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Self-Preservation in Simultaneous Interpreting

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Self-Preservation in Simultaneous Interpreting. Surviving the role
by Claudia Monacelli

Self-Preservation in Simultaneous Interpreting

Surviving the role

Claudia Monacelli
Libera Università degli Studi "S.Pio V" Rome

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Preface

Sometimes conference interpreting is considered to be an expensive luxury. The interpreters, it is argued, often perform a service for only a handful of listeners and, these days, everyone should understand English. At the same time they may be seen as semi-automatons, a kind of translating machine performing no more than an automatic transfer process. And when things go wrong and misunderstandings or even diplomatic incidents occur, it is they who get the blame.

The physical conditions in which simultaneous conference interpreters work have no doubt contributed to a widespread impression of remoteness and automatism as characteristic of their work. In the classic conference setting, the interpreter is literally invisible – placed in a soundproof, glass-fronted booth usually orthogonal to or directly behind the sightlines of the receivers of their output. Their voice is heard solely through headphones, disembodied as it were and yet connected in some mysterious way (for the layperson) to what is going on before participants' eyes. The linkage of the interpreters' voice to the ebb and flow of the voice of the speaker who holds the floor, such that pauses, emphases, resumptions and so on are reflected, some seconds later, in the interpreter's output, reinforces an impression that some kind of automatic process is at work. At the same time, especially for those who, having no knowledge of the source language, rely on their interpreters for comprehension of what is being said, there is a magical element, akin to that experienced when witnessing real-time machine translation: just how does it all happen?

Little wonder then that early investigations of the conference interpreter sought to shed light on how this process takes place and more specifically on mental processing: how does the interpreter divide attention between competing stimuli? What is the role of short-term memory? How does "chunking" take place? How do interpreters monitor their output at the same time as processing new input? Is meaning "de-verbalised" in the translation process? Psycholinguistic and neurolinguistic questions such as these generated a fascinating body of research, involving a good deal of empirical experiment and leading to real insights into interpreters' practices and processes. Many of these findings also found their way into training programmes, by way of advice on pausing, on "ear-voice span"/"*décalage*", on the advisability, for example, of shadowing as a training exercise and so on.

Typically though, the subject of the research was "the interpreter" – as an entity rather than as a person. Research data were quite often assumed to represent "interpreting" in general and "the interpreter" as a unified phenomenon. The interpreter's mind was the focus of attention while contextual factors such as personality, concern for quality, responsiveness to criticism or coping with special situations such as a chairperson interrupting or speaking at the same time as a speech-maker tended to be seen as unhelpful distractions. Indeed, it is fair to say that simultaneous interpreting research has been dominated by studies of cognition and of response to stimuli from its beginnings in the 1950s until quite recently. By contrast, when scholars from the late 1970s onwards began to investigate the activity variously known as community, public service or liaison interpreting, they naturally focused on the salient contextual features of the event: face-to-face interaction, dialogue and a three-party negotiation of turn taking in spontaneous interaction. It soon became apparent that interpreters were full participants in the events in which they acted, that they had their own goals and that their decision making could lead in a variety of different directions, influencing the outcome of the event. Context, in these studies, was now very much to the fore. Indeed, research in community interpreting now regards the interpreter as a social being, in a social context, with wants, desires, needs and instinctive reactions and so on in addition to the institutional goals they seek to serve.

For a while it seemed as if these very different types of interpreting – conference and community, as they were most commonly called – lent themselves to wholly different research questions and forms of investigation. It was not until Ebru Diriker's ethnographic study of 2001, published in 2004 as *De-/Re-Contextualising Simultaneous Interpreting*, that attention was systematically drawn to the professional conference interpreter as a person in a context, actively involved in what is going on, speaking on their own behalf as well as on behalf of those they translate. Now at last evidence is emerging of interpreters not merely fulfilling a normative role, that of automatically and neutrally representing another's talk, but also reflecting and representing their own selves.

It is within this general perspective that Claudia Monacelli's new book considers simultaneous conference interpreters' activity. With her many years of experience as a practising interpreter, she starts from the observation that conference interpreters tend to see survival as being their primary objective. Now what does 'survival' mean in the context of simultaneous interpreting? The image of the tightrope walker has sometimes been used as a graphic illustration of the interpreter's balancing act. Compelled to move forwards at a pace set by someone else, they maintain equilibrium as best they may, compensating for pressures and surges that might push them into the void. The author describes this activity in terms of the theory of self-regulation, a phenomenon observed throughout the natural

world. Operating as a closed system, organisms counteract threats to their own stability by deploying their resources in a self-regulating way. This book provides a detailed account of self-regulation as theorised by scholars in other branches of science, and then shows how it operates in simultaneous interpreting.

For, as the author shows, it is in the nature of conference interpreting that the activity itself is constantly face-threatening – to all concerned, including the interpreter. Performance is at all times held up to scrutiny and yet decision-making must be immediate: there is always a feeling of "it's now or never: there will be no second chance". It is interpreters' awareness of this that naturally induces them to seek what the author calls "dynamic equilibrium", a constantly evolving state in which problems are resolved and pressures compensated for in the interests of maintaining the integrity of the system as a whole.

In this book, Claudia Monacelli does not seek to show that interpreters occasionally step out of line by intervening in the communication process. Rather, by taking as her starting point the more visible interventions interpreters make (comments on speed of delivery, on exchanges between the chair and the floor), she is able to explore the interpreter's instinct for self-preservation in an inherently unstable environment. She then seeks evidence in the whole fabric of their output for self-regulation as an underlying principle of interpreter behaviour. Thus she shows us how local-level choices in terms of personal reference, modality, omissions, additions and so on are related to the overriding imperative of professional survival – through face-protective mechanisms such as distancing the self from what is being talked about.

Claudia Monacelli's book derives its credibility from the professional interpreting environment within which it is situated. The subjects – interpreters with many years of professional experience – are involved both at an initial briefing stage (in which professional norms, standards and expectations are discussed) and in a later post-performance de-briefing. In this way, the interpreter's brain is no longer treated as an object on a laboratory table: the subjects are directly involved in the research as people with their own views and attitudes. The primary data of the study are the recorded output of these subjects at work in genuine conference settings. The author's close acquaintance with these environments affords her a privileged perspective from which to observe interpreters' self-regulation. As a professional interpreter of many years' standing she provides in *Self-preservation in simultaneous interpreting: Surviving the role* an insightful and refreshing account of interpreters' behaviour from the other side of the glass-fronted booth.

Ian Mason
Heriot Watt University
Edinburgh
February 2008

Abbreviations

IS	Interpreting Studies
TS	Translation Studies
SI	Simultaneous interpreting
AIIC	International Association of Conference Interpreters
SR	Self-regulation
I_1	Subject (Interpreter) no. 1
EVS	Ear-Voice-Span (décalage)
S	Speaker
H	Hearer
MP	Member of Parliament
ST	Source Text
TT	Target Text
EFWP	European Forum of Women Parliamentarians
RT	Relevance Theory
FTA	Face Threatening Act

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Transcription key

[text]	literal translation
text	comments from the Chair or non-primary communicating parties
@	voiced pause
#	end of sentence intonation
/	rising intonation or stress
~	level intonation
-	marks different elements within a text sequence
…	hesitation
:	short pause
::	longer pause
{text}	interpreter's microphone shut, audience hears ST
<cough>	unclear portions of text, non-verbal features
(text)	description of surrounding text (co-text)
°utterance°	utterance spoken relatively quietly
boldface	words spoken with emphasis

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

"It's funny how all the organisms are alike. When the chips are down, when the pressure is on, every creature on the face of the earth is interested in one thing and one thing only: its own survival."
Dr. Iris Hineman (Lois Smith)
Minority Report
Twentieth Century Fox and Dreamworks Pictures
Steven Spielberg, Director (2002)

The claim made by Dr. Lois Hineman, a character in the film *Minority Report* directed by Steven Spielberg, is the underlying thesis of this work. The film is based on a short story by Philip K. Dick, first published in 1956 in the magazine Fantastic Universe. *Minority Report* takes place in a near-term future world, 2054, thus a plausible world for current film viewers. The intriguing manner in which the theme of survival is dealt with in the film offers food for thought in terms of elements that inhabit an immediate and extended context. The film's plot revolves around the Department of Pre-Crime, where police officers and detectives are empowered to act on foreknowledge offered by three 'pre-cogs', visionaries, whose pre-visions make it possible to predict criminal intent. Hypothetically speaking, intentions are tried and punished. As one of the 'thought police' – put in the position of second-guessing what people will do – states at the outset of the film, "committing the crime is a matter of metaphysics". This volume examines the construct of survival (self-regulation) in the professional working environment of conference interpreters and offers a model of context with which to consider moves made within this environment. This work is interdisciplinary, based on studies of self-regulation in other fields, autopoiesis, sociolinguistic studies concerned with contextual matters and participation framework, interactional linguistic politeness and interpreting studies. Adducing evidence from a corpus of authentic situated texts, an explanatory hypothesis for prevailing trends is offered that Spielberg, Dick, and certainly even Dr. Hineman – the inventor of pre-crime – would champion.

The pre-crime system is functionally based on the notion of infallibility. The explanation of why the system works is that the pre-cogs are never wrong. Thus the infallibility of the system. In a sense, the meta-discourse of interpreting, i.e. professional

associations, codes of ethics and academic literature, has also represented interpreting along these lines: interpreters guarantee "truth and completeness", "accuracy", and are "impartial" and "objective" (see Diriker 2004: 21). Associations go even so far as to suggest that interpreters identify closely with the speaker, in order for the audience not to distinguish between the interpreter and the speaker (*op. cit.*: 33).

In *Minority Report* John Anderton is the main protagonist operating in the Department. He is depicted as a staunch advocate of pre-crime and supports the notion that "pre-cogs don't see what people intend to do, but what they will do". We soon find out, however, that the film's title refers to a discovery Anderton makes about pre-cogs, and namely that they in fact disagree. In other words, if all three pre-cogs agree, the system is airtight, but if one dissents it is not a perfect system. Having banked on complete infallibility, pre-crime system developers try their utmost to keep this information confidential. They are successful until Anderton himself becomes the object of pre-crime investigation in the film. He stops at nothing to find the minority report in an attempt to save his integrity, indeed to save his very life.

Is it possible to characterize the world of conference interpreting in terms of professional survival?

In drawing conclusions in his study of meaning assembly in simultaneous interpreting, Robin Setton (1998: 199) points out, "Experience and corpus findings suggest that *survival*, then quality in SI, depend on three conditions: […]" (my emphasis). Indeed most, if not all, professional interpreters would probably agree to place 'survival' before 'quality' as their prime objective on the job. Yet the construct of survival, or 'self-regulation' as commonly known in other branches of science, has never been investigated in Interpreting Studies.

Consider the following cases, both taken from my corpus, where the different layers of social meaning in the source text (ST) compel interpreters to adopt a different alignment or shift their 'footing' (Goffman, 1981). In Sample 1.1 the ST speaker is told to slow down; the speaker interrupts her presentation and turns to entertain an exchange with the Chair.

Sample 1.1 I_5 7–11 ST

	ST	**Literal translation**
Delegate	plus lentement	more slowly
	OK	OK
	c'est pour gagner des minutes	it is to save some minutes
	ne ne m'enlevez pas mes minutes @ <chuckle>	don't don't take away my minutes @
Chair	*<off microphone> j'en tiens compte*	*I'll take it into account*
Delegate	d'accord	fine

Sample 1.2 I_5 7–11 TT

	TT	Literal translation
Interpreter	la signora dice che correva per guadagnar qualche minuto	the woman says she was running to gain some minutes
	però se corre così non si riesce a seguire	but if she runs like this it is impossible to follow
	grazie	thank you

The interpreter (target text, TT), on the other hand, reports to the audience what the ST speaker says, using the third person (Sample 1.2). She then interjects a comment of her own, using a somewhat informal register ('running', to express rapid speech), and thanks the audience.

In the above example one could surmise the interpreter's need to inform listeners of what the ST speaker and Chair are saying, but why does she address the audience directly with a comment of her own?

In the following Sample (1.3) the ST speaker is a female parliamentarian from Turkey who speaks about the condition of women in her country at all levels. She then also begins to express her views on the condition of Chechen women. Before taking the floor she is told she has only five minutes because another plenary meeting is scheduled. During her talk the Chair tries to interrupt no less than six times before the sequence of utterances in Sample 1.3.

Sample 1.3 I_9 22 ST

Delegate	I would like to express briefly my views on the condition of Chechen women which is a gross violation of human rights
Chair	*Madame I am sorry Madame I am sorry please*
Delegate	Russians I think
Chair	*sorry Madame we have another meeting now*
Delegate	the Russians have been
Chair	*we have another meeting*
Delegate	carrying on
Chair	*they are waiting outside*
Delegate	a huge massacre and genocide in Chechnya the victims are women and elderly

Sample 1.4 I_9 22

	TT channel	Literal translation
Interpreter	vorrei esprimere brevemente le mie opinioni sulla condizione delle donne cecene	I would like to express briefly my opinions on the conditions of the Chechen women
	vediamo ravvediamo lì una @ brutale violazione dei diritti dell'uomo	we see we notice there a @ brutal violation of the rights of man
	<lowers voice> la presidente tenta invano di interrompere la delegata <raises voice>	<lowers voice> the Chair tries in vain to interrupt the delegate <raises voice>
Chair	*we have another meeting*	
ST	carrying on	
Chair	*they are waiting outside*	
Interpreter	sono state vittime di un tragico massacro e genocidio in Cecenia	they have been victims of a tragic massacre and genocide in Chechnya
	le vittime sono soprattutto donne e anziani	the victims are above all women and the elderly

The interpreter manages this sequence in the following manner.

Sample 1.4 illustrates the TT version of Sample 1.3. When the Chair intervenes (italics in the TT channel) the interpreter turns his microphone off.

In these interpreting samples we find rather obvious evidence of the interpreters' shifts in footing in relation to the ST. This is exemplified in Sample 1.2 by the interpreter's first resorting to the third person ("the woman says") when addressing the audience directly, then again when interjecting a comment of her own and adopting an informal register. In Sample 1.4 a change in voice pitch (<lowers voice>) signals a shift whereby the interpreter reports the nature of the exchange between the ST speaker and the Chair. The interpreter then turns off his microphone, making the ST exchange between the Chair and the speaker at the podium directly available to the TT audience ({*meeting* carrying on *they are waiting outside*}), before resuming his work.

Through these shifts in footing the interpreters have adopted a different alignment, thus creating a shift in context in relation to the ST. Contextual shifts of a greater or lesser degree are prominent throughout my corpus. However, the reasons behind such shifts are far from apparent. In their volume entitled *Intercultural Communication*, Scollon and Scollon (1995) convincingly argue that we are all caught between values, norms, and practices of different discourse systems in communication ('interdiscursivity'), which are often in conflict with each other. This undeniably has wide-ranging implications for interpreters, as witnessed in

the above samples. Information processing models (Gerver 1976; Moser-Mercer 1997; Massaro and Shlesinger 1997) and 'cognitive' approaches to modeling developed in Interpreting Studies (Darò and Fabbro 1994; Lonsdale 1996; Setton 1999) have not accounted for phenomena of this type, primarily because these models are almost entirely receiver-oriented. The metaphor of text negotiation would indeed do more justice in reflecting an interpreter's behavior and would require an interactional framework within which to study simultaneous interpreting. The examples above may represent extreme cases where the interpreter is indeed involved in behavior geared toward maximizing survival since s/he attempts to deal with multiple stimuli and is obliged to take on a different participation status, both in relation to his or her own text and to the ST speaker's text. Can the principle of self-preservation, i.e. survival/self-regulation, be detected in a corpus?

1.1 Working hypothesis and aims of the study

Although numerous scholars in the discipline continue to highlight the maxim whereby interpreters always operate 'in relation to' a ST (Shlesinger 1994, 1995; Pöchhacker 1994b; Riccardi 2002), I speculate that – along a spectrum of self-regulatory behavior geared toward 'survival' – an interpreter will often resort to becoming 'principal' and 'author' (Goffman 1981). In other words, an interpreter will speak for him or herself, entertain subordinate communication with an audience, for the exclusive goal of promoting professional survival. Consequently, my analysis of corpus texts moves from the fundamental premise that professional behavior – irrespective of the nature of a source text, working conditions and constraints – will aim to maximize professional survival. Interpreters always operate in the immediacy of a given situation where they are in a position of coping with contextual constraints (see Varela 1999). In this respect it is possible to describe the guiding principle behind their operational awareness as dynamic equilibrium (see Monacelli and Punzo 2001). The characteristics of professional behavior are thus also expected to be of a dynamic quality, unless this behavior appears to be normative or ideological in nature. It should be possible to distinguish normative or ideological behavior if particular trends prevail in the data, rather than dynamic behavior where no specific overall trend would prevail.

My aim in this study is primarily to investigate the effects of self-regulation on the behavior of simultaneous interpreters via a study of participation framework and interactional politeness (contextual shifts, changes in alignment and shifts in footing) and to establish some explanatory and predictive principles. Specifically, I seek to detect evidence of self-regulatory behavior during text negotiation in simultaneous interpreting and its effects on interpreters' output when they move to

ensure professional survival in the context of threats to face. What, then, are the most suitable tools and method to explore how, and perhaps why, an interpreter changes alignment and shifts footing in his/her utterance?

1.2 Method of investigation and research issues

Goffman (1981: 147) suggests that deixis may be involved in the analysis of participation framework. Grundy (2000) also suggests that deictics are used to encode a relationship between persons, times, places and ourselves as speakers and that we should expect individual uses to vary. He stresses "if individual uses vary, we should expect intercultural variation in the way speakers encode the relationships of themselves to the world around them" (*ibid.*: 36–37). Deictic reference tells us something about "the membership status of the speaker, the degree of their affiliation to the culture as a whole and to sub-groups within the culture" (*ibid.*: 41). Diriker (2001), for example, examined "shifts in the speaking subject" and reports on a range of different roles assumed by the professional interpreter in her case study. Stewart (1992, 1995) analyzed the way in which speakers exploit the ambiguity of personal reference for the purposes of face-protection and redressive action. The analysis of personal reference (§6.1) in my corpus aims to further explore and extend these findings. I also examine the interpreter's perspective as evinced by how processes are presented (transitivity) and how speakers attribute agency in texts (§6.2). Since the suppression of agency may lead to impersonalization and indirectness (two negative face-saving strategies, see Table 5.2), I consider transitivity patterns with regard to interactional linguistic politeness.

In adopting an interactional framework to analyze text negotiation in simultaneous interpreting, the notion of self-referentiality is fundamental to this study and illuminates the construct of self-regulation. For example, the system of modality can be assessed as a speaker pragmatically pointing deictically to him or herself (see Fritz 2003), since it reveals commitment to what one is saying. The expression of modality, discussed in detail in §6.3.1, includes modal auxiliaries, lexical verbs and adverbs. Since personal reference and the various modal and transitivity systems are of crucial relevance to the strategies of social interaction, particularly to tactics of persuasion and politeness, it is clear that my categories of analysis (Stance §6.1, Voice §6.2, Face §6.3) are not discrete. However, in order to facilitate a description of these categories, they are presented in separate sections. Consequently, when approaching the category of 'face', the last to be examined, my analysis also includes the omission, addition, strengthening or weakening of face-threatening acts since all categories previously analyzed jointly create the face-work in these acts.

Therefore, a closer look at the workings of interactional politeness in corpus texts, witnessed through an analysis of personal reference, transitivity patterns and modality systems in corpus texts, as well as how threats are dealt with, may lead to an assessment of matters concerning self-preservation and face, both fundamental elements at the basis of self-regulatory behavior.

These tools, along with the dynamic involvement of subjects in this analysis (as discussed in §7.3), may make it possible to understand to what degree interpreters' behavior is governed by self-regulatory (survival) needs and/or normative behavior.

My epistemological stance elicits a number of issues regarding text negotiation during simultaneous interpreting which this study aims to address. Below is a partial list of the most compelling questions this research seeks to answer.

1. Does simultaneous interpreting, as a discourse activity, show signs of particular alignment-altering phenomena?
2. Is there evidence of face-saving strategies at work in professional performances?
3. What different roles are assumed by interpreters?
4. To what degree are interpreters aware of their behavior during performances?

In adopting a system dynamics (constructivist) theoretical stance I realize that there is no privileged perspective from which to make descriptions of the type this study sets out to make. Focusing on self-referentiality alone makes it clear that I accept the unresolvable relativism inherent to taking this stance. In this sense I understand that the development of this work may proceed with some amount of uncertainty, doubt and what may seem to be tentative moves to describe features. But, as Hermans states (1999b: 150), "Once we know that our knowledge is constructed, we can learn to live with the limitations of perspective". I hope, nonetheless, that this study can instill further doubt, i.e. the necessary driving force for researchers to start asking more questions and to motivate their search. This alone would be an indication of this work's success in contributing to Interpreting Studies.

For pre-crime to function in the film *Minority Report* there obviously cannot be any suggestion of fallibility. After all, "who wants a justice system that instills doubt? It may be reasonable but it is still doubt", as the inventor of pre-crime, Dr. Hineman, states. At the time of their existence, the minority reports were initially considered an insignificant variable. But when the protagonist's own life is at stake, he makes use of that very variable to work in his favor.

This study explores how interpreters behave in authentic conference settings. To some, the evidence I adduce may seem to be as insignificant a variable as the minority reports in Spielberg's film were held to be. This notwithstanding, the theoretical perspective outlined in this work aims to offer a new perspective. And in research – differently from the world of pre-crime – it is this hint of doubt that

might pave the way in Interpreting Studies to exploring currently held notions of prescribed, norm-based and ethical behavior.

1.3 Content and structure of the volume

The adoption of a system dynamics perspective in this study begins with a consideration of the profession as a system in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and research design of the study. A detailed description is included of both the nature of corpus texts and the professional subjects who participated in the study. This chapter also describes how texts are analyzed.

Taking into account the interdisciplinary nature of this work, I flesh out my theoretical framework (Chapter 4) on the basis of literature supporting my claims and hypotheses. I review the relative literature in the same chapter in order to avoid borrowing constructs from other disciplines without first introducing them and specifying their pertinence to this study. Several key concepts are repeated throughout this study: autonomy, self-referentiality, to name two. These are defined and distinguished, along with other concepts, throughout the development of this work, for the sake of clarity and cross-reference. These key concepts are then presented in a glossary (Appendix). A review of the relevant literature in relation to the notion of 'context' is included in Chapter 5 in order to be better placed to understand when and how contextual shifts occur in my data. Work relating to participation framework and interactional politeness of relevance to this study is also discussed in Chapter 5 (§5.1 and §5.2) where their relation to self-regulatory behavior is contemplated.

Chapter 6 characterizes the interpreter-mediated event as face-threatening and examines corpus texts in this light. It presents the findings, classified according to the categories presented in my research design (§3.1), i.e. 'stance', 'voice' and 'face', and includes both a quantitative and qualitative assessment. Salient text samples are used to illustrate the nature of assessments expressed. Chapter 7 discusses findings and relates them to the interpreter's role performance, offering an explanatory hypothesis couched within my epistemological perspective. Chapter 8, a conclusion, discusses the relevance and limitations of my study and offers suggestions as to directions worthwhile exploring in future.

CHAPTER 2

Interpreting as a system

Minority Report's world of pre-crime is situated in Washington D. C., the cornerstone of U.S. political power. Within this context power is wielded through the exercise of control to varying degrees. For example, political leaders plan strategies by initially taking stock of a situation, assess potential room for manoeuvre in terms of their ideological stance, and monitor their efforts in order to evaluate their effectiveness, subsequently modifying their strategies to reach their desired goals. Control thus emerges as the result of planning, implementation, monitoring and adjustment.

What would occur, in this scenario, if we were to add the need for interpreting services, i.e. a context in which politicians were compelled to communicate through the voice of an interpreter? In the overall scheme of events, one would think politicians in this case relinquish their control to some extent. Indeed the reason for use of an interpreter's B language in the former USSR and in diplomatic circles the world over to employ two interpreters – one for each party involved in the mediated communication – precisely stems from the need to extend control over the developing communication.

As we will learn in Chapter 4, which deals more specifically with systems dynamics, self-regulation (survival) is the cybernetic concept of control. Similarly, then, to the political leader who exercises control, it is possible to speculate that the interpreter exercises control when negotiating and mediating the source text for a target audience, and this implies power. Chapter 5 examines simultaneous interpreting as communicative interaction in order to understand the contextual framework in systemic terms and analyzes linguistic means through which power may be wielded.

This chapter examines interpreting as a system from a self-reflexive perspective. Since the concept of autonomy indeed lies at the basis of self-regulation[1],

1. Autonomy is the conceptual counterpart of control. A system is autonomous if it can specify its own laws. Autonomy is reached when there is a network of interactions of components where the interactions recursively regenerate the network of interactions that produced them. These interactions realize the network as a unity in space where the components exist by constituting and specifying, i.e. by distinguishing, the unity's boundaries from its background. In the cases of simultaneous interpreting, autonomy is achieved through the distinction of a target text from the source text, i.e. through a distinction of the interpreter as speaker from the source text speaker.

I submit that an analysis of the autonomous nature of the profession may illuminate the development of prevalent norms and constructs in interpreting. Leydesdorff (2003: 166) suggests the importance of taking a systems perspective.

> The systems perspective originates from taking a reflexive turn. Observations, for example, were defined by Luhmann (1984) from his 'second-order' perspective as the operation of first distinguishing and then indicating the distinctions made. [...] It should be noted that the operation of 'observation' thus defined implies two operations. By (re)combining the network operation with the historical information, the analytical perspective adds to an understanding of the historical cases. For example, one may wish to raise the question why some things did *not* happen? (original emphasis)

Therefore a systems perspective is here taken when contextualizing interpreting, in an attempt to understand the interpreter's self-regulatory moves within the framework of an evolutionary process. This chapter is thus divided into four sections: the social organization of the profession, i.e. how it is portrayed in texts and viewed by scholars (§2.1), a discussion of norms (§2.2), considerations of power and ideology (§2.3) and how norms evoke ethics (§2.4).

2.1 The social organization of the profession

The profession of interpreting in most parts of the world is not regulated at a central (governmental) level. For this reason it is probably worth considering the social organization of interpreting as seen through the eyes of professional organizations, whose role it is to sanction the activity, both in terms of endorsing the admission of new members and authorizing the manner in which the activity is carried out, to some extent, through the establishment of norms.

Professional interpreting associations operate both at a local level, either through membership in a 'local' chapter of an international association (for example, AIIC, Association internationale des interprètes de conférence, or TAALS, The American Association of Language Specialists), or membership in a strictly local association that is national in scope (Assointerpreti, in Italy). Associations may also restrict membership to individual geo-political regions within a country's border (A.I.C.F.V.G., Associazione interpreti di conferenza del Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, from a Region in northeast Italy). These may or may not have any affiliation with an international body (AIIC or F.I.T., Féderation Internationale des Traducteurs). I shall take into consideration here AIIC, the professional association that has had a major impact on establishing interpreting norms throughout the years and has also negotiated working conditions with major institutional

employers of interpreters around the world and, to a lesser degree TAALS, which is also international in scope.

TAALS was founded in 1957 in Washington D. C. and includes both translators and interperters among its members. In order to enter this association the applicant must be sponsored by at least 5 active members 'in good standing' who have been TAALS members for at least two years. Applicants must also have at least 100 days experience of consecutive and/or simultaneous interpreting in order to apply. The final decision on all applications rests with the TAALS General Assembly. The language classification rating is as follows: A, principal active language(s) into which interpreters work and which they speak as a native; B, other active language(s) into which interpreters work, regardless of difficulties of terminology or idiom; B*, other active language(s) into which interpreters work in the consecutive mode only; C, language(s) from which interpreters work regardless of difficulties of terminology or idiom. This classification system is similar to the one used in AIIC, with the exception of B*. This distinction is an interesting one and may reflect the nature of diplomatic interpreting where a *retour* (bidirectional interpreting) is to be guaranteed by interpreters into their B languages in the consecutive mode; the same interpreter, however, may chose not to work actively into their B language in the simultaneous mode.

TAALS standards require their members to be in good physical conditions so as not to hinder their performance, specifying that interpreters must be able to see and hear properly. This may also reflect the nature of diplomatic interpreting where working in the consecutive mode would conventionally require an interpreter to reread notes taken. TAALS also suggests interpreting teams to be organized so as to avoid the 'systematic use of relay' interpreting. In terms of members' interacting with their working environment, the association insists that all engagements should be covered by a written contract that – aside from indicating the details of the venue – should also include the working languages to be used and the number of working hours per day. A key figure to be indicated in contracts is the coordinating interpreter, or chef d'équipe, to act as liaison between the organizer and the interpreting team. Thus we understand how this association establishes a functional hierarchy for interpreting services, from the avoidance of relay interpreting to the creation of a professional figure which manages interpreting assignments.

As to the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) I will consider its policy by reviewing two of its 'Basic Texts', the Code of Professional Ethics and AIIC Professional Standards. The AIIC Code of Professional Ethics is divided into three parts: Purpose and Scope, Code of Honour and Working Conditions. The Code of Honour binds AIIC members to secrecy and calls for abstention from deriving personal gain from confidential information acquired during assignments. Although AIIC stipulates that members shall not accept any

assignment for which they may not be qualified, interpreter qualifications do not require members to be in good physical condition, nor to be able to see and hear properly, even though mention is made of booths being positioned so as interpreters might have a direct view of the speaker. The distinction is an important one and may indeed be discriminatory. An empirical study aiming to see how far the inability to see the speaker's slides could affect the performance of a simultaneous interpreter, carried out on professionals and interpreting students, concluded that quality of interpretations is much more consistent for professionals than students, especially when working with slides, and that students' poor performance was essentially due to their lack of experience in working with slides (Guiducci 2002).

AIIC's Basic Texts also make claims on professional interpreters' time and whereabouts: members of the association are not to accept more than one assignment for the same period (art. 3, Code) and contracts should include a clause covering non-working days (art. 8, Professional Standards); members are to declare a professional address and, if they are permanently employed in an organization's language department it must be declared and listed alongside the member's language qualifications (art. 1, Professional Standards). Mention is made throughout the Code of "the profession": not accepting any job or situation that might detract from the "dignity of the profession"; interpreters are requested to refrain from any behavior which might bring the profession "into disrepute" (art. 3, Code). The Code also governs arbitration in matters arising between two or more members of the association, and any acts committed by members against the interests of the association will be pursued. In matters of this kind, the General Assembly is sovereign.

Working conditions are outlined in both basic texts "with a view to ensuring the best quality interpretation" (art. 7, Code). Aside from the requirement of satisfactory conditions concerning visibility, already mentioned, the Code indicates technical standards drawn up by the association in relation to conditions in simultaneous booths. Like TAALS, AIIC stresses that relay interpreting is to be avoided and interpreters are not to work alone or without someone to relieve them. Other indications concerning the interaction with clients concern receiving documents in advance, requesting a briefing session and, categorically, interpreters are not to perform any other duties except that of conference interpreter at conferences to which they are assigned. The Professional Standards text contains a detailed table indicating team strength for simultaneous interpreting, depending on the conference language combinations and the number of working hours in the day. These requirements establish how interpreters are to behave within the (social) working environment. As mentioned, AIIC basic texts do not indicate that members need to be in good physical shape to guarantee quality performance. They nonetheless indicate that "travel conditions should be such that they do not impair either the

interpreter's health or the quality of her/his work following a journey" (art. 10, Professional Standards).

The extent of AIIC's power in defending the profession and setting standards was made manifest during the '90s when the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) of the United States sued AIIC for what was considered to be standards violating American antitrust legislation. The main charges went beyond AIIC's recommended minimum daily fees and involved its working conditions and standards. AIIC's Workload Study grew out of this experience, since it forced the association's Research Committee to substantiate claims regarding the working conditions laid out in its Basic Texts. AIIC commissioned this study on interpreter stress that investigated psychological, physiological, physical and performance parameters and the interaction among these factors. The study was concluded in 2001 with a series of recommendations.

The nature of a professional association's political ideology and thus insight into what lies at the basis of its set of standards is perhaps best derived from a discourse analysis of the association's language and how it is used. An interesting paper entitled 'Discourse Analysis as a Tool for Investigating Norms in Simultaneous Interpreting' was read by Ebru Diriker (2000) at a conference in Manchester on research models in Translation Studies, in a session dedicated to issues in interpreting research and textual analysis. Acknowledging that Interpreting Studies has been rather reluctant to accept and deal with interpreting as a norm-governed social behavior, she gives an account of how norms are generally conceived in the discipline, stipulating that in the field norms are not considered an 'intrinsic' part of the cognitive processes of the interpreter. They are at best external factors that the interpreter can take into account consciously and willingly but only to a limited extent, due to the impact of the cognitive overload in simultaneous interpreting. Norms are nonetheless assumed to be an intrinsic part of the interpreter's decision-making process to some extent, since they represent social factors in the discipline.

Of the two ways Toury (1995) suggests to go about looking at the social factors that influence the interpreting process, Diriker (*op. cit.*) chooses to analyze extratextual sources, i.e. the discourse of meta-texts on simultaneous interpreting, in particular written sources, to examine how interpreters are expected to function as intermediaries. She acknowledges, however, that although it is not possible to trace a straight line from the discourse analysis of meta-texts on interpreting to the norms governing actual interpreting situations, it is at least possible to point to the larger framework within which interpreters are required to perform their task. The norms that prevail in interpreting discourse are likely, nevertheless, to accompany an interpreter's professional life, from initial training onward, and these norms may be 'hidden' in the way interpreters speak, in professional associations'

screening processes, not least in their guidelines for and demands from potential employers.

Ebru Diriker (2004) also explores simultaneous interpreting in relation to the broader and more immediate socio-cultural contexts not only by investigating the representation of the profession and the professional in the meta-discourse, but also by exploring the presence of interpreters and the nature of the interpreted utterance at an actual conference. She uses participant observations, interviews and analyzes conference transcripts, challenging some of the widely held assumptions about simultaneous interpreting. Diriker suggests that the interpreter's delivery represents not only the speaker but a multiplicity of speaker-positions, and that this multiplicity may well be a source of tension or vulnerability, as well as strength, for interpreters. Her analysis also highlights how interpreters negotiate meaning and underscores the need for more concerted efforts to explore simultaneous interpreting in authentic contexts. Her findings are discussed in detail in this chapter in Section 2.3.

2.2 A discussion of norms

Arguing that the professional meta-discourse constitutes its social context, Diriker (1999) highlights that norms prevalent in interpreting convert the values shared in the profession into performance prescriptions. Indeed it is through the perspective of the social context of interpreting that I have been examining the interpreting profession as a system. This section briefly discusses 'metatexts', the general meta-discourse on interpreting circulating independently of individual interpretations (e.g. oral texts used in empirical studies), therefore 'detached' from a description of these oral texts (see Tahir-Gûrçaglar 2002 and Gile 1999). The section opens by describing initial attempts to entertain a discussion of norms (§2.2.1) and then reviews the development of this discussion, as witnessed by literature produced primarily in the 1990s (§2.2.2). The section ends with a discussion of more recent efforts to focus on interpreting norms (§2.2.3).

2.2.1 Initial discussion of norms

In an article that appeared in Target in 1989, Miriam Shlesinger attempted to launch a discussion of simultaneous interpreting as a norm-governed behavior and proposed examining the possibility of extending the notion of translational norms to interpreting. She began by highlighting how the emergence of shared values and ideas in interpreting contexts was difficult because of the rarity of recurrent situations of the same type. Further, even though interpreters may be

exposed to spoken texts in a particular target language, it is unlikely they would relate – and compare – this output to interpreted target texts. Lamenting the lack of textual corpora from which to analyze normative behavior, she suggested looking for norms in interpreting schools. Since many practicing interpreters have been trained in a restricted number of schools, those professionals who teach may be a factor in the dissemination of interpreting norms (Shlesinger 1989: 111–112). In sum, Shlesinger stresses the obstacles inherent to the interpreting 'system' that restrict the proliferation of norms governing interpreting.

In answer to Shlesinger's call, Harris (1990) used the same forum to advance the discussion on norms in interpreting. He essentially presented a more optimistic view concerning the possibility of extracting norms from professional practice and mentioned a series of constructs prevalent among conference interpreters. These include speaking in the first person, turn-taking thresholds in booth, working into one's native language, and norms concerning the acceptability of target language production (*op. cit.*: 115–117). He concluded his discussion by highlighting one other "more fundamental and universal" norm: the "honest spokesperson", i.e. this norm "requires that people who speak on behalf of others, interpreters among them, re-express the original speakers' ideas and the manner of expressing them as accurately as possible and without significant omissions, and not mix them up with their own ideas and expressions" (*op. cit.*: 118). Harris clarifies that "the whole system" (*ibid.*) would break down if this norm did not exist, since it represents the foundation on which interpreters are entrusted with the responsibility of their activity and as such it merits mention "at least once" (*ibid.*) in a discussion on norms. My study challenges the 'universal' norm suggested by Harris, in as much as the construct of survival (self-regulation) implies, first and foremost, personal (professional) survival and thus may preclude interpreters from heeding text receivers' expectations when their professional survival is at stake.

More recently, Marzocchi (2005: 89) points out in a somewhat self-reflective turn that "a key insight in Shlesinger' paper [...] is that in order to study norms in interpreting one needs to place interpreting within a 'system'." In fact Shlesinger (*ibid.*) stresses the need for a systemic perspective of interpreting contexts. Hence the link between a systems view and a discussion of norm.

2.2.2 Development of a discussion on norms

In 1995 Anne Schjoldager regenerated the discussion on norms and was the first to search for translational norms (Toury 1995) in a corpus of interpreted texts. She concedes that it is difficult to determine to what degree working conditions constrain interpreters' choices and thus acknowledges this as a methodological problem for the extrapolation of norms in a corpus. Schjoldager proposes introducing

specific norms for simultaneous interpreting that govern "what the interpreter ought to do – or is allowed to do – when the task becomes difficult or impossible" (Schjoldager 1995/2002: 303). Data collected from her experimental corpus suggest one norm to be that "an interpreter is allowed to say something which is apparently unrelated to the source-text item in question... provided that s/he can say something which is contextually plausible" (*op. cit.*: 310).

Despite Schjoldager's attempt, more recently Shlesinger (1997: 124) again voiced her doubt concerning the issue of interpreting norms by repeating her claim that "the history of interpretation has not been conducive to the development of either synchronic or diachronic norms." An example of the difficulty in this sense is represented by an article written by Gile (1999) that appeared in a volume dedicated to translation and norms (Schäffner 1999), which dealt specifically with norms in research on conference interpreting. Admitting that he has always "focused on topics in which either the norms were taken for granted and prescriptive (in the didactic field), or cognitive issues were at the centre of attention (in conference interpreting)" (Gile 1999: 98), Gile mentions a series of norms prevailing in simultaneous interpreting: "maximizing information recovery", "maximizing the communication impact of the speech", the latter being a hypernorm covering other norms, such as "making the meaning sufficiently clear", "avoiding potentially offending translations", "finishing one's interpretation as rapidly as possible", "in a setting with many non-native speakers of the target language, making one's language neutral", and "minimizing recovery interference" (*op. cit.*: 99–100). Even though, as Toury (1995: 55) states, verbal formulations of norms are an indication of the awareness of existing norms and a measure of their significance, they also imply the desire to dictate norms rather than account for them. Thus Gile's discussion of these norms may almost seem to be an exercise in pescription rather than definition or description, as Diriker (1999: 76) points out.

Indeed it is Diriker (1999) who, at the end of the decade, begins problematizing the discourse on interpreting in an article she subtitles as "a quest for norms in simultaneous interpreting". Diriker results as being at one remove from the other scholars discussed in this section, in the sense that she discusses others' discussions of norms, from a position of second-order observation. She attempts (Diriker 1999: 73) to show that "certain norms seem to prevail for simultaneous interpreting which can challenge the general disinterest in norms in the field and give impetus to further research on this topic". After examining work done, Diriker critically analyzes the written discourse on SI, but makes clear that we cannot "assume a direct correlation between the norms prevailing in the discourse on SI and actual interpreting behavior" (*op. cit.*: 78). She also states, however, that analyzing discourse on SI makes it possible to "point to the larger social framework where interpreters have to survive" (*ibid.*, my emphasis). Her mention of "survival"

indeed brings the emphasis to bear on prime intentions that reign in an internal context (at a textual level) to satisfy external contextual ('larger social framework') priorities. Diriker extracts two, fundamental norms that emerge in the discourse on SI: "the interpreter is expected to produce an immediately intelligible output" and "the interpreter is asked to remain faithful to the meaning by accessing and reproducing the meaning in the source text" (*op. cit.*: 84). She of course highlights the contradiction in these two norms by questioning the plausibility of being 'immediately intelligible' and 'faithful to the meaning' of the source text. One may also question the epistemological validity of separating the 'what' is being said from the 'how' it is said. But, "after all, SI has to *survive* as a profession" (*op. cit.*: 85, my emphasis). Diriker once again puts the issue in self-regulatory terms ('survival'), a clear indication that something more is at stake than transferral and fidelity. I argue that survival is indeed the agenda, hidden or otherwise, underlying professional behavior.

The following section reviews two more recent articles that examine norms from different perspectives: Garzone (2002) proposes a discussion on norms at the service of quality in interpreting; Inghilleri (2003) reiterates the discussion on 'translational norms' in relation to interpreting as a socially situated activity.

2.2.3 A discussion on norms in conference interpreting today

Garzone (2002: 109–110) proposes looking beyond the texts or the situation in which the interpreted event is framed and devising a generalized principle to explicate what lies at the basis of an interpreter's behavior. She suggests using norms as such a principle and distinguishes them as "internalised behavioral constraints which govern interpreters' choices in relation to the different contexts where they are called upon to operate, the aim being to meet quality standards" (*op.cit.*: 110). She clarifies that this definition of norms has its counterpart in text reception, and reminds us that users' expectations can also be seen as norm-based. She cites Hermans (1999a: 57) to stress that the concept of norms can be used as a guide, not necessarily as regularities to be extracted from corpora, but as prevailing normative and cognitive expectations, as well as professional choices made among a range of alternatives.

She goes on to discuss how norms operate in SI (*op. cit.*: 112–115) and adopts Toury's (1995: 57ff) classification of norms as 'preliminary' and 'operational'. She includes 'matricial' norms as a subcategory of operational norms in interpreting. Garzone highlights interest in these specific norms, since they "govern omissions, additions and changes" (*op. cit.*: 114), and emphasizes the problematic nature of matricial norms in the assessment of quality. Often thought of as errors, she

stresses that they are used as emergency strategies and as such contribute to the quality of the performance.

Although this study challenges the notion of an interpreter's behavior geared toward norm-based quality, I agree with Garzone in terms of neither quality nor norms being absolute, but rather dependent on the context. Also, her mention of emergency strategies (seemingly the rule rather than the exception in simultaneous interpreting) supports our claim that an interpreter's behavior primarily aims toward professional survival.

