether none of these two laws has any effect on the nature of simultaneously interpreted German discourse. The law of growing standardisation is assumed to have affected the interpreters' behaviour if the number of relevant expressions found in the interpreted data is lower than the number of expressions found in the non-interpreted German discourse. Separate discussions of the findings for each of the five collocations follow in the sections below.

4.4.1 und so weiter

The vagueness tag *und so weiter* appears three times in corpus (a), which comprises the non-interpreted German speeches. The relevant concordance lines that are retrieved by the corpus analysis programme when queried for the search term *und so weiter* are reproduced below.

den vielen Agenturen // EUROPOL // EUROJUST // äh	und so weiter	// und ich glaube // äh dass es hier ein [n] gutes Zei
ören will // dass auswärtige Kräfte wie Al Quaeda	und so weiter	dahinter stecken // ich glaube das ist keine Lösu
erhältnismäßigkeit // danach können der Bundestag	und so weiter	die Flut von Entwürfen von Europavorschriften prü

All three occurrences of this collocation are produced by different speakers (namely Albrecht, Brok and Nitzsche) speaking on a variety of different topics (transatlantic relations, China and the Lisbon Treaty). This indicates that the occurrences of this collocation are not the result of a single speaker's idiosyncrasies or of the peculiarities of a specific topic but reflects normal language usage.

The collocation *und so weiter* also appears three times in the corpus of speeches interpreted from mixed SLs.

im Ölsektor also im Ge- im im im Olivenölsektor	und so weiter	// also wir müssen alles dafür tun um die Märkte z
einer Wirtschaftsbelegung [W-Wirtschaftsbelegung]	und so weiter	// hinzu kam vor allem auch die äh Entscheidung ä
ozialisten und Demokraten // der Liberalen Partei	und so weiter	// all diese werden Nutzen ziehen daraus // was m

These three occurrences belong to one speech interpreted from Italian and two different speeches both interpreted from Czech. All three speeches are delivered by different SL speakers (Nečas, Zahradil and De Castro). The relevant occurrences are therefore not the result of SL-specific features, nor have speaker- or interpreter-specific idiosyncrasies caused the inclusion of this collocation in the corpus of interpreted German.

When the occurrences of the vagueness tag *und so weiter* in the non-interpreted German speeches and in those speeches interpreted into German from mixed SLs are compared, it is observed that this collocation occurs with equal frequency, namely three times, in both interpreted and non-

interpreted German speeches. This finding confirms that German interpreters have adhered to ordinary German communicative norms with regard to the frequency of use of this vagueness tag. Based on the comparison of the frequencies of the collocation *und so weiter*, the interpreters have thus neither exaggerated typical German communicative norms nor have they transferred English communicative norms into their TL output.

4.4.2 das Ganze

The corpus analysis programme yields two occurrences of the quantifying expression *das Ganze* and its derivatives in the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches. The segments containing the expression are displayed below.

windung von Interessenkonflikten // und durch	das Ganze	einen besseren Investorenschutz // die Einigung w
ndern zu einer wissenschaftlichen Betrachtung	des Ganzen	// mit unseren Forderungen // dass Werbeaussagen

The expression *das Ganze* is used by different speakers of German (Klinz and Schnellhardt) speaking on different topics (credit rating agencies and cosmetic products). The occurrences are therefore not to be ascribed to a specific topic or a single speaker's idiosyncrasy with regard to the use of quantifying expressions.

The quantifying expression *das Ganze* furthermore appears four times in the corpus of speeches interpreted from mixed SLs.

wichtiger Stein // auf der Entwicklung ... hinter	dem Ganzen	steckt wirklich eine Logik // und äh wenn das so
r ohne die entsprechende Finanzierung // wird	das Ganze	// ei- ausgehen wie das Handwerkerschießen // wir
Rat in diesem Bereich // den ansonsten bringt	das Ganze	nichts // ein weiterer Punkt den wir berücksichti
es ganz unglaublich viele Lücken gibt // dass	das Ganze	nur schleppend vorangeht // ja die Virushämmer //

These occurrences are found in interpretations of SL speeches delivered in Italian, Finnish (twice) and Flemish. The occurrences are therefore not caused by language-, speaker- or interpreter-specific features but can be

considered to be representative of patterns normally found in interpreted German discourse.

A comparison of the occurrences of this expression in the two corpora shows that *das Ganze* appears twice as often in the discourse interpreted from mixed SLs than in the non-interpreted German speeches. Theoretically, this could be considered a sign of interference caused by a preference for the use of vagueness tags in the relevant SLs. However, a statistical comparison between the two different values shows that the p value for these results equals 0,302; the different frequencies of this expression in the two corpora are thus not statistically significant. Neither growing standardisation nor interference therefore seems to have played a role with regard to the use of this quantifying expression in the production of the interpreted German discourse and the interpreted German speeches contain a more or less typical number of segments in which the expression *das Ganze* occurs; no exaggeration of German typical explicitness has taken place.

4.4.3 sozusagen

The qualifying expression *sozusagen* appears once only in the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches, namely in a speech delivered by Schulz on the role of the European Union in the Middle East. The relevant KWIK segment appears below.

conditio sine qua non für den Erfolg ist sagen // sie sind	sozusagen	// der Dialog // weltweit unterwegs // sie sind der

In the corpus of speeches interpreted into German from a variety of different SLs, the qualifying expression *sozusagen* appears three times, as shown below.

ein solcher Vertrag das ist kein Projekt // das ist al-	sozusagen	ein Werkzeugkasten der dem Europäischen Projekt d
nd das seriöse Konferenzen oder ist das eine Show	sozusagen	für die Bürger // vielleicht ist es so ein bissch
fang war etwas mühsam // alles war neu und musste	sozusagen	äh spontan äh eingerichtet werde // und danach ha

The expression *sozusagen* appears in speeches interpreted from French, Slovenian and Flemish. This indicates that the frequency of the expression is unlikely to be the result of language-, speaker- or interpreter-specific behaviour and can be considered to be representative of interpreted German language.

A comparison of the frequencies with which the word *sozusagen* occurs shows that this qualifying expression appears three times more often in the interpreted German discourse than in the non-interpreted German speeches. This could be an indication of interference from certain SLs, reflecting certain SLs' preference for more interpersonally-oriented communicative norms. However, this is unlikely to be the case since, with a p value of 0,261, the difference in occurrence of the expression in the two different corpora is not statistically significant. Neither growing standardisation nor interference has therefore affected the nature of the interpreted German data with regard to the use of the qualifying expression *sozusagen*; German communicative norms have hence not been exaggerated by the interpreters and instead, the relevant expression is even used slightly more often by the interpreters than by the original German speakers.

4.4.4 eigentlich

The German word *eigentlich* can be used in a variety of different senses. Instances of the expression *eigentlich* in the sense of *überhaupt* (*at all*) have not been included among the results below, although the corpus also contains instances of the word being used in this sense. Instead, only those instances in which the word is used as a qualifying expression, with the meaning of *in a sense*, and carries out the function of a hedging device, have been examined for the purposes of this study. The expression *eigentlich* occurs nine times with the meaning of *in a sense* in the corpus of non-interpreted German discourse, as shown by the concordance lines reproduced below.

hergehen // und // das Ergebnis vom ersten Referendum	eigentlich	nicht akzeptiert haben aber jetzt gleichzeitig ei
mgegangen ist // das sind doch zwei Dinge die man	eigentlich	nicht gleichsetzen kann // wir haben sie aber zie
ten zum internen Management sehr weit gegangen //	eigentlich	zu weit // es ist beinahe ein Overkill // verglei
und sie konzentrieren sich nicht auf das was sie	eigentlich	als Dienstleister tun müssen nämlich die Realwirt
e strengere Regelung notwendig ist // wir wollten	eigentlich	hier // ab- mit dieser neuen Verordnung erreichen
t so richtig // zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde // wo	eigentlich	die Kommission vor hatte hier eine starke // Einm
[we] mit der Zeit zur Vogelgrippe // dann bin ich	eigentlich	sehr sehr zufrieden // auch als ungeduldiger Abge
n Forderungen wieder auftreten // lenken wir doch	eigentlich	von dem eigentlichen Problem ab // was soll denn
dass die vorgefertigten akademischen Dokumente //	eigentlich	nur technische Grundlagen // für die von ihnen au

These nine occurrences are produced by five different speakers, namely Ehrenhauser, Jeggle, Klinz (twice), Schnellhardt (four times) and Schwab, speaking on various different topics. Although the expression is being used by five different speakers, it appears that one speaker, Schnellhardt, has a clear preference for the use of *eigentlich*, which he uses in three out of four of his speeches included in the corpus. Over 40% of all instances of this expression can therefore be attributed to one single speaker and it can be argued that the high frequency of *eigentlich* in this corpus is simply the result of a single German speaker's overuse of this qualifying expression.

In the corpus of speeches interpreted into German from mixed SLs, the following five occurrences of the qualifying expression *eigentlich* can be identified.

ziemlich merkwürdig // denn wir wissen ja dass das	eigentlich	eine der rentabelsten äh // Fabriken in der ähm i
äh letzten äh von der letzten Woche // wir haben	eigentlich	noch nie Schlussfolgerungen gehabt die so m konkr
// dass auch äh die äh Käseinterventionen // die	eigentlich	zweitausendacht gestrichen wurden // wiederaufgen
unktionieren // für zweitausendzehn da können wir	eigentlich	ja sagen für die ersten fünfundzwanzig Millionen
-Finanzierungssystem // und // Progress // ist ja	eigentlich	dazu gedacht dass wir das soziale Antlitz der Eur

These occurrences are based on speeches interpreted from a number of different SLs, such as Flemish, Maltese, Italian and Greek (twice). Due to the variety of different SLs and the five different original speakers involved, the frequency of this qualifying expression is unlikely to be the result of language-, speaker- or interpreter-specific behaviour.

The comparison between the occurrences of this search term in the two different corpora shows that the qualifying expression *eigentlich* appears almost twice as often in the non-interpreted German speeches than in the interpreted discourse. However, the high frequency of this expression in the non-interpreted German data can probably be attributed to the overuse of the expression by one specific speaker, who produces four out of nine occurrences or 44% of the relevant segments. The comparatively lower frequency of the expression in the corpus of interpreted speeches is therefore probably not indicative of the effect of growing standardisation. Even if the fact that the expression is used very frequently by one individual German speaker is not taken into account, the statistical analysis of the different frequencies of occurrence of the qualifying expression *eigentlich* shows that, with a p value of 0,487, this difference is not statistically significant. This proves that neither the law of growing standardisation nor the law of interference has had an effect on the communicative norms adhered to in the production of interpreted German with regard to the use of this qualifying expression.

4.4.5 insgesamt

The qualifying expression *insgesamt* appears five times in the corpus of non-interpreted German language production. The concordance lines which contain the five occurrences of the word appear below.

chtig und für die Kunden // sodass ich sagen kann	insgesamt	bin ich als Berichterstatter mit diesem // Ergebn
nt und Rat waren anfangs weit auseinander // aber	insgesamt	sind jetzt doch äh die Ziele // in weiten Teilen
Agreement // als wir sie derzeit haben // ähm //	insgesamt	// wenn ich mir // wenn ich Revue äh nehme [neh]
denn Positives geleistet haben // muss ich sagen	insgesamt	haben wir zu ner großen Verbesserung beigetragen
zu machen // in welche Richtung es gehen muss //	insgesamt	nochmal // ich glaube wir hätten eine [ne] bessere

These five occurrences are produced by three different speakers, namely Baringdorf, Klinz and Rühle (three times) speaking on a number of different topics. Although the expression is used by three different speakers, one particular speaker, Rühle, is responsible for three out of five instances in which the expression is used, representing 60% of all cases of occurrence.

This means that it is possible that a potentially higher frequency of this qualifying expression compared to the interpreted data could merely be the result of its overuse by one single speaker.

In the corpus of speeches interpreted from mixed SLs into German, the qualifying expression *insgesamt* can be found twice as part of the segments appearing below.

l zu schnell // also der Vorschlag der Kommission	insgesamt	// sieht vor // dass eins Komma fünf Milliarden E
che Umfeld // für den Tourismus // für die Region	insgesamt	// in meiner Region sind viele Hektar verbrannt ä

These two occurrences of the qualifying expression are based on speeches interpreted from two different SLs, namely Italian and Spanish. Therefore the frequency of the expression in this corpus is unlikely to be the result of language-, speaker- or interpreter-specific behaviour.

The comparison between the two different corpora reveals that the qualifying expression *insgesamt* appears more than twice as often in the non-interpreted German speeches than in the interpreted discourse. This could theoretically be interpreted as evidence in favour of the law of growing standardisation in interpreted German discourse. However, the high frequency of the expression *insgesamt* in the non-interpreted German speeches can probably simply be attributed to the overuse of this qualifying expression by one specific German speaker, to whom 60%, of all occurrences of this expression can be ascribed. Even if this overuse of the expression by one individual speaker is disregarded, the different frequencies of *insgesamt* in the two corpora correspond to a p value of 0,392, which proves that the difference is not statistically significant. Therefore a law of translational behaviour, such as growing standardisation, has not had an effect on the nature of the interpreted German discourse with regard to this expression and it can be claimed that the interpreters in corpus (c) have produced German speech that does not exaggerate German communicative norms.

4.4.6 Discussion of the results of comparative phase 1

The above findings indicate that while two of the five relevant expressions occur more frequently in the corpus of interpreted German discourse (*das Ganze* and *sozusagen*), two other collocations occur more frequently in the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches (*eigentlich* and *insgesamt*). The remaining collocation, *und so weiter*, occurs with equal frequency in both corpora. The figure below summarises the results obtained from the comparison of non-interpreted German language in corpus (a) and German discourse interpreted from mixed SLs in corpus (c) with regard to all five collocations, taking into account the different corpus sizes with regard to the number of words. (The values used for this figure have thus been calculated by dividing the number of occurrences of each collocation in a corpus by the total number of words in the relevant corpus.)

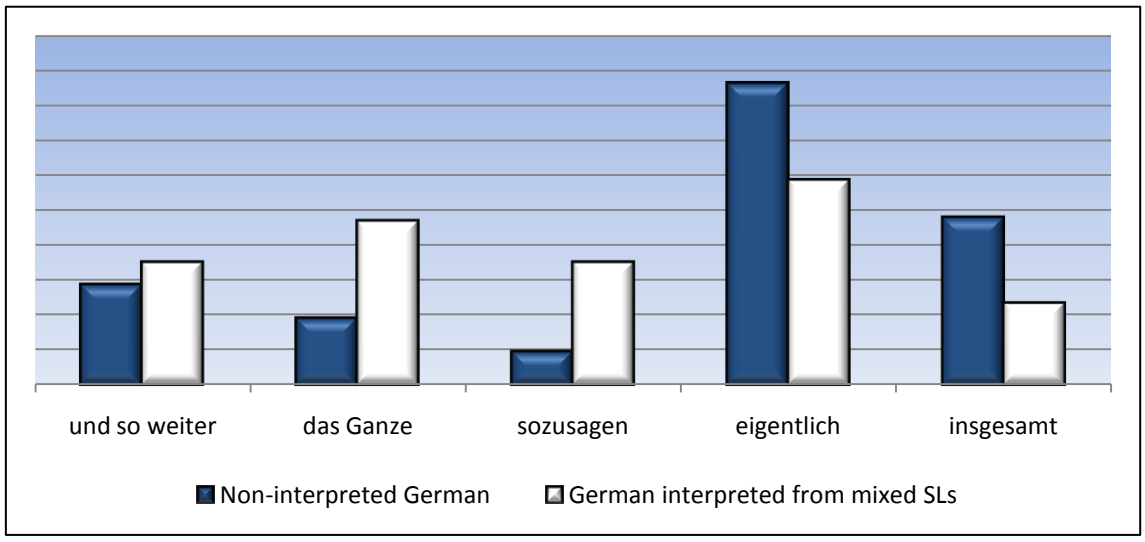

Figure 7: Results of comparative phase 1

With regard to the law of growing standardisation, the comparisons between the occurrences of the five different collocations in non-interpreted German speeches and in speeches interpreted into German from other SLs used at the European Parliament respectively show that there are two collocations, namely *eigentlich* and *insgesamt*, that appear less frequently in interpreted than in non-interpreted German discourse. This result could point towards the

manifestation of the law of growing standardisation in interpreted German speech.

However, in both of these cases the results could also be attributed to one single speaker's overuse of the relevant expression, constituting 44% and 60% respectively of all occurrences of the German expressions in the non-interpreted data, which makes it less likely that growing standardisation has played a role in the interpreted German discourse in this corpus. If these speakers' contributions are disregarded, then the frequencies resemble those of the interpreted German data. Furthermore, although *eigentlich* appears almost twice as often and *insgesamt* even slightly more than twice as often in the corpus of non-interpreted German than in the interpreted speeches, these different frequencies are not statistically significant when the different word counts of the two corpora are taken into account. Compared to the original speakers of German, the German interpreters have not significantly underused these two qualifying expressions in order to exaggerate existing German communicative norms. Growing standardisation has therefore not had an effect on the interpreted German language in this corpus based on mixed SLs.

On the other hand, the two collocations *das Ganze* and *sozusagen* appear with a higher frequency in the interpreted German data than in the corpus of non-interpreted German language. This could theoretically point towards the manifestation of interference due to a possible preference for certain corresponding patterns in the relevant SLs. This is, however, unlikely to be the case since the differences in the frequencies of these two expressions are, once again, not statistically significant. It can therefore be concluded that the German interpreters in this corpus have used the expressions *das Ganze* and *sozusagen* with frequencies comparable to those employed by original German speakers. These interpreters have consequently not transferred English communicative preferences into their interpreted product and the law of interference has not had an effect on the nature of their interpreted German output.

Lastly, the collocation *und so weiter* occurs with the exact same frequency both in the corpus of non-interpreted German language and in the interpreted German speeches. The interpreters have therefore not exaggerated typical German communicative norms of explicitness and directness and neither of the two laws of translational behaviour has had an effect on the nature of the interpreted German discourse.

The table below contains the p values which represent the degree of statistical significance of the results calculated for the five expressions. For all five collocations, the figures remain considerably above 0,05, which indicates that all differences observed are most likely coincidental.

Collocation	*und so weiter*	*das Ganze*	*sozusagen*	*eigentlich*	*insgesamt*
p value	0,806	0,302	0,261	0,487	0,392

Table 5: Statistical significances for phase 1

It can consequently be concluded that no statistically significant differences in frequency of use between original German speakers and interpreters working from a variety of different SLs into German can be discovered for any of the five different collocations. This finding proves that the process of simultaneous interpretation has not had an effect on the communicative norms adhered to in the interpreted product. Neither growing standardisation nor interference has played a role in the interpretation's production and the communicative norms prevalent in simultaneously interpreted German discourse in general, i.e. discourse interpreted from a variety of different SLs, cannot be said to differ from those typical of non-interpreted German speech. The German interpreters do not appear to have been affected by any of the two laws of translational behaviour in the production of their German output.

The following section examines how German discourse interpreted from one individual, high-status SL, namely English, compares to independently produced German speech by studying the frequencies of the same five expressions that have been analysed in the present section.

4.5 Patterns specific to German discourse interpreted from English

In this section, speeches originally delivered in German by native German speakers, constituting corpus (a), are compared to corpus (b), which consists of speeches simultaneously interpreted into German from only one SL, namely English, which occupies a dominant status compared to the German language. The figure below highlights how this second comparative phase fits into Jantunen's (2004) Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis.

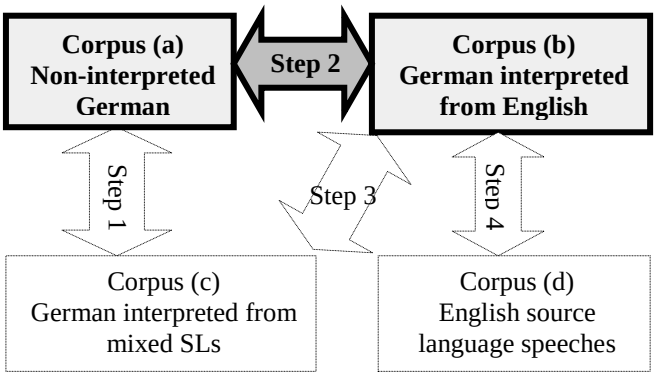

Figure 8: Comparative phase 2

This comparison between non-interpreted German speeches and German discourse interpreted from English serves to isolate patterns that are specific to German interpreted discourse which is based on a SL with a comparatively high status, such as English. The influence of this single, dominant SL on interpreted German discourse is thus identified in this step of the analysis. Due to the high status of the SL, it is, according to Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), to be expected that the German interpreted discourse in corpus (b) will contain numerous manifestations of the law of growing standardisation, which would mean that corpus (b) should contain a lower frequency of these five collocations typical of English communicative preferences than the original German speeches in corpus (a). Jacquemond's hypothesis is thus tested in this second phase of the analysis by means of a comparison of the frequencies of the relevant collocations in the interpreted and the non-interpreted data.

The relevant segments taken from the non-interpreted German speeches, which already appear in section 4.4 above, are reproduced below in order to allow for a more convenient comparison with the data interpreted from English.

4.5.1 und so weiter

The vagueness tag *und so weiter* appears three times in the corpus consisting of non-interpreted German speeches.

en vielen Agenturen // EUROPOL // EUROJUST // äh	und so weiter	// und ich glaube // äh dass es hier ein [n] gutes Zei
ören will // dass auswärtige Kräfte wie Al Quaeda	und so weiter	dahinter stecken // ich glaube das ist keine Lösu
erhältnismäßigkeit // danach können der Bundestag	und so weiter	die Flut von Entwürfen von Europavorschriften prü

In the corpus of speeches interpreted from English into German, the following five occurrences of the vagueness tag *und so weiter* and the similar German expression *und alles* are yielded by the concordance programme.

chuss wird die Beschäftigung nicht verteidigt //	und so weiter	// Ja wir schlagen vor // äh dass äh //dies hier
h schenkt // ja // wenn äh da etwas unpopulär ist	und so weiter	dann wird einfach noch einmal abgestimmt // und w
gang zu erneuerbaren Energien äh gehen // äh Wind	und so weiter	kann wirklich auch für China zum Beispiel sinnvoll
gleich wieder der Reaktionismus Terrorismus	und alles	mit reingebracht in die Diskussion und dann // de
Unterstützung bieten // damit die ihre // Gebäude	und alles	wieder aufbauen können // und natürlich müssen wi

The occurrences of the collocations *und so weiter* and *und alles* in corpus (b) are based on interpretations of English speeches delivered by four different English speakers, namely Hannan, Kirkhope, Watson and Crowley (twice), speaking on a variety of topics. The possibility that their inclusion in the corpus of German interpretations was induced by a single SL speaker's overuse a corresponding English collocation, such as *and so on* or *and all that*, is therefore excluded.

