

EDITOR:
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Latest Trends in
HUNGARIAN
TRANSLATION
Studies



Latest Trends in Hungarian Translation Studies

Ildikó Horváth (ed.)

LATEST TRENDS IN HUNGARIAN
TRANSLATION STUDIES

Court interpreting, conference interpreting,
terminology, audiovisual translation and revision

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FOREWORD

Latest Trends in Hungarian Translation Studies is the result of a unique endeavour since it presents the research findings of seven PhD students of ELTE University's Department of Translation and Interpreting, together with those of two trainers and the CEO of the Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation. Furthermore, this volume is published to coincide with and in celebration of the 20th anniversary of our annual translation studies conference. This annual conference has traditionally been a high profile event for Hungarian interpreters, translators and their community. The 2018 event is a special occasion since ELTE's Department of Translation and Interpreting is celebrating the 45th anniversary of its foundation.

Translation Studies is a young discipline, but Hungarian Translation Studies is even younger, since it only dates back to the autumn semester of the 2003–2004 academic year, when the first and only PhD Programme in Translation Studies was founded by Professor Kinga Klaudy at ELTE University. Although it is a relatively new programme, it has proved extremely popular with young researchers, which is well reflected in the following figures: to date altogether 38 students have earned their PhD (the first in 2009), 19 have completed their studies and are working on the dissertation and 18 are currently following their first or second year PhD studies. It is interesting to note that while the first PhD dissertations focused mainly on the written form of language mediation – translation, revision, terminology – today, interpreting is becoming a very frequent subject of PhD research within the framework of the programme, as nine students are carrying out empirical research in this field.

Latest Trends in Hungarian Translation Studies reflects this emerging phenomenon: the majority of its articles deal with different modes and aspects of interpreting. Four papers focus on conference interpreting: Éva Pataky analysed prestige and status while Kristóf András Móricz examined the use of ICTs by conference interpreters in Hungary. Borbála Rohonyi carried out research on simultaneous interpreting with text, Henrietta Szegh on anticipation in simultaneous interpreting. As for court interpreting, Márta Farkasné Puklus explored judges' expectations towards court interpreters and Gabriella Németh the issue of judicial ethics in court interpreting. Judit Sereg's article focuses on Hungarian audiovisual translation in terms of its impact on language use. Edina Robin provides us with a translation revision typology. The last two papers of this volume analyse the pedagogical challenges involved in translator training: Dóra Mária Tamás focuses on the teaching of legal terminology, while Dorka Balogh and Márta Lesznyák on project work. The underlying characteristic of these papers lies in the fact that these aspects are being investigated for the very first time in the Hungarian context.

Ildikó Horváth

THE PRESTIGE OF INTERPRETERS IN HUNGARY

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Abstract: The aim of the present paper is to explore the occupational prestige of interpreters working in Hungary. After a brief overview of the concept of occupational prestige and how the occupational prestige of the translational professions is evaluated, I present the findings of four focus group discussions conducted with interpreters working in Hungary, on issues connected to the occupational prestige of interpreters in Hungary, with the participation of 14 professionals.

Keywords: occupational prestige, conference interpreters, interpreters, focus group discussions, status

1. THE STANDING OF TRANSLATIONAL PROFESSIONS AND SOCIAL RESEARCH IN THE FIELD OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

The general standing of the translational professions in society is referred to in literature by a variety of terms, e.g. *status*, *prestige*, *position*, etc. It is often lamented that the occupational prestige of the translational profession (including translators and interpreters) is low, despite the important role translators have as cultural mediators (Sela-Sheffy 2008: 2, Katan 2011: 65). For example, Simeoni (1998) talks about the translator's "subservience" (Simeoni 1998: 7) and Prunč (2007) mentions the contrast between the "marginal status of translators and their central role in the construction of meaning in transcultural exchange" (ibid: 40). Furthermore, it has been shown that although the status of conference interpreters might be higher compared to that of translators (Dam and Zethsen 2013: 241–242), it is still not as high as one might expect from the early descriptions of a very difficult and "lofty" profession (Herbert 1952: 3).

There have been a number of inquiries into the occupational status and prestige of interpreters and translators alike (Dam and Zethsen 2008, 2013, Gentile 2013, among others). The concept of *occupational status* or *occupational prestige* is rarely defined in Translation Studies literature, very often authors blur the boundary between the two concepts and it is not entirely clear what these terms mean (Dam and Zethsen 2008: 74, Dam and Zethsen 2013: 234).

The same seems to be true in Sociology. There have been quite a number of occupational prestige surveys (Reiss 1961, Nakao and Treas 1990, the Harris Polls 2014 in: Griswold 2014, just to name but a few), however, none of them attempt to define occupational prestige: occupational prestige or status in these surveys is determined based on the hierarchy of occupations given to the survey participants, who were asked to rank them according to their "social standing" (Nakao and Treas 1990: 1) or how "prestigious" they are (the Harris Polls) or their "general standing" (Reiss 1961: 19).

In Hungary, the latest prestige survey was conducted in November 2016, when the Central Statistical Office of Hungary (KSH) made a new occupational prestige survey (previous surveys were conducted in 1983 and 1988), in the framework of which 10 percent of the

Hungarian population were asked to rank altogether 173 occupational titles based on their “standing, prestige” (Csányi and Giczi 2016: 83) and also one of the following criteria: *money, power, education, usefulness*, how *fashionable* the given occupation is. The results are not yet published. Unfortunately, neither translator nor interpreter are in the list.

In this article, I shall describe a series of focus group discussions I held involving interpreters, in the spring of 2017, and the results. With this empirical study, it was my aim to explore the (*occupational*) *status/prestige* of conference interpreters working in Hungary. In four focus group discussions, I asked interpreters about the prestige of their profession. My aim was to map the various factors they consider to be important regarding the prestige of their occupation and to find out that if in the next Hungarian occupational prestige survey the translational professions were to be included in the list of occupations, what the name of the occupation to be included should be.

2. THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THE BEST TOOL TO BE USED

In order to find out about the occupational prestige of conference interpreters in Hungary, I have decided to organise focus group discussions with representatives of the profession and ask them how they perceived their occupational prestige in society. Finch and Lewis (2003: 170) discuss focus group discussions in detail, and I chose this tool due to the nature of the information I wanted to gain. I wanted to map those concepts and factors which conference interpreters themselves consider important in connection with their prestige and find out how they felt about the perceived low prestige of the profession. I wanted to know how they would define the concept of prestige, and what factors they consider to be important in connection with determining the level of occupational prestige. It was also an additional goal of the interviews to find out that were in the next prestige survey the translational professions to appear on the list, exactly what kind of occupational titles it would be sensible to include (translator, interpreter, conference interpreter, liaison interpreter, court interpreter, healthcare interpreter, etc.). In Hungary, the translational professions are not clearly separated, being rarely the case that conference interpreters only deal with conference interpreting, many undertaking liaison jobs and translations, too. Therefore, I also wanted to establish where it would be useful to draw the lines; what are those different occupational titles which should be mentioned separately from each other. Also, I was interested in some aspects of professionalisation as pointed out by Katan (2011) and Pym et al. (2012), e.g. educational attainment and membership of a professional association, which might also be connected to the prestige factors determined by the Central Statistical Office of Hungary (2016). Finally, I wanted to know, if they can enlist some other professions with which they think their occupation is on the same level, concerning occupational prestige, and what these professions would be.

Due to the nature of the information I wanted to collect, focus group discussions were useful for a number of reasons. As Ritchie (2003: 40) puts it, “[t]he qualitative work can not only identify the appropriate dimensions to include but also generate the ‘real life’ language in which they should be framed”. In my case this was especially true, as I aimed at shedding light on which occupational name should be used if one intended to include conference interpreters in the list of occupations used by the Central Statistical Office of Hungary in the occupational

prestige survey. “Focus groups [...] involve several – usually somewhere between four and ten – respondents brought together to discuss the research topic as a group” (2003: 37). The focus group shows “how people think and talk about a topic” and as “participants [...] hear from others”, there is an “opportunity for reflection and refinement” (Ritchie 2003: 37).

3. THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The focus group discussions were organised in Budapest, at the Department of Translation and Interpreting at ELTE University, Budapest. Altogether there were four group discussions, on the following dates, from 6 p.m. until 7:30 p.m.: 27.03.2017, 03.04.2017, 13.04.2017, 18.04.2017 (the length of the discussions varied between ca. 40–100 minutes), the interviewed interpreters participated in the following distribution:

- Discussion1 (on 27/03/2017): Interpreter1, Interpreter2, Interpreter3, Interpreter4
- Discussion2 (on 03/04/2017): Interpreter5, Interpreter6, Interpreter7, Interpreter8
- Discussion3 (on 13/04/2017): Interpreter9, Interpreter10, Interpreter11, Interpreter12
- Discussion4 (on 18/04/2017): Interpreter13, Interpreter14

Hereinafter *Discussion1* is referred to as D1, etc. and *Interpreter1* is referred to as I1, etc. During the organisation process and the focus group discussions I had a colleague who helped me: Dorottya Mokos. The discussions were recorded and transcribed, without the names, only using the code of participants.

The first step in the organisation process was to design and select the appropriate sample. I organised the interviews based on ideas taken from Ritchie and Lewis’s *Qualitative Research Practice* (Ritchie and Lewis 2003), and when selecting the sample, I used the ideas of Ritchie et al. (Ritchie et al. 2003: 77–108), which constitutes Chapter 4 of Ritchie and Lewis’s *Qualitative Research Practice* (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). For the focus group discussions, I selected a non-probability purposive sample (Ritchie et al. 2003: 78), as by conducting a qualitative research my primary goal was not to have a representative sample, but to make sure that my respondents are and consider themselves to be conference interpreters and work regularly as conference interpreters. Additionally, as I aimed at mapping all possible opinions and concepts which the representatives of the profession considered to be important, I wanted to have a fairly diverse sample (ibid: 83), as I wanted to identify the “full range of factors” (Ritchie et al. 2003: 83) which might play a role concerning conference interpreters’ occupational prestige. Non-probability samples suit qualitative research the best. “The sample is not intended to be statistically representative” and “the characteristics of the population are used as the basis for selection” (Ritchie et al. 2003: 78). For me, it was important to include practitioners with different characteristics in the sample, so as to see if there are any differences of opinion based on age, number of years of work experience or membership of professional organisations.

Then I identified the parent population: conference interpreters working in the Hungarian market. After that I had to select a sample frame. As Ritchie et al. put it, a sample frame “is the information source from which the sample is selected. This may be an existing information source (such as administrative records, published lists or a survey sample) or one which is generated specifically for the study” (Ritchie et al. 2003: 108). I used an already existing

source to create a sample frame (Ritchie et al. 2003: 89), which was the list of colleagues' e-mail addresses in my e-mail account. This is "convenience sampling", where "the researcher chooses the sample according to ease of access" (Ritchie et al. 2003: 81). However, the reason for using my list of e-mail addresses was not only the fact that these colleagues were easily accessible to me: I wanted to be sure that people in the sample are really working as conference interpreters and there is no uncertainty whether these units can be included in the sample. The best way to ensure this was to choose sample units whom I both knew and knew for sure that they were making a living as conference interpreters.

The following chart summarises the demographic and other data of those participating in the interviews. The number of interpreting days in a month and the gender of the participant are indicated after the code of the individual, in brackets (F for female and M for male), e.g. I19 (F, 6–10) is a female interpreter who has about 6–10 interpreting days a month. Also, the percentage amount interpreting takes up of their working time is indicated in square brackets.

Table 1: Data of the study participants

	work experience in years				
	0–5 years	5–10 years	10–20 years	20–30 years	30+ years
degree, member, primary	I13 (F, 11–15) [interpreting: 60%]		I8 (F, 6–10) [interpreting: changing ratios, around 40%]	I2 (F, 6–10) [interpreting: 55%]; I4 (M, 6–10/11–15) [interpreting: 50 %], I7 (F, 15+) [interpreting: no percentage provided by this participant]	I1 (F, 6–10) [interpreting: 65%]
degree, member, not primary		I3 (F, 1–2) [interpreting: 20%]			
degree, not member, primary	I9 (M, 3–5) [interpreting: 40 %], I10 (M, 6–10) [interpreting: 65 %], I11 (F, 3–5) [interpreting: 20 %]		I14 (F, 6–10) [interpreting: 40%]		
no degree, member, primary					
degree, not member, not primary					
no degree, member, not primary					I5 (F, 3–5) [interpreting: 30%]
no degree, not member, primary				I12 (F, 6–10) [interpreting: 80%]	I6 (M, 3–5) [interpreting: 70%]

	work experience in years				
	0–5 years	5–10 years	10–20 years	20–30 years	30+ years
no degree, not member, not primary					
degree: has a university degree in interpreting	primary: consid- ers interpreting to be her/his pri- mary profession	member: is a member of a profes- sional or- ganisation			

From *Table 1* it can be seen that all age groups are represented, however from age group 40–50 there is only one participant. In the sample, there were 10 females and 4 males. The amount of participants' experience in number of years varies between 0–5 years and 30+ years, so from this point of view the sample is diverse enough. As far as education is concerned, participants in older age groups typically have an MA degree in another subject and additionally a postgraduate degree or a so-called national qualification in conference interpreting, which can be gained at the Department of Translation and Interpreting, ELTE University, Budapest. As for the postgraduate degrees, the duration of these courses varies between a couple of months and a year (depending on the existing length of the course at the time they did it), and as seen from the chart, the descriptions (provided by the participants themselves) are quite diverse. The participants were not asked about the exact duration and the subjects involved in the course.

In the case of younger generations, the nature of their education is somewhat more homogeneous compared to older generations: usually they have a BA in another subject, an MA in translation and interpreting (at ELTE, the MA in Translation and Interpreting was established in 2006) and an additional postgraduate course in conference interpreting (ELTE's European Masters in Conference Interpreting course). As far as the number of interpreting days in a month are concerned, I used this question as a screening question to make sure that only those participants are included in the sample who regularly work as conference interpreters. In the sample, 7 respondents were members of one of the two translators' and interpreters' associations currently operating in Hungary, one of them was a former member, and 6 of them were not members of any of them. Currently there are two associations operating in Hungary: MFTE is the Association of Hungarian Translators and Interpreters, founded in 1989. Szoft is the Association of Freelance Translators and Interpreters, a relatively new association with a youthful profile, founded in 2016.

12 respondents consider conference interpreting to be their primary occupation, whilst one of them consider it not anymore, but earlier it was her primary occupation. None of the participants make a living solely from conference interpreting, which contributes to their working time in various percentages. It is also interesting to mention that in some cases even if the percentage of interpreting in their work is less compared to other types of work performed by the respondent, still they consider interpreting to be their primary job, this being the case e.g. for Interpreter9, Interpreter11 and Interpreter14.

Based on *Table 1* we can see that the sample is quite diverse in terms of age, gender, education, etc., and all of the participants qualify for the sample, as they work as conference

interpreters on a regular basis. The only exception might be Interpreter3, who only has 1–2 interpreting days a month. However, as she works on a regular basis, I consider that she is a very important part of the sample, which should be as diverse as possible.

The discussions were held in a small but very pleasant, sunlit room of ELTE's Department of Translation and Interpreting. The interviewer (me) and the study participants were sitting around a rectangular table which was small enough so that its shape did not disturb us (i.e. everyone was sitting fairly closely to one another). We (my helper and I) served refreshments to the participants to create a relaxed atmosphere.

At the beginning of the discussion I thanked the colleagues for sacrificing their time and attending the discussion. I outlined the goal of the focus group discussion, informed them that I was going to make a voice recording about the discussion, the transcript of which I was going to use anonymously (all these pieces of information had been previously sent to the participants via e-mail, too).

Before starting the discussion, each colleague was asked to anonymously fill in a questionnaire, the data of which serve as the basis of *Table 1*, showing the composition of my sample. Each questionnaire received a code, which was used when transcribing the sound recordings about the group discussion, this way making it possible to identify the age, gender, etc. of people expressing certain views.

My aim was to generate a natural discussion between the colleagues about the prestige of the profession. On the one hand, it was quite an easy task, as most of the participants already knew each other and were happy to share their opinion in public, or even argue with each other. At the same time, it was not easy to guide the conversation for the very same reason, as sometimes they diverged from the topic and started to tell anecdotes to me and the group. Here, I had to be very cautious as to when to interrupt them in order to steer them back to the original topic, as often what at first seemed to be an 'off-topic', later turned out to be a factor playing an important role in the prestige of the profession.

Before the interviews I prepared a topic guide with topics and questions to be discussed (Arthur and Nazroo, 2003: 115), which I used during the discussions. The language of the discussion was Hungarian. I did not strictly follow the wording of my topic guide, and sometimes when I felt it was necessary, I changed the order of the questions if certain topics surfaced earlier than planned in the sketch of the discussion. The topic guide contained the following topics and questions:

- (1) Occupational prestige, what it means, if there is a hierarchy, what it depends on.
- (2) The definition of conference interpreter, in what situations conference interpreters are needed, the difference compared to other types of interpreters.
- (3) Is conference interpreter a separate profession? Or interpreter? Or translator and interpreter? Where should we draw the line? Is the conference interpreter an expert? Why (not)?
- (4) The role of professional organisations today in Hungary. Do they play a role in the prestige of the profession? How about a chamber of translators and interpreters, like that of lawyers or doctors?
- (5) Please, list some professions whose prestige is similar to that of interpreters/conference interpreters.

- (6) I presented the list of occupations from the Central Statistical Office of Hungary. The participants were asked to circle or underline professions which had similar prestige to that of conference interpreters.
 - (a) From the point of view of society in general.
 - (b) From the point of view of conference interpreters: where interpreters should really stand in terms of prestige.
- (7) How the society evaluates the prestige of interpreters: do they underrate or overrate them, or value them as they should?
- (8) Is there a hierarchy within the translational professions? Interpreters, translators, liaison or conference interpreters...
- (9) How important are the following factors in the case of conference interpreters:
 - (a) Can you earn a lot of money with their profession?
 - (b) Is it fashionable?
 - (c) Is it a useful profession?
 - (d) Do you need knowledge or expertise to pursue it?
 - (e) Does it come with influence, power?
- (10) Can we say that the profession of interpreters is in a way secondary to others e.g. if we compare them to the speakers at a conference?
- (11) I read out the two jokes about interpreters. I asked them if they thought it really was the case that a lot of jokes are at the expense of the interpreter.
- (12) Would you recommend to a young person to become an interpreter? Why/why not?

Due to lack of space, in the present paper not all questions are discussed.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this section I shall list the issues discussed during the focus group discussions, and I also summarise the main ideas the participants mentioned about the topics and questions I inquired about.

4.1 THE NAME OF AN OCCUPATION

Without a clear name and definition it is not possible to refer to the occupation itself. Most of the participants said that the occupations ‘translator’ and ‘interpreter’ are separate professions, despite the fact that in the majority of cases interpreters work as translators, too: based on the questionnaires, almost all respondents do translation as a certain percentage of their working time (however, translators do not do interpreting, as my participants pointed out). When I asked them what a *conference interpreter* was, they said that it would not be useful to draw a line between *interpreters* and *conference interpreters*, as in the Hungarian market it is not really the case that conference interpreters only do conferences. I14 says the following: “I think in the Hungarian market the different types of interpreting are not so separated, yet [...] like for example in the USA there are [...] healthcare interpreters”. In *Table 2* I have summarised the opinions of all the participants who contributed to the discussion in with regard to the name and definition of the profession.

Table 2: The participants' opinion regarding which occupational title should be included in the list of occupations (when the opinions are only summarised contentwise, these are not quotations from the participants)

Participant	Opinion on the term 'conference interpreter'	Opinion on where to "draw the line" when talking about separate professions
I1	In everyday language, conference interpreter is the same as simultaneous interpreter; it must involve technology	Earlier "everybody did everything", that is, the language intermediaries did translation as well as interpreting, but now the different activities are starting to separate from each other. But the peak is simultaneous interpreting, if you embark on the profession and build up your career nicely, you will end up in the booth.
I4		Conference interpreter is a separate profession, but the tip of a pyramid. Conference interpreters can work in consecutive mode but consecutive interpreters cannot work in simultaneous mode. Interpreters can translate but translators cannot necessarily interpret. Later he contradicts himself, saying that it cannot be taken for granted that interpreters can translate.
I5	The term 'conference interpreter' does not refer to the mode of interpreting, it means that one is willing to interpret in front of a bigger audience, e.g. in consecutive mode.	Later contradicts herself: if she sees the term 'interpreter', then she asks the question: can this person work in simultaneous mode, too? Interpreting and translation must be referred to separately. Seems to be sitting on the fence.
I6	The term 'conference interpreter' is misleading, as from the point of view of the profession it is impossible to be grasped. The usage of the expression only serves as a source of prestige. It should be 'simultaneous interpreter' if we want to make a distinction, but not 'conference interpreter'.	Interpreting and translation must be referred to separately.
I7	The expression means that interpreting takes place at a conference, and it must involve technology. And, of course, this gives additional prestige, although interpreting in consecutive mode in front of an audience might be more difficult.	
I9	For him conference interpreting is the same as simultaneous interpreting.	We can say that interpreter is a separate profession, further specialisation (be it a topic or an area, e.g. court interpreting or full time conference interpreting for the EU institutions) is very rare.
I10	It is conference interpreting because it takes place at a conference, no matter what the mode is. It might as well be consecutive at a conference.	We must separate interpreter and translator. Interpreter should be a separate profession.

Participant	Opinion on the term ‘conference interpreter’	Opinion on where to “draw the line” when talking about separate professions
I11	The setting is important, that it takes place at a conference.	Interpreter and translator should be separated.
I13	Conference interpreter is an interpreter who interprets at a conference in simultaneous mode. For her it is only simultaneous, and not consecutive or liaison.	Interpreter is a separate profession.
I14	Conference interpreting is mainly characterised by simultaneous interpreting, but conference interpreting might involve consecutive mode, too, if it takes place at a conference.	We can put conference interpreting in the same group with interpreting, although not everyone who does interpreting will do conference interpreting, too. Not a lot of people can afford to do only translation or only interpreting in the Hungarian market. We should separate interpreting and translation but not interpreting and conference interpreting. The Hungarian market is not as segmented as to separate the different types and modes of interpreting, but there are some markets where they are already separated, e.g. in the US (healthcare interpreting or court interpreting). Maybe in the future this change will come about in the Hungarian market, too.

From *Table 2* it is clear that not everyone expressed their views on this question. For example, I18 and I12 arrived late to the conversation, so they missed the questions asking about the definition of ‘conference interpreter’. I12 and I13 did not really express their opinions, they were listening to the conversation and sometimes added comments, but did not clearly support any of the ideas expressed by the others.

As for the expression ‘conference interpreter’, which is a term used in connection with the EMCI (European Masters in Conference Interpreting) and by AIIC, they expressed conflicting views, and it was not clear even for practitioners themselves what ‘conference interpreter’ is. Some said that the expression refers to the fact that the person provides interpreting at conferences, no matter what the mode of interpreting is (simultaneous, consecutive or chuchotage) (I5, I10, I11, I14), but others said that for them the term is synonymous with the expression ‘simultaneous interpreter’ (I1, I9, I13). I7 said that the term means that the interpreter is able to work with technology (i.e. in a booth, with headsets and a microphone), but I6 emphasised that the term is vague, and it is only used to gain more prestige. I14 pointed out that although for her the expression clearly referred to the setting (conference), irrespective of the mode, but conference interpreting involves mainly simultaneous interpreting.

As to where to draw the line, when asked most of the participants were of the opinion that in the Hungarian market ‘interpreter’ should be a separate occupation, separated from ‘translator’, but it should not be further broken down to ‘consecutive interpreter’, ‘conference interpreter’, etc., even if not every interpreter works in all modes or settings (I6, I7, I9, I10, I11, I13, I14). I5 said that ‘interpreter’ must be referred to separately, but says that when she

hears the word ‘interpreter’, she considers whether the person can work in simultaneous mode, too. I4 however thinks that ‘conference interpreters’ (which for him means ‘simultaneous interpreters’), must be separated from ‘interpreter’, as a distinct profession.

All in all, as the term ‘conference interpreter’ is somewhat vague in the eyes of practitioners, and taking into consideration the fact that the Hungarian market is not as segmented as other, bigger markets, the answer to my question would be to use the term ‘interpreter’, if we wanted to include one more entry in the prestige list of the Central Statistical Office of Hungary, and perhaps, additionally it would be useful to include ‘translator’, too.

4.2 THE OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE OF INTERPRETERS IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER JOBS

Next, I asked participants if they could mention any occupations which they thought had the same level of occupational prestige as interpreters. Participants could come up with quite a small number of occupations as an answer: the few comparisons they drew were based not on prestige, but factors such as invisibility (of a pilot), attestation (in connection with a notary public), brain load (of a brain surgeon), creativity (of an oenologist). Although these factors might be connected to the prestige of a profession, prestige is determined by a number of factors, not only one, therefore these factors individually are not enough for determining the prestige of a profession. Therefore, this task did not prove to be a useful way of finding out about interpreters’ occupational prestige.

The next task was to take a look at the Hungarian Central Statistical Office’s list of occupations, which contained 173 job titles. In November 2016, the office asked people to rank the same job titles based on how much prestige they had compared to each other. I asked the study participants to use 2 different colours to mark those job titles which they thought had a similar prestige level compared to that of the interpreter, according to: 1. society in general (blue), 2. interpreters themselves, where interpreters should really stand in the prestige hierarchy of occupations (black). However, this task proved to be problematic, too. In some cases, participants asked for a third colour, saying that we must make a distinction between those who know what interpreting is about and those who do not. This shows that my initial assumption about what determines how the prestige of interpreters is evaluated, proved to be wrong: the difference is not that between the opinions of different groups of society (interpreters and society in general) in relation to the interpreters, but between those who have enough knowledge of interpreters and those who do not. This is a very important aspect study participants enlightened me on, and this was only possible in the framework of the focus group discussion, not in a questionnaire: my aim to map all the aspects and opinions was achieved, and the focus group proved to be useful in reaching this goal.

Table 3 below lists different comments from the study participants concerning the issue of whether one knows what interpreting actually involves, and how this affects the prestige of the profession.