Garzone uses the concept of 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1977, 1990), also proposed by Hermans (1999a: 58) to further her argument and point up the social nature of norms. Inghilleri (2003) develops this notion and proposes a theoretical framework with which to analyze public service interpreting as a norm-governed translational activity.

Inghilleri's model seeks to explain the generative nature of norms, considering norms both "as socio-cultural constructions and as constructive of socio-cultural practices" (Inghilleri 2003: 243). In an attempt to address the limitations of Toury's (1995) descriptive approach, Inghilleri focuses her attention on social structures and institutions and stresses the cultural, historical and political specificity of contexts within which interpreting takes place. She explores the constitution of 'field' (Bourdieu 1977, 1990) and views interpreting as a 'pedagogic discourse' (Bernstein 1990, 1996), suggesting that these theoretically support the view of interpreting as a norm-based, socially constituted activity. The theories of field and pedagogic discourse, Inghilleri claims, view norms as "realisations of discursive practices, recontextualised from a structure of inter-related fields and their corresponding sets of inter-locking habituses" (Inghilleri 2003: 246). Her model reflects the fundamental notion underlying this study, i.e. that language (and consciousness) resides in a linguistic-cognitive domain and is essentially social in nature (Monacelli 2000: 195–197).

Inghilleri offers a framework for the empirical and theoretical investigation of norms consisting of four interlocking components (*op. cit.*: 250): the explicit or implicit, inter-related and potentially divergent norms for interpreting found in specific formal and informal settings, the sources from which norms are generated, official and unofficial discursive sites where norms reside, and the text located in a wider social context. She bases her model on Toury's three types of translational norms (initial, preliminary, operational) and suggests that any initial norms influencing interpreter's choices in terms of adequacy and target acceptability are generative of the context-specific cultural/linguistic habitus, established through a variety of fields, e.g. educational, political, or economic, in which dispositions towards language(s) through official language policies, social/linguistic practices of

inclusion/exclusion and material provision for bi- or multi-lingual resources are evident. (*op. cit.*: 250–251, original emphasis).

In this manner, Inghilleri proposes any initial norm as the relationship between the source and target language and possible issues of cultural/linguistic dominance. She also stresses that any initial translational norm may be influenced by a non-translational norm educed from within the same cultural/linguistic habitus, but with a specific set of realizations operating independently of the interpreting context (*ibid.*).

Preliminary norms in her model are generative of what Inghilleri calls the 'local/global political habitus' operating in a given context. She uses as an example any stated policies concerning a non-native speaker's right to an interpreter. In conference interpreting this would signify any formal or informal policies governing the choices of which language combinations to cater for.

At the next level in her model, Inghilleri points to an inter-related habitus within social institutions and the operational norms enacted in both official and unofficial discursive practices. She suggests that translational operational norms are evident in the pedagogic content of training institutes and that a text shows the impact of norms on interpreting activity. Inghilleri stresses that this is the place where we can observe norms as they are adopted, adapted, negotiated and contested and specifies that these processes can occur at all levels of the interpreting context. Since norms are always performed in and through interaction, and since these interactive relationships are negotiated, Inghilleri highlights the conflicting agendas (interpreters vs. other participants in internal and external context) that potentially arise. She discusses data reported in Anker (1991) in relation to asylum hearings in order to investigate interpreting norms at both a theoretical and methodological level. Anker's study raised the following issues concerning interpreter decision-making: the role of the interpreter's background knowledge of the event; the potential for conflicting skopos emerging among the parties to the event; the inter- and intra-cultural nature of the interpreting activity. Inghilleri suggests that the potential for translational activity to operate as "open and active negotiation over meaning(s), however, is mediated by the relationship between the set of inter-related fields and the accompanying habitus which impact on the interpreting context" (Inghilleri 2003: 260). In other words, interpreters act within, and are constituted by, the external context in which the interpreting activity takes place. Inghilleri concludes that it is at the discursive gaps resulting between the local, interactional practices, and the social norms that function to suppress these contradictions, that the possibility arises to challenge existing social relations and practices.

She indeed acknowledges Simeoni's claim (1998: 12) that translators have a tendency to be subservient to established norms and their informing habitus (Inghilleri 2003: 261). However, her paper argues for an alternative view: interpreters

are "the embodiment of distinctive, contradictory and conflicting habitus among the participants" in a mediated encounter (ibid.). This model emerged from her analysis of political asylum interviews, which raises the issue of its adaptability to other interpreting contexts. In any case her view that "the relationship between micro-interactional and macro-structural relations is fundamental to and informs all interpreted interactions" (*op. cit.*: 262) is similar to the position adopted here.

2.3 A cultural turn: Power and ideology

Exploring the fundamentally oral nature of interpreting, Michael Cronin (2002) calls for a 'cultural turn', similar to what has occurred in Translation Studies. This would entail explicitly dealing with issues of power since, throughout history, "the role of interpreters has been crucially determined by the prevailing hierarchical constitution of power and their position in it" (Cronin 2002: 387). Here it is a matter of personal interests vs. professional ones, an issue raised in the previous chapter (Samples 1.1–1.4). Power indeed implies ideology and a true cultural turn in IS (conference interpreting specifically), where issues of power and ideology are seriously addressed, has yet to occur. Cronin also points out, "little critical attention has been paid to the conditions of production (and reproduction) of the theory of interpreting, including the siting of interpreting research centres in academic institutions in the developed world" (*op. cit.*: 390). He warns of the danger in privileging positivism in interpreting research, which would favor "depoliticized, minimally contextualized experiments" (*ibid.*).

In his argument espousing the need for a cultural turn, Cronin highlights the social framework within which interpreters operate, that needs to be foregrounded, in an attempt to illuminate the linguistic and cultural boundaries interpreters cross. He cites Anderson (1976) as having anticipated a possible cultural turn through his investigation of "the variables of social class, education, gender, age, and situational factors, such as arena of interaction (political, military, academic, religious) and levels of tension", where he also pointed to factors involving the prestige of groups involved in the mediated communicative event and attitudes towards the languages spoken (Cronin 2002: 391).

Of particular interest to my study is Cronin's emphasis on the interpreter's self-preservation, whether a conscious and/or covert strategy, and on the central problem of interpreting, i.e. control (*op. cit.*: 392). Mention of these concepts leads him to a discussion on 'autonomous' and 'heteronomous' systems of interpreting, autonomous systems being ones where colonizers train their own interpreters in the language/s of the colonized, and heteronomous systems involve the recruitment of local interpreters and teaching them the imperial language (*op. cit.*: 393).

Cronin stresses, however, "the dilemma for interpreters in colonial contexts is whether they can return as native. If they do, the risk, of course, is that they *go native*" (*ibid.*, original emphasis). He makes use of key concepts addressed in my study (autonomy, self-preservation, survival) to describe phenomena that are nevertheless characteristic of the activity of interpreting in different contexts, where self-regulatory behavior is geared primarily toward professional survival.

The tension which Cronin describes involving heteronomous and autonomous systems of interpreting within the context of colonization, as system, may also be extended to any interpreter-mediated context. In my adaptation of autopoietic theory to the analysis of interpreting as system I reiterate that systems are operationally closed entities that subordinate all changes to the maintenance of their own organization (see Chapter 4). Since this applies to all systems, the survival of competing systems necessarily implies a level of underlying tension. This may hold true even where competing systems do not seem to coexist. For example, the survival (self-preservation) of interpreting as a system means the perpetuation of the interpreting service. The professional survival (self-preservation) of interpreting as a system thus means even interrupting that service, as illustrated in Sample 1.4 (Chapter 1). It is significant that Cronin suggests the interpreter's ethical position to be distinguished in terms of "strategies for survival" (*op. cit.*: 394). His recourse to the term 'survival' calls into question the nature of the interpreters' embodied action that, in turn, raises the issue of their self-regulatory behavior.

Diriker's work (2004), which deals with the position of conference interpreters as individuals and professionals working and surviving in socio-cultural contexts, may be considered the beginning of a cultural turn in Interpreting Studies. Her work in many respects is indeed groundbreaking in terms of conference interpreting, since she not only examines the meta-discourse as social context and the (re) presentation of conference interpreting in the meta-discourse of various actors inside and outside the profession, but also analyzes a corpus of situated performances. Her study moves from the assumption that

> conference interpreters are constrained by but also constitutive of a multitude of intertwined and mutually reflexive context(s) such as the *most immediate discursive context(s)* during interpreting that are invoked by previous utterances and implied by potential utterances; the conditions and demands of the *particular conference context* where they work in a given instance, and the conditions and demands of the *larger socio-cultural context(s)* in which they operate and survive as professionals. (*op. cit.*: 14, original emphasis)

Diriker therefore views conference interpreting as both context-constrained and context-constituting, adopting a dynamic view of context. She follows Bakhtin, Cicourel and Lindstrom in approaching conference interpreting in relation to

both the broader (macro) and narrower (micro) contexts and makes use of Critical Discourse Analysis in her examination of the meta-discourse on conference interpreting. She explores shifts in the speaking subject in her corpus. In contrast to the norm contemplating the presence of only one 'speaker-position' that the interpreter should assume while working (as suggested in the meta-discourse on conference interpreting), her analysis of corpus transcripts suggests there are four possible 'speaker positions' the interpreter adopts (*op. cit.*: 84):

1. the speaker's position;
2. the speaker's position (indirectly) where the interpreter reports, paraphrases, inserts explanatory remarks, etc.;
3. the speaker's position (implicitly) where the interpreter adds personal remarks into what appears to be the speaker's first person singular ("I") in the delivery;
4. the speaker's position (explicitly) where the interpreter adds personal remarks in the delivery.

This leads her to deduce that, while these different speaker positions (speaking about the speaker, when reporting, for example) may create a distancing effect, they also serve to differentiate or distinguish the interpreter from the speaker (*op. cit.*: 89). This indeed appears to be the case if seen through a self-reflective perspective. However, since interpreters speak predominantly through the speaker's "I" in the delivery, it is only when a juxtaposition of domains (see §5.1) occurs – making for misguided interaction among ST listeners and TT listeners – that a distinction is made between the interpreter and the ST speaker. Diriker cites (*op. cit.*: 90) the following example from her corpus in this respect.

> [...] one of the mistakes that was corrected by Interpreter A in the delivery led to repercussions on the floor when some participants in the audience reacted to the "original" mistake [...]. As a result, users of SI who listened to the "corrected" version of the speaker's speech in the delivery ended up being excluded from the ensuing interaction on the floor.

She specifies (*op. cit.*: 96) that, while speaking in the speaker's "I" does not permit a differentiation with regard to the ST speaker, reported speech enables the interpreter to signal a change of speakers in the delivery.

Diriker also tells (*op. cit.*: 97) of an incident in her corpus when the interpreter responded to chaotic turn-taking and comments made on the floor without a microphone by assuming the speaker-position in the delivery to establish direct contact with listeners. This is similar to the extreme cases found in my corpus (Samples 1.1–1.2), where the interpreter uses the domain of interpreting to interject personal comments. A similar case is also found in Diriker's corpus (*op. cit.*: 97) where, however, the other subject (an interpreter) in her study reacts quite differently. Rather than taking active part in solving ensuing sound problems, she

did not communicate directly with her listeners and interrupted her interpreting, waiting until she could hear again.

In terms of juxtaposing domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event, Diriker also cites (*op. cit.*: 100–1) examples in her corpus when the interpreter first uses the delivery channel to communicate directly with TT listeners, calling them to action ("microphone please"), then switches off her microphone. When this occurs, the channel reserved for the delivery automatically switches to the floor, thus TT listeners hear ST speakers directly. When the microphone is turned on in the floor and the interpreter is able to hear the ST speaker, she turns on her own microphone and resumes interpreting. Diriker notes in this case that there appear to be three, different speakers in the delivery: the interpreter speaking as the speaker, the interpreter speaking as the interpreter, and the ST speaker. Samples 1.3–1.4 from my corpus exemplify a similar case, but with the addition of the Chair who intervenes to entertain an exchange with the speaker holding the floor, to call her to order. In those text samples the interpreter uses reported speech, speaks in the speaker-position and also shuts off his microphone for a brief period.

Diriker notes that there is inherent tension in the coexistence with an alien "I" in the delivery. She suggests that "the seeming non-presence of the interpreters in the delivery – reinforced through their adoption of the speaker's "I" in line with the norm in SI – could easily be subverted, leaving all fingers pointing to the interpreters as culprits of a failed communication (*op. cit.*: 137–8). I argue that this is the underlying reason why simultaneous interpreting may be characterized as face-threatening and why interpreters' behavior may be analyzed in terms of self-regulation, i.e. their struggle for survival. In Diriker's example above, the words "microphone please" pronounced by the interpreter actually address the ST speaker, but indirectly via TT listeners. By switching off the microphone, the interpreter signals a number of things to TT listeners: a specific distinction between the ST speaker and the interpreter, the possibility that ongoing and ensuing difficulties or failed communication are not caused by the interpreter, and that unless immediate action is taken (the ST speaker turns on the microphone) interpreting will not be provided. Therefore the interpreter counters a potentially face-threatening situation with a threat.

The power potentially wielded within different interpreting contexts, as suggested by Cronin (2002) and exemplified by Diriker (2004), indicate an underlying ideology. In the very least my findings validate Diriker's (2004) findings. At best, perhaps my findings may prompt researchers to further explore socio-cognitive mechanisms at play that highly influence an interpreter's behavior, even feeding a new thread of IS research, i.e. studies on ideology and power, studies that take into account an interpreter's responsibilities and explore the extent to which an interpreter may go to safeguard his or her professional face.

My data seem to substantiate the link between power and ideology in interpreting through the emergence of power relations and the establishment of roles as perceived in my analysis (Chapter 6). Since my findings of self-regulatory moves reveal choices interpreters make, and professionals participating in this study commented on their performances, in the next section I suggest defining the overarching trends found in my data along these lines, i.e. normative behavior that implies power and ideology, thus calling into question ethics.

2.4 Norms and ethics

This chapter has discussed the system of interpreting by examining the social organization of the profession and pointing up norms prevalent in the world of interpreting. As Marzocchi argues "a wider significance of the notion of norms lies in the fact that it evokes *ethics*" (original emphasis, 2005: 96). In this section I discuss the potential value of examining self-regulatory moves in a normative perspective and raise the issue of ethics in teasing out the question of whether the construct of survival can become a norm and, if so, what form of ethics are most suited to guide interpreters' moves.

Fully aware that describing the system of interpreting and undertaking a discussion of norms may itself risk being normative, I argue nonetheless that by adducing evidence from both quantitative and qualitative data, it may indeed be possible to distinguish when forceful trends become so widely spread as to be perceived as norms. I also understand that there may be no privileged position from which to discuss norms (see Monacelli and Punzo 2001), but espouse scholars' pleas to examine interpreting contexts. Marzocchi (*op.cit.*: 100) makes a plea for norms to "emerge from the way the profession perceives the communicative needs of a given setting". Of course, mention of the 'profession' would send us directly to professional associations, academic discourse and more recently to situated data from which to understand Marzocchi's plea. However, he also stresses that norms are not abstract elements that emerge in data, but once they are socially accepted do they indeed reach the status of a norm. Marzocchi thus suggests scholars to add qualitative data (i.e. interviews to professional subjects who comment on their performances) that might enlighten us as to the acceptance of trends found (*op. cit.*: 90). But he warns (*op. cit.*: 94) that "contextualized studies of conference interpreting also show a discrepancy between (assumed) norm and practice", between discourse and practice.

Can self-regulation be considered a norm? It may not be popular to reason in terms of survival and self-regulation, since we find psychological integrity pitted against an interpreter's own survival agenda. Further, keeping any self-regulatory

trends hidden under the carpet may serve a purpose. For example, Marzocchi reminds us (*op. cit.*: 97) that in courtroom interpreting the controversial adoption of the verbatim norm by the profession

> has accompanied a gain in status and the growing professionalization of the sector. At the same time, by framing interpreting in the usual conduit metaphor, the verbatim requirement seems to safeguard the different roles in the courtroom, protecting other actors from a potentially intrusive role of the interpreter as a would-be mediator or cross-cultural consultant.

This tension between professed norms and professional practice may thus be desirable, e.g. it serves to feed the illusion that interpreters are similar to the visionary pre-cogs and their purported infallibility in the film Minority Report. This would even ultimately lead to the survival of the profession. However, in line with Cronin's plea (2002) for a 'cultural turn', it would perhaps be more 'realistic' to propose some form of working ethic that more closely reflects professional practice and takes into consideration matters of power and ideology.

The notion of dynamic equilibrium as a working ethic was argued by Monacelli and Punzo (2001) for face-to-face mediated encounters in a military context because of the instability of the working environment. The suitability of striving for dynamic equilibrium as ethical expertise in conference interpreting may also be argued precisely because of the contextual constraints faced by professionals (§1.1) and the fact that conference interpreting may be characterized as face-threatening (Chapter 6).

In outlining my theoretical framework I define the autonomy of the interpreter (§4.1.1) within the domain of interpreting (§5.1.3). Interpreting as an activity is distinguished as an adaptive, self-regulating, self-reflexive and self-reproducing system (§4.1). A model of context is developed (§5.1) because, rather than making up a separate nonverbal level, the context provided by the behavioral environment where communication comes about is reflexively linked to it within larger patterns of social activity. A discussion on ethics necessarily starts from an epistemology of interpreting. In other words, if we acknowledge an interpreter's autonomy and accept the indeterminacy of communication (Grant 1999: 95, Monacelli and Punzo 2001: 266) we are more apt to abandon the notions of fidelity and equivalence when describing an interpreter's ethical expertise. In §1.1 I hypothesized dynamic equilibrium to be the guiding principle behind an interpreter's operational awareness. This essentially implies the notion of embodied awareness or immediate coping.

Chapter 7 specifically describes the quality of dynamic equilibrium reflected in my data (§7.2.1) in terms of proactive and reactive control (Bandura 1991a: 260), where constant action is taken at decisive moments in order to manage contextual

and structural (discoursal) shifts. In the same chapter I examine the different role dimensions distinguished by self-regulatory behavior (§7.1.1) and advance an explanatory hypothesis (§7.2) couched within my theoretical platform. I have found a dynamic quality in the interpreter's moves enacted within what is distinguished as their professional role (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5), with the exception of shifts concerning stance and modality (Table 6.4). A dynamic quality indeed reflects the indeterminant nature of communication. However, when considering the cumulative effects of shifts in terms of how they impinge upon interpreters' face-work (moves enacted to save face), there is an overarching trend towards distancing, self-preservation and the mitigation of illocutionary force.

All things considered, then, is it really worth it to tell the world that interpreters' prime allegiance is to themselves? Or would it be best to accept this wide-spread self-regulatory behavior as an 'off-record' norm since, as mentioned, keeping this to ourselves would probably most favor the interpreting system's own survival?

In answering this question I will again take inspiration from Monacelli and Punzo (2001). They hold that enacting ethical expertise through the management of metacommunication is the embodiment of ethics. Exploiting deictic forms and modality, for example, are also means to manage metacommunication and in this respect perhaps the ethical 'key' lies is being aware that this is possible and at times desirable when faced with delicate, indeed indeterminant, instances of communication.

In the same special issue dedicated to ethics Chesterman (2001) puts forth a few ideas that may be of interest here. He speaks of the 'deontic force of excellence' (*op. cit.*: 144). Following MacIntyre (1981), Chesterman goes one step further and suggests that "values [...] act as regulative ideas steering the process of ethical decision-making" (*op. cit.*: 146). This is similar to the decision taken here. Dynamic equilibrium is reached through the exercise of proactive and reactive control which, in turn, is based on a value system. Chesterman suggests that the most important virtue is the desire to make the right decision (*loc. Cit.*). He adds, however, that this approach "restricts the scope of professional ethics to the practice in question" (*op. cit.*: 147). Further, he also reminds us that 'personal ethics' are sometimes more important than professional ethics. Herein lies the crux of the matter *and* a link to my findings.

In Chapter 7 I describe two role dimensions that emerge in my data, a personal and a professional one. A theory of ethics in conference interpreting, I submit, essentially needs to take into consideration where the professional role ends and where the personal one begins, if this is at all possible. At the same time the 'profession' needs to establish workable and 'realistic' standards that more closely mirror professional practice. And, finally, Chesterman suggests that professionals "should reflect on what they do, in addition to being good at it" (*op. cit.*: 149). This calls into question an interpreter's operational awareness.

This study includes a final, debriefing phase with subjects that aimed to discuss observations with them (§7.3). During this phase all subjects recognized their moves (e.g. distancing and indirectness) as strategic. Added to the quantitative data that show overarching trends in this respect, I suggest these moves to be characteristic of normative behavior. Behavior that – ethically speaking – could be described, on the one hand, as 'deontic' expertise and, on the other, as saving one's face, depending on which role dimension is called into question.

Whereas in this chapter we have considered the social organization of interpreting from different perspectives for the purpose of examining the system or 'world' of interpreting, Steven Spielberg convened experts from various fields to discuss how the world would be 50 years hence, in order to create the film Minority Report in a plausible setting. These experts dealt with both abstract notions (e.g. a multilayered ambiance) and less abstract notions (the transparency of a pre-crime world), and attempted to transpose these into the film's setting.

In contrast, the essential aim in this work – as mentioned in my introduction to this volume – is to describe interpreting as perceived today using a system dynamics approach and to offer explanatory principles for phenomena. This necessarily involves contemplating interpreting as a social system. A plausible future of the discipline – differently from the world of pre-crime – is suggested only to the measure in which research stemming from this study's findings may come forth. Since my analysis of the autonomous nature of interpreting may shed light on the development of prevalent norms and constructs, existing norms and constructs, in turn, make it possible to assess my study's findings (Chapter 6) in terms of thresholds beyond which interpreters go to safeguard their own interests and the interests of the profession.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology and corpus

The research methodology, initially conceived as comprising three phases, was tested in a pilot study described in Monacelli (2000). The study was based on a constructivist approach to research and involved collaboration between the analyst and subjects in all phases. Quality data was elicited using personal construct psychology (PCP) (Stewart 1994, Kelly 1991), both to foster the active participation of the subject and to maintain the rigor required so as not to taint the data with the analyst's personal comments. This involved using the technique of the repertory grid, which represents the repertoire of constructions that the subject has acquired from his or her personal observations of the world (Monacelli 2000: 200). In the study quality data (initial interviews with subjects) were elicited in this manner concerning the interpreters' perceptions of strategies used while working in the simultaneous mode. The study concluded that data from individual grids led to problems concerning taxonomy. The study's most valuable finding was that using the grid could bring forth important conceptual structures prominent among interpreters. Problems concerning taxonomy that arose in the pilot study are solved here by including a pre-theorizing phase where taxonomical concerns are addressed and strategies are classified according to definitions used in IS literature (§3.2.1). Thus the nature of the pilot study's three phases was successively modified, as the focus was refined, but the repertory grid was maintained as a tool during the initial phase of this current study.

This chapter describes my study's research design (§3.1) and corpus (§3.2). I first discuss the selection criteria used to choose subjects (§3.2.1) and the variables considered for corpus texts (§3.2.2). A detailed description of my textual data follows, in terms of a spontaneity index of speech (§3.2.2.1) and the discourse levels of representation (§3.2.2.2). This chapter concludes with a discussion of reliability and validity in relation to the methodology, corpus and subjects (§3.3).

3.1 Research design

The study of self-regulation, a cybernetic construct, stems from a particular epistemological stance that should also emerge in the research methodology. The methodology proposed is founded on the principle that an analyst cannot separate

his or her own constructions of viability from the process of research, and techniques used should reflect research questions when they emanate from a particular epistemological position (see §4.1, §4.2, §5.1, §5.2). The 'construction' is extended beyond receivers in the academic community to the subjects in the study who assist in corroborating and/or refuting findings (§7.3). Figure 3.1 illustrates the research design, which consists of four phases. The design is to be read as follows: performance data was first collected; briefing sessions were held; textual analysis consisted of examining three categories of linguistic phenomena ('stance', personal reference; 'voice', agency; 'face', mood and modality, threats to face); debriefing sessions were held with subjects after textual analysis.

After collecting available performance data, a briefing session was held with all subjects which served primarily to collect information concerning the subjects' backgrounds (education, professional career, field of expertise) and, as mentioned above, their perception of how they work (strategic behavior, idiosyncrasies, habits). Textual data was taken from subjects' normal working environment. Eight subjects had participated in conferences organized by the Italian Parliament, where both the proceedings and the Italian versions were recorded for Parliamentary archives (7 subjects in the same conference and 1 in another). The last two subjects are professors of interpreting who regularly record their output and collect conference proceedings, thus guaranteeing the availability of both conference proceedings and their performances.

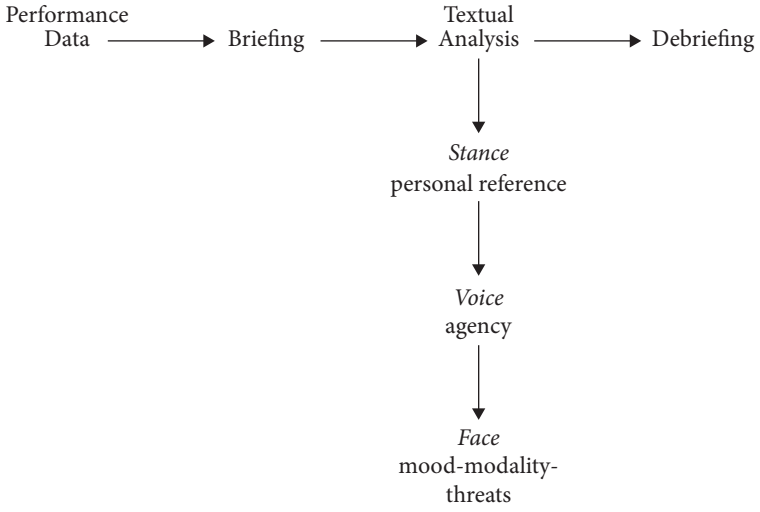

Figure 3.1 Research design

A textual analysis is carried out in line with the sociolinguistic perspective adopted in this study (Chapter 5) and three categories of analysis are proposed: stance (personal reference), voice (agency) and face (mood-modality-threats). In essence, interaction in talk where the speaker holds the floor for an extended period is discussed. In this the notion of context (§5.1.1) is regarded as fundamental when examining shifts by both ST and TT speakers in terms of structural constraints posed by different language systems and ritual constraints posed by situation. Since it is speculated that interpreters may be motivated by different factors with respect to ST speakers, contextual shifts throughout the corpus were expected. The categories proposed aim to analyze how interpreters relate to and construct context and thus their position in the participation framework of the event is considered by first examining personal reference (stance, §6.1) and the extent to which interpreters alter distance in relation to their listeners. Specific roles interpreters assume begin to emerge when we consider how processes are presented in the data and how speakers attribute agency in texts (voice, §6.2). I hypothesize that it is through the shifting of these two parameters ([+distance/-distance], [+direct/-direct]) that interpreters enact self-regulatory strategies. These are further investigated by examining modality systems in texts and how threats are dealt with, which lead to matters concerning self-preservation and face, elements at the basis of self-regulatory behavior.

After examining all recordings a debriefing session with subjects was arranged in the same venue where briefings were held. During this session I sought subjects' views on phenomena that emerged in the analysis of data. The rationale stems from the principle that a fundamental dimension of the self-regulatory process is motivation, which is considered as something that does not operate independently of the self. The self is thus viewed as inherently self-regulatory and SR, per se, is the process of thinking and acting in self-fulfilling ways to perpetuate and/or to enhance one's image of self through time in a given context. Since motivation is a self-determining process emanating out of the ongoing self-regulatory interaction between the self as process (i.e. levels of consciousness, emotion and volition), the self as content (i.e. self-conception), and the environment (Ridley 1991: 31–32), the study's debriefing phase necessarily aims to illuminate us as to subjects' motivation in terms of their professional behavior. Further, I adopt a stance whereby a critical role is attributed to reflective self-awareness (as second-order consciousness) in facilitating a reflectively intentional type of self-regulation. In other words, the view adopted here enhances the role of the 'self' in self-regulation.

Figure 3.2 illustrates the essential differences between unreflectively automatic and reflectively intentional self-regulation. In sum, at the first-order level of self-regulation individuals do not reflect on or volitionally adjust the nature of their self-conceptions or the levels of their consciousness, emotion or volition in a

given context. This means individuals are driven by the interaction of unconscious internal processes and external events. At the second-order level of self-regulation, reflection on first-order self-regulatory processes creates the possibility for self-directed changes in the nature of one's first-order self-conception and the self-processes. These changes lead to shifts in the interactive influence of one's self-conception and self-processes in a given context and thus transform a person's perceptual experience. Self-conception, at the reflectively intentional level, is experienced as both process and content, making a person aware that he or she has a part in creating the beliefs and emotions that are experienced in a given context (Ridley 1991: 33–34). This realization is the essence of a sense of agency.

Indeed personal agency is enmeshed in a social network and is conditioned – through a rapport of reciprocal determinism – by the influence a social environment has on self-regulatory dynamics. Even though virtually all research on cognitive motivators has been concerned with how self-regulatory dynamics operate in personal accomplishments, many human endeavors are directed at group goals that are achieved in organizational structures through socially mediated effort. In professional interpreting circles this implies the social organization of the profession. Therefore a sense of agency, and its characteristics, may be socially governed or dictated, and hence come within the realm of normative behavior. Interestingly, findings suggest there is a marked difference between subjects belonging to the same professional organization and those who do not, concerning their sense of agency (see §7.3).

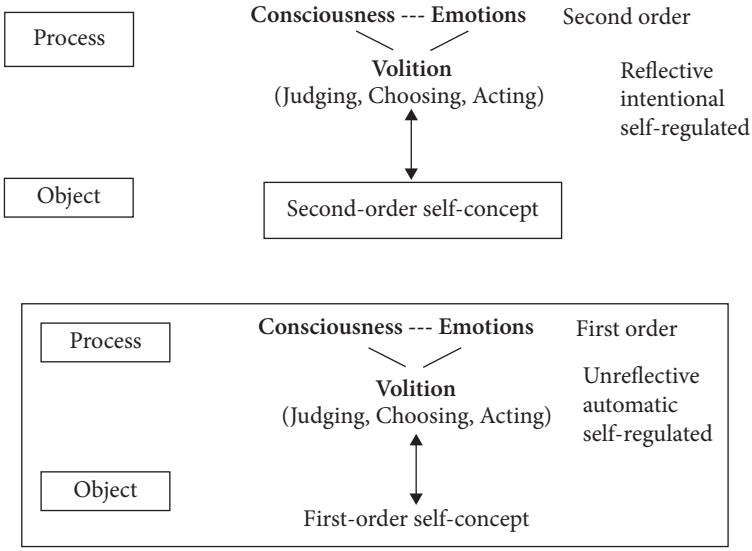

Figure 3.2 Reflectively intentional self-regulation after Ridley (1991: 33)

The inclusion of a third phase in this study aims to understand what exerts more influence on human behavior, i.e. a person's *perception* of personal agency and social environments rather than simply their 'objective' properties (Bandura 1991b: 269), and consequently their *perception* of norms. Therefore I also seek professional interpreters' perception of certain phenomena emerging from the data in order to determine whether certain behavior may be considered self-regulatory in nature (i.e. oriented toward personal or professional 'survival') and/or whether it corresponds to widespread interpreting norms.

3.2 Corpus

This section discusses subjects, briefing sessions (§3.2.1) and corpus texts (§3.2.2), firstly concentrating on the selection criteria in both cases and secondly on the technical aspects concerning the collection of textual data (§3.2.2.1 and §3.2.2.2). A series of tables are provided to summarize this information: Table 3.1 lists subjects' educational background and their experience (year they entered the profession and their status, whether freelance or in-house interpreter); Table 3.2 lists the event, discourse context and ST length; Table 3.3 discusses speech spontaneity for each corpus text and lists the source and target languages concerned.

3.2.1 Subjects and briefing sessions

Access to participants was negotiated with interpreters with whom I have an in-group relationship. Participant permission to use data was obtained through signed statements specifying that the data collected would be used exclusively for research purposes. Table 3.1 outlines the information gathered during a briefing, the first phase of this project. For six subjects these were held at the Lower Chamber, their habitual work site. Two briefings were held on University premises, and two in private homes. These sessions lasted from 30 min. to 60 min. and aimed to gather information concerning subjects' qualifications (educational background, language combinations, specialization, other information concerning their perception of how they typically behave during simultaneous interpreting).

The study included ten professional interpreters whose professional experience ranges from 11 to 30 years (Table 3.1). Of these, 5 subjects are members of the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) and 5 are not. Seven subjects have university degrees, three of which in interpreting, and one has a PhD in Interpreting Studies. Three subjects received training at a three-year institute for interpreting. All in-house interpreters had, at one point in their career, also worked on the freelance market.

Table 3.1 Subjects: qualifications and status

Subj.	Educational background	Experience since	Professional Practice
I_1	University degree in interpreting	1990	in-house interpreter Italian Parliament
I_2	Three-year interpreting degree	1978	freelance interpreter
I_3	Three-year interpreting degree University degree in political science	1977	in-house interpreter Italian Parliament
I_4	Three-year interpreting degree	1990	in-house interpreter Italian Parliament
I_5	University degree in interpreting	1975	freelance interpreter
I_6	Three-year interpreting degree University degree in languages and literature	1978	freelance interpreter
I_7	Three-year interpreting degree	1994	in-house interpreter Italian Parliament
I_8	PhD in interpreting studies	1989	freelance interpreter
I_9	University degree in interpreting	1979	in-house interpreter Italian Parliament
I_{10}	University degree in literature	1983	in-house interpreter Italian Parliament

In this briefing phase of the research I also aimed to understand how sensitive subjects were to their behavior while working in the simultaneous mode and if common elements emerged concerning their perceptions. This information is reported by dividing subjects' comments into those concerning 'external' and 'internal' context as specified in §5.1.1.

When commenting on the external context of interpreting, subjects highlighted their interaction with communicating parties prior to beginning their interpreting turn in the booth. This typically involves an exchange with ST speaker in order to obtain information concerning their ensuing text. Also mentioned in this sense are interactional patterns with the other interpreting team member while in the booth, including the use of consecutive note-taking to aid colleagues during their interpreting turn, and passing/taking the microphone when one team member is in difficulty.

Subjects mentioned different forms of 'strategic' behavior, in terms of the internal context of simultaneous interpreting, most of which have already been mentioned by other scholars (Gile 1995; Kohn and Kalina 1996; Setton 1999; Shlesinger 1999, 2000):

1. temporal strategies (delaying, lagging, pausing)
2. invention (additions, fillers)
3. re-elaboration (paraphrasing, generalizing, summarizing, simplifying, omissions, reversal/correction)
4. intonation

Of interest to this study is the mention, in two cases, of the strategic use of paralinguistic phenomena (temporal strategies and intonation) to signal 'distance' from the ST. This is further discussed in §7.3 when examining debriefing sessions and subjects' degree of operational awareness in terms of their role in context.

3.2.2 Texts

Corpus texts were collected from subjects' habitual working environment: parliamentary proceedings for 8 subjects (6 in-house and 2 freelance interpreters), matters concerning education and professional training for 2 subjects. Firstly, our goal in terms of text variables was to select authentic data and, specifically, a complete source text speech – from when the ST speaker is given the floor to when the floor returns to the Chair – and a complete interpreted version of the same. The corpus includes texts that range from 5 min. 42 sec. to 35 min. 23 sec., for a total of 119 minutes of ST material (Table 3.2). Secondly, I sought proceedings recorded prior to briefing sessions with subjects so as to avoid any possible bias in the interpreters' behavior. Most of the readily available data was in the form of two, distinct recordings (ST and TT) and since temporal issues (ear-voice-span, EVS) do not figure prominently in this study I opted for a system whereby texts are transcribed separately in a tabular form (see §3.2.2.2).

Seven corpus texts were taken from the same event (Table 3.2), the EFWP, held in Naples. One text was taken from a Conference of EU Parliamentary Speakers, held in Florence (Fiesole). One text was taken from a conference on interpreting, held in Forlì and one from a conference on mobile schooling, held in Florence. Nine conferences were held in 2000, and one in 2001. In 8 cases (EFWP and Conference of EU Parliamentary Speakers) ST and TT were recorded during proceedings by technicians. In the remaining 2 cases (Footprints in Europe: Mobile schools and Interpreting in the 21st Century) conference proceedings were also recorded by technicians with professional equipment, but target texts were recorded in the booth on portable tape recorders by subjects.

This audio material was digitalized using Sound System® for Apple Macintosh operating systems. Source and target digital files were then synchronized to <0.5s accuracy on two-track files using the same program.

Table 3.2 Event and discourse context

Subj.	Conference title	Venue	Date	Participants	ST length
I_1	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	13 min. 10 sec.
I_2	*Footprints in Europe: Mobile schools*	Florence	2001	Teachers	23 min. 22.5 sec.
I_3	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	5 min. 42 sec.
I_4	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	5 min. 45 sec.
I_5	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	6 min. 33.5 sec.
I_6	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	7 min. 49 sec.
I_7	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	7 min. 28 sec.
I_8	*Interpreting in the 21st Century*	Forlì	2000	Students, scholars, professionals	35 min. 23 sec.
I_9	*EFWP*	Naples	2000	Women parliamentarians	8 min. 47.5 sec.
I_{10}	*Conference of EU Parliamentary Speakers*	Fiesole (Fi)	2000	Parliamentary Speakers	15 min. 31.5 sec.

3.2.2.1 *Spontaneity index of speeches*

This section discusses what is loosely defined as the 'speech spontaneity' of corpus texts. I include information concerning whether the text is recited from text, rehearsed, semi-rehearsed or improvised, along with information concerning the development of the text. This information is summarized in Table 3.3, which also includes the ST-TT language combination for each corpus text.

Three source texts are interpreted from French into Italian, six from English into Italian and one from Italian into English. All subjects worked into their native languages. All texts have standard greetings and all but one have standard closings. In the ST for subject I_2 the speaker concludes his talk by returning the floor to the Chair who is then to decide whether to extend the talk.

The four descriptors used to define the rehearsed (or lack of rehearsed) nature of the talk in corpus texts are listed below:

1. improvised: Goffman's (1981) notion of 'fresh talk', an improvised text is formulated by the speaker from one moment to the next, conveying "the impression that the formulation is responsive to the current situation in which the words are delivered" (*op.cit.*: 171); average presentation rate 137 wpm.
2. semi-rehearsed: an improvised text delivered with the assistance of notes (or slides, transparencies, etc.), may also include digressions from textual plan; average presentation rate 140 wpm.
3. rehearsed: a text delivered according to a set plan, speaker does not digress or deviate from the textual plan; average presentation rate 145 wpm.

Table 3.3 Speech spontaneity index

Subj.	Speech spontaneity	ST-TT
I_1	ST speaker is a Moroccan MP; talk is rehearsed, with standard greeting, speaker addresses the position of women in Morocco, with standard closing	FR-IT
I_2	ST speaker is a native English speaker; talk is semi-rehearsed, with standard greeting on behalf of invited speaker who this ST speaker replaces, speaker addresses the issue of mobile schooling for migrant communities in Europe, refers to and reads from slides throughout talk, closes by leaving option to Chair whether to extend the talk in answer to possible requests for clarification.	EN-IT
I_3	ST speaker is a Dutch MP; talk is semi-rehearsed, with standard greeting, speaker argues the need for action in relation to achieving equal rights for women, with standard closing	EN-IT
I_4	ST speaker is a Finnish MP; talk is semi-rehearsed, with standard greeting, speaker outlines intended remarks then addresses educational and cultural issues related to the condition of women in the world, with standard closing	EN-IT
I_5	ST speaker is Algerian MP; talk is recited from written text at high speed (>165wpm), with standard greeting, ST speaker addresses the maltreatment of women in Algeria, with standard closing	FR-IT
I_6	ST speaker is Cypriot MP; talk is semi-rehearsed, with standard greeting, ST speaker addresses the position of women in Cyprus, with standard closing	EN-IT
I_7	ST speaker is an Israeli MP; talk is improvised, standard greeting, addresses issues raised by previous Palestinian speaker then discusses the status of Israel as a state and citizen rights as outlined in the declaration of independence, with standard closing	EN-IT
I_8	ST speaker is a native Italian speaker; talk is semi-rehearsed, standard greeting, ST speaker outlines intended remarks, first addresses issues raised by previous speakers then addresses the nature of the interpreter's work at the European Parliament, with standard closing	IT-EN
I_9	ST speaker is a Turkish MP; talk is semi-rehearsed, with standard greeting, ST speaker addresses the position of women in Turkey and makes a plea for Chechen women, with standard closing	EN-IT
I_{10}	ST speaker is a native French speaker; talk is semi-rehearsed, with standard greeting, ST speaker addresses the role and value of political institutions, with standard closing	FR-IT

4. recited from written text: an oral text resulting from the reading of a written text; average presentation rate >165 wpm.

One ST is improvised (I_7), seven are semi-rehearsed, one is rehearsed (I_1) and one is recited from a written text (I_5). The presentation rate indicated above in the case of semi-rehearsed texts is the average speed of the seven semi-rehearsed texts in our corpus. The next section discusses transcription conventions used in this study.

Sample 3.1 I_3 1–2

seq.	ST	TT	Literal translation
1	– thank you – thank you – miss madame president	– grazie presidente	– thank you president
2	– madame president – dear colleagues	– presidente – onorevoli colleghe	– president – honorable colleagues

3.2.2.2 *Discourse levels of representation*

Since, as mentioned, matters concerning EVS do not figure prominently in this study, corpus texts were transcribed in tabular format. These are sectioned into sequences, i.e. units of text organization which normally consist of more than one element and which serve a higher-order rhetorical function than that of the individual elements (Hatim and Mason 1990: 174). Therefore the length of each sequence is governed by the emergence of a rhetorical purpose such as, for example, thanking or addressing specific members of our audience, as illustrated in sequences 1 and 2 respectively in Sample 3.1.

There is no optimal method of transcribing oral data (Brown 1995: 39–41), but I have nonetheless borrowed transcription conventions from Setton (1999) and Wadensjö (1998) in order to annotate the delicacy of certain prosodic features (stress, rising/lowering/even intonation, pauses, filled pauses).

A key to transcription conventions used in the data samples in tabular form is included at the beginning of this study.

3.3 Reliability and validity

The study's research design (Fig. 3.1) is such that the performance data was available before undertaking this study. The choice was made to select data readily available prior to approaching subjects in order to avoid possible bias in the behavior of interpreters who were then to participate in the study. The data, authentic situated texts, represent a uniform body of data in terms of including typical brackets in a conference setting, i.e. opening remarks, a main body and closing remarks. Corpus texts, however, span a variety of text types that are broadly characterized along a narrative/non-narrative cline (Chapter 6). This input variable is significant because trends found across all corpus texts become symptomatic of self-regulatory moves possibly indicating normative and/or ideological behavior. Subjects chosen for the study are all interpreters with more than 11 years of professional experience. Their behavior, as verified by this study's findings, may be considered representative of professional interpreters' behavior in their habitual working environment.