The comparison between the two corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted German discourse shows that the vagueness tag *und so weiter* appears with only slightly lower frequency in non-interpreted German speeches than in German discourse interpreted from English. The statistical analysis confirms

that the difference in frequency of occurrence of this expression is, with a p value of 0,220, not significant. This means that neither the law of growing standardisation nor the law of interference has had an effect on the communicative norms to which the German interpreters have chosen to adhere in the interpretation of the English SL speeches into the TL. The high status of the English language, which, according to Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), should have resulted in patterns of growing standardisation manifesting themselves in the TT, has not had any effect on the behaviour of the German interpreters in this corpus, who have instead adhered to ordinary German communicative behaviour.

4.5.2 das Ganze

The corpus analysis programme produces two segments containing the quantifying expression *das Ganze* and its derivatives in the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches. The relevant KWIK lines are displayed below.

windung von Interessenkonflikten // und durch	das Ganze	einen besseren Investorenschutz // die Einigung w
ndern zu einer wissenschaftlichen Betrachtung	des Ganzen	// mit unseren Forderungen // dass Werbeaussagen

The expression *das Ganze* occurs eight times in the corpus of speeches interpreted from English into German. The relevant concordance lines appear below.

igkeit // falsche // Information oder man hat	das Ganze	// zielgerichtet so // vorgenommen und bombardier
die Finger gesehen bekommen // denn sonst ist	das Ganze	ein Witz was da auf dem Papier steht // Danke /
nkommen // und ich denke wir sollten wirklich	das Ganze	vergessen // und uns auf eine sehr viel bessere T
d es geht ja nicht um Kashmir an und für sich	als Ganzes	// Danke Frau Präsidentin // ich begrüße sehr d
gt // nun geht‘s erstmal um die Größenordnung	des Ganzen	// Herr Susta hat da einige großen Zahlen angegeb
der die äh // diese Produktfälschung zulassen	dem Ganzen	ein blindes Auge zuwenden // und ähm zulassen das
oße Gewinner in Südkorea geben deswegen wird	das Ganze	// äh auch äh die Dinge voranbringen // und in di
igt hatte // Zeitgrenze für Tiertransporte //	das Ganze	trat im Januar zweitausendsieben in Kraft // und

These occurrences of the expression *das Ganze* are based on speeches delivered in the SL by Crowley, Ford, Kamall, Ludford, Martin (three times) and Stevenson, speaking on seven different topics such as the Middle East,

counterfeiting, animal transports, and others. These occurrences are therefore not attributable to speaker- or topic-specific language usage or to a single interpreter's idiosyncrasy but are representative of the frequency of occurrence of this expression in ordinary German discourse interpreted from English.

A comparison of the occurrences of the expression in the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches with those in the corpus of German language interpreted from English indicates that the quantifying expression *das Ganze* appears four times more often in the interpreted discourse than in the non-interpreted speeches. The logistic regression of these figures results in a p value of 0,025, indicating statistical significance for the different frequencies of the expression in the two corpora. This result therefore proves that the quantifying expression *das Ganze*, which can be considered representative of English communicative norms, appears more often in German discourse interpreted from English than in spontaneous German speech. It is conceivable that the German interpreters have transferred the SL speakers' preference for imprecise language use and a focus on the interpersonal function into their German output. This finding could therefore be interpreted as an instantiation of the law of interference in interpreted German discourse.

Since the SL in this case has a comparatively high status, this finding would contradict Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), which states that a dominant SL such as English will lead translators to produce TTs displaying features of growing standardisation, and not of interference. On the other hand, the results obtained from this data support Toury's (1995, 278) claim that a SL with a comparatively high status will result in frequent manifestations of the law of interference in a translated text.

4.5.3 sozusagen

The qualifying expression *sozusagen* occurs only once in the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches, namely in a speech delivered by Schulz on

the role of the European Union in the Middle East. The relevant German concordance line is shown below.

conditio sine qua non für den Erfolg ist sagen // sie sind	sozusagen	// der Dialog // weltweit unterwegs // sie sind der

The qualifying expression *sozusagen* appears five times in the German speeches interpreted from English, as shown below.

itengruppen aufgenommen sind // und das wird dann	sozusagen	schon eine historische Errungenschaft sein für di
/ einige haben gesagt // dass der Ausnahmezustand	sozusagen	ein technisches Thema ist // um sicherzustellen /
was diese Entschließung nicht ist // es ist nicht	sozusagen	eine Neuauflage dieses Berichtes // dieses relati
d // aber zweierlei äh // haben dafür plädiert //	sozusagen	// dass wir das als Dringlichkeit drannehmen // z
aneten // und ein Land // dessen äh äh Integrität	sozusagen	// die territoriale Integrität mit einem Verfallsd

The occurrences of this expression in corpus (b) are based on interpretations made from speeches delivered by Lambert (twice), Ludford (twice) and Matsakis speaking on the situation in Bangladesh and mass graves discovered in Kashmir. They are therefore used in different speeches delivered by a variety of different SL speakers and do not reflect speaker-, topic- or interpreter-specific behaviour.

A comparison of the occurrences of the qualifying expression *sozusagen* in non-interpreted German language and German discourse interpreted from English reveals that the expression occurs five times more often in the German speeches interpreted from English than in the non-interpreted German speeches. This comparatively high frequency in the interpreted German speeches could be interpreted as a manifestation of the law of interference in the interpreted German data. Although the difference in frequency of the expression is not statistically significant, the p value of 0,069 is relatively close to the limit of 0,05 and therefore indicates that there is a trend towards statistical significance. It is thus possible that the German interpreters have transferred the English speakers' communicative norms, namely a preference for an addressee-oriented style and the use of hedging devices such as *in a way*, to their interpreted German product by using the

German expression *sozusagen* more often than is typical of non-interpreted German discourse.

A finding such as the above would corroborate the results obtained above for the expression *das Ganze* but once again contradicts Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), according to which a dominant SL should result in TTs containing features of growing standardisation, and not of interference. As in the case for the above comparison of the expression *das Ganze*, this finding supports Toury's (1995, 278) hypothesis that a SL with a comparatively high status will result in patterns of interference in translated language.

4.5.4 eigentlich

The expression *eigentlich* occurs nine times as a hedging device with the meaning of *in a sense* in the corpus of non-interpreted German discourse. The relevant concordance lines are shown below.

hergehen // und // das Ergebnis vom ersten Referendum	eigentlich	nicht akzeptiert haben aber jetzt gleichzeitig ei
mgegangen ist // das sind doch zwei Dinge die man	eigentlich	nicht gleichsetzen kann // wir haben sie aber zie
ten zum internen Management sehr weit gegangen //	eigentlich	zu weit // es ist beinahe ein Overkill // verglei
und sie konzentrieren sich nicht auf das was sie	eigentlich	als Dienstleister tun müssen nämlich die Realwirt
e strengere Regelung notwendig ist // wir wollten	eigentlich	hier // ab- mit dieser neuen Verordnung erreichen
t so richtig // zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde // wo	eigentlich	die Kommission vor hatte hier eine starke // Einm
[we] mit der Zeit zur Vogelgrippe // dann bin ich	eigentlich	sehr sehr zufrieden // auch als ungeduldiger Abge
n Forderungen wieder auftreten // lenken wir doch	eigentlich	von dem eigentlichen Problem ab // was soll denn
dass die vorgefertigten akademischen Dokumente //	eigentlich	nur technische Grundlagen // für die von ihnen au

The same expression *eigentlich* appears seven times in the corpus of German speeches interpreted from English.

am zweiten Oktober zweitausendneun und das ist	eigentlich	genauso [genau-so] schädlich noch am zweiten Okto
bekommen // so wie jede europäische Nation // das	eigentlich	auch haben sollte // und man sollte auch den voll
ungen die es gegeben hat // aber die äh Iren sind	eigentlich	bedroht worden [wer] worden von einer großen Mehr
scher bekommen nicht äh das zugestanden was ihnen	eigentlich	zusteht // äh und Frau Wortmann-Kohl hat äh es ge
hier // wie die Aussprache verläuft // es war ja	eigentlich	alles eher negativ // ich war der Berichterstatte
gen gerecht geworden ist // dafür möchte ich mich	eigentlich	äh bedanken // äh bei Vernus Ashton und bei äh ih
ndsieben in Kraft // deshalb hätte die Kommission	eigentlich	schon die ersten Jahresberichte von den Mitglieds

The occurrences of this qualifying expression are based on interpretations made from speeches delivered by Dodds (twice), Higgins, Martin (three times) and Parish, who speak on the referendum in Ireland, counterfeiting, free trade agreements and animal transport. The expression is therefore used by a variety of different interpreters interpreting a number of different SL speakers who address various different topics. This means that the frequency of occurrence of the qualifying expression *eigentlich* is not affected by speaker-, topic- or interpreter-specific behaviour.

A comparison between the occurrences of the expression *eigentlich* in the two corpora reveals that the word appears only slightly more often, namely nine times, in the non-interpreted German speeches than in the German discourse interpreted from English, from which seven occurrences can be retrieved. However, this slightly higher frequency of the expression in the non-interpreted German speeches is offset by the fact that the corpus of non-interpreted German speeches contains a larger number of words than the corpus of speeches interpreted from English. Furthermore, the statistical analysis shows that the difference in frequency of the expression is not statistically significant but only corresponds to a p value of 0,790. Interpreters working from English into German therefore use the qualifying expression *eigentlich* with similar frequency as original German speakers and do not exaggerate the very direct manner of communicating that is typical of German language production. The communicative norms adhered to by the original German speakers have not been affected by the SI process and neither growing standardisation nor interference is manifest in these German interpreters' output. Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), which predicts patterns of growing standardisation for language translated from a dominant SL, is not confirmed with regard to the use of this qualifying expression.

4.5.5 insgesamt

The qualifying expression *insgesamt* appears five times in the corpus of non-interpreted German language. The concordance lines containing the five occurrences of the word appear below.

chtig und für die Kunden // sodass ich sagen kann	insgesamt	bin ich als Berichterstatter mit diesem // Ergebn
nt und Rat waren anfangs weit auseinander // aber	insgesamt	sind jetzt doch äh die Ziele // in weiten Teilen
Agreement // als wir sie derzeit haben // ähm //	insgesamt	// wenn ich mir // wenn ich Revue äh nehme [neh]
denn Positives geleistet haben // muss ich sagen	insgesamt	haben wir zu ner großen Verbesserung beigetragen
zu machen // in welche Richtung es gehen muss //	insgesamt	nochmal // ich glaube wir hätten ne bessere Arbei

The qualifying expression *insgesamt* occurs three times in the corpus of speeches interpreted from English into German, where it appears as part of the following concordance lines.

geseite gibt // aber ... es ist dann doch so // dass wir äh	insgesamt	äh durch die neuen Glühbirnen äh so viel sparen k
die neuen Glühbirnen äh so viel sparen können wie	insgesamt	in Finnland pro Jahr // ähm benutzt wird // also
abon die Mitentscheidung haben // dann müssen wir	insgesamt	kohärenter denken // und eine klare Botschaft ans

The occurrences of this expression are based on interpretations made of speeches delivered by Hall (twice) and McGuinness speaking on energy security and dairy farming respectively. This means that the expression is used in different interpretations of speeches delivered by different SL speakers and its occurrences does not merely reflect speaker-, topic- or interpreter-specific behaviour.

The comparison between the frequencies of the qualifying expression *insgesamt* in interpreted and non-interpreted German language indicates that the word appears almost twice as often in the non-interpreted German speeches as in the discourse interpreted from English SL speeches. However, the high frequency of this expression in the non-interpreted German speeches could possibly be ascribed to the very frequent use of the expression by one specific original German speaker, who is responsible for the production of 60% of all occurrences of this expression in the corpus of non-interpreted German discourse. Furthermore, if the different word counts

in the two corpora are taken into account, the expression appears to occur with almost equal frequency in both corpora and the p value of 0,864 shows that the difference of frequency with which this expression occurs in the two corpora is not statistically significant; hence no exaggeration of typical German communicative norms has taken place.

4.5.6 Discussion of the results of comparative phase 2

The results of comparative phase 2 are mixed and indicate that in the case of three of the expressions examined, namely *und so weiter*, *das Ganze* and *sozusagen*, the frequencies of occurrence are higher for the corpus of speeches interpreted from English into German. The two remaining expressions, namely *eigentlich* and *insgesamt*, occur slightly more frequently in the non-interpreted German speeches than in the interpretations. The figure below summarises the results yielded by the comparison of non-interpreted German speech and German discourse interpreted from English with regard to all five collocations discussed above, taking into account the differences in number of words per corpus.

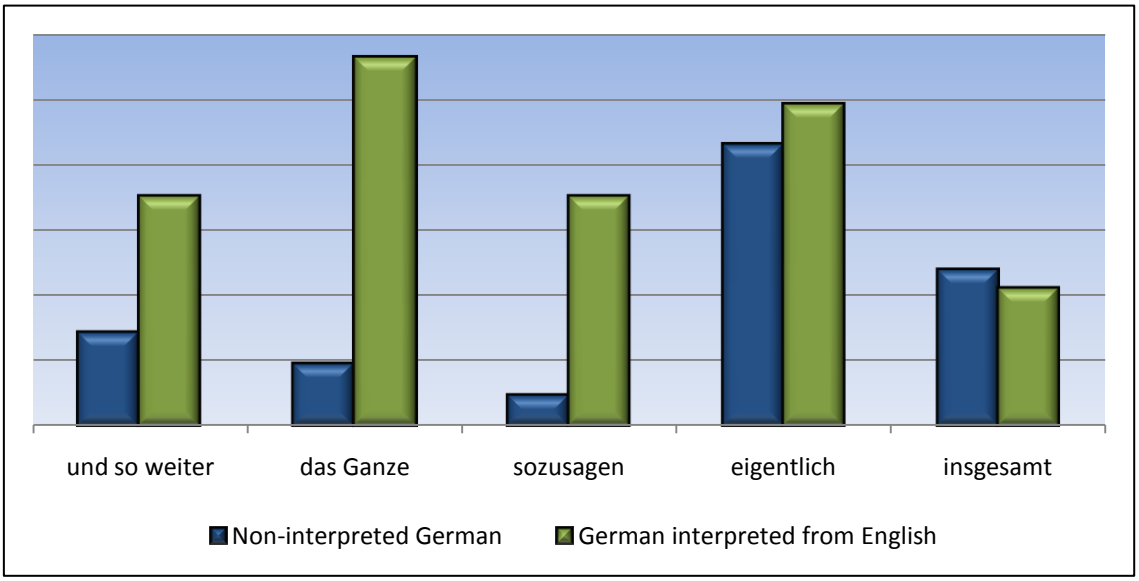

Figure 9: Results of comparative phase 2

The above comparisons of the frequencies of the five different collocations in non-interpreted German language and in German discourse interpreted from

English indicate that there are two expressions, namely *eigentlich* and *insgesamt*, which occur more often in the German speeches interpreted from English. This could provide evidence in favour of the law of growing standardisation affecting German discourse interpreted from English. However, in both of these cases the higher frequency of the qualifying expressions in the corpus of non-interpreted speeches must probably be ascribed to the overuse of the expression by a single original German speaker. If these speakers' contributions are disregarded, then the frequencies resemble those of the interpreted German data. Moreover, the fact that the corpus of non-interpreted German language contains a larger number of words partially offsets the higher frequency of occurrence of the relevant expressions in this corpus. In the case of *eigentlich*, the figure above shows that taking the number of words per corpus into account actually results in a slightly lower frequency of the expression for the non-interpreted German speeches. The statistical analysis of the data furthermore proves that in both of these two cases the differences in frequency of occurrence are not statistically significant and the two qualifying expressions *eigentlich* and *insgesamt* do therefore not provide any evidence supporting the influence of any law of translational behaviour on the communicative norms prevalent in the interpreted German discourse. Growing standardisation has thus not had an effect on the occurrences of the expressions *eigentlich* and *sozusagen* in simultaneously interpreted German discourse since the frequencies do not significantly differ from those produced during autonomous German speech. Based on the analysis of these two expressions, the German interpreters do not appear to have been influenced by any laws of translational behaviour in the production of their output.

In the remaining three instances, namely in the cases of the expressions *und so weiter*, *das Ganze* and *sozusagen*, the relevant expressions that are considered to be typical of communicative English norms appear more frequently in the interpreted than in the non-interpreted German discourse. These differences are not significant in the case of the collocation *und so weiter*. This vagueness tag has therefore not been omitted or replaced by the interpreters in order to exaggerate the typical German communicative norms

of directness and explicitness. As in the case of the above two expressions, this indicates that neither the law of growing standardisation nor the law of interference has affected the communicative norms adhered to in the interpreted German discourse.

However, statistical significance is discovered for the case of *das Ganze* and there is a trend towards statistical significance in the case of the qualifying expression *sozusagen*. The somewhat higher frequency of occurrence of these two expressions could be interpreted as an indication of the manifestation of interference in the interpreted discourse from the SL English, which is known for its focus on the interpersonal language function and a preference for a less precise use of language. These communicative norms can be expressed by introducing collocations such as *das Ganze* and *sozusagen*, and it can therefore be assumed that the German interpreters have transferred these typical English communicative norms into their interpreted German product.

The above finding, which points towards an influence of the law of interference on interpreted German discourse in the case of two of the five collocations analysed, would contradict Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), which states that a higher SL status results in patterns of growing standardisation, not interference, in the translated product. The results for these two expressions are, however, consistent with Toury's (1995, 278) prediction, according to which translators working from a dominant SL tend to produce translated texts containing higher levels of interference.

The figures below show the p values that give an indication of the statistical significances of the results obtained for all five of the collocations examined.

Collocation	*und so weiter*	***das Ganze***	***sozusagen***	*eigentlich*	*insgesamt*
p value	0,220	**0,025**	**0,069**	0,790	0,864

Table 6: Statistical significances for phase 2

While both non-interpreted German discourse and German discourse interpreted from English resemble each other with regard to the use of three of the collocations examined, there are two cases in which interpreted and non-interpreted discourse can be assumed to differ notably, with the interpreted data containing a larger number of collocations and therefore possible features of interference. The high status of the English language compared to German might have prompted the interpreters responsible for the production of these segments to accept the transfer of certain SL features into their TL product.

The question of whether the law of interference is indeed responsible for the inclusions of certain TL patterns typical of SL norms in the corpus of German discourse interpreted from English, or whether the higher frequencies of certain collocations in the interpreted German speeches are the result of other factors is investigated in the following chapter, where the relevant interpreted German concordance lines are compared to the original English counterparts as part of a parallel analysis.

The next section of this chapter examines the way in which German discourse interpreted from mixed SL speeches compares with German discourse interpreted from the high-status SL English. The frequencies of the above five expressions in the two corpora of interpreted German discourse, (b) and (c), are hence compared below.

4.6 The effect of a particular source language

In this section, the two corpora of interpreted German discourse, namely corpus (b) and corpus (c) are compared to each other with regard to the occurrences of the five expressions mentioned above. This comparison constitutes step three of Jantunen's (2004) Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis, highlighted in the figure below.

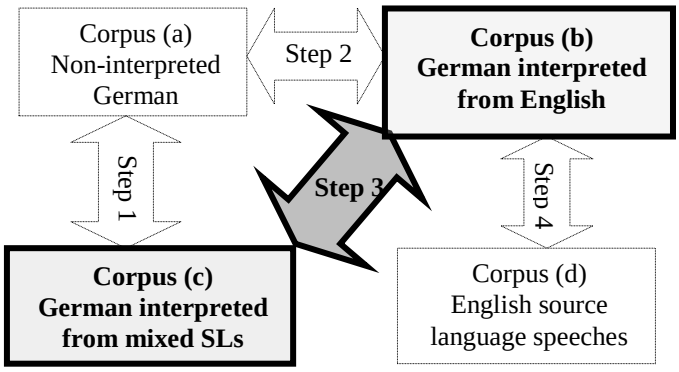

Figure 10: Comparative phase 3

The third phase of the comparative analysis makes it possible to determine whether the patterns that have been identified in corpus (b), i.e. the speeches interpreted from English, during the second comparative phase above are language-specific and have possibly been caused by the dominant status of the English language, or whether they correspond to the linguistic patterns that can be found in all simultaneously interpreted discourse regardless of the SL and are hence universal to interpreted German speech.

If the patterns in corpus (b) and corpus (c) are found to resemble each other, this means that the dominant status of an individual SL has no effect on the nature of the interpreted product; similar frequencies of the relevant collocations in both corpora of interpreted language hence indicate that the high status of the English language does not affect interpreters' behaviour in any significant manner. According to Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), corpus (b) should, however, be expected to contain a higher frequency of features of growing standardisation, i.e. fewer collocations, than corpus (c). Should corpus (b), on the other hand, contain a greater number of the relevant expressions than corpus (c) then this would suggest that a higher SL status results in patterns of interference instead of growing standardisation in the interpreted product. The concordance lines retrieved from the two corpora of interpreted speeches which contain the relevant German expressions are reproduced below.

4.6.1 und so weiter

Corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs:

im Ölsektor also im Ge- im im im Olivenölsektor	und so weiter	// also wir müssen alles dafür tun um die Märkte z
einer Wirtschaftsbelegung [W-Wirtschaftsbelegung]	und so weiter	// hinzu kam vor allem auch die äh Entscheidung ä
ozialisten und Demokraten // der Liberalen Partei	und so weiter	// all diese werden Nutzen ziehen daraus // was m

Corpus (b): German interpreted from English:

schuss wird die Beschäftigung nicht verteidigt //	und so weiter	// Ja wir schlagen vor // äh dass äh // dies hier
h schenkt // ja // wenn äh da etwas unpopulär ist	und so weiter	dann wird einfach noch einmal abgestimmt // und w
gang zu erneuerbaren Energien äh gehen // äh Wind	und so weiter	kann wirklich auch für China zum Beispiel sinnvoll
gleich wieder der Reaktionismus Terrorismus	und alles	mit reingebracht in die Diskussion und dann // de
Unterstützung bieten // damit die ihre // Gebäude	und alles	wieder aufbauen können // und natürlich müssen wi

A comparison of the frequencies of the vagueness tags *und so weiter* and *und alles* in the speeches interpreted from English and the speeches interpreted from mixed SLs shows that these collocations appear slightly more often in speeches interpreted from the dominant SL English. This could theoretically indicate that, contrary to Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), the high status of the English language has resulted in a larger number of patterns of interference in the speeches interpreted from English than in the interpreted German speeches based on various other SLs. However, with a p value of only 0,806 the difference between the two figures is not statistically significant. Based on the comparison of the frequencies of the collocations *und so weiter* and *und alles* in these two corpora the dominant status of a SL does therefore not seem to affect interpreters' behaviour in any manner. German interpreters act no differently when interpreting from a dominant language such as English than when interpreting form a variety of other, less dominant SLs. Jacquemond's prediction (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) that a dominant SL status results in frequent manifestations of the law of growing standardisation in the TL product can therefore not be confirmed.