Table 3: Opinions of study participants concerning how the level of prestige of interpreters is influenced by whether the public knows what the job is about or not

Participants	Opinions on the link between the knowledge about a profession and the level of prestige attributed to it
I3	“For me here it is a problem that what I see is that not everyone knows what a conference interpreter is. A miner, a judge or a worker at a creche will be much more known, and people know much better what these jobs involve.”
I5	“It depends on the situation [where people place interpreters in prestige hierarchy].” She was thinking about the different people with different jobs to whom she already worked in her life and said that those who have heard interpreters will respect this profession to the same extent as their own profession.
I7	“If I go and work for a TV studio then I am going to place myself at the same level with the TV presenter because I am sitting next to the TV presenter.”
I8	“I do not care how much society in general recognises my work until those for whom I work will respect my job.”
I12	“My problem [with this task] is that here we have to differentiate between two groups. One group is those who do not have a clue who an interpreter is and they will have difficulty classifying us. And those who know what simultaneous interpreters do, for them our prestige will be very high, at least this is what I think. [For those who don't know what interpreters do], our prestige will not be very high. However, those who know what simultaneous interpreters do, will place us on the same level as brain surgeons and astronauts.”
I13	“There are also clients who ask for interpretation for the first time and will not know what it is about. But from the point they learn to know what it is, they will respect it.”
I14	“It is difficult to answer [the question on where people would place interpreters on the prestige hierarchy], because while the client [asking for an interpreter] knows what we do, the average man on the street will not necessarily know what it is about, maybe they do not even know that interpreters interpret between two languages.”

From *Table 3* it is clear that according to the study participants it is true that often people underrate the prestige of interpreters, but this is mainly due to the fact that they do not know what the job involves, as interpreters' work is not as widely known as the work of a nurse, a doctor, a judge, etc. However, they pointed out that those who do know what it takes to work as an interpreter will respect interpreters and will attribute a relatively high level of prestige to them. Therefore, based on the foregoing, I am not going to list the professions the study participants have circled on the pieces of paper using different colours, as this is irrelevant here.

4.3 FACTORS PLAYING A ROLE IN THE PRESTIGE OF INTERPRETERS

In this section I collect and analyse all the factors the participants have mentioned and are thought to be playing a role in the prestige of jobs in general, and in the prestige of interpreters.

4.3.1 Five factors from the ‘Microcensus 2016’ survey of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH)

As mentioned earlier, in ‘Microcensus 2016’, organised by KSH, in which 10% of the population was interviewed about the prestige of altogether 173 occupational titles, as well as being asked to rank the very same jobs from the point of view of one of the following factors:

- (1) how much one can earn with that job (money)
- (2) how useful that profession is to society (usefulness)
- (3) how much power or influence that job yields (power/influence)

- (4) how much you need to learn for that job (education)
- (5) how attractive or fashionable that job is (fashionable)

During the interviews, I also asked the participants about these factors, in connection with their job, but often they mentioned some of these factors even before I asked them: therefore, from the transcript I collected all the instances where participants mentioned one of the aforementioned 5 factors with regards to the prestige of professions in general or the prestige of interpreters. *Tables 4–8* below show the following data:

- (1) how many times the factor in question was mentioned during the interviews
- (2) who mentioned them and how many times
- (3) what kind of thoughts or opinions the participants have expressed in connection with the factor and
- (4) with what other factors they linked the factor in question (if any).

One mention is when a participant mentions the factor for the first time when the group was talking previously about something else. If another participant repeats it, it does not count as a new mentioning, however if a participant mentions something else in connection with the already mentioned factor, it counts as a new mentioning of the criterion. That is, I did not count the number of times they had uttered the words referring to certain factors (e.g. money), but I counted the number of instances they mentioned a factor for the first time or they mentioned a new thought or idea in connection with it not previously stated. Also, if later on the very same participant who had already mentioned the factor, brings it up regarding something else, then it counts as a new mentioning. Furthermore, in a later part of the interview I specifically asked the participants about each of the five criteria. These mentions by the interviewer are not counted, but the reactions of the participants are, based on the aforementioned rules. The arrows in brackets show which other factors the participants connected the given factor to, therefore these arrows indicate the connections between different factors playing a role in the prestige of interpreters. *Table 4* shows how often **money** was mentioned during the discussions.

Table 4: The issue of money in the prestige of interpreters in Hungary (if the opinions are only summarised contentwise, they are not in quotation marks)

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from 'Micro-census 2016'	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
Money	D1: 12; D2: 17; D3: 14; D4: 5	D1: I3 (4); I1 (4); I4 (4) D2: I5 (5) I6 (4); I7 (5), I8 (3) D3: I9 (4); I10 (6); I11 (2); I12 (2) D4: I13 (2); I14 (3)	D1 – I1: “often in Hungary people evaluate jobs based on how much you earn with it”; I1, I3: “the separation of translation and interpreting or the separation of interpreting and ‘conference interpreting’ often depends on whether you can afford to do only one or the other”; I3: “...people only see how much you get for a day but they do not think about how many days you work in a month”; I1: “this [that they only see how much you get for a day] is because people don’t know this profession” (→ knowing a job); I1: “compared to the average salary interpreters earn well”; I1, I4: in Hungary preparation time, travel costs are not paid, in contrast to abroad

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from 'Micro-census 2016'	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
			<p>D2 – I6: it is sad that often the translation agencies call the interpreters who are cheaper and they don't care about quality (→ quality); it is strange that the service provider has to give a price quote and not the client; "interpreters can earn well, this is why so many students come to the department to study interpreting" (→ education); I5: it is not a high prestige job as long as the first criterion for new clients is the price and not quality (→ quality); it is not right that even if the client has enough finance, still they ask for a price quote from more interpreters and choose the cheapest. Why don't they say: I have this amount of money, do you take the job?; if there are regulations for compulsory education (→ education), why isn't it possible to regulate pricing?; what if the client who respects [financially] your job earns much less than you do?; you can earn a lot but the question is compared to what?; I8: you can refer to organisations, when clients don't understand pricing or other things (→ professional organisations); "I don't care about the prestige society attributes to my job as long as my clients respect my job and I can have a certain standard of living"; I7: in Brussels and in general abroad, our colleagues earn more than here in Hungary; you can earn well if you are an interpreter; the high income has a high price, e.g. stress</p> <p>D3 – I9: money plays a decisive role in prestige; I11: professional organisations could guarantee a minimum price (→ professional organisations); I10: organisations might want to create profit; you can only choose two from good-cheap-fast; I11: "you can earn well if you have work"; I12: "20 years ago you could earn better, now you earn as much as your work is worth, we strike a balance"; I9: you can earn well compared to the average salary; I10: clients are often shocked because of the price but only because they do not know what the job involves (→ knowing a job); I9: the daily fee includes preparation; I9: you have to be an entrepreneur which involves additional tasks</p> <p>D4 – I13: "If people respect a profession, they link it with a certain standard of life and income, which might not be the same as in reality"; organisations could provide a platform to discuss questions like terminology, pricing or ethics; I14: if we wanted to establish a chamber, we might not end up in a favourable situation, concerning e.g. pricing or working conditions; yes, you can earn well with interpreting (→ professional organisations)</p>

The money factor was mentioned during the 4 discussions altogether 47 times. The second column shows who mentioned the topic and how many times. Column 3 displays the different types of views and ideas expressed in connection with the topic of **money**, and also who mentioned these ideas. In brackets after the → sign we can read other criteria which were mentioned in connection with the **money** factor.

It is interesting that in all 4 discussions money was mentioned without asking, towards the beginning of the discussion. In D1 the question of money was first mentioned at 02:16, in D2 at 10:21, in D3 at 04:40, and in D4 at 03:10, that is in all four cases it was mentioned by the participants on their own, and relatively early compared to the other factors. By contrast, the first time **usefulness** was mentioned was 06:40 in D2, in D1, D3 and D4 it was not mentioned at all until the interviewer brought up the topic deliberately. **Education** was mentioned at 02:37 in D2, at 05:26 in D3 and at 03:52 in D4 for the first time, without asking, but in D1 it was not explicitly mentioned until the interviewer asked about it, at a later stage of the discussion (part 9). However, the criteria of **power** and being **fashionable** were not mentioned in connection with prestige without asking. This shows that from the point of view of occupational prestige **money** (as well as **education**) are quite important for practitioners. It is also interesting that the participants have connected money with other criteria which are partly in an overlap with the KSH-criteria: the name of the occupation (where to draw the line, e.g. between interpreter and translator or interpreter and conference interpreter), knowing the job, quality, education, professional organisations.

All in all, the participants were of the opinion that it is possible to earn quite well if someone works as an interpreter, compared to the average Hungarian salary, which plays a role in the prestige of the profession. However, not everyone can afford to only undertake interpreting without translation at all, as it depends on how much interpreting jobs one can get in a month. Therefore, a lot of practitioners are forced to work as translators, too. As here quite a lot of connections were made with other factors, *Figure 1* shows the connections between the money factor and other factors participants made while they were talking about the **money** factor, and also which participant(s) established the connection.

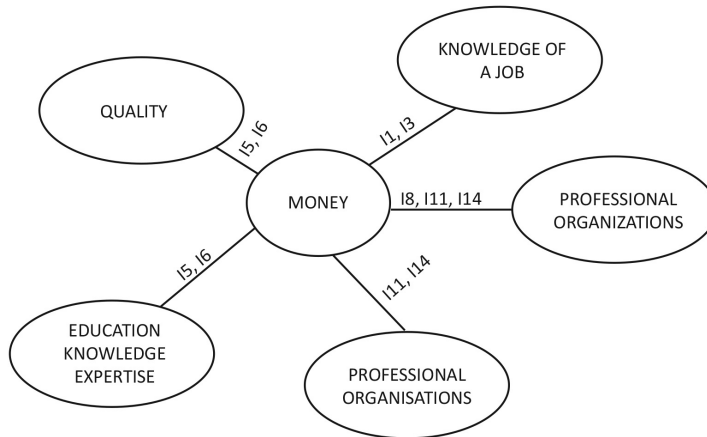


Figure 1: Connections made by the participants between **money** and other factors influencing the occupational prestige of interpreters

In general, the participants considered that the job of interpreters is useful, and that this “goes without saying” (I4). Therefore, here this factor is not discussed in detail.

Table 5 shows views expressed in connection with **power and influence**.

Table 5: The power and influence factor
(if the opinions are only summarised contentwise, they are not in quotation marks)

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from 'Micro-census 2016'	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
Power, influence	D1: 3; D2: 5; D3: 5; D4: 2	D1: I4 (3) D2: I5 (3); I7 (1); I6 (1) D3: 5; I9 (4); I12 (1) D4: 2; I13 (1); I14 (1)	<p>D1 – I4: “I don’t think that this concerns only interpreters, a lot of people have to do a good job to get a conference going, and interpreters are among these people of course; the contents of the negotiations do not concern the interpreter, but it is not degrading for the interpreter, as interpreters are responsible for the smooth communication, not the result of the negotiations; sometimes when the client asks for advice concerning meaning or interpretation, it is among the responsibilities of the interpreter.”</p> <p>D2 – I7: “it is influence when the interpreter does not translate the same as what the speaker says”; I6: “I teach that it is not allowed to interfere, we are service providers and when they ask for our opinion, we should say no.” I5: “...we don’t have any influence and power at all; but sometimes the interpreter can avert diplomatic scandals if they intervene when someone says something they should not have said...”; “But the fact that interpreters choose to stay in the background and not to have any power does not erode the job’s prestige, on the contrary, it increases our prestige.”</p> <p>D3 – I9: “...we do not have power or influence; we have responsibility but it is different from power; or we are insiders sometimes, but it is not power, either ...”; I12: “sometimes we hear stories from history that interpreters later became influential persons.”</p> <p>D4 – I13: “...power has a negative meaning for me, I think that interpreters don’t have power or influence, as we only repeat what has been said and we don’t influence anything with our opinion”; I14: “For me power is even more negative, as it means that the interpreter tries to influence the influential people they are working for.”</p>

As far as the question of power and influence is concerned, participants generally were of the opinion that interpreters do not have power, and this is something positive in their case (e.g. I5), as their task is to be responsible for smooth communication and not changing the message. Pym (2012) mentions that in the case of a translator, power or control is not definitely something that should play a role with translators (Pym 2012: 87), and in this might be true for interpreters, too. However, in connection with communication they may be authorised to influence things in order to avoid communication problems, by changing the language used (e.g. I5, I4). From the answers, it turns out that although concerning other professions the concepts of power or influence may be important, in the case of interpreters these concepts do not play a role. On the contrary, it is positive if the interpreter is able to distance themselves from the contents. What is more, at certain points (e.g. in D1) the participants were not even

able to interpret what the interviewer meant when she asked about the power or influence of interpreters. At first I4 thought the interviewer was asking about how the quality of interpreters' work can *influence* the success of a conference. Study participants did not even mention power or influence in connection with job prestige at all, only when the interviewer asked about it. Here, there are no → signs in the chart, indicating that none of the participants have connected this factor to any of the other factors.

While in D1 and D2 the participants talked about the fact that it is absolutely a positive thing if the interpreter does not influence the contents of the communication, in D4 participants drew the interviewer's attention to the very same idea, only from a different angle. I13 and I14 agreed that if the interpreter influences the communication process (i.e. contentwise), this is something very negative. Clearly in the interpretation of the participants influence and power meant influencing the interpreting event.

It turned out that according to participants, in the case of interpreters, lack of power and influence does not erode prestige, on the contrary, it increases job prestige. It does not necessarily mean that the third KSH-criterion does not play a role in interpreters' job prestige, but the difference is that in this case there might be an inverse relationship between power/influence and occupational prestige, due to the nature of the profession.

Table 6 below shows knowledge, expertise and education and what ideas participants brought up in connection with these concepts. However, here I have to point out that unfortunately my question in the topic guide did not quite overlap with the fourth prestige factor measured by KSH. Whereas KSH emphasised how much one had to learn in order to be able to do a particular job, I asked from the participants how much knowledge and expertise one needs to do the job (i.e. interpreting). This is a problem of methodology which, unfortunately, I have recognised too late: although expertise and knowledge is obtained through education, in the case of interpreting this was not so until not long ago, as 40 or 50 years ago there was no training, interpreters had to learn on the job. Therefore, having the knowledge and the skill did not necessarily mean that one learned these in a course.

Yet even this way there were quite a few study participants who emphasised the importance of studying if one wants to become an interpreter. Therefore Table 6 consists of two parts: (1) education, studying and (2) knowledge and expertise.

Table 6: The education/knowledge and expertise factor (if the opinions are only summarised contentwise, they are not in quotation marks)

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from 'Micro-census 2016'	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
Education	D1:4 D2: 1 D3: 6 D4: 2	D1: I4 (2); I3 (1); I2 (1) D2: I5 (1) D3: I10 (4); I11 (2) D4: I13 (1); I14 (1)	D1 – I4: “you can learn everything up to a certain level, but after that your innate abilities will decide”; T3: “after learning you have to reach a certain number of hours worked to have the necessary confidence that you can do it”; I2: “you have to have a degree in something else as a foundation and then you can start interpreting”; I4: “you cannot go to an interpreting course immediately after graduating from secondary school”

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from 'Micro-census 2016'	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
			<p>D2 – I5: “this is a profession which requires a qualification and a permit, but unfortunately the clients still do not ask for the interpreters’ qualifications, for them it is not important [it is rather the price which is important for them]” (→money)</p> <p>D3 – I10: for certain professions the necessary university course also adds to prestige; I11: “...and also how difficult that course was”; I10: “once I worked for a lawyer who asked me where I did my degree in law [of course I don’t have one, I have a degree in conference interpreting]”; “a degree in architecture was a degree in architecture even 50 years ago” (→quality) I11: “although one has to have certain abilities, one has to study to become an interpreter, e.g. if one wants to work as a graphic designer, then they have to complete a graphic design course”</p> <p>D4 – I13: education is obviously very important and it makes a difference in the prestige of professions, e.g. there is a difference indeed between a shop assistant and a doctor; I14: interpreting requires special expertise which today is taught in institutions, today it is not the same as say 40-50 years ago, when interpreters had to learn on the job</p>
Knowledge and expertise	D1: 2 D2: 2 D3: 4 D4: 2	D1: I1 (1); I4 (1) D2: I7 (1); I5 (1) D3: I9 (1); I10 (1); I11 (2) D4: I13 (1); I14 (1)	<p>D1 – I1: “interpreters know a technique with which they are able to translate from one language to another in a minimal time frame”; I4: “you need practice, you need technique, you need to be able to cope with stress, and what people often forget, you need to have general knowledge”</p> <p>D2 – I7: “you need to have a certain type of proficiency that allows you to understand what they are talking about [the topic of the event you are interpreting]”; I5: the willingness to learn is very important, this is lifelong learning</p> <p>D3 – I9: interpreting requires special skills; I10: there is a difference between horizontal and vertical knowledge, we need horizontal knowledge, as we know about each of the fields a little bit; I11: “interpreting requires a technique, how you do it; you need a lot of things, e.g. language knowledge, interpreting techniques and it is not a disadvantage if you know the topic”</p> <p>D4 – I13: “interpreters have to have expertise in interpreting, but they are not experts in the sense that they know a field very well, however, they have to be able to use the skills and abilities necessary for their job in a given field”; I14: interpreting requires special expertise which today is taught in institutions, today it is not the same as say 40-50 years ago, when interpreters had to learn on the job</p>

In the case of this factor only two connections were made to another factor (with an → sign), therefore I have not prepared a figure showing connections. It is very interesting to see that while for the younger generation of interpreters (I9, I10, I11, I13 and I14) education is very important, for them this is equal to the source of knowledge/expertise, while older generations

tend to emphasise technique, e.g. certain skills which, they say, one can learn only to a certain extent, otherwise they must be innate (I4). This is especially interesting in view of the fact that in the sample even members of the older generation had a training, although these courses were shorter compared to today’s university courses.

I14 also points out this difference between older and younger generations: a special expertise is necessary for interpreting, but today this is taught in institutions and it is not learnt on the job any more, like 40-50 years ago. So today expertise/knowledge can be attained through training, whereas earlier this learning process took place while working as an interpreter. It is interesting however, that although I5 is from the older generation of interpreters, she, too, stresses the importance of education and having a training, and she also complains that clients decide based on the price of the service and they do not ask for the interpreter’s diploma or degree. The reason for this might be the fact that she teaches interpreting at the Department of Translation and Interpreting at ELTE. I3 is also a teacher at the Department: she says that besides the training a certain number of hours worked is important, but does not explicitly stress the importance of training. However, I10 stresses some differences here between different professions: “a degree in architecture was a degree in architecture even 50 years ago”, meaning that qualifications in some other professions represent quality which is more reliable; as unlike in the case of architecture, for interpreting, university training became available much later, and it still counts as something relatively new. This may be due to the fact that interpreting is at an early stage of professionalisation (Pym 2012), not like lawyer, architect, etc.

All in all, according to the study participants expertise and knowledge are very important, and are part of the prestige of the profession, however in the case of interpreting institutionalised education and qualifications are somewhat new. Earlier this expertise and knowledge came exclusively with practice, and was learnt on the job, but today it is already available on courses, therefore education and learning is already part of the occupational prestige of interpreters, too, although having a diploma might still not be a guarantee for quality.

Table 7: The factor of being a fashionable job (if the opinions are only summarised contentwise, they are not in quotation marks)

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from ‘Micro-census 2016’	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
Fashionable	D1: 3; D2: 4; D3: 5; D4:	D1: I4 (1); I3 (1); I2 (1) D2: I5 (3); I7 (1) D3: I11 (3); I10 (1); I9 (1) D4: I14 (2); I13 (1)	D1 – I3: “I hear from a lot of secondary school students that they would like to come to the Translation and Interpreting MA, it is something which seems exotic” (→education); I2: “I would rather say that it is more and more popular [instead of fashionable]” D2 – I5: “...unfortunately it is fashionable [refers to the fact that a lot of new interpreters trained each year but the Hungarian market cannot absorb all of them]”; I7: “But where do they go if they cannot find work?”; I5: the majority of MA students are not working as interpreters, but those who graduate from the conference interpreting course and want to pursue this career will find a way; “I would rather say that it is an attractive job [instead of fashionable]” (→education)

1. PRESTIGE-FACTOR from 'Micro-census 2016'	2. How many times was it mentioned?	3. Who mentioned it and how many times?	4. Any additional thoughts or opinions, and in connection with what other factors it was mentioned
			<p>D3 – I11: it is fashionable, a lot of students come to the course (→education); I10: “It is not because the job is fashionable: they go to the faculty of arts, as they are not interested in science: they do a language BA and not everyone wants to become a teacher, so this is an emergency solution for them to study interpreting”; T9: yes but this is a fashionable course among humanities courses; I11: but if something is fashionable it does not mean that it is popular; after the training very few students will really become interpreters; I10: [recalls that during the training when one of his teachers saw how many students were sitting in the hall, she said that the world did not need so many interpreters] (→education)</p> <p>D4 – I14: “It has become fashionable since we joined the EU, as people think it is cool to work for the EU institutions”; I13: it has become fashionable because [with EU accession] it has got into the public consciousness</p>

Generally, participants think that interpreting is a fashionable job, as a lot of students apply for the courses offered by universities, but the participants did not explicitly say that this adds to the prestige of the job.

4.3.2 Some additional factors playing a role in the occupational prestige of interpreters

It is interesting that besides the above five factors a lot of participants mentioned two additional factors which, they said, also play a role in the prestige of their job: (1) exclusivity (others cannot perform the same job), an insider role; (2) regulations. They said that it adds to the prestige of a job if only a certain person can perform that work, or if it is difficult to become the practitioner of that job, or one needs to have special talents or qualifications (see quotations from I3, I5 and I7 below):

I3: How difficult it is to get into that circle [the circle of practitioners]; what are the criteria of that profession, how I got in, how I made it; how much people think that you need talent, e.g. in Hungary people often think that if you speak languages then you are a rocket scientist and you belong to a privileged circle [...].

I5: The more you feel that this job could not be done by others, only that person or only the person who has that qualification or talents and not others, then maybe the higher the prestige is. (→education)

I7: [...] without you an important piece of communication could not take place [...]. (→usefulness)

This factor is connected by participants to education and also usefulness, as with education one can attain certain skills to be able to perform a job, and usefulness is important here, too, as the fewer the people are who can do a certain job, the more useful these few are.

In connection with how fashionable a job is, participants mentioned that “unfortunately” interpreting courses are more and more fashionable or popular (e.g. I5). This way they referred to the fact that it is becoming less exclusive to work as an interpreter, since with the appearance of courses in institutions more and more students learn the art of interpreting, and it is not the same as in the Communist era, when it was practiced only by a privileged few, who spoke Western languages, so maybe although established courses add to prestige, the result – that interpreting is “less exclusive” today – may take a little away from job prestige (I11).

Some participants mentioned that interpreters have a certain insider role in communication. I7 and I9 referred to this factor:

I7: [...] you can gain insight into certain things, you are treated as an equal and they share information with you, which you of course will not share with others, [...] and you can get to places where a shop assistant would never be able to go, and you can see connections [which others will not].

I9: [...] I think that there is a certain insider position, but this does not involve power.

Besides exclusivity, participants also mentioned the role of regulations: I6 states, for example, that if regulations were better, then the prestige of interpreters would also be higher. I6 also complains that this is the reason why the clients decide based on the prices, and not the quality of the service.

[...] the prestige of the profession could be much higher if a lot of factors changed
 [...] I tried to push the profession in the right direction, but this was not successful, and one of the reasons is that here in Hungary the profession is regulated in the wrong way.

As a reply to this, I5 points out that not even the existing regulations are observed:

I would be happy if the current regulations in effect were actually enforced. It is written down that this is a profession for which you need to have a qualification and a permit, but I don't know how many clients you had who asked for your interpreter ID for example. (→education)

I6 stressed that if interpreters had additional functions in society, e.g. the preservation of the clarity of language and the role of transliterating foreign words into Hungarian, this would significantly increase the prestige of the job.

When asked about the role of professional organisations, I6 points out that they could take up a significant role in the regulation of the profession. He mentions that earlier he had been a member of MFTE, however he was impatient and he felt that the organisation's role was not significant enough and so he left. He says that the associations already have an important role in protecting the interests of practitioners, but this is not enough:

[...] not enough, there should be more. And this could be connected to regulations. They [the associations] should pick on the legislators and the regulators to do this and that. [...] what's more, they could even regulate the distribution of work. The Austrians can do that.

I12 also says that an association which works well could protect the interests of interpreters and could be a guarantee towards the market and the clients. Therefore, it seems that the question of regulations is closely intertwined with professional associations.

4.4 'SPECIAL' MEASUREMENT TOOLS OF INTERPRETERS' PRESTIGE

There are some remarkable factors, which participants mentioned, and which are not components of interpreters' prestige, but may provide certain ways of measuring prestige. In D1 I4 said the following:

[...] maybe it shows the prestige of a profession whether people address the practitioner of that profession using the name of the profession. I have heard for example people saying 'Mr Engineer, please ...', but I have never heard 'Mr Interpreter, please, this is the speech of the next presenter'¹.

This, he thinks, is an indication of lack of prestige, as in Hungary holders of prestigious jobs are often addressed as 'Ms Doctor' or 'Mr Architect'.

Another very interesting point was made by I12. She says that the place of the booth also says a lot about how much interpreters are valued in that particular event: "Sometimes I measure our prestige through where our booth is placed. Sometimes it seems to me that they forgot about the fact that human beings are going to work in the booth." I9 stresses that hospitality towards the interpreters is another indicator of prestige at an event:

[...] now that we are talking about food... maybe it sounds silly, but I think that this is something through which you can measure this [prestige], on what level you are treated. Because so far I have seen three types of situations: there are some who especially invite you saying, of course, come and have lunch, eat with us; there is the category who completely forgets about the fact that I was there or that I am there and I am going to stay for the afternoon, so how should we solve this; and the third type is the type who makes me sit in the canteen for the workers, together with the service staff. Of course, for me it is all the same, because the stew is excellent in the canteen, but this is maybe linked to prestige a little bit.

However, it is important to point out here that the aforementioned factors are used as **indicators** of prestige by the participants (that is, they are the result of prestige or lack of prestige in a certain way), and not as factors which influence the prestige of interpreters (that is, cause).

¹ In Hungarian, this formula is used for example to address lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, but it is not very common with other jobs.