The internal reliability of this study, or the degree to which other researchers may come to the same conclusions concerning this study as the original analyst (see LeCompte and Goetz 1982), is secured by the active participation of subjects in all phases of the study and by their corroboration of the findings in a final phase. This final phase was briefly introduced in §3.1; details of these debriefing sessions, i.e. protocols and findings, are discussed in Chapter 7 (§7.3). The external reliability of this study (*ibid.*), or the extent to which this study may be replicated, is facilitated by a detailed description of our research design, the study's subjects, corpus texts and textual analysis. Further, constructs and premises on which the study rests are amply discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Despite the varying language combinations of subjects, similar trends are found across all corpus texts. Figures of the translational shifts in the data were compiled in order to understand the magnitude of these trends. This has made it possible to weigh the importance of certain shifts compared to others. However, as explained in detail in Chapter 6, shifts found in the categories of stance (§6.1) and voice (§6.2) are part of the particular face-work that emerges in target texts and face-work is not a countable phenomenon. Thus a wholly quantitative approach to the analysis would not have been revealing in terms of self-regulatory behavior.

When assessing shifts concerning personal referents I have taken into consideration the following shifts:

a. from an impersonal referent to a personal one (e.g. "detto questo" [this said], ST, vs. "so having introduced myself to you in this way", TT, I_8 3);
b. when there is a shift from one personal referent to another (e.g. "que vous toutes connaissez" [that you all know], ST, vs. "che tutti conosciamo" [that we all know], TT, I_5 4);
c. when ST referents are omitted (e.g. "as we all want", vs. "+++", TT, I_4 14);
d. when there is a shift to de-personalization (e.g. "so we have", ST, vs. "quindi c'è" [so there is], TT, I_2 21;
e. when there is a shift to personalization (e.g. "bisogna mettere ingranare la sesta marcia" [it is necessary to put to shift to sixth gear], ST, vs. "you have to go into sixth gear", TT, I_8 43).

Shifts in transitivity and agency (voice) are considered in the following cases:

a. when agency is suppressed (e.g. "he sent me", ST, vs. "per questo sono presente io" [for this am present I], TT, I_2 1);
b. when agency is enhanced (e.g. "c'est là qu'intervient … notre rôle de parlementaires euro-méditerranéennes" [it is there that intervenes … our role of Euromediterranean parliamentarians], ST, vs. "è qui che dobbiamo intervenire come parlamentari euromediterranei" [it is here that we must intervene as Euromediterranean parliamentarians], TT, I_5 16);

c. when there is a shift from one agent to another (e.g. "the founder of the republic <Ataturk> achieved important rights for the women", ST, vs. "le donne hanno conseguito importanti diritti" [the women have achieved important rights], TT, I_9 10).

Shifts in mood and modality are considered in the following cases:

a. when there is a shift from an unmodalized utterance to a modalized one (e.g. "those are the challenges we face @", ST, vs. "questa è una sfida che dobbiamo affrontare" [this is a challenge that we must face], TT, I_2 50);
b. shifts in mood that signal forms of embeddedness (e.g. "OK thank you", ST, vs. "vorrei ringraziare" [I would like to thank], TT, I_7 1);
c. when there is an omission of modal hedging (e.g. "nous allons modestement collaborer en présentant dans ce domaine l'éxperience algérienne très rapidement" [we will modestly collaborate by presenting in this domaine the Algerian experience very rapidly], ST, vs. "collaboreremo presentando rapidamente l'esperienza algerina" [we will collaborate by rapidly presenting the Algerian experience], TT I_5 4)
d. when there is an addition of a modal hedge (e.g. "I I tell you it's not that easy", ST, vs. "e vi dico sinceramente che non è compito facile" [and I tell you sincerely that it is not an easy task], TT, I_7 19);

Throughout the analysis (Chapter 6) it is stressed that the phenomena examined, and counted, all impinge upon the nature of a speaker's face-work. In this sense FTAs are not countable. However I do count instances where potential threats are:

a. omitted (e.g. "the women are raped and killed", ST, vs. "+++", TT, I_9 23);
b. influenced by additions to ST (e.g. "contre les femmes agents de l'occident athéé" [against the women agents of the atheist West] ST, vs. "contro le donne che vengono viste come agenti dell'occidente ateo" [against the women who are seen as agents of the atheist West], TT, I_1 27);
c. weakened (e.g. "i nostri deputati i ministri davvero non ci seguono" [our representatives our ministers really do not follow us], ST, vs. "our Euro members of parliament and our ministers don't actually listen to what we ask them to do in this respect", TT, I_8 4);
d. strengthened (e.g. "I just want to give you a very quick overview", ST, vs. "voglio farvi una breve panoramica" [I want to give you a brief panorama], TT, I_2 12).

Finally, the validity of this study's findings, or the extent to which they can be generalized (*ibid.),* rests primarily on the fact of having access to situated, authentic data. The phenomena examined for evidence of self-regulatory behavior, i.e. participation framework and interactional politeness, are not unique to a particular language combination, professional context or specific working conditions.

CHAPTER 4

From system dynamics onward

This chapter introduces constructs from system dynamics and their development. It seeks to draw analogies with the world of interpreting, in an attempt to then proceed to examining this world more closely. This chapter outlines my theoretical platform and is complemented by Chapter 5 where a bridge is crossed to link participation framework and interactional politeness to the constructs discussed here.

The paradigm shift underway in several branches of science involves contextual thinking, putting phenomena into the context of a larger whole. Systems thinking was pioneered by biologists who emphasized the view of living organisms as integrated wholes. The basic tension is one between the parts and the whole: the essential properties of an organism or living system are properties of the whole, which is more than the sum of its parts.

An emphasis on process thinking began making its way into several areas: beginning with von Bertalanffy in the 1930s, who defined as 'open systems' any living structure that depended on flows of energy and resources (cf. Bertalanffy 1950), and continuing with the cybernetic movement of the 1940s, which introduced the concepts of feedback loops and dynamic systems (Capra, 1997: 58–64). Self-regulation (survival) is actually the cybernetic concept of control. But it was not until the 1970s that Ilya Prigogine used the term 'dissipative structures' to describe the new thermodynamics of open systems as combining the stability of structure with the fluidity of change (*op.cit.*: 180). In this chapter we draw on these concepts to describe text instantiation, which is then illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 4.1.

In Translation Studies, during the 1970s, Itamar Even-Zohar (2000) developed polysystem theory, which conceived of translated literature as a system that operated within the context of the larger social, literary and historical systems of the target culture. Polysystem theory became the groundwork for Descriptive Translation Studies that aims at identifying translation norms (Toury 1995). Also during the 1970s Anderson (1976) extended the object of study to include a wider, social context in his analysis of the interpreter's role. More recently in Interpreting Studies Pöchhacker (1994a), too, attempted to place interpreting phenomena into the context of a larger whole by introducing the notion of the conference as hypertext. Whereas system dynamics highlights the significance of processes, Pöchhacker

stressed the importance of product-based studies. In fact, Toury's (1995) translation norms are based on empirical studies of products.

Also during the 1970s, biologists Maturana and Varela (see Maturana and Varela, 1980; 1998) first advanced their theory of autopoiesis, which essentially views living organisms as operationally closed entities that subordinate all changes to the maintenance of their own organization. Living organisms have a distinct structure, which is continuously recreated through interactive feedback cycles. Autopoiesis is a special case of homeostasis and relates to a systemic definition of life. The concept is frequently applied to cognition, viewing the mind as a self-producing system, with self-reference and self-regulation that involve structural coupling (§4.1.4) with other entities. Autopoietic theory (§4.1) represents a development of self-regulation as the cybernetic concept of control and accounts for all forms of human activity as cognitive-based activity.

This chapter reviews autopoietic theory (§4.1), introduces the concepts underlying my epistemological perspective and the terminology used throughout this work to account for phenomena. I link theoretical constructs underlying autopoietic theory to systemic approaches in linguistics (§4.2), where little has been done to account for self-referential phenomena in texts. Finally, I discuss and operationalize the construct of self-regulation, characteristic of system dynamics, in relation to cognitive development and social cognition (§4.3). This is done primarily to highlight self-regulation as a cognitive phenomenon explored in other branches of science, and to show its correlation to system dynamics.

4.1 Autopoietic theory

Chilean neuroscientist Humberto Maturana was strongly influenced by cybernetics, having collaborated with neuroscientist and cybernetician Warren McCulloch's group at MIT. After his return to the University of Santiago he specialized in neuroscience and, in particular, in the understanding of color perception (Capra 1997: 95). Throughout his research two major questions arose which guided his future research efforts: "What is the organization of the living?" and "What takes place in the phenomenon of perception?" (Maturana and Varela 1980: xii). Maturana discovered that the nervous system essentially operates as a closed network of interactions in a circular process: when one dimension in the networks changed, the whole network undergoes correlative changes (Maturana and Varela 1998: 116),

From this discovery he drew the conclusions that supplied the answers to his two major research questions. Firstly he theorized that the 'circular organization' (for which he coined the term 'autopoiesis') of the nervous system was at the basis

of all living systems. He stipulated that living systems are organized in a closed causal circular process that allows for evolutionary change in the way the circularity is maintained, but not for the loss of the circularity itself. He argued that, since all changes in the system take place within this basic circularity, the components that specify the circular organization must also be produced and maintained by it. He concluded that this network pattern – where the function of each component is to help produce and transform other components while preserving the overall circularity of the network – is the basic organization of the living.

The second conclusion Maturana drew was that the nervous system is not only self-organizing but also continually self-referring, in a closed network, leading to a revolutionary understanding of cognition. He concluded that perception cannot be viewed as the representation of an external reality but must be considered the continual creation of new relationships within the neural network.

Maturana and Varela (1998) went on to distinguish the unique characteristic of human beings, language. They describe this uniqueness as social structural coupling (§4.1.4) occurring through language. Maturana and Varela hold language to be regularities of human social dynamics and the recursive social dynamics that entails reflection. Hence, as human beings, our world is created in language (*op. cit.*: 246).

In positing interpreting as an autopoietic system I describe it as an adaptive, self-regulating, self-reflexive and self-reproducing system. I am called upon, then, to account for the autonomy and heteronomy of interpreting and to describe how the laws of autopoietic systems apply to interpreting and what the language of interpreting (in terms of language on interpreting, see Chapter 2; for interpreters' output, see Chapter 6) is able to tell us.

Drawing upon Hermans' (1999b: 145) description of self-referentiality applied to translation, I suggest that self-reflection in interpreting distinguishes the difference between self-reference and external reference. If we contrast self-reference and external reference in interpreting it is possible to define the autonomy and heteronomy of interpreting as system. The external reference of interpreting may be understood as its assimilation to other discourse practices (e.g. attorneys as mediators between two parties). Interpreting also interacts with other discourses and social systems of which it is a part. Self-reference contributes to the autopoiesis of interpreting: it draws attention to prevailing programs or practices as accepted modes of representation (e.g. prescription in the literature such as the *théorie du sens*), and may question these programs or even the boundaries of what constitutes interpreting. In doing so, self-reference is grounded in similarities and contrasts with existing forms of interpreting and discourses about interpreting. It thus helps to organize, sustain and to modify the system.

From a slightly different angle, Grant (1999: 88) challenges the 'conservative' dialogical approach to the study of dialogue interpreting and argues for translation

as construction, where claims to identify any correspondence between ST and TT are eliminated and 'factual replacement' (Toury 1980: 39, cited in Grant 1999: 89) takes place. Thus he argues (*op. cit.*: 88–89) that since translation is not referred to a given external reality, it could be seen as self-referential and hence is to be considered an 'autonomous' text (see §4.1.1). He specifies, however, that in pragmatic terms most translations fulfill a given brief in terms of a specific, determined audience design (Hatim and Mason 1997). Therefore, translation alternates between the cognitive autonomy of the translator's factual replacement and the constraints of society and communication posed by text type (see Hatim and Mason 1990).

Beaugrande (1992: 9–10) suggests that reflexivity is also seen in the way analysts select data and in decisions to apply certain methods for investigating data. This becomes of relevance if we consider, for example, that in his study Setton (1999: 105) rejected text samples that were "so improvised and disconnected that what cohesion there was virtually disappeared in the transcriptions". He thus justifies this choice: "in such conditions sophisticated task performance variables, specifically the need for pragmatic manipulation, or packaging in TL, become so dominant as to obscure other factors, such as possible difficulties arising from linguistic structures and content". Indeed Setton's rejection of particular text samples, representing a theoretical and methodological choice, has done away with material potentially relevant to this study, since they call into question an interpreter's behavior in terms of professional survival.

The notion of self-referentiality underlying the construct of self-regulation postulates perception and cognition as not representing an external reality, but as specifying a reality through the nervous system's process of circular organization. Indeed Maturana's studies brought him to identify cognition with the process of life itself (Maturana 1975). Extending this to interpreting, cognition can be identified with the very process of interpreting, hence the validity of analyzing the process as witnessed in the 'language' (and meta-language) of interpreting, which is cognitive-linguistic in nature and resides in the social domain.

In a volume discussing Niklas Luhmann's sense of observation and the paradoxes of differentiation, William Rasch (Rasch: 2000: 16) suggests that:

> the narrative we devise to describe reality is not a representation, not a duplication of reality in symbolic terms, but rather a vehicle that allows us to navigate. During the course of our navigations, we leave in our wake a navigable world, one that can be navigated not because we charted it beforehand but because we have already navigated it. The world of objects comes into being with its descriptions, not prior to it.

He specifies thus that observation remains inaccessible to itself, or better, it gains access to itself by generating a series of descriptions (often partial and conflicting

ones) that can make no claim to absolute validity, because each description must face the possibility that it too could be otherwise than it is. Rasch stresses that "our legitimacy depends on our ability to provide plausible self-descriptions, yet our first and foremost self-description is the description that says we can always describe ourselves differently (Rasch 2000: 23).

The discussion in this section on autopoietic theory persuades me to accept Herman's (1999b) suggestion (challenge?) to turn to systems theory as a research perspective. This is the object of §4.1.2. I now first extend the discussion on autopoiesis and flesh out the notion of autonomy (§4.1.1), which is fundamental for the understanding of self-referentiality.

4.1.1 Autopoiesis and autonomy

Self-regulation, as a cybernetic concept, has always been associated with the notion of control in machines. The theory of autopoiesis, which represents a biological systemic conceptualization of living beings, characterizes them through the notion of **autonomy**, the conceptual counterpart of control. During the mid- to late 1970s Francisco Varela expanded on autopoietic theory's original formalizations to outline the systemic attribute of autonomy, of which autopoiesis is a subset. Autonomous systems are:

> […] defined as a composite unity by a network of interactions of components that (i) through their interactions recursively regenerate the network of interactions that produced them, and (ii) realize the network as a unity in space in which the components exist by constituting and specifying the unity's boundaries as a cleavage from the background […] (Varela 1981: 15)

The construct of autonomy is used to define a system that can specify its own laws, what is proper to it (Maturana and Varela 1998: 48). In his volume dedicated to a cognitive-pragmatic analysis of simultaneous interpreting, Setton (1999) repeatedly mentions the concept of autonomy in SI production, describing it as occurring when the interpreter in some way departs from the ST: "Compensation is a function of the relatively autonomous production system, which we have modeled as being governed by the Executive" (*op. cit.*: 239). However, he does not account for this phenomenon epistemologically. Further, in a more recent publication that examines the feasibility of deconstructing the tasks involved in simultaneous interpreting, Setton acknowledges that there is "a gap between most models and linguistic data" in interpreting theory (*op. cit.*: 10), since most authors have looked to modular cognitive psychology for inspiration and neglect the social domain of language. Nevertheless, in the same publication, he defines acquired or trained skills required for these tasks as 'cognitive-linguistic' (*op. cit.*: 9), in order to

distinguish them from mental arithmetic or scientific problem solving. This seems – at least in part – to be a theoretical leap well worth noting. In a system dynamics perspective the phenomenon of language (see Maturana and Varela 1998: 205–235) is considered to be cognitive-linguistic, residing within a social domain. Even Vygotsky, who shifted the focus from autistic egocentric speech to the social context of language acquisition, aimed to demonstrate that language and consciousness were both lodged within a matrix of social activity and thus it is this activity *system*, rather than the isolated individual, that should be the primary focus of analysis (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 20–21).

Therefore, the autopoietic concept of autonomy as here described, exercised within a cognitive-linguistic social domain, is a biological characteristic of humans: a primordial characteristic underlying their survival. Extended to the domain of interpreting (Fig. 5.2), this suggests interpreters are distinguished as such precisely through the exercise of their autonomy.

The domain of interpreting where professionals exercise autonomy is outlined in §5.1.3. I also mention those interpreting scholars who have cited the autonomous nature of performances in interpreting (§5.2). Michael Cronin (2002: 393) defines "autonomous" and "heteronomous" systems of interpreting on the basis of whether colonizers trained their own subjects in the language/s of the colonized (autonomous system) or whether interpreters are recruited locally and taught the imperial language (heteronomous system). In both these definitions there seems nonetheless to be a fundamental element of control with regard to who does what, and Cronin's argument sets the stage for a plea to open up to questions concerning ideology and power in interpreting, issues practically ignored by scholars thus far. In his comment (Cronin 2002: 394) on Bowen *et al.*'s claim (Bowen *et al*. 1995: 273) that interpreting is wrought with problems concerning loyalty and ethics, Cronin categorically admits that these are not just problems, but matters of *survival* (my emphasis). Indeed the hybrid status of interpreters and their varying alliances with dominant powers throughout history remains an issue that is little discussed in IS to date (see also Karttunen 1994).

I now discuss experience and the observer (§4.12) in a research perspective based on systems theory, then discuss what constitutes a system (§4.1.3) and the nature of interactions among systems (§4.1.4). These sections prepare the groundwork for our system dynamics perspective to text instantiation (§4.2).

4.1.2 Experience and the observer

Hermans (1999b: 148) points out the paradox inherent in a constructive systemic perspective in terms of research in translation studies:

> The study of translation is implicated, oddly and improperly, in the practice of translation. If translation descriptions perform the operations they are simultaneously trying to describe, the distinction between object-level and meta-level is rendered problematic.

He suggests looking to theories of self-reflexive systems to come to terms with this paradox (*op.cit.*: 150):

> The theory of self-reflexive systems, as Luhmann has pointed out (e.g. Luhmann 1993), posits a de-centered and polycontextual world in which there is no single privileged way of attributing or processing meaning. Systems theory does not exclude itself from this unresolvable relativism. But at least this postmodern flaunting of epistemological doubt offers the advantage of taking little for granted and of leaving room for paradox, hesitation and experiment. It is one way of dealing with what has become known as the crisis of representation in human sciences (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 7–16). Once we know that our knowledge is constructed, we can learn to live with the limitations of perspective.

Here Hermans highlights two concepts discussed in this chapter that are basic to autopoietic theory: the position of an observer, examined in this section, and 'operational closure', discussed in §4.1.3.

When a cognitive system operates as an observer it performs the fundamental operation of distinction, the 'pointing to' something (a unity or entity); it separates its environment into 'object' and 'other', defining its boundaries and setting it apart from a background. In Maturana's words:

> An observer is a... living system who can make distinctions and specify that which he or she distinguishes as a unity, as an entity different from himself or herself that can be used for manipulations or descriptions in interactions with other observers. (Maturana 1978: 31)

Bourdieu (1985: 196), too, states that social space is "constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation". This presupposes some sort of relationship between the unity distinguished and its background or environment. A relationship between two orders of phenomena that mutually inform each other to comprise a larger whole is central to the notion of context (discussed in §5.1.1). Indeed the term comes from the Latin 'contextus', which means 'a joining together'. From this perspective the relationship between focal event and context is much like that between "organism" and "environment" in cybernetic theory (Duranti and Goodwin 1992: 4).

The observer is one of the key concepts in autopoietic theory, because:

> Observing is both the ultimate starting point and the most fundamental question in any attempt to understand reality and reason as phenomena of the human domain. Indeed, everything said is said by an observer that could be him- or herself. (Maturana 1988: 27)

Every time we refer to anything implicitly or explicitly, we are specifying a criterion of distinction, which indicates what we are talking about and specifies its properties as an entity or unity. Consequently, every time I refer to a unity in my descriptions (entity or object), I am implying the operation of distinction that defines it and makes it possible (Maturana and Varela 1998: 40). An observer is able to operate 'as if' external to, or distinct from, the circumstances in which he or she finds him/herself because of the recursive distinguishing of unities through action.

As analysts and scholars we explain our experience, in the implicit understanding that experience is what we distinguish as happening to us as observers in our life. In this vein, "behavior is not something that the living being *does* in itself... but something that *we* point to" (Maturana and Varela 1998: 138, original emphasis) and it is in reference to the effect the observer expects that he or she assesses the structural changes triggered in the organism (*op.cit.*: 174). In doing so, we as observers use our experience – and the coherence of our experience – to satisfy the criterion of validation of scientific explanation. Therefore, underlying anything that is said is the constant awareness that the phenomenon of knowing is inseparable from our experience; action and experience are inextricably linked. This particularly applies to what I am doing now: using language to describe reflection. This concept continually reminds us of the observer's position and how every reflection brings forth an experiential world (*op.cit.*: 25–30).

4.1.3 Organization and structure

The relations that define something as a unity and determine the dynamics of interactions and changes it may undergo as a unity constitute the **organization** of the unity (Maturana and Varela 1980: 77). Organization denotes those relations that must be present in order for something to exist. A 'systemic' unity's organization is realized through the existence and interplay of components in a given space; these comprise the unity's **structure**. Maturana points out that the word 'structure' comes from the Latin meaning 'to build'. He uses this allusion to describe 'structure' as the components, and the relations these components must have, in order to participate in the constitution of a given unity (Maturana 1975: 315–316).

This particular configuration of a given unity, its structure, is not sufficient to define it as a unity. The key feature of a living system is the *maintenance of its*

organization, that is the conservation of the network of relations that defines it as a systemic unity. This notion is repeated throughout this work as a reminder of the fundamental property of self-regulation, or survival. In other words, "autopoietic systems operate as homeostatic systems that have their own organization as the critical fundamental variable that they actively maintain constant" (*op.cit.*: 318); they are *self-producing*. Living humans have an organization, which all systems have; what is unique about them is that their organization is such that their only product is themselves, with no separation between producer and product. This specific mode of operation is defined as **operational closure** (Varela 1984). This concept is further clarified by the distinctions made in the following sections. I then apply this construct in my description of how a text is instantiated (§4.2).

Autopoietic theory is indeed difficult to transpose to other fields and disciplines. However, in order to study self-regulation in interpreting within this systemic paradigm, it is important to view the activity along autopoietic lines (§4.1). In Chapter 5 I consider the domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event. In order to be able to reason along autopoietic lines, I now introduce two other notions that make it possible to understand why language, as a cognitive-linguistic phenomenon, is considered a social activity, despite the operational closure inherent to systems.

4.1.4 Structural determinism and structural coupling

The fundamental principle of **structural determinism** is that the behavior of a system is constrained by its constitution. The set of potential changes in a system is circumscribed by (i) the system's range of potential structural transformations, and (ii) the set of potential 'perturbations' (see Maturana and Varela 1998: 95–6) impinging upon the system. While a given perturbation may trigger a change of system state, the particular change triggered is a function of the system's own organization and structure.

As observers we have distinguished the living system as a unity from its background and have characterized it as a definite organization, thus distinguishing two structures that are to be considered operationally independent of each other: a living being and an environment. In interactions between a living being and the environment within this structural congruence, the **perturbations** (in Maturana's language) of the environment do not determine what happens to the living being; rather, it is the structure of the living being that determines what change occurs in it. In other words, a disturbing agent brings about the changes (perturbations) that result from the interaction between a living being and its environment, but these changes are determined by the structure (as defined in §4.1.3) of the disturbed system.

Whenever there is a history of recurrent interactions leading to the structural congruence between two or more systems, **structural coupling** occurs. What occurs during these interactions is the basis for a study of normative behavior. In other words, "the norms, criteria and resources of one system are put at the disposal of or forced upon another system, there to be respected or resisted, as the case may be" (Hermans 1999b: 143). Specifically, it is "a historical process leading to the spatio-temporal coincidence between the changes of state" (Maturana 1975: 321).

All living beings undergo structural coupling but what makes human beings unique is that structural coupling takes place within the "ongoing conservation of the autopoiesis that defines them" and "everything in them is subordinate to that conservation" (Maturana and Varela 1998: 99–100). The primacy of cognition, or the process with which a human being deals with structural coupling, is highlighted in the following section in our discussion of a system dynamics perspective to text instantiation.

4.2 A system dynamics perspective on text instantiation

The emergence of a definition for the concept of 'structure' that is distinct from 'organization' in relation to texts is found in Ferrara's discussion of the pragmatic analysis of local coherence:

> To understand a text semantically means, from a cognitive-psychological point of view, to be able to identify, under the series of the logicosemantic structures of its component sentences, a macrosemantic representation (i.e., one or more macropropositions) of which that series represents an expansion. (Ferrara 1985: 141)

Hatim and Mason also define the concept of 'structure':

> The two text-centered notions of cohesion and coherence incorporate elements of what we shall refer to as the **texture** and **structure** of texts. These are areas of text organization involving both the way texts are put together and the way the emerging patterns link up with some model of reality. (1997: 16, original emphasis)

Even if they include both **texture** and **structure** under the heading 'text organization', Hatim and Mason, in fact, make a distinction between 'emerging patterns' (cohesion/organization) and 'some model of reality' (coherence/discourse structure).

Many have described the workings of texts using a systems or process-oriented approach, through the notion of the text as a cybernetic system (cf. Beaugrande, 1980; Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981) with regulative principles (Searle, 1969). Inspired by system dynamics, and the desire to reflect biological phenomena, I propose the following conceptual model (Fig. 4.1) of the dynamics of text instantiation.

On the left side of Figure 4.1 I indicate a text's pattern of organization as its fundamental attribute, an essential characteristic in the maintenance of a text's existence. The function of each component of the pattern of organization (all elements) is to help produce and transform other components, while preserving the overall circularity (autopoiesis), hence the pattern of organization is operationally closed and self-referential in nature.

On the right side of Figure 4.1 I indicate a text's discourse structure as that attribute which is 'dissipative', or structurally open, as reflected in the characteristic of intertextuality. A text's intertextual dimension, evolving from social and linguistic factors, both confers on a text its 'permeability' (making it 'structurally open'), and influences its discourse structure. Intertextuality here is considered in its wider sense, as access to texts via our knowledge of encountered texts "in a continual process of reconstruction of our individual and social realities" (Seidlhofer, 2000: 211). It is important to note that the two columns in Figure 4.1 are not opposite ends of a spectrum but are mutually distinctive, i.e. they mutually inform each other to comprise a larger whole, a text. As mentioned, this relation of mutual distinction is central to our view of context (§5.1.1).

There is no universally agreed way of describing how sentences relate to each other in the field of linguistics. Despite this, Hoey (1991: 12) underscores the fact that there is indeed some relation between sentences, since texts are instantiated, but he raises a fundamental question: "how does cohesion (the relation between elements of sentences, i.e. organization) contribute to the relationships we perceive between those sentences as wholes? (of course the question can also be asked the other way around)".

Intrigued by Hoey's model of lexical cohesion, I attempted to answer the question he poses and relate it to my own analyses by applying his model to the study of a corpus of written, non-narrative texts. I used those lexical categories of his

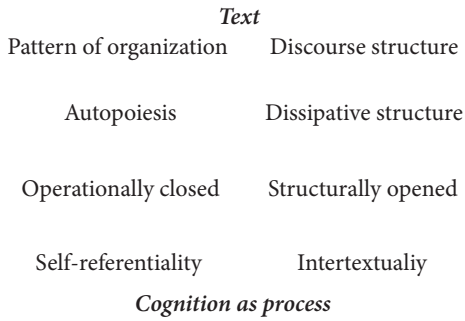

Figure 4.1 Dynamics of text instantiation

model that best lent themselves to computer processing in my analysis. Using a concordancer program, I produced summaries of corpus texts based on clusters of lexical repetition sequences, and obtained an outline of the texts' discourse structures. Two parallel texts, professional translations of one of our corpus texts, were examined using the same procedure (Monacelli, 2004).

Hoey's model served to highlight a text-organizing network of lexical relations across sentence boundaries and to single out marginal and central sentences. The removal of marginal sentences in corpus texts made for remarkably smooth-reading summaries and the emergence of each author's (and translator's) discourse. Klaudy and Károly (2000) dealt with the limitations of Hoey's model when they adapted it to the analysis of translations. I also pointed out shortcomings of the model that have to do with assessing the dynamic quality of texts. Whereas Hoey's lexical model highlights 'passive' intertextual links in a text, i.e. those aiming to maintain a text's internal coherence, his model does not single out 'active' intertextual links, i.e. those activating knowledge and belief systems beyond the text itself (cf. Hatim and Mason 1990: 123–124). Despite these limitations, I found that his model did make it possible to perceive rather blatant differences in the discourses of the two translated versions of one of my corpus texts in that study.

At the time I was motivated by an attempt to find a way to adapt his model for the analysis of organization and structure in the corpus of oral texts for this current work. All efforts were abandoned when no tangible results seemed to emerge, since no viable way of coping with the problematic nature of the notion of the sentence was found. However, the study using Hoey's model on written texts described above did have an impact on the theoretical framework underlying this current work: when contrasting two different translations of a source text it became clear that whereas the organization of texts must remain the same in order for them to maintain their essential properties (ST and TT), texts' discourse structures are expected to, and indeed do, change in the process of translation (and interpretation).

This was already suggested by Hatim and Mason (1990) who proposed the process of translation as involving readers in negotiating textual meaning produced by a translator, viewing a translated text as evidence of a transaction, a way of describing and analyzing a translator's decision making process. They also question the role of the interpreter in these processes and argue for empirical or data-driven research on interpreting and the focus of analysis to be on discourse phenomena as that which occurs in monolingual conversations (*op.cit.*: 1990: 81). That discourse structures change in the process of interpreting was confirmed in Berk-Seligson's (1990) groundbreaking sociolinguistic study of courtroom interpreting. She demonstrated interpreters' independent role and their active participation in the speech event through an analysis of TT discourse.

If we consider an oral text in simultaneous interpreting as a system (and reason along autopoietic lines), the text should subordinate all changes to the maintenance of its own organization (Varela 1979). In autopoietic theory, since language is considered a fundamental characteristic of human cognition, texts are a record of cognitive activity; this is in line with discourse analytical approaches to the study of language. These records in simultaneous interpreting are brought forth within the confines of specific constraints relating to the nature of this activity (see §5.1.1). In the adaptation of autopoietic theory to the analysis of a corpus of interpreters' output, I argue that, whatever the case may be, interpreters subordinate all changes to the maintenance of their own 'organization', understood in terms of survival, biological or otherwise. In other words, interpreters aim – first and foremost – at professional survival, and subordinate all activity (linguistic choices, interpersonal professional relations, etc.) to the preservation of their professional 'face'.

I characterize the interpreting event as inherently face-threatening (Chapter 6) since interpreters exhibit their translational performance in public and thus it can be inspected for errors. Therefore, at a textual level face-protection may be detected as occurring to varying degrees: from evidence that interpreters try to favor textual coherence to evidence of how interpreters deal with face-threatening acts that are either leveled more or less explicitly at ST receivers, on the one hand, and at interpreters, on the other, if they feel their own face is threatened. In Chapter 6 I examine corpus texts in this respect. I create three categories of analysis that flow out from the data in terms of the prevalence of distance-altering alignments and indirectness as witnessed in shifts that span all corpus texts. An analysis of the first two categories, Stance (§6.1) and Voice (§6.2), leads to a discussion of the third category, Face (§6.3). The following section examines the construct of self-regulation more closely, in order to relate it to simultaneous interpreting as communicative interaction (Chapter 5).

4.3 Operationalizing survival

Survival, or self-regulation (SR), is a hybrid construct that has been applied in a variety of domains such as school learning (Schunk and Zimmerman 1989, 1994), cognitive development (Piaget 1952; Vygotsky 1978), social cognition (Bandura 1986, 1991b, 1997), and emotions (Davidson and Ekman 1995; Fox 1994). Scholars

in these domains seem to make the following assumptions when they use the term self-regulation:

i. There is a goal-directed quality to human behavior; self-regulated individuals set goals related to: a) personal health, b) physical health, c) emotional well-being, and d) social, academic, or professional achievement;
ii. Successful operation implies engaging in behavior that maximizes the achievement of these goals;
iii. Humans are born with natural limitations, biases, and tendencies that cause them to stray from achieving their goals.

Self-regulation research and many of its theories have emphasized the concept of negative feedback control systems, borrowed from systems theory (Carver and Scheier 1981, 1982). Feedback-loop theory was advanced in the 1940s in connection with the development of sophisticated weapons such as ballistic missiles (test-operate-test-exit, or TOTE loops), but the most familiar analogy from everyday life is the room thermostat, which turns a furnace or air conditioner on or off, whenever the room temperature goes beyond a preset range (goal). Negative feedback negates change and stabilizes systems. In positive feedback, an increase in a variable eventually leads to a further increase in the same variable. Negative feedback exhibits goal-seeking (strategic) behavior in simple systems. However, in complex systems, goal-seeking behavior may be oscillatory, with positive feedback amplifying and destabilizing behavior.

Rather than a static state, homeostasis is a dynamic state that results from constant adjustments in response to changing circumstances. In this sense the nature of self-regulation ('constant adjustments') is that of 'overriding': there must be multiple processes or levels of action occurring where one process overrides others. This brings to mind Daniel Gile's 'Effort Model' (1995, 1997), to be sure. In his models Gile seems to suggest the interpreter is overcome by various concomitant processes, but has clarified in a personal communication that the interpreter deals with these multiple processes strategically. Indeed Gile (1995: 203) actually refers to the notion of 'self-protection' as governing the choice of coping strategies. In fact self-regulation, as we will see, is a goal-oriented, or strategic, activity. But in order to understand self-regulation, it is also necessary to have some hierarchical concept of multiple processes that occur, since not all processes are equal in terms of the priority with which they are addressed.

All living systems are self-regulating, which means they have a set of inner mechanisms that control the system. Human beings, however, have a capacity for self-regulation that far exceeds that in other living beings, in part because the conscious mind is involved in the process and this enhances the flexibility, range and articulation of behavior (Binswanger, 1991: 155). People have ideals and long-range

goals; they act in relation to others' expectations and standards they set themselves to guide, motivate and regulate their behavior (Bandura, 1986, 1991a, 1991b). Humans also possess self-reflective and self-reactive capabilities that enable them to exercise some control over their thoughts, feelings, motivation and actions (Bandura 1991b: 249). Using these capabilities, individuals monitor their processes of engagement and the progressively updated products these processes create, thus generating internal feedback ('intra-personal communication') or, as Vygotsky (1978) put it, "inner speech". This information provides the basis for subsequent engagement in terms of establishing goals.

Bandura (1997: 6) describes human agency as "a transactional view of self and society, internal personal factors in the form of cognitive, affective, and biological events; behavior; and environmental events all act as interacting determinants that influence one another bidirectionally". This transactional view of self and society provides insight into what is at stake during professional practice and further lends credence to the notion of self-regulation in simultaneous interpreting as face-protection.

We have entered the very core of human agency – cognition – and it would now be legitimate to ask ourselves what enacts the cycle of self-regulation. In other words, how do people actuate the mental processes that embody the exercise of agency and lead to the realization of specific intentions? What 'moves' people to act in certain ways for certain purposes? Bandura explains that anticipative or proactive control operates as the main system in mobilizing motivation, and reactive feedback indicates any further adjustments in effort needed to reach desired goals. His explanation of the phenomenon merits being quoted in full:

> Human motivation relies both on *discrepancy production* and *discrepancy reduction*. It requires *proactive control* as well as *reactive control*. People initially motivate themselves through proactive control by setting themselves valued performance standards that create a state of disequilibrium and then mobilizing their effort on the basis of anticipatory estimation of what it would take to reach them. Feedback control comes into play in subsequent adjustments of effort expenditure to achieve desired results. After people attain the standard they have been pursuing, those who have a strong sense of efficacy generally set a higher standard for themselves. The adoption of further challenges creates new motivating discrepancies to be mastered. Similarly, surpassing a standard is more likely to raise aspiration than to lower subsequent performance to reduce disequilibrium by conforming to the surpassed standard. Self-motivation thus involves a dual control process of disequilibrating discrepancy production followed by equilibrating discrepancy reduction (original emphasis, Bandura 1991b: 260).

Bandura's description of proactive and reactive control recalls the concept of dynamic equilibrium in face-to-face interpreter-mediated events advanced by Monacelli and Punzo (2001). In other words, dynamic equilibrium becomes the

guiding principle behind an interpreter's (cognitive) operational awareness, or "consapevolezza operativa," as cybernetician and philosopher Silvio Ceccato (1966) so aptly called it. The concept of operational awareness is distinct from considering conceptual elements prior to professional practice. It implies, rather, the notion of embodied awareness or immediate coping, a notion rarely discussed in theory but which is firmly grounded in experience.

In order to capture the complexity of human self-regulation, imagine an evaluative executive control system invested with the following properties (cf. Bandura 1991b):

1. predictive anticipatory control of effort expenditure;
2. affective self-evaluative reactions to one's performances, rooted in a value system;
3. self-appraisal of personal efficacy for goal attainment, and
4. self-reflective meta-cognitive activity concerning the adequacy of one's efficacy appraisals and the suitability of one's standard setting.

At the basis of human motivation in self-regulation as discussed above is 'self-directedness'. This fundamental concept inspires autopoietic theory, which I have described as a biological account of the conditions that sustain survival (§4.1). My explanatory hypothesis (§7.2) is based on the theory of autopoiesis.

4.3.1 Self-regulatory goals

I mentioned the necessary hierarchy among multiple processes that occur during self-regulation, since not all processes are equal; I also mentioned the three assumptions concerning SR of researchers in different fields. These assumptions imply the following three conditions for optimal self-regulation to occur:

1. individuals need *standards* against which to measure themselves;
2. *monitoring* must be effected;
3. individuals must have the power to enact personal *agency*.

When people seek to exert control over themselves, they summon various standards, which are abstract concepts of how things should be. These have their roots in social (or professional) norms, personal goals, and the expectation of others. This, too, points to the notion of interpreters' linguistic behavior during simultaneous interpreting as face-protection. Secondly, individuals can successfully regulate themselves only if they pay attention to what they are doing. And finally, people must have some form of influence over themselves in order to enact personal agency and bring about the desired changes or responses (Baumeister *et al.* 1994: 9).

If self-regulation implies a goal, then *survival* is the goal behind all biological self-regulation. The essential feature of homeostasis, in the case of humans, is

not that it maintains a constant temperature, as in our example of the thermostat, but that it maintains the temperature level required for survival. In the same vein, professional survival is the goal behind all professional self-regulation. In a social cognitive perspective, professional interpreters are involved in reciprocal interactions between their behavior, the external environment and internal personal factors in the form of cognitive, affective and biological events. Within this framework, is it possible to establish a hierarchy of goals motivating interpreters' behavior?

The notion of hierarchical goals is central to one of the most important works on self-regulation, the model advanced by Carver and Scheier (1981, 1982). The multiple processes vying for self-regulatory attention are divided into higher and lower processes. Higher processes involve longer time spans, more extensive networks of meaningful associations and interpretations, and more distal or abstract goals (Baumeister, 1991a, 1991b). Lower processes are characteristically immediate needs. Typically, higher processes would involve interpersonal relations, self-esteem, or one's reputation; lower processes may involve text negotiation at a micro- or macro-textual level in terms of cohesion and coherence respectively. These two processes are undoubtedly closely linked: it makes sense for an interpreter to do his or her best in order to assure maximal cohesion and coherence of a text for professional survival. For example in Sample 1.2 in the introduction, when the interpreter addresses listeners directly and says, "però se corre così non si riesce a seguire" [but if she runs like this it is impossible to follow], she addresses lower processes and seems to be motivated by short-term goals (ensuring cohesion and coherence for a TT audience), implying that the ST speaker's speed of elocution would hinder/hinders her performance. At the same time she addresses higher processes because she also seems to be motivated by long-term goals (safeguarding her reputation).

4.3.2 Mechanisms of self-regulatory breakdown

As mentioned, successful self-regulation involves higher processes overriding lower processes; when the reverse happens, a breakdown of self-regulation occurs (Baumeister et al. 1994: 8). In this section we discuss mechanisms of SR breakdown, which are all linked to the three conditions for successful SR.

Empirical evidence supports the view that SR is hampered, first of all, by conflicting standards; when standards are inconsistent or incompatible they lead to indecisive, unsure behavior (Emmons and King 1988; Van Hook and Higgins 1988).

A second cause of SR breakdown occurs when a person ceases to monitor engagement. More generally, any loss of self-awareness may contribute to SR breakdown, because attending to the self is the essence of the monitoring function

(Baumeister *et al.* 1994: 17). The literature also stresses the central role of attention in SR. Managing attention is not only the most common technique of SR, it is advocated as the most effective one (Kirschenbaum 1987). The inadequate management of resources implies the inability to make the self conform to the relevant standards. Here the problem is not an absence of standards, nor a lack of the ability to monitor the self. The nature of this inadequacy can be understood by considering the meta-cognitive activity of 'overriding', mentioned earlier (§4.3), which represents a crucial problem involving the management of attention. Other factors playing a major role in affecting the management of resources are notably limitations on memory and stress (Byrnes 1998: 81–8).

In an article entitled 'Conscious monitoring of attention during simultaneous interpreting' Darò *et al.* (1996: 102) report on findings from an experiment to test different modes of conscious monitoring of attention. The authors admit, "Investigating the role of conscious monitoring of attention during simultaneous interpreting (SI) is a difficult task", not least because the notion of 'attention' itself is difficult to define. The research design did not include any form of introspection concerning the nature of the attention brought to bear on certain processes. In other words no understanding came forth which clarified whether the attentional efforts of subjects participating in this experiment were expended strategically, to the detriment of production efforts, or whether subjects experienced momentary inability to meet certain challenges posed by the experimental tasks. This leads us to the third reason for self-regulation breakdown.

Self-regulation breakdown also ensues when personal agency is not enacted. Reasons behind a lack of agency may have to do with chronic weakness or physical debilitation that do not enable a person to react. Agency may even be blocked by temporary weakness vis-à-vis the task at hand (Baumeister *et al.* 1994). Here, too, we are reminded of Gile's Effort Model.

These three phenomena of SR breakdown may be classified as underregulation. However, it is possible for individuals to engage in active efforts at SR, but do so in a way that is non-optimal or counterproductive. In such cases SR breakdown may also occur because a technique is used or a method adopted that produces a result different from the desired one. These cases constitute incidents of misregulation. An example of misregulation is offered in Sample 4.1 below, taken from my corpus. The ST speaker was head of the Italian Interpreting Division of the European Parliament and is discussing the nature of the interpreter's work there. He starts talking about the most difficult week out of the month for EP interpreters, the part-session.