4.6.2 das Ganze

Corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs

wichtiger Stein // auf der Entwicklung ... hinter	dem Ganzen	steckt wirklich eine Logik // und äh wenn das so
r ohne die entsprechende Finanzierung // wird	das Ganze	// ei- ausgehen wie das Handwerkerschießen // wir
Rat in diesem Bereich // den ansonsten bringt	das Ganze	nichts // ein weiterer Punkt den wir berücksichti
es ganz unglaublich viele Lücken gibt // dass	das Ganze	nur schleppend vorangeht // ja die Virushemmer //

Corpus (b): German interpreted from English

igkeit // falsche // Information oder man hat	das Ganze	// zielgerichtet so // vorgenommen und bombardier
die Finger gesehen bekommen // denn sonst ist	das Ganze	ein Witz was da auf dem Papier steht // Danke /
nkommen // und ich denke wir sollten wirklich	das Ganze	vergessen // und uns auf eine sehr viel bessere T
d es geht ja nicht um Kashmir an und für sich	als Ganzes	// Danke Frau Präsidentin // ich begrüße sehr d
gt // nun geht‘s erstmal um die Größenordnung	des Ganzen	// Herr Susta hat da einige großen Zahlen angegeb
der die äh // diese Produktfälschung zulassen	dem Ganzen	ein blindes Auge zuwenden // und ähm zulassen das
ße Gewinner in Südkorea geben deswegen wird	das Ganze	// äh auch äh die Dinge voranbringen // und in di
igt hatte // Zeitgrenze für Tiertransporte //	das Ganze	trat im Januar zweitausendsieben in Kraft // und

The quantifier *das Ganze* appears twice as often in the speeches interpreted from English as in those interpreted from a number of other SLs. The greater frequency of this collocation in the speeches interpreted from English could be interpreted as a manifestation of the law of interference, since the German interpreters are reproducing typical English communicative norms in the TL German. Contrary to Jacquemond’s hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), one could argue that due to the higher status of English as a global lingua franca, interpreters are more prone to producing interference when interpreting from English than when interpreting from a variety of other SLs. This finding would confirm Toury’s (1995, 278) assumption that a high SL status is likely to result in patterns of interference in the translated text. However, the differences are once again not statistically significant since the p value only equals 0,302. This figure suggests that the differences in frequency between the two corpora are more likely to be coincidental and that the interpreters working from English have produced patterns that are in fact similar to those produced by the interpreters working from other SLs with comparatively lower statuses. The frequencies of the expression *das Ganze* in the two corpora hence imply that the dominant status of the English SL has

not had any effect on the interpreters' behaviour with regard to their adherence to communicative norms.

4.6.3 sozusagen

Corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs

ein solcher Vertrag das ist kein Projekt // das ist al-	sozusagen	ein Werkzeugkasten der dem Europäischen Projekt d
nd das seriöse Konferenzen oder ist das eine Show	sozusagen	für die Bürger // vielleicht ist es so ein bissch
fang war etwas mühsam // alles war neu und musste	sozusagen	äh spontan äh eingerichtet werde // und danach ha

Corpus (b): German interpreted from English

itengruppen aufgenommen sind // und das wird dann	sozusagen	schon eine historische Errungenschaft sein für di
/ einige haben gesagt // dass der Ausnahmezustand	sozusagen	ein technisches Thema ist // um sicherzustellen /
was diese Entschließung nicht ist // es ist nicht	sozusagen	eine Neuauflage dieses Berichtes // dieses relati
d // aber zweierlei äh // haben dafür plädiert //	sozusagen	// dass wir das als Dringlichkeit drannehmen // z
aneten // und ein Land // dessen äh äh Integrität	sozusagen	// die territorale Integrität mit einem Verfallsd

The qualifying expression *sozusagen* appears with similar frequency in the speeches interpreted into German from English and in the speeches interpreted from mixed SLs, where five and three occurrences can be retrieved respectively. The statistical analysis produces a p value of 0,261 for this expression, which confirms that the small difference in frequency of occurrence of this expression is not statistically significant. This finding once again suggests that the high status of English as a global lingua franca has had little effect on the manner in which the German interpreters have acted when interpreting from English into German. The interpreters have not produced more frequent manifestations of growing standardisation or a greater number of segments containing interference when interpreting from English than when interpreting from other, less dominant SLs. As similar frequencies are yielded by both corpora of interpreted German speech, the dominant status of a SL does not seem to affect interpreters' behaviour in any significant way. Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) that a dominant SL status results in growing standardisation is, once again, not confirmed.

4.6.4 eigentlich

Corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs

hergehen // und // das Ergebnis vom ersten Referendum	eigentlich	nicht akzeptiert haben aber jetzt gleichzeitig ei
mgegangen ist // das sind doch zwei Dinge die man	eigentlich	nicht gleichsetzen kann // wir haben sie aber zie
ten zum internen Management sehr weit gegangen //	eigentlich	zu weit // es ist beinahe ein Overkill // verglei
und sie konzentrieren sich nicht auf das was sie	eigentlich	als Dienstleister tun müssen nämlich die Realwirt
e strengere Regelung notwendig ist // wir wollten	eigentlich	hier // ab- mit dieser neuen Verordnung erreichen
t so richtig // zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde // wo	eigentlich	die Kommission vor hatte hier eine starke // Einm
[we] mit der Zeit zur Vogelgrippe // dann bin ich	eigentlich	sehr sehr zufrieden // auch als ungeduldiger Abge
n Forderungen wieder auftreten // lenken wir doch	eigentlich	von dem eigentlichen Problem ab // was soll denn
dass die vorgefertigten akademischen Dokumente //	eigentlich	nur technische Grundlagen // für die von ihnen au

Corpus (b): German interpreted from English

am zweiten Oktober zweitausendneun und das ist	eigentlich	genauso [genau-so] schädlich noch am zweiten Okto
bekommen // so wie jede europäische Nation // das	eigentlich	auch haben sollte // und man sollte auch den voll
ungen die es gegeben hat // aber die äh Iren sind	eigentlich	bedroht worden [wer] worden von einer großen Mehr
scher bekommen nicht äh das zugestanden was ihnen	eigentlich	zusteht // äh und Frau Wortmann-Kohl hat äh es ge
hier // wie die Aussprache verläuft // es war ja	eigentlich	alles eher negativ // ich war der Berichterstatte
gen gerecht geworden ist // dafür möchte ich mich	eigentlich	äh bedanken // äh bei Vernus Ashton und bei äh ih
ndsieben in Kraft // deshalb hätte die Kommission	eigentlich	schon die ersten Jahresberichte von den Mitglieds

The expression *eigentlich* appears seven times in the corpus of German speeches interpreted from English and nine times in the corpus of German speeches interpreted from a number of other SLs. The frequencies of occurrence of this qualifying expression are therefore nearly the same, confirming that the dominant status of the English language has not affected the way in which the German interpreters have acted regarding the use of communicative norms. The similarity of the frequencies of *eigentlich* in both corpora is substantiated by the p value of 0,487, which shows that there is no statistical significance for the slightly different values obtained for this collocation. These interpreters have behaved in the same way when interpreting from a dominant language such as English and when interpreting from a variety of other, less dominant SLs, producing largely comparable patterns. German discourse interpreted from English resembles German interpreted discourse in general and Jacquemond's hypothesis (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), which states that a dominant SL status results in growing standardisation, is not confirmed by this data.

4.6.5 insgesamt

Corpus (c): German interpreted from mixed SLs

l zu schnell // also der Vorschlag der Kommission	insgesamt	// sieht vor // dass eins Komma fünf Milliarden E
che Umfeld // für den Tourismus // für die Region	insgesamt	// in meiner Region sind viele Hektar verbrannt ä

Corpus (b): German interpreted from English

geseite gibt // aber ... es ist dann doch so // dass wir äh	insgesamt	äh durch die neuen Glühbirnen äh so viel sparen k
die neuen Glühbirnen äh so viel sparen können wie	insgesamt	in Finnland pro Jahr // ähm benutzt wird // also
abon die Mitentscheidung haben // dann müssen wir	insgesamt	kohärenter denken // und eine klare Botschaft ans

The qualifying expression *insgesamt* appears three times in the speeches interpreted from English and twice in the speeches interpreted from mixed SLs. The frequencies are therefore nearly the same and with a p value of 0,392 no statistical significance can be detected. This proves that the dominant status of the English language as a global lingua franca has once again not had an effect on the manner in which the German interpreters behave when interpreting SL speeches from a dominant language such as English. The patterns found in the speeches interpreted from English resemble those of interpreted German discourse in general. Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis that a dominant SL status leads to more frequent manifestations of growing standardisation in the translated product hence has to be rejected for the case of simultaneously interpreted German discourse.

4.6.6 Discussion of the results of comparative phase 3

The figure below summarises the results for the comparison between German discourse interpreted from mixed SLs and German discourse interpreted from English with regard to all five collocations discussed separately above, taking into account the number of words per corpus analysed. Although there is no statistical significance for any of the results obtained, it needs to be noted that all five expressions occur more frequently in the speeches interpreted from English than in the speeches interpreted from mixed SLs. Despite the lack of statistical evidence to support such claims, these findings could thus point towards interpreters' tendency to

exaggerate the SL's communicative norms when interpreting from a SL with a high socio-cultural status, such as English.

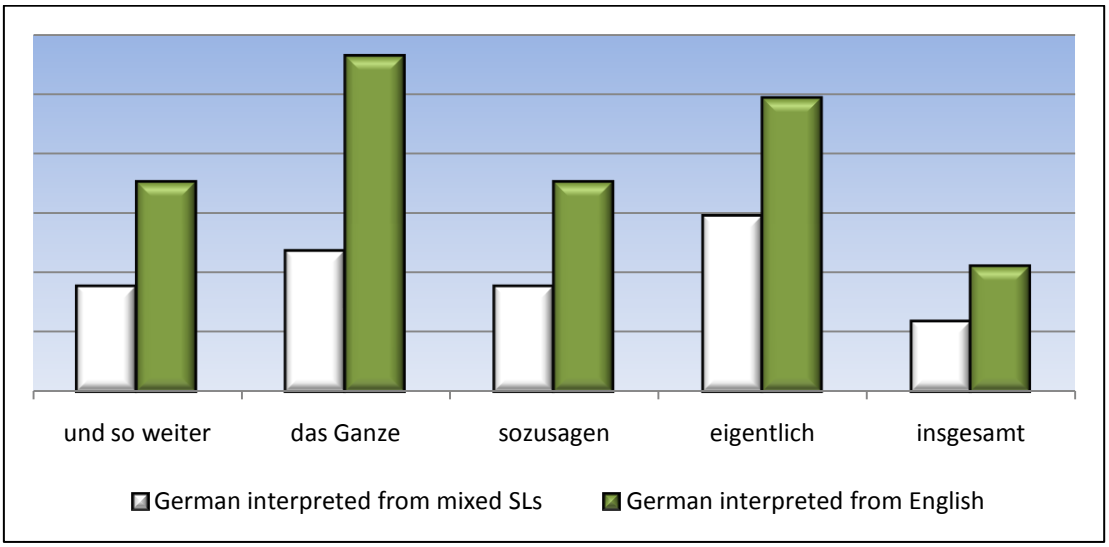

Figure 11: Results of comparative phase 3

In conclusion, it can be said that this data does not provide any evidence in favour of growing standardisation resulting from a dominant SL status. It appears that, despite the lack of evidence in the form of statistical significance, the law of interference could instead have had an effect on the production of the above five collocations in corpus (b), as all of them appear slightly more frequently in the speeches interpreted from English than in those interpreted from mixed SLs. Such a finding would contradict Jacquemond's (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31) hypothesis, which states that a dominant SL will cause translators to produce patterns of growing standardisation in their output. However, these results could support the view held by other scholars, such as Toury (1995, 278) and House (2006, 354), who argue that a SL with a high status might prompt translators to produce patterns of interference in their translated output.

Despite this slight tendency towards a higher frequency of all five collocations in the corpus of data interpreted from English, the figures in the table below indicate that the patterns discovered in German discourse interpreted from English do not differ from those obtained for interpreted German discourse in

general in a statistically significant manner; any differences in frequency are therefore not supported by evidence in the form of statistical significance. The table below summarises the p values calculated for the differences in frequencies of the five collocations occurring in corpora (c) and (b).

Collocation	*und so weiter*	*das Ganze*	*sozusagen*	*eigentlich*	*insgesamt*
p value	0,340	0,151	0,340	0,373	0,518

Table 7: Statistical significances for phase 3

The lack of statistically significant differences suggests that the high status of English as a global lingua franca does not have any effect on the way in which German interpreters behave when simultaneously interpreting speeches from this language. It must therefore be concluded that in the majority of cases, interpreters probably behave similarly during simultaneous interpretations regardless of the status of the SL from which they are interpreting.

A summary of the main results obtained from the three comparative analyses carried out in this chapter follows in section 4.7 below.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, three comparative analyses have been carried out in order to compare the frequencies of five collocations representative of English communicative norms in three different corpora. Non-interpreted German language production has been compared first to German discourse interpreted from a variety of different SLs, then to German discourse interpreted from English, and lastly, the two types of interpreted language have been compared to one another. These comparisons give an indication of whether a law of translational behaviour, such as growing standardisation or interference, has affected the nature of the interpreted German discourse

analysed here, and whether the status of a particular SL has influenced the adherence to any such law.

In most of the above cases, it appears that the types of patterns found in the two interpreted corpora largely resemble those found in non-interpreted German language production. In the majority of cases, any differences in frequencies observed between the corpora are not of statistical significance. This absence of noteworthy differences with regard to the use of the relevant collocations suggests that interpreted language is not subject to any of the laws of translational behaviour that have been found to apply to written translations, namely growing standardisation and interference. Instead, interpreted discourse adheres to the same communicative norms as non-interpreted language production. Since manifestations of both growing standardisation and interference have been shown to exist in written translation (e.g. by Munday (1998) and Tirkkonen-Condit (2002) respectively), the absence of similar patterns in interpreted discourse points towards dissimilarities with regard to the nature of the translational products obtaining from these two very different modes of language transfer, namely written translation and SI.

4.7.1 Growing standardisation

The comparisons of the frequencies of the different collocations in the three corpora suggest that growing standardisation does not significantly affect the nature of interpreted German discourse. Although there are certain cases in which a relevant collocation occurs more frequently in the corpus of non-interpreted speeches than in the interpretations, these differences are not of statistical significance. Furthermore, all instances of a collocation occurring more often in the non-interpreted than in the interpreted German speeches can be traced back to individual speakers overusing a relevant expression. In the majority of cases, however, the relevant collocations occur with equal or higher frequency in the corpora of interpreted German discourse than in the non-interpreted speeches, which implies that the German interpreters have not produced output characterised by the law of growing standardisation with

regard to the adherence to typical German communicative norms. Although various translation scholars (e.g. Øverås 1998; Kenny 1998; Dayrell 2008) have discovered patterns of growing standardisation in written translations, and similar patterns have been found to exist in interpreted discourse in studies undertaken by Henriksen (2007), Hale and Gibbons (1999) and Shlesinger (1991), the results of this study do not confirm the existence of patterns of growing standardisation in interpreted German discourse. The same law that affects translators' behaviour does not seem to have exerted an influence on the behaviour of the interpreters in this study.

In the study of written translations, the phenomenon of translation-specific features is usually ascribed to the distinct requirements of the translation's context. Baker (1996, 176) argues that the nature of translated language may differ from that of non-translated text since translation "develops in response to the pressures of its own immediate context". She furthermore points out that the "nature and pressures of the translation process must leave traces in the language that translators produce" (Baker 1996, 177), which could take the form of patterns of growing standardisation. It can be assumed that with regard to written texts, such features of growing standardisation are mainly to be found in covert translations. A covert translation preserves the function of the SL original by adapting the language/text and register of the original text, which usually requires the application of a cultural filter (House 2006, 348). Covert translations are supposed to operate within the context, frame and discourse of the target culture; hence translators of written texts need to re-contextualise the original SL text for the TL reader (House 2006, 348). Since a covert translation is manipulated in favour of the language and register expected by its TL addressees, the translator's manipulations may result in patterns of growing standardisation in the form of typical TL patterns in the translated text.

Simultaneous interpretation, especially in the context of the European Parliament, can also be described as a covert, as opposed to an overt, process, since its aim usually is "to reproduce the function which the original has within its frame and discourse world" (House 2006, 348). The SL speech

is “not specifically addressed to a particular source culture audience, i.e. it is not firmly tied to the source culture context” (House 2006, 347) and SL speeches and their simultaneous interpretations are furthermore expected to have equivalent purposes. Theoretically, a cultural filter, requiring the manipulation of the language and register in favour of typical TL patterns, i.e. growing standardisation, should therefore be evident in simultaneously interpreted output, too.

However, source and TL addressees in a SI situation share much more of their (cognitive and situational) context and common ground than source and TL readers of written texts/translations do, and consequently interpreters are “not expected to take the range of cultural backgrounds into account” (Setton 2006, 379). As much more context is shared by the relevant participants in an interpreter-mediated event, it becomes less important for the interpreter to apply a cultural filter in order to ensure that the interpreted product fits within the target culture audience’s cultural context; this difference between written translation and SI constitutes a possible reason why no patterns of growing standardisation have been observed in the German interpreters’ output.

Furthermore, it has been suggested that speeches delivered at large international meetings tend to be less culture-specific in nature than speeches intended for smaller audiences (Alexieva 2002, 230). The SL discourse produced at interpreter-mediated events such as plenary sessions of the European Parliament can therefore be considered already to be relatively universal and culturally neutral. Due to this relative neutrality of the SL speeches and the participants’ exposure to and familiarity with the same context, the interpreters could deem it less essential to manipulate their product in favour of typical TL patterns, as many translators have been found to do. The relative neutrality of the SL speeches is hence another aspect of SI that may possibly have lead to the absence of patterns of growing standardisation in the interpreted output analysed in this study.

A further factor affecting the use of cultural filters in written translation and in SI is that for the reader of a written translation, the translator’s use of the

cultural filter may create the illusion of being exposed to a non-translated text. The translator's presence often remains invisible and if the translation thus produced meets the TL reader's expectations, it can easily be mistaken for an autonomously produced, non-translated text (House 2006, 348). During SI, it is, however, impossible for the interpreter to create this illusion of originality as the TL audience is necessarily aware of the SL speaker's and the interpreter's presence and of the mediation process taking place. The origin of the interpretation in a SL speech is evident to the audience and hence it is impossible to create the illusion of the interpretation being an original by inserting a cultural filter in the form of language and register manipulation in favour of typical TL patterns, which would result in growing standardisation, as it can be done in written translations. An exaggerated naturalness of the interpreted TL output might therefore not be perceived as a priority by the interpreters. Some scholars, such as Marzocchi (2005, n.p.) even question whether it is possible and desirable to make an interpretation sound like an original, non-interpreted speech.

The findings obtained during the comparative analyses above, which show that the law of growing standardisation does not characterise simultaneously interpreted German discourse, may thus be the result of the different circumstances which apply during the translation of written texts on the one and during the interpretation of spoken discourse on the other hand, and which affect the amount of context shared, the ST's degree of universality and the illusion of originality.

4.7.2 Interference

The comparisons of the frequencies of the different collocations in the three corpora of German speech do not provide conclusive evidence for the existence of patterns of interference in any of the two corpora of interpreted German discourse either. As far as German speech interpreted from mixed SLs is concerned, there are three collocations whose frequencies are higher in interpreted than in non-interpreted German; however, these differences are not statistically significant and are therefore probably coincidental and not the

result of the influence of a law of translational behaviour. The remaining two collocations occur slightly more often in the corpus of non-interpreted German speech than in the corpus of interpreted German. German interpreted discourse in general is therefore clearly not characterised by manifestations of the law of interference resulting from interpreters' transfer of typical SL communicative norms into the TL product. Although the law of interference has been found to characterise written translations (e.g. by House 2006; Mauranen 2000; Balsakó 2008), the same is not the case for simultaneous interpretations.

The speeches interpreted from English into German, on the other hand, do provide some evidence in support of the existence of patterns of interference in simultaneously interpreted German discourse. While the results are statistically insignificant with regard to the different frequencies of three of the collocations in the two comparable corpora, the corpus of interpreted speeches contains a statistically significant higher occurrence of one of the collocations examined and the figure for a second collocation is close to statistical significance. For these two expressions, *das Ganze* and *sozusagen*, the observed differences in frequency could be the result of the law of interference affecting interpreters' behaviour with regard to the adherence to communicative norms. The collocation *und so weiter* also occurs slightly more often in the corpus of interpreted speeches. These findings could therefore confirm the existence of certain features of interference in discourse simultaneously interpreted from English into German, which has already been observed by Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow (2008) and by Lamberger-Felber and Schneider (2008). The interpreters in this corpus might have considered it acceptable to produce TL output which resembles the SL speech that is being interpreted with regard to the use of communicative norms.

On the other hand, the higher frequencies with which these two collocations occur in the corpus of interpreted speeches could also have causes other than being a possible manifestation of the law of interference. It is, for example, possible that the German speakers in corpus (a) have used the

relevant expressions with less than standard frequency due to the relatively large degree of preparation of their speeches, a problem addressed in section 3.7.4. A comparison between the interpreted German patterns and their corresponding English originals will reveal what SL structures prompted the inclusion of the relevant German expressions in the interpreted TL output, and whether these cases can indeed be considered instances of interference.

4.7.3 The effect of the source language's status

Lastly, the above comparisons of the frequencies of the relevant collocations in the three corpora suggest that the comparatively high status of the English language does not significantly affect the manner in which interpreters behave when interpreting into German. The statistical analyses suggest that the patterns observed in the corpus of the German speeches interpreted from English resemble those of the German speeches interpreted from a variety of other SLs.

However, although the statistical evidence does not support any differences in frequencies, all five collocations consistently occur slightly more frequently in the corpus of speeches interpreted from English than in the corpus of speeches interpreted from mixed SLs. Despite the lack of clear evidence in the form of statistical significance, such a difference in frequencies could point towards the law of interference having a more prominent effect on interpreted German discourse when a high-status language such as English serves as SL. If this were to be the case, then a comparatively high SL status, as that of English with respect to German, would result not in patterns of growing standardisation, as postulated by Jacquemond (1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31), but would instead seem to lead to more frequent patterns of interference characterising the interpreted output, as predicted by Toury (1995, 278) and House (2006, 354).

However, this trend observed in the data cannot be confirmed by the statistical analyses and it therefore remains possible that the higher

frequencies of all five collocations in the corpus of interpretations with English as SL are merely coincidental. There is thus no conclusive evidence confirming either of the two hypotheses with regard to the effect of a comparatively dominant SL on interpreters' behaviour; it appears that the status of the SL does not affect interpreter behaviour by inducing the inclusion distinctive patterns of either type in the interpreted German speech.