They might be a measurement tool of the interpreters' prestige in certain working settings, but not necessarily compared to the prestige of other occupational titles.

4.5 THE ROLE OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The respondents generally were of the opinion that from the point of view of ensuring a certain level of quality and price, associations can play an important role, and also in terms of protecting the interests of professionals. However, some think that for the membership fee one does not really receive anything, e.g. jobs or a guaranteed minimum price. I11 said the following:

[...] in the case of a professional association you pay a certain amount, and this is how you become a member. Then [my colleague from Brussels] asked: what do you get in return? And so okay, you pay the membership fee and you are allowed to say that you are a member of whatever, but actually they do not guarantee anything in return.

I5 pointed out that "it could be possible to regulate the price or the pricing" (→money), and I6 adds that even "the distribution of work" could be regulated by associations.

The question of regulating the minimum price is very interesting, as the vast majority of interpreters in Hungary work as freelancers, that is, entrepreneurs. From this point of view a minimum price would mean a cartel and erosion of competition, as enterprises would agree on a price of which they could not charge less. However, in the discussions the participant who (I6) vehemently supported the idea of ensuring a minimum job fee viewed it as a minimal salary, which, if interpreters were employed by an employer, would be reasonable. However, due to their form of employment this would be problematic, so this remains a question. When I asked about the possibility of a chamber of interpreters, similarly to lawyers or physicians, I14 mentioned a couple of drawbacks, and pointed out that although it would clearly increase the prestige of the occupation, at the same time it would entail a service provision obligation and also it would significantly decrease the prices of interpreting, which is quite an interesting connection, as here, a chamber, which would increase prestige, might have the effect of reducing remuneration, which is also considered to be a source of job prestige.

Generally, all of the participants were of the opinion that membership of professional associations gives a certain level of prestige, e.g. I11 stressed that one can include them in their electronic signature, and it looks good, and I8 referred to the fact that they have an ethical code which can be referred to, if there are any disputes with clients. However, some respondents emphasised that they could do more for the profession.

4.6 THE ISSUE OF JOKES

I also asked the respondents about jokes. In his article Simeoni (1998) complains that very often jokes and anecdotes come at the expense of the translator. As he puts it,

[i]n a folklore of translation whose reasoned history should be written about, anecdotes real or apocryphal abound, of the translator's committing mistakes, misunderstanding obvious references, altering the 'true' meaning

willed by the author. More often than not, those stories end with a joke, or a job, at the translator’s expense. This lower status has been acknowledged in writing and translators fully assume it (Simeoni 1998: 7).

I wanted to find out if interpreters thought it was true for them, too, and how they felt about it. I read out two jokes for them in Hungarian about interpreters, and I posed the question: “In what light do these jokes present the interpreter?”

After listening to them, and being asked about interpreter jokes in general, in all of the four focus group discussions interpreters were generally of one of two opinions: (1) The jokes did not present the interpreter in a bad light; (2) Although the jokes presented the interpreters in a bad light, participants agreed that it is typical of jokes to present their characters in a bad light, and it is not the interpreters in general who are targeted by these jokes.

5. CONCLUSION

In general, according to the representatives of the profession, **money**, **education**, **usefulness** and **fashionability** play an important role, although **usefulness** was something taken for granted, so the participants did not delve into it very deeply. However, the fourth criterion of KSH is not quite valid in the case of conference interpreters, as upon hearing the words **power** or **influence**, they immediately think of something negative, meaning that the interpreter is not neutral and is influencing the event where they are working. Only in some cases do they think it acceptable, namely for the sake of making communication smoother (e.g. when the interpreter averted a diplomatic crisis).

Additionally, it turned out to be very important that people are only able to attribute a high level of prestige to the profession if they **know what it is about**, what the professionals deal with. This is a cardinal question for interpreters, as interpreting is not as well known as e.g. the work of a nurse, judge, etc.

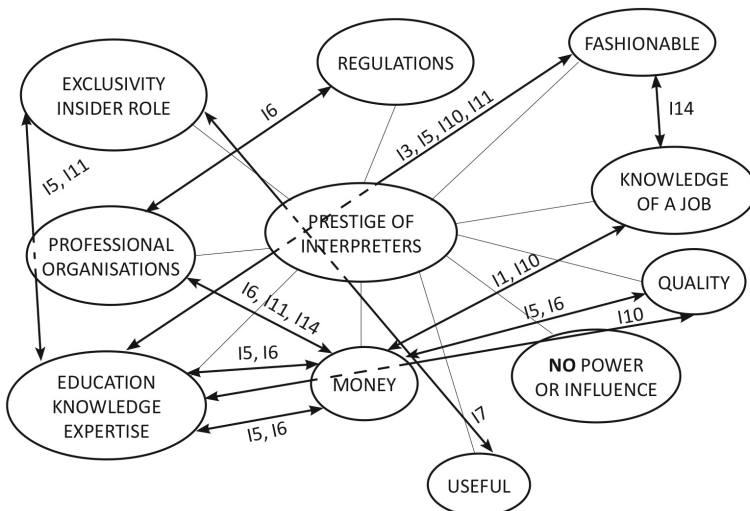


Figure 2: The connections made by participants between different factors influencing the occupational prestige of interpreters

Furthermore, participants thought that in the case of interpreters, **exclusivity** and a certain insider role also add to job prestige. Moreover, some participants thought that **regulations** and **professional organisations** can play an important role in advancing a profession's role, in such a way that associations can take on the responsibility of keeping contact with the legislator.

As far as the name of the profession to be included in the list of professions is concerned, the best option would be to use the term **interpreter**, without any modifiers such as conference, healthcare, liaison, court, etc., as in Hungary the different types of interpreting are not clearly separated.

Concerning jokes, the participants rejected the notion that jokes would specifically target interpreters or would deliberately present them in a negative light, instead, jokes usually mock someone or a situation, as is typical of jokes.

As far as the connections between the aforementioned factors influencing the occupational prestige of interpreters are concerned, the most connections were made with the **money** factor (Figure 2).

Regarding **fashionability**, the only connection was **education**, as this is how people mainly learn about the job. As for **education**, besides **money**, **quality** was also mentioned. With regard to **exclusivity**, connections were made with **education** and **usefulness**. The role of **regulations** was mainly connected to the **role of professional organisations**.

The most important result is that I have managed to elicit a name from practitioners which could be used in comparison with other occupations on the Hungarian prestige list. Also, I have managed to map those factors which, according to interpreters, are the most important in determining the prestige of interpreters (money, insider role), furthermore, it became clear that it is important that society knows what a job involves, in order to allocate a higher level of prestige to it. However, it also turned out that not all factors in the KSH survey are important in the same way for interpreters' occupational prestige as for other occupations' prestige (e.g. having a lot of influence may erode interpreters' prestige), therefore the question arises whether the prestige of all jobs can be evaluated based on the same criteria.

After mapping opinions and factors which come into question when talking about the prestige of interpreters, in the next stage of my research I will implement a qualitative study in the framework of which I intend to address a larger number of interpreters working in Hungary, and measure with statistical tools to what extent the different opinions elicited in the present qualitative study are prevalent among them.

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THE USAGE OF ICT TOOLS AS CAI TOOLS IN INTERPRETING

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Abstract: This article presents the results of a survey on the interpreters' ICT usage working in the Hungarian interpreting market, conducted in 2017. In the first part of the paper I give a literature review about the relevant parts of articles and books dealing with the relationship between ICT and interpreting. In the second part I present an analysis of my survey which is based on an electronic questionnaire consisting of 13+5 questions, answered by conference interpreters active on the Hungarian market. The study examines which tools they use, to what extent, what expectations or goals interpreters have towards ICT tools, and also what the results and effects of using such tools are. Furthermore, I also deal with the issue of CAI (Computer Assisted Interpreting) software and the expectations towards them. By using the statistical method of correlation this study also looks for possible connections between the individual results, and also compares them with results of previous research.

Keywords: ICTs, conference interpreting, remote interpreting, CAT, CAI

1. INTRODUCTION

With the spread of new information and communication technologies (ICT) very few professions have remained unaltered. Interpreting is no exception, either. It can clearly be seen that the profession of interpreting has been substantially changed by the evolution of modern technologies. Laptops appeared in the booth, remote interpreting is getting more and more often requested, and machine interpreting is a frequent publicly discussed topic. Researchers examined the relationship of ICTs and interpreting in different ways. The aim of this paper is to give an introduction to what has been found so far about the use of ICT in interpreting as assistance tools and to present a survey research on the topic conducted among Hungarian conference interpreters.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 THE DEFINITION OF ICT

Although the term *information and communication technology* describes a widespread concept, the definition of it is not so obvious because the range of possible definitions is quite broad. My research into the topic showed that there is no widespread and unanimously used scientific definition of ICT. For this reason, I tried to find a definition which was as detailed and comprehensive as possible, and the definition provided on the webpage of the United States Access Board was one which fulfilled my criteria the most:

Any information technology, equipment, or interconnected system or subsystem of equipment for which the principal function is the creation, conversion,

duplication, automatic acquisition, storage, analysis, evaluation, manipulation, management, movement, control, display, switching, interchange, transmission, reception, or broadcast of data or information. Examples of ICT are electronic content, telecommunications products, computers and ancillary equipment, software, information kiosks and transaction machines, videos, IT services, and multifunction office machines which copy, scan, and fax documents (United States Access Board).

Of course, ICT tools are mentioned and defined in translation and interpreting studies, too. Berber Irabien's dissertation uses the definition of *whatis.com*, which is also a non-scientific but commercial website, in contrast to the United States Access Board's webpage:

[...] an umbrella term that includes any communication device or application, encompassing: radio, television, cellular phones, computer and network hardware or software, satellite systems, and so on, as well as the various services and applications associated with them, such as videoconferencing and distance learning (Whatis.com 2008) (Berber Irabien 2010).

However, I would like to stick to the former definition because it contains every aspect relevant for interpreting research. This is important considering the next point, which is the typology of ICTs in interpreting, in order to be able to make a clear distinction between the categories. While in the field of translation the use of ICTs is a well-researched topic, in the case of interpreting, scientific research started somewhat later. In interpreting research, the most important ICT-related research topics were machine interpreting and terminological aid for interpreters. From a historical point of view ICTs have always been influential in the profession of interpreters: simultaneous interpreting could be introduced by establishing appropriate audio systems, making it possible for the interpreter to work in a separated booth.

2.2 THE TYPOLOGY OF ICT USAGE IN INTERPRETING

There is a wide range of ICTs many of which are also used by interpreters. In connection with interpreting, ICTs could be classified based on the following three main categories which I set up in 2016 (Móricz 2016):

- ICTs for machine interpreting: tools which exist to take over a part or the whole of interpreters' work.
- ICTs as transfer tools (voice and picture): devices which facilitate the work of the interpreters, such as audio devices, screens, headphones etc.
- ICTs as interpreting tools: tools used by interpreters in order to bridge the knowledge gap (Will 2009) between interpreters and participants of a conference.

This typology is necessary in order to distinguish the third category from the first and second ones: in my study I shall deal with those tools which help the interpreter to deliver a better interpretation performance by providing them information, thus serving as CAI (computer-assisted interpreting) tools.

In the literature, there are also other typologies used. Berber Irabien makes a distinction between internal and external ICTs. While internal ICTs are available on the computer, external ICTs are linked to other devices (cameras, televisions etc.). Her definition for external ICTs is as follows:

All the aids meant to improve the process, preparation or function of the product of the interpreter that are not used with, or available within, the computer. They are external, such as cameras, audio-visual recorders, television, cellular telephones, microphones, headphones, and pocket electronic dictionaries not connectable to the computer (Berber Irabien 2010).

This definition might need revision in the near future as modern technologies become more and more integrated, i.e. smart combined devices take over the role of separate tools. Berber Irabien (2010) also mentions yet another typology (originating from Torres del Rey): information technology versus communication technology. The former category consists of software and hardware, while the latter refers mainly to the Internet. The problem with this typology is similar to that of internal and external ICTs, as due to recent developments in modern technology clear distinctions are becoming increasingly impossible.

2.3 SPECIFIC TYPES OF ICT TOOLS IN INTERPRETING

From the three main categories listed earlier I would like to deal with the third one (ICT as interpreting tool). Within this third category ICT tools can be divided into two subcategories, software and hardware. Of course, there's a direct relation between the two: hardware are there to carry the software which are used by interpreters. It is important to mention that here I am not dealing with equipment which has no software interface. There could be some special exceptions in this category: for example, a torch could help interpreters read something from a book or a printed dictionary, but these tools do not actually perform a direct function that helps interpreters bridge the knowledge gap.

This is a list of the most widespread ICT hardware used by interpreters:

- PC (personal computers at home - used for preparation or work after the interpreting event)
- portable computers (laptops, tablets which can be used in all phases of the interpreting task)
- smart phones,
- other video / audio devices.

This is a list of software used by interpreters:

- text editors,
- browsers,
- electronic online dictionaries,
- parallel corpora in an electronic format,
- terminology software,
- smart phone apps,
- communication apps / chats, WhatsApp.

It is clear that most of these tools were not developed specifically for interpreters, but there are some which could be an exception, e.g. terminology systems, as they are designed to provide direct help for interpreters in terminological questions.

There are various systems serving as a terminology tool for interpreters. Some only assume the tasks of former paper-based tools (such as vocabularies, presentation materials), while others can be built up as complex systems which not only deal with the list of the words needed for the particular interpreting jobs, but also manage interpreting history (words from previous jobs in the same topic) and have different functions, making the interpreter's work easier. Rütten mentions that there are some concerns among translators and terminology experts as to whether word lists are appropriate from a terminological point of view:

Working with multilingual word lists is widely disapproved of among translators or terminologists. These simple lists lack any kind of additional information concerning grammar, meaning, reliability, etc. They often even seem inconsistent and unstructured or do not correspond to the official, standardised terms. However, several interpreters have already underlined their usefulness, and there are occasions where such lists may very well serve the special purpose of conference interpreters, which simply entails finding the right word at the right moment (Rütten 2004).

Here it is important to underline that programmes used by translators (CAT) and terminologists have a completely different structure compared to computer assisted interpreting software. The main reason for this is the situativity of the interpreter's work: there's no opportunity for looking up long definitions or a complete set of words, interpreters working in the booth need help right away. So far there is a very small selection of CAI tools. The ones that already exist are very diverse (Fantinuoli 2016). Rütten set up a software model based on which an ideal CAI system could be built up. She identified five important steps which have to be directly linked to the main page. Online and offline search is the first important function, the second one is document management: at this stage, miscellaneous documents can be put into the system (word lists, documents from the customer, etc.) The third phase is Terminology Extraction and Analysis: analyses documents (module 2), extracts potential technical terms and their equivalents in a different language when parallel texts in the respective languages are available or it is possible to consult electronic dictionaries or encyclopaedias. The fourth module is there for terminology management, dealing with terminology from module 3 and external sources as well. The fifth module is the trainer, facilitating better memorisation of words and expressions saved in module 4 (Rütten 2004).

Fantinuoli distinguishes two types of CAI tools, the so-called first generation and second generation ones. While first generation tools can only manage word lists and vocabularies in an interpreter-friendly way (see the first two modules of Rütten's model), second generation tools are already able to provide terminology and knowledge management or go beyond that: organise textual material, retrieve information from corpora or other resources, learn conceptual domains and have more advanced search functions. Under the category first generation, Fantinuoli mentions Interplex, Interpreters' Help, Terminus, LookUp and DolTerm, but only

the first two are commercially available and maintained. Interpretbank and Intragloss belong to the category of second generation tools (Fantinuoli 2016).

In his article Will discusses systems with an appropriate scientific background. These meet similar demands to Rütten's system, they not only exist as help during the interpreting work, but also for the preparation and the post-interpreting phase: Look up Professional and Interpretbank 3 (Will 2009).

2.4 ASPECTS OF USING ICT TOOLS

Considering these systems it's also interesting in which phase of an interpreter's work there is the most demand for ICT tools (before, during or after interpreting). The result of Berber Irabien's research (2010) showed that the highest level of ICT tool usage is to be seen in the preparation phase, while working with ICT tools during interpreting takes second place. The lowest figures were registered in the post-interpreting phase. A problem with these figures is that there are several ICTs in the list of tools examined which cannot be fully used in each phase of the interpreting job. My research on the Hungarian interpreting scene (2017) shows similar results. However, the use of ICTs during work has reached a higher proportion than in the case of Berber Irabien's study. Also, the results of Berber Irabien's study as well as my survey show that similar CAI software are useful, as they are utilised by interpreters before, during and after work.

Another important question is how the evolution of technology can influence the future of interpreting. There are already technologies which can provide a basic level interpreting; these are translation engines combined with sound recognition software. There is a consensus among experts that machine interpreting wouldn't be able to replace human interpreters in the short term. According to prognoses in the future interpreting jobs will be divided into two categories: the first, simpler ones could be taken over by machines, while more complicated tasks remain in the 'hands' of human interpreters (Horváth 2016).

2.4.1 The benefits and drawbacks of ICT usage in interpreting

While nearly every author dealing with the topic of ICTs in interpreting acknowledges the importance of the ICT tools in interpreting, to date the impact of these tools is not clear. The main question is the following: is the extensive usage of modern electronic tools really that useful or do the side-effects outweigh their potential benefits? The strongest criticism is voiced by Tripepi Winteringham:

Theoretically, these tools should represent the most effective information interface when interpreting, but is their practical use feasible and does rendition benefit? The main drawback of the use of these tools is that it is still considered, at least in the booth, to some extent as unnatural (Donovan 2006: 5), presumably because it may be time-consuming and distracting in an activity that requires concentration and fast-paced decoding and delivery. The interpreter at work may not have the time or the cognitive ability to look up a word online or in his/her electronic dictionary, or detect and choose the correct translation of a specific term among the myriad of possible solutions that are generally offered by dictionaries (Tripepi Winteringham 2010).

Tripepi Winteringham's most important argument is that the usage of ICT tools incurs an extra effort for the interpreters. Another argument is that the constant use of electronic devices distracts not only the interpreter but also the customer. Furthermore, it is disturbing for them to see the interpreter focusing on their gadget instead of the communicative situation itself. Similar points were made by Jones who underlines the importance of the right prioritisation, saying that the primary task of the interpreter is to focus on the communicative situation:

Many colleagues now work with a laptop in the booth. This can of course be a boon. It can help one to call up documents referred to in the meeting. It enables interpreters to search glossaries and terminology databases. But the concentration on *text* and *terminology* – whilst of course I should never deny that using correct terminology is an essential part of the interpreter's job – can lead the interpreter to lose sight of the first aim of interpretation as we learn it, namely conveying meaning and facilitating communication (Jones 2014).

It is important not only whether the interpreter uses ICT tools or not, but also which ones they prefer, if they use them at all. Will emphasises that ICT tools used by interpreters are often very similar to CAT tools, but these are not sufficient to support interpreting tasks due to their structure (Will 2015). Another important question is the time when interpreters use their tools. Of course, the on the spot usage has its limitations, but well-developed tools can also provide much help in the preparation phase and after the interpreting as well (Rütten 2004). After all, ICT tools have become an inseparable part of interpreters' work: in the preparation phase, during, as well as after work. Here portable devices play the most important role (Horváth 2014).

Another interesting question is if there is any connection between the age, sex or other characteristics of the person and how they use ICTs in connection with their work. Berber Irabien examined these questions as well, such as questions about a possible difference between freelance and internal interpreters:

freelance interpreters are using proportionally more ICTs than their in-house counterparts, contrary to what the stereotype would lead one to believe. The stereotype is that in-house interpreters would have access to more ICTs and would therefore use them more often. In fact, during an informal conversation, it was mentioned that in some institutions there is no Internet connection available for freelance interpreters; only the in-house interpreters have access. This comment would support the view that there should be more active use of ICTs by in-house interpreters, but which is, however, rejected by these figures (Berber Irabien 2010).

Another question is in which phase interpreters use ICT tools during their work: Berber Irabien shows that ICTs are used the most in the preparation phase, while usage during work came second. ICTs are used the least after work. Berber Irabien does not elaborate on the question whether the use during the work on the spot also contains preparatory work or it is only the ICT used during interpreting (probably helping boothmates).

2.4.2 Side glance to remote interpreting

Remote interpreting is not a subject of this paper. Nevertheless, some researches on the topic actually revealed the attitude of interpreters towards modern technology, therefore it is worth taking a look at it. Remote interpreting emerged as a new form of interpreting in the 1970s. One of its first forms was used in Australia: refugee interpreting started in 1973 via telephone. One of the important factors involved in the fast spreading of remote interpreting was the rapid development of information technology. With remote interpreting, it was also possible to cut costs and save time. (Tripepi Winteringham 2010). According to Berber Irabien we can distinguish between three forms of distance interpreting: telephone interpreting, videoconferencing and remote interpreting (Berber Irabien uses distance interpreting as an umbrella term and remote interpreting for the case when interpreters are sitting in a separate room from the speakers and listeners. In videoconferencing, interpreters are sitting in the same location as some of the participants while others are in a different location.)

Since the introduction of remote interpreting several researches have been conducted which examined the link between remote interpreting and interpreters, as well as interpreters' attitude. Early studies showed that although remote interpreting is efficient, interpreters felt very strongly about it. In 1999 the UN concluded an experiment in the framework of a two-week conference with six languages. Questionnaires were distributed among participants and interpreters as well. The results showed that interpreters perceived the new situation as more stressful and complicated than conventional interpreting: they felt more exhausted and less motivated. They found the voice transmission to be "okay", but not the image transmission (Andreas and Falk 2009). It is important to point out that the audience was actually content with the work of the interpreters. In the very same year another experiment, organised by the International Telecommunication Union and the Ecole de Traduction et d'Interpretation took place which included two booths per language, one at the site and one remote booth.

As in the UN experiment, the audience was satisfied with interpretation quality. The saliva tests did not show a substantial difference between the levels of stress hormones of the interpreters in the booth inside the conference room and those doing remote interpreting. But the interpreters themselves again described the experience of remote interpreting as negative. They felt a physical and psychological distance to the conference proceedings, which made them experience a feeling of loss of control. Accordingly, they felt their stress levels when doing remote interpreting were higher. The fact that the interpreters were disassociated from the conference proceedings led not only to a decrease in motivation but also to a subjective increase in the occurrence of fatigue symptoms. Images from the conference room that would have been important for the interpreters to see were not shown. An analysis of the results raised the issue whether a lack of visual contact means that interpreters need more mental capacity to compensate for this lack of information which in turn causes symptoms of fatigue to occur earlier than usual (Andres and Falk 2009).

One of the main problems with remote interpreting is the lack of context, nonverbal information, gestures, facial expressions and view of the audience, as visual information is necessary for the interpreters. Andres and Falk came to the conclusion that there are plenty of open questions concerning remote interpreting, such as the following: when is it appropriate to use remote interpreting and is it necessary to include remote interpreting in the training of interpreters? (Andres and Falk 2009).

Seresi, however, emphasises that in the researches there was no hard evidence or root cause found for the negative impressions of the interpreters. Remote interpreting is actually really difficult in the learning phase until the interpreter gets used to the new working conditions. After getting used to them, the new conditions might even turn out to be better for the interpreters (Seresi 2016).

Ines Swaney takes a look at other professions, and why it is necessary to have a personal presence in high level diplomacy or in the judicial system. In both cases there is no question that due to the importance of the issues discussed, a human presence is required, and according to Swaney interpreting situations deserve just the same level of importance (Swaney 1997).

Important issues described in this point about remote interpreting are also very present in using ICT tools as well, such as the (perceived) effect on the interpreter's performance, the extra efforts for the interpreter and the reason why these new technologies are needed at all. These questions are also a subject of the survey I present in the next half of this article.

3. STUDY OF THE HUNGARIAN INTERPRETING SCENE

3.1 RESEARCH METHOD

The core of this research was an online survey consisting of altogether 18 multiple-choice questions, some of which also offered an additional option ('other'), providing the opportunity to give free-text answers, too. The survey was sent to a selected group of Hungarian interpreters, out of whom 34 filled in the questionnaire. Before sending out the final questionnaire, there was a pilot stage, too, with six participants.

In the first part of my analysis I summarise the various answers I received from the 34 participants to my questions. In the second part I shall take a look at whether there are certain relations between answers to different questions, in order to get a more holistic picture of the research topic. For this purpose, I used the method of correlation. Correlation enables the researcher to examine any possible relationships within one group. Two sets of scores from the same group are compared with each other and a so-called correlation coefficient (r) is calculated, which can vary between -1 and 1. If it is close to zero, the connection between the two sets of scores is rather weak, while high (or low) values are a signal that the two scores are correlating with each other. To indicate significance, a so-called 'p-value' was introduced. It shows whether the connection in question is significant enough to reject the zero hypothesis (stating that there is no significant correlation between the two scores). If the p-value is below 0.05, the zero hypothesis can be considered rejected (Seliger and Shohamy 1990). Of course, this statistic method is only applicable for numerical data (e.g. using the digits 0 and 1 for binary information, like the sex of the respondents), while in the questionnaire there

were a couple of questions which elicited qualitative information, too, by providing an additional option ('other'), where the participants could enter additional information that I had to quantify later, through plain classification: by actually calculating values from the answers. For example, the attitude towards using ICT tools was calculated by adding up the number of text answers containing positive and negative attitudes towards ICT tools. For calculating the correlation itself, I used Daniel's XL Toolbox NG which is a free-source application, and can be installed to spreadsheets like Microsoft Excel.

3.2 GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE PARTICIPANTS

The first five questions asked about personal information in connection with the participants. All of the participants were active interpreters who work on the Hungarian freelance market as conference interpreters. These people were contacted individually for the purpose of the survey. While looking for participants for my survey, it was important to find respondents who actually worked on the Hungarian freelance market as interpreters. During the survey one way of making sure that only active interpreters fill in the questionnaire was the question about professional experience: here the minimum category was 3 to 5 years, i.e. beginners were excluded, too.

As I have pointed out earlier, the pilot survey was answered by 6, the live one by 34 persons. Approximately 2/3 of the respondents were female. The average age of the participants was 49.57 years. Concerning professional experience, 52.9% of the respondents have been working as an interpreter for 11 to 29 years, 26.5% for more than three decades, 8.8% for 6 to 10 years and 11.8% for 3 to 5 years.