The speaker in Sample 4.1 singles out those members of the audience he addresses ("I say it for the younger ones"), the students present at the conference in question. The interpreter (Sample 4.2), however, does not explicitly define an audi-

ence. His mention of the Italian term for 'part session' is a strategy usually employed when in the presence of culture-specific terms, where a translation would not do the original term any justice. This strategy, however, seems uncalled for since the interpreter was working from Italian into English and was addressing an English-speaking audience.

The interpreter is a professor at the university where the conference was held. When asked for clarification of this move during a debriefing session that took place after the analysis of textual data, he reported that he knew some (Italian) students had been listening to his interpretation, even though they fully understood the ST. Aware of this, he strove to provide optimal conditions for them so that they could come to know that 'part session' meant 'tornata'. He had thus fashioned his audience design to comprise these members of the Italian audience.

Sample 4.1 I_8 11, ST

ST	**Literal translation**
– e infatti inizia proprio lunedì prossimo fino a venerdì	– and indeed begins just next Monday up to Friday
– quindi la settimana prossima avremo la tornata a Strasburgo	– therefore the next week we will have the part session in Strasbourg
– be' dico subito che il Parlamento	well I say immediately that the Parliament
– penso sia inutile ricordarlo	I think it's useless to remember it
– ma lo dico per i più giovani	– but I say it for the younger ones
– ha tre sedi di lavoro	– has three seats of work
– Strasburgo Lussemburgo e Bruxelles	– Strasbourg Luxembourg and Brussels
– quindi siamo continuamente avanti e indietro tra le tre città	– therefore we are continuously back and forth among the three cities

Sample 4.2 I_8 11, TT

TT
– there will be one starting just this coming Monday
– so next week we will have the part session in Strasbourg what we call the tornata in Italian
+++
+++
– I must specify in this respect that the Parliament actually works in three different venues
– Brussels Luxembourg and Strasbourg
– so we continually have to go back and for to and fro between these different cities

The ST speaker (Sample 4.1) announced he was speaking for the younger members of the audience ("lo dico per i più giovani"), which is omitted in the TT (Sample 4.2) since, as mentioned, the interpreter had already pitched his speech to students (Italian 'overhearers' – after Goffman – vis-à-vis his interpretation), and did not need to specify his addressees. However, this lack of specification makes for a 'misguided' self-regulatory move, since the signal conveyed in the ST for students also fell on the ears of professional (many freelance EU) interpreters and university professors in English (TT), all of whom knew full well where the European Parliament holds its sessions.

Misregulation often arises from faulty assumptions about the self, the external environment, or the consequences of certain actions. In this sense Samples 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate how the interpreting 'self' (use of the inclusive 'we', see §6.1) runs counter to other aspects of the professional self (i.e. the interpreter as professor of students in the audience). Consequently we see how shifting roles in the participation framework of an interpreted event may influence an interpreter's self-regulatory behavior and vice-versa, since misguided moves would require compensatory repair moves.

Having viewed the film Minority Report in its entirety, I benefit from a wider perspective and can draw parallels, strike contrasts and ultimately weigh the consequences of pre-crime. In a similar vein, once we widen our perspective of interpreting and consider it as system we are better placed to understand and describe phenomena occurring during professional practice. This chapter has shown that self-regulation implies both self-awareness and awareness of the context in which interpreting and interpreters are embedded. Chapter 5 analyzes simultaneous interpreting as situated activity and discusses the notion of context in depth, offering a model with which to investigate contextual shifts (Fig. 5.1). Since this study examines linguistic phenomena (interpreters' output), I turn to politeness theory, the sociolinguistic counterpart of autopoietic theory, in order to complete my theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 5

Simultaneous interpreting as communicative interaction

In a presentation of interpreting as system it is important to indicate thresholds where interpreters feel they need to act for their own professional survival. In the film Minority Report people inhabit the world of pre-crime and accept a safe environment as trade-off. However, the stability – I dare say the sterility – of a world characterized by pre-crime ironically invades personal space in other ways. Does a similar trade-off exist in interpreting? Some answers to this question are suggested both in this chapter and in Chapter 2, where I examined interpreting as a system. I again take up this issue in my conclusion.

After having set out the basis of my theoretical framework in Chapter 4, my theoretical framework is completed in this chapter by turning to politeness theories in order to model interpersonal language behavior. Simultaneous interpreting as communicative interaction is first discussed in order to contextualize the construct of self-regulation and begin to address some of the research issues outlined in §1.2. The notion of context here is discussed at length and, more specifically, the context of interpreting (§5.1.1). A model with which to analyze contextual shifts is presented (Fig. 5.1). Simultaneous interpreting is then examined in terms of domains: the domain of interpreting (Fig. 5.2) and the domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event (Fig. 5.3). An understanding of the domains involved in interpreting makes it possible to conclude this chapter with a discussion of self-regulatory participation framework and interactional politeness (§5.2).

5.1 Simultaneous interpreting as situated activity

Studying simultaneous interpreting as situated activity requires a clarification of what 'context' means within the theoretical framework adopted here. Although the notion of context has been dealt with in many formal and informal discussions in sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse studies, "there is strictly speaking no *theory* of what exactly a 'context' is" (van Dijk 1998: 211, original emphasis). When speaking of the ideological control of context in his multidisciplinary approach to ideology, van Dijk (*op. cit.*: 211) defines context as, "the structured set of all

properties of a social situation that are possibly relevant for the production, structures, interpretation and functions of text and talk". The constructive epistemological premises of this framework distance my theoretical position somewhat from that of van Dijk's because his 'context models' pit social cognition against discourse and are defined as 'social representations' (*op.cit.*: 212–214). Even if he uses the term 'representations' to signify social beliefs (*op.cit.*: 46), the implication of a representational epistemology rings loud and clear. Representation, as I see it, is rather different from *re*-presentation, i.e. the "replay, or *re*-construction from memory, of a past experience and not a picture of something else, let alone a picture of the real world" (von Glasersfeld 1995: 59). But van Dijk's definition of context draws on *relevance* as the basic condition for the properties of a social situation to form a context. The perspective of Relevance Theory is discussed in relation to context in the next section.

Setton's (1999) cognitive-pragmatic study of simultaneous interpreting is also grounded in Relevance Theory. He states (*op.cit.*: 5) that the two dominant paradigms in SI research, the information-processing paradigm and the interpretative theory (IT) one, treat the notion of context in different ways:

> Information-processing accounts pay due lip-service to the notion, but seem reluctant to address what they cannot quantify; IT writing is pervaded by appeals to the importance of extralinguistic knowledge and context in general. But so far no attempt has been made at modelling context in relation to a corpus; rather, context and inference have been set aside as impenetrable subjective variables.

Setton (*op. cit.*: 87–88) describes contextualization as ongoing, where – for each successive utterance – context is specified by the previous utterance. He also defines contextualization as being both unconscious (i.e. a mental model is maintained and relevance is sought) and conscious (i.e. a set of assumptions is constructed on the basis of previous discourse). Setton's reliance on Mental Models Theory and the notion of (internal) representations distances him from my position here. I espouse Maturana's belief that perception is not viewed as the representation of an external reality but as the continual creation of new relationships within the neural network (see §4.1).

There has been an attempt to elucidate the concept of context in translation studies. Chesterman *et al*. (2000) edited a volume entitled *Translation in context: Selected contributions from the EST Congress, Granada 1998*. In his review of this book, Neubert (2001: 388–9) suggests the volume somehow misses the mark: although "translation is irretrievably bound up with context(s)" the work fundamentally provides no link that connects context to translation studies. He

nonetheless singles out the following sections of the volume that contain context-related papers as being most relevant:

- Situational, sociological and political factors
- Psychological/cognitive aspects
- Studies of a text type
- Culture-bound concepts
- Translation history

These aspects are fundamental to the notion of context. However, Neubert makes a statement that is worth restating here in order to clarify my own position: "[...] that we (can) translate is a socio-historical, not a biological faculty" (*op. cit.*: 388). Viewing interpreting in a system dynamics perspective, after autopoietic theory, puts us in a position of also considering it a biological phenomenon (see §4.1).

The next section discusses the notion of context and draws on the writings of various scholars. This prepares the groundwork for the analysis (Chapter 6) of contextual shifts. The interpreting event is also viewed through the perspective of participation framework (§5.1.2) and the roles that can be distinguished in the communication domains created by this activity are outlined, in order to analyze interactional patterns within these various domains (§5.1.3).

5.1.1 The context of interpreting

The mutuality of physical contexts between speakers and hearers creates reasonable expectations that they are both contemplating referred-to objects in the same way or seeing them in the same light (see Clark and Marshall 1981). Most accounts of communicative context, however, take into consideration cognitive factors of communicating parties. For example, in Relevance Theory (RT) the context of an utterance is "the set of premises used in interpreting [it]" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 15). As such, it is a psychological concept, "a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world" (*op.cit.*: 15). Hence in RT the notion of context does not refer to some part of the external environment of the communication partners, be it the text preceding or following an utterance, situational circumstances, cultural factors, etc.; it rather refers to part of people's assumptions about the world or cognitive environment. "A *cognitive environment* of an individual is a set of facts that are manifest to him" (*op.cit.*: 39, italics as in original). Manifestness, in turn, has the following definition: "A fact is manifest to an individual at a given time if and only if he is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true" (*op.cit.*: 39). The notion of 'cognitive environment' takes into account the various external factors but places the emphasis on the stimuli they provide and its mental availability for the interpretation process. In his

application of RT to translation, Ernst Gutt's ideas (2000) are basically in line with the concept of self-referentiality in communication, i.e. comprehension/inference comes about on the basis of what we see ("We do not see what we do not see, and what we do not see does not exist." Maturana and Varela 1998: 242). But RT seems to be receiver-oriented, different from van Dijk's (1998: 211) definition of context, for example, which speaks of the "production, structures, interpretation and functions of text and talk". Like most accounts of communication, RT also assumes a cooperative listener who is prepared to adopt the point of view of the speaker, but "the listener must be credited with a distinct personality and point of view in any model of communication which hopes to give an account of how speakers and hearers actually talk to each other and understand each other" (Brown 1995: 27). RT approaches communication from a view of competence rather than behavior. It tries to give an explicit account of how information-processing faculties of our mind enable us to communicate with one another. "Its domain is therefore mental faculties rather than texts or processes of text production" (Gutt 2000: 21), and Gutt's study aims to explore "the possibility of accounting for translation in terms of the communicative competence assumed to be part of our minds" (*op. cit.*: 21). Here, too, there is convergence somewhat between Gutt's and Maturana and Varela's consideration of action and experience: for the latter "all doing is knowing, and all knowing is doing" (Maturana and Varela 1998: 26).

Gutt (2000: 31) stresses that conditions of relevance are context-dependent, thus relevance is context dependent. His interesting description of 'interpretative resemblance' (*op.cit.*: 36–46) in RT is intriguing and stands to effectively explain what interpreters do, despite his recourse to the term 'representations' which gives the impression that images are swapped and revisited, with no account of the translator's (or interpreter's) active role in the construction of a text. Mason (2004) applies RT to the situation of the dialogue interpreter and warns of the potentially distorting effects of the receiver-oriented strategies that he reviews in his study and suggests we need to rethink the notion that a translation should resemble the original "only in those respects that can be expected to make it adequately relevant to the receptor language audience" (Gutt 2000: 107) because, when faced with possibly conflicting demands, the interpreter is not always able to bring about the mutual cognitive environment between parties so as to ensure successful communication.

In marked contrast to Gutt's perspective, Kendon (1992: 323) considers speakers as embodied entities, suggesting a radical constructivist perspective (see von Glasersfeld 1995), one that completely does away with the notion of representation, be it primary or intermediate (see Setton 1999). In this sense Kendon

(*op. cit.*: 326–334) provides extensive discussion of how attention is organized as an interactive phenomenon. He (*op. cit.*: 328) speaks of a:

> tacit agreement sustained by participants to maintain this distinction between 'relevant' action and 'non-relevant' action that makes it possible for people to embark upon lines of action in respect to one another, and to observe each other's modes of dealing with those lines of action without, as it were, officially doing so.

He draws on Goffman's concept of 'attentional tracks' (see Goffman 1974: 201–246) to specify how relevant and non-relevant action is perceived by communicating parties. It is worth noting, in order to further my argument, that Goffman (1974: 210) mentions the 'regulating' of activity:

> There is to be found a stream of signs which is itself excluded from the content of the activity but which serves as a means of regulating it, bounding, articulating, and qualifying its various components and phases.

Rather than making up a separate nonverbal level, the context provided by the behavioral environment of talk is reflexively linked to it within larger patterns of social activity.

The notion of context, especially with respect to interaction and discourse, is commonly understood to concern two types of context (see Schegloff 1992: 195): that which can be referred to as 'external' or 'distal' and that which can be considered 'internal', 'intra-interactional' or 'proximate'. The first type of context usually includes aspects of interaction in terms of class, ethnicity and gender that are understood as either a constraint on and ordering of social life, or as the embodiment of power concerns. Here the institutional setting plays a major role in shaping what goes on. Through the second type of context it is possible to understand the type of occasion or interaction that participants, through their actions, create. It is in this sense that interpreters are viewed as active participants in the creation of an interpreting event and, after Schegloff (*op. cit.*: 196–197) interpreters, by "marking the setting by so conducting themselves", become fundamental to the analysis of their conduct, implying a self-referential approach to the analysis of interpreters' behavior.

Gumperz (1992) speaks of three levels or planes involved in creating a context. The first, a perceptual plane, concerns chunking what is perceived into information units or phrases before it can be interpreted. Accents and shifts in pitch register and tempo are part of this plane since they serve to provide information concerning construction units, the foregrounding and backgrounding of items of information, distinguishing between main points and qualifying information or side sequences (Gumperz 1992: 232). The second level concerns local assessments of sequencing and speech-act-level implicatures. Inferences at this level yield situated interpretations of 'communicative intent'. The third level is more global

and involves framing, which signals what is expected in interaction at any one stage (Gumperz 1992: 233).

Differently from Hatim and Mason (1997) who suggest that local textural clues guide the simultaneous interpreter (perhaps similar to Gumperz's first and second level contextualization cues), I suggest interpreters' self-regulatory moves are guided by cues at all levels when exercising autonomy (see §4.1.2) in the interpreting domain of communication (Figure 5.2).

Ochs (1979) charts broad contextual attributes and provides a range of phenomena that the notion of context must cover, which may in turn be divided into the two broader categories mentioned above, 'internal' and 'external' attributes. I mention them here so as to single out the best analytical tools with which to examine shifts in context. The first is 'setting' or the social and spatial framework within which events occur. Hanks (1992: 46–76) offers evidence of how deictic systems provide communicating parties with systematic, interactively based resources for organizing their mutual access to their shared environment. He makes it clear, however, that neither the physical nor the social setting for talk is something that is fixed or immutable but that they provide constraints and are, however, dynamically and socially constituted by the actions and activities of the participants in communication. Indeed they stand in a reflexive relationship to the context created.

The second group of attributes proposed by Ochs (*op. cit.*) concerns the behavioral environment, or the way in which communicating parties use their bodies and behavior as a resource for framing and organizing their talk. Of course, this may seem to concern only primary communicating parties. However, as active participants, interpreters are indeed called upon to follow their text through and, in the perspective outlined here, not only does the source text establish constraints for professionals, but their own unfolding text also does.

The third group of contextual attributes established by Ochs (1979) is 'language' as context. Among other things, it includes the way in which genres contextualize talk and, in contrast to views of context that conceptualize genres as frames that surround talk, Ochs emphasizes the way in which talk itself constitutes a main resource for the organization of genres. This group of contextual attributes (language), Ochs suggests, emphasizes the dynamic nature of context and the ability of participants in communication to repeatedly invoke alternative contextual frames within the talk of the moment, which is one of the key insights provided by the notion of 'contextualization cues' (Gumperz 1982, 1992).

The notion of 'extra-situational context' constitutes Och's fourth set of attributes that define context. This typically involves background knowledge that extends far beyond the local talk and the immediate setting. Phillips (1992), for example, describes how phenomena once taken to be locally organized, such as hesitations and forms of repair, can in fact be seen as systematic features of larger

processes when repetitive examples of comparable events are collected within a particular setting. Lindstrom (1992) examines discursive rules and conditions that give different people unequal rights and opportunities to contribute to a debate and to control the public meaning of what gets said. This brings to mind samples 1.3 (ST) and 1.4 (TT) where what the interpreter says on behalf of the ST speaker can be imputed to the rules and conditions Lindstrom invokes as creating unequal rights and opportunities in voicing their opinions.

In this study language is postulated as residing in a cognitive-linguistic domain that is social in nature (§4.1). Thus, in a definition of context as a linguistic phenomenon, it is considered interactional, as described in this section.

A discussion of interaction in talk in which the speaker holds the floor for an extended period, such as when giving a lecture or making a speech, requires us to analyze the notion of context in terms of shifts in context of both ST and TT speakers. Charles Goodwin investigated how talk emerges through the systematic processes of interaction, in which recipients are active co-participants. He has demonstrated that processes of interaction occur within an individual turn of talk (see Goodwin 1981). Goodwin and Goodwin (1992: 151–189) convincingly argue that the analysis of the participation framework within activities makes it possible to view communicating parties as not simply embedded within a context but actively involved in the process of building context.

Goffman (1981) suggests there are two sets of conditions required in order for interaction to occur: the first is what he calls system conditions or the structural requirements of talk, and the second he calls ritual conditions or the interpersonal requirements of talk, e.g. how to manage oneself and others. I draw inspiration from these two sets of conditions when assessing contextual shifts in simultaneous interpreting: constraints posed by different language systems (structural) and the interpersonal (ritual) constraints posed by the situation, alongside Goodwin's insight, i.e. that interaction occurs within an individual turn of talk. I analyze personal reference in my data (§6.1) in order to begin to understand how interpreters deal and interact with their professional environment shared with other communicating parties. I also examine how processes are presented in the data (§6.2) by considering shifts in transitivity patterns and agency. Finally, I explore how interpreters deal with threats to face (§6.3), since their face-work directly attests to behavior geared toward professional survival.

Figure 5.1 illustrates my model of context and the analysis that flows from my data to assess contextual shifts.

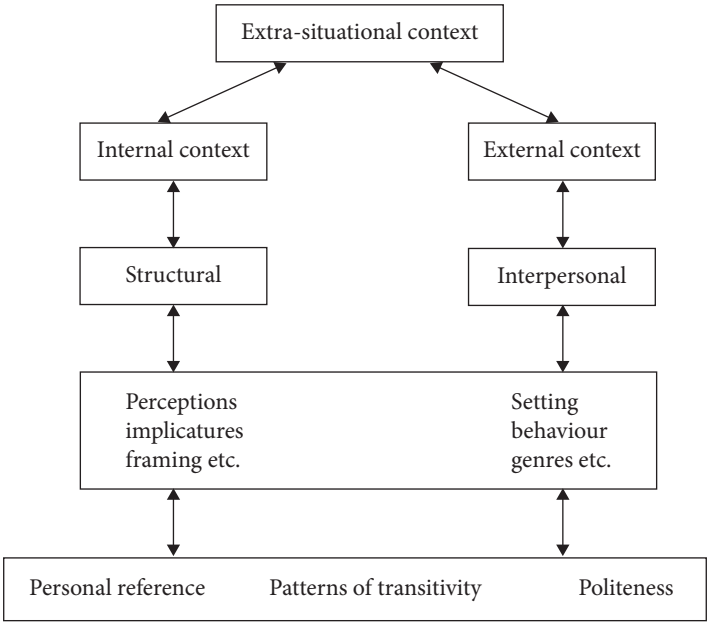

Figure 5.1 Model to analyze contextual shifts

Figure 5.1 illustrates the interaction of contextual elements and the enactment of specific behavior that is constitutive of a dynamic, shifting context. Figure 5.1 should be read as follows: personal reference, patterns of transitivity and politeness are the phenomena analyzed in my data and the work discusses how they relate to the model of context I outline in this section; the phenomena examined belong either to structural or interpersonal constraints, structural relating to the internal context and interpersonal relating to the external context. The basic ingredients of this model, as culled from the discussion of context in this section, are thus summarized:

1. extra-situational context (Ochs, 1979) concerns background knowledge, local phenomena that are systematic features of larger processes (Phillips, 1992); discursive rules and conditions giving people unequal power and control (Lindstrom, 1992);
2. internal/external context (Schegloff 1992): participants create internal context through their actions; external context concerns aspects of interaction understood as constraints on social life or the embodiment of power concerns;
3. structural constraints have to do with language systems; interpersonal constraints have to do with ritual constraints posed by the situation;

4. perceptions/implicatures/framing, etc. are three levels or planes in creating a context (Gumperz, 1992); setting/behavior/genres, etc. are contextual attributes (Ochs, 1979), where genres both constrain and are constructed within contexts;
5. personal reference: deictic systems provide resources for organizing mutual access to shared environment (Hanks, 1992), which is not fixed but dynamic;
6. transitivity patterns: illustrate how processes are presented and agency is attributed;
7. politeness: face-work flowing out from perceptions, implicatures, and framing that are, in turn, contextualized in a specific setting, where particular behavior occurs and genres construct and constrain.

A fundamental characteristic emerges from this summary of the contextual model outlined: context is dynamic and parties to communication interact with contextual elements and, at the same time, their interaction constructs context.

Bearing in mind contextual factors outlined in this section, it is important to stress that Brown (1995: 102) observed there to be "dissonance between how the speaker thinks of an object and how the listener thinks of an object (revealed by the way they each construct referring expressions in their turns as speaker)" but that this "does not necessarily block communication". Brown (*op. cit.*: 103) also notes that "there are occasions when a speaker cannot know what is the relevant information to offer a listener [...] and where the listener apparently ignores information provided by the speaker which is not currently relevant to the listener's own interests".

In the following sections the activity of interpreting (§5.1.2) and interactional patterns in the domain of interpreting (§5.1.3) are discussed. Since interpreters may be motivated by different factors with respect to the ST speaker (their 'own interests'), contextual shifts throughout our corpus are indeed expected. What remains to be seen is the nature, entity and effects of these shifts. Those phenomena that have emerged as characteristic of contextual shifts in all corpus texts are examined and described (Chapter 6). In order to clarify how contextual shifts occur, I now describe various aspects of the activity of interpreting and call on different scholars who have, in some way, discussed interpreting in terms of contextual concerns.

5.1.2 Participation framework in the interpreting event

Conferences, as events, are considered by de Beaugrande (1992: 223) as "discourse transactions wherein specialists gather to develop strategies of making 'progress' in defining issues and solving problems". The notion of 'transaction' in his definition serves us well in considering simultaneous interpreting as an interactional

phenomenon. Few authors have described the primary activity involved in simultaneous interpreting – speechmaking – as an interactional phenomenon. Among these is Erving Goffman who dedicates an entire lecture on "The Lecture", a paper collected in his celebrated volume *Forms of Talk* (1981: 162–196) and an excellent example of self-referentiality. He describes the 'production shifts' that may occur throughout a lecture and the possible 'distance-altering' alignments experienced in this form of communication. He suggests it is possible to get at interactional issues by directing full attention to how a speaker manages him or herself since footing in lecturing is a measure of the multiple senses in which the self of the speaker can appear, or "the multiple self-implicatory projections discoverable in what is said and done at the podium", with at the center the 'textual self' that is of long standing (*op. cit.*: 173). However, Goffman stresses that the interesting analytical point about lecturing is not the textual stance projected but the additional footings that can be managed at the same time, the distance-altering alignments (1981: 174). We have seen, in samples 1.1 and 1.2, that distance-altering alignments occur in the target text where the interpreter distinguishes between the "I" of the source text and the "I" of the interpreter and addresses her audience directly. In this sense, after Goffman (1981), it is clear how distance-altering alignments do not appear in the substance of a text but in the mechanics of transmitting it. Broadly speaking, Goffman (*op. cit.*: 181) describes the mechanics of lecturing as comprised of the following: keyings (a removal of the self from the literal meaning of one's utterance as in the use of irony or sarcasm); text brackets (text introduction and closing); text parenthetical remarks (e.g. digressions, apologies, hedging) are signs of interaction that are oriented to the text and fit the mood and special interest of the audience; and the management of performance contingencies, or noise. Goffman suggests that when communication occurs, noise will also and a communication system "can be seen as a layered composite structure – electronic, physical, biological, and so forth; and that effective communication is vulnerable to noise sources from different layerings in the structure of the system that sustains it" (*op. cit.*: 182). Goffman refers to the structure and organization (two concepts defined in Chapter 4) of lecturing and states that what is structurally crucial is the "partition between the inside and the outside of words, between the realm of being sustained through the meaning of a discourse and the mechanics of discoursing" (*op. cit.*: 173).

In his discussion of lecturing mechanics (*op. cit.*: 174), Goffman distinguishes these from 'structural' positions for speakers, linking his description of the lecture to context by explaining that the main difference between giving a speech and having readers read a speech is the 'access' audiences have to the speaker (*op. cit.*: 186–7). In the participation framework of a conference mediated by simultaneous interpreting (see §5.1.3, Figure 5.2), the way a ST audience reacts (e.g. audibly) to a

speaker can influence interpreter behavior. In this sense they are a separate participant group. TT receivers are also aware of ST receivers and the way they react before them because of the time lag with which TT receivers hear the interpreter's TT. The text becomes tied to the occasion through a series of "contextualizing" devices (*op. cit.*: 188): through topical statements made in the lecture the speaker fulfills the audience's assumption that what they are about to hear was formulated just for the occasion; bracketing comments and parenthetical remarks, as mentioned, serve to maintain an air of 'fresh talk' or a simulation of fresh talk; scanning a text and addressing the audience directly without reading; a 'hypersmooth' delivery, one without the hesitations and repetitions characteristic of problems occurring when reading a text; 'high style' in the delivery of a text denoting elegance of language that implies the speaker's commitment to his speech in the particular occasion. In the participation framework of a conference it follows that these contextual devices imply a contextually shifting environment, one where the interpreter alters his or her alignment both to adjust to and to construct his or her context.

Goffman's 'contextualizing' devices are indications of self-referentiality: they point to the lecture itself. It is in this direction that I develop my analysis so as to fully determine and assess context and possible shifts in the TT. Indeed Goffman himself states that through the delivery of the lecture the speaker-author warrants claims to his or her authority, rank, office, reputation, and so on, thus providing a "link between institutional status, reputation, and the occasion" (1981: 191). Addressing the occasion, the speaker takes part in a ritual that is carried out "under cover of conveying his text" (*ibid.*). And, in this sense, this 'link' is espoused as a workable definition of 'context' for my premises, one that guides the analysis self-referentially, which reflects the object of study, self-regulation (see Chapter 4). In a discussion of a model with which to analyze contextual shifts (Fig. 5.3) I pointed out that the fundamental premise of the model is that, through their interaction, parties to communication construct context. Thus the 'link' explored is the dynamic, constructive nature of context.

In terms of the participation framework of communicative events, Edmondson (1986) proposes that, even if interpreters may have some of the ST speaker's responsibilities such as formulating and creating utterances, they are not responsible for the content of utterances and thus their participation status is unique, being neither only hearers nor speakers. However, various scholars have begun to argue that interpreters indeed have an active role in shaping the discourse of their texts (Berk-Seligson 1990; Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000), even though their argument concerns face-to-face interpreting. For example, Cecilia Wadensjö (1998) theoretically grounds her work of situated interpreted encounters (liaison interpreting) in the analytical frameworks of Goffman's work on the nature of social encounters and organization, and of Bakhtin's work on the dialogical theory of

language and interaction. Wadensjö complements Goffman's production format with a breakdown of the listener's role in order to include those listener roles taken on by the interpreter. She proposes the following three roles under what she calls 'reception format' (1998: 91–93): listening as a 'reporter' (who only repeats what is heard), listening as a 'recapitulator' (who is expected to give an authorized voice to a prior ST speaker), and listening as 'responder' (who is addressed so as to make his or her own contribution to the communication). The listener's role in interpreting is also emphasized by Mason (1990) who models the interpreter's response during performance within a situation that contemplates "formal monologue within a one-to-many addresser/addressee framework" (*op. cit.*: 149) as a reflection of the listening process. He notes that in simultaneous interpreting the listener often provides evidence of the listening process, which differs from that of conversational interaction (*op. cit.*: 156). In fact my focus on self-regulation in simultaneous interpreting leads to the adoption of a perspective that is not dialogic in nature, as Wadensjö's, but rather autopoietic (see §4.1), which views the activity as being subordinated to its own (professional) survival (see §4.1.3).

Wolfgang Dressler (1994) discusses the text pragmatics of participant roles in simultaneous interpreting in one of the few studies – if not the only one – to address this subject. He raises the issue of how the interpreter should behave in order to put TT receivers in the position of recovering ST meaning (*op. cit.*: 98). Dressler defines the interpreter as having a 'side participant' role and describes the target text as having two co-speakers: the interpreter as 'overt speaker' and the source text speaker as 'covert speaker' (*op. cit.*: 104). Dressler does not explore these concepts further and, in theory, they are quite acceptable to explain how the activity of simultaneous interpreting is to be carried out. However, in practice, other types of communication also take place, as witnessed in Sample 1.2.

Ebru Diriker's (2001) ethnographic conference case study of English/Turkish simultaneous interpreting at a symposium on philosophy bears out the fact that the performance of conference interpreters is not limited to reproducing the intended ST meaning but includes active forms of involvement in the social and interactional context. She examined these conference texts for shifts from the ST speaker's first person (or "alien I") to the 'I' of the interpreter. Diriker shows that the interpreters in her study not only spoke on behalf of the ST speaker but also addressed their listeners directly, communicated the reason behind problems and interruptions, voiced their comments and criticism towards the speakers or other aspects of the interaction and, quite interestingly, responded in self-defense to accusations of misinterpretations (see Diriker 2001: 269).

The following section explains simultaneous interpreting in terms of interactional patterns in the domains of communication that the activity creates.

5.1.3 Interactional patterns in the domain of interpreting

What is the communication going on in an interpreter-mediated event when a speaker takes the floor? What communication occurs when other parties intervene? In his recently published work entitled *Introducing Interpreting Studies*, Franz Pöchhacker (2004: 88–92) includes a section on interaction models and divides these into those which model the constellation of interacting parties, those which focus on the process of communication and those dealing specifically with the role of text or discourse in the communicative interaction. Pöchhacker offers excellent coverage of research carried out to date in his volume and has provided us with a springboard from which to move our analyses. We learn from the three different foci that none of the interaction models has yet considered participation framework in simultaneous interpreting and the interactional nature of texts.

Alexieva (1997/2002), however, offers a starting point in this sense. She outlines a proto-typology of interpreter-mediated events on the basis of seven scales relating to contextual aspects of the interacting parties. She locates the following scales along a continuum of 'universality' vs. 'culture-specificity' (*op. cit.*: 230):

1. "distance" vs. "proximity" (between speaker, addressee and interpreter);
2. "non-involvement" vs. "involvement" (of the speaker);
3. "equality/solidarity" vs. "non-equality/power" (related to status, role and gender of speaker and addressee, as well as the interpreter in some cases);
4. "formal setting" vs. "informal setting" (related to number of participants, degree of privacy, and the relative distance of the event from participant's home country);
5. "literacy" vs. "orality";
6. "cooperativeness/directness" vs. "non-cooperativeness/indirectness" (relevant to negotiation strategies);
7. "shared goals" vs. "conflicting goals".

Alexieva argues (*op. cit.*: 230–231) that events located towards the "universal" end of the continuum (those closer to the left side of the scales above) require the interpreter to act as an interlingual mediator, and his or her presence may even remain unnoticed (in simultaneous interpreting, as opposed to consecutive or liaison interpreting). The role of the interpreter in events located towards the "culture-specific" end of the continuum (the right-hand side of the scales above) requires interpreters to actively intervene in communication to avoid misunderstandings. This extremely interesting list of prototypical interpreting events indeed lists most, if not all, aspects of 'external' contextual constraints characterizing the work of interpreters. In other words, Alexieva presents analytical distinctions for the speech event, or macro-level of mediated encounters, and disregards the

'internal' context or utterance level. I argue, however, that the interactional nature of the interpreter's task while working in the simultaneous mode sees professionals constantly negotiating at the textual level, despite the physical 'distance' that may exist between the speaker, addressee and interpreter. My analysis indeed seeks to measure certain parameters indicated in her scales, but at the textual level (for example directness vs. indirectness, distance vs. proximity, shared goals vs. conflicting goals), using tools outlined in Chapter 3 (methodology) and implemented in Chapter 6 (analysis).

Keith (1984) suggests that although simultaneous interpreting communication is directed to a known group of listeners whose immediate reaction can be monitored during the ongoing process and hence the unfolding text can still be modified (1984: 309), interpreters are compelled to follow the original text at sentence level and the booth where they are located is rather remote from their audience. Keith holds that the various interpreting situations differ in terms of "a) the degree of interactionality involved, and b) the nature of the text produced by the speakers, whereby b) is obviously partly a function of a)" (Keith, 1984: 311). Interaction, in terms of the external context, is limited during simultaneous interpreting. Nonetheless my interactional perspective implies text negotiation carried out at the 'internal' contextual level. In what follows I try to tease apart the domains of communication which emerge during the interpreting activity in order to understand where behavior such as that occurring in Samples 1.1 and 1.2 take place, so as to discern which roles are involved in such behavior (see Chapter 7).

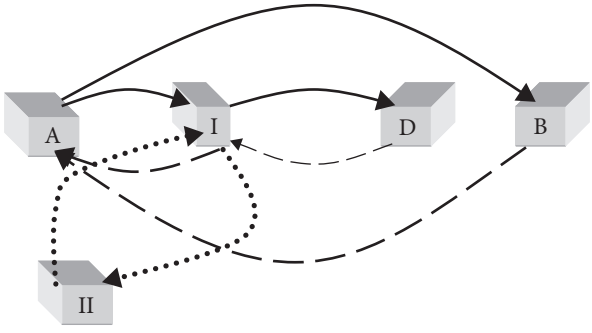

Figure 5.2 The domain of interpreting
Key: A- ST speaker; I - interpreter; I I - interpreting team member; D - primary TT receiver; B - primary ST receiver; solid arrows, one-to-many communication; dash arrows, occasional communication, e.g. questions during discussion session; dotted arrows, interpreters' turn-taking.

Figure 5.2 illustrates the basic communicating parties in an event mediated by simultaneous interpreting. In terms of the listeners/speakers involved, A and B communicate in one language, an Interpreter I (or II) mediates the event, and D communicates in another language.

An essential lack of balance, or disequilibrium, is readily distinguishable among the participants (listener/speaker A, interpreter I (or II), listener/speakers D and B), in terms of their listening/speaking behaviors in a conference setting:

1. interpreters are observed to speak more times than any of the listeners/speakers, since only two or three interpreters man a booth and turn-taking is observed;
2. A, I (or II), D and B each listen to the same number of speeches (their own plus those of the others).

It is the listening/speaking pattern – of which quantity and turn-taking are observed characteristics – that allows us to pick out the interpreters. Differing from conversational phenomena, here turn-taking occurs after one interpreter of a team finishes delivering a target text; each interpreter delivers a text to a varied number of listeners (in a one-to-many style, like listener/speaker A, solid arrows) and a turn marks both the beginning and end of a new delivery (dotted arrows mark turns between I and II).

Let us assume, in Figure 5.2, that A is a ST speaker and B a ST listener. I (or II) is both ST listener and TT speaker, whereas D is a TT listener. The only two parties that address an audience in a one-to-many style are A and I (or II). Both ST listener B and TT listener D may occasionally take the floor for brief periods of time during a discussion session. In the same vein, I (or II) may occasionally need to address A when, for example, the microphone is not turned on or to interpret D's comments to A. The domains thus created by the speaking patterns in Figure 5.2 are A-B, B-A (speakers of one language), I(or II)-D, D-I(or II) (speakers of another language), and I(or II)-A, A-I(or II) (speakers of one language). Interpreters' autonomy, i.e. the characteristic of setting themselves apart from a background by their own operations, distinguishes them from the communication as a whole. Indeed the listening/speaking pattern, i.e. the autonomy of the listeners/speakers, affects the interactional context of the communication, while this interactional context, in turn, determines, modifies and affects the listening/speaking pattern.

A case in point was seen in Sample 1.4. When the interpreter lowers his voice, he reports what happens at the podium when the Chair interrupts the delegate and speaks to her in the same language (<lowers voice> [the Chair tries in vain to interrupt the delegate] <raises voice>). The interpreter then turns his microphone off in a domain where he has no autonomy (according to our theoretical perspective), i.e. a domain where both parties speak the same language since the Chair addresses the ST speaker in English.

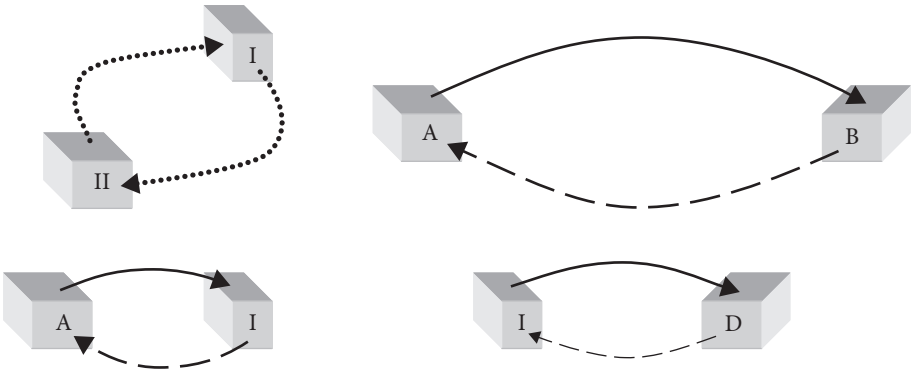

Figure 5.3 Domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event

The same analysis can be extended to corpus Samples 1.1–1.2. When the person communicating in English has an exchange with the Chair, the interpreter first reports what the person holding the floor is doing (["the woman says she was running to gain some minutes"]), then interjects a comment of her own (["but if she runs like this it is impossible to follow"]). In her reporting, the interpreter exercises autonomy within the domain of interpreting (Fig. 5.2). When the interpreter makes a comment of her own, however, she does so within one of the domains of the interpreter-mediated communication (I-D domain, Figure 5.3), even if not within the domain of interpreting (Fig. 5.2).

This tells us that other kinds of communication take place within interpreter-mediated communication that are not part of the domain of interpreting (see also Diriker 2001). This discussion is extended in Chapter 6 (Fig. 6.1) when examining whose face is at stake during simultaneous interpreting.

5.2 Self-regulatory participation framework and interactional politeness

Several authors have highlighted the autonomous nature of performances in interpreting. For example Setton states (1999: 240) that the "relatively high autonomy an interpreter exercises in speech production in professional SI is confirmed by the 'additional' cohesive and directive packaging elements found in the output, and not least, in articulation, by the rich prosodic contour of the interpreters' versions". Garwood (2002) attempts to examine some of the reasons for this autonomy. On the one hand it is difficult to understand what these authors mean when they speak of autonomy. On the other, since they do not account for the interpreter's

autonomy epistemologically, it is even more difficult to understand the essence of such behavior and offer explanatory and predictive principles.

For Pöchhacker (personal communication) the notion of autonomy, concerning the target text, stems from Vermeer's (1989/2000) claim that the functional approach consists in getting away from the ST and focusing mainly on the production of a fully functional text in the target situation and culture. In discussing his own corpus Pöchhacker (1994b) mentions the instances in which the TT is necessarily closely bound up with the ST: the speaker's slides accompanying the talk, long pauses during which interpreters switch off the mike so that the first part of the speaker's resumptive utterance becomes audible in the headsets, target-culturally irrelevant explanations that would be cut in a translation but cannot be tampered with under the processing conditions of SI, and so on, all concerns of a contextual nature (see §5.1.1). He states that the target text in SI is indeed a text in its own right but concedes that, in theoretical terms, the TT is closer to a cultural/linguistic hybrid status as a result of the particular working mode. This intriguing account of the TT status in simultaneous interpreting also begs the question of interpreter role/s during performance and merits further analysis.

On the one hand participation framework and interactional politeness may seem to imply the conceptualization of an interlocutor. But, on the other, if we consider interaction as that which text producers and receivers experience during text negotiation (and bear in mind the interpreter is a special producer and receiver), it may seem to imply a more personal rapport with the text. In the first case I would invoke Bell's 'audience design' (1984, 2001) in order to come to grips with how a text is fashioned for an intended audience. In the second case Bell's model falls short of accounting for behavioral patterns that emerge in my data. In what follows (§5.2.1) Bell's model and the various attempts to adapt it in translation studies are discussed, so as to weigh the value of applying Bell's design to this study. Interactional politeness is then discussed (§5.2.2) in order to see what it can tell us in terms of participation framework and self-regulation.

5.2.1 Audience design and participation framework

Audience design, as developed by Bell (1984) and recently refined (2001), suggests that communicating parties design their style in response to their audience. According to Bell (2001: 144) audience design is part of a dialogic theory of language, after Bakhtin (1986). Extending Goffman's (1981) 'participation framework', Bell (1984) distinguishes between:

1. addressees (ratified participants in the exchange, whose presence is known to the speaker who addresses them directly);

2. auditors (their presence is known and ratified but they are not addressed directly);
3. overhearers (their presence is known but not ratified and they are not addressed);
4. eavesdroppers (their presence is not known).

Aside from these groups, communicators are also influenced by what Bell calls 'the referee group', i.e. third parties not physically present but whose salience influences the interaction even in their absence (Bell 1984: 186). The communicating party may be a member of the referee group (in-group) or not (out-group) and Bell links referee design to the concept of 'initiative design'. Initiative and responsive design are two dimensions of Bell's model. The responsive dimension accounts for interactions where speakers can adjust their behavior in response to the audience. The initiative dimension distinguishes a situation in which it is impossible to obtain feedback because of spatial and temporal dislocation between the speaker and his or her audience, as in most written or media communication, or in outgroup referee design. In refining his model, Bell (2001: 165) adds that "response always has an element of speaker initiative; initiative invariably is in part a response to one's audience".

Mason (2000) places the notion of audience design in translation in the context of target-oriented and functionalist theories of translation, arguing that the relationship between different participants may be explored from the perspective of pragmatics. Through his analysis of three translations, Mason finds translational shifts that can be attributed to systematic differences between the audience design of ST producers and that of TT producers. He concludes suggesting the usefulness of an audience design component to functionalist translation theory as a means of investigating interpersonal (between participants) and intertextual (socio-textual practices) relations in various target texts and translation situations.