Finally, the results pose certain problems as they are not entirely unambiguous: As the statistical calculations indicate that German interpreted from mixed SLs does not differ from non-interpreted German, and German interpreted from English differs from non-interpreted German with regard to the use of at least one of the expressions analysed, it would be expected that German interpreted from mixed SLs should differ from the corpus of German language interpreted from English. This is, however, not the case: According to the statistical analysis, the frequencies of the relevant expressions in the two corpora of interpreted language are not statistically significant. This problem could be the result of the fact that the corpus searches, possibly due to the limitations in corpus size, only yielded relatively small numbers of occurrences for the relevant expressions, which makes the statistical calculations less reliable.

It has been demonstrated that the presence of patterns of growing standardisation in the two interpretational corpora examined in this study can be excluded; however, there seems to be some evidence in support of the existence of patterns of positive interference in the speeches interpreted from English into German. In order to understand what SL structures prompted the production of the German expressions interpreted as manifestations of the law of interference, the relevant interpreted segments are compared to their original English counterparts in the following chapter. This comparison will provide an indication of whether the slightly higher frequencies of some of the collocations in the corpus of German discourse interpreted from English as compared to the corpus of non-interpreted German speech are indeed the result of the law of interference affecting interpreters' behaviour, i.e. whether

the inclusion of the relevant TL expressions has been prompted by corresponding SL collocations, as has been found to be the case for written translations (e.g. Eskola 2004; Nilsson 2004) or whether other reasons have led to the production of these expressions by the German interpreters.

In the following chapter a parallel comparison between corpus (b) and corpus (d), i.e. the German speeches interpreted from English and the corresponding English SL speeches, is hence conducted. A similar comparison of the relevant collocations identified in corpus (c), containing the interpretations based on mixed SLs, with their corresponding SL counterparts cannot be undertaken in this study since such a parallel analysis would require knowledge of the large variety of SLs on which the interpretations included in corpus (c) are based. Furthermore, the comparison between non-interpreted German and German interpreted from mixed SLs has not resulted in the discovery of any patterns that could be interpreted as manifestations of a law of translational behaviour. Therefore, the parallel analysis in the next chapter merely focuses on those collocations identified in the corpus of German speeches interpreted from English.

Chapter 5: Parallel analysis: Interpreted German compared to the English source language speeches

5.1 Introduction

The comparative analysis in the previous chapter demonstrates that certain collocations typical of English communicative norms, such as *das Ganze* and *sozusagen*, appear more frequently in German discourse interpreted from English than in non-interpreted German speech. Laviosa (1998, 565) argues that in order to determine the reasons that have led to the inclusion of certain patterns untypical of non-translational language production in corpora of translational language, it is necessary to supplement these comparable corpora by also analysing parallel corpora that contain the corresponding STs:

> When studying translation as a product entirely in the target language environment, we can only put forward suggestions regarding the possible causes that may have led to certain patterns. In order to find an explanation for our results, we would need to construct and analyse in parallel another corpus that would include the source texts of the translational component [...]. (Laviosa 1998, 565)

In the present chapter, the patterns detected in the speeches interpreted from English into German (corpus b) during the comparative analyses in chapter 4 are therefore compared to the corresponding SL versions that form corpus (d). The figure below highlights this final step of the analysis, which is carried out in addition to Jantunen's (2004) Three-Phase-Comparative Analysis in order to gain a better understanding of why certain of the patterns observed in chapter 4 were introduced by the interpreters.

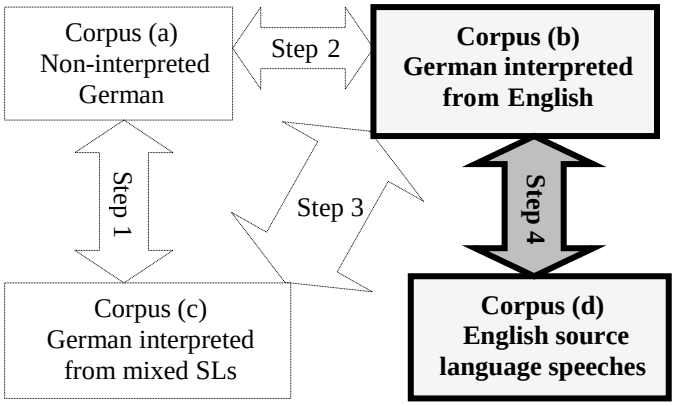

Figure 12: Comparative phase 4

This final parallel step of the analysis will allow for more clarity as to whether the relevant collocations identified in section 4.5 in the previous chapter have been prompted by corresponding SL collocations, and can thus be considered to be the results of positive interference, or whether there are other reasons for the inclusion of these expressions in the interpreters' output. The comparative analysis of the speeches interpreted from English into German in section 4.5 yielded 28 concordance lines each containing one of the five collocations identified as typical of English communicative norms: *und so weiter* occurred five times, *das Ganze* eight times, *sozusagen* five times, *eigentlich* seven times, and *insgesamt* occurred three times in corpus (b). In the present chapter, these 28 segments are compared to the corresponding English concordance lines retrieved from corpus (d) by making use of the parallel concordance programme ParaConc, which displays the relevant original and the interpreted segments as aligned pairs when queried for a search term.

Once the SL segments on which the relevant interpretations are based have been identified, the relationship that holds between both versions is described in order to arrive at a conclusion as to whether the inclusion of a particular TL expression was motivated by a corresponding SL collocation, or whether different types of relationships hold between an original and its interpretation. In accordance with the approach endorsed by Descriptive Translation Studies, it is therefore assumed that a relationship of translational equivalence holds between both versions. All interpreted segments that

contain one of the relevant collocations and the respective SL concordance lines are discussed below in separate sections according to the reasons that appear to have motivated the inclusion of the collocations in the TL products.

Section 5.2 below deals with the TL segments from corpus (b) that contain those German collocations whose inclusion in the interpreter's output seems to have been prompted by equivalent collocations in the corresponding SL speeches. This first part is then followed by six subsequent sections which each contain instances in which the relevant TL expressions appear to have been inserted by the interpreters in order to facilitate the interpreting task or to overcome certain problems, and where the relevant collocation consequently forms part of an interpreting strategy such as stalling, repair, syntactic transformation, approximation, completion of a list, chunking or expansion. In interpreting studies, strategies have been described as "methods that are potentially conducive to solving particular problems encountered by interpreters or generally facilitating the interpreter's task and preventing potential problems" (Bartłomiejczyk 2006, 152) In the relevant segments below (i.e. sections 5.3-5.8), no formally equivalent SL collocation can be considered to have been responsible for the inclusion of the TL expressions in the interpreters' output and it may hence be assumed that the interpreters have produced the collocations under study as part of an interpreting strategy.

5.2 Interference

Toury (1995, 275) defines interference in translated text as the transfer of "phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text [...] to the target text". According to Toury (1995, 275), interference can be either positive or negative: The term negative interference describes cases in which the TT's patterns that have been transferred from an original ST deviate from normally accepted TL behaviour; in the case of positive interference, on the other

hand, the phenomena transferred from the source to the target text are indistinguishable from normally accepted TL behaviour. Pöchhacker (1992, 176) describes interference with specific reference to interpreted discourse similarly as being "a well-known form of target-text contamination with source-cultural material".

The two German expressions that appear in the interpreted segments below have direct equivalents in the corresponding SL segments. It can therefore be argued that the interpreters have transferred the relevant SL patterns, which reflect English speakers' communicative preference for vaguer expressions, to their interpreted output. These two cases therefore qualify as manifestations of interference. Since the interpreted German do not deviate from generally accepted TL behaviour, they can be considered instances of positive interference.

(i) Source: Lambert, Situation in Bangladesh, 10 July 2008 (152 wpm)

are also included on it // this will already be an historic 15:50:50	**sort of** 15:50:52	achievement by uhm // the Pakistani authorities [15:50:53
itengruppen aufgenommen sind // und das wird dann 15:50:54	**sozusagen** 15:50:58	schon eine historische Errungenschaft sein für di 15:50:59

(ii) Source: Lambert, Situation in Bangladesh, 10 July 2008 (152 wpm)

said that the state of emergency is a technical issue 15:51:37	**as it were** 15:51:42	// to ensure that a government at least can continu 15:51:43
// einige haben gesagt // dass der Ausnahmezustand 15:51:44	**sozusagen** 15:51:47	ein technisches Thema ist // um sicherzustellen // 15:51:48

The above SL segments contain the collocations *sort of* and *as it were*. In both cases, the interpreters have rendered these typical English collocations into German using the TL expression *sozusagen*, which can be considered a direct equivalent of both SL collocations. The expression *sozusagen* was identified during the comparative analysis in section 4.5.3 of the previous chapter as an example of a case in which the law of interference could possibly have exerted an influence on the interpreters' behaviour, prompting

them to make more frequent use of this expression than the autonomously-speaking German MEPs. In the above two cases, the SL collocations *sort of* and *as it were* probably prompted the production of the equivalent TL expression *sozusagen* and therefore these two instances serve as evidence in favour of the law of interference. The above two examples are thus consistent with findings obtained by Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow (2008) and by Lamberger-Felber and Schneider (2008), both of whom rely on parallel corpora in order to identify instances of interference with regard to, amongst others, lexical items and grammatical structures in interpreted language.

However, the above examples are the only two cases in which the inclusion of a TL segment containing an expression identified during the comparative analysis as a possible product of the law of interference can be said to have been prompted by an equivalent SL expression. The remaining 26 segments follow below; they represent instances in which the inclusion of the relevant German expression in the interpreter's output is not based on a corresponding SL expression. In these cases, the inclusion of a particular expression in an interpreted German segment can therefore not be attributed to the influence of the law of interference. Instead, the interpreters appear to have chosen to include the expressions *und so weiter*, *das Ganze*, *sozusagen*, *eigentlich* and *insgesamt* in their output due to a variety of other reasons, for example in order to fill pauses while waiting for more SL input, to chunk up to a more general level, or to divide a long SL sentence into shorter units. The relevant examples are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

5.3 Own communicative management

Features of own communicative management (OCM) are usually employed by speakers whose aim it is to "regulate their own contributions to communicative interaction" (Allwood et al. 2000, n.p.). The types of expressions that are subsumed under OCM can carry out two types of

functions: they can be either choice-related and offer the speaker extra time in order to choose a subsequent expression, or they can be change-related and allow the speaker to manipulate already uttered expressions (Allwood et al. 2000, n.p.).

As SI constitutes a form of communicative interaction, it is conceivable that interpreters, too, frequently resort to both choice- and change-related OCM expressions; the use of such expressions could facilitate the interpreters' task. Simultaneous interpreters are, for example, often required to decide on appropriate TL wording that accurately expresses a SL speaker's intended meaning while at the same time maintaining uninterrupted output. Choice-related OCM features can be used in order to fill otherwise empty pauses and therefore provide extra time, which interpreters can then use while waiting for a disambiguation of the SL speaker's meaning or for finding satisfying TL expressions. Change-related expressions seem to have equally useful potential for simultaneous interpreters. After self-monitoring has taken place, or after new SL input has been received and disambiguated a message, an interpreter could feel that already produced TL output is unsatisfactory and requires repair or modification. Such modification can then be brought about through the addition of change-related OCM features that alter already produced contents.

Corpus (b) contains ten examples of interpreters having inserted certain German expressions in order to realise the communicative management of their own output without a corresponding English expression being present in the SL speech. In two of these instances, the expressions perform a choice-related function and in the remaining eight cases, the expressions have been added for change-related reasons. The TL expressions that have been used in order to achieve both choice- and change-related communicative management are *sozusagen* and *eigentlich*.

5.3.1 Choice-related OCM

According to some authors (e.g. Jones 1998, 130), interpreters should avoid producing empty hesitation pauses while either thinking of what to say next or waiting for additional input from the SL speaker. If such pauses do occur, they can cause the TL audience to "become impatient and lose confidence in the interpreter" (Jones 1998, 128). One way for interpreters to avoid the inclusion of lengthy pauses in their output is to insert what Kirchhoff (1976, 66) calls "additions to fill hesitation pauses". These additions for filling unwanted pauses can typically take the form of choice-related OCM features. It has indeed been shown that interpreters in practice rely on the addition of choice-related OCM features to their output in order to "gain time and manage processing capacity" (Wallmach 2004, 197) when working under high pressure.

The types of expressions used by interpreters as OCM features in order to gain time should ideally take the form of uninformative and neutral padding expressions in order to ensure that no new information is added to the message by the interpreter. *Sozusagen* and *eigentlich* are relatively neutral expressions that do not carry much significant information; they therefore appear to be suitable candidates for additions by interpreters who need to fill otherwise empty hesitation pauses in the TL product and to maintain continuous TL flow. In the two examples below, the interpreters have used these two expressions, *sozusagen* and *eigentlich*, as choice-related OCM features in order to fulfil this function.

(i) Source: Ludford, Mass graves in Kashmir, 10 July 2008 (135 wpm)

clear what this resolution is not // it's not		a rerun of the rather controversial and contentious report
15:37:58		15:38:01
was diese Entschließung nicht ist // es ist nicht	**sozusagen**	eine Neuauflage dieses Berichtes // dieses relativ
15:38:03	15:38:07	15:38:08

In the example (i) above, the interpreter inserted the German expression *sozusagen* into her output without an equivalent English expression, such as *in a way*, being present in the SL speech. This addition can be explained by

the interpreter's wish to gain more time to find an appropriate TL expression, or to maintain continuous output while waiting for more SL input. In this case, it seems most likely that the expression was added in order to enable the interpreter to fill a pause while thinking of a suitable TL equivalent to express the idea *a rerun [...] of the report*, and not while waiting to receive more SL input. The SL term *a rerun* is uttered by the SL speaker at an earlier time [15:38:01] while the interpreter uses the expression *sozusagen* much later [15:38:07], when the SL phrase *a rerun [...] of the report* has already been received. Comparing the timing of the original speech to that of the interpreted segment therefore confirms that the interpreter in this example needed additional time in order to retrieve an adequate TL expression.

(ii) Source: Parish, Animal transport, 15 Jan. 2009 (154 wpm)

two thousand and seven // the Commission should therefore		have received the first annual reports from the m
10:08:55		10:09:01
ndsieben in Kraft // deshalb hätte die Kommission	**eigentlich**	schon die ersten Jahresberichte von den Mitglieds
10:08:59	10:09:01	10:09:02

In the second example of choice-related OCM, the word *eigentlich* is added by the interpreter. In this case, however, it seems most likely that the interpreter has added the expression in order to fill a pause while waiting for more input from the SL speaker and not to gain time while thinking of a suitable TL expression. This appears to be the more plausible explanation since the expression *eigentlich* is uttered at exactly the same time [10:09:01] at which the SL noun phrase *first annual reports* is being received by the interpreter. The interpreter needs to receive this noun before continuing TL production as German syntactic rules require the object to appear directly after the subject of the sentence. The interpreter, having formulated the subject, is therefore forced to wait until this essential piece of information has been received before continuing TL production, and probably adds the choice-related OCM expression *eigentlich* in order to fill the ensuing pause.

In both of the above cases, the interpreters have therefore used the expressions *sozusagen* and *eigentlich* in order to regulate their own output and fill hesitation pauses while thinking of a satisfactory TL expression

(example i) or while waiting until more SL input is received (example ii). In the next section, examples of change-related OCM additions are examined.

5.3.2 Change-related OCM

Both *sozusagen* and *eigentlich* have also been employed by the interpreters in corpus (b) as OCM features with a change-related function. Here, the interpreters do not wish to fill hesitation pauses but have decided to manipulate or repair output that has already been produced and that they consider unsatisfactory, or have added one of the two expressions in order to tone down the type of language used by a SL speaker. Once again, no equivalent English expressions appear in the parallel SL segments.

- **Repair**

According to Kohn and Kalina (1996, 130), interpreters resort to the repair strategy when incoming information contradicts the interpreter's hypothesis with regard to the possible meaning of an anticipated segment. Bartłomiejczyk (2006, 161) states that repair takes place after an interpreter has realised "that something s/he has already said is a misrepresentation of the meaning intended by the SL speaker [or] when the interpreter has a better idea for expressing something that has already been formulated". Due to time constraints and the gradually unfolding nature of the SL input, both of the above situations to occur frequently in SI, resulting in the repeated application of repair strategies. Repair of already produced TL speech can be facilitated by the addition of change-related OCM features since such features "help[...] the speaker to change already produced content" (Allwood et al. 2000, n.p.). In the following two examples, the interpreters realise the modification of already produced content that is assessed as unsatisfactory through the insertion of the change-related expression *sozusagen* in their output.

(iii) Source: Matsakis, Situation in Bangladesh, 10 July 2008 (149 wpm)

// on the planet // and one whose physical integrity		has an expiry date // since // if the curse of global warming
15:52:59		15:53:02
aneten // und ein Land // dessen äh äh Integrität	**sozusagen**	// die territoriale Integrität mit einem Verfallsdatum versehen
15:53:05	15:53:10	15:53:11

In the example above, the interpreter has difficulty finding a TL formulation that adequately expresses the English phrase *physical integrity*, which appears in the SL segment. The interpreter's uncertainty with regard to this phrase is evident from his hesitation in the form of *äh äh* earlier in this segment. He then decides to render the phrase into German using the word *Integrität*, but appears to be dissatisfied with this rendering. The word *sozusagen* is therefore added as part of a repair strategy in order to modify the meaning of the word *Integrität* after it has already been produced. Furthermore, the insertion of the word *sozusagen* also serves to introduce a second repair strategy, namely a second attempt to interpret the SL phrase *physical integrity*. This phrase is now rendered into German as *territoriale Integrität*. The interpreter has suddenly had a different, better idea for the interpretation of *physical integrity* and has decided to repair his initial rendering of the phrase by replacing it with another version, which he presumably considers to be superior to the first alternative.

(iv) Source: Ludford, Mass graves in Kashmir, 10 July 2008 (135 wpm)

two thousand and six // but I think two things prompted		the urgency request // and one was the report
15:38:39		15:38:45
worde sind // aber zweierlei // haben dafür plädiert //	**sozusagen**	// dass wir das als Dringlichkeit drannehmen //
15:38:50	15:38:51	15:38:52

As in the previous example, the interpreter here appears to have had difficulty retrieving a TL equivalent for the SL word *prompted* and therefore decides to approximate its meaning using the German word *plädiert* in her TL rendering. However, the interpreter appears not to be entirely satisfied with this word being used as a TL counterpart for the SL term *prompted*. She hence decides to add the expression *sozusagen*, which allows the interpreter

to regulate her own output by modifying or weakening the meaning of the already produced TL word *plädiert*. The addition of this change-related OCM expression therefore serves as a repair strategy since it changes the meaning of content that has already been articulated.

In examples (iii) and (iv), the interpreters apply repair strategies after self-monitoring and further SL input have revealed that TL renderings which have already been formulated are unsatisfactory. In both cases, the addition of the change-related OCM expression *sozusagen* by the interpreters forms part of the application of such repair strategies.

- **Toning down**

Kenny (1998, 520) analyses texts translated from English into German and describes cases in which "the translation is somehow tamer than the original, or [...] paints a less bleak picture of a situation than did the original". The TT is thus characterised by a different attitude than the ST: it appears to have been toned down. In the following six examples, the addition of the change-related expression *eigentlich* similarly seems to have been motivated by interpreters' desire to tone down their TL product. The interpreters in these examples appear to have had no difficulty in correctly transferring the message of the SL speech; however, they decided to add a change-related expression as a hedging device in order to tone down SL input that expresses an original speaker's relatively controversial opinion or belief.

(v) Source: Martin, FTA with South Korea, 14 Sept. 2009 (184 wpm)

perhaps of Daniel Caspari's contribution // uh it's been		rather negative // I // was the parliamentary operator
22:07:20		22:07:23
hier // wie die Aussprache verläuft // es war ja	**eigentlich**	alles eher negativ // ich war der Berichterstatte
22:07:22	22:07:24	22:07:25

(vi) Source: Martin, FTA with South Korea, 14 Sept. 2009 (184 wpm)

what we asked them to // achieve // and I'd like to		pay tribute to // the chief negotiator who is seated
22:07:38		22:07:41
gen gerecht geworden ist // dafür möchte ich mich	**eigentlich**	äh bedanken // äh bei Wernus Ashton und bei äh ih
22:07:43	22:07:44	22:07:45

(vii) Source: Martin, Counterfeiting, 17 Dec. 2008 (170 wpm)

authors // artists // and researchers // a fair return		on their toiling and investments // there are the
23:09:57		23:10:00
scher bekommen nicht äh das zugestanden was ihnen	**eigentlich**	zusteht // äh und Frau Wortmann-Kohl hat äh es ge
23:10:02	23:10:05	23:10:06

(viii) Source: Higgins, Results of the referendum in Ireland, 07 Oct. 2009 (160 wpm)

Ireland // in the referendum // the Irish people were		threatened // by a major coalition of the political
17:12:25		17:12:27
ungen die es gegeben hat // aber die äh Iren sind	**eigentlich**	bedroht worden [wer] worden von einer großen Mehr
17:12:24	17:12:29	17:12:30

(ix) Source: Dodds, Results of the referendum in Ireland, 07 Oct. 2009 (141 wpm)

a referendum // just as each and every European nation		should be // on the full and complete text of the
18:06:24		18:06:27
bekommen // so wie jede europäische Nation // das	**eigentlich**	auch haben sollte // und man sollte auch den voll
18:06:26	18:06:29	18:06:30

(x) Source: Dodds, Results of the referendum in Ireland, 07 Oct. 2009 (141 wpm)

the second of October two thousand and nine is		equally as harmful on the second of October two
18:05:55		18:05:59
am zweiten Oktober zweitausendneun und das ist	**eigentlich**	genauso [genau-so] schädlich noch am zweiten Okto
18:06:03	18:06:04	18:06:05

In the above SL segments, the relevant speakers all address contentious issues and express in a relatively direct manner opinions that are clearly not shared by other MEPs. In examples (v) and (vi), most preceding speakers in the debate have expressed their discontent with the outcome of the

negotiations under discussion. Martin, however, wishes to thank the chief negotiator for the results he has achieved and therefore contradicts most of the preceding speakers. Example (vii) forms part of a debate during which the effects of counterfeiting are discussed. While some speakers consider it a victimless and hence harmless crime, Martin wishes to emphasise the serious consequences of counterfeiting. In example (viii), while many MEPs are pleased with the outcome of the second Irish referendum, Higgins maintains that the Irish people were threatened into voting in favour of the Treaty. Most of the speakers in examples (ix) and (x) have expressed their support of the Lisbon Treaty; Dodds, on the other hand, feels that every member country should have had the opportunity of voting in a referendum and that the treaty is in fact harmful to British national interests.