The next question asked about the number of interpreting days the participants had in a month: 35.3% have 1-4 working days, 44.1% 5-9, 14.7% 10-15 and 5.9% (two respondents) 16 or more working days on a monthly basis. An average of 53% of the participants' work is considered as traditional conference interpreting (with booths and proper equipment), while the rest is consecutive, liaison, etc. However, the range was very wide in this respect, as some only have 2 or 3%, while others work exclusively in the 'conference' setting. As far as the education of the respondents is concerned, 19 have a university / college degree in interpreting, 16 passed an exam of interpreting (which allows one to work as an interpreter without actually having attended a training in interpreting – it was characteristic of times when trainings in interpreting were only available to a very limited extent), 15 participated in a specialist training¹, three respondents don't have a degree in interpreting while two of them also have a PhD. Of course, there are obvious correlations between some of these figures: age, experience and number of working days seem to be in connection with each other: the calculation of the correlations also supports this assumption. However, these relations are not directly related to the subject of this study, so they will not be analysed any further.

¹ This was a special postgraduate course in interpreting and it was offered at universities before there was an opportunity to have a university degree in interpreting.

3.3 QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ICT USAGE

Question 1 was posed in order to identify whether there are interpreters who do not use any ICT tools for work purposes. The question deliberately did not specify which phase of the interpreting job is meant, moreover during the interpreting job, preparation and post-interpreting could be included as well. The results matched my expectations: no one chose the option “I have never used ICT tools in my work”. 47.1% have used ICT during the whole of their careers, while 52.9% started using them as soon as these technologies became available.

Questions 2 and 3 investigated the particular ICT tools used by interpreters on the Hungarian market. *Question 2* focuses on hardware, while *Question 3* consists of a list of software. Unlike Berber Irabien’s dissertation (2010), my questions did not contain any particular elements (like names of IT products) in order not to confuse the respondents. I only named some as examples, in order to make the answer choices more understandable. The results are presented in *Tables 1 and 2*.

Table 1: Electronic hardware tools as used by the respondents

I use the following electronic tools for my work (preparation and post-interpreting phase included)		
Personal computer at home	22 responses	64.7%
Portable computers (laptop, tablet)	34 responses	100%
Smartphones	22 responses	64.7%
Sound and picture recording devices	4 responses	11.8%
Others	0 responses	0%

As for *Table 1*, I listed the main tools which can come into consideration concerning hardware, without naming brands or subtypes of the equipment listed above. The results show that portable devices play a crucial role in the work life of the interpreters, smartphones received the same score as the PCs at home. This also indicates the importance of using devices at the venue of the interpreting job (preparation and usage of ICT tools while working).

Table 2: Software used by respondents

I use the following software for my conference interpreting work		
Text editor software (Word, Open Office etc.)	32 responses	94.1%
Browsers (e.g. Chrome, Mozilla, IE)	34 responses	100%
Electronic web dictionaries (e.g. Leo, Sztaki, Linguee)	31 responses	91.2%
Electronic parallel corpora (for example preparation material in electronic format)	33 responses	97.1%
Special terminology software, data bases (specially developed for translation and interpreting)	18 responses	52.9%
Smartphone applications (for example language apps, translation or vocabulary apps)	14 responses	41.2%
Communication software and apps (for example chat, Whatsapp)	5 responses	14.7%
Others (installed dictionaries and Google Drive)	1 response	2.9%

The results show that most of the participants use basic ICT tools for their work. More than half of them also use special software and databases which were developed to support translation and interpreting. This piece of information is important because it shows that there is a need for such ICT tools among interpreters. The results are in some aspects similar to those of Berber Irabien's (2010), and my questions showed again that the most widespread are ICT tools used in everyday life. There was only one respondent who named other software which were not part of the list, while there was nobody who missed any options concerning hardware, so in the question asking about hardware, the 'other' option was not marked by anyone.

Table 3 summarises the results of *Question 4*, which aimed at the purpose of ICT usage. The aim of this question was to discover whether interpreters can name any specific purposes why they use ICT tools, or they are only following the trends.

Table 3: Purpose of using ICTs

I use ICT tools because... (several answers possible)		
...I want to make my work more precise.	28 responses	82.4%
...nowadays it is expected that interpreters use them.	2 responses	5.9%
...they are very useful based on my experience.	32 responses	94.1%
...they taught me so in the interpreting school.	3 responses	8.8%
Other	3 responses	8.8%

The first and the third options are connected to intrinsic motivations, while the second and the fourth options refer to external ones. The results show that most of the participants use ICTs due to intrinsic motivations. The third answer was marked by most of the respondents (they are very useful based on my experience). This piece of information is important, because it shows that there is no very specific background of ICT usage. Among the specific goals (statements which contain a well-formed specific goal like "I want to make my work more precise") only the first option got high scores. Out of those who marked the "other" option as well, there were some who claimed that ICT tools were important because interpreters do not always see the slides of e.g. PPT presentations from the booth. Others claim that ICT tools accelerated their working pace, while one respondent emphasised the importance of being up-to-date about the news, even during interpreting.

Question 5 examined in which phases interpreters use their ICT tools. All of the respondents stated that they used the tools in the preparation phase at home, while 97.1% (every participant, except for one) also use them for preparation also on the spot, at the interpreting venue. 82.4% claimed that they used ICT tools while actually interpreting (although the question did not precisely define whether this was helping a boothmate while they are working or using the ICT tool while the user is speaking). Only 32.4% use ICT tools for post-interpreting tasks. Although my results turned out to be similar to those of Berber Irabien concerning the ranking of the phases, there are some important differences between our studies. First of all, I divided the preparation phase into two categories: preparation at home and preparation on the spot. Although the difference between the two phases turned out to be minimal, it can be assumed that different ICT are used for preparation at home and on the spot, so the two phases cannot be considered the same setting. The second important difference was that her results were below 50% in all of the phases. The reason for this could have

been that she calculated her average from answers broken down to subcategories, which also contained tools that were not widespread at the time of her study.

Question 6 focuses on the impact of ICT tools, I summarised the results in *Table 4*. The main goal of this question was to find out what using ICT tools really means for interpreters in their work, and if there are positive or negative (side-)effects of using them, or it is just a neutral phenomenon.

Table 4: Experiences of using ICT tools

Based on my experiences using ICT tools while interpreting... (more answers possible)		
... diverts the interpreter from the interpreting task itself.	5 responses	14.7%
... requires extra efforts.	10 responses	29.4%
... is already a part of my interpreting method, it cannot be considered as a phenomenon on its own.	20 responses	58.8%
... helps concentrating.	3 responses	8.8%
Other:	3 responses	8.8%

The answers show a quite versatile result. The most important finding is that the majority of respondents do not consider the usage of ICT tools as something new or something that hinders them. Three respondents added their own remarks as well: one wrote that it is important to use ICTs for the sake of the visual input (“you can read out difficult technical terms more easily if you see them right in front of you...”). Another participant pointed out the advantage of helping boothmates, a third answer adds a comment on the same person’s negative response (extra efforts, diversion), admitting that it can still be essential in the case of searching for a term. This question enables the researcher to get a first glimpse of the respondents’ emotional attitude towards ICT as well: the first two questions represent negative feelings, while the third and the fourth ones are positive or neutral (in this case neutral responses can be considered as positive, because they mean that the interpreter has an additional skill which does not cause any complications for them). Comparing these two categories a ratio of 23 positive versus 15 negative opinions shows that there is no unanimously positive approach towards ICT tools among Hungarian interpreters, but their approach is still rather optimistic.

In light of the answers to *Question 6*, answers to *Question 7* turned out to be quite positive. The question aimed at the particular effects of using ICT tools. These answers are listed in *Table 5* and they show how the usage of ICT tools influences the work output of interpreters.

Table 5: Effects of using ICT on the performance of interpreters

Using tools during interpreting... (more answers possible)		
... often it can help solve sudden terminology problems (unknown expressions).	30 responses	88.2%
... often contributes to a better understanding of the source text (e.g. through checking a parallel text during work).	14 responses	41.2%
... often contributes to a better target text production (e.g. through checking a parallel text during work).	14 responses	41.2%
... can be useful but doesn’t provide real help in most of the cases.	4 responses	11.8%
... is in most of the cases it is an obstacle, it does more harm than good.	1 response	2.9%
Other	2 responses	4.8%

As it turned out from the results, most (88.2%) of the respondents consider terminological help to be useful, while nearly half of the respondents think that it contributes to the understanding of the source text or the production of the target text. Only 11.8% think that using ICT tools during interpreting is not useful (obviously this was the 11.8% which did not mark the first answer). The most critical or negative option which claims that using ICT tools is rather an obstacle than an advantage was marked by only one respondent. Also, there was a comment in the 'other' option, which claimed that the usage of ICT tools can be very useful indeed, if one has to interpret a non-native speaker.

Question 8 examined the frequency of using ICT tools. These results show that ICT tools are still not dominant in interpreting: a large majority of the respondents (73.5%) claimed that they use ICT only 1 to 3 times during one hour of conference interpreting. 8.8% use them 4-7 times, while only 17.6% use ICT tools continuously or more than 13 times per hour. The fourth option (8-12 times per hour) was not chosen by anybody. These results could cast a cloud over the positive attitudes shown in question 7: if respondents really considered ICT tools positive and useful things they obviously would use them more often during their interpreting work. A plausible explanation could however be that ICT tools can only be used in certain interpreting situations or settings, but in these they prove useful. Additionally, there was one comment stating that the respondent uses ICT tools during interpreting less than once in an hour of interpreting.

Questions 9 and 10 examined particular advantages and disadvantages of ICT tools. The answers to these two questions confirmed once again the positive attitude of interpreters towards using ICT tools: the ratio of positive and negative answers (to Questions 9 and 10) adds up to 97:43. Among the advantages *easy searching* achieved the highest score (32 answers, that is 94.1%) followed by *speed* (29 answers, that is 85.3%). *Big amount of data* retrieved 41.2% (14 answers), followed by *accuracy* (29.4%, that is 10 answers) and *adjustability* (which could become an important feature of computer aided interpreting, according to Rütten and Will). This, however, only came in last with 26.5% (9 answers). Nobody among the respondents thinks that ICT tools had no advantages in interpreting. There were three remarks as well: one participant said that it is very useful to be able to search in context, another emphasised the importance of transparency, a third one even admitted that using ICT in the booth is very useful for amusement purposes as well. Another comment mentioned the advantage of the little space a tablet takes up in the booth. Among the disadvantages listed in *Table 6* *distracting or disturbing effect* and *potential technical issues* realised the highest scores.

Table 6: Disadvantages of using ICT tools during interpreting

Most important disadvantages of using ICT tools during interpreting (several answers possible)		
Distracting, disturbing effect	16 responses	47.1%
Technical problems	12 responses	35.3%
Too big an amount of data	4 responses	11.8%
Increased expectations of customers	2 responses	5.9%
There are no disadvantages	8 responses	23.5%
Other	1 response	2.9%

23.5% of the respondents thought that using ICT tools had no disadvantages at all. The option about the increased expectations of customers relates to the fact that nowadays automated translation applications are widely known (like Google Translate), and this fact could have led to a change in the expected performance level from interpreters because these tools are also used, mainly by non-professionals. The answers, however, did not support this argumentation, as only 5.9% reported having observed this kind of trend. Yet another interesting question was whether there were any interpreters who consider the *big amount of data* offered by ICTs an advantage and a disadvantage at the same time, but no respondents supported this view. One respondent commented that it actually takes more time to work with a computer than on paper if you occasionally press a wrong button and, for example, the PPT presentation disappears.

For *Question 11* it turned out that there was only one respondent who knew specific CAI (Computer Assisted Interpreting) tools (Phraselator) but she has not used them actively, either. This might be due to the fact that there still aren't any CAI tools which could be considered widespread. *Question 12* examined what expectations interpreters had towards CAI tools: the results are summarised in *Table 7*.

Table 7: Expectations towards CAI tools

My most important expectations towards CAI tools: (several answers possible)		
Easy to operate	33 responses	97.1%
Big amount of comprehensive data	10 responses	29.4%
Effective management of previous interpreting jobs (vocabulary, background materials, etc.)	17 responses	50.0%
Quick to search	32 responses	94.1%
Other	0 responses	0%

The options here are slightly different from the categories of Will (2015) (adequacy and model building, simultaneity and phase specific usage). This is because for the respondents Will's categories would have been difficult to relate to, as they are scientific terms. Due to this fact I chose statements which represent the practical realisation of Will's typology. (1) *Big and comprehensive data* and effective management of previous interpreting jobs represent adequacy and model building, while the options (2) *easy to operate* and (3) *quick searchability* belong to the category of *simultaneity*. There were no options provided concerning the phases of an interpreting job (before, during, after interpreting) as it would have needed a very long explanation in the questionnaire, and would have made it too complicated for respondents to fill in the questionnaire. The answers mostly support Will's model, because almost every respondent (97.1%) marked the first answer, just like the option *quick searchability* (94.1%). Half of the participants also expects the effective management of previous interpreting jobs, which is important as managing previous events electronically and complex information management already assume an idea of complex CAI systems. An overwhelming majority of respondents claimed however that they have never seen any complex CAI systems, but it is likely that they have tried out or used CAT systems which are similar concerning their complexity.

The last question examines what changes the usage of ICT tools involved for interpreters. There were three possible answers the participants could choose from: ICT tools (1) only took over the task of old, paper-based tools, or (2) they brought new elements into the work of interpreters or (3) both of the statements are correct. Only two respondents marked option (1), 29.4% of them (10 answers) chose option (2), while the majority (21 answers, that is 61.8%) chose the third statement. There was one respondent who claimed to use both electronic and paper based tools which adds him/her to the third group. In total, 91.4% supported claims which stated that by the introduction of new technologies, new elements or features were added to interpreters' toolkit. The main question here is whether these are additional tools, or whether they only replace older, paper-based ones. Based on the answers, 91.4% think that these tools add new perspectives to the work of interpreters, and they are not just a replacement for other tools used earlier (e.g. paper and pen).

3.4 CORRELATIONS AND RELATIONS BETWEEN FIGURES

The questions in the survey do not only contain information individually, but there are also possible connections between the individual results. The issue of the relations between the 1st, 2nd and 3rd question was already mentioned earlier. However, besides questions about ICT usage during interpreting, there are more complex connections, too, e.g. concerning personal information (introductory questions). The correlation values are presented in my correlation matrix. I took every result which can be a part of a connection and can be converted to a numeric form. Although I calculated all of the correlations, some of these elements are not relevant to the topic (e.g. the correlation between the age and the experience of the respondents). These fields received a different background colour in my charts. If there is a correlation between the factors, it is indicated in bold. The matrix is presented in two tables (Tables 8 and 9).

Table 8: Correlation matrix, part 1

	Age	Experience	Interpreting days	Simultaneous
Age	–	r=0.792, p=0.000	r=0.565, p=0.001	r=0.16, p=0.373
Experience	r=0.792, p=0.000	–	r=0.412, p=0.015	r=0.34, p=0.049
Interpreting days	r=0.565, p=0.001	r=0.412, p=0.015	–	r=0.238, p=0.176
Simultaneous	r=0.16, p=0.373	r=0.34, p=0,049	r=0,238, p=0.176	–
Number of ICT tools used	r=0.061, p=0.738	r=0.069, p=0.699	r=0.121, p=0.497	r=0.039, p=0.826
Frequency of ICT usage	r=0.195, p=0.276	r=0.321, p=0.064	r=0.086, p=0.627	r=0.324, p=0.062
Sex	r=-0.136, p=0.451	r=-0.253, p=0.149	r=-0.145, p=0.412	r=-0.03, p=0.868
Attitude	r=0.286, p=0.107	r=0.35, p=0.042	r=0.184, p=0.297	r=0.43, p=0.011
Qualification	r=0.199, p=0.267	r=-0.019, p=0.914	r=0.091, p=0.609	r=0.028, p=0.873

Table 9: Correlation matrix, part 2

	Number of ICT tools used	Frequency of ICT usage	Sex	Attitude	Qualification
Age	r=0.061, p=0.738	r=0.195, p=0.276	r=-0.136, p=0.451	r=0.286, p=0.107	r=0.199, p=0.267
Experience	r=0.069, p=0.699	r=0.321, p=0.064	r=-0.253, p=0.149	r=0.35, p=0.042	r=-0.019, p=0.914
Interpreting days	r=0.121, p=0.497	r=0.086, p=0.627	r=-0.145, p=0.412	r=0.184, p=0.297	r=0.091, p=0.609
Simultaneous	r=0.039, p=0.826	r=0.324, p=0.062	r=-0.03, p=0.868	r=0.43, p=0.011	r=0.028, p=0.873
Number of ICT tools used	–	r=-0.077, p=0.665	r=-0.241, p=0.17	r=0.37, p=0.031	r=0.108, p=0.543
Frequency of ICT usage	r=-0.077, p=0.665	–	r=-0.011, p=0.949	r=0.237, p=0.177	r=0.174, p=0.326
Sex	r=-0.241, p=0.17	r=-0.011, p=0.949	–	r=-0.303, p=0.082	r=-0.047, p=0.794
Attitude	r=0.37, p=0.031	r=0.237, p=0.177	r=-0.303, p=0.082	–	r=0.171, p=0.333
Qualification	r=0.108, p=0.543	r=0.174, p=0.326	r=-0.047, p=0.794	r=0.171, p=0.333	–

3.4.1 Age, professional experience, sex and ICT usage

The first issue investigated by this article is whether there are any relationships between age, professional experience and ICT usage. In the case of age, I could use existing numerical data, while for the examination of ICT usage I had to quantify the data. In the case of ICT usage, I created two categories: one expresses how often the respondents use ICTs (answers to Question 8), the other shows how many types of ICTs they use. In the case of this second category I added up the number of marked answers for the 2nd and the 3rd question (that means software and hardware together). According to my correlation calculation matrix, no correlations could be found between these factors, so it is likely that there are no substantial differences between the ICT usage of more experienced or older interpreters and the younger, less experienced interpreters. Two common myths are dispelled this way: the first one is that only experienced interpreters can handle ICT tools really well; the other one is that the older generation cannot really get used to these tools. The number of interpreting days does not seem to matter, either. Work experience and age can be interesting factors, as Berber Irabien's research has already showed that there could be perhaps two groups which are less motivated about using ICT tools during their work, these are older and inexperienced interpreters, as I have already mentioned above (Berber Irabien 2010). Although it was not part of the correlation matrix, I also calculated correlations for hardware and software tools individually, but no correlations could be found, either.

3.4.2 Attitude towards interpreting

One of the most interesting parts of the study is to examine whether there are any connections between the personal data of the respondents or answers to the ‘factual’ questions and the attitude towards ICT tools. As I did not get any numerical answers to the questions which could reflect the attitude of the interpreters, I applied the following method: I took the relevant questions about the goal, the effect of ICT tools and the ones reflecting on the advantages and disadvantages of ICT tools, and counted the positive and negative answers for every respondent, and summarised it. The number I got is of course not an absolute one (so we cannot state that if it is positive the attitude of the participant is positive as well because there were fewer negative options among the questions than positive). But still, this number shows the difference between the respondents.

The result shows that there are three factors where a correlation can indeed be found, these are the following: experience, the proportion of simultaneous interpreting in the participants’ work life and the number of ICT tools used. The correlation between attitude and experience shows that more experienced interpreters think more positively about using ICT tools (although they do not use these more frequently or on a wider scale).

This finding supports Berber Irabien’s findings mentioned in 2.4.1. The proportion of simultaneous interpreting might reveal that those who mostly work in the booth, which enables the usage of ICT tools during work, as opposed to the rather limited opportunities in a consecutive or liaison situation, connect more positive emotions to this phenomenon. The third correlation with the number of types of ICT tools used, is also understandable, those interpreters use typically a wider range of ICT tools which show a more positive attitude towards these tools.

3.4.3 Goals and results

One of the most important connections, however, is the relationship between the reason why interpreters use ICT tools, and the result of using ICTs in their work. *Question 4* asks the respondents about the reasons why they use ICT tools, and it also contains an option “...I want to make my work more precise”. By marking this option, interpreters can refer to their general experience. 32 out of 34 respondents chose this option (among other options). This shows that in most of the cases there is at least one deliberate goal of using ICT tools. It is, however, very interesting that only 11 out of 32 respondents who claimed that they wanted to make their work more precise (*Question 4*), marked the option “accuracy” for *Question 9*. This means that ICT tools did not meet the interpreters’ expectations because otherwise they should have marked the positive answer about the effects of ICT tools, as well. This being so, it means that interpreters were quite critical about ICTs, and therefore, the positive image reflected by *Questions 9 and 10* are slightly overshadowed. A similar contradiction can be experienced from those answers, which while claiming that ICT tools help them a lot in their work, actually give negative answers concerning the result of the usage of ICTs.

3.4.4 Other possible correlations

I also examined if there was a connection between the usage of tools made especially for mediation between languages, and these persons' attitude towards ICT tools: there was no correlation between these two factors. The result shows that no strong correlation can be shown in this case ($p=0,113$ $r=0,277$). The next question was whether there was a correlation between experience and the usage of special terminological tools, but the results showed that here there was no correlation, either ($p=0.149$, $r=-0.253$).

4. CONCLUSION

This study surveyed the ICT using habits of altogether 34 interpreters who work in Hungary. It was designed to discover the most important factors of using ICT tools. The results can be summarised as follows: all of the respondents use some ICT tools in some phases of their work. Mostly depending on their age, they either started to use them at some point during their career, or they have been using them right from the beginning. The most important hardware are PCs, laptops and smartphones, while in the case of software text editors, browsers, electronic and web-based dictionaries are most commonly used as opposed to applications or special terminology software. Considering the goal of ICT usage, the wish to make one's work more precise and the positive experience with ICTs are the two most important factors. As far as the effect of ICT on the work of the interpreters is concerned, the majority claim that these tools are part of their working method, and they do not consider them as a separate phenomenon. The respondents of the survey use ICT tools mostly in the preparation phases of their interpreting jobs and during interpreting, only a minority does post-interpreting work as well. The approach and attitude towards ICT tools is mainly positive, however their usage cannot be considered very frequent, nearly 75% only use them a couple of times in an hour of simultaneous interpreting. Easy searchability and speed are perceived to be the two main advantages of ICT tools, while the distracting, disturbing effect and technical problems are considered the two main disadvantages. CAI software are nearly fully unknown to the participants of the survey, the main hypothetical expectations of the respondents towards them would be the easy usability and quick searchability.

As for interdependences, a correlative relationship could only be detected in three cases, namely attitude towards ICT tools showed a correlation with the number of years of interpreting experience, the proportion of simultaneous interpreting and the number of ICT tools used.

Further research will be conducted in the form of interviews with some of the respondents, and CAI software are also going to be the subject of the follow-up studies.

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SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING WITH TEXT FROM ENGLISH INTO HUNGARIAN

Preliminary Results

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Abstract: Simultaneous interpreting with text is a widely used but seldom analysed mode of interpreting. The present study aimed at providing evidence for the beneficial aspects of having the manuscript of the speech in this mode. The literature was reviewed, then attitudes, strategies and the performance of practicing interpreters working from English into Hungarian were analysed first by means of a focused analytical survey, then by a hypothesis-testing experiment. In the first stage, significant differences were found in the average ranking of the written text when the speaker has a heavy/unusual accent, and results showed that the manuscript is very helpful in increasing accuracy in output. In stage two, the focus was narrowed down to the scenario where interpreters get the manuscript five minutes in advance. Findings confirmed the hypothesis that conference interpreters render numbers more accurately in simultaneous interpreting with text compared with simultaneous. Further preliminary results include comparisons between SI and SI+T regarding the perception of 1) difficulties with a speech that is read with a heavy/unusual accent; 2) difficulties when rendering a speech containing names and numbers; and 3) speed in the case of both heavy accent and information density. The hypothesis regarding sight translation strategies in SI+T was only partially confirmed.

Keywords: simultaneous interpreting with text (SI+T), simultaneous interpreting (SI), sight translation, heavy or unusual accent, accuracy in output, names, numbers

1. INTRODUCTION

Interpreters are increasingly asked to perform **simultaneous interpreting with text** at international meetings as there is less spontaneous debate and it seems to be an ever increasing trend that speakers read their speech from a previously written text and it needs to be simultaneously interpreted (Seleskovitch and Lederer 2002). According to Cammoun et al. (2009), the reasons for the wider use of **simultaneous interpreting with text** is that the timeframe of the meetings is shorter “while trying to cover a wide range of more technical, sophisticated and sensitive issues” (Cammoun et al. 2009: 16). Furthermore, non-native speakers of English are more numerous, international meetings are less rhetorical, and written papers are usually submitted in advance (Setton and Motta 2007). There is a particularly high number of technical presentations that are read out at high speed at certain international organisations, which presents additional difficulties for the interpreter (Cammoun et al. 2009).

In 1998 Gile urged researchers in the interpreting field not to hesitate to conduct observational research, claiming that “there has been a shift towards experimental procedures to the detriment of observational studies” (Gile 1998: 71). The present project on **simultaneous interpreting with text** from English into Hungarian is no exception to the trend almost 20 years later in so far as its major phase is experimental with statistical hypothesis-testing.

In *Part 2* of the paper a selective review of the literature is presented. *Part 3* describes the introductory observational phase which was conducted by means of a focused analytical interactive survey according to Gile's classification (1998) to lay the groundwork for the experiment. The results of the survey, carried out in April 2014, shed light on attitudes and strategies of interpreters with Hungarian in their language combination related to simultaneous interpreting with text and helped to narrow down the focus for the experiment. *Part 4* describes the experiment consisting of two parts, carried out in September 2016: it compared **SI+T** with **SI** in the case of a **heavy or unusual accent** in the first part and a speech containing many **names and numbers** in the second. This empirical stage was performed with a statistical hypothesis-testing method according to Gile's classification (1998). *Part 5* concludes by describing the stages of research and providing a short summary of the results.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Researchers and teachers of interpreting do not necessarily agree on what exactly **simultaneous interpreting with text** is, on how to define it and whether they place it before or after plain simultaneous. The debate is about whether it is an intermediate step between **sight translation** and **simultaneous interpreting (SI)** or it should be regarded as a complex form of the simultaneous. The differences in views have to do mostly with whether they think information processing is easier or more difficult when the information is also available visually, compared with the simultaneous mode. On differences in terminology and the definitions see Cammoun et al. (2009) and Rohonyi (2015).