In an unpublished PhD thesis investigating audience design in literary translations from Romanian into English, Serban (2003) draws on pragmatics, translation theory and sociolinguistics. Components of her analytical model are deixis (temporal, spatial and person) and presupposition (existential and cultural). Her most significant findings reveal the distancing nature of the audience design in the corpus translations and a consistency of distancing across the entire corpus (Serban 2003: 214). Besides identifying the patterns and analyzing how they work in her corpus texts, Serban also discusses factors that could potentially be involved in shaping the distancing audience design in the corpus, such as translator accommodation to the audience, politeness considerations and assumptions about relevance. Serban concludes that – although a major factor in shaping

translations – audience design is but one of the necessary components of a full account of the processes involved in translated texts (2003: 215).

In her discussion of audience design applied to translation, Serban (2003) turns to accommodation theory to explain how communicators adjust to their interlocutors, or to their own perception of or assumptions about them, stressing that the leading motivation for this is the need for approval, identification or integration (she cites Giles *et al*. 1991: 18, and Bell 1991: 74). Accommodation appears to be a process whereby people adjust to their assumptions about other people and to what they think others expect them to do (Serban 2003: 8). This recalls normative behavior, which undoubtedly plays a leading role in explaining much professional behavior and indeed Bell suggests that stylistic meaning has normative value.

From this brief account of audience design and its adaptation to translation studies we also find an interpersonal dimension to further explore in order to get to the root of self-regulatory behavior, namely interactional politeness. In what follows the major politeness theories are discussed so as to find the most suitable aspects of politeness theory to explore in this study, to suit my theoretical perspective.

5.2.2 Face-work

Like modality and hedging, linguistic politeness cuts across the grammar and discourse of a language, in response to unfolding pragmatic needs and textual constraints. It is concerned primarily with the social negotiation of meaning, and only marginally with form or etiquette. Brown and Levinson (1987) propose in their seminal work on politeness that saving face is the key motivating factor for politeness. Even though face is a concept that is intuitively meaningful to people, it is one that is difficult to define in precise terms. Because of its psychobiological foundations, borrowed from anthropologist Erving Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson argue that politeness is a feature of every age and culture, thus a universal construct. They maintain that there are two main types of face concern: desire for autonomy, independence and freedom from imposition (negative face) and the desire for approval and appreciation (positive face). In their politeness model they advance the notion of face-threatening acts (FTAs) and do so primarily in relation to speech acts, such as requests, offers, compliments, and criticism. Table 5.1 lists those kinds of acts, after Brown and Levinson (1987), which intrinsically threaten face.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 68–71) provide a decision-making model for managing face and identify four major strategies (primarily in terms of illocutionary force):

1. carry out the FTA baldly, without redress (clear, unambiguous and concise speech);

2. employ positive politeness (speech which is avoidance-based and treats the hearer as an in-group member);
3. employ negative politeness (speech which is avoidance-based and respects the hearer's desire for freedom and autonomy);
4. carry out the FTA off-record (indirect and comparatively ambiguous speech).

It must be highlighted, however, that as Hatim and Mason have pointed out (1997: 81), the weight of an FTA is a cultural variable and different socio-cultural settings may attribute different degrees of seriousness to FTAs.

There have been many attempts to go beyond the framework developed by the groundbreaking work of Brown and Levinson (1987). One of these is the collection of essays edited by Spencer-Oatey (2000). As a whole, the essays examine

Table 5.1 Intrinsic FTAs (source: Brown and Levinson 1987: 65–68)

Other-threatening acts	**Self-threatening acts**
Negative face	
Acts that predicate some future of act of Other: orders and requests; suggestions, advice; remindings; threats, warnings, dares Acts that predicate some future act of Self: offers; promises Acts that predicate some desire of Self over Other and his goods: compliments, expressions of envy or admiration, expressions of strong negative emotion towards Other	expressing thanks acceptance of Other's thanks or apologies excuses acceptance of offers responses to Other's *faux pas* unwilling promises and offers
Positive face	
Acts that show Self has a negative evaluation of the Other's positive face; expressions of disapproval, criticism, accusations, insults; contradictions, disagreements, challenges Acts that show Self does not care about Other's positive face: expressions of violent emotions; irreverence, taboo topics; bringing bad news about Other or good news about Self; raising controversial or strongly emotional topics; blatant non-cooperation in an activity; misuse of address terms and status-marked signals in initial encounters	apologies acceptance of a compliment breakdown of physical control over body self-humiliation confessions, admissions of responsibility emotion leakage

cross-cultural interaction in general by comparing linguistic strategies of particular cultures, focusing frequently on the notions of directness and indirectness, which have always been a major issue in politeness research. Many of the essays on misunderstandings and breakdowns in communication, which have rarely been examined, provide a useful addition to the general concerns of politeness theory. Spencer-Oatey's own work argues that the term 'face' as used in politeness research only concentrates on the needs of the individual that, she submits, is a particularly Western bias and hence makes it particularly unsuited to cross-cultural interaction except within the West. For example, in interactions between Asian and Western communicators, the way the group is represented, or the way in which the individual fits into a role defined by the group, may be more of concern. She uses the term 'rapport management' (*op. cit.*: 11–46) to define the relation between the group and self. Further, she challenges the distinction between positive and negative face that Brown and Levinson propose, and suggests that their conception of face is underspecified, concluding that what they define as negative face issues are not necessarily face concerns at all (*op. cit.*: 13). She adds to face (that has to do with the personal and social value of the individual) a notion of sociality rights which are "concerned with personal/social expectancies and reflect people's concerns over fairness, consideration, social inclusion/exclusion and so on" (*op. cit.*: 14). Therefore, in addition to the notion of a face-threatening act, she suggests we reason in terms of rights-threatening behavior, which represents a significant modification of Brown and Levinson's work, making it more amenable to cross-cultural analysis. Nonetheless, my theoretical perspective designed to analyze self-regulation during simultaneous interpreting brings me to focus on the self and on the relation of this self to the external context. Hence the individual is indeed emphasized over the socio-cultural in the sense that the very construct of survival is itself self-oriented (see §4.3). In this regard Spencer-Oatey's construct of 'rapport management' is well suited to our needs, since the interpreter indeed is in a position of managing a rapport between ST speaker and TT audience. In the domain of interpreting (Fig. 5.2) the conference interpreter has an established role for which he or she is called upon, the duties of which are partly sanctioned by the presence of simultaneous interpreting equipment. However, Spencer-Oatey's notion of sociality rights, composed of equity rights (personal entitlement, i.e. the extent to which we are exploited or disadvantaged and the extent to which people control us or impose on us) and association rights (our entitlement to an association with others) mainly concern the extra-situational context (Fig. 5.1) which goes beyond the scope of this study, since I am here concerned with linguistic politeness.

Bayraktaroglu and Sifianou (2001) edited another collection of articles dealing with politeness across cultures. The articles, all empirically based, concentrate on specific discourse situations in Greek and Turkish. In their introduction (*op. cit.*: 3),

the editors suggest that definitions of politeness reflect northern European norms, where it is conceptualized as a means of avoiding conflict in interactions. The volume attempts to redress the balance, examining politeness in different cultural contexts. It highlights the fact that in other cultures politeness can be 'face-boosting' or 'face-enhancing', where sociability at times even overpowers respectability (*op. cit.*: 4). My study focuses on interpreters mediating across cultures, whose main loyalty – according to my theoretical perspective – is ultimately to themselves and to the furthering of their professional capacity. Nonetheless moments where sociability may overpower (personal) respectability within the social organization of the interpreting profession are conceivable but, again, these are concerns of the extra-situational context that are beyond the scope of this study.

Gino Eelen (2001) also considers that the notion of politeness differs from one culture to another, but even from one regional and social variety to another. He is very critical of Brown and Levinson's theoretical assumptions because they rely on Speech Act theory, focus too heavily on the speaker at the expense of the hearer, i.e. speaker's manipulation of the hearer to comply with a request (*op. cit.*: 22) where empirical hearer variability is left unexplained (*op. cit.*: 158), and because they also assume that all politeness is strategic. Whereas he argues that the only place where hearer variability is recognized in politeness theories is at the level of culture, he himself falls short of clearly defining culture, overlapping it with terms such as 'norms' (*op. cit.*: 198) 'society' (*op. cit.*: 190, 198, 216–218) and 'evaluation' (*op. cit.*: 230–231) in an attempt to present his own ideas on a distinction of two types of politeness. He holds that most theorists of politeness confuse what he calls politeness1 (the common-sense notion of politeness) and politeness2 (the scientific conceptualization of politeness). He argues that, unlike politeness1, which is restricted to the polite end of the polite-impolite continuum, politeness2 should cover the whole range of the continuum. Eelen claims that the main politeness theories do not distinguish between politeness1 and politeness2 because of the normative value of most of the theories. His criticism is based on the work of Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' that, he suggests, should be used as a guide in the development of a theoretical framework where the socio-cultural is the result of human interaction rather than the opposite. After Bourdieu, he considers culture to be the core issue in the field of politeness. Although Eelen's book is a provocative critique of politeness theory, it does not offer an operational model of analysis. For example, because key terms such as 'norm' and 'culture' are underdefined, a feasible distinction is not made between his concepts of politeness1 and politeness2. As suggested in our discussion on 'context', we feel that all interaction is fundamentally social, and takes place in a cognitive-linguistic domain (see §4.1). However, my theoretical perspective contemplates that professional interpreters subordinate all behavior to the maintenance of their own (professional) organization

(see §4.1.3). And, although we too stress the prominence of normative behavior in professional interpreting, the nature of our object of study – professional self-regulation – takes us one step beyond a 'mutual' interaction to consider behavior geared primarily to ensuring the maintenance (survival) of an interpreter's professional status.

How, then, does this study stand in terms of politeness theory? After Brown and Levinson (1987), face is indeed held to be the key motivating factor for politeness. There follows, then, the burden of getting to the root of what maintaining one's professional face in interpreting actually means. Though the concept of politeness may vary in extension across cultures, gaining more prominence in individualist than collectivist societies, a fundamental distinction remains between negative face and positive face. This distinction theorizes a need to avoid external constraints and the desire to be appreciated for what we are, have and do. Conceding that the maintenance of one's face – in different cultural contexts – may even mean temporarily sacrificing one's face in order to redress an interpersonal balance within a given socio-cultural context, my working definition of politeness straddles that of Brown and Levinson on the one hand, and Spencer-Oatey's on the other. However, although the data are comprised of both corpus texts and briefing/debriefing interviews (see Chapter 3), information concerning the wider (or external) social context in this study is rather limited since a study of such a context would require data covering the span of a wider temporal range, with perhaps the contribution of a far greater number of subjects than this study contemplates (§3.2.1). Politeness theory is thus conceived as an attempt to model interpersonal language behavior as a whole. In this sense Brown and Levinson's list of actual linguistic moves still seems not to have been superseded, and thus are used in this study as workable tools for analysis applied to the data (Table 5.2), bearing in mind the particular participation framework in interpreter-mediated conferences. The five communicating parties outlined in Figure 5.2 (ST speaker A, ST receiver B, TT receiver D, interpreters I, II) are a starting point in assessing the possible dynamics of threats to face within a professional environment. A ST speaker may perform FTAs to ST and TT receivers (interpreters excluded) or interpreters may perceive an act as threatening his or her own face or jeopardizing professional survival (see Table 5.1). Threats may also be made towards TT receivers and perceived by interpreters as such. My analysis aims to detect interpreters' behavior in these cases. Of course these three types of threats imply that the analyst, first and foremost, is the broker of all perceptions, insights, statements and claims made in this study. Therefore we can safely say that all three scenarios concerning threats are primarily, in this study, perceived as such by the analyst.

Table 5.2 Linguistic moves as face-saving strategies

Type	Rationale	Strategies
Positive	Claim common ground	*Show interest in H (exaggerate, intensify interest in H)*
		Use in-group identity markers
		Seek or avoid agreement
		Presuppose common ground
		Joke
	Convey S and H are cooperators	*Offer, promise*
		Be optimistic
		include both S and H in activity
		Give (or ask for) reasons
	Fulfil H's wants	*Give goods, sympathy, cooperation to H*
Negative	Be direct	*Be conventionally indirect*
	Don't presume, assume	*Question, hedge*
	Don't coerce H	*Be pessimistic*
		Minimize the imposition
		Give deference
	Communicate desire not to impinge on H	*Apologize*
		Impersonalize S and H
		State FTA as a general rule
		Nominalize
	Redress other H wants, deriving from neg. face	*Go on record as incurring a debt or as not indebting H*

Table 5.2 lists a summary of specific negative and positive politeness strategies for managing face, after Brown and Levinson (1987). The notion of face redress is held to be autopoietic in nature. Maturana (1975) describes systems as self-referring (see §4.1). Thus, in a system dynamics perspective, any linguistic move interpreters make that aim to redress face (Table 5.2) are made so as to maintain their autonomy (as defined in this study, see §4.1.1) and, as mentioned, interpreters subordinate all behavior to the maintenance of their own (professional) organization.

I refer to this table in §6.3 when discussing findings in terms of face-work.

5.3 Concluding remarks

In discussing SI as situated activity I have first reviewed the notion of context as conceived by various scholars in Translation and Interpreting Studies (§5.1). The

context of interpreting (§5.1.1) was specifically dealt with, drawing upon the work of Schegloff (1992) in order to determine two types of context in relation to interaction and discourse: 'internal' and 'external' context. A model to analyze contextual shifts in interpersonal language behavior (Fig. 5.1) was presented, which is also inspired by the work of Ochs (1979), Goffman (1981) and Gumperz (1992) in terms of structural constraints relating to the internal context (perceptions, implicatures, framing) and of interpersonal constraints relating to the external context (setting, behavior, genres). It was established that the analysis of contextual shifts is best carried out through an examination of personal reference, transitivity patterns and the attribution of agency, and linguistic politeness. The fundamental characteristic of this model is its dynamic nature whereby communicating parties both interact with and construct context.

This chapter has mainly focused on describing simultaneous interpreting as communicative interaction. Having established a model of context, the interpreting event was examined through the perspective of participation framework. I considered the interpreter's potential shifts in alignment in relation to the internal context and have drawn upon Goffman's (1981: 188) notion of 'contextualizing' devices as indications of self-referentiality in texts. The interpreter's autonomy in shaping the discourse of their texts was argued (§5.1.2), emphasizing that other types of communication also take place within the domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event (Fig. 5.3). Interactional patterns in the domain of interpreting were fleshed out (§5.1.3) in order to conceive of a self-regulatory participation framework through the perspective of interactional politeness (§5.2). Here audience design was briefly discussed (§5.2.1) along with politeness theories (§5.2.2) in order to establish the relevance of strategic linguistic moves as face-saving strategies in answer to contextual constraints in the negotiation of source texts during simultaneous interpreting (Table 5.2). Chapter 6 analyzes corpus texts and presents findings.

CHAPTER 6

Participation framework and interactional politeness in corpus

In the opening sequence of the film Minority Report, the Pre-Crime division led by Anderton receives a pre-vision telling them a man would murder his adulterous wife and her lover upon discovery. The 'thought' police get into action and, while the crime is indeed averted, the man claims that he would not have killed them but is arrested and imprisoned nonetheless. It is never revealed whether or not he would have committed the murders.

The crime case with which the film begins is a typical example of cases that come under the Pre-Crime Division's jurisdiction. However, since crimes are averted, we as spectators are never party to the unfolding internal context (§5.1.1) of the event.

This chapter analyzes participation framework and interactional politeness as evidence of self-regulation in the corpus. I examine linguistic data and, based on the theoretical framework put forth (Chapter 4 and 5), along with the chosen methodological tools (Chapter 3), evidence of self-regulatory behavior is sought. Differently from the world of pre-crime, the internal context created by interpreters is fundamental for the purposes of analysis here.

Rather than classifying phenomena into categories based on specific linguistic features such as, for example, deictics, transitivity and modality, I have chosen to use categories which embrace overarching trends that have emerged in our findings. Thus I first consider the 'stance' (§6.1) that determines an interpreter's shifts in terms of distance-altering alignments. By attending to how agency is conveyed, I then observe the expression of 'voice' across our corpus (§6.2) in order to determine the varying degrees of directness that define an interpreter's engagement. Once these trends become clear, I turn to an analysis of how both stance and voice impinge upon issues concerning 'face' (§6.3), and discern to what degree subjects commit themselves in enacting politeness strategies and how they seem to deal with threats to face.

The interpreting event through the perspective of participation framework was discussed in §5.1.2. I stressed, after Goffman, that production shifts occurring throughout talk indicate the multiple senses in which the self of the speaker can appear, the 'textual self' (Goffman 1981: 173) being one of long standing.

In §5.1.1 I stated that the following conditions are considered when assessing contextual shifts: systemic or structural constraints posed by different language systems involved and interpersonal constraints posed by the ritual of the situation (Goffman 1981); I also stated that interaction occurs within an individual turn of talk (*ibid.*). Even though anyone taking the floor in a conference is potentially considered a ST speaker, I have, for the purposes of analysis, defined source texts in the corpus (§3.2.2) as texts that include a complete ST speech – from when the ST speaker is given the floor to when the floor returns to the Chair – and a complete interpreted version of the same. This means all interruptions such as, for example, when the Chair intervenes to slow the speaker down, or any other comments from the floor made during this time are considered as part of the interaction during one interpreter's turn of talk in the TT. Thus the interpreter is considered to interact with his or her own text during this turn and to shift footing in relation to other ST parties interacting during this turn.

It is precisely because of the possible multiple interventions within an interpreting turn, which create an inherent difficulty in rapport management (see Spencer-Oatey 2000), that the event is characterized in terms of threats to face. This is done by first extending a discussion begun in §5.1.3 and examining the roles interpreters take on within the event, with the objective of discerning whose face is at stake, then we deal with individual speech acts (§6.3).

In terms of the interpersonal, ritual proceedings of conference interpreting (Figure 6.1), we know that a Chairperson gives the floor to a speaker. Since I have distinguished the person who is given the floor as ST speaker, I refer to (P) as Chairperson and define (A) as ST speaker who begins a turn of talk. One of the interpreting team members (I or II) thus also begins an interpreting turn (turn-taking among interpreters is illustrated with dotted arrows). The ST is mediated for TT receivers (D). System constraints create a situation whereby TT receivers hear the message with a certain delay with respect to ST receivers (B), due to EVS, the time necessary for the interpreter to convey the ST message received. Therefore, as illustrated in Figure 6.1, ST receivers (B) and the interpreter (I) hear a message before TT receivers (D). Only A and I address receivers in a one-to-many style of communication (solid arrows); limited amounts of communication (broken arrows) occur between other communicating parties. In other words, in my corpus interventions on the part of the Chair are directed to ST speakers (e.g. to invite them to take the podium, to inform them their speaking time is over, etc.). Other parties to the event with a role of overhearer, who may exercise influence on an interpreter's face-work, include technicians (C), conference organizers and staff (E), and professional conference interpreting associations (F), which may act as gatekeepers to the profession.

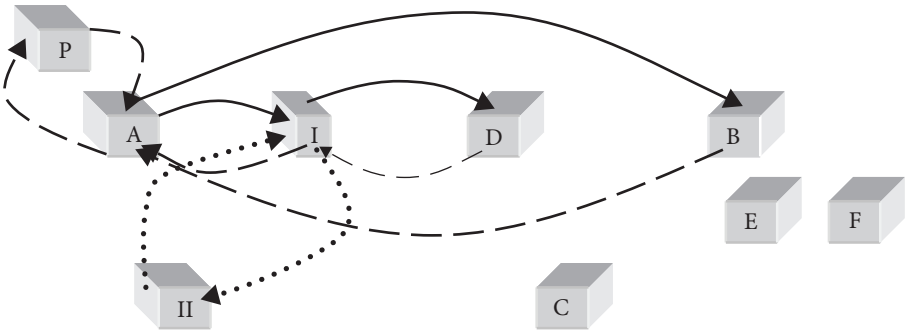

Figure 6.1 System and ritual constraints in an interpreter-mediated event
Key: P - Chairperson; A- ST speaker; I - interpreter; I I - interpreting team member; D - primary TT receiver; B - primary ST receiver; C - technician; E - conference organizer and staff; F - professional associations; solid arrows, one-to-many communication; dash arrows, occasional communication, e.g. questions during discussion session; dotted arrows, interpreters' turn-taking.

Within this framework, what emerges through the 'mechanics' (Goffman 1981: 181) of lecturing, i.e. within text brackets (e.g. opening and closing remarks) and during the management of performance contingencies (e.g. other parties intervening during the interpreter's turn of talk), is a series of moves that make it possible to distinguish how interpreters react to threats to their professional face that may include difficulty in completing an utterance, the admission of mistakes or self-corrections. However, aside from these obvious instances of potential loss of face, there are a series of moves made in response to FTAs that also add to the overall trend of detachment, depersonalization and indirectness, which are examined in §6.3.2.1–6.3.2.4 and discussed further in Chapter 7.

As will become apparent, the findings suggest that interpreters act with detachment, or distance themselves, in relation to their text [+distance] in terms of stance (personal reference); they act with indirectness [–direct] in terms of voice (transitivity patterns and agency), and mitigate illocutionary force when addressing TT receivers (mood and modality). Two extreme cases, already discussed to varying degrees in this study, illustrate this trend. The first was seen in Sample 1.3 when a Turkish delegate talks about Chechen women, a topic which is not only beyond the scope of the conference, but which is addressed beyond the time allotted to the delegate. During the overlapping voices (Chair and ST speaker in Sample 1.3) the interpreter (Sample 1.4) explains the situation to TT receivers and at some point shuts his microphone off, making ST speech available to TT receivers. I argue the self-regulatory nature of this behavior in terms of detachment. In other words, by shutting off his microphone, the interpreter makes a clear distinction

between his performance and the highly threatening behavior of this ST speaker, thus saving his professional face.

The second extreme example of an interpreter moving to save face was illustrated in Samples 1.1 (ST) and 1.2 (TT). In Sample 1.1 the Chair tells the ST speaker to slow down. The latter, in turn, explains she was trying to include her entire talk within the time limit and therefore spoke quickly. In Sample 1.2 the interpreter uses the third person to tell TT receivers the nature of the exchange between the Chair and ST speaker, adding "but if she runs like this it is impossible to follow", implying the possibility of interrupting her interpretation. This indeed represents a possible threat to TT receivers on the one hand but, on the other, her statement may also represent an excuse for any professional shortcoming in the event the ST speed again picked up. Here the interpreter's face-work is oriented toward saving her own face, since she reacts to what she feels is a threat to her professional face, i.e. a ST delivered at high speed.

In this chapter I analyze corpus texts in terms of how interpreters self-regulate during their negotiation of source texts when working in the simultaneous mode. As mentioned in Chapter 5, all corpus texts are authentic conference proceedings (ST) and their interpretations (TT). This fact alone would suggest these texts constitute a uniform body of data. To some degree this is indeed the case. For example, speakers take the floor and typically bracket their talk with opening and closing remarks, within which a main body usually conveys essential information concerning a problem, its solution and the assessment of this solution. The main body may also revolve around an argument, which is developed in a number of ways. Although the selection criteria used to compile my corpus are such that this basic schema emerges across our data, the talk develops through different rhetorical modes and it is possible to note quite clearly when a speaker switches from one mode to another. In this study these modes are considered along a narrative/non-narrative cline.

Very generally speaking, narrative sequences encode previous experiences that take place at a specific point in time or over a specific interval in a past-time story-world (Polanyl 1985: 41). In contrast, non-narrative sequences focus less on experience and more on generic assessments. After Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (1997) I take the term 'narrative' to be more inclusive and also to cover reports, descriptions, future narration, and so on; non-narrative sequences focus more on the evaluation of problems, states and actions. The two modes, narrative and non-narrative, are typically associated with subjectivity or affectivity and information-giving or analyzing, respectively (*ibid.*: 46–49). For the purposes of this study my interest in these two modes centers on the fact that the subjectivity characterizing them is reflected in the presentation of self, hence participation framework. A reported reality in narrative sequences involves a different deictic centre, in which a

Sample 6.1 I_8 66

ST	Literal translation	TT
vorrei terminare con una nota positiva	I would like to end on a positive note	but anyway let me round off on a positive note
contrariamente a quanto diceva un un mio professore trent'anni fa a Ginevra	contrary to what a professor of mine used to say thirty years ago in Geneva	contrary to what was said by a professor of mine thirty years ago in Geneva
che era il capo interprete delle Nazioni Unite	who was the head interpreter of the United Nations	he's the head interpreter of United Nations

speaker projects him or herself as animator, author and/or principal. All source texts display narrative and non-narrative sequences. In Sample 6.1 the ST speaker switches from the non-narrative ("vorrei terminare" [I would like to end]) to the narrative mode ("diceva" [used to say]).

The ST speaker uses an imperfect past tense here to describe what his interpreting professor used to say before starting lessons. Up to this point in his speech he had only used a perfect past tense to describe specific events occurring in the past and switched to a past imperfect within text sequences referring to a past event when he discusses his feelings or perceptions about the event described. If we are to judge from his behavior thus far, this ST sequence is preparing us for a story that should hit an emotional chord. In other words the ST speaker uses a non-narrative mode (speaking in either a present tense or past perfect tense) when offering information concerning the interpreting profession in the European Parliament and switches to a narrative mode when recalling specific events and revealing personal feelings vis-à-vis past events (speaking in a past imperfect tense). The TT, however, does not switch to a past tense when mentioning a "professor of mine", but rather includes "he's the head interpreter". The ST speaker, being close to retirement age, gives listeners a patent clue in deciphering when the events he mentions take place. It is highly unlikely that the speaker's professor – at the time of utterance – was still the head interpreter at the United Nations. There may be various reasons behind this type of misregulation, foremost among them the failure to recognize the switch to a different rhetorical mode, possibly because of working constraints. The notion of rhetorical modes, though crucial in determining the nature of an interpreter's behavior, is discussed only to the extent that these (narrative and non-narrative) may influence and determine interpreters' self-regulatory behavior.

It is important to stress that it is not stance or voice as such which are investigated in order to gain insight into the interpreter's behavior, but non-obligatory interpreting shifts involving those parameters that shed light on target text

participation framework and interactional politeness. Only those shifts where viable alternatives exit are included. When available, I consult contrastive studies (English-Italian, Italian-English and French-Italian) for aid in assessing doubtful cases, i.e. when the decision of what is obligatory or optional is difficult to make, and in cases where language conventions have changed over the years such as, for example, in the use of the subjunctive mode. Also, since sections cited in this chapter are non-discrete categories, overlapping phenomena are pointed out and discussed in terms of how these cases are resolved.

Data findings from the categories of 'stance' and 'voice' are considered in terms of how a speaker aligns himself with his text and audience. These are plotted over a power differential graph (Figure 6.2) where distancing [+distance], approximation [-distance] and varying degrees of directness ([+direct] and [–direct]) are assessed to establish relative power among communicating parties and the weight of a threat.

Hatim and Mason (1997: 139) suggest that, within a theory of politeness, power may be defined as "the degree to which the text producer can impose his own plans and self-evaluation at the expense of the text receiver's plans and self-evaluation". This notion refers to power exerted within the text rather than power invested in participants by virtue of their status in society. In other words a text producer could adopt a power-ful position or power-less position within the text by choosing to exclude or include concern for the interlocutor's point of view, goals, and so on. Therefore, the assumption is that excluding the 'opponent', or interlocutor, e.g. by asserting something baldly, is tantamount to exercising power; including the interlocutor results in a cession of power. In the graph below, since the [-direct/+distance] quadrant reflects an area denoting greater power differential

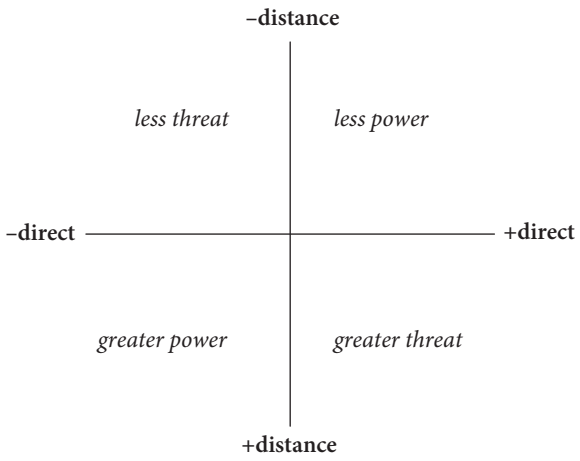

Figure 6.2 Power differential graph

between communicating parties, and the [-distance/+direct] quadrant reflects an area denoting less power differential, phenomena collocated in the [-direct/-distance] quadrant tend to be less threatening and more polite, whereas phenomena collocated in the [+distance/+direct] quadrant seem to be more threatening and less polite.

Sample 6.2 from my corpus illustrates the power differential graph.

The ST is pronounced by a first person singular subject, the speaking subject, implying distinctness vis-à-vis listeners [+distance]; the ST verb form is the second person plural of the present indicative tense, thus unmodalized and hence comparatively [+direct]. The interpreter indeed reflects the inclusion of the interlocutor as the ST speaker does ("se preferite" [if you (plural) prefer]), but does so via a shift ("we") and a modal ("could") is used.

On the other hand, the TT is pronounced by an embedded [–direct] first person plural (an 'inclusive we'), implying [-distance] vis-a-vis the audience; the TT verb form is modalized, denoting a [–direct] trend in reference to the interpreter's degree of commitment to what is being said. The resulting interpersonal effect in the TT is one of [-distance] and [–direct], thus positioning the interpreter and his listeners in an area where there is less power differential between them. The interpersonal effect in the ST is one of [+distance] and [+direct] that positions the ST speaker and his listeners in an area where there is greater power differential between them.

Although repairs and repetitions are also interactional phenomena, they are not taken into consideration in this study because they were not prominent in all corpus texts. Nor are omissions or additions, unless they have to do with the analysis of interactional politeness. In this perspective omissions or ellipsis may either be ways of signaling shared knowledge, and as such can be considered positive politeness strategies, or may even be ways of signaling the mitigation or strengthening of a threat to face (Brown and Levinson 1987).

My analyses here are based on textual data examined using the contextual model outlined in §5.1.1 (Fig. 5.1). Although when referring to trends I include a quantitative assessment (Tables 6.4 and 6.5), albeit limited in scope, my principal aim is to explore the nature of interpreters' behavior, rather than to examine its detailed distribution. Thus even if a limited number of subjects manifest similar behavior at some point in their interpretation, this in itself may illuminate the

Sample 6.2 I_8 22

ST	Literal translation	TT
la mucca pazza se preferite	or mad cow disease if you (plural) prefer	or we could say actually in more banal terms the mad cow problem

process as a whole. Subjects' perceptions or awareness of phenomena are also discussed in Chapter 7 when analyzing debriefing sessions (§7.3). It is understood that participants' recall of their motivation for proceeding in a particular manner, or of possible strategies applied during interpreting, may be limited. This type of qualitative data, however, complements our fine-grained analysis of corpus texts, as Duranti and Goodwin (1992: 232–3) point out:

> Moreover, inferences are subconsciously made so that... they are not readily accessible to recall. It is therefore difficult to elicit information about the grounds upon which particular inferences are made through direct questioning. The relative interpretative processes are best studied through in-depth, turn-by-turn analysis of form and content.

The following Section (§6.1) includes an investigation based on personal reference that enlightens us on the specific points of view ('stance') adopted by speakers.

6.1 Stance

How reference is interpreted in target texts allows us to understand both how context is perceived and how relevant information is assessed as such.

In order to understand an utterance, a listener needs to locate the expression used to identify what the speaker is talking about. This identifying expression is typically the subject of the utterance and is a referring expression. It may be recalled that in Chapter 5 I cited Kendon (1992: 326–334), who considers speakers embodied entities and discusses how attention is organized as an interactive phenomenon. Kendon uses Goffman's notion of 'attentional tracks' (see Goffman 1974: 201–246) to specify how relevant and non-relevant action is perceived by communicating parties. Interpreters, as particular text receivers (simultaneously listeners and speakers) with a unique participation status (see §5.1.2), have an active role in shaping the discourse of the TT. As other interpreting studies scholars (Setton 1999, 2002; Viaggio 2002) have pointed out, conference speakers will make assumptions about the mutual manifestness of assumptions to their audience and to themselves, but what is manifest to a ST audience may not be manifest to the interpreter, who often is not a subject specialist and has not been party to previous interactions. An analysis of simultaneous interpreting, therefore, must take into account the relationship between the utterance, the context, the ST and TT audience and the interpreter's intention in interpreting the utterance, rather than concentrating solely on the relationship between the intentions of the ST speaker and the utterance (see Brown 1995).

Throughout their texts all ten subjects in this study manifest shifts in the category of stance, a finding that is of relevance itself. However, regardless of shifts in personal reference in target texts, on no occasion was coherence adversely affected. Findings show that of the 188 shifts in personal deixis in target texts, 64% display a [+distance] trend. This trend becomes even more significant when added to the overall trends discussed in Chapter 7.

My concern in analyzing stance is the interpreter's focus of attention and the shift of this focus during an interpreter's delivery in order to discern interactional self-regulatory moves. In this sense pronouns are deictic expressions and identify both humans and objects within and without the immediate speech situation. These forms of deictic reference, therefore, are analyzed in this section primarily for what they can tell us about the shifting focus of social identity. In discussing reference-switching Hatim and Mason (1997: 114) list the effects caused by pronominal reference switching, among them to "relay a more supportive attitude and thus establish intimacy by, for example, involving the receiver in the communicative act". It is along these lines that an interpreter's moves are considered when shifts are effected in order to establish distance-altering alignments, since deictic reference encodes relations between an origo, or the deictic centre in a speech event, and the intended referent.

Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998: 196–7) argue for a distinction between 'I-identity' and 'We-identity' facework when using first-person pronouns, which derives from the difference between independent self-construal [I-identity] and interdependent self-construal ['We-identity']. Further insight into the nature of pronominal reference is gained from Fillmore's lectures on deixis (1997: 5–26). He discusses the ambiguous nature of the English pronoun 'we'. According to our general knowledge of permission-granting situations, for example, the person having authority is distinct from the person seeking permission, hence the meaning potential of 'we' used when seeking permission could only indicate the inclusion of the speaker and those seeking permission, and the exclusion of the person/s having authority.

The same reasoning could also be extended to situations where speakers use 'we' to distinguish one social group from another or to signal contrast. Sample 6.3 illustrates one such case. External contextual factors inform us that the ST speaker is a representative of the European Parliament interpreting staff who addresses an audience of interpreting students and describes the recruiting policies of Parliament as opposed to those of the European Commission. His use of 'we' in this context ["we had to demand of our interpreters"] is indeed one of exclusion, all the more so since he had been using an 'I-identity' throughout his speech up to this text sequence.

Sample 6.3 I8 47

ST	Literal translation
abbiamo dovuto esigere dai nostri interpreti al Parlamento Europeo tre lingue passive perché al Parlamento Europeo	we had to demand of our interpreters at the European Parliament three passive languages because at the European Parliament
contrariamente alla Commissione	contrary to the Commission

I return to the same corpus text at the end of this section in order to argue a point concerning the interpreter's moves in relation to audience design.

In Sample 6.4 the ST speaker discusses a mobile school project conceived for migrant communities. He uses an inclusive 'we', whereas the interpreter opts for an impersonal or passive form ("there is", "that is used"), which is indicative of a trend of de-personalization (or [+distance]) found throughout my corpus.

Depending on the contextual frame of reference, the pronoun 'you' denotes specific reference (i.e. addressees) or generic reference (i.e. people in general), as illustrated in Sample 6.5 (taken from the same corpus text as Sample 6.4). The ST speaker addresses an audience of teachers and refers to a series of visual aids, pointing to different areas of the illustrations projected. He uses the pronoun 'you' denoting specific reference three times in the sequence. In contrast, the interpreter opts for impersonal referents in the TT ("it is possible", "there are problems"), here too creating a distancing effect [+distance].

Sample 6.4 I_2 21

ST	TT	Literal translation
so here we have interactions @ between the teacher and the materials/	quindi c'è l'interazione fra l'insegnante e il materiale/	so there is the interaction between the teacher and the material/
sending receiving materials/	mandare ricevere materiale	send and receive materiale
here we have the interaction between the learner and the content	c'è l'interazione fra l'insegnante e il la l'allievo/	there is the interaction between the teacher and the student
the materials that they are using in a distance learning situation	e l'interazione fra l'allievo e il materiale#	and the interaction between the student and the material#
	il contenuto che si @ utilizza in una situazione di apprendimento a distanza	the content that is used in a situation of distance learning

Sample 6.5 I_2 32

ST	TT	Literal translation
– so the first and easy one is the the GSM mobile phone – now I expect you know you can plug – if you have some software you can plug your phone into your laptop – and you can send and receive e-mail#	– naturalmente ci sono i mob i GSM – @ telefonini con il sistema GSM – +++ – per cui si possono inviare e ricevere e-mail	– naturally there are the mob the GSM – @ mobile phones with the GSM system – +++ – so that it is possible to send and receive e-mail

Use of the second-person pronoun is also made in opposition to the use of first-person pronouns in order to denote a dichotomy or a division between the two referents or to distinguish one social group from another and signal contrast. In Sample 6.6 the ST speaker is a representative of the Israeli government who takes the floor some time after a representative of the Palestinian Authority. After thanking the authorities she directs her attention to her colleague ("I heard what the @ @ representative of the @ @ @ Palestinian @ @ @ said/"), then addresses her specifically ("and I don't want to ask you what's happened @ @ about when we are talking about human rights in the Palestinian Authority#"). It is interesting to note that the use of personal reference generally lessens distance, as seen in Sample 6.2 ("se preferite" [if you (plural) prefer]), whereas in this case, in terms of the dynamics of the conference event, it is highly face-threatening, since the ST adopts a [+direct] interpersonal stance.

The use of 'you' also appears in opposition to 'we' in sequence 6 of Sample 6.6 (sequences are numbered in the left column), when the ST speaker makes a clear distinction between rights relevant to her own country, Israel ("that we should keep in my country"), and those pertaining to the addressee, a Palestinian ("that you should keep in the Palestinian Authority").

Sample 6.6 also illustrates how interpreters may use pronouns of identity to create distance in relation to referents when ST speakers confront addressees in socially challenging moments. In sequence 4 when the Israeli ST speaker turns to address her Palestinian colleague ("to ask you"), the interpreter first opts for a formal third-person pronoun form ("chieder*le*", [to ask her]), then self-corrects and uses a second-person plural form ("chieder*vi*", [to ask you (plural)]), a form that once indeed was used in formal address, but that today is only used regionally. In this context, then, the self-correction may indicate uncertainty as to who to address, in the sense that the Italian language calls for formal address in cases like

these, but the interpreter may have felt the need to interpose even more distance ("chieder*vi*", [to ask you (plural)], less determinate).

Sample 6.6 I_7 3–6

	ST	TT	Literal translation
3	– that's why I think it was~ – well I cannot say it was a mistake~ – but I think that @ we should ignore @ the political matters that @ @ between our countries that will be discussed in other @ circumstant circumstances~	– ecco perché … secondo me dovremmo ignorare le questioni politiche … che … dividono~ – o comunque che esistono tra i nostri paesi~ – che verranno dibattute in altre circostanze#	– this is why... according to me we should ignore the political questions... that... divide~ – or in any case that exist between our countries~ – that will be discussed in other circumstances#
4	– and @ because I don't want to be cynical~ – I heard what the @ @ representative of the @ @ @ Palestinian @ @ @ said/ – and I don't want to ask you what's happened @ @ about when we are talking about human rights in the Palestinian Authority#	– e questo perché io non vorrei essere cinica# – ho sentito bene ciò che ha detto la rappresentante … della Palestina/ – e non vorrei chiederle o chiedervi che cosa succede quando si parla a livello di diritti umani~	– and this because I would not like to be cynical# – I heard well that which has said the representative... from Palestine/ – and I would not like to ask her or ask you (plural) what happens when one speaks of human rights~
5	– what's happened to the freedom of speech/ – what happen happen to a person/ a man or a woman who speaks against the chairman Arafat#	– che cosa è successo nel suo paese nei territori palestinesi alla libertà di parola/ – che cosa succede se qualcuno osa parlare contro il presidente Arafat nel suo paese#	– what has happened in her country in the Palestinian territories to the freedom of speech/ – what happens if someone dares to speak against president Arafat in her country
6	– I think it's more important for me to come back to Israel~ – and find out what human rights that we should keep in my country~ – and what human rights that you should keep in the Palestinian Authority/	– comunque è più importante per me tornare in Israele/ – e cercare di vedere quali sono invece i diritti umani che dobbiamo cercare di rispettare nel nostro paese/ – e voi nel vostro~ – nell'autorità palestinese#	– in any case it is more important for me to return to Israel/ – and to try to see which are instead the human rights that we must try to respect in our country/ – and you in your country~

The interpreter carries through the formal pronoun form in sequence 6 ("nel suo paese", [in your (formal) country]), and when 'you' is used to distinguish one social group from another and signal contrast in ST sequence 6, the interpreter adopts the second-person plural. This is the only case found in our corpus of an 'honorific' use of language: distance is communicated with a third-person form ("nel suo paese", [in your (formal) country"]) where a second-person form would do, and without appearing contradictory.

The overall trend of [+distance] shifts in personal reference also includes cases that show a more personal identity attributed to the referent in the ST, such as in Sample 6.7 ("nous avons eu" [we have had]), which is not carried over in the TT ("c'è stata" [there has been]) and creates a distancing effect [+distance].

Phenomena such as that illustrated in Sample 6.7, i.e. the absence of personal reference in the TT, have been often discussed in interpreting studies as omissions. They are considered in this study only in as much as they contribute to [± distance] or [± direct] trends in the data. Samples 6.8 and 6.9 illustrate cases where referents are missing in the TT.

In Sample 6.8 the lack of reference in the TT to "*our* discussions" – a move of approximation on behalf of the ST speaker – does not reduce distance in the same manner for TT receivers.

In Sample 6.9 the TT also lacks reference to an inclusive 'we' present in the ST. Here, too, no move of approximation alters established distances between communicating parties.

Sample 6.7 I_{10} 26

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
– nous avons eu aussi cette propension à penser que nous sommes tous des européens et que – par conséquent – nous avons à être d'accord @ sur l'essentiel	– we have had also this propensity to think that we are all Europeans and that – therefore – we have to be in agreement @ on the essential	– c'è stata questa propensione a pensare che siamo tutti europei/ – quindi – dobbiamo essere d'accordo sull'essenziale/	there has been this propensity to think that we are all Europeans/ – therefore – we must be in agreement on the essential/

Sample 6.8 I_5 4

ST	Literal translation	TT
nos débats	our discussions	+++

Sample 6.9 I_4 14

ST	TT
as we all want	+++

In the assessment of distancing or approximation I found many cases where there is no anchor to a deictic center or personal focus, but where the focus is on one referent in relation to another. In these cases we assessed the speaker's positioning, or alignment, in terms of these referents. Samples 6.10 and 6.11 are two such cases. In Sample 6.10 both ST and TT resort to an impersonal system of reference ("it is necessary" in the ST and a non-specified 'you' in the TT) when discussing something that has to be done. Whereas the ST eludes agency since no subject is singled out, the TT refers to a generic 'you', thus personifying the process. For this reason the TT shows signs of approximation [-distance]. This countertrend occurs in 36% of all shifts in identity stance.