All of the above speeches thus contain controversial viewpoints, dealing with disputed issues such as the Lisbon Treaty. The SL speakers state their opinions in a rather direct manner and openly oppose and contradict preceding speakers. The interpreters, on the other hand, produce a toned down version of the SL speech by adding the change-related OCM feature *eigentlich*, which takes some of the force out of the SL message and ensures that no listener feels openly attacked. It is conceivable that the interpreters consider it necessary to produce TL speech that is acceptable for their audience, and have hence chosen to add the expression *eigentlich* as a hedging device. This phenomenon could be related to interpreters' "feeling towards the task" (Bartłomiejczyk 2006, 159) as interpreters could feel that it is inappropriate for them to utter output that will be perceived as unpleasant by some of the participants in the discussion. By producing more acceptable, toned down TL output, the interpreters also act in a risk-averse manner (Pym 2007, 189). The addition of the expression *eigentlich* in the above six cases has hence been motivated by interpreters' desire to tone down a controversial SL message.

In all ten of the examples discussed in this section, interpreters have chosen to introduce an expression such as *sozusagen* or *eigentlich* into their TL output in order to realise their own communicative management. Although

the segments have been divided into choice- and change-related additions according to the function performed by the OCM feature, it is not always possible to determine with certainty which of the additions have been motivated by choice- and which by change-related considerations, that is, whether an interpreter has added an expression in order to gain time for finding an adequate TL phrase, or in order to modify utterances that have already been produced. The following segment exemplifies this problem.

// on the planet // and one whose physical integrity		has an expiry date // since // if the curse of gl
aneten // und ein Land // dessen äh äh Integrität	**sozusagen**	// die territorale Integrität mit einem Verfallsd

The interpreter might have added *sozusagen* in order to gain time in order to retrieve the TL phrase *territoriale Integrität*, or he could have used the expression in order to modify the preceding word *Integrität*. This example has here been discussed as an example of a change-related addition due to the interpreter's intonation, which indicates that *sozusagen* and the preceding word *Integrität* are meant to form part of the same intonation unit. It is thus more likely that *sozusagen* is intended to relate to *Integrität* and act as a change-related item for this word.

Although it is not always possible to clearly distinguish between choice- and change-related OCM features, the above ten additions enable interpreters to regulate their TL contributions to the communicative interaction. These occurrences of *sozusagen* and *eigentlich* can therefore not be ascribed to interference from equivalent collocations, such as *in a way* and *in a sense*, in the SL speech but are the product of interpreters' need to manage their own output by either filling empty pauses, repairing unsatisfactory TL renderings or toning down potentially unpleasant SL messages.

5.4 Syntactic transformation

Bartłomiejczyk (2006, 162) describes an interpreting strategy which she names “syntactic transformation”. Syntactic transformation takes place when an interpreter uses syntactic constructions in their output that depart from the SL speech’s syntax (Bartłomiejczyk 2006, 162).

One form of syntactic transformation is segmentation. When a SL speaker expresses him- or herself using long, complex sentences, it becomes impossible for an interpreter to reliably anticipate the speaker’s intention (Jones 1998, 101). Interpreters are then forced to start formulating their TL renderings “before they have a full picture of what the speaker wants to say” (Gile 1995, 196). In order to overcome this problem, interpreters often “divide up the speaker’s sentences into a number of short, self-contained ones and then link them as appropriate” (Jones 1998, 101). Such short TL segments allow interpreters not to commit themselves to one specific structure and are particularly useful in order to reduce memory load, especially when the source and TLs are syntactically different or when the SL speech contains embedded structures (Gile 1995, 196). According to Kohn and Kalina (1996, 131), such linguistic simplification or sentence splitting strategies are usually employed by interpreters in order to enable them to cope with a high degree of ST complexity, which is often witnessed at international conferences where speeches have been carefully prepared in advance.

English syntax differs significantly from that of the German language and consequently, the examples below confirm that German interpreters confronted with complex SL discourse regularly divide long SL sentences into shorter TL segments. The addition of the quantifying expression *das Ganze* in each of these examples is necessitated by the need to supply a subject for each of these independent TL units.

(i) Source: Stevenson, Animal transport, 15 Jan. 2009 (143 wpm)

// the eight hour mandatory time limit for animals in transport // was agreed // in December two thousand and four // and		
10:14:08		
		entered into force in January two thousand and seven //
		10:14:15
es gab ja eine Zeitgrenze von acht Stunden auf die man sich in Dezember zweitausendvier geeinigt hatte // Zeitgrenze für		
10:14:10		
Tiertransporte //	**das Ganze**	trat im Januar zweitausendsieben in Kraft // und
	10:14:17	

In example (i), the English speaker produces a SL sentence consisting of two clauses; the subject, *the eight hour mandatory time limit for animals in transport*, is mentioned only once at the beginning of the first clause but serves as subject for the second part of the sentence, too. The speaker does, probably due to its length and time-saving considerations, not repeat this subject at the beginning of the second clause and instead leaves an ellipsis. The interpreter applies a segmentation strategy and chooses to divide this long SL sentence into two shorter, self-contained TL units. As a result, it becomes impossible for her to reproduce the SL speech's ellipsis. However, repeating the long subject used in the first sentence, *eine Zeitgrenze von acht Stunden für Tiertransporte*, would imply wasting a lot of time and the interpreter therefore decides to insert the much shorter noun *das Ganze* to serve as subject for her second TL sentence and refer the listener back to the subject of the first sentence.

(ii) Source: Martin, Counterfeiting, 17 Dec. 2008 (170 wpm)

third countries // that encourage or uh turn a blind eye //	**to counterfeiting**	// and fail to protect the intellectual property
23:10:31	23:10:34	23:10:35
der die äh // diese Produktfälschung zulassen	**dem Ganzen**	ein blindes Auge zuwenden // und ähm zulassen das
23:10:34	23:10:37	23:10:38

In example (ii), the addition of *dem Ganzen* is similarly the result of a different segmentation in the interpreter's TL output. The SL speaker uses two verb phrases, both of which relate to the object *counterfeiting*, in the same SL segment. The interpreter, on the other hand, splits this SL sentence into two

units and hence needs to supply an object for the second TL segment. The interpreter possibly feels that a repetition of the object *Produktfälschung*, which is already used in the previous segment, would be undesirable for stylistic reasons or because of its length, and therefore decides to insert the *dem Ganzen* to act as object in the second TL segment created by her.

(iii) Source: Crowley, The EU in the Middle East, 18 Feb. 2009 (151 wpm)

// now either its negligence // misinformation // or		deliberate targeting // but one way or the other // it is an
15:55:50		15:55:53
Nachlässigkeit // falsche // Information oder man hat **das Ganze**		// zielgerichtet so // vorgenommen und bombardier
15:55:52	15:55:56	15:55:57

The above SL clause contains the three nouns *negligence*, *misinformation* and *deliberate targeting*. The German interpreter decides to depart from the syntax of the SL sentence and to divide the SL's single clause into two TL units. In this process, the noun phrase of the second TL segment, *deliberate targeting*, is transformed into an adjective and a verb, namely *zielgerichtet so vorgenommen*. This change in syntactic structure makes it necessary for the interpreter to supply a new noun for her second TL segment, resulting in the addition of the expression *das Ganze*.

(iv) Source: Martin, FTA with South Korea, 14 Sept. 2009 (184 wpm)

there are big winners in Europe // and there are big winners in Korea //		
22:08:00		
and therefore there are	**big winners**	in keeping world trade moving // and at this curr
22:08:03	22:08:04	
wird es hier große Gewinner in Europa und große Gewinner in Südkorea geben //		
22:08:03		
deswegen wird	**das Ganze**	// äh auch äh die Dinge voranbringen // und in di
22:08:06	22:08:07	

The SL speaker in example (iv) uses the phrase *big winners* in order to express his belief that great achievements in favour of world trade have been made. The interpreter paraphrases this metaphoric use of *big winners* by explaining that the free trade agreement with South Korea will "get things

going". The metaphoric SL noun phrase *big winners* is omitted from the TL version and hence a new noun has to be supplied for this clause by the interpreter. The interpreter therefore decides to add the quantifying expression *das Ganze* in order to function as the noun for the new TL segment. The addition of *das Ganze* is in this case thus motivated by the interpreter's paraphrasing strategy, which in turn results in a change of the SL speech's syntactic parallelism.

The above occurrences of *das Ganze* have thus not been prompted by equivalent SL structures, such as *the whole thing*, which would have provided evidence in support of the law of interference. Instead, the expression has been added by interpreters who have decided to "express the meaning of the original message using a different syntactic construction" (Bartłomiejczyk 2006, 162). The interpreters needed to supply a suitable noun for a new TL clause created after the segmentation of a long and complex SL sentence into shorter TL units. The above four additions of the quantifying expression *das Ganze* are therefore the result of segmentation strategies applied by interpreters in order to reduce memory load and paraphrase SL messages.

5.5 Approximation

Bartłomiejczyk (2006, 160) finds evidence of an interpreting strategy she calls approximation, which involves the replacement of a SL word with a TL counterpart that is not considered "ideal" by the interpreter, but is close in meaning to the SL word. Kohn and Kalina (1996, 130) maintain that interpreters who make use of this strategy do so by resorting to the "nearest possible" solution. Approximation is applied in cases in which the interpreter is unable to recall a more ideal TL counterpart and therefore needs to resort to an alternative expression. Consequently, Bartłomiejczyk (2006, 168) mainly discovers instances of approximation in the data of interpreters

working into their B language. Gerver (2002, 54) likewise notes the use of "approximate or less precise responses" in simultaneously interpreted output, a strategy which he terms "substitutions". A choice in favour of the strategy of approximation is probably often motivated by Gile's rule of "self-protection", according to which interpreters tend not to "give away or highlight [...] problems" (Gile 1995, 203) they experience. Three instances of approximation occur in corpus (b); the first three of them involve the addition of the qualifying expression *insgesamt* while *als Ganzes* is added in the last example.

(i) Source: McGuinness, Crisis in the dairy farming sector, 17 Sept. 2009 (173 wpm)

ce // we are going to have to // think more coherently 09:34:17	**as a group** 09:34:20	// and give clear signals to farmers // rather than 09:34:21
abon die Mitentscheidung haben // dann müssen wir 09:34:17	**insgesamt** 09:34:21	kohärenter denken // und eine klare Botschaft ans 09:34:22

In this example, the interpreter replaces the SL phrase *as a group* with *insgesamt* in her TL output although this is possibly not considered the ideal TL counterpart. As a result, continuous and meaningful TL output is maintained; however, the meaning of the SL segment is slightly altered.

(ii) Source: Hall, Energy security, 17 Sept. 2009 (134 wpm)

take candescent light bulbs off the European market // 11:09:26		will save the **equivalent** of the annual electricity ge 11:09:29
gibt // aber ... es ist dann doch so // dass wir äh 12:09:31	**insgesamt** 11:09:34	äh durch die neuen Glühbirnen äh so viel sparen kön 11:09:35

(iii) Source: Hall, Energy security, 17 Sept. 2009 (134 wpm)

light bulbs the European market // will save the 11:09:27	**equivalent**	of the annual electricity generation of Finland // this 11:09:31
die neuen Glühbirnen äh so viel sparen können wie 11:09:35	**insgesamt** 11:09:38	in Finnland pro Jahr // ähm benutzt wird // also wir m 11:09:38

In examples (ii) and (iii), the interpreter has chosen to add the word *insgesamt* to the TL output although no equivalent word appears in the SL speech. This interpreter was possibly unable to retrieve a more suitable TL term for *equivalent*, such as *die gleiche Menge* or *genauso viel*, and hence tried to approximate the meaning of the term by substituting *insgesamt*. Once again, the meaning of the resulting TL segment slightly differs from that of the SL speech. However, the substituted expression is meaningful in this context and the audience's attention is hence not drawn to the interpreter's problem.

(iv) Source: Ludford, Mass graves in Kashmir, 10 July 2008 (135 wpm)

circumscribed focus // and does not talk about 15:40:01	**the whole issue** 15:40:04	**of Kashmir** // Thank you // madam President // uhm I very 15:40:05
d es geht ja nicht um **Kashmir** an und für sich 15:40:06	**als Ganzes** 15:40:09	// Danke Frau Präsidentin // ich begrüße sehr die // positive

The SL phrase *the whole issue of Kashmir* in the last segment is approximated in the interpreter's version by *Kashmir [...] als Ganzes*. This TL phrase does not express the exact same idea as the original message did but it enables the interpreter to continue TL production in a manner that makes sense in the context of this speech.

The above four approximations therefore enable the interpreters to maintain continuous and meaningful TL output in cases in which they are unable to recall a particular TL expression. As a result, the meaning of the SL segment is slightly changed while possible problems experienced by the interpreters are concealed from the audience. As the expressions *insgesamt* and *das Ganze* is not introduced into these TL segments based on equivalent SL collocations in the parallel English segments, the occurrences of this expression in corpus (b) cannot be ascribed to the law of interference.

5.6 Completing a list

Speakers often draw on enumerations or lists of elements which merely serve as examples and are irrelevant for the meaning of the overall message. Jones (1998, 112) argues that it is an acceptable interpreting strategy in such cases to replace the specific examples in the list with a more generic term, especially if the SL speaker is very fast and the interpreter needs to save time or is unable to recall every single item in the list. Under such circumstances, an interpreter might decide to render only those elements he or she recalls and then add a vagueness tag, such as *und so weiter* or *etcetera*, which serves to complete the list by implying any remaining examples that have been left unmentioned. In the four examples that follow below, the interpreters appear to have acted according to this principle: The SL speeches contain enumerations which consist of one or several examples and the German interpreters have added vagueness tags such as *und so weiter* and *und alles* to their TL output.

(i) Source: Kirkhope, Results of the referendum in Ireland, 07 Oct 2009 (185 wpm)

you want // if the term constitution proves unpopular	**and unacceptable**	it's given a fresh wrapping // so past rejections can
15:16:53	15:16:57	15:16:58
h schenkt // ja // wenn äh da etwas unpopulär ist	**und so weiter**	dann wird einfach noch einmal abgestimmt // und w
15:16:55	15:17:00	15:17:01

In the above case, the SL speaker mentions two adjectives that serve as attributes to describe the Irish public's feelings towards the term *constitution*, namely *unpopular* and *unacceptable*. The interpreter applies the strategy described above and only transfers the first of these items, *unpopulär*, into the TL. She then completes the list by adding the vagueness tag *und so weiter*, which implies any other possible descriptions of the Irish people's negative attitude towards a European constitution and hence completes the list in a more general, implicit way.

(ii) Source: Hannan, Civil liberties committee, 10 July 2008 (181 wpm)

just as the employment committee is the last place to defend employment // just as the fisheries department is the last place to		
09:53:49		
defend fisheries //	**so**	[microphone switched off] // Thank you madam
	09:53:54	
auch der Fischereiausschuss // da wird Fischerei nicht verteidigt // im Beschäftigungsausschuss wird die Beschäftigung nicht		
09:53:58		
verteidigt //	**und so weiter**	// Ja wir schlagen vor // äh dass äh // dies hier
	09:54:02	

(iii) Source: Crowley, The EU in the Middle East, 18 Feb. 2009 (151 wpm)

under the derogatory terms of terrorism and reactionary		// and thirdly and most importantly of all // despite
15:54:05		15:54:10
wird gleich wieder der Reaktionismus Terrorismus	**und alles**	mit reingebracht in die Diskussion und dann // de
15:54:10	15:54:12	15:54:13

Examples (ii) and (iii) each contain lists consisting of two elements and in both cases, the interpreters have chosen to add a vagueness tag, *und so weiter* and *und alles* respectively, to their TL output despite the fact that they were able to correctly transfer both elements in the list. Apart from these additions, the interpreters have also changed the order of the items in the list. Changing the order of elements in an enumeration is a recognised interpreting strategy described by several authors, such as Gile (1995, 196) and Bartłomiejczyk (2006, 160). In the case of example (ii), the SL speaker first refers to *the employment committee* and then mentions *the fisheries department*; in the interpreter's version of this enumeration *der Fischereiausschuss* appears before *der Beschäftigungsausschuss*, followed by *und so weiter*. The SL speaker in example (iii) first lists *terrorism* and then *reactionary;* the TT, however, contains *Reaktionismus* as the first and *Terrorismus* as the second item in the list.

Since all enumerated elements have been correctly transferred into the TL in both cases, the addition of the vagueness tags *und so weiter* and *und alles* does not appear to have been motivated by any prevailing memory- or time-related problems and might therefore have been applied by the interpreters

as a precautionary measure, i.e. because they anticipated that more items were likely to follow, causing potential problems. Indeed, Gile (1995, 194) lists this strategy under “preventive tactics”, which are employed when “the interpreter believes a problem may arise or is about to occur: (Gile 1995, 194).

Example (iii) furthermore constitutes a special case in that the SL speaker is prevented from finishing his contribution because his microphone is switched off in the middle of a sentence. It is possible that the interpreter wishes to finish her sentence and hence chooses to add the vagueness tag *und so weiter* in order to avoid producing output that contains incomplete sentences, which could be perceived as a bad interpreting performance by the TL audience.

(iv) Source: Watson, Engergy security, 17 Sept. 2009 (174 wpm)

the only big idea // is the switch to renewables // wind 10:56:31		could meet all the new electricity demand in China 10:56:35
gang zu erneuerbaren Energien äh gehen // äh Wind 10:56:35	**und so weiter** 10:56:40	kann wirklich auch für China zum Beispiel sinnvoll 10:56:40

In this final example, the SL speaker only mentions one item, namely *wind*, as an example of the renewable energies he wishes to promote. The interpreter accurately renders this item into the TL; however, he also decides to add the vagueness tag *und so weiter* to the TL list, implying that other forms of renewable energy generation could have been included in the list, too. Since the relevant SL item is correctly transferred into the TL, this strategy is, once again, not used in order solve a time- or memory related problem but is probably the result of a precautionary measure as the interpreter expected more items to follow, which could potentially have created subsequent problems. The addition of *und so weiter* by the interpreter hence serves as a “preventive tactic” which limits the interpreter’s potential risk of failure (Gile 1995, 194).

These four occurrences of the vagueness tags *und so weiter* and *und alles* in corpus (b) are clearly not the result of the law of interference as no equivalent SL collocations can be identified in the corresponding SL speeches. The parallel analysis above reveals that the relevant collocations have instead been introduced into the interpreters' output as part of a preventive strategy in order to avoid possible failure. Confronted with the beginning of a list, interpreters fear that time- or memory related problems may possibly ensue and therefore introduce one of the above vagueness tags in order to avoid the occurrence of such problems.

5.7 Chunking

Katan (1999, 146) encourages the use of a strategy which he calls "chunking" and which enables translators and interpreters to move from one cultural reality to another. According to Katan (1999, 147), chunking basically means changing the size of a unit; it can take place either in an upwards direction, that is, from a specific to a more general or superordinate concept in order to find culture-inclusive frames, or downwards from a general to a more specific item, or hyponym, allowing the translator to gain a better understanding of a concept's semantic field. Thirdly, it is also possible to chunk sideways "to find equivalent frames in the target culture" (Katan 1999, 147). Baker (1992, 26) notes the usefulness of this strategy in overcoming problems of non-equivalence at word level, such as instances in which the TL lacks a specific term. Three of the German segments identified in chapter 4 illustrate the use of chunking strategies by interpreters. In the first two instances, the interpreters have chunked up to a more general word; in the last case the interpreter has chosen to chunk down to a more specific item.

5.7.1 Chunking up

Katan (1999, 147) believes that chunking up is a skill that is needed by translators and interpreters during the process of cultural mediation in order to find frames with which parties belonging to either culture are familiar. When interpreters chunk up, they replace a relatively specific expression in the SL with a more general, or superordinate term in the TL. This is usually done because the specific concept referred to in the ST is not known or similarly lexicalised in the recipient culture; the TL hence lacks an equivalent term (Baker 1992, 26). Klaudy's (1995, 149–151) study of translations between Hungarian and Indo-European languages shows that translators of written texts chunk up to more general concepts in cases in which source and TLs appear to make different distinctions in meaning or when culture-specific words are involved. Gile (1995, 197) argues that as it is not very time-consuming, the same strategy is often used by interpreters who are unable to understand or reformulate a particular SL segment. In the two instances below, the interpreters have chunked up from a specific SL term or phrase to the more general TL expression *das Ganze*.

(i) Source: Martin, Counterfeiting, 17 Dec. 2008 (170 wpm)

and as flexible as he could be // firstly on the // scale	**of counterfeiting**	// Mr Susta gave us some global figures // just
23:08:33	23:08:36	23:08:37
gt // nun geht's erstmal um die Größenordnung	**des Ganzen**	// Herr Susta hat da einige großen Zahlen angegebe
23:08:38	23:08:40	23:08:41

In example (i), the interpreter chunks up from a SL term with a very specific technical meaning, *counterfeiting*, to the much more general TL word *des Ganzen*. The process of chunking is applied by the interpreter despite the fact that the SL concept *counterfeiting* is in fact lexicalised in the TL in the form of the German term *Fälschung*. This instance of chunking up is thus not motivated by different distinctions in meaning or by the culture-specificity of a word, as was the case in Klaudy's (1995, 149–151) study of written translations; hence there must be different reasons for the use of this strategy in the above example. Since the term *counterfeiting* here occurs for

the first time in this speech and as the SL speaker is speaking at a relatively fast pace, it is conceivable that the interpreter is temporarily unable to recall the German equivalent *Fälschung* and for this reason decides to substitute the more general quantifying expression *des Ganzen* in order to maintain continuous TL output without committing herself to a wrong TL term. This expression is much more general in meaning and hence more readily available to the interpreter working under time pressure.

(ii) Source: Kamall, Galileo satellite system, 10 July 2008 (220 wpm)

ican envy and we meet to politics // let us scrap this	**complete nonsense** // and let us save the taxpayers' money and return	
10:07:44	10:07:46	10:07:47
nkommen // und ich denke wir sollten wirklich	**das Ganze**	vergessen // und uns auf eine sehr viel bessere Tech
10:07:52	10:07:57	10:07:58

The interpreter in the second example has also chosen to chunk up to a more general level, namely from *this complete nonsense* to *das Ganze*. As in the first example above, this instance of chunking up is probably not motivated by the lack of an equivalent TL word, as the SL phrase could have been expressed in German by something like *diesen völligen Blödsinn*. A possible explanation for the use of the strategy in this segment is that the interpreter might have felt it necessary to neutralise the relatively pejorative attitude of the SL phrase *this complete nonsense*. By replacing this phrase with *das Ganze* in the interpreted version, the interpreter ensures that the SL speaker's criticism of the Galileo satellite system is toned down and communicated in a more neutral, less depreciatory manner, thereby making it more acceptable for those listeners who voted in favour of the system.