Seleskovitch and Lederer (2002) highlight the fact that this interpreting mode differs from interpreting ad-libbed speeches and presents the interpreter with further challenges. Gile defines simultaneous with text as a "very common interpreting modality, inter alia in speeches at international conferences, when speakers read a text which has also been given to the interpreters" (Gile 2009: 181). Elsewhere he points out that it "can be performed as a mixture of **SI** and **sight translation** going from "pure" **SI** (without any reference to the text) to "pure" **sight translation** (without any reference to the sound" (Gile 1997: 169).

Lambert (1991) refers to the phenomenon of **simultaneous interpreting with text** by the term sight interpretation. She argues that it is easier than **simultaneous interpreting** and should be an exercise to help learn to interpret simultaneously. She thinks that **simultaneous interpreting with text** is one step closer to simultaneous than it is to **sight translation** (Lambert 2004).

According to Setton and Motta (2007) simultaneous with text is half way between **sight translation** and interpreting. They assert that when information is gathered from multiple sources, the interpreter is given more time to organise and restructure information, therefore has a fairer chance to render all the information and to do so more accurately. Pöchhaker considers simultaneous with text a special and complex mode of **simultaneous interpreting** in the booth "with a more or less important sight interpreting component" (Pöchhaker 2004: 19). He underlines that many speakers depart from the manuscript for asides or omissions. (Pöchhaker 2004).

Cammoun et al. (2009) start from the assumption that simultaneous interpretation with text is one of the most complex scenarios one can encounter in interpreting.

The multitasking involved presents special challenges to the cognitive resources of the interpreter, adding an additional input and task (visual processing) to the auditory input and several other subsequent tasks involved in the transformation of a verbal message in the source language into its equivalent in the target language. (Cammoun et al. 2009: 10)

From here on this article will use the concept of simultaneous with text, abbreviated **SI+T** in the sense of the definition proposed by the author of this article at the 16th annual conference of the Department of Translation and Interpreting, ELTE University in Budapest, Hungary, held in 2014: “**simultaneous interpreting with text** is a type of interpreting where the speaker presents a previously written text, he or she may divert from it to a varying degree and the interpreters have a copy of the written text” (Rohonyi 2015). Only running texts used in **SI+T** fall under the scope of this research.

Cammoun et al. (2009) offer a summary of the literature on the linguistic aspect of **SI+T**. The researchers refer to the various differences of written and spoken speech: written texts can be on the one hand, planned to be read aloud, in which case boundaries get blurred between written and spoken speech, or not planned to be recited, which poses a bigger challenge to the interpreter. Further subtleties are mentioned, such as whether the text does or does not take into consideration the listeners’ needs, etc.

SI+T is included in Gile’s effort models: the reading effort is added to the five efforts already at work in simultaneous mode, namely listening and analysis effort, production effort, memory and coordination efforts (Gile 2009). We see that in **SI+T** the reading effort, or, in other words, the “additional input and task” of visual processing (Cammoun et al. 2009: 10) further increases the already heavy cognitive burden of the simultaneous interpreter. The drawbacks are compensated for by various benefits offered by the written text.

2.1 DIFFICULTIES AND ADVANTAGES

Cammoun et al. compiled a list of the cognitive benefits and constraints which was almost entirely borrowed in the first phase of the present research (Cammoun et al. 2009). Benefits include developing the knowledge base for each meeting, increased precision and **accuracy in output**, easier anticipation, understanding a speaker with a **heavy accent**. Constraints include dual input, negative interference from the source language, high speed of delivery, lack of redundancy, monotonous presentation.

As the literature review shows and Cammoun et al. (2009) convincingly demonstrated, the majority of researchers share the opinion that **SI+T** is more complex, and consequently, more difficult than SI as a general rule. This explains why advantages are outweighed by difficulties in the literature. The discussion below reflects this imbalance and the experimental phase of the research intends to counterbalance it by focusing on the advantages of having the manuscript in **SI+T**.

Seleskovitch and Lederer (2002) explain the difficulty of managing dual input by describing the learning process of **SI+T**. If the interpreter holds on to the text too closely, sooner or later they cannot keep up with what is being heard, and the result is a vicious circle. The best advice is to return to the voice of the speaker. Detachment from actual words is enhanced by marking

elements of the written speech, which gradually helps the student to avoid relying on the manuscript beyond the desired level (Seleskovitch and Lederer 2002). Describing the method in more detail would go beyond the scope of this paper. For more on how to teach **SI+T** see Ivanov et al. (2014), their article offers a new approach to teaching simultaneous with text based on the findings of their study, often referred to in the present paper (Cammoun et al. 2009).

According to Gile's definition cited above, everything in between 'pure' simultaneous and 'pure' **sight translation** falls into the category of simultaneous with text which is the mixture of these two. Whereas one extreme, mere simultaneous deprives the interpreter of the visual help, the other extreme, **sight translation** is risky for a number of reasons: the interpreter might be trying to translate everything despite being outdistanced; saturation may occur due to the high speed of the presentation; and important speech segments might be lost (Gile 1997, 2009).

The interpreter may also miss the diversions from the written text if they let the speaker run ahead (Gile 1997, 2009). Lamberger-Felber (2001) tested the hypothesis made by Gile (1995), claiming that interpreters working with written text suffer less from memory restrictions, thus tend to keep a longer timelag, and might consequently omit longer passages of the original. It was shown that indeed, "a) the average timelag is longer for SI with text as compared with SI without text and b) a timelag longer than average indicates a risk of omitting a long passage of the original" (Lamberger-Felber 2001: 56).

Lambert presumed that there is more interference between similar tasks such as listening and speaking and less between different ones such as reading and listening/speaking (Lambert 2004). She compared **sight translation**, **simultaneous with text** and **simultaneous interpreting**. Her respondents performed better in both **sight translation** and **SI+T** compared with simultaneous so she concluded that similar tasks present a higher degree of interference. Other researchers suggested that the visual presence of the verbal signs presents more interference (Gile 2009). According to Gile, in both **sight translation** and **SI+T**, the fact that source language words and linguistic structures remain present before the practitioner's eyes all the way along increase the risk of interference between the two languages and "calls for more intense anti-interference efforts than in interpreting" (Gile 2009: 181).

Lamberger-Felber and Schneider looked at types and frequency of interference in **simultaneous interpreting** and concluded that interference is to some extent independent from other parameters of production (Lamberger-Felber and Schneider 2009). Setton and Motta performed an experiment in the framework of their project called *Syntacrobatics* and looked at what happens with syntax in **SI+T**, that is, when visual and auditory processing are simultaneously at work. Their results indicate that visual information interferes with what is heard (Setton and Motta: 2007).

Non-native speakers might compensate for their possible lack of satisfactory linguistic competence either by slowing down, or, by way of contrast, speeding up to more than a comfortable speed for the listener, let alone the interpreter, when they read out a pre-written speech. Also, native speakers as well as non-native speakers might change their natural speech rate when reading a text as opposed to presenting spontaneously. Horváth introduces the concept of *tempo* or rate of utterance by claiming that it is a factor influencing intelligibility in general (Horváth 2012).

Interpreters respond to the accelerated or unusually slow rate of the speaker by an increase in their stress level. Moser-Mercer asserts that input rates increase stress, mostly time stress (Moser-Mercer 1985), which is why they use it as a test tool to screen potential interpreters. It is expected of professional interpreters to be able to cope with low and high speed and the corresponding stress.

A potentially increased stress level of the speaker who is reciting, their changed intonation patterns and tone, and, most importantly, altered chunking strategies might account for the *perception* of the increased delivery rate. Chernov highlights that the additional difficulty of a recited pre-written text is perceived by the interpreter as high speech rate, “in which the discourse seems to unfold at an inhuman, machine-like speed” (Chernov 2004: 18). Déjean Le Féal showed that the delivery rate is often not faster, merely perceived as fast by interpreters. She identified temporal patterns of both recited and improvised speeches and associated them with mechanisms in interpreting. The impression of faster source text delivery rate is partly due to specific chunking patterns. In spontaneous delivery, the speakers pause after seven words in general and no more than nine, whereas in recited speeches the segments range from seven up to 23 words (Déjean Le Féal in Chernov 2004).

Seleskovitch and Lederer argue that the rate that is perceived as high *is* high and is not therefore a mere illusion. One explanation is that in recital the speaker does not look for ideas while speaking, therefore presents at a higher rate, with erroneous prosody. Additionally, some of the speeches are originally meant for silent reading, therefore when read aloud the rhythm neither sounds spontaneous nor is it a silent reading speed (Seleskovitch and Lederer: 2002). The above cited works show that the rate of speech and the perception of it in **SI+T** are closely linked to the stress level of the speaker and the interpreter. Other characteristics of read-out speeches only add to the difficulty.

But there are significant benefits as well, the text is not just a hindrance. Gile asserts that the reading effort and the listening effort not only compete, but also cooperate. Interpreters thus benefit from “the visual presence of all the information which reduces memory problems and the effect of acoustic difficulties and heavy or unusual accents as well as the probability of failures due to insufficient processing capacity in the Listening and Analysis Effort” (Gile 2009). In a similar vein Setton and Motta (2007) think the visual information helps restructure information. Viezzi (1989) stresses the benefit of the visual presence of the information, referring to **sight translation** in general.

Preparation further enhances the interpreter’s performance: underlying, highlighting **names** and titles, **numbers**, marking complex syntax, and the logical links between sentences, idioms, sayings and quotations are but a few examples (Cammoun et al. 2009).

2.2 ACCENT

Not only is English a lingua franca worldwide, it “has become the dominant conference language and is increasingly being used by speakers with mother tongues other than English whose pronunciation deviates from Standard English” (Kurz 2008: 180). International English may vary a great deal from one of the standard varieties to unusual forms reflecting features of the speakers’ mother tongue (Kurz 2008).

Gile's effort models show that the listening and analysis efforts are the most crucial where the speaker has an unusual or strong accent (Gile 2009):

Bad pronunciation by a non-native speaker forces the interpreter to devote much processing capacity to the Listening and Analysis Effort, and therefore slows down production. This results in lag which in turn overloads the Memory Effort and results in loss of information from memory. Alternatively, memory is not overloaded, but production becomes very difficult because the interpreter has to accelerate in order to catch up with the speaker, which result in deterioration of output quality or decreased availability of processing capacity for the Listening and Analysis Effort and in the loss of a later segment (Gile 2009: 173).

In simultaneous with text a heavy/unusual accent puts an additional cognitive burden on the interpreter, who is already dealing with the dual input. Segments might be lost because there isn't enough capacity for the relevant effort even in a passage that under normal circumstances would not be difficult to understand or translate (Gile 2009). If "the Listening and Analysis Effort is affected by elements containing phonetic, lexical or syntactic errors, the basis for all other efforts is strongly corroded or even destroyed. Even experienced interpreters find it difficult to deliver a coherent target text in these circumstances" (Kurz 2008: 182). In such extreme cases, the manuscript plays the role of a life-belt. For example, the reading effort might compensate for the insufficient processing capacity in the listening and analysis effort. The coordination effort also plays an increased role as reading and listening should cooperate rather than compete (Gile 2009). Dependence on the reading effort will vary according to the degree of unfamiliarity with the accent as well as its degree of deviation from the standard. Cammoun et al. commented in their seminal paper on **SI+T** (2009) that the difficulty of a heavy/unusual accent is peripheral, but in extreme cases the text might be life-saving:

A peripheral but sometimes vital benefit of having a text in SI is to facilitate the interpreter's understanding of a speaker with a heavy accent, since the interpreter can check what the speaker is saying, or was supposed to say, against the text. In certain circumstances, when the accent is not just heavy but absolutely unintelligible, having the text may be the only way for the interpreter to 'survive' by, exceptionally, sight translating the corresponding fragment of the text, bearing in mind the inherent risks of using such a technique, i.e., forgetting to 'listen' rather than 'read', thus omitting additions and including omissions, racing ahead of the speaker, etc. (Cammoun et al. 2009: 61).

There have been attempts in interpreting studies to show the effect of unusual pronunciation by empirical means. Kurz (2008) reports on an experiment that one of her students, Dominika Kodrnja performed for an MA thesis in 2001. The experiment compared the performance of students when interpreting an identical speech presented by a native and a non-native speaker. "[T]he non-native accent not only had an immediate, measurable impact on students' performance (higher loss of information) but also gave rise to the subjective impression of higher

delivery speed” (Kurz 2008: 189). This finding is particularly relevant for the present study since both accent and recited texts give the impression of higher speed.

Finally, the perception of unfamiliarity/difficulty of the accent may be very subjective and the comparability of source texts represent a great challenge to the researcher. As Lamberger-Felber (2001) puts it “[a]n interpreter’s personal history (knowledge of regional accents, technical knowledge, language preferences, stylistic preferences, etc.) is likely to have more influence on his/her perception of different source texts and their difficulty for interpreters than objectively quantifiable parameters would” (Lamberger-Felber 2001: 231).

2.3 NAMES AND NUMBERS

Several studies on **SI** stressed the difficulties interpreters face when rendering **names and numbers**, the resulting inaccuracy, and the fact that processing **names and numbers** is different from that of coherent passages of a text, and as such requires an instant procedural switch as well as a reallocation of resources, which can lead to errors (Lederer 1982, Gile 1984, 1985, Moser-Mercer 1985, Lamberger-Felber 2001, Braun and Clarici 1996).

According to Lederer, interpreters have auditory problems with figures despite the fact that they use **numbers** not less than any participant of international meetings (which cannot be said about technical terms) (Lederer 1982). Nevertheless, even if the interpreter knows and identifies the number, he or she is often unable to grasp its meaning in the given context. However, Lederer argues that in **SI** names that only need to be adapted in the target language, technical terms which only have one equivalent, as well as acronyms and figures are the hardest to *hear* and *understand*, although these should be the easiest to *translate* since they can be transcoded (Lederer 1982). Moser-Mercer (1985) underlines the unpredictable nature of **numbers**:

From a language information processing point of view, the processing of numbers differs from that of continuous text in that numbers are largely unpredictable, *i.e.* one has to devote full attention to the incoming message, whereas (...) continuous text allows and even requires hypothesizing on the input. Thus, when numbers appear in a continuous text, the interpreter has to switch his processing procedures (Moser-Mercer 1985: 97).

According to Lederer, interpreters switch back and forth between *transcodage* ‘transcoding’ and *traduction intelligente* ‘intelligent translation’ when dealing with **names and numbers**. When the figure or name appears, they switch to transcoding, then they must make a conscious effort to detach from the linguistic form of the original and regain the intelligent translation mode (Lederer 1982).¹

Braun and Clarici (1996) adds that for the necessary shifts it is inevitable to activate two different types of memory: the semantic for verbal processing and the operational for the transcoding of the numeral that occurs suddenly. The shift requires such an effort that it is very easy to omit a numeral that occurs suddenly. Braun and Clarici gained insight into the neurolinguistic processing of numerals in their experiment to test the inaccuracy of numerals.

¹ Quotes from Lederer were translated from French by the author.

Their 12 subjects processed altogether 1,344 numerals with a 69.49% error score in simultaneous interpreting mode and thus confirmed “the high number of errors commonly related to this particular kind of performance” (Braun and Clarici 1996: 88).

Counter-examples can be found in the literature as well. The study of Meuleman and Besien (2009) on simultaneous interpreting performed under extreme conditions produced some striking results with regard to **numbers**. From a total of 135 figures (their high-delivery-speed passage contained 9 figures and their sample included 15 subjects) 75.5% have been translated correctly, 17.7% omitted and 6.6% translated incorrectly. Based on the finding they suggest that “under extreme circumstances, interpreters are highly aware of the possible importance of figures (...) and therefore focus on these” (Meuleman and Besien 2009: 30).

In the same way as **numbers**, names also require an immediate intensification of some efforts to the detriment of others, leading to a potential loss of balance (Gile 1985). Compact texts require an increased listening and analysis effort, then a renewed effort for production to catch up. Similarly, multi-word names (consisting of common names as well as proper names) constitute information blocks that require an increased listening effort during which production effort is minimised, or even stopped entirely, which in turn puts an increasing burden on the memory (Gile 1984, 1985).

In her doctoral dissertation, Lamberger-Felber tested various hypotheses on errors and omissions in **numbers and names** in three different conditions: 1) interpreters were given the written copy of the speech and had time to prepare it, 2) they had the manuscript but did not have time to prepare it, and 3) they were not given the manuscript. She published some of her findings in English, subtitled *Examples from a case-study* (Lamberger-Felber 2001) which include a result that is very relevant for the present study. She showed that incorrect rendition or omission of proper **names/numbers** was reduced by the use of the manuscript in the booth, though stressing that intersubject variability was high and had to be taken into consideration. (Lamberger-Felber 2001). She argues that “[w]hereas a sample of 12 interpreters is rather big compared to many empirical studies carried out on **SI** so far, it may be too small if a subdivision of the sample is necessary for the purpose of the study, e.g. for comparing performance under different conditions” (Lamberger-Felber 2001: 51). Her piece of advice was taken into consideration in the planning of the experimental set-up of the present research and subdivision of the sample was ruled out: an important gain that came at the high cost of having an order effect.

3. STAGE ONE: THE SURVEY

3.1 PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY

The aim of the survey is to broaden our knowledge of **simultaneous interpreting with text (SI+T)** by examining attitudes and strategies of interpreters with a language combination that includes Hungarian.

The research question and the corresponding hypothesis are the following: Does the written text help, rather than hinder interpreters’ performance in simultaneous interpreting? Hypothesis: When the appropriate strategies are used, visual information complements auditory information and helps conference interpreters to render the message more accurately and in a more suitable form.

The survey conducted in the first stage of the research relied on a study carried out by a group of four researchers: Cammoun, Davies, Ivanov and Naimushin (2009). The present project adapted their questionnaire being specially designed to reveal interpreters’ practices and attitudes towards **SI+T** to the Hungarian market. For a detailed description of the method and the questionnaire used in the survey, see Annexe 1.

3.2 RESULTS OF THE SURVEY – DISCUSSION

Surprisingly, almost half of the respondents (15 interpreters) took part in some kind of **SI+T** training. 13 among them had **SI+T** exercises during their interpreter training. This result confirms the earlier findings of Cammoun et al. (2009) and proves that training in **SI+T** is not missing from interpreter training. The questionnaire did not look into the nature and scope of the training. In terms of basic strategies, the questionnaire inquired first whether the interpreter chooses to use the written copy of the speech or not. The vast majority of respondents (91%) always use the written text when they receive it well in advance (scenario 1); a majority (79%) always use it if they receive the written copy at least 15 minutes before the start of interpreting (scenario 2). In the case they are given the written text only 5 minutes before the start (scenario 3), less than half always use it (42%), also less than half sometimes use it (45%). The ‘never’ option for these questions is worth mentioning: nobody discards the text in scenario 1, it came somewhat as a surprise that one respondent (3%) discards the written text in scenario 2, and 3 respondents (9%) prefer not to use the text when they receive it less than 5 minutes in advance (scenario 3).

In order to deepen the analysis, Pearson $\chi^2(4)$ correlation analysis was carried out to show the relation of **SI+T** training and the use of the written text for the three scenarios. **SI+T** training does not correlate significantly with the decision to use the manuscript in the first and second case ($Pr=0.927$; $Pr=0.130$). However, *Table 1* shows that significant correlation was found in the third scenario between training and use of text ($Pr=0.063$). Those who received **SI+T** training were less inclined to use the text in the constrained situation where they have less than five minutes to prepare the text, compared with those who did not have any such training. A possible explanation for this unexpected result could be that interpreters prefer to discard the text in case they cannot prepare it “properly”. However, this hypothesis needs further study to be confirmed.

Table 1: Relation of SI+T training and use of the written text in scenario 3

	Do you use the text if you receive it less than 5 minutes before the start of interpreting?			
Training	Yes, always	Yes, sometimes	Never	Total
No	10	7	0	17
Yes	4	8	3	15
Total	14	15	3	32
Pearson $\chi^2(4)$	5.5347 Pr=0.063			

In situations where they have time to prepare the written text (scenarios 1 and 2 combined), respondents focus on **names** and titles in the first place, followed by terms, **numbers**, sentence

structure and links, and, finally, references. The effect of **SI+T** training can be shown: those who received training consider the preparation of **names**, titles, **numbers**, references and terms (four out of five categories) to be more important than those who did not have training.

Figure 1 shows that when respondents have less than five minutes, most prefer to get the general idea of the text by skimming through it, followed closely in importance by circling/underlying/highlighting a few important elements, including names and numbers, and finally, reading the first and last paragraph. This is not an unexpected result, yet the order of preference of the two first options is reversed compared with the findings of Cammoun et al. (2009).

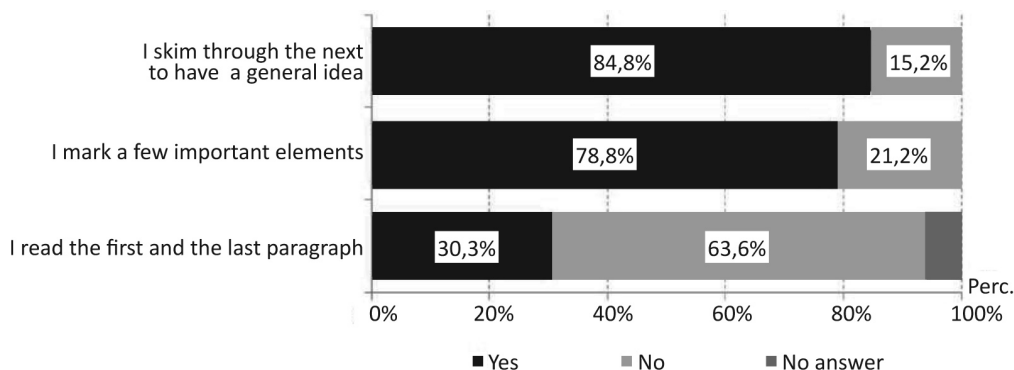


Figure 1: Scenario 3 – Less than 5 minutes to prepare the written text

The literature review elaborated the four benefits and five constraints conceptualised by Cammoun et al. (2009). Eight of these were used in the present survey, and a separate question referred to dual input.

Interpreters ranked the concepts in terms of their importance in **SI+T** (the order of priority was 1 to 8 where 1 was the most important and 8 the least important). First of all, they consider the written text to be helpful for an increased **accuracy** of data **in the output** (2.73). Secondly, in the case where the delivery speed is accelerated (3.16), thirdly as it helps them anticipate (3.85). These were followed by the lack of redundancy (3.89), coping with a **heavy accent** (4.03), to have a broader knowledge of the topic of the meeting (4.43), interference from the source text (5.81), and finally, when the delivery is monotonous (6.12). Relative to the concept of interference the same doubt has arisen as in the research performed by Cammoun et al. (2009). Interference refers to “the direct impact of the source text on the target text” (G. Láng 2002: 194); or “speakers applying knowledge from the first/source language to a second/target language” (Cammoun et al. 2009: 60), and the negative effect might be stronger and more apparent when the visual signs are present in front of them (Gile 2009). Respondents might have confused interference with the difficulty of dual input. Therefore, this aspect was not further analysed.

The comparison, with the help of a mean test (Wald) of the average rankings of the eight constraints and benefits within the **SI+T** training subgroup and other subgroups per years of professional experience, proved to be fruitful. Among the eight aspects one stood out:

there were only significant differences between the subgroups in the ranking of “having the text when the speaker has a **heavy accent**”. Its ranking was significantly higher (with a 95% confidence level) among those who have not received training and those who have more than ten years of professional experience. In view of these surprising results, accent seemed to be a concept that requires further study.

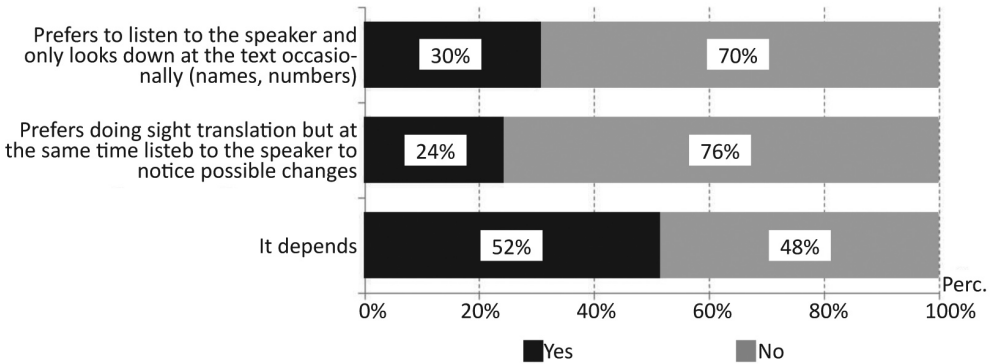


Figure 2: Relying on the auditory/visual input in SI+T

Figure 2 shows participants’ preferences in terms of the sight translation component of SI+T. The ratio of those who mainly ‘follow their ears’ was slightly higher than those who favour the dominance of **sight translation** (10 versus 8 respondents, 30% versus 24%). But based on the results, the outstanding ratio of the option “It depends” (17 respondents, 51%) is worth mentioning. It indicates that many interpreters do not have a one-and-only strategy, or general preference of a strategy that works for them in **SI+T** mode. Their strategy changes depending – presumably – on how much time they have to prepare the text, what type of text they have to deal with and how easily they can understand the speaker. Further analysis was carried out in the second stage of the research to find out what their strategy depends on.

For an extended analysis of the results of the questionnaire and more detailed description of what differences were found from findings of Cammoun et al. (2009), see Rohonyi (2016).

4. THE EXPERIMENT

4.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND EMPIRICAL HYPOTHESES

Based on the results of the survey and the literature review the experiment set out to examine **simultaneous interpreting with text** from English into Hungarian under two specific conditions: when the speaker has an **unusual/heavy accent** and when the speech contains several **names and numbers**.

Although strictly speaking there were two experiments, each with its independent variable, since the two took place consecutively, with exactly the same sample and under identical technical conditions, they are treated as one experiment consisting of two parts. A clear distinction is always made between the two.