Sample 6.11 also illustrates a case where the focus is brought to bear on one referent in relation to another. What might seem to be misregulation on the part of the interpreter may in fact indicate the interpreter's self-regulatory move. The ST speaker addresses her colleagues at the Euromediterranean Forum of Women Parliamentarians, and stresses the importance of keeping in touch to exchange information. She refers here to an example of a successful "old boys network". The first ST element "they know", is distinguished as being conceptually closer to the speaker than the TT "tutti sanno" [all people know], since the latter is indeterminate, thus more distant. In other words, "they" is deictic, i.e. speaker-related, whereas "tutti" is not. By applying the same reasoning to the ST and TT elements, "they... each other" and "tutti... le altre" [all persons... the others] respectively, we find the same relation in terms of indeterminacy.

Sample 6.10 I_8 43

ST	Literal translation	TT
bisogna mettere ingranare lal sesta marcia	it is necessary to put to shift into sixth gear	you have to go into sixth gear

Sample 6.11 I_3 10

ST	TT	Literal translation
and let me give you just one example	basti una @ un esempio	a @ an example should suffice
of the old boys network in the United Kingdom	c'è una rete nel Regno Unito che funziona	there is a network in the United Kingdom that works
sometimes we laugh about it	questa rete funziona	this network works
but it works	tutti sanno come trovare le altre	because all people know how to find the others (female)
they know where they are and they know how to find each other		

However, in both versions the meaning potential extends to referents in relation to the speaker in the ST as origo and the interpreter in the TT as origo. Both versions thus seem to adopt the same identity stance. What is of interest is that the interpreter refers to female 'others', as if she were referring to other colleague parliamentarians, instead of to the 'old boys network' in the ST. The many working constraints possibly hindering the interpreter from hearing the male reference nonetheless put the interpreter in the position of exhibiting self-regulatory behavior, i.e. she uses contextual cues of the situational context to guide her performance, thus making reference to possible successful communication networks of women in the United Kingdom. Sample 6.11 also illustrates three cases of personal reference in the ST ('let me', 'you' and 'we laugh'), which are not carried over in the TT, thus adding to the overall trend of de-personalization.

Text samples illustrated in this section start to give us a more vivid picture of how – even simply opting for a different pronoun – an interpreter's alignment may subtly shift in relation to the ST, making for contextual changes and creating an entirely different effect on listeners. This trend becomes even more significant when considering the emergent trend in our data of how processes are expressed and agency is attributed. This is examined in the next section.

6.2 Voice

This category concerns more than the choice between active and passive, as expressed by the presence (passive) or absence (active) of some form of *be* or *get* just before a lexical verb, within the lexical verb in the passive participle form (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 182). We explore the social construction of spoken language

behavior in this study in order to discern the interpreter's self-regulatory moves in relation to the degree of directness expressed in texts. After Canagarajah (2003: 267) I define voice as "a manifestation of one's agency in discourse through the means of language". She distinguishes this constructed selfhood as being negotiated in relation to three categories of the self: our historically-defined identities, institutional roles and ideological subjectivity. Canagarajah specifies that it is at the level of 'voice' that agency is gained to negotiate these categories and where we adopt a reflexive awareness of them, finding forms of coherence and power that suit our interests (*op. cit.*: 267–8). She stresses that these three categories are principally macro-social, or involve the external context, whereas voice manifests itself at the micro-social level, or internal context. She suggests that it is at this micro-level that the resistance, modification and negotiation of larger social structures take place. In this study the category of 'voice' examines how actions and intentions are expressed, i.e. the ideational function of language. Findings are assessed along a [–direct] and [+direct] cline. In other words, I examine shifts in agency which reveal the nature of the interpreter's involvement in unfolding processes, assessing them as [–direct] when the interpreter's shifts in agency make for less direct involvement in processes, and as [+direct] when they denote greater involvement. These opposing trends indicate an interpreter's perspective with respect to the text and illustrate the nature of a self-regulatory move, since the degree of varying involvement (in relation to the TT) denotes face protection. It is for this reason that I refer to this category as 'voice', since they are personal choices on the part of the interpreter.

One aspect of agency in corpus texts has already been examined in terms of the 'identity' characterizing a speaker's stance (§6.1), where it was possible to distinguish the manner in which speakers either include or exclude both themselves and text receivers in their talk. Here this analysis is taken one step further to include the underlying process involved in an utterance. For example, in a material process (e.g. a process that implies 'doing'), with an actor and a goal, a pronominal shift may create a process with an indefinite actor, as illustrated in Sample 6.12.

The indefinite actor in the TT (Sample 6.12) denotes less direct involvement and hence less direct agency, thus de-personalization. Findings reveal that, out of a total of 94 shifts in agency, 54% show a [–direct] trend. This section deals with the nature of these shifts, determining how processes are presented and agency is attributed in the TT and prepares the groundwork for a discussion of interpreters' face-work (§6.3).

After Simpson (1993: 95), Table 6.1 lists transitivity features of the texts analyzed.

Sample 6.12 I_2 45

ST	TT	Literal translation
the work I do	il lavoro che si fa	the work that one does

Table 6.1 Transitivity features

Process name	Process type	Participant role(s)
Material	'doing'	ACTOR (obligatory) GOAL (optional)
Verbal	'saying'	SAYER (obligatory) TARGET (optional) VERBIAGE (optional)
Mental	'sensing'	SENSER (obligatory) PHENOMENON (optional)
Relational	'being' 'having'	CARRIER (obligatory) ATTRIBUTE (optional)

The above processes are ordered from more to less direct agency, material processes ('doing') first among these. In their passive variants the 'goal' (target/verbiage, phenomenon or attribute) element is fronted and the 'actor' (sayer, senser or carrier) is either shifted rightwards or removed.

A breakdown of the main transitivity processes (Simpson 1993: 104–5) follows (Table 6.2), along with examples taken from the corpus to illustrate these processes (corpus texts and sequences are indicated in parentheses).

Table 6.2 Transitivity processes

Process	Process type	Corpus examples
Material	*Action/intention*	vi tranquillizzo subito [I calm you immediately] (TT, I_2 45)
	Action/supervention	the challenges we face (ST, I_2 50)
	Event	più il gap si @ stringe [the more the gap @ closes] (TT, I_2 24)
Verbal		what we would call a virtual classroom (ST, I_2 44) and @ I would even say more (TT, I_8 28)
Mental	*Perception*	vedete che non ho lucidi [you see that I don't have transparencies] (ST, I_8 3)
	Reaction	e molti ne sono stati contenti [and many were pleased of this] (TT, I_9 16)
	Cognition	I believe (ST, I_7 10)
Relational	*Intensive*	le decisioni assunte da noi … hanno rappresentato degli strumenti [the decisions taken on by us... have represented some means] (TT, I_{10} 21)
	Possessive	and @ there we certainly have still a lot to do (ST, I_4 5)
	Circumstantial	what's happened to the freedom of speech/ (ST, I_7 5)

Sample 6.13 I_2 1

ST	TT	Literal translation
he sent me	per questo sono presente io	for this am present I

Sample 6.14 I_2 18

ST	TT	Literal translation
then we come to the model that is gaining if you like most favour	poi c'è il modello che cerchiamo di favorire	then there is the model that we try to favor

Added to the variation of process types in the TT, found numerous shifts in agency were found, i.e. who does what, as illustrated in Samples 6.13 and 6.14.

In Sample 6.13 the ST goal 'me' becomes the actor (in lieu of ST "he"). This results in a relational process where the agency disappears. In Sample 6.14 the two material processes in the ST ("then we come to", "the model that is gaining") become a relational process ("then there is the model") and a material process ("we try to favor"), where again we find a shift in referents.

Shifts involving agency typically occur in the proximity of other shifts in linguistic phenomena analyzed in this study, making for an overall trend of detachment, as is discussed in Chapter 7. For example, added to a shift in agency in Sample 6.14 is the omission of "if you like".

Identity pronouns were analyzed in §6.1. There we saw how a missing reference to the audience may create more distance between the interpreter and his listeners. Further, "if you like" may also be considered a positive politeness strategy that aims to include the hearer in the ongoing activity (see Table 5.2).

Particular shifting transitivity patterns have typically been found to span an entire textual sequence and, in a few cases, recur in subsequent sequences. The nature of these shifts in my corpus reveals a trend of indirectness, involving the suppression of agency. Table 6.3 illustrates a sequence in which the transitivity shift of the first two TT processes reduces agency and creates a consequent shift in responsibility: the ST speaker ("I") states that "we" (inclusive) have lost time, whereas the TT eludes both the responsibility of "I feel" by using a perception mental process ("it seems to me") and the responsibility for having lost time by deleting the carrier in the relational process ("has been lost too much time").

Table 6.3 Transitivity processes I_6 20

	Sequence elements	Literal translation	Transitivity process
ST	I feel		Mental process of perception with actor
	dear colleagues		
	that we have lost valuable time#		Relational circumstantial process with carrier
	a lot is said~		Verbalization process no sayer
	but very little is done#		Verbalization process no sayer
TT	cari colleghi~ …	dear colleagues …	
	mi sembra	it seems to me	Mental process of perception passive senser
	che finora sia stato perso	that till now has been lost	
	fin troppo tempo#	too much time#	Relational circumstantial process no carrier
	si parla molto~ ma si agisce poco#	one talks much~ but acts little#	Verbalization process with indefinite sayer

It is evident how the suppression of agency in texts or, vice versa, its enhancement, may involve a marked difference in the establishment of roles and power relations and, in turn, these shifting roles and relations also play a part in distinguishing the interpreter's perspective, since they are forms of face protection and thus self-regulatory in nature. This was borne out in my corpus even in texts that do not seem to have a political slant (e.g. I_2 corpus texts taken from conference proceedings on mobile schooling). Since, however, all corpus texts are pronounced within the confines of institutional walls, a closer look at the nature of these shifts across our corpus may yield insight into the variation of meanings offered. As an example I now present two cases where this occurs, although similar phenomena are found in all corpus texts.

There is a minority of shifts in transitivity involving enhanced agency in the TT. Samples 6.15 and 6.16 are taken from two different subjects who interpreted at the Euromediterranean Forum of Women Parliamentarians, organized by the Italian Parliament, where three basic appeals were made: a call for equal rights, a pro-active approach to responsibility on behalf of women and stepped-up collaboration among women MPs in the area. In Sample 6.15 the ST "our role" is fronted as agent; in the TT Euromediterranean parliamentarians, rather than their role, are agents.

Sample 6.15 I_5 16

ST	Literal translation	TT	
c'est là qu'intervient	it is there that intervenes	è qui che dobbiamo intervenire come parlamentari euromediterranei	it is here that we must intervene as Euromediterranean parliamentarians
ou doit intervenir	or must intervene		
notre rôle de parlementaires euro-méditerranéennes	our role of Euromediterranean parliamentarians		

Likewise, in Sample 6.16, the TT confers greater agency on women. In the ST it is the "founder of the republic" who achieves important rights for women, and the latter are depicted as being "granted the right of election and to be elected"; the TT deletes the ST actor and sees women as agents ("women have achieved important rights", "women have received the passive and active electorate").

This trend of conferring upon women a more active role is followed through in this corpus text (e.g. ST "they are not given the same rights", TT "non hanno gli stessi diritti" [they don't have the same rights"] I_9, sequence 18). In the TT, however, even if Ataturk's role has been deleted and thus may be considered a [–direct] move on behalf of the interpreter with respect to Ataturk's agency, the interpreter here voices the intentions of a female MP who is speaking within the external context of a conference on women parliamentarians. Hence agency is enhanced for women.

Sample 6.16 I_9 10

ST	TT	Literal translation
in my country	nel mio paese	in my country
in Turkey	in Turchia	in Turkey
the founder of the republic <Ataturk> achieved important rights for the women	dopo la repubblica	after the Republic
with his reforms	le donne hanno conseguito importanti diritti	the women have achieved important rights
women were granted the right of election and to be elected	ci sono stati importanti riforme	there have been important reforms
	le donne hanno ricevuto l'elettorato passivo e attivo	the women have received the passive and active electorate

Sample 6.17 I_8 29

ST	Literal translation	TT
ho quattro cinque interpreti su una sessantina che impiego quotidianamente che sono talmente bravi	I have four five interpreters out of about sixty that I employ daily who are so good	we can say that we have about four or five interpreters out of sixty who will work every day who are so good

Sample 6.18 I_8 46

ST	Literal translation	TT
altrimenti non posso convocarvi per un test	otherwise I cannot summon you for a test	because otherwise you cannot come to do our test

When agency is suppressed in the TT the consequences seem to be as striking as when agency is enhanced, regardless of text type, as illustrated in Samples 6.17 and 6.18. The ST speaker, former head of the Italian booth at the European Parliament, discusses the characteristics of interpreters he employs (Sample 6.17), "I have", "that I employ"). In the TT the shift in agency is seen in the use of a collective "we" and interpreters who "will work every day".

In Sample 6.18, taken from the same corpus texts as the previous sample, the ST speaker mentions the prerequisites students must have in order to apply as a freelancer: at least three passive languages.

The ST speaker confirms his authority as EP employer and voices his utterance with a material process, he being the agent ("I cannot summon you"). In the TT the 'goal' is fronted and students, potential EP interpreting candidates, become agents ("you cannot come"). These examples point to a conscious or unconscious tendency by the interpreter to reduce the "I" agency of the ST.

If Samples 6.15 and 6.16 are representative of interpreters' self-regulatory moves effected within their professional role, i.e voicing a ST speaker's intentions, what does the trend of detachment and indirectness found in Samples 6.17 and 6.18, typical of corpus findings, signify? More importantly, what is the role played by the interpreter in these cases? With what intentions? These issues were partly addressed in the beginning of this chapter when we characterized the interpreter-mediated event as face-threatening. I extend this discussion in §7.1.1.4 where I distinguish the analytical profile that emerges in this study and examine the participation framework and role dimensions in a mediated event.

Patterns of transitivity, together with stance indicators (§6.1), make for distinct points of view voiced from perspectives that differ considerably in target

texts in terms of the suppression of agency. This shift in perspective is substantially highlighted in the interpreter's use of modality, which is discussed in §6.3.1.

6.3 Face

I have examined shifts in personal reference that are indicative of an interpreter's stance (§6.1) and found a predominance of [+distance] moves. I then examined shifts in transitivity that are indicative of how agency, and thus voice, is expressed (§6.2) and found a [–direct] trend. I now examine interactional politeness, a phenomenon that cuts across grammatical categories. Politeness is a functional domain of language and language use (Lenz 2003: 192–3) and in this sense face-work and self-preservation occur in response to something. At the beginning of this chapter the activity of simultaneous interpreting was characterized as inherently face-threatening: structural (language) constraints and interpersonal (ritual) constraints put the interpreter in the position of potentially moving to save both the TT receiver's face and his or her own face. Further, I argue the interpreter also moves to protect the ST speaker's face by presenting to the TT audience a mitigated version, as witnessed by the overriding trend that emerges in our data.

In this section I first examine this overriding trend of mitigating illocutionary force found in our data by analyzing how actions and intentions are expressed and how they relate to the self through an analysis of interpreters' shifts in mood and modality (§6.3.1). I then assess corpus subjects' face-work in order to tease out their self-regulatory moves in answer to possible threats (§6.3.2).

6.3.1 Mood and modality

As mentioned in §5.2.2, modality cuts across the grammar and discourse of a language, in response to unfolding pragmatic needs and textual constraints. This section analyzes corpus shifts in mood and modality, or shifts concerning the speaker's own attitude towards the truth of a proposition, in the Gricean sense (Grice 1975). In other words, I assess how committed the speaker is to what he or she is saying, i.e. a facet of illocutionary force that expresses the general intent of the speaker. Evidence of shifts in modality was found in all corpus texts. Out of 162 shifts in mood and modality, 69% involve a [–direct] move, or the mitigation of illocutionary force. We argue that these shifts illustrate an overriding trend to mitigate illocutionary force and, as such, are illustrative of an interpreter's face-work. Since these moves indicate an interpreter's response to perceived expectations or set standards, they are self-regulatory in nature. This section reviews the nature of these shifts.

Sample 6.19 I_2 50

ST	TT	Literal translation
those are the challenges we face @	questa è una sfida che dobbiamo affrontare	this is a challenge that we must face

The following categories of modality, after Simpson (1993), are considered: deontic (obligation, duty, commitment), boulomaic (desire), epistemic (knowledge, belief, cognition) and perception. Sample 6.19 illustrates a case where a shift occurs from the ST unmodalized utterance to the TT modalized (deontic) one.

Findings show that interpreters opt for deontic modals to a lesser degree and, when they do opt for deontic forms, their choice concerns a move from a categorical assertion to a deontic form, as in Sample 6.19 (ST, "those are the challenges we face"; TT, "this is a challenge we must face"). Shifts of this kind, however, reduce commitment to the truth of propositions. Categorical expressions express the strongest possible degree of speaker commitment (Lyons 1977: 763, in Simpson 1993: 49), and modalization lessens the interpreter's commitment to what he or she is saying in comparison to the speaker's commitment in the ST utterance, thus [–direct]. The TT utterance presupposes that we may also '*not* face' the challenge mentioned, whereas the ST utterance is categorical, and hence more committed. It may seem counterintuitive that the TT deontic in Sample 6.19 actually exhibits less commitment but, as Simpson points out (1993: 49):

> ... use of epistemic modal operators such as *must*, *certainly*, and *necessarily* renders the speaker's commitment to the factuality of propositions explicitly dependent on their own knowledge.

Shifts in modality also occurred through the omission or addition of adverbs, as illustrated in Samples 6.20 and 6.21 respectively, which, however, illustrate a minority countertrend in our data.

The second element in the ST of Sample 6.20 contains a hedge ("modestement") whereas none is included in the TT. Omission of the hedge makes for greater commitment, or is [+direct] in terms of the interpreter's intent. The TT in Sample 6.21 adds a modal hedge ("sinceramente"), which would make for less commitment [–direct] on the part of the interpreter, for the reason stated above (*loc. cit.*). However, although categorical assertions relay most commitment (Lyons 1977: 763) it is indeed possible here that the addition by the interpreter of "sincerely" may reflect prosodic emphasis or intonation by the ST speaker ("**easy**").

Sample 6.20 I_5 4

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
à propos du thème sujet de nos débats	concerning the topic of our discussions	a proposito del tema del dibattito	concerning the topic of the discussion
nous allons modestement collaborer	we will modestly collaborate	collaboreremo presentando rapidamente l'esperienza algerina	we will collaborate by rapidly presenting the Algerian experience
en présentant dans ce domaine l'éxperience algérienne très rapidement	by presenting in this domaine the Algerian experience very rapidly		

Sample 6.21 I_7 19

ST	TT	Literal translation
I I tell you it's not that **easy#**	e vi dico sinceramente che non è compito facile	and I tell you sincerely that it is not an easy task

Added to shifts in modality are forms of embeddedness in texts that alter the interpreter's alignment with respect to his or her text and the TT audience. This is illustrated in Sample 6.22 when the ST speaker says "thank you" whereas the interpreter says "I would like to thank you". This added layer is created through the use of a boulomaic modal and is considered [–direct].

I also subsume mood in the study of attitude since it represents a set of distinctive forms that are used to signal modality. A large majority of shifts in mood found in our corpus are unmarked, from the (French or English) indicative to the

Sample 6.22 I_7 1

ST	TT	Literal translation
OK thank you @ I @ madame chairman and @ all the participant~	vorrei ringraziare ma anche scusarmi per il mio inglese perché non parlo molto bene~	I would like to thank you but also excuse myself for my English because I do not speak very well
I want to apologize for my English it's not that good~ and I'm sick so~		

(Italian) subjunctive moods, as illustrated in Sample 6.23. These cases are not counted, precisely because they are unmarked, i.e. they correspond to language-specific norms of usage.

There are numerous cases that would seem to require the subjunctive mood in the Italian TT, as illustrated in Sample 6.24 ("una legge magari che *possa* risolvere" [a law perhaps that might (subj.) resolve], but where there is none. These, too, are not counted in this study, since my focus concerns non-obligatory modal shifts.

The University of Bologna (SSLMIT, Forlì) organized a conference entitled *Attorno al congiuntivo* [Around the Subjunctive], the proceedings of which were published (Schena *et al.* 2002). The aim of the conference was to understand where the subjunctive was going, what its semantic and discursive values are, which of these values are vital and which are bound to disappear. The editors suggest that currently the subjunctive not only reflects a speaker's attitude but has also divested itself of rigid psychological and ontological security. In other words, today the speaker is more sensitive to the array of linguistic choices available than to the constraints of binding rules. This leads him or her to embrace these choices on the one hand and to neglect the complexity of constraints on the other. In this sense the subjunctive mood represents rather a range of values that escapes categorization

Sample 6.23 I_{10} 41

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
– je crois qu'il y a encore – @ chez dans les parlements – et au sein – et chez les parlementaires – @ la conviction que le travail essentiel des parlementaire est de légiférer	– I think that there is still – @ in parliaments – and in the heart of – and in parliamentarians – @ the conviction that the essential work of parliamentarians is to legiferate	– nei parlamenti – credo – vi sia ancora @ – tra i parlamentari anche – la convinzione che il lavoro essenziale dei parlamentari è quello di legiferare	– in the parliaments – I think – there is (subj.) still @ – among the parliamentarians even – the conviction that the essential work of the parliamentarians is that of legiferating

Sample 6.24 I_7 24

ST	TT	Literal translation
a law that will be equal with concerning this @ difficulty	una legge magari che potrà risolvere queste difficoltà/ in materia di uguaglianza#	a law perhaps that will be able to resolve these difficulties/ in matters of equality#

(*op. cit.*: 10–11). Assessing mood shifts from the indicative to the subjunctive thus required particular delicacy.

Ballardini (2002: 307) claims that studies concerning the use of the subjunctive in simultaneous interpreting are practically non-existent, first of all because of the *théorie du sens* (Seleskovitch 1975) underlying the interpretative theoretical paradigm in Interpreting Studies, which dominated the discipline for almost two decades and which still influences the teaching of interpreting today. The theory propounds that the linguistic phenomena of the surface of a text (e.g. words) are not worthy of research, since it is rather the 'sense' that counts. Ballardini also states that study of the subjunctive is absent from research programs because today only two of the subjunctive mood tenses (present and past) are used in spoken French. My evaluation of shifts in terms of the subjunctive mood is based on an analysis of choices systematically made both within one subject's text and compared to other subjects' texts. For example, Samples 6.25 and 6.26 are taken from the same corpus ST and TT.

Sample 6.25 illustrates a seemingly unmarked passage from French (imperfect indicative) to Italian (past subjunctive). In Sample 6.26 the ST explicitly voices doubt in French ("je ne suis pas sur") and the subsequent ST subjunctive is countered with the same verb form in the TT.

Practically all shifts from the indicative to the subjunctive mood in our corpus are unmarked ones. The only three cases of marked shifts, i.e. cases where other translation options exist, are of little relevance in quantitative terms, since they are

Sample 6.25 I_{10} 18

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
là où ce n'était pas @ possible de l'appliquer dans toute sa rigueur	there where it was not @ possible to apply it in all its rigour	laddove non fosse possibile applicarlo con pieno rigore	there where it was (subj.) not possible to apply it with full rigour

Sample 6.26 I_{10} 40

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
mais je ne suis pas sûr que les parlements~ se soient rénovés	but I am not sure that the parliaments~ have renewed (subj.) themselves	ma non sono certo che i parlamenti si siano talmente rinnovati	but I am not sure that the parliaments have (subj.) renewed themselves that much
de façon suffisante	in a sufficient manner		

Sample 6.27 I_9 24

ST	TT	Literal translation
I greet you all with respect	desidero salutarvi	I desire to greet you

Sample 6.28 I_4 3

ST	TT	Literal translation
I want to start by saying that	vorrei iniziare dicendo che	I would like to start by saying that

all found within one corpus text and may denote the interpreter's particular stylistic propensity.

Most of the shifts in modality found were boulomaic in nature, which entail either lexical choice expressing desire, as illustrated in Sample 6.27 (TT, "desidero"), or in a shift in mood, as illustrated in Sample 6.28 (TT, "vorrei").

Non-warranted shifts in mood, i.e. from the indicative to the conditional, and modality, illustrate a trend toward indirectness. This prevalent trend of [–direct] in my corpus assumes major relevance when examined globally alongside other linguistic features (personal reference, §6.1 and transitivity, §6.2), where an overall trend of the interpreter's detachment from and mitigation of the text emerges.

Since politeness strategies are carried out by way of response to some stimulus, as mentioned, we now examine interpreting moves from another perspective: interpreters' response to potential threats to face (§6.3.2), analyzing how categories of stance and voice impact on face-work. The textural encoding of threats in four prominent features that emerge in the data are analyzed: omissions (§6.3.2.1), additions (§6.3.2.2), weakeners (§6.3.2.3), and strengtheners (§6.3.2.4). Although other linguistic features typically show evidence of interactional politeness, those mentioned are most prevalent in all corpus texts. Findings confirm an overall trend of mitigation, as witnessed in interpreters' evasiveness, off-record strategy of tentativeness, vagueness and ambiguity, and the use of hedging as a redressive, negative politeness strategy.

6.3.2 Threats to face

In this section threats to face in relation to the self and to the other (see Table 5.1) are considered. In Chapter 5 I provided a sociolinguistic perspective within which to analyze simultaneous interpreting and in §5.1.2 Goffman's essay on the lecture (1981: 162–195) was discussed. There I mentioned the self-referential quality of this type of talk and how it is possible to witness multiple shifts in footing within

this speech event. In this sense text brackets, the opening, or introductory, and closing remarks that frame a talk, are moments when ST and TT speakers most need to adjust to their audiences and their text. Source text speakers are expected to address the occasion and are usually preceded by someone who introduces them in some way. Interpreters begin their performance at these crucial turn-taking moments and indeed all corpus texts were recorded at the beginning of a new turn, as explained in §5.2.2.

Topical statements are typically made in text brackets and act as contextualizing devices geared to an audience's expectations. This implies that interpreters, too, expect openings and closings within the structure of a ST and also expect forthcoming information to be relevant to the occasion. Text brackets also represent moments in talk where threats are negotiated. Interpreters omit, add, weaken, and strengthen them as they themselves adjust to their role. Their behavior at the juncture of text bracketing offers cues concerning the nature of their face-work throughout the talk. For example, it is common in the data to find cases where both openings and closings are abbreviated or even omitted in the TT. In particular, we begin to see the first signs of a wide trend in our data, mitigated illocutionary force, as shown in Sample 6.29.

The interpreter collapses an apology and thanks in Sample 6.29, doing away with reference both to the Chair and conference participants. As discussed in §6.1, the omission of personal reference creates [+distance]. The interpreter also embeds her thanks and uses a conditional verb form, compared to the indicative in the ST. As mentioned in §6.3.1, shifts such as these create indirectness [–direct]. Even though the interpreter hedges knowledge of the English language, as the ST speaker does ("it's not so good", and "non parlo molto bene" [I do not speak very well]), she also adds a hedge to the speaker's state of health ("in più sono anche un po' ammalata" [and I'm also a bit ill], where there is none in the ST. We begin to see how the interpreter adjusts to her role, or self-regulates, and makes use of the two most prominent strategies found in our data (distancing and indirectness).

Sample 6.29 I_7 1

ST	TT	Literal translation
– OK thank you @ I @ madame chairman and @ all the participant~	– vorrei ringraziare ma anche scusarmi per il mio inglese perché non parlo molto bene~	– I would like to thank but also excuse myself for my English because I do not speak very well~
– I want to apologize for my English it's not that good~	– in più sono anche un po' ammalata#	– moreover I am also a bit ill#
– and I'm sick so~	– quindi cercherò di fare del mio meglio date le circostanze#	– so I will try to do my best given the circumstances#
– I'll try to do my best in the circumstances#		

In this section I discuss how interpreters deal with threats to face by classifying these moves into four categories, all of which are found in all corpus texts: omissions (§6.3.2.1), additions (§6.3.2.2), weakening (§6.3.2.3) and strengthening (§6.3.2.4). They appear in this section in order of decreasing importance, quantitatively speaking. By adding and omitting, interpreters were found both to mitigate and strengthen illocutionary force in the TT, with a predominant trend of mitigation. Weakeners in the TT had the sole effect of weakening illocutionary force, whereas strengtheners strengthened TT illocutionary force. Out of a total of 164 shifts in these categories, 57% had the effect of mitigating illocutionary force. As stated in §3.3, I have compiled figures of the translational shifts in the data so as to understand the magnitude of these trends in order to weigh the importance of certain shifts compared to others. I have also explained that shifts found in the categories of stance and voice are part of the particular face-work that emerges in texts which, in itself, is not countable. However, my quantitative assessment of phenomena relating to threats to face is based on those elements that lend themselves to such an assessment (omissions, additions, weakeners, strengtheners). When put into the context of other trends, the quantitative significance of data relating to this section takes on major importance, considering the cumulative effect of our findings. All corpus texts display an overriding trend of mitigated illocutionary force, with no exception. Therefore, in this sense, even if only 30% of all shifts in this section showed signs of mitigation of illocutionary force it would be of significance. These findings are further discussed in Chapter 7.

We discuss these trends and their relevance to face-work in detail in the following sections.

6.3.2.1 *Omissions*

In this section I distinguish the phenomenon of omissions – characteristic of simultaneous interpreting – that imply the negotiation of face threatening acts, and seek to understand the effect they have in terms of interactional politeness. The omissions found in the data are of two types: omissions relating to ST politeness strategies and omissions relating to potential threats. Out of a total of 67 omissions, 38 (57%) were found to either weaken or omit a ST threat, or omit a ST politeness strategy. This trend is illustrated here through examples from my corpus.

Sample 6.30 illustrates a text sequence where threats to the positive face of persons addressed in the ST are omitted in the TT. These are typically acts that raise controversial or strongly emotional issues. The corpus text from which we extract the sequence has been used at various points throughout our study to exemplify phenomena. The text lends itself for this purpose primarily because the ST speaker defies expectations in that, instead of drawing to a close, she introduces a new topic by speaking out for the abuse of Chechen women. Reference to 'rape' in

Sample 6.30 I_9 23

ST	TT	Literal translation
– the women are the prime tar targets of this massacre and rape	– le donne sono il principale obbiettivo di questa azione di violenza	– the women are the principle objective of this action of violence
– rape is used as a tool of genocide	– +++	– +++
– *Madame this is out of our argument no I am sorry I am sorry Madame*	– <lowers voice> la presidente richiama all'argo al tema la delegata <end lower voice>	– <lowers voice> the president is recalling to the argu to the theme the delegate <end lower voice>
– the women are raped and killed	– +++	– +++
– *our friend from Finland*	– +++	– +++
– we condemn	– +++	– +++
– *friend from Finland*	– e vorrei che tutte voi vi uniste a me in questa vibrata condanna delle del massacro delle donne cecene	– and I would like that all of you unite with me in this vibrated condemnation of the of the massacre of the Chechen women
– and invite all of you to join me in this strong condemnation		
– *I am sorry sorry Madame no it is enough sorry*	– +++	– +++
– lastly it is important	– +++	– +++
– *our friend from Finland please please Finland*	– +++	– +++
	– +++	– +++
– men at every section of society	– di nuovo dobbiamo lottare per la piena uguaglianza	– again we must fight for the full equality
– for real equality	– non soltanto in politica	– not only in politics
– and not only in politics but in all areas	– ma in tutti i settori delle della vita	– but in all sectors of the of the life
– and that this reproduction	– +++	– +++
– *this is not our subject*		

Sample 6.30, mentioned three times in the ST, constitutes a bald-on-record claim. We argue that this type of avoidance, or omission, on the part of the interpreter, makes for mitigated illocutionary force in the TT and illustrates a self-regulatory move to protect or minimize the imposition on the TT receiver's face. Further, the numerous omissions of entire stretches of ST talk involving the Chair who calls on the next speaker to take the floor also indicate the interpreter's detachment from the ST talk.

It was mentioned that the two categories already examined (§6.1, stance and §6.2, voice) have a specific role to play in the overall strategy speakers use in their communicative interaction and they are to be taken into consideration when assessing an interpreter's face-work in a TT. In Sample 6.30 the interpreter does convey the ST speaker's invitation to the audience to condemn the acts she men-

tions ("we condemn... and invite all of you to join me in this strong condemnation"), but the interpreter does so avoiding agency ("in questa vibrata condanna" [in this vibrated condemnation]). This invitation may be considered an appeal to the audience's positive face, in the sense of seeking cooperation or agreement (see Table 5.2), and this appeal is indeed carried over to a TT audience.

However, avoidance of agency in the TT points to a [–direct] trend, and hence we find an overall tendency toward depersonalization, detachment and indirectness, as emerges in all corpus texts.

Sample 6.31, on the other hand, illustrates the omission of a negative politeness strategy, an apology. Once again the TT thus presents itself as being less polite in interactional terms.

Within the framework of the Euromediterranean Forum of Women Parliamentarians, the ST in Sample 6.32 fulfills the hearer's want for cooperation (positive politeness strategy) and face redress. By avoiding such a strategy, the TT assumes a completely different discoursal perspective.

At the end of her talk, the ST speaker in Sample 6.33 levels an act threatening the negative face of listeners by making a request that any future conference organized "be issue-based", implicitly suggesting the current conference is not. This, too, is mitigated through avoidance.

Even the omission of what seems to be an aside in Sample 6.34 ("ah <laugh> it's in Italian of course") has the effect of avoiding the positive politeness strategy of claiming common ground.

By far, however, the most obvious mitigation of illocutionary force is realized through the omission of value-laden words. As mentioned (§3.2), seven out of the ten texts comprising my corpus were taken from the Euromediterranean Forum of Women Parliamentarians. Samples 6.35–6.39 are extracted from these texts and represent just a partial list of cases where this phenomenon occurs.

Sample 6.31 I_8 32

ST	Literal translation	TT
scusate guardo l'ora perché non vorrei	excuse me I'm looking at my watch because I wouldn't want to	+++

Sample 6.32 I_5 19

ST	Literal translation	TT
c'est une vérité douleureuse	it is a painful truth	+++
mais nous vous la devons	but we owe it to you	+++

Sample 6.33 I_3 15

ST	TT
and then let this conference be issue-based	+++

Sample 6.34 I_2 13

ST	TT	Literal translation
sorry I I I forget one slide @		
in fact I put two slides in the wrong order	ho messo due due diapositive nello nella ordine sbagliato	I put two two slides in the (masculine) in the (feminine) wrong order
so excuse me one moment	quindi vogliate scusarmi <papers rustling>	so excuse (subj.) me
ah <laugh> it's in Italian of course	+++	+++
oh well	+++	+++

The first three Samples (6.35–6.37) belong to one corpus text (I_7). In Samples 6.35 and 6.36 the same value-laden expression appears in the ST ("and it will give us the power") and is omitted by the interpreter in both these text sequences. The omission of these value-laden expressions illustrates the negative politeness strategy of minimizing the imposition on the TT receiver's face and undoubtedly mitigates the illocutionary force of the TT.

Reference to another potentially threatening lexical item ('fight') is again omitted by the same interpreter in a successive sequence, just before the closing brackets of her talk.

Sample 6.35 I_7 28

ST	TT
we are trying hard~	+++
and it will give us the power#	+++

Sample 6.36 I_7 30

ST	TT
and it will give us the power~	+++

The two text sequences (Samples 6.35 and 6.36) that exclude 'power' in the TT occur at a point where overlapping speech may have further constrained the working conditions for the interpreter, who may not have actually heard these elements. However, the sequence in Sample 6.37 is uttered at a point where no overlapping speech occurs.

Further analysis brought to light the systematic omission of these potentially threatening lexical items, as illustrated in Samples 6.38 and 6.39. Sample 6.38 illustrates how linguistic phenomena analyzed in this study, alongside the omission of face-threatening lexis, concur to create the mitigation of illocutionary force.

The TT omits reference to the potentially threatening ST "become a force" and "demands". Also, the ST inclusive "our actions" is omitted in the TT where the subject, women, is referred to at a distance as "they". The TT thus results as being mitigated and impersonal.

The interpreter opts for an ambiguous solution in Sample 6.39, in relation to a place "where we have to fight".

Sample 6.37 I_7 35

ST	TT
to come back home and fight for it~ as women#	+++

Sample 6.38 I_6 30

ST	TT	Literal translation
it is only when women~ parliamentarians become a force~	sarà solamente nel momento in cui le donne parlamentari/ @ decideranno/	it will be only when women parliamentarians/ @ will decide/
not to be ignored~	in maniera concreta/	in a concrete manner
that our actions~ and other demands~ will be taken seriously#	di non essere ignorate~che effettivamente verranno prese sera sul serio#	not to be ignored~] that effectively they will be taken seriou seriously#

Sample 6.39 I_3 22

ST	TT	Literal translation
by the national parliaments	deve essere seguita in parlamento	it must be followed in parliament
because that's where we have to fight	che è il luogo preposto	that is the suitable place
that's where we have to work	appunto	precisely
	a queste funzioni	for these functions

In Sample 6.39 the inclusion in the TT of agentless elements ("it must be followed in parliament", "that is the suitable place") lends to an overall trend of detachment with respect to women's role and function in the institution and thus reduces the face threat involved in calls to action.

6.3.2.2 *Additions*

In this section additions in the TT are examined, in order to understand the extent to which these effect interactional politeness. Like omissions, additions found in the data are of two types: additions of politeness strategies to head off potential threats and additions of potentially threatening language. Out of a total of 53 additions, 28 (53%) were found that constituted face redress or mitigated a ST threat. These types of additions to the ST on the whole serve as positive politeness strategies to claim common ground. A telling example of mitigation in this sense is illustrated in Sample 6.40. Women being "agents of the atheist West" is presented as a given in the ST, whereas the addition of "who are seen as" in the TT reverses this perspective and explicitly detaches the utterer (interpreter) from commitment to what the ST presupposes. This is part of a general trend, especially where claims are highly face-threatening.

In a minority of cases in my corpus additions seem to create threats, as illustrated in Samples 6.41 and 6.42. Both samples are extracted from the same corpus text. The ST speaker is an Israeli MP addressing an audience of women

Sample 6.40 I_1 27

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
contre les femmes agents de l'occident athéé	against the women agents of the atheist West	contro le donne che vengono viste come agenti dell'occidente ateo	against the women who are seen as agents of the atheist West

parliamentarians. In these sequences she more precisely addresses a Palestinian MP who had taken the floor previously. In Sample 6.41 the speaker uses a negative politeness strategy by being indirect ("it was, well I cannot say it was a mistake"). Despite the use of modals in the TT ("according to me", "we should ignore"), the addition of "that divide" first in sequence 3 (Sample 6.41) then again in sequence 10 (Sample 6.42) explicitly reminds listeners (Palestinian MP, addressee, and wider audience, ratified overhearers) of a political distinction between the two countries, and thus represents an act threatening positive face (e.g. raising strong emotional issues).

It must be pointed out that in Sample 6.41 the ST is incomplete ("ignore @ the political matters that @ @ between our countries") and most likely the interpreter is responding here to contextual constraints and attempts to foster textual cohesion.

It is interesting to note, however, that the interpreter (Sample 6.41) nonetheless is given to mitigation ("or in any case that exist between our countries").

Sample 6.41 I_7 3

ST	TT	Literal translation
that's why I think it was~ well I cannot say it was a mistake~ but I think that @ we should ignore @ the political matters that @ @ between our countries that will be discussed in other @ circumstant circumstances~	ecco perché... secondo me dovremmo ignorare le questioni politiche... che... dividono~ o comunque che esistono tra i nostri paesi~ che verranno dibattute in altre circostanze#	this is why... according to me we should ignore the political issues... that... divide~ or in any case that exist between our countries~ that will be debated in other circumstances#

Sample 6.42 I_7 10

ST	TT	Literal translation
and not the things that @ are political matters/	e non le questioni politiche	and not the political issues
	che dividono	that divide

6.3.2.3 *Weakening*

In the 28 cases where the language in the TT had a weakening effect with regard to the ST, there are two, essential, ways in which the illocutionary force of source texts is weakened: the modification of a strengthening hedge into a weakening one (Sample 6.43); the minimization of a threat or imposition through the use of some form of weakening hedge (Sample 6.44).

In Sample 6.43 the ST includes two strengthening hedges "davvero" [really] and "veramente" [truly]. The illocutionary force is firstly weakened by the elimination of the repetition of these hedges and secondly by turning the strengthener into the weakener "actually" in the TT.

Speaking of the need to enhance efforts to promote the presence of women in political institutions, the ST speaker in Sample 6.44 agrees with a suggestion made to avoid the creation of added institutions (i.e. no other fora), in which case women would "do exactly what we must not do", implying that current efforts have not responded effectively to their goals. This statement represents a threat to others' negative face (e.g. reminder or warning). The TT, on the other hand, uses a negative politeness hedge ("I could not be more in agreement") to support the suggestion previously made, thus eliminating the threat to face.

The last example chosen to illustrate the weakening of threats (Sample 6.45) includes an instance of the first of the two types mentioned above, i.e. the modification of a strengthening hedge into a weakening one.

In Sample 6.45 the ST speaker addresses an audience of students, professional interpreters and professors of interpreting. I have also previously mentioned the fact that the interpreter in this instance is a professor of interpreting at the university where the conference is being held. The topic is the nature of interpreting at the European Parliament. The ST speaker emphasizes the burden of traveling for staff interpreters (they travel "very very much... too much... they are all tired") that, on the other hand, often represents the motivating factor for many students first approaching the study of interpreting. However, the first element in the TT

Sample 6.43 I_8 4

ST	Literal translation	TT
i nostri deputati i ministri	our representatives our ministers	our Euro members of parliament and our ministers
davvero non ci seguono	really do not follow us	don't actually listen to what we ask them to do in this respect
veramente ci battiamo contro mulini a vento	we are truly battling against windmills	they continue to read texts at breakneck speed

Sample 6.44 I_3 18

ST	TT	Literal translation
and one of my Italian col- leagues was just talking about no new institutions no new democracies and I very very much agree with that because then we do exactly what we must not do	una collega italiana appunto ha fatto riferimento alla necessità che non ci siano nuove istituzioni appesantimenti non potrei essere più d'accordo	an Italian colleague precisely referred to the need that there not be (subjunctive) new institutions added weight I could not be more in agreement

Sample 6.45 I_8 15

ST	Literal translation	TT
e i gruppi quindi viaggiano molto moltissimo	and the groups therefore travel very very much	so the @ groups tend to @ travel a lot for our @ staff interpreters rather too much and they are rather tired
per i nostri interpreti funzion- ari troppo	for our official interpreters too much	they do no longer want to travel
a tal punto che sono tutti stanchi	so much so that they are all tired	they want to be able to unpack their bags and @ stop travelling

contains three weakening hedges ("tend to... rather too much... rather tired") which all concur to mitigate the overall force of the ST.