The use of the chunking strategy in the above case corresponds to what Baker (1992, 28) calls "translation by a more neutral/less expressive word", a strategy which is often used for SL input that the translator considers to be "too openly disapproving" (Baker 1992, 29). The interpreter in this example could possibly have felt that the production of such openly disapproving TL speech is inappropriate; the substituted expression *das Ganze* does not contain any value judgement about the matter under discussion. This

substitution of the more general and less expressive *das Ganze* for *this complete nonsense* therefore has a similar effect as did the additions of the qualifying expression *eigentlich* that were discussed as part of change-related OCM in section 5.3.2. In both cases, the interpreters appear to have preferred toning down openly disapproving SL input in order to produce less depreciatory TL output.

While it has been shown that the strategy of chunking up to a more general TL concept is used in written translation in order to overcome problems of non-equivalence at word level (Klaudy 1995, 149–151), the above two examples illustrate that the same strategy is sometimes used by interpreters, too, although for different reasons in the above two examples. The two interpreters responsible for the production of these two segments have decided to chunk up to a more general level despite the existence of equivalent TL phrases. They resorted to the use of the superordinate TL expression *das Ganze* due to their inability to find a direct TL equivalent under time pressure in the first case, and due to their desire to avoid uttering output that could be perceived as too openly disapproving by some of the participants in the second example. Because of the different constraints affecting written translation and SI respectively, simultaneous interpreters thus resort to this strategy under different circumstances, such as in the case of severe time pressure.

5.7.2 Chunking down

The process of chunking down involves moving from a general to a more specific word or hyponym and can, according to Katan (1999, 147), assist a translator in better understanding a concept's semantic field, which in turn provides "information on what gaps need to be filled when translating into any other language" (Katan 1999, 148). This strategy can also be applied when no appropriate equivalent for a SL superordinate exists in the TL, a situation which is discussed by Baker (1992, 22). In her study of written translations, Klaudy (1995, 146–148) observes several cases of "specification" or chunking down in texts translated from Hungarian into Indo-European

languages and vice versa. Once again, these shifts appear to have been motivated by differences in lexicalisation between the relevant languages. The same strategy is used once in corpus (b) of the present study and involves the replacement of *areas* in the SL speech with *Gebäude* plus the addition of the vagueness tag *und alles* in the interpreted version.

(iii) Source: Crowley, The EU in the Middle East, 18 Feb. 2009 (151 wpm)

Palestinian people // for the rebuilding of their 15:56:15	**areas** 15:56:17	// of course we must ensure and insist // that ta 15:56:18
Unterstützung bieten // damit die ihre // 15:56:18	**Gebäude und alles** 15:56:20	wieder aufbauen können // und natürlich mussen wi 15:56:21

In this last example, the interpreter chooses to replace the SL word *areas* with *Gebäude und alles* in her German output despite the fact that a more direct equivalent *Gebiete* would have been available in the TL, too. Differences in lexicalisation are therefore not the reason for the use of this strategy in the above case. It is possible that the interpreter was temporarily unable to recall this German word; however, she might also have decided to substitute the phrase G*ebäude und alles* for reasons of collocational restrictions. In English, the words *areas* and *rebuild* collocate well; in German, however, *aufbauen* and *Gebiete* do not commonly occur together. Its hyponym *Gebäude*, on the other hand, does collocate with *aufbauen* and the interpreter might here have chosen to prefer the more natural-sounding German collocation, thereby "avoid[ing] carrying over source-language collocational patterns which are untypical of the target language" as it is recommended by Baker (1992, 55).

Since G*ebäude* only represents one of several possible hyponyms of *areas*, the interpreter then decides to also add the vagueness tag *und alles*, which implies the inclusion of any other possible hyponyms of *areas* that are not explicitly mentioned. This instance of the vagueness tag *und alles* is thus added by the interpreter as part of a chunking down strategy applied in order to avoid an unnatural TL collocation, and not due to a lack of an equivalent superordinate in the TL, as is the case in the written translations analysed by

Klaudy (1995, 146–149). However, it can also be claimed that *und alles* is also used in order complete the list of items implicitly subsumed under *areas*; this example could therefore theoretically have been included under section 5.5, which deals with vagueness tags that have been added by interpreters in order to complete lists.

The above occurrences of *das Ganze* and *und alles* in corpus (b) have not been prompted by equivalent English collocations such as *the whole thing* or *and all that* and are therefore not the result of interference from the corresponding SL speeches. Instead, they are introduced into these three TL segments by interpreters who apply chunking strategies, moving either up to a more general or down to a more specific concept. Although the use of this strategy in the above segments is not prompted by problems of non-equivalence between the two languages, as is often the case in written translations, it here becomes necessary due to other constraints, such as severe time pressure, that apply only to SI.

5.8 Expansion

Bartłomiejczyk (2006, 160) observes the use a strategy in SI which she calls addition. Addition involves the introduction of information into the TL product that was not explicitly mentioned by the SL speaker; the inserted material often serves as an explanation for something that interpreter feels will not otherwise be understood by the TL audience (Bartłomiejczyk 2006, 160). In her data of renditions produced by dialogue interpreters, Wadensjö (2002, 358) likewise discovers instances in which the interpretation “includes some explicitly verbalized information in addition to what is explicitly expressed in the original utterance”. Wadensjö calls these interpretations “expanded renditions” and argues that they typically serve to “specify and/or disambiguate the referential and interactional meaning of a given original” (Wadensjö 2002, 359). Such an expansion or addition, which serves to

further clarify the contents of the SL message, occurs once in the corpus of speeches interpreted into German from English, namely in the form of the quantifying expression *das Ganze*.

(i) Source: Ford, Airlines passengers' rights, 05 May 2009 (192 wpm)

airlines do // cause frankly it seems to me //	**it's**	become a joke // Thank you very much // I mean maybe t
19:57:44	19:57:46	19:57:46
die Finger gesehen bekommen // denn sonst ist	**das Ganze**	ein Witz **was da auf dem Papier steht** // Danke /
19:57:50	19:57:52	19:57:53

The SL speaker in the example above merely refers to *it*; the interpreter, on the other hand, expands this pronoun to the TL phrase *das Ganze [...] was da auf dem Papier steht*. By inserting this noun phrase, the interpreter specifies, more explicitly than the SL speaker did, what the pronoun *it* is meant to refer to and the referential meaning of the SL item is disambiguated. The above TL segment can hence be considered the product of an interpreter's expansion strategy. The interpreter might have felt unsure as to whether the TL listeners will be able to identify the antecedent of the anaphoric reference *it* and therefore considered it necessary to make the reference more explicit by inserting additional information in the form of the German noun phrase *das Ganze [...] was da auf dem Papier steht*.

As this particular SL speech contains no reference to any type of document which could have led to the inclusion of the phrase *das Ganze [...] was da auf dem Papier steht* in the interpreter's output, it is possible that the interpreter relied on intertextual knowledge and used her familiarity with previous speeches in the debate which referred to such documents, in order to make the addition. Alternatively, the interpreter might have relied on her world knowledge in order to enable her to make this addition. An interpreter who resorts to his or her world knowledge "relate[s] the content of the original text to the interpreter's knowledge about a given realm" (Bartłomiejczyk 2006, 163). In the above case, the interpreter's world knowledge could have led her to assume that the rights of airline passengers are most probably codified in a formal, written document.

The above occurrence of *das Ganze* in corpus (b) can therefore be ascribed to an interpreter's use of the strategy of expansion. This strategy is used in order to clarify something in the interpretation that is not explicitly mentioned in the SL speech, and is achieved by means of world or intertextual knowledge. No equivalent English collocation occurs in the corresponding SL segment and the influence of the law of interference can hence be excluded.

Most occurrences of the five relevant collocations analysed in this study have thus been caused by reasons other than interference. Below, the findings regarding the different causes prompting the inclusion of these expressions are summarised.

5.9 Summary

The above parallel comparison between the TL speech segments identified in chapter 4 and their corresponding SL segments has demonstrated that in the majority of cases the inclusion of the relevant German expressions is not motivated by the presence of equivalent English expressions in the corresponding SL segments. As most of these TL occurrences are not based on the more frequent use of corresponding SL collocations in the English speeches, the higher frequency of certain of these expressions in the interpreted speeches cannot be ascribed to the law of interference. The parallel comparison between source and target language segments has revealed that only two of the interpreted segments are manifestations of the law of interference.

In the remaining cases, the relevant TL expressions appear to have been introduced into the interpreted output as part of the interpreters' use of certain strategies. The German interpreters have inserted the relevant expressions in order to gain time and fill pauses, to repair already produced output, to produce toned-down speech, depart from the SL speech's syntax,

replace or approximate unknown TL terms, complete enumerations and expand on information in the SL input. The parallel comparison between source and target language segments thus reveals that German interpreters apply interpreting techniques that are endorsed by authors on interpreting, for example Gile (1995), Jones (1998) and Katan (1999), and that have been discovered in studies on interpreted data carried out by researchers such as Kohn and Kalina (1996), Gerver (2002), Wallmach (2004), Bartłomiejczyk (2006) and Klaudy (1995). The application of an interpreting strategy is the motivation for the inclusion of a TL expression in 26 of the examples analysed in this chapter.

The figure below illustrates which of the expressions retrieved from corpus (b) during the comparable analysis were caused by interference, and which expressions were inserted into the interpreted output for what other reasons.

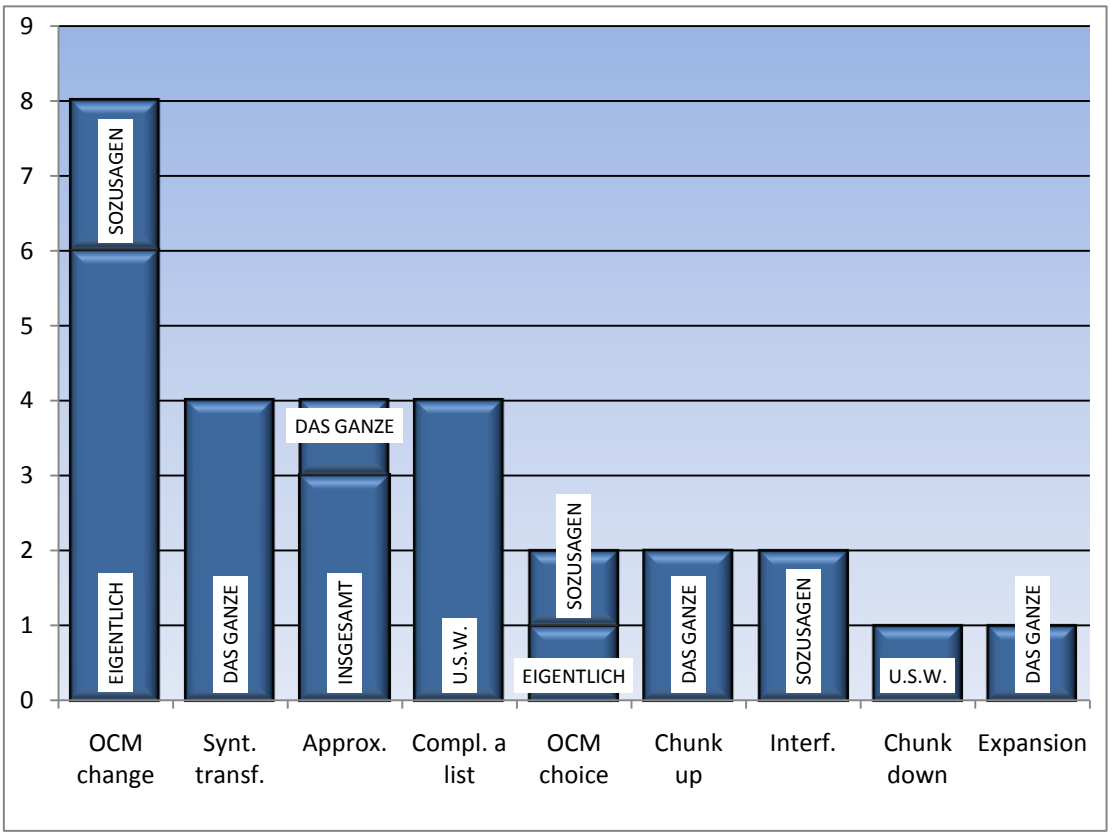

Figure 13: Reasons for the inclusion of relevant expressions in corpus (b)

By including one of the above expressions in their output, the interpreters are able to prevent or overcome problems; these expressions hence facilitate the interpreters' task. In addition, it appears that each of the above collocations, which all fulfil particular functions, is particularly prevalent in the realisation of one particular strategy.

5.9.1 Collocation/strategy correlations

The vagueness tags *und so weiter* and *und alles*, for example, "can be appended to lists and imprecise descriptions" when "real-time production leaves no room for precision" (Altenberg 1998, 118). This type of collocation is therefore mainly employed by interpreters who are confronted with enumerations in the SL speech; its use usually results in a TL product that is more imprecise and general than the corresponding SL speech. The quantifier *das Ganze* is a relatively vague and neutral expression and can hence be used when an interpreter decides to chunk up to a more general level in order to replace an unknown TL term. *Das Ganze* can also serve as a dummy noun when interpreters choose to split up long, complex SL sentences.

The above-mentioned strategies are normally employed by interpreters in order to save time and memory capacity; interpreters therefore mainly use the expressions *und so weiter* and *das Ganze* in order to address problems related to the availability of these resources. As a result of the introduction of *und so weiter* and *das Ganze* into the TL output, the interpreted speech becomes imprecise and general, as is characteristic of English discourse.

Qualifying expressions, such as *sozusagen* and *eigentlich*, facilitate "the need of speakers to be polite and express positive solidarity with their interlocutors" (Altenberg 1998, 118). In corpus (b), *sozusagen* is mainly employed in support of the interpreters' own communicative management, either in order to achieve a choice-related function such as gaining time in order to find satisfactory TL terms or for a change-related purpose such as the repair of already produced TL output. *Eigentlich*, too, is used for choice-

and change-related own communicative management during situations where interpreters need more time to retrieve a TL term or wish to tone down their output in order to express solidarity with the TL listeners. These two qualifying expressions are therefore mainly employed in cases where interpreters need to gain time and repair or tone down their product; they thus enable interpreters to regulate their own output. The introduction of these two expressions into the TL product results in interpreted language that is more neutral in tone than the corresponding SL speech.

The qualifying expression *insgesamt* appears to have been employed solely in the case of interpreters' approximations and is therefore linked to the use of only one specific interpreting strategy.

Cases of interference can be observed twice and with regard to the inclusion of only one of the expressions analysed, namely the qualifying expression *sozusagen*. None of the other four expressions is included in corpus (b) because of an equivalent SL collocation in the original speech.

5.9.2 Interference

The frequencies of the two expressions *das Ganze* and *sozusagen* in the previous chapter point towards possible manifestations of the law of interference. These two expressions occurred considerably more frequently in the German interpreters' output than in non-interpreted German speech, or at least show a trend towards more frequent occurrence. However, the two figures below demonstrate that the majority of occurrences of these expressions have been prompted by reasons other than an equivalent SL collocation in the original English speech.

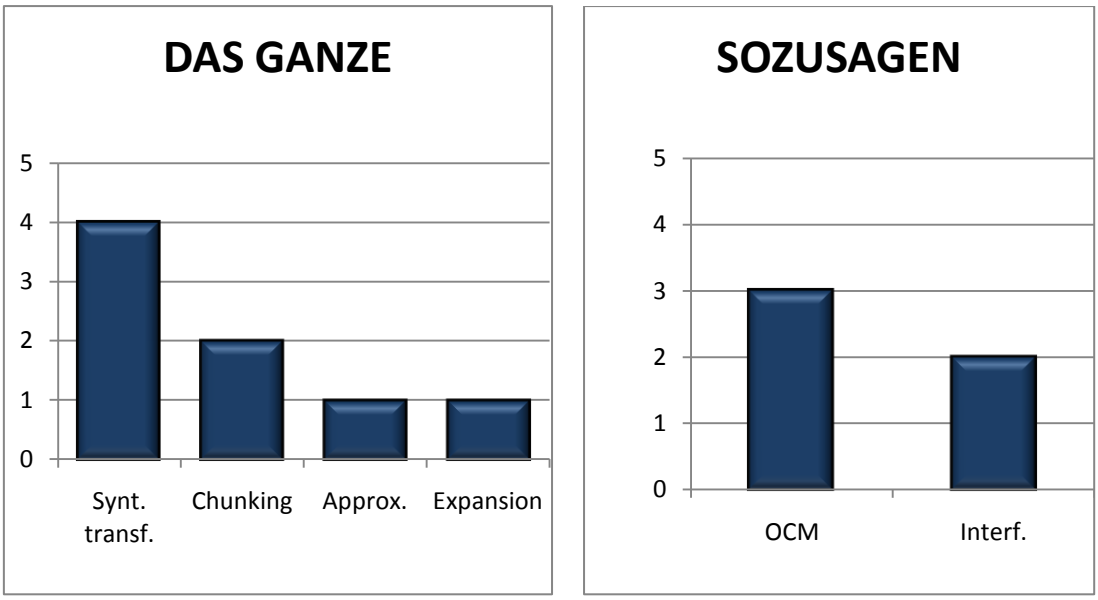

Figure 14: Inclusion of *das Ganze* and *sozusagen*

None of the occurrences of the quantifier *das Ganze* can be linked to interference. The inclusion of the qualifying expression *sozusagen* is prompted by interference in only two of five cases; the majority of the occurrences of this expression is motivated by other causes. The parallel analysis does therefore not confirm the hypothesis that the higher frequencies of these two expressions in the interpreted data are manifestations of the law of interference.

Since *das Ganze* is the expression that appears significantly more frequently in the corpus of interpreted language than in non-interpreted German speech, it can be assumed that the associated strategies, namely syntactic transformation, chunking up and approximation, are particularly important in the production of simultaneously interpreted language and hence this expression is employed much more often by simultaneous interpreters than by original speakers of German.

Sozusagen possibly also occurs more often in the interpreted than the in non-interpreted German speeches. Although the difference observed is not statistically significant, it is possible that strategies such as gaining time and

repairing output are more important to interpreters than to autonomous German speakers.

Lastly, the vagueness tag *und so weiter* also occurs slightly more often in interpreted than in non-interpreted German speech. Although the figures lack statistical significance, the result could be interpreted as a sign that precision and explicitness are possibly less important, or more difficult to achieve, in SI than in non-interpreted speech production.

5.9.3 Constraints and strategies in SI

Interpreters need to rely on the above strategies because of certain constraints inherent in the SI task: Real-time production makes it impossible for the interpreter to retrieve exact TL equivalents for all SL terms under time pressure (Gumul 2006, 173), resulting in the application of chunking and approximation strategies and the consequent addition of quantifying expressions such as *das Ganze*. The gradually unfolding nature of the SL speech, together with the necessity to start TL production before the SL speaker's intention is clear (Setton 2006, 384), can lead to the use of repair strategies, for example in the form of the qualifying expression *sozusagen*. Furthermore, limitations on working memory often force interpreters to unload incoming information instantaneously, which can be done by dividing long and complex SL sentences into shorter segments (Gile 1995, 196) containing dummy nouns such as *das Ganze*. Finally, the same memory limitations may also lead interpreters to reduce enumerations of specific elements to an all-inclusive vagueness tag such as *und so weiter* in cases in which an original German speaker may have preferred a more precise formulation.

The interpreters in corpus (b) possibly chose to resort to the above strategies in order not to "give away or highlight [...] problems" (Gile 1995, 203). By chunking up, approximating and splitting up long sentences, interpreters' problems, such as an inability to retrieve specific TL terms under time pressure, are concealed from the audience. The application of these strategies could therefore be the result of Gile's "rule of self-protection" (Gile

1995, 203); however, the interpreters might also have adhered to the "rule of least effort", which states that interpreters favour "tactics that require less time and processing capacity" (Gile 1995, 203). More general terms, such as *das Ganze*, are easier to retrieve than more precise words and hence require less time and processing effort from the interpreter. According to Pym (2007, 188), a more implicit manner of speaking is part of interpreters' typical risk-averse behaviour: Since the interpreters share less of the context than the primary parties to the debate do, it is safer for them to remain more general in order to avoid possible mistakes. The higher frequency of the expression *das Ganze* in the interpreted data could therefore also be the result of interpreters' risk-averse behaviour.

The use of more imprecise and general language in interpreted speech is thus necessitated by the time- and memory limitations inherent in SI. However, the vaguer TL output does not appear to impede successful communication: Since the audience shares the situational and much of the cognitive context with the original speaker (Setton 2006, 379), vaguer, more general linguistic cues such as the above are sufficient in order to guide the audience to the relevant contexts. The use of more general language in the interpreted data (which is in these corpora exemplified by the higher frequency of *das Ganze*) is thus necessary as the interpreter has less time to craft the linguistic stimulus, and possible since the context is shared by all participants (Setton 2006, 379).

It was shown in the previous chapter that the interpreters in this corpus do not standardise their output by exaggerating typical TL communicative norms; the comparison of the interpreted data to the corresponding SL segments in this chapter has demonstrated that the law of interference does not affect German interpreters' output either. The higher frequency of the quantifying expression *das Ganze* in the interpreted German data compared to non-interpreted German discourse is not the result of interference from the SL speeches; instead, interpreters resort to this expression more frequently than original speakers of German as they need to overcome certain

problems, such as time and memory constraints, which are inherent in the task of SI and do not present themselves to autonomous speakers.

The results of both the comparative and the parallel data consequently show that neither growing standardisation nor interference has a significant effect on simultaneous interpreters' output. The following chapter contains a summary and interpretation of these findings.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This study set out to determine whether discourse that has been simultaneously interpreted into German is characterised by any of the laws that have been found to apply to the language produced during the process of written translation, i.e. the law of growing standardisation and the law of interference. It was initially hypothesised that interpreted German language would be characterised by the law of growing standardisation, which would manifest itself in the form of interpreters' exaggeration of typical German communicative norms and in a disregard for certain collocations representative of spoken English. The effect of the law of growing standardisation on the interpreters' output was furthermore expected to be stronger if the TL speech had been interpreted from a SL with a comparatively high status, such as English.

In order to test these hypotheses, two types of analyses were carried out using corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted German language. During the first, comparative phase, two types of simultaneously interpreted German language, namely German speeches interpreted from mixed SLs and German speeches interpreted from English, were each compared to non-interpreted German discourse and to each other. The results of these comparisons provided an indication of the way in which interpreted German language differs from non-interpreted German discourse, i.e. whether the interpreters' adherence to communicative norms has been influenced by either the law of growing standardisation or the law of interference, and whether English, a SL with a high socio-cultural status, has affected the nature of the interpreters' output. During the second, parallel phase of the corpus analysis, the German segments interpreted from English were then compared to the corresponding SL segments with the aim of discovering the reasons for the production of the TL patterns identified during the first phase.

The following concluding sections contain a summary of the main results produced by the comparative and parallel analyses as well as an interpretation thereof.