Research questions and hypotheses for the experiment are the following:

- (1) What strategy do conference interpreters prefer in **SI+T** mode when dealing with different types of speeches, e.g. delivered with a heavy accent or containing a lot of data? Hypothesis 1a: In **SI+T** mode, in the case when the speaker has a **heavy or unusual accent**, conference interpreters tend to resort to sight interpretation on long passages. 1b: Where the speech contains **names and numbers**, interpreters prefer to look down briefly at specific elements which they also might have circled/underlined/highlighted when preparing the written text.
- (2) Do conference interpreters omit less information when they have access to a copy of the written text in the booth where the speaker has a **heavy or unusual accent**? Hypothesis: In the event the speaker has a **heavy or unusual accent**, conference interpreters omit significantly more in **SI** compared with **SI+T**.
- (3) Does the written version of the speech help interpreters render the numbers correctly? Hypothesis: Conference interpreters make fewer mistakes in the numbers in **SI+T** than in **SI**.

4.2 PARTICIPANTS

The present experiment was carried out with 15 professional interpreters. Six of the participants were men, nine women. They are based in Budapest, Hungary. Their ages ranged from 29 to 66. 13 of them work mainly on the Hungarian private market, two of them are EU accredited freelance interpreters and also work on the Hungarian private market. 33.3% of the respondents have over twenty years of experience, both the group with 10 to 19 and the group with 5 to 9 years of experience were represented by 26.6% of the respondents, respectively; finally, 13.3% have less than five years of experience. That makes the sample representative of the Hungarian market. 46.6% of them claimed to have had training in **SI+T**, all of them during their interpreting studies, one of them (6.6%) had specific **SI+T** training as well.

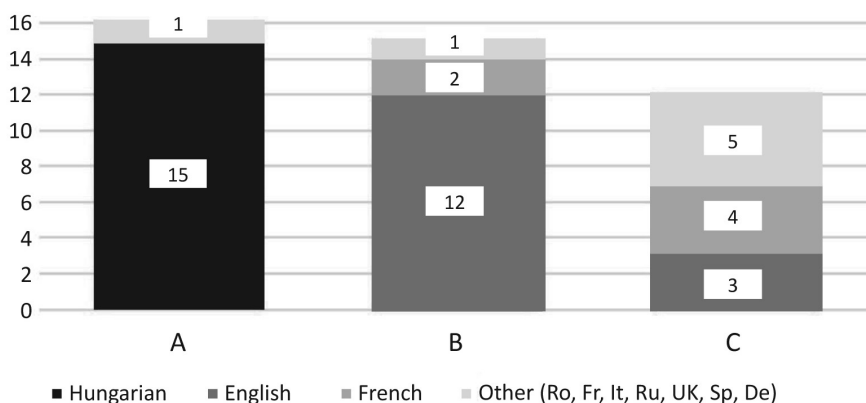


Figure 3: The language combination of participants

Figure 3 shows that all subjects have Hungarian as their A language, one of them claims being a bilingual of Hungarian and Rumanian (two A languages). English was either their B or C

language. Further B and C languages included Russian, Ukrainian, French, Italian, German, and Spanish. All the subjects volunteered for the experiment upon receiving the invitation letter, most probably thanks to the motto – Ernest Shackleton’s famous ad for men wanted to cross the Antarctic: *“Men wanted for hazardous journey. Low wages, bitter cold, long hours of complete darkness. Safe return doubtful. Honour and recognition in event of success”*.

4.3 PILOT

A pilot was conducted with two professional interpreters on 23 September 2016. The main lessons learnt from the pilot were the following: the one hour timespan allows only for two, not three speeches; more information should be sent to the respondents about the topic prior to the day of the experiment to make the experience more realistic (the subjects insisted on that point vehemently, they would have liked to prepare more); finally, the second video recording had to be repeated due to sound quality.

Accordingly, respondents of the experiment were informed about the topic of the two speeches one week before the event, received practical instructions and were told that the experiment would last approximately one hour, during which they would be asked to work for a time-span of 22 minutes in total from English into Hungarian. Some more details on the topic and terminology were sent to them three days before the actual date and a reminder the day before, all in an attempt to imitate real life conditions.

4.4 SETTING

The experiment was conducted at the interpreting facilities of ELTE University in Budapest, Hungary, in an interpreting room equipped with 6 booths compliant with ISO standards. The experiment took place on 29 and 30 September 2016, in 5 rounds, each round comprising two parts, with groups of 1 to 5 respondents. The first speech was downloaded from the internet and the second speech was recorded separately. Both speeches were played with Polycom video conferencing equipment (Realpresence group 500) directly linked to both the floor and the booths. Recording was performed with ELTE’s four dictaphones and a cell phone.

4.5 SPEECH MATERIALS

The first speech chosen for the purposes of the experiment is entitled “Heal the heart”, an authentic speech with transcript from Ted talks, available on the internet, performed from a manuscript by Franz Freudenthal, a Bolivian physician of German origin². The speech is about a special device that heals children with a congenital heart disease without open surgery, and how it was invented. It is an inspirational speech and it corresponds to the advanced level of simultaneous in accordance with the grading criteria of DG SCIC in terms of topic and structure/contents, and to the very advanced language level in so far as it is a written speech.

Respondents were sent a list of the medical terms in advance. The speech was played in two parts, the first part has 469 words and the second part has 476. The speech lasted 9 minutes

² The source of the TED talk is the following: https://www.ted.com/talks/franz_freudenthal_a_new_way_to_heal_hearts_without_surgery#t-16735

17 seconds in total which corresponds to an average delivery rate of 101.8 words/minute. (This average rate is only an approximate as the speaker paused and slowed down for a few seconds while he showed video images of the device he was talking about). Altered speed and intonation/chunking patterns are a typical characteristic of read texts as discussed in the introduction. A speech presented at a relatively slow rate was a deliberate choice for this experiment as an example of compensation by the speaker for the lack of native-like fluency, but also in order not to make the task disproportionately difficult for the subjects as may have been the case with a fast-read passage.

The second speech was originally presented by Rebeca Grynspan. It is entitled “Keynote Speech at Oxford Forum for International Development on Tackling Global Poverty: Data, Policies, and Action”, available on the Internet. Its authentic transcript – not devoid of typos and other small errors – was prepared and read (but not adapted) for the purposes of the experiment by Paul Morgan, a native English speaker and member of the teaching staff at the Interpreting and Translation Department at ELTE University, Budapest with many years of experience in delivering speeches to interpreting students.

The keynote address contains several **numbers** and proper **names**. The level of the speech corresponds to the very advanced level of simultaneous in accordance with the grading criteria of DG SCIC. The key technical terms, such as Millennium Development Goals were sent to the respondents beforehand to enhance preparation. The selected passage, the first three pages of the speech were played in two parts, 724 and 713 words, respectively. The passage was delivered at an average speed of 107 words/minute. In terms of the chosen speed of the presentation the same applies as for Speech 1: an attempt was made not to make the task disproportionately difficult.

4.6 PROCEDURE

The fifteen subjects were not divided into subgroups to avoid subdivision of the sample and high intersubject variability (Lamberger-Felber 2001). In the first part of the experiment (**heavy/unusual accent**) the group of 15 respondents interpreted part I and part II of a speech presented by the same speaker under two different conditions: first in simultaneous without text mode, second in **SI+T**, having 5 minutes to prepare the manuscript before the start of interpreting.

Order-effect is unavoidable in such a set-up, and has to be taken into consideration. By the time the second part of the speech starts, subjects are used to the voice, presentation style, accent, etc. of the speaker and are more familiar with the topic. However, order-effect was preferred to using different speeches and the complex problems raised by objective and subjective comparability of different texts (see Lamberger-Felber 2001). Another reason was to avoid the problematic nature of supposed homogeneity of subgroups. In the second part of the experiment the order was reversed: respondents could prepare the manuscript for 5 minutes and perform in **SI+T** in the first part of the speech, and in **SI** in the second part of the speech (see Table 2).

Prior to starting the experiment respondents were informed that they would have to work under two different conditions in both parts of the experiment (**SI** followed by **SI+T** Part I; **SI+T** followed by **SI** in Part II) and were told that in each **SI+T** task they would have five

minutes to prepare the manuscript. There was no warm-up to the interpreting tasks due to time-constraints.

Before starting, interpreters were asked to fill in a short questionnaire of personal and professional data (e.g. language combination, years of professional experience). Post-performance questionnaires and interviews were inspired by Ingrid Kurz’s article on the impact of non-native English (Kurz 2008): after each interpreting task respondents were asked to assess the speech in terms of difficulty of terminology, speed, and accent/information density in a short post-task questionnaire. After both speeches there was an additional question specifying under which condition rendering the speech seemed more difficult, **SI** or **SI+T**.

Immediately after each **SI+T** segment (Part II of Speech 1 and Part I of Speech 2), subjects were asked to indicate which parts of the text they followed with their eyes (**sight translation** component). They were asked to circle or underline shorter elements of the text and draw a vertical line in the margin of longer passages that they actually “read” during performance. Colour coding was used to avoid confusion of notes taken before and after the interpreting task. Finally, a 3-minute interview was conducted with each subject after both Speech 1 and Speech 2 to learn more about their strategies, difficulties and impressions. The interpreters were allowed a break between Speech 1 and 2. The manuscripts prepared by the subjects constitute the main source of information regarding **sight translation** and is complemented by the interviews.

Table 2: The experiment

Time	Speech 1 “Heal the heart” Accent	Mode	Time	Speech 2 Poverty Names and numbers	Mode
10’	Briefing and filling the Pre-task questionnaire		5’	BREAK	
4’17’	Speech 1/Part I	SI	5’	Preparation with manuscript	
3’	Post-task questionnaire 1/I.		7’12	Speech 2/Part I	SI+T
5’	Preparation with manuscript		3’	Post-task questionnaire 2/I.	
5’	Speech 1/ Part II	SI+T	6’15	Speech 2/ Part II	SI
3’	Post-task questionnaire 1/II.		3’	Post-task questionnaire 2/II.	
3’	Interview		3’	Interview	

4.7 THE DATA

The recordings were transcribed and constitute a corpus of 29,680 words, comprising 208,534 characters with spaces, with an overall duration of 5 hours and 36 minutes. The transcripts of the interviews represent an additional corpus of 14,203 words, with a duration of 1 hour and 30 minutes. Pre- and post-task questionnaires, the manuscripts and terminology prepared by the subjects, and the notes participants took during their performance comprise the third group of data.

4.8 PRELIMINARY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.8.1 Accent

4.8.1.1 Perception of a heavy/unusual accent

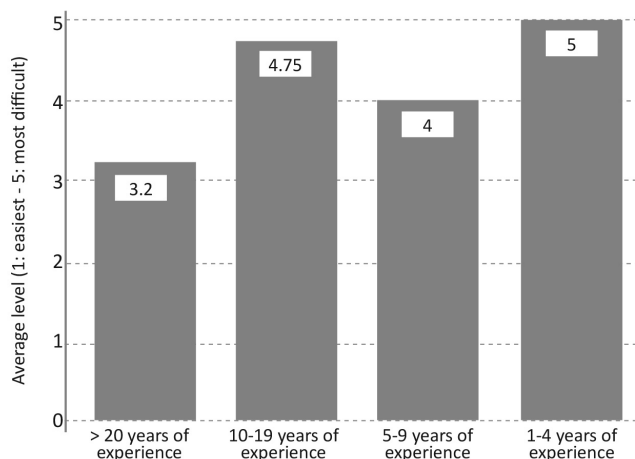


Figure 4: Perception of accent in SI

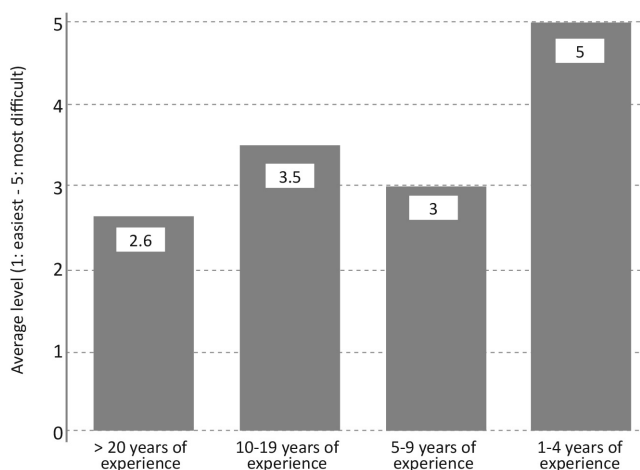


Figure 5: Perception of accent in SI+T

As shown in *Figure 4 and 5*, the difficulty of a **heavy/unusual accent** was rated as the greatest among respondents who have less than five years of experience. Both in **SI** and in **SI+T** mode the average ranking was 5 on a scale of 1 to 5 where 5 is the most difficult. The lack of experience explains the severity of the difficulty for these interpreters. All the other participants judged the accent to be easier when they had the manuscript: this is partly due to the order-effect. The average ranking of accent difficulty by subjects with 10 to 19 years of experience dropped from 4.75 in **SI** to 3.5 in **SI+T** and there was a similar drop from 4 to 3 among those

with 5 to 9 years of experience. The drop was less important among interpreters with over 20 years of experience, they did not find the accent very difficult to start with (3.2 in **SI+T** and 2.6 in **SI**). Once again, experience should account for that result.

When asked which part of the speech was more difficult to interpret, all respondents with one exception (93.3%) said the part without manuscript (first part/**SI**).

It can be concluded that all participants except for one coped with a heavy accent more easily when given the written text. A closer look allows us to observe the same pattern from column 1 to 4 in *Figure 4 and 5* (low; high; low; high). Most presumably, the pattern is simply the result of the interpreters’ personal history and knowledge of accents which has a large influence on their perception of the difficulty of the source text (Lamberger-Felber 2001).

For changes in the perception the order-effect must be taken into consideration. For the second part of the speech interpreters got used to the accent of the speaker which first came as a surprise to them. They also became familiar with the subject. With regard to the order of the conditions under which they worked, **SI** followed by **SI+T** benefitted some: first the written text did not distract them and they could focus on understanding the speaker despite his unusual pronunciation. The majority, however, found it easier to cope with the accent while having the manuscript as a support.

4.8.1.2 Perception of speed in the case of a heavy accent

Despite the fact that it was read, the average speed of the speech was 101.8 words per minute, slow in contrast to other experiments. To cite a few in comparison: Setton and Motta used texts with a 135 and 117 wpm rate, respectively, that were read „at a speed considered within the range of feasibility for **SI** with text” (Setton and Motta 2007), Roberta Zanetti worked with a 120 wpm speech rate in her experiment on anticipation in **SI**; the experiment Kurz describes worked with speeches with a 124 wpm and 125.3 wpm rate, respectively, in **SI+T** (Kurz 2008), and the fast delivery passage Chris Meuleman and Fred Van Besien used in their study on extreme speech conditions cited above (2009) had a rate of 184 words per minute in **SI+T**.

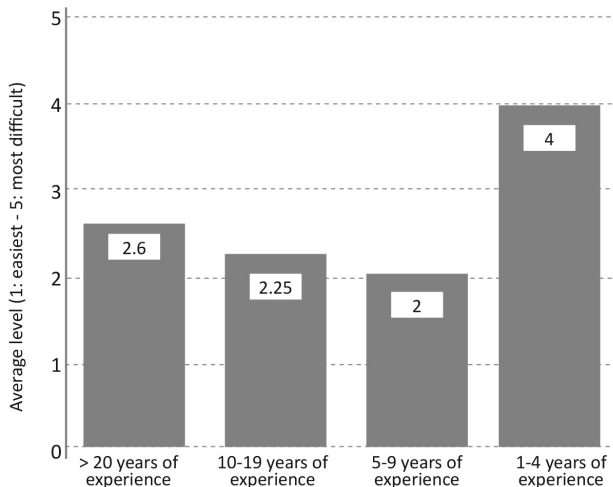


Figure 6: Perception of speed with accent in **SI**

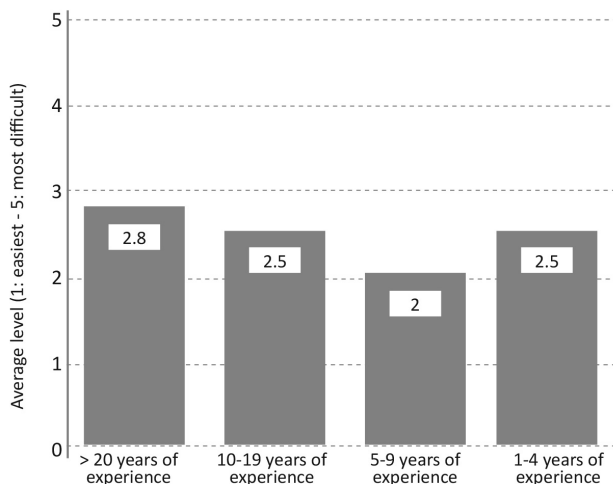


Figure 7: Perception of speed with accent in SI+T

Firstly, video images slow down the presentation. Secondly, the ‘tempo’ was affected by the attempt of the speaker to explain a medical invention in simple terms to the layman. *Figure 6* shows that respondents who have less than five years of experience struggled with the rate regardless, and found it fast. This confirms Déjean Le Féal’s findings that interpreters might perceive the recited delivery rate to be faster even when it is rather slow (Déjean Le Féal in Chernov 2004). The drop in the perception of speed in Part II can be explained by the comfort these interpreters of little experience found in the manuscript: they no longer felt that the speaker was racing.

It is noteworthy that all the rest, the vast majority of participants (86.7%) experienced a maintained or increased rate. Two of the subgroups (59.9% of all the subjects) found the speech rate to be higher in **SI+T** compared with SI, and the third subgroup (26.6%) thought the rate to be identical. This is a striking result as the speaker spoke at an average speed of 109.5 words per minute in the first part, and *slowed down* notably in the second part of his speech to 95 words per minute. Two phenomena described in the literature account for this finding: the unfamiliar accent gives rise to the subjective impression of higher delivery speed (Kurz 2008) and recited texts create the same illusion (Chernov 2004). When these were combined with increased anti-interference efforts in **SI+T**, interpreters had the impression of accelerated/constant speed even when the speaker actually slowed down.

4.8.2 Numbers

4.8.2.1 Accuracy of numbers

The following categorisation was used to evaluate the rendering of numbers in the target language: a) correct rendering means that both the numeral and what it refers to in the context was rendered correctly; b) omission means that the number was entirely omitted in the output; c) incorrect rendering means that either the number, or its meaning in context, or both, were incorrect.

Table 3: Accuracy of number in SI and SI+T

Rendering of numbers	SI+T	SI
Correct	90%	59%
Omission	6%	28%
Incorrect	4%	13%

Table 3 shows that interpreters made 31% less errors in **SI+T** mode compared with **SI** mode. This finding partly confirms the first hypothesis and fully supports the fourth.

The strikingly high ratio of omitted numbers in **SI** mode (28% omitted vs 13% incorrect) suggests that where saturation occurs and they do not have the manuscript to rely upon, subjects focus on the overall coherence of the message even at the cost of sacrificing the numbers. The interviews support the fact that this is a conscious decision when interpreters sense they cannot keep the balance in their efforts and prefer not to take the risk of misinterpreting numbers: instead they “let the number go” and try to render a coherent message without it.

This applies to one particularly complex paragraph in Part II of Speech 2, rendered in **SI** mode, which contains six figures, presenting an obvious risk of saturation. These figures proved to be low-risk omissions (Pym 2008) for respondents. Having omitted numbers, they focused on the narrative second part of the paragraph, trying to restore coherence. Interestingly, a similarly complex passage, also containing six figures in the first part of the text, rendered in **SI+T** mode, did not cause any such problems, presumably thanks to visual access to the information and not because they would have been judged as higher risk omissions.

It is noteworthy that 26.6% of respondents did not make any mistake in the figures (neither omissions, nor incorrect renderings) in **SI+T**. 46.6% of them did not render any numbers incorrectly and 33.3% did not omit any figures in **SI+T**. In **SI** mode, on the other hand, none of the interpreters rendered all numbers correctly, only 13.3% did not render any figure incorrectly and the lowest number of omissions was 1 (one respondent, 6.6%).

Similarly to the findings of Lamberger-Felber (2001) the experiment successfully showed that incorrect rendition or omission of **numbers** was reduced by the use of the manuscript in the booth.

The results firmly support claims by Gile (2009) that in **SI+T** the reading and the listening effort not only compete, but also cooperate. Even though the visual presence of the linguistic signs calls for more intense anti-interference efforts (Gile 2009, Setton and Motta 2007), the much higher ratio of correctly rendered numbers in **SI+T** prove that interpreters benefit from the visual presence of data (Viezzi 1989) as it reduces memory problems and the probability of failures due to insufficient processing capacity (Gile 2009), and helps restructure information despite increased interference (Setton and Motta 2007). Finally, the interpreters were highly aware of the possible importance of figures and focused on them similarly to the experiment by Meuleman and Besien (2009) – in our case much more successfully in **SI+T** than in **SI**.

4.8.2.2 Perception of information density

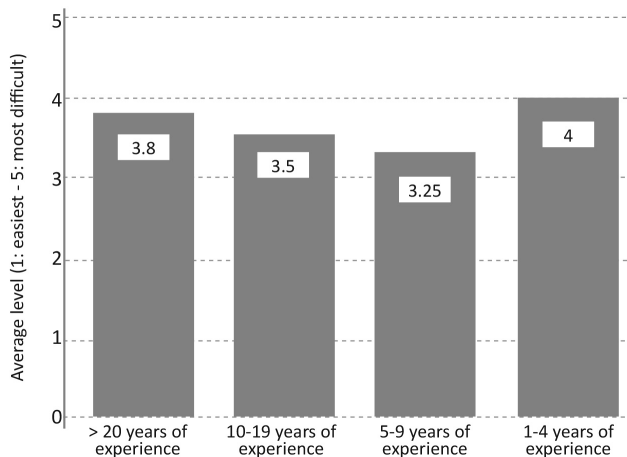


Figure 8: Perception of information density in SI+T

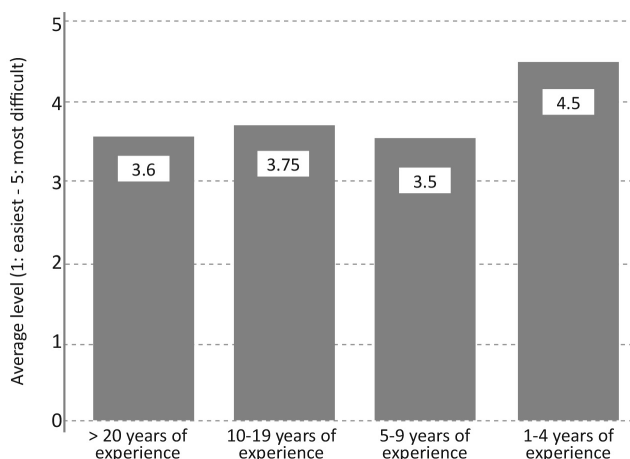


Figure 9: Perception of information density in SI

Professional experience seems to be an important factor in determining how difficult interpreters perceive informative source text speeches, as illustrated by *Figures 8 and 9*. In both **SI+T** and **SI**, it was respondents with less than 5 years of experience who found the information density of the speech most difficult (4 on a scale of 1 to 5 in **SI+T** and 4.5 in **SI**). The perception of data density by all the respondents with more than 5 years of experience ranged between an average of 3.5 and 3.8 on a scale of 1 to 5.

A couple of respondents mentioned in their interview that the first part contained more figures, which is correct: the first part (**SI+T** mode) contained 23 numbers, the second part (**SI**) contained 17. Some respondents, on the other hand, had the impression that the opposite was true:

- “My first impression was that there weren’t as many numbers in the first part as in the second.”
- “In the part without manuscript there were more figures, more **names**, at least that’s what it felt like as I didn’t have the paper in front of me.”

These impressions may be accounted for by the fact that in **SI+T** mode they rendered numbers more effortlessly than in **SI** mode, and the greater effort made the speech look more compact.

When asked which part of the speech was more difficult to interpret, only 20% of the respondents answered it was the part where they had access to the manuscript (first part/**SI+T**).

Once again, the order-effect is important and has to be considered. As one of the subjects observed with respect to the difficulty of Speech2: “I think the two parts were the same. Because when we no longer had the manuscript, only the speech, we had the compensation that we were already familiar with the topic in return for no longer having the written text and I more or less knew where we were heading”.

4.8.2.3 Perception of speed in the case of a speech containing data

Figure 7 shows an interesting levelling in the perception of speed by respondents when they switched from **SI+T** to **SI**, while interpreting a keynote speech containing data. Interpreters having 5 to 19 years of experience correctly perceived an increased delivery rate when switching to **SI**: the speaker gradually accelerated in the second part of the speech. Interpreters with less than five and more than 20 years of experience probably had the false impression of higher speed in the **SI+T** section because they attempted to translate everything despite being outdistanced, a risk inherent in **sight translation** (Gile: 1997, 2009).

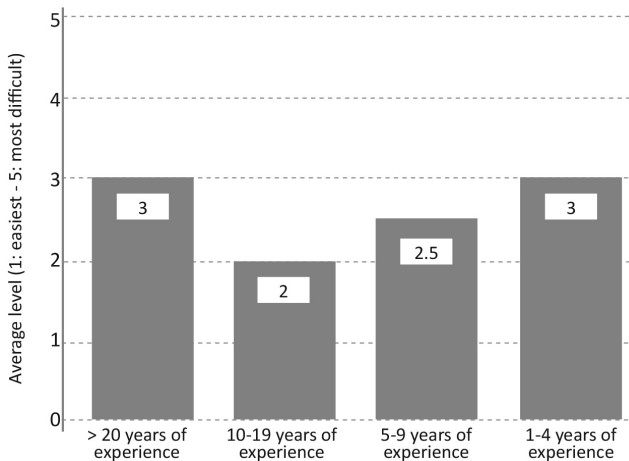


Figure 10: Perception of speed when speech contains data in **SI+T**

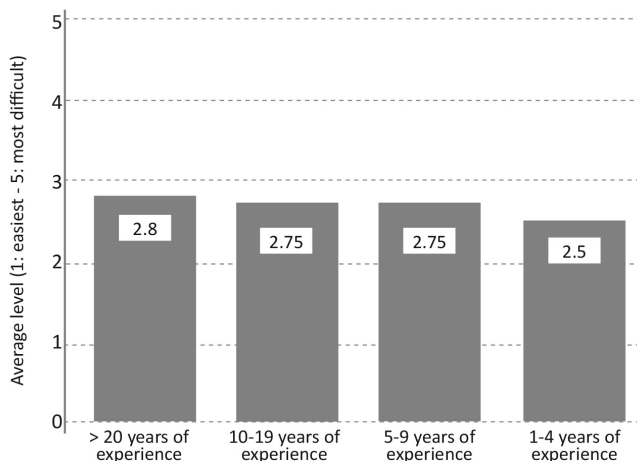


Figure 11: Perception of speed when speech contains data in SI

4.9 SIGHT TRANSLATION STRATEGIES IN SI+T

Upon completion of the interpreting task, participants were asked to mark the passages where they had followed the text with their eyes, distinguishing between full sentences/paragraphs read (by drawing a vertical line in the margin of the passages) and shorter units where they looked down (by circling/underlining these elements).