But what is the effect of adding the last two elements ("they do no longer want to travel... they want to be able to unpack their bags and @ stop travelling"), and why – considering the temporal constraints of working in the simultaneous mode – does the interpreter go so far as to add these statements? They may have the effect of attempting to claim common ground by seeking agreement on the part of the audience, composed for the most part of students, and this of course is quite the opposite effect of the ST. Moves made to strengthen illocutionary force in terms of threats to face are analyzed in the following section.

6.3.2.4 *Strengthening*

There are 16 cases in my corpus where the illocutionary force is strengthened, generally by the removal of a modal operator. For example the removal of a hedge in Sample 6.46 ("just") strengthens a potential threat to face.

There is one case where a modal operator is modified completely (Sample 6.47). The ST mention of "selon certains" [according to some] is one way for the speaker to be indirect and as such is a negative politeness strategy. The TT use of "certo" [certainly], on the other hand, creates an other-threatening act to negative face (e.g. remindings, threats, warnings, dares).

The pragmatics of items like the Italian 'certo', the French 'certes' or 'certainement' and the English 'certainly' are complicated to assess, as they can behave as either strengtheners or weakeners. Since Sample 6.47 was the only case observed in my data where the interpreter's option seems to run counter to ST intended meaning, and since the overall arching trend in our data is one of mitigating threats to face, it is possible that we have here a case where the interpreter may simply not have heard "selon certains" [according to some people].

Sample 6.46 I_2 12

ST	TT	Literal translation
I just want to give you a very quick overview	@ voglio farvi una breve panoramica	@ I want to give you a brief panorama

Sample 6.47 I_1 33

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
les divergences se sont manifestéés sur l'aspect juridique qui	the divergences emerged on the juridical aspect that	e sugli aspetti giuridici che non devono certo intaccare i precetti dell'islam	and on the juridical aspects that certainly must not touch the precepts of Islam
selons certains	according to some people	+++	
ne doivent pas toucher les prescriptions del l'Islam	must not touch the precepts of Islam		

6.4 Selection of relevant linguistic categories

Once I decided on a final approach to the analysis of my data, it was further necessary to eliminate certain linguistic categories, since the evidence adduced was non-conclusive and added little to my overall claims. As discussed in Chapter 5, I

use three broad categories of analysis in this study: stance, voice and face. Alongside personal reference, in the first category, I had initially also included an analysis of spatial and temporal deixis, since deictic shifts in space and time were prominent in all corpus texts. The analysis of these two linguistic phenomena were subsequently eliminated from this study due to problems concerning both the assessment of these shifts and their relevance to the overall emerging trends of self-regulatory moves in our data. The difficulties that arose in the analysis of these phenomena are discussed in the following two sections.

6.4.1 Spatial stance

This section deals with problems related to the analysis of spatial deixis. I divided the categories of spatial stance into physical (§6.4.1.1) and textual (§6.4.1.2) space. The latter category reflects what is normally defined as discourse deictics, i.e. textual referents that indicate points in textual space.

6.4.1.1 *Physical space*

My assessment of physical spatial stance initially distinguished between positional and dimensional shifts found in the data. For example, in Sample 6.48 below, ST "come back home" implies a centre of focus coinciding with the speaker. However, the meaning potential of "tornare a casa" may extend either to cases referring to the speaker as center of focus ('positional', the speaker refers to his or her coming home) or to cases referring to third parties ('dimensional', other persons' going home). Since a determiner is usually added in the Italian language to specify center of focus (e.g. 'tornare a casa *mia*' [return to my home]; 'tornare a casa *sua*' [return to his/her home]), the lack of one in TT of Sample 6.48 creates an indeterminate center of focus.

Sample 6.48 I_7 2

ST	TT	Literal translation
and @ that we can @ come back home	in modo tale da poter tornare a casa	so as to be able to return home

Sample 6.49 I_2 45

ST	TT	Literal translation
I wanted to explain the interface that's very important	voglio spiegarvi l'interfaccia qui	I want to explain to you the interface here

this is part of the work that I do my personally	fa parte del lavoro @ che io faccio	It is part of the work @ that I do
@ here's the work on the right hand side	questo è il lavoro che si fa a sinistr a destra	this is the work that is done to the lef to the right

Cases of this kind were problematic to assess, since it could be argued that the meaning potential in Italian, in practice, does not allow for the specification of these kinds of spatial indicators.

In terms of physical spatial stance I also initially argued that in simultaneous interpreting conditions do not hold that would normally hold between two or more parties communicating face-to-face, even if a mutual physical context frames the event. Regarding spatial reference, when a speaker refers to an entity it is not always the case that the interpreter shares the same visual field of perception as the speaker, since the simultaneous mode of operation may constrain an interpreter's visual field. Even in the event the interpreter shares the visual field of perception, referents are perceived from different angles of vision. Indeed most of the time (such as in the projection of slides or transparencies) referents are rotated one hundred and eighty degrees for each viewer, in relation to what the other is looking at, as illustrated in Sample 6.49.

The ST speaker points to a transparency indicating "on the right side". The interpreter, who sees the referent on her left, says "to the left", then self-corrects and says "to the right", thus assuming as orientation the ST speaker as origo and unwittingly misregulating, since TT listeners are also positioned facing the speaker and indeed see what is indicated as positioned to their left. Though interesting cases of shifts in physical space were found across all corpus texts, I decided to eliminate the category from my overall analysis since findings proved to be non-conclusive in terms of illuminating us on self-regulatory moves aimed at the preservation of face.

6.4.1.2 *Textual space*

Shifts involving anaphoric referents were widely distributed across the corpus. In one corpus text, for example, the ST speaker makes use of reiteration as a cohesive device. When speaking of European institutions, he carries over the rheme of the last element of one textual sequence and places it in the theme position of the element in the subsequent textual sequence. This strategy is followed throughout the ST. The interpreter initially employs the same cohesive device but then (Sample 6.50) uses distal and proximal adverbial anaphora to indicate the same referents (in bold).

The interpreter employs a distal anaphoric referent ("there", "there too") in the beginning of sequence 26. Further on in the text after the two sequences included

in Sample 6.50, he again chooses to use a distal anaphoric referent in sequence 36 ("that"), but then opts for a proximal anaphoric referent in sequence 43 ("this"). Immediately thereafter, in text sequence 44, the interpreter once again opts for a proximal anaphoric referent ("this").

Sample 6.50 I_{10} 25–26

ST	Literal translation	TT	Literal translation
– et faisant @ attention – également – à l'application de ce principe **au niveau européen**	– and being @ careful – equally – to the application of this principle **at the European level**	– bisogna anche stare attenti all'applicazione di questi di questo principio **a livello europeo**	– it is necessary to be careful to the application of these of this principle **at a European level**
– **au niveau européen/** – nous avons eu aussi cette propension à penser que nous sommes tous des européens et que – par conséquent – nous avons à être d'accord @ sur l'essentiel – à trouver des compromis – des compromis qui sont d'ailleurs souvent extrême-ment @ sophistiqués et complexes – et cela nous amène aux problèmes de la complexité de la législation/	– **at the European level/** – we have had also this propensity to think that we are all Europeans and that – consequently we have to be in agreement @ on the essential – to find some compromises à trouver des compromis – some compromises that are anyway often extremely @ sophisticated and complex – and that takes us to the problems of the complexity of the legislation/	– **lì** – anche **lì** – c'è stata questa propensione a pensare che siamo tutti europei/ – quindi – dobbiamo essere d'accordo sull'essenziale/ – bisogna trovare dei compromessi/ – compromessi che poi spesso sono sofisticatis sofisticatissimi e complessi – il che ci porta al problema della complessità della legislazione#	– **there** – **there** too – there was this propensity to think that we are all Europeans/ – therefore – we must be in agreement on the essential/ – it is necessary to find compromises/ – compromises that then often are sophisti very sophisticated and complex – which takes us to the problem of the complexity of the legislation#

In Sample 6.50 the ST speaker relates to referents in a dimensional system of reference, which directly relates one object to another independently of any speaker (see Brown 1995: 109–111). These moves on the part of the interpreter were assessed as bringing the attentional focus of spatial stance to coincide with him as origo. I thus initially attempted to argue that the use of spatial stance in this man-

ner typically involves reclaiming 'control' of the text, distinguishing the interpreter's autonomy in relation to the ST, and as such is an example of self-regulation.

However, here too, I decided to eliminate this category from my analysis because of the problematic assessment of textual referents such as 'it' in English. The numerous shifts found in this category – although interesting as a phenomenon in itself – did not enhance our argument of self-regulatory moves made to save face in terms of our characterization of participation framework and FTAs (see Figure 7.1). Similar problems were encountered with the analysis of temporal stance, which are discussed in the following section.

6.4.2 Temporal stance

Since time is commonly taken to be one-dimensional and unidirectional, the relationship between what remains the same at different times and the time dimension itself is frequently perceived as movement. In the movement metaphor there seem to be two different temporal points of view: one where time is regarded as stable and the surrounding 'world' as being in motion; one where this world is taken as stable and time is thought of as being in motion (Fillmore 1997: 45). Due to this metaphor, temporal phenomena are often referred to as having a positional nature with characteristics of more or less priority.

Another characteristic of temporal phenomena is reference to their duration. Sample 6.51 illustrates reference in the ST to a durative process ("but increasingly... we've been trying to look at"), whereas the TT speaker describes a completive process ("in the last five years we have tried to consider"). These processes need to be considered within each individual text as a systemic whole in order to determine whether these verb forms coherently relate to a speaker's overall discourse plan. In the case of simultaneous interpreting, where choices are constrained both by working conditions and target language form and function, it is presumed that textural clues play a prominent role in guiding these choices (Hatim and Mason 1997: 61–77).

Sample 6.51 I_2 29

ST	TT	Literal translation
but increasingly for the last five years we've been trying to look at technological solutions to improve links between the children @ and their their teachers	negli ultimi cinque anni abbiamo cercato di considerare soluzioni tecnologiche per migliorare i legami fra i bambini e gli insegnanti	in the last five years we have tried to consider technological solutions to improve the links between the students and the teachers

In the Italian language additional meaning needs to be specified in order to communicate the ST durative process. In other words, had the TT speaker in Sample 6.51 said 'abbiamo cercato, e tuttora cerchiamo, di considerare soluzioni tecnologiche' [we have tried, and are still trying, to consider technological solutions], the process would have indeed been a durative one. The TT perspective, a completive process, makes it possible, however, for the interpreter to apply a self-regulatory move and hedge her bets for what may lie ahead in the ST. Commitment to a durative process straight away would have made it difficult to self-correct at a later time, in the event the ST speaker were to say 'we've been trying to look at technological solutions to improve the links between the students and the teachers but have now decided to opt for a different solution'. Despite the rationale behind interpreters' moves in cases like this, it could still be argued that choices made in the TT are motivated more by language conventions than self-regulatory moves as such.

Nonetheless, in order to distinguish what constituted a temporal shift in interpretation I also sought cases in our corpus where subjects opted for solutions that did not represent shifts. The shift in verb form illustrated in Sample 6.51 is a non-obligatory one since, just at the very beginning of this corpus text (Sample 6.52), the same interpreter indeed opted for a verbal expression that indicates a durative process.

Although the majority of temporal shifts displayed a [+distance] stance, this category was eliminated from my assessment of this study's main findings (discussed in §8.3) primarily due to the difficulty in distinguishing between the use of verbal tenses that are unmarked and those that are marked.

Sample 6.52 I_2 1

ST	TT	Literal translation
@ can I start by saying @	posso iniziare col dire	I can start with the saying

6.5 Concluding remarks

I began this chapter by characterizing the interpreter-mediated event as face-threatening. In Figure 6.1 I illustrated the various communicating parties in the external and extra-situational contexts that constrain the internal context, thus influencing interactional linguistic politeness.

Corpus texts were analyzed in terms of how interpreters self-regulate during the negotiation of source texts. I examined the overarching trends prevalent in our data: distance altering alignments and directness/indirectness. For this I have looked at personal reference (§6.1), patterns of transitivity and the attribution of agency (§6.2), mood and modality (§6.3.1) and the interpreter's behavior in relation to threats to face (§6.3.2). I also discussed non-conclusive findings relating to our initial selection of relevant linguistic phenomena that were subsequently eliminated from my assessment in this study (§6.4).

Table 6.4 lists the quantitative findings of translational shifts in the categories of personal reference (stance), transitivity and agency (voice), mood and modality (mod). These categories show a majority of [+distance] (stance) and [–direct] (voice and mod) moves in our data. Although the overall number of shifts are illustrative of this trend, it is interesting to note that subjects I_8 and I_9 behave differently: both make a majority of [-distance] moves in the category of stance; I_8 also makes a majority of [+direct] moves in the category of voice.

Table 6.4 Quantitative findings of translational shifts

	stance		**voice**		**mod**	
subj.	**+ dis**	**– dis**	**+ dir**	**– dir**	**+ dir**	**– dir**
I_1	2	1	2	2	1	2
I_2	68	10	6	20	19	17
I_3	8	4	2	2	5	6
I_4	2	–	2	2	4	5
I_5	5	1	2	1	4	3
I_6	4	–	–	6	1	5
I_7	9	2	1	4	2	8
I_8	17	41	19	6	9	47
I_9	1	5	3	4	1	5
I_{10}	3	4	6	4	5	13
total	119	67	43	51	51	111
comb	total	186	total	94	total	162
%	64%	36%	46%	54%	31%	69%
trend	+ dis	– dis	+ dir	– dir	+ dir	– dir

Table 6.5 Interactional linguistic face-work

total moves	**omissions**	**additions**	**weakeners**	**strengtheners**
164	38-/29+	28-/25+	28-	16+
breakdown % -/+	57%-/43%+	53%-/47%+		
overall %	41%	32%	17%	10%

I have stressed through out my analysis that the phenomena examined above all impinge upon the nature of a speaker's face-work. Table 6.5 lists findings relative to interactional linguistic face-work. There are a total of 164 moves made, of which 41% concern omissions, 32% additions, 17% weakeners and 10% strengtheners. Aside from weakeners and strengtheners that weaken and strengthen illocutionary force respectively, 57% of omissions and 53% of additions mitigate illocutionary force.

These findings confirm the trend of distancing and indirectness found in Table 6.4. As mentioned, when put into the context of other trends, the quantitative significance of data relating to interactional linguistic face-work take on major importance, considering the cumulative effect of my findings. A detailed description of how these phenomena (Tables 6.4 and 6.5) were counted is offered in §5.3 (Reliability and validity). The significance of findings, in terms of self-regulation, is discussed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion

The fundamental characters in the world of pre-crime, the pre-cogs, are surrounded by a sort of mythology. They thrive in a liquid environment, immersed in a milky conductor that favors the process of predicting criminal intent. I think it is possible to advance the notion that interpreters, too, operate in an environment that is conducive to the enhancement of specific myths: fidelity, transferral (Diriker 1999: 84), to name a few. Indeed we might even liken this environment – the discipline's meta-discourse, publications, professional associations, and so on – to the pre-cog's liquid conductor. However, as findings show and I shall further discuss here – there emerge an array of roles interpreters fill, depending on the unfolding (internal) context. Further, it seems interpreters themselves highly influence the nature of that context.

This chapter discusses the analytical profile (§7.1) that emerges in this study's findings. I first assess the role dimensions (§7.1.1) interpreters distinguish through their self-regulatory behavior (§7.1.1.1. §7.1.1.2) and in which they operate (§7.1.1.3). In these sections I draw on constructs introduced in Chapter 4 such as the network of relations in a systemic unity, structural openness and autonomy. The participation framework in these dimensions (§7.1.1.4) is discussed and I propose a model illustrating a spectrum of self-regulatory behavior (Fig. 7.2). Through interpreters' moves we examine how they position themselves in relation to an event mediated by simultaneous interpreting (§7.1.2). The language of interpreting is also discussed in order to analyze what it tells us of the particular face-work that is characteristic of this mode of interpreting (§7.1.3). An explanatory hypothesis is put forth (§7.2) based on my theoretical perspective advanced in Chapter 4. Finally, I examine my subjects' operational awareness (§7.3) by analyzing their reactions to questions asked during debriefing sessions concerning our findings (§7.3.1, §7.3.2). This is meant to complement my data and gain further insight into trends that have emerged.

7.1 Analytical profile

The most significant finding that emerges from this study is that all subjects – with no exception – use some expedient to distance themselves from, avoid, or mitigate

ST speakers' threats to receivers. Also, considering that the activity of simultaneous interpreting is inherently face-threatening, as discussed in Chapter 6, since temporal constraints potentially undermine performances, interpreters react to what they feel might jeopardize their professional face. Further, I argue that the mitigation of a ST speaker's threat to receivers also has the effect of protecting the ST speaker's face, since it attenuates any FTAs, thus avoiding the speaker appearing face-threatening to text receivers.

The dynamics of this face-work are illustrated in Figure 7.1.

Curved arrows in Figure 7.1 represent communication that is mediated by the interpreter for a TT audience; straight arrows represent communication involving potential threats to the interpreter's face (A to I), consequent threats made to TT receivers (I to D), and FTAs made from ST speakers to ST receivers (A to B). Figure 7.1 also includes a curved, broken arrow (I to D) that signals a mitigated, mediated message, representing interpreters' reactions to perceived threats to ST receivers. In this last case, however, the interpreter's output is aimed solely at TT receivers.

Trends and face-work presented in Chapter 6 illustrate that detachment from FTAs and an interpreter's mitigation of illocutionary force are effected to varying degrees and realized through different means, as seen in §6.3.2.1, §6.3.2.2 and §6.3.2.3.Within the framework of a mediated event interpreters react to two, different perceived threats: one to ST receivers and one to interpreters themselves.

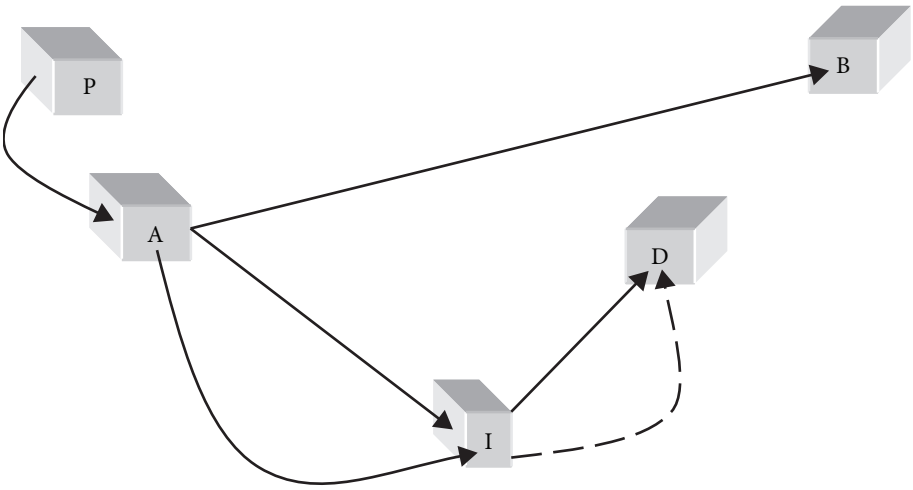

Figure 7.1 Participation framework and FTAs
Key: P - Chairperson; A- ST speaker; I - interpreter; D - primary TT receiver; B - primary ST receiver; curved arrows, mediated communication; straight arrows, potential threats; curved broken arrow, mitigated mediated message.

Face-saving strategies are carried out both when the interpreter moves to preserve his or her own face and when the interpreter seeks to weaken a ST imposition on a receiver's face. In this sense the interpreter arguably acts to preserve both the ST speaker's and the TT receiver's face.

I now discuss findings in detail by addressing both the external context in interpreting (interaction constraining social life or the embodiment of power), and its internal context (where we understand the type of occasion or interaction that participants, through their actions, create). Text segments from our corpus are drawn upon and I examine these contexts to discern the role dimensions in which interpreters enact their self-regulatory behavior (§7.1.1), their positioning vis-à-vis the source text (§7.1.2) and the interactional linguistic phenomena that characterize this position (§7.1.3).

7.1.1 Role dimensions as distinguished by self-regulatory behavior

In the analysis of personal deixis I have found that 64% of all shifts display a trend of de-personalization and [+distance]. These distance-altering alignments distinguish personal reference in the TT from that in the ST. However, in as much as these shifts in footing create internal context (interpreters create context through their actions), they alone tell us little about matters concerning external context, e.g. interaction constraining social life or the embodiment of power. Therefore, in order to distinguish emerging role dimensions in which interpreters enact behavior in events mediated by simultaneous interpreting, I also consider aspects of the external context such as the setting, behavior, genres, implicatures, etc. (Fig. 5.1). My analysis highlights self-referential signals in text segments to outline two, seemingly distinct broad role dimensions in which interpreters' behavior is enacted: a professional dimension (§7.1.1.1) and a personal one (§7.1.1.2). The distinction of these two dimensions is based on my perspective that self-referentiality, underlying the construct of self-regulation, implies perception and cognition as specifying a reality and, as claimed in §4.1, when extended to interpreting, cognition is identified with the process of interpreting. This justifies an analysis of the process as witnessed in the language of interpreting, which is cognitive-linguistic in nature and resides in an essentially social domain. The two dimensions specified, however, are by no means mutually exclusive, first and foremost since the behavior described is situated in a professional environment and this alone would make it questionable as to whether it would be appropriate to describe an interpreter's behavior as being enacted in a 'personal' sphere. Nonetheless, the nature of the communication taking place in this setting at times is such as to defy its classification as belonging exclusively to a professional dimension. I thus argue that more is at stake in these cases, as my text samples illustrate. Added to these two dimensions is a third which

I shall distinguish as an 'inter-dimension'. Interpreters operating in this dimension self-referentially create and point to an internal context that pits the personal against the professional dimension. This is discussed in §7.1.1.3.

By distinguishing three separate dimensions as characteristic of realms in which interpreters act when part of a mediated event, I are substantiating a claim made in Chapter 2, i.e. I draw upon prevailing practices (self-reference in text samples) as accepted modes of behavior confirmed by subjects (see §7.3.2). This self-reference is grounded in similarities and contrasts with other existing forms of interpreting, e.g. in formal vs. informal settings (see §7.3.2) and discourses about interpreting (see §2.2, §2.3). Reflexivity is also witnessed in the manner in which data is selected to illustrate my claims and, as stressed throughout this study, in the decision to apply particular methods to investigate this data (see §5.1, 5.2). I thus argue that self-regulation implies the specification of a reality (see §4.1.1) through processes occurring within both the dimensions described below (§7.1.1.1 and §7.1.1.2). In this sense my descriptions also specify the autonomy of interpreting (as one unity) and interpreters (as another unity): through their actions interpreters create their own laws and we describe the specification of laws concerning interpreting in the following sections.

7.1.1.1 *Professional dimension*

This section describes an interpreter's behavior as pertaining to a professional dimension. This is done by turning once again to Samples 1.3 and 1.4, reproduced in this Chapter as Case 2 (§7.3.1), and to other corpus text segments. In my adaptation of autopoietic theory to Interpreting Studies I am called upon to account for the autonomy and heteronomy of interpreting in order to describe how the laws of autopoietic systems apply to it. I thus discuss phenomena in the professional role dimension by pointing to how the interpreter/interpreting maintains his or her/its organization, i.e. the network of relations that define it as a systemic unity (see §4.1.3).

In Case 2 the organization and structure of the interpreter's text mutually distinguish each other. The structural openness, or permeability, of the text is witnessed in the interpreter's reference to the Chair's utterance ("la presidente tenta invano di interrompere la delegate" [the Chair tries in vain to interrupt the delegate]). In the particular participation framework of an event mediated by simultaneous interpreting a TT receiver is also to be considered a ST receiver to the measure in which he or she is party (both visually and aurally) to the exchange between the Chair and the speaker at the podium. We also note in Case 2 that the Chair urges the speaker at the podium to bring her talk to an end ("*Madame I am sorry Madame I am sorry please … sorry Madame we have another meeting now*"). These remarks are not conveyed by the interpreter to TT receivers in the first person. The Chair's remarks, in English, directed to the speaker who is also speaking English,

Sample 7.1 I_2 13

ST	TT	Literal translation
sorry I I I forget one slide @		
in fact I put two slides in the wrong order	ho messo due due diapositive nello nella ordine sbagliato	I put two two slides in the (masculine) in the (feminine) wrong order
so excuse me one moment	quindi vogliate scusarmi <papers rustling>	so excuse (subj.) me
ah <laugh> it's in Italian of course	+++	+++
oh well	+++	+++

constitute a domain in which the interpreter has no autonomy. In other words, the interpreter in Case 2 relates the occurrence in the target language to TT receivers but does not directly intervene in the Chair-ST speaker domain since it is a domain in which two source language speakers communicate.

Another example from our corpus that typifies the interpreter's behavior in a professional dimension was presented as Sample 6.34 and is reproduced here as Sample 7.1 for convenience.

The ST speaker, a native English speaker, is using an overhead projector and thinks he has placed the wrong overhead on the projector and turns to attend to it, saying, "so excuse me one moment". He then realizes the transparency is in Italian and had not recognized it and says, "ah <laugh> it's in Italian of course". The interpreter communicates the following, "quindi vogliate scusarmi" [so excuse (subj.) me]. The interpreter's use of the subjunctive mode in this case is to be considered marked since it is not required formally and is employed with the effect of creating [+distance]. This contrasts somewhat with the source text containing "<laugh>", which is a positive politeness strategy of claiming common ground (see Table 5.2). Avoiding the inclusion of the text receiver in this manner has the effect of creating further [+distance].

Sample 7.1 illustrates the prevailing behavior of interpreters in my corpus. This self-regulatory strategy is witnessed in all the linguistic phenomena we have examined and emerges as *the* major strategy characterizing professional face-work.

7.1.1.2 *Personal dimension*

In describing an interpreter's behavior as enacted within a personal dimension, I draw on Samples 1.1 and 1.2, reproduced in this Chapter as Case 1 (§7.3.1) and other text segments.

Sample 7.2 I_9 13

ST	TT	Literal translation
– consequently in the first term	– e poi	– and then
– of the Turkish grand national assembly	– dopo le elezioni	– after the elections
– formed after the elections	– avevano un quinto del @ assemblea	– we had a fifth of the @ assembly
– eighteen for women who were elected	– diciotto donne sono state elette::	– eighteen women were elected::
– and entered the parliament	– no mi scuso il dodici percento	– no excuse me the twelve percent
– which accounts for nearly twelve percent	– all'epoca	– at the time

In Case 1 the Chair asks the ST speaker to slow down and an exchange ensues between the two as to the reason for her speeding ("c'est pour gagner des minutes" [it is to save some minutes]). The interpreter informs TT receivers only of the ST speaker's motivation for her speed ("la signora dice che correva per guadagnar qualche minuto" [the woman says she was running to gain some minutes]). She then adds, "però se corre così non si riesce a seguire grazie" [but if she runs like this it is impossible to follow thank you]. Although the interpreter is communicating in one of the domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event (Fig. 5.3), she is not communicating within the domain of interpreting (Fig. 5.2). It is also interesting to note that the interpreter makes these comments in this personal dimension by resorting to an impersonal form ("it is not possible to follow"), again illustrative of the overall trend of de-personalization in the data.

Other instances of an interpreter communicating within a personal dimension are illustrated self-referentially through self-corrections. In Sample 7.2, a female member of the Turkish parliament is talking about the number of women who were elected during a certain period of the country's history. The male interpreter says, "diciotto donne sono state elette:: no mi scuso il dodici per cento" [eighteen women were elected:: no excuse me the twelve per cent].

We understand quite distinctly, given the external context, that the self-correction is effected by the interpreter speaking in a personal dimension.

7.1.1.3 *Inter-dimension*

Aside from text sequences that are self-referentially distinguished as belonging to either a professional or personal dimension, there is yet another dimension that corresponds to how most people would conceive interpreting as being enacted. This third dimension, an **inter-dimension**, involves talk where the interpreter's "I" remains that of, or is considered to be that of, the ST speaker's perspective. Nonetheless this dimension may still be regarded as a grey area in terms of both intended

meaning and the effect the TT utterance has on an audience. In other words for TT utterances that may be classified as belonging to an inter-dimension text receivers are seemingly not required to consider extra-situational or external context (or, at best, they may do so to a limited degree) in order for them to retrieve meaning. Of course this affirmation seems to run counter to my entire theoretical framework, notably the very notion of self-referentiality itself (see §4.1) and my argument concerning the observer (§4.1.2). I draw on two text samples in order to make my point and argue the illusion created by an interpreter's talk within an inter-dimensional role.

In Sample 7.3 the interpreter self-corrects ("oppure di essere di non essere anzi" [or to be not to be rather]) and we as text receivers get the impression this is the interpreter's own self-correction enacted in a personal dimension, similar to the self-correction made by the interpreter in Sample 7.2. The text concerns the role of political institutions vis-à-vis the electorate or the public at large.

In Sample 7.2 the external context (a female MP discussing the number of women elected to parliament over the years in her country) illuminates text receivers and it is quite apparent that the male interpreter self-corrects in a personal dimension; in Sample 7.3, on the other hand, we as observers have no way of attributing the self-correction to either the ST speaker or the interpreter. Sample 7.4 is the ST version of Sample 7.3.

Sample 7.3 I_{10} 34 TT

TT	**Literal translation**
– si muove l'accusa	– an accusation is moved
– giustificata a volte	– justified at times
– a queste autorità	– to these authorities
– di essere completamente @ avulse dalle aspirazioni popolari	– to be completely @ removed from the popular aspirations
– di essere catturate da degli interessi	– to be captured by the interests
– oppure di essere	– or to be
– di non essere	– not to be
– anzi	– rather
– responsabili nei confronti dell'assieme del pubblico	– responsible with respect to the whole of the public

Sample 7.4 I_{10} 34 ST

ST	Literal translation
– @ on accuse	– @ one accuses
– et parfois à juste titre	– and sometimes rightly so
– ces autorités d'être totalement coupés @ des aspirations populaires	– these authorities to be totally cut @ of the popular aspirations
– ou d'être capturés par des intérêts	– or to be captured by interests
– ou d'être	– or to be
– @ de ne pas être	– @ not to be
– responsables	– responsible
– vis-à-vis de l'ensemble du publique	– with respect to the whole of the public

We see in Sample 7.4 that the speaker had, in fact, self-corrected and it is only within the confines of this study that we as observers can point to the interpreter's role as being enacted within a professional dimension. Otherwise at the time when these utterances were pronounced an observer may have harbored the illusion of enactment within a personal dimension. In contrast, in Sample 7.5 we are led to believe that the interpreter's utterance is enacted within a professional dimension.

This is apparent since Sample 7.5 is uttered within 2 seconds of Sample 7.6, the ST version of Sample 7.5. Hence the interpreter has not gone on to expound at any length on his own.

The following section further clarifies these three dimensions and the roles enacted within them.

Sample 7.5 I_{10} 52 TT

TT	Literal translation
– mi scusi	– excuse me
– presidente	– president
– se mi sono dilungato	– if I expounded at length
– ma le @ restituisco la parola	– but I @ give you back the floor

Sample 7.6 I_{10} 52 ST

TT	Literal translation
– excusez-moi	– excuse me
– monsieur le président	– mister president
– j'ai été trop long	– if I was too long
– mais je vous rends @ la parole	– but I give you back @ the floor

7.1.1.4 *Participation framework and role dimensions*

Text samples examined in §7.1.1.1 and §7.1.1.2 are a record of an interpreter specifying a reality through the processes occurring within the two role dimensions described. As stated throughout this study, it is precisely this that distinguishes interpreting as a systemic unity, since it specifies its own laws. Text samples examined in §7.1.1.3 are a record of an inter-dimension within which the interpreter, as unity, does not seem to distinguish him or herself as unity from the ST speaker and consequently interpreting is not distinguished from ST talk. This creates the illusion of one, single unity. Is it thus possible to distinguish roles enacted within a mediated event?

In §1.1 I speculated that along a spectrum of self-regulatory behavior geared toward survival an interpreter would resort to becoming 'principal' and 'author'. In other words, an interpreter would speak for him or herself, even entertain subordinate communication with an audience (e.g. Case 1) for the sole purpose of promoting professional survival.

At the two extremes of our diagram we see points illustrated where an interpreter potentially self-regulates for maximum survival. On the left side of the diagram behavior is generally observed as being enacted within a professional dimension where relaying and 'replaying' (see Goffman 1974: 504–6) seem to characterize this behavior. On the right side of the diagram behavior is generally observed as being enacted within a personal dimension where the interpreter becomes 'author' and 'principal' (see Goffman 1981: 144) of his or her utterances. The middle of our diagram constitutes an inter-dimension within which interpreters create an illusion of operating 'exactly like' the ST speaker.

The following section discusses the interpreter's positioning within the spectrum of self-regulatory behavior.

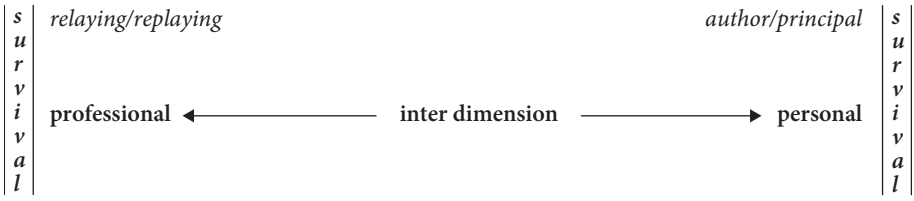

Figure 7.2 Self-regulatory behavior

7.1.2 Positioning

In §6.1 we saw that 64% of all shifts in personal reference display a [+distance] trend. These shifts in footing are indicative of interpreters' positioning vis-à-vis other communicating parties in the conference participation framework. These moves were plotted along a power differential graph (Fig. 6.2). Added to other findings presented in §6.2 and §6.3 (discussed in §7.1.3), it is possible to position the interpreter in an area characterized by [+distance] and [-direct], an overall position of greater power with respect to text receivers.

However, there is one case of personal reference in our data that runs counter to the logic of my power differential graph. Although using the personal referent 'you' includes the addressee, it can be quite face-threatening (i.e. [+direct]) in a conference setting. For example, in Sample 7.7 (already seen as part of Sample 6.6) the ST speaker, an Israeli delegate, interrupts her talk, turns to her Palestinian colleague and directs her statements to her ("... and I don't want to ask you..."). In Chapter 6 we commented on the interpreter's switch from a formal honorific referent, i.e. third person ("chiederle" [to ask her]) to a second person plural referent ("chiedervi" [to ask you (plural)]).

In the case of 'you' as part of an imposition, as in Sample 7.7, the statement constitutes a threat to face. In other words 'you' in this context becomes [+direct]. In my power differential graph this plots as being within the [+direct] and [+distance] quadrant (when also assessing other linguistic variables examined in this study) and hence the ST speaker's positioning may be considered one of greater power, representing a greater threat vis-à-vis addressees. Nonetheless, the interpreter's move, first to a formal address then to a second person plural, clearly

Sample 7.7 I_7 3–6

ST	TT	Literal translation
– and @ because I don't want to be cynical~	– e questo perché io non vorrei essere cinica#	– and this because I would not like to be cynical#
– I heard what the @ @ representative of the @ @ @ Palestinian @ @ @ said/	– ho sentito bene ciò che ha detto la rappresentante … della Palestina/	– I heard well that which has said the representative... from Palestine/
– and I don't want to ask you what's happened @ @ about when we are talking about human rights in the Palestinian Authority#	– e non vorrei chiederle o chiedervi che cosa succede quando si parla a livello di diritti umani~	– and I would not like to ask her or ask you (plural) what happens when one speaks of human rights~

signals her positioning as remaining within the [-direct] and [+distance] quadrant, one where she holds greater power vis-à-vis addressees, and one which poses less of a threat.

Another point to clarify regarding an interpreter's positioning concerns contextualizing devices (Goffman 1981: 188). In §5.1.2 I describe the various positions speakers take during a lecture and how addressees gain access to the speaker through these devices. These devices are self-referential in nature because they point to the talk itself. My corpus texts represent one interpreter's turn at talk, regardless of the number of interventions made within this turn by (ST) parties to the participation framework in a mediated event. I am thus only marginally interested in contextual factors concerning preplay ("a squeeze of talk and a bustle just before the occasioned proceedings start") and post play ("..and just after they have finished") (Goffman 1981: 167). Of relevance in this study is what I define as '**inter-play**', i.e. those interventions made by other parties during the ST speaker's prolonged holding of the floor, that are to be dealt with by the interpreter. This inter-play was seen in the analysis of Cases 1 and 2 in §7.1.1.1 and §7.1.1.2, and the interpreter's positioning was discussed. These two cases are further examined in light of my subjects' responses to debriefing protocols in §7.3.2. In terms of an inter-dimension (§7.1.1.3) it is now clear that the interpreter must move from this dimension either into a personal or professional one in order to deal with this inter-play.

The strategic face-work interpreters enact is, in fact, closely linked to the notion of inter-play; self-regulatory moves are made in relation to potential threats that inter-play represents. This is discussed in §7.1.3.2.

7.1.3 Talk

This section discusses findings that have emerged in the analysis of transitivity patterns (agency) and modality (attitude) in Chapter 6 (§6.2, §6.3.1). I then examine how these findings impinge upon an interpreter's face-work and the self-regulatory strategies used when dealing with threats to face (§7.1.3.2).

7.1.3.1 *Agency and attitude*

In §6.2 I explored the social construction of spoken language in order to assess the degree of directness expressed in texts by examining how agency was manifested in discourse through language. I aimed to analyze how selfhood is negotiated at the macro-social level (external context) and at the micro-level (internal context). After Canagarajah (2003) I considered selfhood in relation to a) historically identified identities, b) institutional roles, and c) ideological subjectivity, which all concern the external context. I did so through an analysis of the internal context where the negotiation of larger social structures takes place. Findings were assessed

along a [-direct] and [+direct] cline in order to assess the interpreter's involvement in unfolding processes, since the degree of varying involvement (in relation to the TT) denotes face protection, and to understand the nature of the interpreter's self-regulatory moves. Of the total number of shifts in agency, 54% show a [-direct] trend, i.e. indirectness and de-personalization. Although seemingly not a high percentage, this trend is indeed a significant one since, along with stance indicators (§7.1.2), they establish a specific perspective. This pattern of transitivity and expression of the interpreter's 'voice' combine with stance indicators and constitute a distinct point of view that varies with regard to the source text. When these findings are evaluated in terms of the three macro-social parameters (external context) mentioned above, we start to distinguish the interpreter's role as self-referentially projected. For example, if we consider the interpreter's historically defined identity (a), we see the interpreter negotiates this identity through varying forms of distancing. Interpreters' institutional roles (b) are also negotiated by distinguishing their role from that of the source text speaker's, hence the [-direct] trend. Finally, when considering interpreters' ideological subjectivity (c), in terms of agency this trend suggests a desire to circumscribe their involvement in events, thus distinguishing themselves as one step removed from the matters at hand.

The interpreter's attitude toward his or her utterance, or how committed an interpreter is to what he or she says, was evinced through the analysis of shifts in mood and modality (§6.3.1). Shifts occurred through various expedients: shifts in mood, forms of embeddedness and the omission or addition of adverbs. Here too findings reveal that 69% of all shifts in mood and modality involve a [-direct] move. We have seen that self-regulation is at the basis of survival and I have argued that professional survival also implies self-regulatory action (§4.3). Interpreters necessarily measure themselves against set standards, monitor their work and enact personal agency (see §4.3.1). This [-direct] trend informs us on the illocutionary force of an utterance that expresses the general intent of a speaker, in this case the interpreter. These moves are thus indicative of the interpreter's response in relation to perceived expectations and set standards, and as such they are self-regulatory in nature. The overriding trend of mitigated ST illocutionary force not only denotes the interpreter's attitude but also reflects his or her face-work, which is discussed in the following section.

7.1.3.2 *Face-work*

As illustrated in Figure 7.1, the particular participation framework in an event mediated by simultaneous interpreting alters how we assess impositions, in terms of FTAs, since interpreters react to threats on a professional (§7.1.1.1) and personal (§7.1.1.2) basis. Also, it must be borne in mind that social distance between speakers and hearers and the relative power of both, along with the ranking of

impositions, all have value to the extent that speakers and hearers mutally acknowledge that these variables have particular value (Brown and Levinson 1987: 74). In operationalizing survival I have put forth a transactional view of self and society in §4.3 (see Bandura 1997). Although interpreters as speakers and TT receivers as listeners may not mutually acknowledge the value of impositions due to the participation framework in a conference, I have stressed that the event is characterized by system and ritual constraints (Fig. 6.1). These constraints reside in both the external context as well as in the extra-situational context. In reference to my transactional view of self and society, interpreters deal with and react to constraints such as the vicarious presence of professional associations (see Figure 6.1), e.g. an A.I.I.C. member on the interpreting team. This suggests what is at stake during professional practice and further explains the nature of self-regulatory moves as the preservation of face.

In my analysis of stance (§6.1) and voice (§6.2) we have seen self-regulatory moves involving potential loss of face on the part of 'others' (TT receivers). For instance, Sample 6.6 (§6.1) illustrated the interpreter using pronouns of identity to deal with a face-threatening act. In that example the ST speaker (Israeli MP) interrupts her talk by saying to her audience "I heard what the @ @ representative of the @ @ @ Palestinian @ @ @ said/". She then shifts footing, turns to address this colleague directly and says "I don't want to ask you what's happened @ @ about when we are talking about human rights in the Palestinian Authority". As customary when addressing an individual in a formal setting in Italian, the interpreter uses a third person pronoun form, which indeed creates a distancing effect with respect to TT receivers. However, since structural constraints (language system) and interpersonal constraints (ritual of situation) are such that the interpreter's behavior in this instance is to be considered unmarked, this particular case is not counted as a shift. The shift occurs, in fact, shortly thereafter when the same interpreter moves to a second person plural form as if she intended her remarks for the audience at large, making for [+distance] in relation to the Palestinian MP addressed. In this case it is possible to speculate that the interpreter's face-work may be directed both toward saving the Palestinian MP's face (in order to avoid a bold, on-record threat) and toward saving her own face (distancing professional self from that of the ST speaker). I suggest the interpreter's move in this instance also has the effect of saving the ST speaker's face in the sense of appearing less threatening.

We have also seen other, subtler, instances of face-saving strategies such as in Sample 6.18 (§6.2). In an address pitched to university students of interpreting, the ST speaker stresses the qualifications required in order to apply for an interpreting test at the European Parliament, i.e. three passive languages including a combination the EP interpreting services need. Making use of a shift in transitivity from the ST "otherwise I cannot summon you for a test", to the TT "otherwise you

cannot come to our test", the interpreter confers students with greater agency. On the one hand this move puts students in a position of having more leverage vis-a-vis a potential employer of their services, enhancing their face. On the other, this move saves the interpreter's face in the sense that he is a professor of interpreting and it would be in his interests for students to be empowered in this way.