6.2 Growing standardisation and interference in interpreted German discourse

The first two comparative analyses, namely the comparisons of (i) German interpreted from mixed SLs and (ii) German interpreted from English with non-interpreted German language, both revealed that the law of growing standardisation has not played a role in the production of simultaneously interpreted German discourse. Neither the corpus of speeches interpreted from mixed SLs nor the speeches interpreted from English were found to contain lower frequencies of the collocations representative of typical English communicative norms than the non-interpreted German data. The German interpreters in these two corpora did not choose to "exaggerate features of the TL" (Baker 1996, 183) by expressing themselves in very direct, explicit and content-oriented manners and by disregarding more implicit and indirect SL collocations. The law of growing standardisation has hence not affected the nature of the simultaneously interpreted German speeches in these two corpora of German discourse.

This finding corresponds to the results obtained by other studies analysing simultaneously interpreted discourse: Shlesinger (1989, cited in Pym 2007, 183), for example, finds that instead of adhering to the degree of literacy typical of the TL, interpreters 'equalise' their output. In a different study, Shlesinger (1994) finds evidence of intonation untypical of typical TL standards in her data. Ahrens (2005) similarly discovers that intonation in interpreted discourse clearly differs from non-interpreted TL intonation.

However, the literature review in chapter 2 demonstrates that features of the law of growing standardisation are manifest in translations of written texts in various language combinations. The law of growing standardisation has been found to affect translators' use of collocations (Kenny 1998; Laviosa-Braithwaite 1995; Dayrell 2008; Øverås 1998; Sarma 2008) and the grammatical structuring of translated texts (Øverås 1998). Munday (1998), Malmkjær (1998) and Balsakó (2008) furthermore detect evidence in support of the law of growing standardisation with regard to translators' lexical choices, and Vanderauwera (1985) identifies similar patterns in translators' use of punctuation, tense, syntax and narrative style. The fact that similar patterns of growing standardisation have not emerged in the simultaneously interpreted German discourse analysed in the present study points towards dissimilarities with respect to two modes of translation: There are several differences between written translation and SI that might explain why the law of growing standardisation does not exert a similar influence on the language produced during SI.

These differences include the fact that the TL audience of a simultaneously interpreted speech shares considerably more context and background knowledge with the SL speakers and listeners than TL readers of written translations share with SL writers and readers. As a result, it becomes less important for the simultaneous interpreter than it is for the translator to ensure that the interpreted product fits into a recipient audience's specific cultural context. While the translator may apply a cultural filter by manipulating the language of the SL text in order to ensure that the translation's function corresponds to that of the original (House 2006, 348), the context in which a SL speaker during an SI event produced his or her discourse already corresponds to a large extent to that of the TL audience and manipulation, such as the standardisation of the interpreted product's language and communicative norms, is hardly required.

Secondly, it has been demonstrated that unlike written texts, which are often produced within contextually embedded situations, oral speeches that are intended for delivery at large international meetings are by nature not very

culture-specific (Alexieva 2002, 230). Due to, amongst others, the formal setting and the relative distance between the participants in such events, speakers on such occasions prefer to express themselves in a more universal manner (Alexieva 2002, 230). This relative neutrality of the SL speeches could induce an interpreter to neglect a possible manipulation of the interpreted output in favour of typical TL communicative norms and instead "to act simply as an interlingual mediator", as Alexieva (2002, 230) recommends under such circumstances.

Lastly, a translator's insertion of a cultural filter in the form of the manipulation of the original text's language during covert translation may create the illusion of the translation being an original, non-translated text, thereby making the translator and his/her intervention "invisible" to the TT's readers (House 2006, 348). This is not a possibility for the simultaneous interpreter, whose audience is inevitably always aware of the interpreter's intervention and the derivative nature of the TL speech. Manipulating the original speech's language, for example by means of adjusting it to the TL's habitual communicative norms, in order to create the illusion of originality consequently becomes a futile endeavour for the simultaneous interpreter. On the other hand, this immediate awareness of the mediation process during SI could increase the participants' tolerance for interference: The interpreter's intervention being evident, an adherence to non-native communicative norms in the TL product might be considered more acceptable.

Indeed, the second step of the comparative analysis, i.e. the comparison between the German speeches interpreted from English and the non-interpreted German discourse, provides some support for the influence of the law of interference on interpreted language. One of the collocations analysed, the quantifying expression *das Ganze*, occurs more frequently in the interpreted data while another one, the qualifier *sozusagen*, shows a tendency towards statistical significance with regard to the differences observed. The German interpreters possibly produced more occurrences of these two expressions than did the autonomous German speakers because

corresponding English collocations in the original SL speeches were directly transferred into the TL renderings by the interpreters. Should this indeed be the case, then the simultaneously interpreted German data can be said to have been affected by the law of (positive) interference.

6.3 Strategies and constraints in SI

A number of the translation scholars referred to in the literature review in chapter 2 have already examined translated text for manifestations of the law of interference and have found various instantiations thereof: Nilsson (2004), Mauranen (2004) and Balaskó (2008) describe the influence of this law of translational behaviour on the lexis that appears in written translations. The effect of the law of interference on the occurrence and frequency of unique lexical items is studied by Tirkkonen-Condit (2002, 2004) and Mauranen (2000); Nilsson (2004) furthermore confirms that the law of interference also affects the frequencies of collocations found in translated text. Multi-word strings and syntactic patterning in translations are studied by Mauranen (2000) and Eskola (2004) respectively. Lastly, House (2006) finds evidence for the law of interference with respect to translators' adherence to communicative norms.

The results of the comparative analysis in chapter 4 appear to indicate that the law of interference has similarly affected the simultaneously interpreted language examined in this study. However, the parallel analysis carried out in chapter 5, which compared the interpreted German speech segments identified in chapter 4 with the corresponding SL segments, subsequently reveals that all eight occurrences of the quantifying expression *das Ganze* in the interpreted data in corpus (b) have been prompted by factors other than equivalent SL collocations; the higher frequency of this expression in the interpreted data can thus not be ascribed to the law of interference. As only two of the 28 interpreted German segments identified during the comparative

analyses are based on a transfer of the SL speech's make-up to the TL speech, none of the more frequent occurrences of an expression occurring in the interpreted data can be attributed to the law of interference. Different explanations must be sought for the higher frequencies of certain expressions in the interpreted as compared to the non-interpreted German speeches.

A closer analysis of the parallel corpus data suggests that the German interpreters in corpus (b) have included the quantifying expression *das Ganze* in their output when resorting to the use of certain strategies, such as syntactic transformation, chunking up, approximation and expansion, in order to perform their task. Authors such as Gile (1995), Jones (1998) and Katan (1999) encourage the use of these strategies as they enable interpreters to prevent or overcome problems inherent in SI, and every occurrence of the expression *das Ganze* forms part of such an interpreting strategy. The inclusion of the qualifying expression *sozusagen* in the TL output likewise points towards interpreters' recourse to certain strategies, namely choice- and change-related own communicative management and the repair of already produced output, and can be attributed to the law of interference in only two cases.

The higher frequencies of the above two expressions in the interpreted German data have therefore been prompted by the interpreters' application of recognised strategies or "coping tactics" (Gile 1995, 191); interpreters employ these strategies in order to deal with constraints that are specific to the circumstances of SI. These constraints include time- and memory-related limitations and the need to start target-language production before the SL speaker's intention is clear; problems which do not, however, present themselves during the production of written translations.

As a result of the time constraint, for example, "interpreters are forced to work at speech delivery speed" (Gumul 2006, 172). Although translators, too, have to work according to deadlines, they are able to consult documents and do research while translating. Seleskovitch (1978, 2) maintains that

interpreters work at a speed that is about thirty times faster than that of translators. Consequently, it is not always possible for interpreters to retrieve ideal TL equivalents for specific SL terms. Strategies such as chunking up, gaining time in order to retrieve an adequate TL equivalent, and approximation, all of which may entail the insertion of expressions such as *das Ganze* or *sozusagen*, consequently become necessary in SI. Similar phenomena, such as generalisation, have been observed in translated text, too; however, the main reasons for their occurrence in written translations appear to be differences in lexicalisation between the source and target languages involved (Klaudy 1995, 149–151), and not time-related issues.

The memory constraint in SI refers to the "limit as to the amount of information which can be stored in an interpreter's short term or working memory" (Gumul 2006, 172). Due to this limitation on working memory, it becomes desirable for the interpreter to rapidly unload incoming information, resulting in the transformation or segmentation of the SL speech's syntax and the consequent insertion of a dummy noun such as *das Ganze***.** By replacing long enumerations of specific items with vagueness tags, such as *und so weiter* or *und alles*, interpreters are similarly able to solve or prevent memory-related problems. In the translation of written texts, on the other hand, the translators can return to and reread a SL passage as many times as required; the same memory-related problems do therefore not present themselves to the translators of written texts.

Finally, the gradually unfolding nature of the SL speech in SI, which Gumul (2006, 173) calls the "linearity constraint", together with the necessity to begin TL production before the SL speaker's intention is clear (Setton 2006, 384), means that the interpreter might have to repair TL output that has already been formulated but proves to be unsatisfactory as the SL speech unfolds and further information about the speaker's communicative intention is made available. Recourse to a repair strategy may entail the interpreter's insertion of a change-related own communicative management feature such as *sozusagen*. As it is possible for the translator to read the entire ST in order to gain a full view of the original author's communicative intentions before

beginning TT production, the same constraint does not apply to written translation.

Differences between the patterns that have been found to exist in written translations and those observed in the interpreted discourse in this study can therefore be attributed to the different constraints that apply to the two activities of translational behaviour. Although the speeches interpreted from mixed SLs could not be compared to their corresponding SL segments in this study, it can be assumed that interpreters resort to the use of similar strategies regardless of the SL involved, and hence produce similar patterns in their interpreted output.

6.4 The source language's status

The results of the third comparative step in chapter 4 of this study indeed suggest that the status of the SL does not have an effect on the frequency of interpreters' use of any of the expressions considered in this study. The patterns evident in corpora (b) and (c) resemble each other; no statistically significant differences between the frequencies of the relevant expressions in the two corpora of interpreted German speech were discovered. Interpreters working from English, a language with a high socio-cultural status, produce language that is similar in nature to that produced by interpreters working from other, less dominant SLs.

Some of the translation scholars referred to in the literature review in chapter 2 have, however, argued that the status of a SL can be expected to have an effect on the nature of translated text. A few scholars (Toury 1995; Baker 1996) predict that a comparatively low SL status will induce translators to produce manifestations of the law of growing standardisation; when the SL status is higher than that of the TL, on the other hand, manifestations of the law of interference are expected to occur in the translated product (Toury

1995; House 2006). Others authors conversely argue that a SL with a comparatively high status will lead to manifestations of the law of growing standardisation, and not interference, in the TT (Jacquemond 1992, cited in Robinson 1997, 31; Mauranen 2004).

Despite the above hypotheses posited with regard to written translations, the finding that the status of a SL does not affect the nature of simultaneously interpreted language makes sense in view of the fact that the interpreters' recourse to strategies is the reason for the production of the patterns observed in the interpreted data in corpus (b). Time-, memory- and linearity-related constraints experienced by interpreters during SI are similar regardless of the SL (although major differences in syntax may increase memory load) and hence the same strategies, such as syntactic transformation, chunking up and approximation, are probably applied by all interpreters regardless of the SL, resulting in similar frequencies of the relevant expressions in the two corpora of interpreted German speech.

6.5 Recurring patterns in simultaneously interpreted German

The purpose of this study was to discover what types of patterns can be found to recur in simultaneously interpreted German discourse. As a starting point, it was assumed that phenomena that have been observed in written translations, such as manifestations of the law of growing standardisation or the law of interference, would also be evident in interpreted discourse.

A few studies of interpreted language have already demonstrated that patterns of growing standardisation can be discovered in interpreters' output. Features of growing standardisation were discovered by Shlesinger (1991), Henriksen (2007) and Hale and Gibbons (1999). Based on the comparative analyses of the corpora of interpreted and non-interpreted German speech used in the present study it must, however, be concluded that simultaneously

interpreted German discourse is not characterised by manifestations of the law of growing standardisation as regards the interpreters' adherence to typical communicative norms.

It is possible that the findings of this study differ from those obtained in previous studies because of the limitations of and differences in the data analysed: Shlesinger (1991) and Hale and Gibbons (1999) examine interpreted speeches from legal settings and Henriksen (2007) focuses on environmental discourse whereas the data analysed in the present study has been taken from only one different and highly formalised setting, namely the European Parliament, where speeches do not normally contain a large amount of culturally-determined expressions and do not display a large degree of variance (see section 3.4.8).

Evidence for the presence of interference in simultaneously interpreted speech is discovered by Jekat and Ehrensberger-Dow (2008) and by Lamberger-Felber and Schneider (2008). However, the parallel analysis in the present study has shown that the law of interference has not affected the simultaneous interpreters' adherence to typical TL communicative norms either. It can hence be concluded that neither of Toury's two laws of translational behaviour affects the communicative norms observed in interpreted German discourse.

Although no manifestations of growing standardisation or interference have emerged in this study, the quantifying expression *das Ganze* does occur more frequently in the interpreted than in the non-interpreted German data, pointing towards dissimilarities between the two types of language. It can consequently be argued that due to the time-, memory- and linearity-related constraints inherent in SI, interpreted German speech differs from non-interpreted German discourse in being vaguer or more general in nature. In Baker's (1996, 177) words, "the nature and pressures of the translation process [have] left traces in the language that translators produce". The interpreted German language analysed in this study hence embodies a "third code" (Frawley 1984, 168), but instead of manifestations of the laws of

growing standardisation or interference, an increased level of generalisation in the form of a higher frequency of expressions such as *das Ganze*, and possibly *sozusagen* and *und so weiter* constitutes the recurring regularity in the simultaneously interpreted data.

As a result of certain of the constraints inherent in SI that have been discussed above, interpreters thus produce TL output that is very general in nature when compared to non-interpreted German speech. It is possible for the interpreters to resort to an increased level of generalisation in their TL output without necessarily jeopardising successful communication: Since the TL audience shares the situational and much of the cognitive context with the SL speaker (Setton 2006, 379), vaguer, more general linguistic cues are sufficient in order to guide the listeners to the relevant contexts. The higher frequency of more general expressions in the interpreted data is thus necessary as the interpreter has less time to craft the linguistic stimulus, and possible since the context is shared by all of the primary participants in the event (Setton 2006, 379). Pym (2007, 188) furthermore argues that a more implicit manner of speaking is part of interpreters' typical risk-averse behaviour: As interpreters share less context with SL speakers than the primary participants of an event do, it is safer for them "to say less, use superordinates in cases of doubt" (Pym 2007, 188) and hence produce more general TL output. The higher frequency of the expression *das Ganze* in the interpreted data can therefore be considered to be the result of interpreters' risk-averse behaviour.

Although manifestations of neither the law of growing standardisation nor the law of interference could be discovered in the interpreted German speeches analysed in this study, it hence emerges that as a result of the different constraints that apply to this mode of translational behaviour, another recurring pattern, namely a higher level of generalisation, may be said to characterise simultaneously interpreted German discourse.

6.6 Generalisation and the rule of self-protection

The present study has thus shown that German interpreters do not necessarily produce the same patterns indicative of the laws of growing standardisation and interference which have been found to characterise translations of written texts. Instead, a different feature, namely an increased degree of generalisation in interpreted as compared to non-interpreted speech, has been discovered in the interpreters' output. It must be assumed that these differences are the result of the different constraints that exert an influence on the simultaneous interpreter and the written translator respectively, as the patterns that have been identified in this study are the results of strategies applied by interpreters in order to deal with constraints inherent in SI.

It can, however, be confirmed that interpreted German differs from non-interpreted German discourse in certain respects. Similarly to translated texts, which contain recurring features that distinguish them from non-translated texts, interpreted German discourse is also characterised by certain distinctive patterns when compared to non-interpreted German speech, namely a higher level of generality, and therefore embodies a kind of a third code, too. Like written translations, interpreted language is thus also shaped by the nature and pressures of the process of its production (Baker 1996, 177); however, these pressures are different in SI than during the process of written translation and therefore the resulting types of patterns must differ, too.

In conclusion, it must be noted that simultaneous interpreters appear to consider it acceptable to produce TL output that is relatively vague and general compared to non-interpreted German speech as this enables them to maintain continuous, idiomatic TL output. Although the interpreted speech consequently differs from non-interpreted German discourse, the interpreter is thus able to conceal from the audience any problems s/he might experience, and to protect him- or herself from possible criticism. Gile's

(1995, 201) rule of self-protection may therefore play an important role in the simultaneous interpreter's behaviour, and solutions to problems that facilitate self-protection, such as maintaining continuous output despite problems, are possibly chosen over other strategies.

6.7 Recommendations for future research

During the parallel analysis carried out in the present study it was only possible to compare the relevant segments in corpus (b), namely the speeches interpreted from English into German, to the corresponding SL segments. A similar parallel analysis with regard to the segments interpreted from mixed SLs into German in corpus (c) in order to determine what SL segments may have prompted the inclusion of the relevant expressions in this corpus could unfortunately not be carried out in this study. It seems likely that the expressions identified in corpus (c) during the comparative analyses should likewise be the result of interpreters' application of strategies such as syntactic transformation, chunking, approximation and others, as the constraints that trigger their application are probably not SL-specific. However, another study, comparing speeches interpreted into German from mixed SLs to their corresponding originals, would have to be undertaken in order to determine whether this is indeed the case.

Furthermore, it was possible to conclude that due to specific constraints inherent in SI and interpreters' consequent application of certain strategies in order to manage their limited resources simultaneously interpreted German speech appears to be vaguer and more general in nature than non-interpreted German speech. It is plausible to expect that these constraints, and consequently the types of strategies used by interpreters, are similar regardless of the TL into which an interpreter is working, resulting in analogous patterns in interpreters' output in other TLs, too. It would, however, be necessary to carry out similar studies analysing interpreters'

output in other TLs in order to confirm whether or not similar patterns emerge.

Lastly, the higher level of generalisation observed in this study has been found to be the result of the very specific time-, memory- and linearity-related constraints inherent in SI. As translators of written texts are faced with different problems, they produce different types of patterns, such as manifestations of the laws of growing standardisation and interference, in their translations. Consecutive interpreting, too, is subject to specific constraints, which differ from those that characterise SI. It would therefore be interesting to examine the types of patterns that characterise the output of interpreters who work under different constraints, such as those inherent in consecutive interpreting, and compare the regularities discovered there to those that have been identified for other modes of translation.

Laviosa (2004, 12) argues that the law of growing standardisation is useful as a working hypothesis that can be tested systematically, and maintains that such systematic research can "gradually unravel the intricate network of relationships that underlie the specificity and regularities, the diversity and uniformity of translational phenomena across languages and cultures". By testing the law of growing standardisation on simultaneously interpreted discourse, the present study has been able to discover some of the peculiarities that characterise interpreted German language; however, more similarities and differences between interpreted, non-interpreted and translated language remain to be discovered in order to "allow for the identification of patterns specific to interpreted texts (regardless of their source language) *as pieces of oral discourse* [and] to identify the patterns which single out interpreted texts as distinct oral translational products in a given language" (Shlesinger 1998, 488).

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Addendum A: Speeches included in corpus (a)

Non-interpreted German

N	Speaker	Group	Gen	Topic	Date	Dur.	W.	Rate	Prep.
1	Albrecht	Group of the Greens	m.	SWIFT data exchange	16 Sept. 2009	01:04	167	M	Extemp. with notes
2	Albrecht	Group of the Greens	m.	Transatlantic relations	21 Oct. 2009	01:15	228	F	Extemp.
3	Bisky	European United Left	m.	Referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	03:09	353	S	Read
4	Bisky	European United Left	m.	Preparation of the European Council	21 Oct. 2009	03:13	387	S	Read
5	Bisky	European United Left	m.	Question Hour with the President of the Commission	20 Oct. 2009	01:04	146	M	Extemp. with notes
6	Bisky	European United Left	m.	Statement by the President	15 Sept. 2009	04:15	476	S	Extemp. with notes
7	Bisky	European United Left	m.	Verification of credentials	14 July 2009	01:24	168	S	Extemp. with notes
8	Böge	European People's Party	m.	Transitional procedural guidelines on budgetary matters	12 Nov. 2009	01:26	201	M	Extemp. with notes
9	Brok	European People's Party	m.	China	15 July 2009	02:21	382	F	Extemp.
10	Caspary	European People's Party	m.	Free trade agreement with South Korea	14 Sept. 2009	02:06	362	F	Extemp. with notes
11	Deß	European People's Party	m.	Decision on urgent procedure	20 Oct. 2009	00:54	138	M	Extemp. with notes
12	Ehler	European People´s Party	m.	Sustainable power generation from fossil fuels	16 Dec. 2008	03:01	455	M	Extemp. with notes
13	Ehren-hauser	Non-attached	m.	Referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	00:57	126	M	Extemp.
14	Flecken-stein	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats	m.	EU-Russia summit	11 Nov. 2009	01:54	260	M	Read
15	Gahler	European People's Party	m.	Death penalty in Nigeria	20 Nov. 2008	01:16	180	M	Extemp.
16	Gahler	European People's Party	m.	Zimbabwe	18 Dec. 2008	01:12	183	M	Extemp. with notes
17	Händel	European United Left	m.	Restructuring of the European car industry	14 Sept. 2009	02:50	341	S	Extemp. with notes
18	Häus-ling	Group of the Greens	m.	Decision on urgent procedure	20 Oct. 2009	02:35	490	M	Extemp. with notes
19	Hoppen-stedt	European People's Party	m.	Credit requirements directives	06 May 2009	05:20	719	M	Read
20	Jeggle	European People's Party	f.	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	03:01	443	M	Extemp. with notes
21	Kallen-bach	Group of the Greens	f.	Preparation of the EU-India Summit	24 Sept. 2008	02:28	287	S	Read
22	Karas	European People's Party	m.	Referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	02:14	291	M	Extemp. with notes
23	Kastler	European People's Party	m.	Iran	22 Oct. 2009	01:02	164	M	Read
24	Klinz	Liberals and Democrats	m.	Credit Rating Agencies	22 Apr. 2009	02:12	363	F	Read
25	Klinz	Liberals and Democrats	m.	G20 Summit in Pittsburgh	16 Sept. 2009	01:06	176	F	Read
26	Klute	European United	m.	M-term financial	11 Nov.	01:13	206	F	Read