The marked passages of the manuscripts were quantified in the following way: the number of sentences, paragraphs and lines were counted. This was necessary to take into account the different structure of the texts when examining sight translation strategies in SI+T. As Table 4 illustrates, the two speeches varied greatly in terms of their structure: the speech entitled “Heal the heart” consisted of few paragraphs (7) and many sentences (37), whereas the keynote speech on poverty comprised long sentences (31) and was divided into many paragraphs (15).

Table 4: Passages read in SI+T during Speech 1 and Speech 2

	Speech 1 – Accent			Speech 2 – Names and numbers		
	Average number K1-K15	Total number	%	Average number read K1-K15	Total number	%
Sentences	21.26	37	57.4%	17.13	31	55.2%
Paragraphs	3.6	7	51.4%	7.93	15	52.8%
Lines	17.66	32	55.1%	29.4	54	54.4%
Elements circled/ underlined	4.26	–	–	9.53		
Average%			54.6%			54.1%

Results shown in *Table 4* confirm the first part of the hypothesis (1a) concerning sight translation strategies: Interpreters do resort to sight interpretation for long passages of the manuscript when the speaker has **an unusual accent** (on average they followed 54.6% of the text).

The second part of the hypothesis claimed that where the speech contains **names and numbers** interpreters prefer to look down briefly at specific elements. Although the participants looked down at specific elements over twice as many times in the second speech (ten times on average versus four times in the first speech), this strategy is more typical with speeches containing names and numbers, however, in this very same text participants also resorted to sight translation for long passages. Moreover, the number of sentences read was much higher than the number of specific units. It can therefore be concluded that interpreters do not *prefer* briefly looking down at elements, they use this strategy *in addition to* following longer passages with their eyes. The second part of the hypothesis is therefore not confirmed.

The average ratio of sight translation of passages was very similar in the two cases, speech 1 and 2: 54.6% and 54.1%, respectively. Based on the results of the experiment it is therefore not more typical of interpreters to resort to sight translation for long passages in the case of a non-native speaker with a **heavy or unusual accent** than with speeches containing **names and numbers**.

In this experiment, the speaker read out the manuscript of the speech, only correcting a few typos but without omitting or adding to it. Further studies should be carried out to see how sight translation strategies change in SI+T where the speaker diverts from the manuscript. Eye-tracking will be the obvious and preferable choice, both to confirm the above results and provide further input on sight translation strategies in SI+T.

5. CONCLUSION

The present study was conducted to broaden our knowledge of **simultaneous interpreting with text (SI+T)** by examining practising interpreters' attitudes, strategies and performance when working from English into Hungarian. The study was carried out in two stages, one observational, one experimental.

Stage one confirmed that when applying the appropriate strategies, the written version of the speech helps interpreters to render the message (Hypothesis Stage 1). The survey in stage one brought about an unexpected correlation between use of the text and **SI+T** training with regards to the scenario when the interpreter has less than five minutes to prepare the manuscript of the speech (scenario 3). Significant differences were found in the average ranking of the written text when the speaker has a **heavy/unusual accent**. Results showed that according to respondents, the written version of the speech is most helpful in terms of increased **accuracy in output**. Accordingly, stage one of the research narrowed the focus down to scenario 3, to the case when the speaker has a **heavy/unusual accent** and the role of the manuscript in the **accuracy in output**.

A hypothesis-testing experiment was carried out in stage two of the research. Preliminary results confirmed the fourth hypothesis, namely, that conference interpreters make fewer mistakes in numbers in **SI+T** compared with SI. Further preliminary results include comparisons

between **SI** and **SI+T** in terms of the perception of difficulties with a speech that is read with a **heavy/unusual accent**, the perception of the difficulty when rendering a speech containing **names and numbers**, and the perception of speed in the case of both heavy accent and information density. The hypothesis regarding **sight translation** strategies within **SI+T** was only partially confirmed.

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ANNEXE 1

METHOD AND QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE SURVEY

The survey aimed to reveal established practices of **SI+T** in Hungary in April 2014. A focused, analytical, interactive study was carried out by means of a questionnaire, according to the classification by Gile (1998). The sample included 33 professional conference interpreters.

The first stage of the research relied to a large extent on a survey carried out by a group of four researchers: Cammoun, Davies, Ivanov and Naimushin (2009). In 2009, they devoted an observational research paper to **simultaneous interpreting with text**, studying the attitudes of practising conference interpreters at international institutions and their teachers by means of an email enquiry, interviews and a special **SI+T** survey. Their conclusions laid a sound foundation for a special **SI+T** module for advanced students of conference interpreting. (Cammoun et al. 2009) Their questionnaire was specially designed to map interpreters' practices and elicit attitudes towards **SI+T**. It was then adapted for the purposes of the current research. For a detailed analysis of the differences between the original and the adapted questionnaire and the results of the two studies, see Rohonyi (2016).

In addition to revealing the practices of **SI+T** on the Hungarian market, the adapted survey also set out to share good practices, suggest more uniform strategies, and show the effect of specific training on attitudes towards **SI+T** and practices. Additionally, it was aimed at pointing out advantages and difficulties the manuscript can present in **SI+T**, and at revealing strategies associated with different situations and difficulties.

A pilot survey took place from 2 to 4 April 2014 with five interpreters and proved to be very productive. As a result, the questionnaire was extended from the initial 13 to 16 questions. The finalised questionnaire was then sent out and completed by respondents from 4 to 8 April 2014. Data collection was purposive and was performed via email to have total control over the sample and avoid including subjects who do not comply with all the criteria (qualified conference interpreters with Hungarian A and English as their B or C who perform **SI+T** on a regular basis in their daily work). The data were first recorded and processed in April 2014, then re-evaluated in April 2016.

Different strategies are required for a successful performance in **SI+T** depending on when interpreters receive the written speech. Cammoun et al. (2009) used four scenarios, only three were selected for the purposes of the questionnaire, representative of the situation in Hungary: (1) ideal scenario: interpreters receive the text hours, days, weeks before the job, (2) approximately 15 minutes in advance; (3) (less than) 5 minutes before the start of interpreting.

The "crisis scenario" of Cammoun et al. is when the interpreter is given the manuscript after the start of interpreting. It is not less typical or frequent at meetings in Hungary, however, it requires different strategies and its analysis would go beyond the scope of this study. It was therefore excluded. Similarly to the study of Cammoun et al., only running texts were considered, that is, when the interpreter is provided with the written manuscript of the speech. Power point presentations, videos, summaries, abstracts and other work documents as well as cases where the speeches are translated and projected in real time on a screen did not constitute a subject of the research. Nor did **sight translation** per se or the simultaneous reading out of previously translated text.

The first section of the questionnaire (five questions) relates to data of the respondents: age, gender, professional experience and status (freelance or employee); the second part addresses the question of special training in **SI+T**, strategies used in different situations, and what is considered as an advantage and as a difficulty in this interpreting mode. An open question completes the questionnaire.

ANTICIPATION IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING BETWEEN LANGUAGES WITH SIMILAR MORPHOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

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Abstract: In her study *Relevance of anticipation and possible strategies in the simultaneous interpretation from English into Italian* (1999) Roberta Zanetti has shown, using Marslen-Wilson's cohort theory (1984), that anticipation exists even in simultaneous interpreting between languages with similar morphosyntactic structure. Interpreter-researchers have been preoccupied and divided for a long time by the language specificity of the phenomenon. The present study aimed at confirming Zanetti's results by replicating her research. The introduction, giving a brief overview of the concept and the different types of anticipation, is followed by the detailed presentation of the preparation and the results of an experiment as well as the conclusions drawn from the findings.

Keywords: anticipation, shadowing, simultaneous interpreting, acoustic and semantic expectations

1. THE CONCEPT OF ANTICIPATION

Anticipation in the broadest sense refers to the future development of events and actions, and as such, according to Aaro Toomela "is an inevitable characteristic of life" (2015: 431). In a narrower sense, that is, in monolingual communication, anticipation makes it easy to predict the possible continuation of an utterance. Certainly, everybody knows the situation when we process the sentence started by our interlocutor much faster than it is uttered. In this case we usually say that "we understand each other without words". This tends to occur when we talk to one of our friends or family members with whom we spend a lot of time together and we know them well. It can easily happen that we have never met our interlocutor before and yet we know exactly what he/she would like to say. In such a case, we can anticipate not because we know the person but because we know the language or the situation.

The same skills are used by the interpreters in bilingual communication. Based on their linguistic, extralinguistic and situational knowledge, they are able to predict the end of an utterance. Van Besien claims that anticipation is a general strategy, not a characteristic of individual interpreting style. His statement is based on the analysis of an already existing research published by Lederer in 1981. In a two times 55 minute conversation interpreted by two professionals in German and French, he found 78 anticipations, that is one every 85 seconds.

According to Van Besien anticipation in interpreting "refers to the simultaneous interpreter's production of a constituent (a word or a group of words) in the target language *before* the speaker has uttered the corresponding constituent in the source language" (Van Besien: 1999: 253). This definition concentrates on the temporal aspect of anticipation. Zanetti draws

our attention to the fact that this is just “a macroscopic aspect of a more general phenomenon which occurs also in a monolingual context” and that “anticipation might pass unnoticed when temporal measurements are taken” (Zanetti 1999: 80).

2. TYPES OF ANTICIPATION

Professional literature generally distinguishes between two types of anticipation according to what kind of information, or as Wilss calls them “cues” trigger it. Linguistic anticipation is triggered by co-textual intralingual nature cues. However, extralinguistic anticipation is the result of extralinguistic, situational cues (Wilss 1978).

Lederer makes a distinction between anticipation based on language prediction (linguistic) and anticipation based on sense expectation (semantic). In the former case, the interpreter is able to predict the appearance of a given lexical item, due to the fact that they know the idioms of the source language and the frequency of their occurrence, as well. Whereas in the latter case they store in their memory the units of meaning building up to the utterance and this enables them to have an assumption regarding the end of it.

Lederer has another typology too, based on which pure anticipation means that the interpreter’s speech production precedes the speaker’s, while freewheeling anticipation means that the interpreter utters the target language constituent later than the source language constituent is pronounced by the speaker “but so soon afterwards and so correct a place that there is no doubt that the interpreter summoned it before hearing the original” (Lederer 1978: 330).

Lederer (1981) shows another, a special type of anticipation which she calls structural anticipation. The interpreter using a neutral, open-ended sentence tries to postpone the moment when the semantically relevant part of the sentence is produced in the source language (Lederer 1981).

Gile mentions linguistic and cognitive (in his later studies extralinguistic) anticipation. “Linguistic anticipation helps the perception on the microdiscursive level of the phoneme, the word and the phrase and is based on idiomatic expressions, standard phrases, sayings, proverbs and grammatical rules. Cognitive anticipation however operates on the macrodiscursive level of the clauses, the sentences and the utterances” (Gile 1986: 22).

Magdalena Bartłomiejczyk’s categorisation focuses on another aspect of anticipation. In the case of problem-oriented anticipation, too much information accumulates in the interpreter’s short-term memory while waiting for a crucial element of the source text sentence (e.g. the verb). General anticipation means creating expectations about the message of the source language text in order to facilitate understanding. The basis of both types can be either linguistic or extralinguistic knowledge or the combination of the two (Bartłomiejczyk 2008).

3. LANGUAGE-SPECIFICITY OF ANTICIPATION

In the subject of anticipation, the most divisive issue which creates a lot of controversy among researchers is language-specificity. In recent decades, a number of studies focusing specifically on this area have been published (Jörg 1995, Zanetti 1999, Donato 2003). According to the advocates of the school, which is called natural science community by Moser-Mercer (1984),

interpretation is more difficult between languages with different morphosyntactic structures (e.g. from German to English) because in German the semantically relevant element of the sentence, the verb, is often found at the end of the sentence. This means that the interpreter is forced to postpone the speech production until they decode the whole sentence. This greatly complicates the task of the short-term memory, and it can easily occur that as a result of the time difference between decoding and encoding, information essential for the understanding may be lost. To avoid this, the interpreter uses different strategies, for example, paraphrasing without new information or anticipates (Wilss 1978). Lederer and the liberal arts community (Moser-Mercer 1984) believe that simultaneous interpreting entails difficulties for all languages and that anticipation is independent from structural differences and similarities between the source and the target language.

4. ROBERTA ZANETTI'S STUDY

The natural science community's view is based on the researches focusing on the temporal aspect of anticipation. When the transfer into the target language requires a high degree of morphosyntactic conversion (ex. SOV-SVO) some elements of the source language might need to be anticipated in order to comply with the syntactic rules of the TL (Riccardi and Snelling 1997). In such cases anticipation can be excellently detected and measured. In her study, Zanetti tries to prove that anticipation does exist between languages with different structures. Language processing consists of two phases: decoding and encoding. Decoding is based on the full analysis of the incoming message, including the acoustic-phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels. The time constraint and the effort to facilitate the task force the interpreter to minimise the efforts needed for the analysis in a way that they formulate some expectations regarding the development of the utterance. The interpreter analyses the received message only to the extent necessary to make the aforementioned expectations. These expectations then provide a framework for further understanding (Zanetti 1999). This is supported by Marslen-Wilson's cohort model (1984), according to which, we recognise the words even before they are entirely pronounced. When a person hears a speech segment, this speech segment activates in the mental lexicon all the words which begin with the same segment. As more segments are added, more words are eliminated until only one remains. The process is greatly facilitated if the word has a context, because in this case the word beginning the same way as the pronounced syllable but not fitting the given context is ruled out very quickly.

Zanetti's experiment was carried out with the participation of 33 student interpreters whose mother tongue was Italian and B/C language English. 22 of them were instructed to interpret an English text into Italian. The text contained 15 anomalies whose central or final part had been modified. The remaining 11 students had to shadow, as a control group, the same English text.

"Shadowing, or monolingual repetition, is the reproduction of the spoken speech in the source language with a delay of a few seconds" (G. Láng 2005: 192, the author's translation). According to Guichot de Fortis "shadowing involves some 80% of neuro-linguistic operations involved in simultaneous interpreting, the only factor missing being that of language transfer"

(Guichot de Fortis 2011). Thus, it is not surprising that even today shadowing, as an exercise aimed at helping students acquire the skill of listening and speaking simultaneously, is often an important part of interpreter training. However, it must be pointed out that it has recently been criticised by several experts (e.g. Kurtz 1996), saying that verbatim repetition (phonemic shadowing) is a mechanical process that does not require the processing of the input and may lead to wrong interpretation practice (G. Láng 2005: 192).

Taking into account Guichot de Fortis's above findings and the conclusion of former researches on the topic of shadowing – according to which expectations can be useful support for speech repetition in the same language (Marslen-Wilson 1973, 1975, 1985) – Zanetti assumed that in the case of simultaneous interpreting, where the attention is not only divided between encoding and decoding but also between two different language systems, the role of expectations is even stronger. Research results have confirmed her assumption. 58% of the anomalies were corrected by the interpreters while only 49% by the shadowers (55% interpreters and shadowers together). Repetition took place less frequently: 11% in interpreting and 30% in shadowing.

The research also showed that if there are less than three sentences between the word and the anomaly created from it, then both interpreters and shadowers process the anomaly more easily. Consequently, they correct them in a higher proportion than if the 'distance' is more than 3 sentences or if they are faced with a completely new anomaly.

5. THE EXPERIMENT

I found Zanetti's study very useful and worth replicating. I hoped that the results of my experience would help us to get a clearer view of the issue of language-specificity. In order to ensure the comparability and the validity of the conclusions drawn from the results, I tried to use a similar methodology to Zanetti during the preparation, the realisation of the research and during the data processing, as well. My objective was to prove and confirm that anticipation is an often used interpreting strategy even in the case of language pairs (English-Italian, French-Hungarian) with similar morphosyntactic structure.

The speech I have chosen was originally delivered by the French president, François Hollande on 30 November 2015 on the occasion of the COP 21 (see Annexe 1). The speech lasted approximately 15 minutes (14:58). Prior to the experiment I intentionally included 15 anomalies in the original speech, that is, I modified the central or final part of 15 lexical items. Thus, in most of the cases I had a meaningful word which did not fit the context but I also created some nonsense words. The modified version of Hollande's speech (see Annexe 2) was delivered by a French-speaking lecturer of ELTE's Department of Translation and Interpreting. 5 student interpreters of ELTE's EMCI course whose mother tongue was Hungarian and their B/C language English, participated in the experiment. 3 students were asked to interpret this French text into Hungarian. 2 students, as a control group, had to shadow the same text. Their performance was recorded and transcribed.

There was, just like in Zanetti's research, four options to process the anomalies:

- 'R' indicates the correction of the anomaly: the correct, unmodified form of the word was interpreted/shadowed.

- 'NR' indicates a repetition of the anomaly: the modified word was repeated in shadowing and the target language word corresponding to the anomaly was interpreted.
- 'O' indicates the omission: omission of the word/ target language word corresponding to the anomaly.
- 'IP' stands for the paraphrasing: paraphrasing, describing the meaning of the word.

The anomalies included in the text were also categorised:

- 'RD' anomalies were contained in lexical items that had appeared in their correct form more than three sentences before the one in question.
- 'RV' anomalies contained in items that had appeared less than three sentences before the one considered.
- 'N' anomalies were new, in the sense that they had no antecedent (Zanetti 1999: 83).

6. HYPOTHESES

I have formulated the following five hypotheses:

1. Based on Zanetti's findings, the first and most important research hypothesis was that anticipation exists regardless of whether the morpho-syntactic structure of the languages involved in simultaneous interpreting.
2. In shadowing a less complex transformation – from auditive into vocal mode – of the message takes place. In this case the analysis of the meaning is more by accident than an integral part of the process (Carey 1971). From Carey's statement, I assumed that in contrast to shadowing, where most of the expectations are acoustic, during simultaneous interpreting it is syntactic, semantic and pragmatic expectations which help students, consequently a higher proportion of anomalies will be corrected by interpreters than by their shadower peers.
3. Zanetti, however, also notes that thanks to the aforementioned acoustic requirements, nonsense words are easier to recognise in shadowing than in simultaneous interpreting. Interpreters do not perform a formal analysis, since they will not use the same word in their target language production. Conversely, shadowers must reproduce the target language input exactly the same way as it has been said, therefore they concentrate more on the form. So I assumed that more nonsense anomalies would be recognised and corrected by shadowers than by interpreters.
4. Based on the findings of Zanetti's research, I assumed that RV anomalies would be the most often corrected ones because this is the case when the least amount of time passes (less than 3 sentences) between the original correct and the modified version of the word. The chart shows that students participating in Zanetti's research corrected 60% of RV anomalies. This was followed by N anomalies at 58% and finally the RD anomalies at 48%.
5. Since interpreters do not repeat words but interpret thoughts, I assumed that the rate of omission of anomalies would be much higher in SI than in shadowing. It has less serious consequences here than in shadowing, where the omission of only one word may result in a meaningless sentence.

7. RESULTS

7.1 GENERAL RESULTS

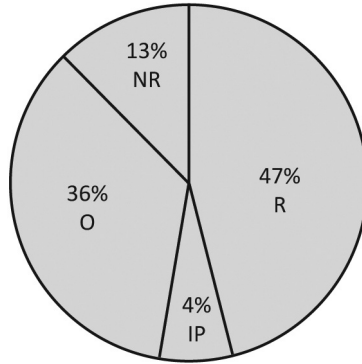


Figure 1: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for SI and shadowing together

Generally speaking, anomalies have been detected and corrected in almost half of the cases (47%) while the ratio of repeating /interpreting them incorrectly is only 13%. This result is similar to that of Zanetti’s (55%-11%).

In the two other processing operations, the ratios are reversed: in the present research paraphrasing is represented much less (4%) than omission (36%) unlike in Zanetti’s research where the proportions are 20% and 14% respectively.

The overall results thus confirmed Zanetti’s findings, *Hypothesis 1* of this research, that there is also a reason for anticipation between two languages with identical structures (SVO), even if it is difficult to measure or perceive.

Figures 2 and 3 show the distribution of R, NR, O and IP separately for SI and shadowing.

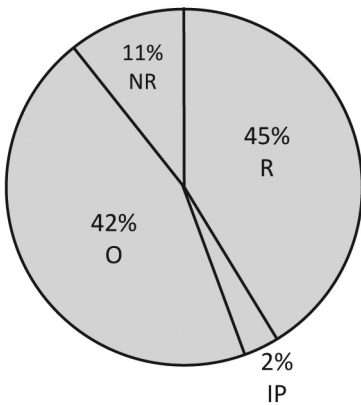


Figure 2: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP in SI

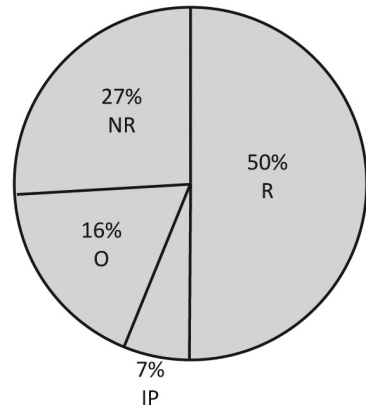


Figure 3: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP in shadowing

The difference between the number of the corrections is negligible but, contrary to the *Hypothesis 2*, it is undoubtedly higher in shadowing than in SI (50% vs 45%). The repetition of anomalies also occurred more frequently in shadowing (27% vs 11%).

However, *Figures 2 and 3* support *Hypothesis 5* according to which the proportion of omissions is higher in SI (42%) than in shadowing (16%).

7.2 RESULTS FOR RD, RV AND N GROUPS

The related *Hypothesis 4*, that anticipation is more common in cases where anomalies appear less than 3 sentences later than the previously pronounced correct form of the word (RV), does not appear to be justified on the basis of the following results since the highest ratio is obtained just in the opposite case (RD). At the same time, the repetition of the anomaly is higher (16%) when the anomaly is closer to the correct, original version.

Figure 4 also shows that in the case of new anomalies, participants in the research were more likely to have missed (48%) than corrected (32%) or repeated (20%) them.

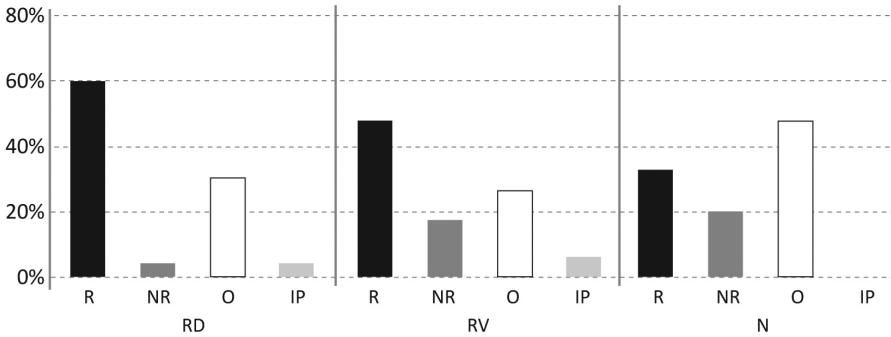


Figure 4: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for all types of anomalies in SI and shadowing

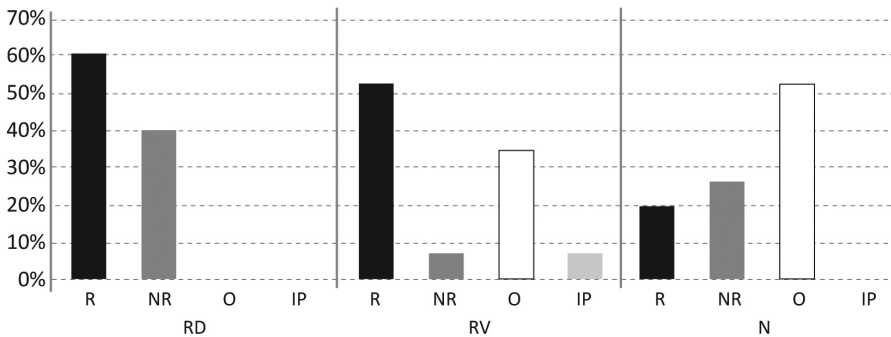


Figure 5: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for all types of anomalies in SI

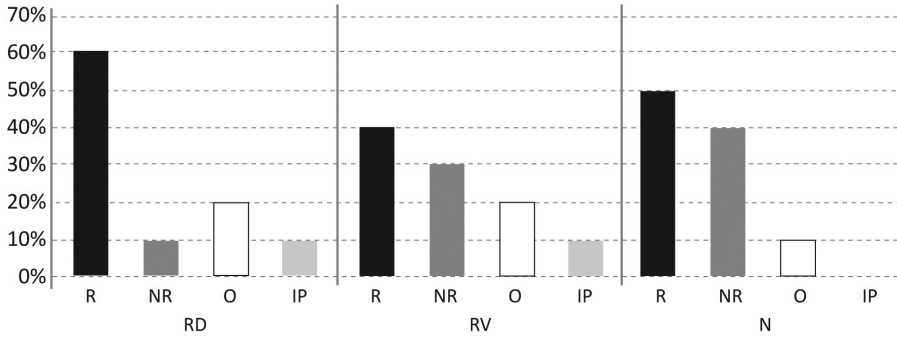


Figure 6: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for all types of anomalies in shadowing

Figures 5 and 6 show the result for SI and for shadowing separately. Based on these we can state that shadowers are more characterised by acoustical processing, that is, they recognise that the given word exists, but do not perform a deeper, semantic analysis during which it also turns out whether the word fits the context or not. Their task is ‘just’ repeat what has been said. Thus, it is not surprising that the proportion of NR in shadowing (RD-10%, RV-30%, N-40%) is much higher than in interpreting (RD-0%, RV-7%, N-27%).