7.2 Explanatory hypothesis: A system dynamics perspective

Jeremy Munday (2002) presents a model of systems in translation within the framework of Toury's descriptive approach. His model brings together ideas from systemic functional linguistics and corpus linguistics with an analysis of the cultural context (*op. cit.*: 78). I in fact propose a perspective that is somewhat similar to Munday's with few exceptions. My limited corpus, for one, does not warrant tools used in corpus linguistics. However, Munday's proposed analysis of the cultural context constitutes what I distinguish as the extra-situational and external contexts (see §5.1.1, Figure 5.1). Since Munday is inspired by systemic functional grammar, pioneered by Halliday (1978; 1994), he makes use of three interconnected strands of meaning, or metafunctions (ideational, interpersonal and textual functions) in his systematic analysis of source and target texts. Munday explains that because of the links between lexicogrammatical patterns and metafunctions it should be possible to find any translation shifts on the level of metafunctions through the analysis of transitivity patterns, modality, thematic structure and cohesion (*op. cit.*: 79). I have applied discourse analytical methods (cf. Mason 1999) and couch my methodological tools in a system dynamics perspective (§4.2) based on autopoietic theory (§4.1). My explanatory hypothesis stems from this perspective: given the nature of a system unity (e.g. a ST or TT), organizational patterns remain the same but we should expect (discourse) structures to vary unless we are in the midst of what may be considered normative behavior on the part of text producers (see §4.1.4, §4.3.1, §5.2.1). I in fact use my model of text instantiation (Fig. 4.1) to point to shifts in the discourse structures between the ST and TT. This explanatory hypothesis is further specified in §7.2.1, which discusses the workings of professional behavior in terms of my perspective, and in §7.2.2, which accounts for the overriding trend in the data of de-personalization, distancing and indirectness as normative processes.

7.2.1 Dynamic equilibrium

In this study I have examined those interactional linguistic phenomena that were most prominent in my data. Since, as just mentioned, I speculated that discourse

structures in target texts vary in relation to source texts, I indeed expected a fair amount of translatorial shifts to take place. In §1.1 I hypothesized that the guiding principle behind an interpreter's operational awareness is dynamic equilibrium and that the characteristics of professional behavior are also of a dynamic nature. In §4.3 I advanced the notion that dynamic equilibrium was the guiding principle behind an interpreter's (cognitive) operational awareness, which essentially implies the notion of embodied awareness or immediate coping. Quantitative findings for each individual linguistic category indeed display a dynamic nature (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5) in that percentages – with the exception of the categories of stance and modality (Table 6.4) – are fairly equally distributed between the directness/indirectness and the approximation/distancing extremes. This would account for the dynamic quality of an interpreter's self-regulatory moves enacted within what we would expect to be their professional role, i.e. to voice a ST speaker's intentions. This was already highlighted in Chapter 6 in Samples 6.15 and 6.16 where, within the context of a conference for women parliamentarians, interpreters move to confer enhanced agency to women in the TT. However, the dynamic quality of the behavior indicated, while characteristic of individual linguistic phenomena examined, no longer describes interpreters' behavior when considering the cumulative effects of shifts found in all categories analyzed, in terms of the way these categories impinge upon interpreters' face-work, as illustrated in §6.3 and discussed in §7.2.2.

The quality of dynamic equilibrium reflected in my data as mentioned above can be described in professional practice in terms of proactive and reactive control (Bandura 1991a: 260). Conscious action taken at decisive moments and turning points enables interpreters to avoid difficulties. In turn, this provides a useful focus for avoiding further difficulties by the proactive management of inevitable structural (discoursal) shifts. Difficulties that are externally caused can be avoided and managed by proactive strategic management and responsive interpreting strategies. Internally generated difficulties can be avoided by interpreters' proactively establishing quality standards (see §2.1).

However, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (§7.1), the most significant finding that has emerged is that interpreters consistently distance themselves, avoid or mitigate ST speaker's threats to receivers. This trend would indeed seem to run counter to my claim of dynamic equilibrium as characterizing an interpreter's behavior. The nature of this trend is discussed in the following section.

7.2.2 Normative processes

In Chapter 6 I also questioned what the trend of detachment and indirectness found in Samples 6.16 and 6.17, typical of corpus findings, signify. What are the

intentions underlying these actions and within which role dimension is the interpreter moving?

In Chapter 1 I hypothesized that behavior which does not display a dynamic quality would correspond to what we generally distinguish as normative behavior, in that a strategy "used regularly by competent professionals tends to acquire normative force" (Shlesinger 2000: 7).

In line with my theoretical framework (see §4.1.4), I stress that within structural congruence (structural coupling) when there are interactions between a living being (interpreter) and the environment (mediated event, ST) the perturbations of the environment do not determine what happens to the living being; rather, it is the structure of the living being that determines what change occurs in it (e.g. variation in TT discourse structure). In other words, a disturbing agent (e.g. ST) brings about the changes (perturbations) that result from the interaction between a living being and its environment, but these changes are determined by the structure (as defined in §4.1.3) of the disturbed system (§4.1.4). This fundamental premise makes our findings all the more relevant, since the emerging trend – having the force of normative processes – would seem to suggest that the intention of mitigating ST illocutionary force is indeed widespread and is enacted solely within the professional role dimension, as findings show.

The following section explores data gathered in the debriefing phase of this study. It examines subjects' awareness of their behavior and serves to complement findings from textual data.

7.3 Operational awareness

There have been few retrospective studies in research on simultaneous interpreting. Kalina (1997) refers to a retrospective study in her work, although the relevance of her analysis is not brought to light. Ivanova (2000) presents an exploratory and methodological work concerning the design of a retrospective study. I conceive information elicited in this manner as re-presentations or re-plays from memory of a past experience. The notion of 'replaying' in this sense is also mentioned in a similar vein by Goffman (1974) in his analysis of frames and by Wadensjö (1998: 247, 283) when she problematizes the interpreter's neutrality. Goffman states,

> ... it is such a statement couched from the personal perspective of an actual or potential participant who is located so that some temporal, dramatic development of the reported event proceeds from that starting point. A replaying will therefore, incidentally, be something that listeners can empathetically insert themselves into, vicariously reexperiencing what took place. A replaying, in brief, recounts a personal experience, not merely reports on an event" (Goffman 1974: 504)

Reflection here is indeed considered a new experience and information emerging from retrospective reports not only illuminates us on the process of simultaneous interpreting, but informs us of interpreters' attitudes toward their work.

The data discussed here were gathered during the final phase of the study. This debriefing phase aimed to discuss tentative observations with subjects, to be corroborated and/or refuted. Before submitting the debriefing protocol to subjects, they were shown text segments from their own work and asked questions concerning particular cases. We asked whether certain phenomena analyzed may be considered strategic in nature (e.g. [+distance] and [-direct]). In all cases subjects recognized their moves as such. Their responses to debriefing protocols (§7.3.1) are discussed in Section §7.3.2 and findings are compared to data gathered during the briefing phase (§7.3.2.1).

7.3.1 Debriefing protocols

Subjects were approached and told that Cases 1 and 2 (below) were found in the data. I explained external contextual information concerning each case and had subjects read them, informing them we would pose questions in relation to each case. Transcription conventions were explained where necessary and subjects were told they could listen to the recorded version of the extracted text segments, if necessary, in order for them to address the questions posed. No one asked to hear the recordings.

Case 1 includes two tables with text segments, the first relating to the ST and the second to the TT. These segments have been presented as Samples 1.1 and 1.2 in Chapter 1.

CASE 1

	ST	**Literal translation**
Delegate	plus lentement	more slowly
	OK	OK
	c'est pour gagner des minutes	it is to save some minutes
	ne ne m'enlevez pas mes minutes @ <chuckle>	don't don't take away my minutes @
Chair	*<off microphone> j'en tiens compte*	*I'll take it into account*
Delegate	d'accord	fine

	TT	Literal translation
Interpreter	la signora dice che correva per guadagnar qualche minuto	the woman says she was running to gain some minutes
	però se corre così non si riesce a seguire	but if she runs like this it is impossible to follow
	grazie	thank you

Case 2 also includes two tables with text segments, the first illustrating the ST and the second the TT. These segments have been presented as Samples 1.3 and 1.4 in Chapter 1.

CASE 2

	ST
Delegate	I would like to express briefly my views on the condition of Chechen women which is a gross violation of human rights
Chair	*Madame I am sorry Madame I am sorry please*
Delegate	Russians I think
Chair	*sorry Madame we have another meeting now*
Delegate	the Russians have been
Chair	*we have another meeting*
Delegate	carrying on
Chair	*they are waiting outside*
Delegate	a huge massacre and genocide in Chechnya the victims are women and elderly

	TT	Literal translation
Interpreter	vorrei esprimere brevemente le mie opinioni sulla condizione delle donne cecene	I would like to express briefly my opinions on the conditions of the Chechen women
	vediamo ravvediamo lì una @ brutale violazione dei diritti dell'uomo	we see we notice there a @ brutal violation of the rights of man
	<lowers voice> la presidente tenta invano di interrompere la delegata <raises voice>	<lowers voice> the Chair tries in vain to interrupt the delegate <raises voice>
Chair	*we have another meeting* carrying on *they are waiting outside*	
Interpreter	sono state vittime di un tragico massacro e genocidio in Cecenia	they have been victims of a tragic massacre and genocide in Chechnya
	le vittime sono soprattutto donne e anziani	the victims are above all women and the elderly

After having read both Cases, subjects were asked the following questions:

1. *Have you ever been in this type of situation?*
2. *If, so, how did you behave?*
3. *Have you ever witnessed another interpreter behave in a similar manner?*
4. *Is this type of behavior common under these conditions?*
5. *Have you ever been taught to behave in this manner?*
6. *Is there anything you would like to add concerning the possible reasons motivating this behavior?*

The following section analyzes subjects' answers to these questions.

7.3.2 Protocol analysis

In answer to question no. 1 ("Have you ever been in this type of situation?"), all subjects confirmed that they had found themselves at one time or other in a similar situation.

In terms of the second question ("If, so, how did you behave?") related to the situation illustrated in Case 1, eight subjects said they usually behave in the same manner. Of the two remaining subjects, one said she would have announced that she would turn the microphone off if the ST speaker did not slow down. The other subject told me he opts to suppress agency in cases like these (e.g. "The Speaker is asked to..." rather than "The Chair tells the ST speaker to... "), and would not have turned the microphone off. Regarding Case 2, five subjects said they would have acted in the same manner and five subjects said they would not have turned their microphones off, but would have rather either explained to the audience the difficulty of interpreting overlapping voices, or would have attempted to interpret by varying their intonation to signal a change in voice.

When asked question no. 3 ("Have you ever witnessed another interpreter behave in a similar manner?"), nine subjects answered affirmatively and one negatively, but she clarified that she could understand the motivation behind similar behavior, suggesting that talk delivered at high speed could be the cause for such a response on the part of the interpreter.

In answer to question no. 4 ("Is this type of behavior common under these conditions?"), all subjects answered yes, both in relation to Case 1 and Case 2.

Question no. 5 ("Have you ever been taught to behave in this manner?") aimed to explore where particular practices originate. All subjects responded that they have picked up this behavior from colleagues who behaved this way.

The last question ("Is there anything you would like to add concerning the possible reasons motivating this behavior?") aimed to see whether subjects had formulated a rationale regarding the behavior witnessed or experienced in

situations similar to those advanced in Cases 1 and 2. Six subjects responded by saying that in both cases it was a way of signaling detachment from either the situation (overlapping voices, high speed of delivery) or to signal distance from a potentially offensive text.

Therefore, to questions 1 (requesting subject's personal experience in similar situations), and 4 (requesting the regularity of such behavior) all subjects answered affirmatively. To question 5 (requesting whether this behavior was formally taught or professionally acquired) all subjects answered that the behavior was acquired from watching senior colleagues on the job. As to question 3, which essentially served to confirm or refute whether this type of behavior was witnessed in other professionals, 9 subjects answered affirmatively and 1 replied that she understood the motivation behind such behavior. These replies establish the behavior witnessed in both Cases as common practice and, more importantly, practice that is acquired from within the professional environment, as opposed to a formal educational setting. This stresses the normative nature of these phenomena.

The protocol question that sought to further explore the nature of subjects' behavior in similar situations (questions 2) brought to light differences concerning whether subjects would have turned their microphones off. Within the context of an interpreter-mediated event in the simultaneous mode, use of the microphone in this way may be likened to gatekeeping. It is thus interesting to note that 5 subjects would have also shut their microphones and 5 would not have. Despite our limited corpus, these replies may suggest that use of the microphone, as a form of gatekeeping, denotes behavior that has not as yet acquired normative force. It is also interesting to note that one subject specifically referred to the suppression of agency when relaying the events witnessed in both Cases to TT listeners.

In answer to question 6, which sought specific information concerning the reasons behind subjects' similar behavior, indeed 6 subjects expressed they were motivated by seeking detachment from the immediate situation or distance from a potentially offensive text. One of these subjects offered a detailed description of her reasoning process. She stressed that she uses intonation to signal detachment from assuming responsibility for her utterance, stating that perhaps this practice may be interpreted as a form of mitigation of the ST. She was also adamant about when to weaken ST illocutionary force and when to strengthen it: the ST is mitigated when a speaker is angry, in order to lessen potential threats to face; the ST is strengthened when it deals with "noble" causes such as, for example, in the case of emotional appeals for charity. This subject also added that this type of behavior was inherent to the interpreter's role.

This data is compared in the following section to data concerning interpreters' manner of operating gathered during the briefing phase.

7.3.2.1 *Briefing vs. debriefing data*

Since personal agency is enmeshed in a social network, it is conditioned by the influence a social environment has on self-regulatory dynamics through a rapport of reciprocal determinism. This also implies that a sense of agency may be socially governed and normative in nature. Whereas this may be the case in interpreting, concerning prescriptive notions outlined in metatexts (texts about interpreting) that may have normative value, there is yet little evidence evinced from authentic data as to the normative value of overriding trends of the type found in our data.

In §3.2.1 I summarized subjects' responses to questions posed during a briefing session concerning strategies they are aware they apply in the internal context of interpreting. All responded by mentioning strategic behavior described in the literature. However, two subjects (AIIC members) also mentioned the strategic use of paralinguistic phenomena (temporal strategies and intonation) to signal 'distance' from the ST.

The inclusion of a third phase in this study aimed to further explore subjects' perception of personal agency. I specifically sought to understand professional interpreters' perception of certain phenomena emerging from the data in order to determine whether certain behavior may be considered self-regulatory in nature (i.e. oriented toward professional 'survival') and/or whether it corresponds to widespread interpreting norms. Concerning their individual performances, during the debriefing phase all subjects recognized their moves as self-regulatory in nature. In other words they agreed that the phenomena prevalent in their data is to be considered strategic in nature (e.g. [+distance] and [-direct]), even though only 6 subjects specifically mentioned that the behavior witnessed in Cases 1 and 2 was a way of signaling detachment from the situation or to signal distance from a potentially offensive text.

7.3.2.2 *Operational awareness and professional association*

As was mentioned in §3.1, my findings suggest that those subjects belonging to a professional association display an enhanced sense of personal agency. Despite the limited nature of my corpus, I advance the notion that this may be evidence of regulatory dynamics directed at group goals, achieved in organizational structures through socially mediated effort. For example, subjects in this study that are members of AIIC stressed the importance of dealing with the external context. Particular strategic behavior in this sense includes contacting the ST speaker prior to their intervention ('pre-play'), in order to coordinate efforts for a successful interpretation of the ST. They specifically aimed to sensitize speakers to the importance of their collaboration in this sense, thus shouldering the responsibility for a more or less successful performance. AIIC members also mentioned the strategic

importance of favoring interaction in simultaneous booths with colleagues in order to promote team effort.

These comments were made during a briefing phase. It must be stressed that they concern the external context. Also, in terms of internal context, findings reveal no discernible differences among subjects concerning their operational awareness nor concerning their performances. Nonetheless I again stress that what exerts more influence on human behavior is a person's *perception* of personal agency and social environments (Bandura 1991b: 269).

The follow chapter concludes this work by reviewing the aims, objectives and methods of the study. It reiterates the main findings that have emerged and discusses the relevance and limitations of this study, offering indications for further research.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

The objective in this study was to investigate the effects of self-regulation on the behavior of simultaneous interpreters via a study of participation framework and interactional politeness (contextual shifts, changes in alignment and shifts in footing) and to establish some explanatory and predictive principles. The interpreter-mediated event was characterized as inherently face-threatening and evidence of self-regulatory behavior during text negotiation in simultaneous interpreting was specifically sought. The effects of self-regulation on interpreters' output when they move to ensure professional survival in the context of threats to face was examined.

This volume was introduced by briefly presenting the world of pre-crime in the film *Minority Report,* which was then contrasted with the working environment of conference interpreting. The former is based on the infallibility of the system, whereas research into the latter was suggested to benefit from possible doubt concerning widely held notions in Interpreting Studies.

A corpus of ten source texts and ten target texts is examined. All subjects participating in this study are interpreters with a minimum of eleven and a maximum of thirty years of professional experience. The research design consists of four phases: the collection of existing data, briefing sessions with subjects, corpus analysis, debriefing with subjects. Data was collected prior to carrying out a briefing with subjects and before analyzing texts in order to avoid any potential bias linked to the awareness that interpreting performances would successively have been analyzed. This data was available in two separate audio files. The corpus was then digitalized and three separate files were created for each subject participating in this study: one-track ST file, one-track TT file, and two-track synchronized ST-TT file.

Briefings held aimed to gather information in relation to subjects' training and the nature of their professional activity. It also served to explore their perception of how they strategically deal with interpreting tasks. In the phase of corpus analysis, those linguistic phenomena that emerged across all texts were chosen, that could inform on matters of participation framework and interactional linguistic politeness: personal reference, transitivity, mood and modality, face-work (omissions, additions, weakeners, strengtheners). Debriefing sessions were then held to explore subjects' perceptions of overriding trends found in our data. The study's main findings are discussed in §8.3. The following section examines problems of implementation encountered throughout the study.

8.1 Problems of implementation

A pilot study (Monacelli 2000) was carried out prior to formulating our research design for the current study. The constructive epistemology adopted in the study suggested the use of tools that would elicit data on the basis of subjects' personal perspective concerning their perception of strategic moves. Differently from the current study, however, the pilot study relied on experimental conditions. The methodology in that study consisted of three phases, the first of which was a briefing with two professional interpreters. A professional working environment was subsequently simulated using authentic recorded audiotapes (*op. cit.*: 201–2) and performances were analyzed before concluding the pilot study with a debriefing session. Since experimental conditions were used, the prime objective in the pilot study was to examine the feasibility and relevance of gathering quality data during the first and final phases of the study. Problems related to implementation during these phases of the pilot study and subsequent changes made are discussed in the following section.

8.1.1 Briefing and debriefing phases

Drawing inspiration from George Kelly's (1991) Personal Construct Psychology (PCP), use of the repertory grid and was tested (Monacelli: 2000: 199–210) as a tool for gathering qualitative data in the briefing phase. This grid is a two-way classification of data in which subjects establish constructs against which they rate (what they describe as) strategic moves, on a 1–5 scale. This serves to create points on a two-dimensional graph that makes it possible to visually grasp both the nature of constructs established and the specific workings of personal strategies in relation to these. Once the experimental data in that study were analyzed, subjects' corroboration of findings was sought during a final debriefing phase, in light of our analysis. Repertory grids elicited during the briefing for both professional interpreters participating in our pilot study were modified in the debriefing to mirror subjects' descriptions of what motivated their moves.

There were essentially two problems that emerged in the pilot concerning the use of the repertory grid. Kelly (1991) designed the grid to give access to a person's underlying construction system by asking respondents to compare and contrast relevant examples, in this case interpreting strategies. Thus, since the repertory grid aimed to elicit personal constructs, it led to an initial problem concerning taxonomy. The tool yielded a variety of labels used by subjects to describe their personal strategies. This problem was resolved by using a pre-theorizing phase in which taxonomical concerns were addressed and strategic moves subjects

described during briefing sessions were classified in accordance with definitions found in the literature (see §3.2.1).

A prominent feature of software programs that elicit and analyze repertory grid data is differentiation. Indeed the second problem encountered related to our choice of a 1–5 scale for differentiation. During elicitation respondents were informed about highly correlating strategies and constructs that they brought forth and were prompted to further differentiate these by using the set scale for this purpose. However the scale range was too limited to favor enhanced differentiation in this sense. In the current study a 1–9 scale was used.

Since trends that emerged in the data were so widespread (see §8.2), semi-structured interviews were used in order to be able to further explore subjects' perceptions in relation to these trends. After having analyzed the corpus the repertory grid was eliminated in debriefing sessions primarily because a revised grid could only bring forth information concerning individual constructs and perceptions, whereas findings suggested trends with normative force.

8.1.2 Problems related to textual analysis

An analysis of corpus texts' structure and organization was carried out in accordance with the model of text instantiation formulated in this study (Fig. 4.1). An attempt was made to follow Michael Hoey's work on patterns of lexis (1991) for this purpose. Hoey's (1991) lexical repetition model was tested in a study (Monacelli 2004) that explored the role of lexical cohesion (text organization) in fostering textual coherence (text structure). The ultimate goal in that study was to assess the feasibility of using Hoey's model to detect emerging organizational patterns and discourse structures in oral texts. Hoey's work, however, strictly deals with written texts, based on the analysis of complex lexical patterns running across sentences to form nets that indicate central and marginal sentences.

The study involved a small corpus of ten texts that were processed using only those categories of Hoey's model that could easily be analyzed using a concordancer. The resulting summaries created after the elimination of marginal sentences pointed to the text's structure in a remarkable way. Findings were extended to the analysis of parallel texts, i.e. two professional translations of one corpus text were analyzed using the same procedure. Here, too, the process made it possible to detect the changing discourse structures in the two translated versions.

The study's findings were so encouraging that an attempt was made to adapt the process for the analysis of this study's corpus texts. In lieu of using the sentence as a parameter to segment corpus texts, each text was divided into sequences (see §3.2.2.2).

Although this method indeed brought to light organizational patterns, discourse structures were left unidentified for the most part. In other words, there

were no discernible discourse structures that emerged in the same clear manner. Reasons for this may lie in the nature of oral texts. Sequences included elements that indicated false starts, patterns of hesitation or other phenomena that made sharp, crisp boundaries difficult to define.

Aside from problems relating to the nature of oral texts, the realization emerged that attempts to adapt Hoey's model indeed ran counter to the constructive epistemology of this current study. Hoey's model reflects a top-down approach. The return to a bottom-up approach in the analysis of texts in the current study implied analyzing corpus texts using those linguistic phenomena most prevalent in all corpus texts. In other words, instead of imposing a method of textual analysis onto corpus texts, those phenomena that ran across the entire corpus were successively highlighted.

8.2 Main findings of the study

Overarching trends prevalent in the data in terms of distance altering alignments and directness/indirectness were examined. Analysis of personal reference (§6.1), patterns of transitivity and the attribution of agency (§6.2), mood and modality (§6.3.1) and the interpreter's behavior in relation to threats to face (§6.3.2) brings to light a majority of [+distance] (stance) and [-direct] (voice and mood/modality) moves in the data. A quantitative assessment of findings (Tables 6.4 and 6.5) is primarily concerned with the number of occurrences of non-obligatory translational shifts and the nature of these shifts. Both the categories assessed along a directness/indirectness cline – agency and mood/modality – yielded a majority of shifts characterized by indirectness, 54% and 69% respectively. The category assessed in terms of distance-altering alignment – personal reference – yielded a majority of [+distance] shifts, namely 64%.

The qualitative analysis of corpus texts looked both at the nature of individual linguistic shifts and their impact on interactional linguistic politeness. Main findings reveal that the nature of self-regulatory behavior in the corpus is one of distancing, de-personalization and the mitigation of illocutionary force. This involves subjects in a position of detachment with respect to both the source text and their own text. The importance of these findings concerns the uniformity of this trend, which manifests itself in all interpreted versions of corpus texts.

Of equal importance is the qualitative data gathered during the debriefing phase of this study. All subjects corroborated findings and described their moves made during text negotiation as aiming to create [+distance] and [-direct] for the purpose of distinguishing themselves with respect to the ST.

It was stressed throughout the analysis that the phenomena examined impinge upon the nature of a speaker's face-work. And, in relation to interactional linguistic politeness, we noted that the majority of both additions and omissions, characterized as face-work, and the inclusion of weakeners in the TT, had the effect of mitigating illocutionary force. These findings confirm the trend of distancing and indirectness mentioned for other categories of analysis. The quantitative significance of data relating to interactional linguistic face-work takes on major importance, considering the cumulative effect of findings.

The results of these investigations have made it possible to meet the study's initial aims in nearly all respects. An attempt was made to draw upon evidence of interpreters' self-regulatory behavior found in the data (see §7.1, Analytical profile) in order to advance explanatory and predictive principles (§7.2). The contrast found between the fundamental characteristic of an interpreter's behavior, dynamic equilibrium, and the overarching trends emerging in the data that display normative force need to be examined further (see §8.6).

8.3 Relevance of present study

The relevance of studying SR in simultaneous interpreting lies in the basis of our theoretical perspective. In Chapter 2 it was claimed that the notion of self-referentiality underlying the construct of SR postulates perception and cognition as not representing an external reality, but as specifying a reality through the nervous system's process of circular organization (autopoiesis). Extending this to interpreting, we identified cognition with the very process of interpreting This validates the analysis of the process as witnessed in the 'language' (and meta-language) of interpreting, a cognitive-linguistic phenomenon residing in the social domain. Further, since human beings are distinguished from other systems because their organization envisages that their only product is themselves, with no separation between producer and product (Maturana and Varela 1998: 49), the 'being' of an interpreter and the 'doing' of interpreting are inseparable. The analysis of authentic situated data highlights this study's relevance, making it possible to examine both the domain of interpreting and the domains of communication in an interpreter-mediated event.

An experiential reality was examined in this study. Quality data elicited during debriefing sessions corroborated findings concerning textual data (§8.3). Subjects thus attested to the self-regulatory nature of their moves as viable choices. Concepts, beliefs and other abstract structures that subjects find to be viable gain greater validity when successful predictions can be made by imputing this knowledge to others (von Glasersfeld 1995: 128). In other words, the knowledge that an interpreter-mediated

event may be face-threatening and – above all – that professional interpreters react to threats in a specific way (see §8.3), itself constitutes viable knowledge for scholars, teachers, practicing interpreters and students. Indeed establishing explanatory and predictive principles was one of the study's aims (see §8.1).

Findings represent information that results from the structural coupling of interpreters and their environments (extra-situational and external contexts). Following the model of context put forth, data reflect the tangible elements of an internal context constructed by communicating partners. Issues outlined in the introduction of this study were addressed. For example, it was shown that simultaneous interpreting, as a discourse activity, shows signs of particular alignment-altering phenomena. Evidence was also adduced of face-saving strategies distinguished by self-regulatory behavior. Different roles interpreters assume in specific domains, both theoretically and practically, were specified (see §7.1.) and, of particular significance, different role dimensions within which they operate were described. The degree of subject's operational awareness was also explored in debriefings. The relevance of these reports lies in the degree of corroboration they lend to findings.

A further point of major relevance is that the study contributes to the self-regulation of the discipline of Interpreting Studies. This implies the establishment of the discipline's autonomy. Indeed "either we generate a linguistic domain (a social domain) through what we say and do, wherein our identity as scientists is conserved, or we disappear as scientists" (Maturana and Varela 1998: 234).

8.4 Limitations of the study

This section discusses the study's most significant limitations: corpus size, language pairs, the difference in text types examined and their variety in length.

Although the trend of distancing, de-personalization and the mitigation of illocutionary force manifests itself in all interpreted versions of corpus texts, the study's greatest limitation is the size of the corpus. This is due both to the amount of readily available conference material (complete source and target texts) and to the number of subjects willing to participate. On the one hand this limitation reflects the status of the discipline: a quantitative assessment of the number of professional interpreters in the world would result in a limited number if compared to other professions, due to the relevantly recent establishment of simultaneous interpreting as a profession (see Gaiba 1998). On the other hand, this limitation is compounded by the fact that subjects view the request itself to participate in a study (i.e. agreeing to have their performances recorded and analyzed) as face-threatening.

The second limitation concerning the language pairs analyzed in the data is due in part to the language combinations of participants in this study, and in part to the choice of the analyst who could guarantee in-depth analyses of texts in the three languages of our corpus (English, Italian, French) in any directionality.

In terms of limitations concerning the variation of text types and lengths, Table 3.2 describes the event and discourse context for each corpus text. It includes the conference title, venue, date, conference participants and ST length. Seven texts are taken from the same conference and three from three, different conferences. The seven texts from the EFWP conference ranged from 5 min. 42 sec. to 13 min. 10 sec. in length. Although all seven texts were subject to similar ritual constraints concerning the amount of time delegates could possibly hold the floor, this time range is nonetheless significant. As is the difference in time of the remaining three corpus texts: 23 min. 22.5 sec., 35 min. 23 sec. and 15 min. 31.5 sec. Despite the variety of text types that we have characterized along a narrative/non-narrative cline, the uniformity of these texts lies in the fact that they include typical bracketing devices in a conference setting, such as opening remarks, a main body and closing remarks. However, it may be argued that the variation in text lengths may be cause for greater stress for subjects, and that certain phenomena may tend to appear as a longer text develops. This may be valid in some respects and indeed stress may be implicated in self-regulatory behavior geared toward the preservation of face. Nonetheless there are other factors that come into play in this sense, since the event itself is characterized as face-threatening. And it is indeed significant that the two extreme cases with which we have introduced this volume, the same two that were presented to subjects during debriefing sessions, are part of two corpus texts that are approximately 6 and 8 minutes long. But regardless of length, all texts were embedded in a wider context, which saw these interpreters more or less active throughout the conference day. Hence there exists an objective difference among subjects in terms of working conditions. Limitations concerning text type and length result as being marginal, however, since there was a uniformity of trends found across all texts.

Taking into account this study's relevance and its limitations, the following section outlines indications for further research.

8.5 Indications for further research

The theoretical stance adopted here makes it necessary to acknowledge that there is no privileged perspective from which to make descriptions of the type this study has made. Indeed this is the reason behind accounting for findings with an explanatory hypothesis (§7.2) rather than a theory. Accepting the limitations of this

perspective, the introduction to this work expressed interest in instilling doubt in relation to the object of study, as a measure of this study's success, in the hope that doubt could prompt researchers to start asking more questions and to motivate their search. This study's findings and the experience of conducting the research suggest several areas to develop for further research. One relates to the description of an inter-dimensional role (§7.1.1.3) of the interpreter. Another concerns the notion of dynamic equilibrium in the explanatory hypothesis (§7.2). The last relates to the identity between cognition and action (§4.2) and consequent implications concerning ethics.

A distinction of an inter-dimensional role raises issues concerning interpreting quality. For example, what is the effect on an audience when the interpreter self-corrects while working in an inter-dimension? Consider the difference in the following two cases. Will an audience assess the interpreter's performance as being of good quality, when he or she is able to catch online errors and self-correct while working in a personal dimension, as occurs in Sample 7.2? Further, how would an audience react to a self-correction of the type illustrated in Sample 7.3, effected in an inter-dimension, where the interpreter self-corrects as the ST speaker does? ln §2.2 we reviewed Garzone's (2002) proposal to use norms as a principle to explain an interpreter's behavior. She defines norms as governing interpreters' choices in relation to the different contexts in which they operate, with the ultimate aim of meeting quality standards (*op.cit.*: 110). In Chapter 2 this notion of an interpreter's behavior geared toward norm-based quality was challenged, and it was acknowledged that neither quality nor norms are absolute, but rather dependent on the context (see Kalina 2002). The distinction in this study of three role dimensions (personal, professional and inter-dimensional) also challenges the notion of equivalence and/or fidelity between ST and TT. At the same time, however, it raises issues concerning norm-based behavior and quality standards. In terms of normative behavior, the extension of findings (distancing, de-personalization, mitigation, etc.) across all corpus texts suggests trends having the impact of normative force. Further, because of the nature of these trends, it is difficult to elevate them to the level of activity geared toward the improvement of quality. These issues merit additional consideration in order for scholars to further distinguish Interpreting Studies and enhance its autonomy as a discipline.

The explanatory hypothesis (§7.2) describes an interpreter's behavior as aiming for dynamic equilibrium (§7.2.1) since the system dynamics perspective envisages that TT discourse structures are expected to vary, making for a number of translational shifts. In an interpreter-mediated event the systemic (structural) and interpersonal (ritual) constraints are such that professionals cope with them dynamically. This implies that their behavior (translatorial shifts) aims to strive for quality standards. As mentioned in §4.3, there is a goal-directed quality to human

behavior. Humans aim to maximize the achievement of these goals and are born with limitations that cause them to stray from achieving them. This entails interpreters having standards against which to measure themselves. Maintaining quality standards involves consistency and stasis, but innovation and growth necessarily involves change and disequilibrium. This highlights the inherent conflict between the equilibrium required to achieve standards of quality and the disequilibrium of continuous improvement, innovation and growth. The difficulty in managing the two, especially at critical points for the interpreter, suggests the need for the conscious development of a composite alternative, an operational awareness of dynamic equilibrium. The dynamic equilibrium model for managing interpreting is grounded in the experiential reality of professionals and is, at this stage, a research proposition. It has the inherent limitations of any qualitative research methodology in generating only a description of plausible relationships among concepts (Strauss and Corbin 1998) but with the advantage of the experiential development of theory within practice (Leonard and McAdam 2001, 2002).

In Chapter 5 we mentioned that in Minority Report's world of pre-crime the invasion of one's privacy is the price to pay for a safe environment, and questioned whether a similar trade-off exists in interpreting. It becomes clear from our description of the conflict between the equilibrium required to achieve standards of quality and the disequilibrium of continuous improvement, innovation and growth that a threshold exists, a moment when interpreters act in their own interests, no longer accepting the possible trade-off of quality standards achieved through equilibrium, but indeed opt for a dynamic environment, one where they act in their own interests.

In order to enhance an operational awareness of dynamic equilibrium the interpreter needs to be conscious of the system dynamics enabling interpreting excellence. A meta-level analysis is required to achieve dynamic equilibrium. Having described the phenomenon, further work could be undertaken to develop a valid research tool to provide data for an analysis of the interrelationships between the components of the interpreting system, making an examination of correlations with other indicators of sustainable interpreting excellence possible.

This volume concludes with a final suggestion for further research. When a "Minority Report" emerges in a system that essentially filters out dissenting opinions in Spielberg's film, the sense of certainty upheld for the program's success begins to falter in the world of pre-crime. Doubt seeps into the system, undermining its effectiveness. The obvious theme in the film is whether individuals are dominated by fate or whether they have free will.

Pre-crime cop, John Anderton sees a pre-vision that suggests he would kill a man, a person he had never met, a situation he finds absurd. Yet, as the movie progresses, his decision to escape justice, his belief in his own innocence and his

search for the Minority Report generates that very incident, highlighting the impact of self-referentiality and autonomy, as described in this study (§4.1). Anderton averts his 'fate' by refusing to kill the man, hence extolling the primacy of cognition.

This primacy of cognition, the process with which humans deal with structural coupling, was highlighted in §4.2 in the discussion of a system dynamics perspective to text instantiation. Following Maturana's (1978) identification of cognition with the process of life itself, this was extended to interpreting and the identification of cognition with the very process of interpreting. Human activity within a social domain entails ethical considerations to be made. The study of self-regulation, which in essence describes interpreters' behavior as aiming – first and foremost – at professional survival, challenges the ethical notion of the common 'good' (Chesterman 2001: 146). This calls for the promotion of studies that focus on the issue of ethics and seek to define a new professional ethic since "to disregard the identity between cognition and action, not to see that knowing is doing, and not to see that every human act takes place in languaging and, as such (as a social act), has ethical implications because it entails humanness, is not to see human beings as living entities" (Maturana and Varela 1998: 248). Greater emphasis in future on ethical considerations, in light of this study's findings, would not only call into question an interpreter's autonomy, but would indeed also further distinguish Interpreting Studies as a discipline.

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APPENDIX

Glossary of terms

autonomy: The conceptual counterpart of control. A system is autonomous if it can specify its own laws. Autonomy is reached when there is a network of interactions of components where the interactions recursively regenerate the network of interactions that produced them. These interactions realize the network as a unity in space where the components exist by constituting and specifying, i.e. by distinguishing, the unity's boundaries from its background. In the cases of simultaneous interpreting, autonomy is achieved through the distinction of a target text from the source text, i.e. through a distinction of the interpreter as speaker from the source text speaker.

autopoiesis: Autopoiesis literally means self-production (from the Greek: 'auto' for self- and 'poiesis' for creation or production). The term was originally introduced by Chilean biologists Francisco Varela and Humberto Maturana in the early 1970s. It specifically refers to the dynamics of non-equilibrium structures, i.e. organized states (also known as dissipative structures) that remain stable for long periods of time despite matter and energy continually flow through them. A conventional definition of autopoiesis describes it as a closed network of interactions in a circular process; a biological conceptualization of living beings, a primordial characteristic underlying their survival. Autopoietic theory qualifies human beings through the notion of autonomy and accounts for all forms of human activity as cognitive-based activity.

constraints: Both ritual and system constraints are described. *Ritual constraints* are conventions such as turn-taking, temporal constraints in terms of how long each speaker is to hold the floor; *System constraints* are language conventions and are posed when different language systems are used.

context: The notions of extra-situational, external, internal context are distinguished. *Extra-situational context* is background knowledge, local phenomena that are systematic features of larger processes; discursive rules and conditions giving people unequal power and control; *External context* concerns aspects of interaction understood as constraints on social life or the embodiment of power concerns; *Internal context* is created through the actions of communicating parties.

distinction: The specification of an autonomous system. Observers distinguish unities by specifying them from a background. Autopoietic systems are self-referential in that – through their organization – they distinguish themselves from their environment.

dynamic equilibrium: This is the result of two reversible processes occurring at the same time, such as those occurring in chemical reactions. In interpreting, self-corrections (e.g. backtracking) and compensatory strategies (e.g. translatorial shifts) can be considered reversible processes. Viewed through a systems dynamics perspective, these forms of dynamic equilibrium in interpreting are fundamental characteristics of the process, as they concur in striving for a steady state in relation to the production of a target text. The concept of equilibrium is a very important one to scientists in all fields. Static equilibrium refers to a condition in which the parts of a system have stopped moving, and is rare in nature. Dynamic equilibrium refers to a condition in which the parts of a system are in continuous motion, but they move in opposing directions at equal rates so that the system as a whole does not change. When interpreters, as systems, are perturbed (e.g. source text constraining their choices), in either a professional or a personal role dimension, the resulting target text displays the characteristics of dynamic equilibrium.

extratext: A text that is part of the general meta-discourse on interpreting but does not relate to specific corpora. Extratexts in this study are all texts that discuss norms and normative practice in Interpreting Studies.

metatext: A published text that relates in one way or another to Interpreting Studies, which informs readers on the discipline.

operational closure: A closed network of interactions operating in a circular process whereby if one dimension in the network changes, the whole network undergoes correlative changes. Operational closure in human beings is such that their only product is themselves, i.e. with no separation between producer and product.

organization: The relations that define something a unity and determine the dynamics of interactions and changes it may undergo as a unity. The relations between components, whether static or dynamic, that make a composite unity a unity of a particular kind, are its organization. Or, in other words, the relations between components that must remain invariant in a composite unity in order for it not to change its class identity and become something else, constitute its organization (Maturana 1975). All systems have an organization. What distinguishes human beings is that their organization envisages that their only product is themselves, with no separation between producer and product. Thus the 'being' of an interpreter and the 'doing' of interpreting are inseparable (Maturana and Varela 1998: 49).

paratext: A text that informs on the particular collocation of Interpreting Studies as a discipline, with respect to the field of Translation Studies.

perturbations: That which occurs as a result of interaction between a living being and an environment. Any occurrence taking place within the (extra-situational, external or internal) context of interpreting may constitute a perturbation.

play: Goffman (1981) distinguishes *preplay* as talk or any interaction that takes place before proceedings begin (*op.cit.*: 167); *post play* as talk or any interaction that takes place after proceedings end (*ibid.*). We distinguish *inter-play* as interventions made by other parties during the ST speaker's prolonged holding of the floor.

rapport management: A term used by Spencer-Oatey (2000: 11–46) in interactional politeness that refers to the relation between the group and self (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 11–46).

replaying: The recounting of a personal experience (see Goffman 1974: 504–6).

representation: A picture of something else.

re-presentation: A replay or re-construction from memory of a past experience; a mental act that brings a past experience to an individual's consciousness; the recollection of the figurative material that constituted the experience (see van Glaserfeld 1995: 89–112).

role dimensions: I distinguish personal, professional, inter-dimensional role dimensions in this study. *Personal role dimension* is a self-referentially distinguished dimension within which an interpreter operates, that is characterized as personal in terms of the interactions taking place within the dimension; *Professional role dimension* is a self-referentially distinguished dimension within which an interpreter operates, that is characterized as professional in terms of the interactions taking place within the dimension; *Inter-dimensional role* is a role enacted within a dimension that is neither professional nor personal, which gives the illlusion of constituting the same internal context as the source text speaker.

self-referentiality: A distinction of the self with respect to external reference.

structural coupling: A history of recurrent interactions leading to the structural congruence between two or more systems.

structural determinism: A phenomenon whereby the behaviour of a system is constrained by its constitution (structure). Since the structure of a system unity continually changes, at the moment of perception there are no other possible constructions to be brought forth other than the construction actually made. In other words the system can only do what it does at any given time. Since all change is

structure-determined then it is possible to approach the organization of the system through the components and relations of the system.

structural openness: The thermodynamics of open systems as combining the stability of structure with the fluidity of change. In the 1970s Ilya Prigogine used the term 'dissipative structures' to describe this new thermodynamics of open systems as combining the stability of structure with the fluidity of change (see Capra 1997: 180).

structure: The existence and interplay of components in a given space where a systemic unity's organization is realised. The actual components and the actual relations between them that at any instance realize a particular composite unity as a concrete state or dynamic entity in the space, which its components define, constitute its structure (Maturana 1975).

system unity: A network of processes of production of components that produces components that: (1) through their interactions and transformations continuously regenerate and realise the network of processes (relations) that produce them; and (2) constitute it as a concrete unity in space in which they exist by specifying the topological domain of its realization as such a network (Varela 1979, Maturana 1975). Such systems actually distinguish themselves (set themselves apart) from their environment through this organizational self-specification and self-production and thus an autopoietic system (unity) is a self-referential system. A system unity will attempt to conserve invariance (its unity), since it exists only as long as its organization remains invariant.

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