		Left		assistance	2009				
27	Krehl	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats	f.	EU strategy for the Baltic Sea area	16 Sept. 2009	02:13	361	F	Extemp.
28	Krehl	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats	f.	Green Paper on territorial cohesion	24 Mar. 2009	04:01	559	M	Read
29	Kreißl-Dörfler	Socialist Group	m.	Combating terrorism	23 Sept. 2008	02:09	338	M	Read
30	Lambs-dorff	Liberals and Democrats	m.	Referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	02:33	491	F	Extemp. with notes
31	Langen	European People's Party	m.	Credit requirements directives	06 May 2009	02:04	286	M	Extemp. with notes
32	Lechner	European People's Party	m.	Statute for a European private company	09 Mar. 2009	02:11	360	F	Extemp. with notes
33	Lichten-berger	Group of the Greens	f.	Rights of passengers	22 Apr. 2009	01:39	218	M	Extemp. with notes
34	Meissner	Liberals and Democrats	f.	Nicaragua	26 Nov. 2009	01:15	251	F	Extemp.
35	Merkel	European People's Party	f.	50 Jahre Europäische Union		02:24	321	M	Read
36	Nassauer	European People's Party	m.	Resettlement of Guantánamo prisoners	03 Feb. 2009	02:11	262	S	Extemp.
37	Niebler	European People's Party	f.	The climate change and energy package	04 Dec. 2008	02:10	348	F	Extemp. with notes
38	Nitzsche	Non-attached	m.	Kritisches zum Lissabon-Vertrag	13 June 2008	05:02	707	M	Extemp. with notes
39	Pieper	European People's Party	m.	Support schemes for farmers under the CAP	18 Nov. 2008	01:56	304	M	Read
40	Pöttering	European People´s Party	m.	Opening of the sitting	14 July 2009	06:13	590	S	Read
41	Reimers	Liberals and Democrats	f.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	00:52	118	M	Read
42	Rodust	Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats	f.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	01:08	223	F	Read
43	Rothe	Socialist Group	f.	Cooperation between the courts of the Member States	09 Mar. 2009	00:04	09	M	Extemp. with notes
44	Rothe	Socialist Group	f.	Cooperation between the courts of the Member States_2	09 Mar. 2009	00:18	35	S	Read
45	Rübig	European People's Party	m.	Electronic communication networks and services	23 Nov. 2009	01:48	274	M	Extemp. with notes
46	Rühle	Group of the Greens	f.	Toys Directive	15 Dec. 2008	02:41	477	F	Extemp. with notes
47	Rühle	Group of the Greens	f.	Trade in seal products	04 May 2009	01:47	327	F	Extemp.
48	Schnell-hardt	European People's Party	m.	Animal by-products	24 Apr. 2009	02:30	377	M	Extemp.
49	Schnell-hardt	European People's Party	m.	Cosmetic products	23 Mar. 2009	02:26	370	M	Extemp. with notes
50	Schnell-hardt	European People's Party	m.	Flu epidemic	04 May 2009	01:15	205	F	Extemp.
51	Schnell-hardt	European People's Party	m.	White paper on nutrition	24 Sept. 2008	02:28	355	M	Extemp. with notes
52	Scholz	European United Left	m.	European external action service	21 Oct. 2009	02:54	402	M	Read
53	Schröd-ter	Group of the Greens	f.	Updated ILO conventions	25 Nov. 2009	01:10	139	S	Read

54	Schulz	Socialist Group	m.	Role of the European Union in the Middle East	18 Feb. 2009	05:48	751	S	Extemp.
55	Schwab	European People's Party	m.	European contract law	01 Sept. 2008	01:35	269	M	Extemp. with notes
56	Sommer	European People's Party	f.	White paper on nutrition	25 Sept. 2008	01:27	217	M	Read
57	Theurer	Liberals and Democrats	m.	Free trade agreement with South Korea	14 Sept. 2009	02:00	314	M	Read
58	Trüpel	Group of the Greens	f.	China	15 July 2009	02:02	276	M	Extemp. with notes
59	Ulmer	European People's Party	m.	Animal by-products	24 Apr. 2009	01:35	214	M	Read
60	Ulmer	European People's Party	m.	Clean road transport vehicles	21 Oct. 2008	02:02	299	M	Read
61	Zimmer	European United Left	f.	The global financial and economic crisis	14 Sept. 2009	02:02	353	F	Extemp.
62	Deß	European People's Party	m.	Meat imports from third countries	25 Nov. 2009	02:10	307	M	Extemp. with notes
63	Baring-dorf	Group of the Greens	m.	Feed for animals	05 Feb. 2009	04:52	523	S	Extemp. with notes
64	Jahr	European People's Party	m.	Meat imports from third countries	25 Nov. 2009	01:08	199	F	Extemp. with notes
65	Bütikofer	Group of the Greens	m.	EU action plan for Afghanistan and Pakistan	16 Dec. 2009	01:11	149	S	Extemp. with notes
66	Ernst	Nordic Green Left	f.	EU action plan for Afghanistan and Pakistan	16 Dec. 2009	01:11	166	M	Read
67	Pack	Christian Democrats	f.	Enlargement strategy	25 Nov. 2009	01:41	280	F	Extemp. with notes
68	Krahmer	Liberals and Democrats	m.	Situation in Yemen	19 Jan. 2010	02:01	388	F	Extemp.

Addendum B: Speeches included in corpus (b)

Interpreted German from English

N	Speaker	Topic	Date	Rate	Int. gen.	Int. rate
1	Aylward	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	F	f.	F
2	Bufton	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	F	f.	F
3	Callanan	Preparation of the European Council	21 Oct. 2009	F	f.	M
4	Colman	General arrangements for excise duty	17 Nov. 2008	M	f.	M
5	Crowley	Role of the European Union in the Middle East	18 Feb. 2009	M	f.	S
6	Dartmouth	Statement by the President	07 Oct. 2009	F	f.	M
7	Dodds	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	M	f.	S
8	Dodds	Preparation of the European Council	21 Oct. 2009	M	f.	M
9	Doyle	Treaty of Lisbon	10 July 2008	S	m.	S
10	Duff	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	S	f.	M
11	Evans	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	F	m.	M
12	Evans, J	Role of the European Union in the Middle East	18 Feb. 2009	M	f.	M
13	Ford, G	Free trade agreement with Korea	05 May 2009	F	m.	S
14	Ford, G	Airlines passengers' rights	05 May 2009	F	f.	M
15	Ford, V	G 20 summit in Pittsburgh	16 Sept. 2009	M	f.	M
16	Fox	European external action service	21 Oct. 2009	M	m.	M
17	Gallagher	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	F	m.	S
18	Giertych	The death penalty	10 July 2008	F	f.	M
19	Gill	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	F	f.	M
20	Gill	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	F	f.	F
21	Gill	Urgencies	10 July 2008	F	f.	M
22	Hall	Animal transports	15 Jan. 2009	M	m.	S
23	Hall	Energy security	17 Sept. 2009	M	m.	S
24	Hannan	Irish referendum	10 July 2008	F	f.	M
25	Hannan	Civil liberties committee	10 July 2008	F	f.	F
26	Hannan	Common agricultural policy	08 Oct. 2009	F	m.	M
27	Hannan	Common agricultural policy_2	08 Oct. 2009	F	f.	M
28	Heaton-Harris	Situation in Zimbabwe	10 July 2008	F	f.	M
29	Higgins	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	F	f.	S
30	Kamall	Common fisheries policy	10 July 2008	F	f.	S
31	Kamall	Galileo satellite system	10 July 2008	F	f.	F
32	Kamall	Situation in Zimbabwe	10 July 2008	F	f.	M
33	Kelam	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	S	f.	S
34	Kelly	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	F	f.	M
35	Kirkhope	Outcome of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	F	f.	M
36	Korhola	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	M	m.	S
37	Lambert	Allegation of mass graves	10 July2008	M	m.	S
38	Lambert	Patients' rights in cross-border healthcare	23 Apr. 2009	F	f.	M
39	Lambert	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	M	f.	M
40	Lambert	The death penalty	10 July 2008	F	f.	S
41	Ludford	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	M	f.	M
42	Ludford	Problem of profiling	23 Apr. 2009	M	f.	S
43	Lynne	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	M	m.	S
44	Lynne	Patients' rights in cross-border healthcare	23 Apr. 2009	F	m.	M
45	Lyon	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	F	f.	M
46	Martin	Counterfeiting	17 Dec. 2008	F	f.	M
47	Martin	Free trade agreement with South Korea_2	15 Sept. 2009	F	f.	M
48	Martin	Interim agreement with Turkmenistan	05 May 2009	F	f.	M
49	Martin	Interim agreement with Turkmenistan_2	05 May 2009	F	f.	S
50	Martin	Reduced rates of value added tax	19 Feb. 2009	F	f.	M
51	Martin	Free trade agreement with South Korea	14 Sept. 2009	F	f.	M
52	Matsakis	Allegation of mass graves in Indian-	10 July 2008	F	f.	M

		administrated Kashmir_2				
53	Matsakis	Allegation of mass graves in Indian-administrated Kashmir	10 July 2008	M	f.	M
54	Matsakis	Situation in Bangladesh_2	10 July 2008	M	f.	M
55	Matsakis	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	M	m.	S
56	Matsakis	The death penalty	10 July 2008	M	m.	M
57	McGuinness	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	F	f.	F
58	McMillan-Scott	Cross-border healthcare	23 Apr. 2009	M	f.	M
59	Nicholson	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	F	f.	M
60	Parish	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	M	f.	M
61	Rehn	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	S	m.	S
62	Rehn	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	S	f.	S
63	Rehn	The death penalty	10 July 2008	S	f.	S
64	Sinnott	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	F	m.	F
65	Stevenson	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	M	f.	F
66	Stevenson	China	15 July 2009	M	m.	S
67	Stevenson	Iran	22 Oct. 2009	M	f.	M
68	Watson	Energy security	17 Sept. 2009	F	m.	M

Addendum C: Speeches included in corpus (c)

Interpreted German from mixed SLs

N	Speaker	Nat.	Topic	Date	Int. gen.	Int. rate
1	Arsenis	Greece	Climate change and developing countries	20 Oct. 2009	f.	M
2	Auken	Denmark	Cosmetic products	23 Mar. 2009	m.	M
3	Barnier	France	Outcome of the European Council	11 Nov. 2009	f.	S
4	Basile	Italy	Support for rural development	06 May 2009	f.	S
5	Belet	Belgium	European car industry	14 Sept. 2009	m.	M
6	Blinkevičiūtė	Lithuania	Access to documents	15 Dec. 2009	m.	S
7	Boştinaru	Romania	EU strategy for the Baltic Sea area	16 Sept. 2009	f.	M
8	Bové	France	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	m.	S
9	Busuttil	Malta	Middle East peace process	15 Dec. 2009	f.	M
10	Capoulas	Portugal	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	f.	
11	Cohn-Bendit	France	Iran	15 July 2009	m.	M
12	De Castro	Italy	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	m.	S
13	Durant	Belgium (French)	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	f.	S
14	Ferreira	Portugal	Conclusions of the G20 Summit	23 May 2009	f.	M
15	Fjellner	Sweden	Made in origin marking	11 Nov. 2009	f.	M
16	Gallagher	Ireland	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	m.	S
17	Göncz	Hungary	Situation in Georgia	15 Dec. 2009	f.	M
18	Győri	Hungary	Responses to relaunch the economy	15 Dec. 2009	f.	F
19	Itälä	Finland	EU strategy for the Baltic Sea area	16 Sept. 2009	m.	S
20	Jeleva	Bulgaria	Support for rural development	06 May 2009	m.	S
21	Jørgensen	Denmark	Promotion of clean road transport vehicles	21 Oct. 2008	f.	M
22	López-Istúriz White	Spain	European Authentic Act	18 Dec. 2008	f.	M
23	Manders	Netherlands	Trade in seal products	04 May 2009	f.	M
24	Mirsky	Latvia	Economic situation in Latvia	19 Oct. 2009	f.	S
25	Morkūnaitė-Mikulėnienė	Lithuania	Smoke-free environments	25 Nov. 2009	f.	S
26	Nečas	Czech	Conclusions of the G20 summit	24 Apr. 2009	m.	M
27	Oviir	Estonia	Rare diseases	23 Apr. 2009	f.	S
28	Paška	Slovakia	Use of minority languages	24 Nov. 2009	f.	M
29	Paulsen	Sweden	Climate change	20 Oct. 2009	f.	S
30	Peterle	Slovenia	Amendment of Regulation (EC) No 717/2007	21 Apr. 2009	f.	M
31	Preda	Romania	Guinea	22 Oct. 2009	f.	S
32	Prodi	Italy	Copenhagen summit on climate change	24 Nov. 2009	f.	M
33	Ratpi	Greece	European microfinance facility	14 Dec. 2009	f.	S
34	Roithová	Czech	Global financial and economic crisis	14 Sept. 2009	f.	S
35	Rosbach	Denmark	EU strategy for the Baltic sea area	16 Sept. 2009	f.	S
36	Saïfi	France	Situation in the Middle East/Gaza Strip	14 Jan. 2009	f.	S
37	Sánchez	Spain	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	f.	F
38	Satori	Italy	Variations to the terms of marketing authorisations for medicinal products	22 Oct. 2009	m.	M
39	Soini	Finland	Outcome of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	m.	M
40	Stoyanov	Bulgaria	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	m.	S
41	Wałęsa	Poland	Turkey	23 Nov. 2009	m.	M
42	Wikström	Sweden	Situation in Lithuania	23 Nov. 2009	f.	S
43	Zahradil	Czech Republic	Outcome of the referendum in Ireland	7 Oct. 2009	f.	M
44	Zemke	Poland	European Crime Prevention Network	23 Nov. 2009	m.	M
45	Zīle	Latvia	Responses to relaunch the economy in the Member States	15 Dec. 2009	f.	S
46	Zala	Slovakia	Use of minority languages	14 Sept. 2009	f.	S
47	Stassen	Netherlan	Elimination of violence against women	25 Nov. 2009	m.	M

		ds				
48	Grech	Malta	VAT on insurance and financial services	24 Sept. 2008	f.	S
49	Tarand	Estonia	European external action service	21 Oct. 2009	f.	S
50	Jordan	Slovenia	Copenhagen summit on climate change	20 Jan. 2010	f.	S
51	President	Poland	Statement by the president	19 Oct. 2009	f.	S
52	Papastamkos	Greece	Rights of passengers	22 Apr. 2009	f.	M
53	Bozkurt	Netherlands	Problem of profiling	23 Apr. 2009	f.	M
54	Padar	Estonia	Climate change	20 Oct. 2009	f.	S
55	Kirilov	Bulgaria	European Union solidarity fund	17 Nov. 2008	f.	S
56	Niculescu	Romania	European Authentic Act	18 Dec. 2008	f.	M
57	Vaidere	Latvia	EU strategy for the Baltic Sea area	16 Sept. 2009	m.	S
58	Flašíková	Slovakia	The Lisbon Treaty	15 Dec. 2009	f.	S
59	Vajgl	Slovenia	Middle East peace process	15 Dec. 2009	f.	M
60	Lope	Spain	Forest fires	14 Sept. 2009	f.	S
61	França	Portugal	Economic crisis	03 Feb. 2009	f.	M
62	Áder	Hungary	The Danube region	20 Jan. 2010	f.	S
63	Jäätteenmäki	Finland	The European Ombudsman´s activities	12 Nov. 2009	m.	S
64	Neyts-Uyttenbroeck	Belgium	International Criminal Tribunal	11 Mar. 2009	m.	S
65	Gallagher	Ireland	Conference of the parties	09 Feb. 2010	f.	S
66	Gallagher	Ireland	Situation in Haiti	18 Jan. 2010	f.	
67	Staes	Belgium	Flu epidemic	04 May 2009	f.	F
68	Uspaskich	Lithiania	Benennungsverfahren	09 Feb. 2010	f.	S

Addendum D: Speeches included in corpus (d)

English SL speeches

N	Sp	Group	Gen	Topic	Date	Dur.	W	Rate	Prep.
1	Aylward	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	01:14	260	F	Read
2	Bufton	Europe of freedom & democracy	m.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	01:22	297	F	Read
3	Calla-nan	Conservatives & Reformists	m.	Preparation of the European Council	21 Oct. 2009	01:56	394	F	Extemp. with notes
4	Colman	Independence/D emocracy Group	m.	General arrangements for excise duty	17 Nov. 2008	01:19	192	M	Read
5	Crowley	Europe of the Nations	m.	Role of the European Union in the Middle East	18 Feb. 2009	03:34	539	M	Extemp.
6	Dart-mouth	Europe of freedom & democracy	m.	Statement by the President	07 Oct. 2009	00:26	90	F	Extemp.
7	Dodds	Non-attached	f.	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	01:07	158	M	Read
8	Dodds	Non-attached	f.	Preparation of the European9Council	21 Oct. 2009	01:59	269	M	Extemp. with notes
9	Doyle	European People's Party	f.	Treaty of Lisbon	10 July 2008	00:34	70	S	Read
10	Duff	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	02:06	180	S	Extemp. with notes
11	Evans, R	Socialist Group	m.	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	02:00	362	F	Extemp. with notes
12	Evans, J	Group of the Greens	f.	Role of the European Union in the Middle East	18 Feb. 2009	02:51	441	M	Read
13	Ford, G	Socialist Group in the European Parliament	m.	Airlines passengers' rights	05 May 2009	00:31	99	F	Extemp. with notes
14	Ford, G	Socialist Group in the European Parliament	m.	Free trade agreement with Korea	05 May 2009	00:44	152	F	Extemp. with notes
15	Ford, V	Conservatives & Reformists	f.	G 20 summit in Pittsburgh	16 Sept. 2009	01:09	169	M	Read
16	Fox	Conservatives & Reformists	m.	European external action service	21 Oct. 2009	02:12	307	M	Extemp. with notes
17	Galla-gher	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	01:33	264	F	Extemp. with notes
18	Gier-tych	Non-attached	m.	The death penalty	20 July 2008	00:12	36	F	Read
19	Gill	Socialist Group	f.	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	02:27	404	F	Extemp.
20	Gill	Socialist Group	f.	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	01:46	305	F	Extemp. with notes
21	Gill	Socialist Group	f.	Urgencies	10 July 2008	00:49	157	F	Extemp.
22	Hall	Liberals & Democrats	f.	Animal transports	15 Jan. 2009	01:10	181	M	Read
23	Hall	Liberals & Democrats	f.	Energy security	17 Sept. 2009	01:12	161	M	Read
24	Hannan	European Conservatives & Reformists	m.	Irish referendum	10 July 2008	01:20	234	F	Extemp.
25	Hannan	European	m.	Common agricultural	08 Oct.	01:23	251	F	Extemp.

		Conservatives & Reformists		policy	2009				
26	Hannan	European Conservatives & Reformists	m.	Common agricultural policy_2	08 Oct. 2009	01:08	199	F	Extemp.
27	Hannan	European Conservatives & Reformists	m.	Civil liberties committee	10 July 2008	00:56	169	F	Extemp.
28	Heaton-Harris	European People's Party	m.	Situation in Zimbabwe	10 July 2008	00:45	126	F	Extemp.
29	Higgins	European United Left	m.	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	02:09	345	F	Extemp. with notes
30	Kamall	European People's Party	m.	Common fisheries policy	10 July 2008	01:03	173	F	Extemp.
31	Kamall	European People's Party	m.	Galileo satellite system	10 July 2008	00:55	202	F	Extemp.
32	Kamall	European People's Party	m.	Situation in Zimbabwe	10 July 2008	01:00	179	F	Extemp.
33	Kelam	European People's Party	m.	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	01:04	126	S	Read
34	Kelly	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Results of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	01:10	223	F	Read
35	Kirk-hope	Conservatives & Reformists	m.	Outcome of the referendum in Ireland	07 Oct. 2009	03:15	601	F	Extemp. with notes
36	Korhola	European People's Party	f.	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	01:17	179	M	Read
37	Lambert	Group of the Greens	f.	Allegation of mass graves	10 July2008	02:39	388	M	Extemp. with notes
38	Lambert	Group of the Greens	f.	Patients' rights in cross-border healthcare	23 Apr. 2009	01:06	184	F	Extemp. with notes
39	Lambert	Group of the Greens	f.	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	02:45	417	M	Extemp. with notes
40	Lambert	Group of the Greens	f.	The death penalty	10 July 2008	02:38	434	F	Extemp. with notes
41	Ludford	Liberals & Democrats	f.	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	02:11	295	M	Extemp.
42	Ludford	Liberals & Democrats	f.	Problem of profiling	23 Apr. 2009	01:15	194	M	Extemp. with notes
43	Lynne	Liberals & Democrats	f.	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	01:12	182	M	Extemp. with notes
44	Lynne	Liberals & Democrats	f.	Patients' rights in cross-border healthcare	23 Apr. 2009	01:46	291	F	Read
45	Lyon	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	01:19	268	F	Extemp. with notes
46	Martin	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Counterfeiting	17 Dec. 2008	03:28	589	F	Extemp. with notes
47	Martin	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Free trade agreement with South Korea_2	15 Sept. 2009	00:24	75	F	Extemp.
48	Martin	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Free trade agreement with South Korea	14 Sept. 2009	01:52	343	F	Extemp. with notes
49	Martin	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Interim agreement with Turkmenistan_2	05 May 2009	00:35	128	F	Extemp.
50	Martin	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Interim agreement with Turkmenistan	05 May 2009	00:16	49	F	Extemp.

51	Martin	Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats	m.	Reduced rates of value added tax	00:57	00:57	161	F	Extemp. with notes
52	Matsa-kis	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Allegation of mass graves in Indian-administrated Kashmir_2	10 July 2008	01:05	177	F	Extemp.
53	Matsa-kis	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Allegation of mass graves in Indian-administrated Kashmir	10 July 2008	00:58	151	M	Read
54	Matsa-kis	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Situation in Bangladesh_2	10 July 2008	01:18	203	M	Read
55	Matsa-kis	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	01:02	154	M	Read
56	Matsa-kis	Liberals & Democrats	m.	The death penalty	10 July 2008	01:45	244	M	Read
57	McGuin-ness	European People's Party	f.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	01:46	305	F	Extemp. with notes
58	McMil-lan-Scott	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Cross-border healthcare	23 Apr. 2009	00:28	72	M	Extemp. with notes
59	Nichol-son	Conservatives & Reformists	m.	Crisis in the dairy farming sector	17 Sept. 2009	01:45	317	F	Extemp. with notes
560	Parish	European People's Party	m.	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	01:17	198	M	Read
61	Rehn	Member of the Commission	m.	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	01:51	193	S	Read
62	Rehn	Member of the Commission	m.	Situation in Bangladesh	10 July 2008	01:32	188	S	Read
63	Rehn	Member of the Commission	m.	The death penalty	10 July 2008	03:06	233	S	Read
64	Sinnott	Independence/Democracy Group	f.	Allegation of mass graves	10 July 2008	00:22	61	F	Read
65	Steven-son	European People's Party	m.	Animal transport	15 Jan. 2009	03:09	450	M	Extemp. with notes
66	Steven-son	European People's Party	m.	China	15 July 2009	01:18	188	M	Read
67	Steven-son	European People's Party	m.	Iran	22 Oct. 2009	01:06	158	M	Extemp.
68	Watson	Liberals & Democrats	m.	Energy security	17 Sept. 2009	01:54	302	F	Extemp. with notes