7.3 RD ANOMALIES

Table 1 below shows the RD anomalies found in the text. RD anomalies were contained in lexical items that had appeared more than three sentences before the one in question.

Table 1: RD anomalies

Code	Original	Anomaly
RD 1	Nations unies	Nations munies
RD 2	développement durable	développement urable
RD 3	gaz à effet de serre	gaz à effet de terre
RD 4	énergies renouvelables	énergie renou levable
RD 5	avenir de la planète	avenir de la manette

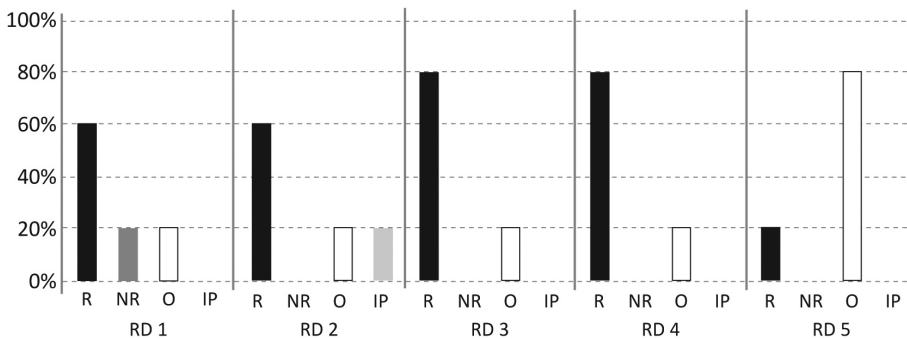


Figure 7: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for RD anomaly in SI and shadowing

Figure 7 shows that in all cases, except for RD5, there is a high proportion of corrections (60%, 60%, 80%, 80%, 20%). However, Figures 8 and 9 also show that interpreters typically used two solutions: they corrected or omitted anomalies while shadowers had a repetition and the proportion of correction is much smaller.

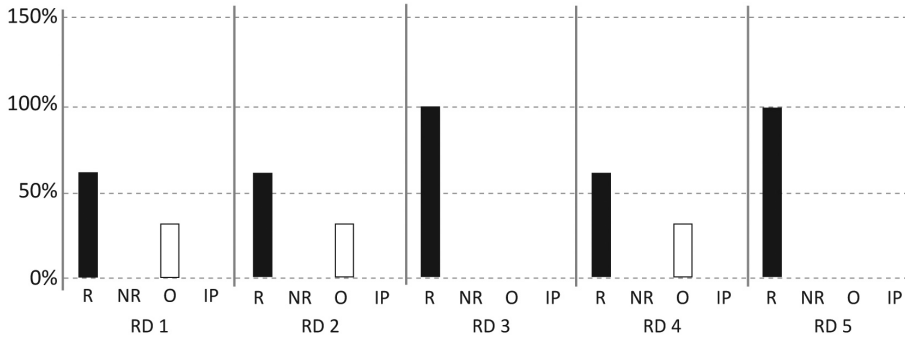


Figure 8: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for RD anomaly in SI

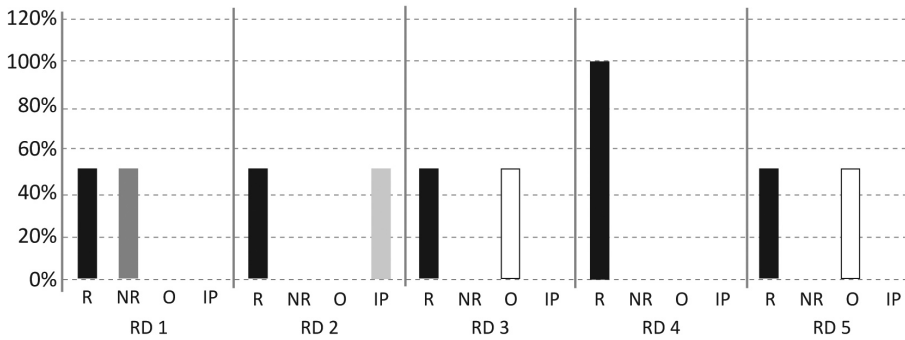


Figure 9: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for RD anomaly in shadowing

7.4 RV ANOMALIES

Table 2 below shows the RV anomalies found in the text. RV anomalies were contained in lexical items that had appeared less than three sentences before the one in question.

Table 2: RV anomalies

Code	Original	Anomaly
RV 1	chef d'État et de gouvernement	chef d' Éthique et de gouvernement
RV 2	conférence	confidence
RV 3	justice climatique	justice limatique
RV 4	accord	à corne
RV 5	condition	conviction

Most of the corrections were assumed (Hylothesis 4) for RV anomalies, but this, as previously revealed, has not been verified.

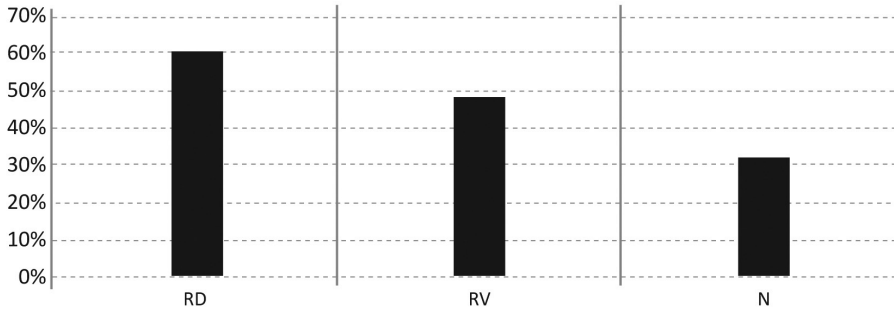


Figure 10: Corrections of RD, RV, N anomalies in SI and shadowing

Figure 11 shows the data regarding RV anomalies in SI and shadowing together while Figures 12 and 13 for SI and shadowing separately.

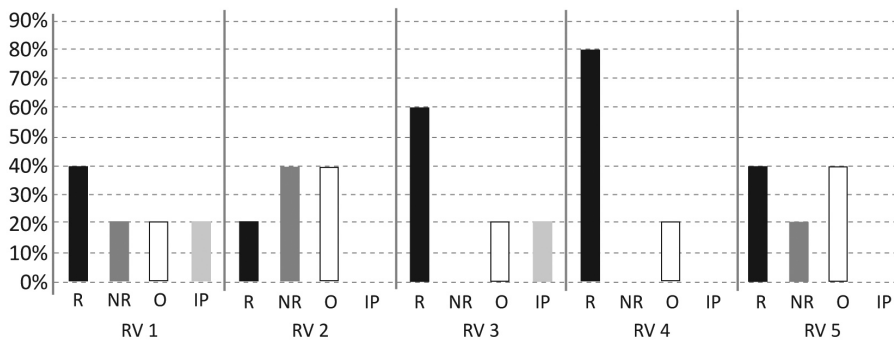


Figure 11: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for RV anomalies in SI and shadowing

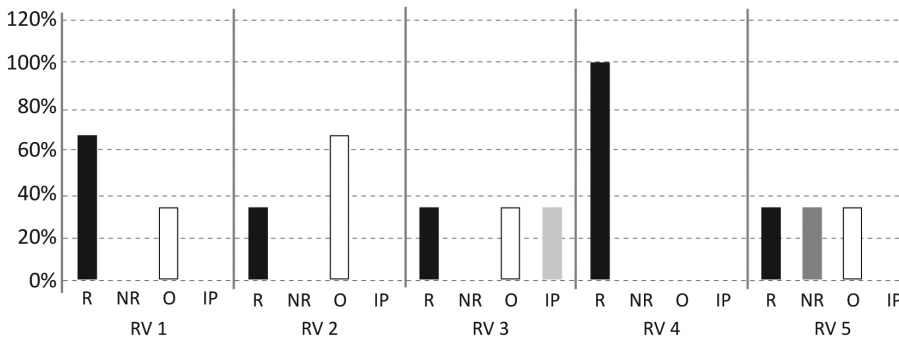


Figure 12: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for RV anomalies in SI

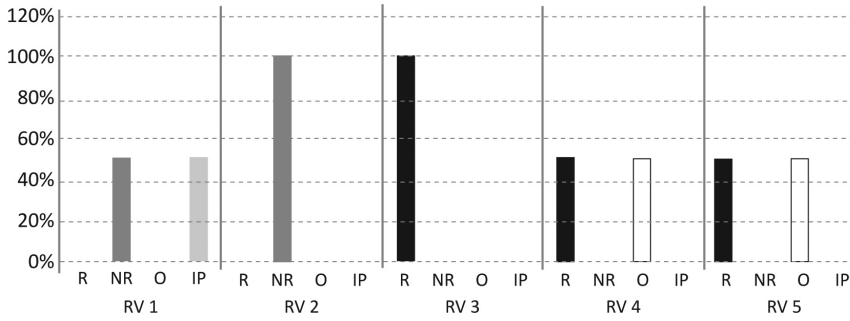


Figure 13: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for RV anomalies in shadowing

The graphs show that corrections were more represented in SI (53% vs 40%) and the number of repetitions compared to shadowing results (7% vs 30%) is minimal.

For RV1 and RV2, the result is well explained: the words ‘éthique’ and ‘confiance’ despite being close to the correct versions ‘état’ and ‘conférence’, disturbed the shadowers who “were satisfied” with the fact that the word is meaningful (50%, 100%). Interpreters were again supported by their semantic expectations and as a consequence they have never repeated the anomaly.

Regarding RV3 and RV4, the difference between the correct word and the anomaly is barely audible, perhaps this is the reason for the high number of correct solutions both in SI (33%, 100%) and shadowing (100%, 50%).

7.5 N ANOMALIES

Table 3 below shows the N anomalies found in the text. N anomalies were new, in the sense that they had no antecedent in the text.

Table 3: N anomalies

Code	Original	Anomaly
N 1	concentration de CO2	concertation de CO2
N 2	différentiation	différence
N 3	recyclage	restylage
N 4	technologie	technicologie
N 5	mondialisation	mondiatisation

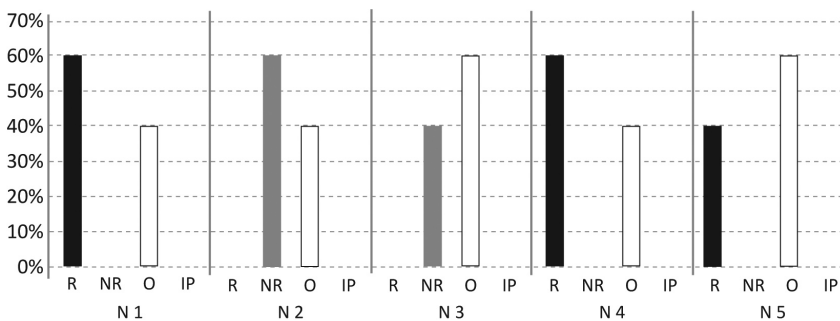


Figure 14: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for N anomalies in SI and shadowing

Figure 14 must be examined in detail. Separately (Figures 15 and 16) the results demonstrate again that for shadowers omission is not an option, as it makes the text completely meaningless. Conversely, interpreters whose speech production is not influenced by the omission of a word are bolder in this situation (53% vs 100%).

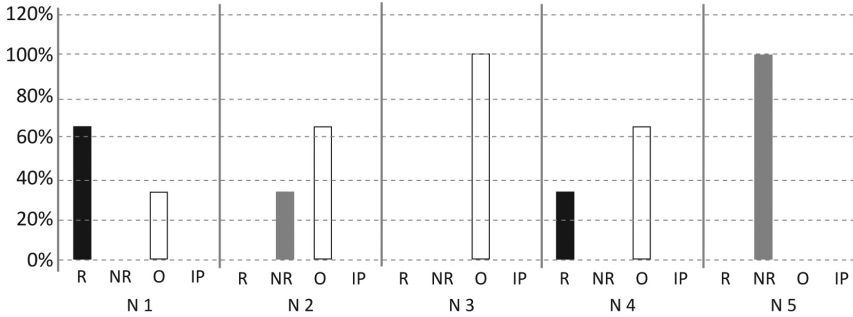


Figure 15: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for N anomalies in SI

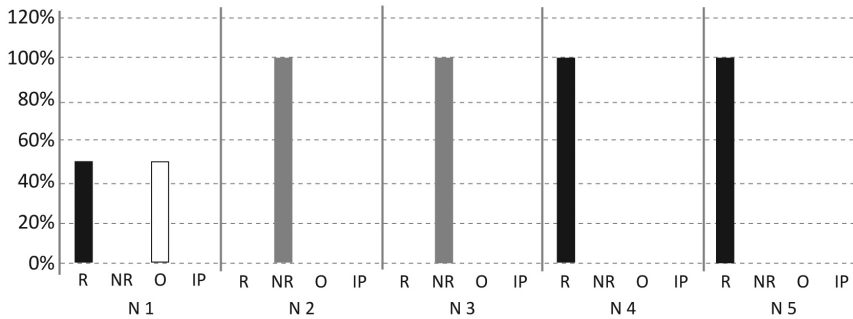


Figure 16: Distribution of R, NR, O, IP for N anomalies in shadowing

8. DISTRIBUTION OF CORRECTIONS OF MEANINGLESS ANOMALIES IN SI AND SHADOWING

In verifying the correctness of *Hypothesis 2*, data of *Figures 17 and 18* are used.

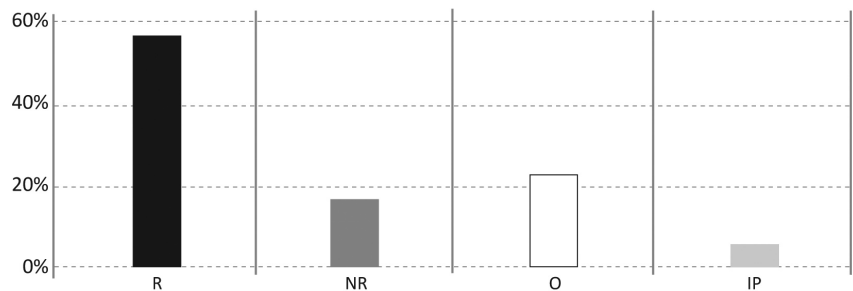


Figure 17: Distribution of R, NR, P, IP for meaningless anomalies in SI

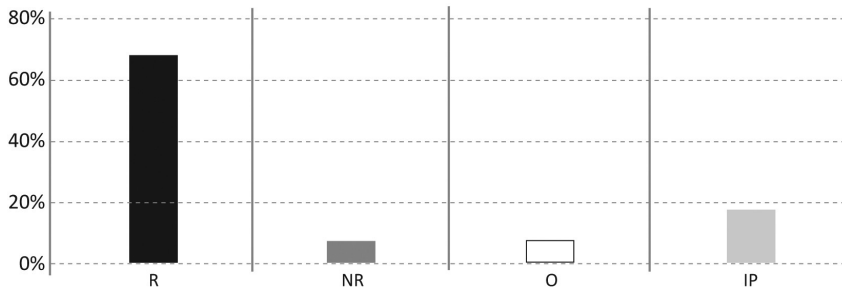


Figure 18: Distribution of R, NR, P, IP for meaningless anomalies in shadowing

The results confirm Zanetti’s finding that meaningless anomalies are more easily processed by shadowers (67%) than by interpreters (56%), since form is of primary importance to them. An outstanding example of this is anomaly N5 which was repeated by all interpreters while shadowers corrected it in the same proportion (Figure 19).

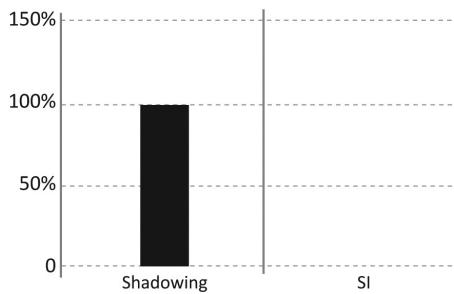


Figure 19: Correction of N5 anomaly in SI and in shadowing

9. CONCLUSION

Three of the five hypotheses were confirmed by the research. Firstly, it confirmed that anticipation exists between languages with similar structures, and interpreters, even consciously or subconsciously, use this strategy to facilitate their task.

The hypothesis of processing nonsense words/word combinations has also been proved, so it can be stated that shadowers, due to their acoustic expectations, detect and correct them more easily than interpreters.

Data on the omission as a method of processing confirm without doubt that this option is used more frequently in simultaneous interpreting than in shadowing. During interpreting, the analysis at all levels of the incoming message allows a ‘deeper’ interpretation. It is not primarily the literal interpretation but rather the transposition of thoughts and the message into the target language which come into view. In that case there is no serious consequence of a word being omitted.

However, this research hasn't confirmed the hypothesis that simultaneous interpreters anticipate more (between the two data there was only a slight difference: SI-46%, shadowing-50%) nor the other hypothesis that those anomalies which appeared 3 or less than 3 sentences before in their correct form were corrected in the highest proportion.

At the end of the research I find it important to mention that, although I tried to reproduce all the details of Zanetti's research, the number of students participating in the research was far below 33. In the 2015-2016 academic year only six students had Hungarian-French (B or C) as a language combination and five of them were attending the research. So in order to draw far-reaching and general conclusions from the results, it would be worth repeating it with a larger number of participants.

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ANNEXE 1

THE ORIGINAL TEXT

Monsieur le Secrétaire général des Nations unies, cher BAN Ki-moon,
Mesdames, Messieurs les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement,
Madame la Secrétaire exécutive de notre conférence,
Mesdames, messieurs les ministres,

C'est un jour historique que nous vivons. La France accueille **150 chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement**, des milliers de délégués venus de tous les continents. Jamais une conférence n'avait accueilli autant d'autorités venues d'autant de pays. Jamais, je dis bien jamais, l'enjeu d'une réunion internationale n'avait été aussi élevé, car il s'agit de l'avenir de la planète, de l'avenir de la vie.

Et pourtant il y a 2 semaines, ici même à Paris, c'est la mort que semait un groupe de fanatiques dans les rues. Je veux ici vous exprimer la reconnaissance du peuple français pour toutes les marques de soutien, tous les messages, tous les signes d'amitié que nous avons reçus depuis le 13 novembre.

Ces événements tragiques nous affligent, mais en même temps nous obligent. Ils nous forcent à nous concentrer sur l'essentiel. Votre présence soulève un immense espoir que nous n'avons pas le droit de décevoir, car ce sont des peuples et des milliards d'êtres humains qui ont le regard porté sur nous.

Je n'oppose pas la lutte contre le terrorisme à la lutte contre le réchauffement climatique. Ce sont deux grands défis mondiaux que nous devons relever, parce que nous devons laisser à nos enfants davantage qu'un monde libéré de la terreur. Nous leur devons une planète préservée des catastrophes, une planète viable.

L'année que nous venons de vivre a été l'année de tous les records: record de températures, record de **concentration de CO2**, record du nombre d'événements climatiques extrêmes: sécheresse, inondations, cyclones, fonte des glaces, hausse du niveau de la mer, acidification des océans. Les victimes de ces phénomènes se comptent par millions et les dommages matériels par milliards. Aucun pays, aucune région n'est à l'abri des effets du dérèglement climatique.

Comment accepter que ce soient les pays les plus pauvres, ceux qui émettent le moins de gaz à effet de serre, ceux qui sont les plus vulnérables qui soient encore davantage touchés.

C'est au nom de la justice climatique que je m'exprime aujourd'hui devant vous. C'est au nom de **la justice climatique** que nous devons agir. Prenons conscience de la gravité de la menace sur les équilibres du monde. Le réchauffement annonce des conflits comme la nuée porte l'orage, il provoque des migrations qui jettent sur les routes plus de réfugiés que n'en génèrent les guerres. Des Etats risquent de ne plus pouvoir satisfaire les besoins vitaux de leur population avec des risques de famine, d'exode rural ou d'affrontements pour accéder à ce bien de plus en plus rare qui s'appelle l'eau.

Oui, ce qui est en cause avec cette Conférence sur le Climat, c'est la paix. Et pourtant, une espérance s'est levée avec la préparation de la COP21. La communauté internationale s'est dotée, en septembre dernier, d'un agenda complet à travers les objectifs de développement durable qui ont été adoptés lors de l'assemblée générale des **Nations unies**, et je veux en féliciter le secrétaire général BAN Ki-moon.

190 Etats, c'est-à-dire la quasi-totalité des pays de la planète ont formulé des plans d'action pour réduire les émissions de **gaz à effet de serre** et s'adapter au dérèglement climatique. Et tous les acteurs de la société mondiale, les collectivités locales, les entreprises, les investisseurs, les citoyens de toutes les grandes régions se sont également engagés pour le climat.

A cette prise de conscience, à cette mobilisation s'ajoutent les progrès fulgurants réalisés dans les énergies propres et renouvelables, qui ouvrent la perspective d'une économie non carbonée. Alors pour réussir cette conférence, la France a jeté toutes ses forces et mobilisé l'ensemble de son gouvernement, à commencer par le ministre des Affaires étrangères Laurent FABIUS qui va présider cette **conférence**.

J'ai moi-même visité les régions les plus affectées par le changement climatique, j'en suis revenu avec la même conviction que nous devons assurer un **développement durable** et équitable sans pour autant compromettre les ressources limitées de notre planète. Telle est l'équation que nous avons à régler ensemble pendant cette conférence.

J'ai voulu que les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement du monde entier soient rassemblés dès le début de nos travaux, pour donner à cette conférence un souffle et une ambition à la hauteur de l'enjeu. Car le 12 décembre, un accord doit être trouvé à Paris. A quelles conditions pourra-t-on estimer que c'est un bon accord, que c'est un grand **accord**, que c'est un accord qui correspond véritablement à l'attente des peuples et pour longtemps ? Il y a 3 conditions pour que nous puissions dire quela Conférence de Paris sera ou ne sera pas un succès.

La première condition, c'est que nous devons définir, dessiner, une trajectoire crédible permettant de contenir le réchauffement climatique en dessous des 2°C ou même dès 1,5°C si c'est possible. Il faudra, pour que nous soyons sûrs d'être sur cette trajectoire, prévoir une évaluation régulière de nos progrès au regard des conclusions de la science et, donc, mettre en place un mécanisme de révision à la hauteur de nos engagements avec des rendez-vous tous les 5 ans.

La deuxième **condition**, c'est que nous apportions au défi climatique une réponse solidaire. Aucun Etat ne doit pouvoir se soustraire à ses engagements, même si un mécanisme de **différenciation** pourra prendre en compte les niveaux de développement et les situations. Aucun territoire ne doit être laissé seul face au dérèglement climatique et, notamment, les pays les plus vulnérables.

Je pense à ces îles qui peuvent à brève échéance purement et simplement disparaître. Je veux ici être leur porte-parole, parce que c'est la biodiversité et la diversité même de la planète qui sont en cause. Tirons-en les conclusions, l'accord doit être universel, différencié et contraignant. Les pays développés doivent assumer leur responsabilité historique, ce sont eux qui ont émis pendant des années le plus de gaz à effet de serre.

Les pays émergents doivent accélérer leur transition énergétique, les pays en développement doivent être accompagnés dans leur adaptation aux impacts climatiques. D'où la nécessité de dégager les financements pour faciliter les transferts de **technologie**. Nous avions fixé – c'était à Copenhague – l'objectif des 100 milliards, aujourd'hui ce n'est pas un objectif que nous devons fixer, ce sont des ressources que nous devons dégager avec des garanties sur leur origine et sur leur accessibilité.

Enfin la troisième condition pour qu'il y ait un accord à Paris, c'est que toutes nos sociétés dans leur grande pluralité, diversité se mettent en mouvement. L'ensemble des dirigeants locaux, des investisseurs, des acteurs économiques et sociaux, des citoyens et même des grandes consciences, des religions, tous ceux qui contribuent à ce qui façonne l'esprit public mondial, tout ce mouvement doit comprendre que la donne a changé. Là est la clé pour relever le défi climatique.

Je veux rendre hommage à cet instant à tous les pionniers de la cause écologique, à tous les précurseurs qu'il n'y a pas si longtemps devaient affronter l'incrédibilité ou le dédain pour leurs alertes et leurs propositions. En quelques années, les esprits ont profondément évolué, les entreprises et les acteurs financiers hier réticents sont désormais prêts à s'engager et à modifier leur comportement.

Faut-il encore leur envoyer les signaux indispensables ? C'est l'enjeu de l'introduction progressive du prix du carbone pour que les émissions de gaz à effet de serre aient un coût qui corresponde aux

dommages infligés à la planète ; et pour que les choix d'investissement soient peu à peu modifiés, afin que toutes les technologies puissent être accessibles à tous. Mesdames et messieurs les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement, pour résoudre la crise climatique, je vous le dis franchement : les bons sentiments, les déclarations d'intention ne suffiront pas, nous sommes au bord d'un point de rupture. Paris doit être le départ d'une profonde mutation, nous ne pouvons plus considérer la nature comme un vulgaire et inépuisable réservoir de ressources destiné à notre seul et plein accomplissement.

Cette transformation est à la fois une obligation morale et une opportunité mondiale, parce qu'elle nous ouvre des possibilités de développement avec des **énergies renouvelables**, des modes de transport propres, le **recyclage** des déchets, l'agro-écologie, la préservation de la biodiversité, l'accès de tous aux biens publics mondiaux.

Ainsi, en rendant l'électricité accessible à tous et notamment en Afrique, c'est plus que la lumière qui sera apportée, c'est la connaissance, c'est l'éducation, c'est le développement.

Nous sommes en ce 1^{er} jour de la Conférence au pied du mur, ce mur est fait de l'addition de nos égoïsmes, de nos appréhensions, de nos résignations. Ce mur, est construit sur l'indifférence, l'insouciance, l'impuissance. Ce mur, n'est pas infranchissable. Tout dépend de nous.

Mesdames et messieurs les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement, sur vos épaules repose l'espoir de toute l'humanité. Je mesure moi-même dans la tâche que j'accomplis combien combiner l'impératif de l'urgence - avec ce qu'elle implique, y compris avec les événements tragiques - et les choix du long terme, oui, combien cet équilibre n'est pas facile à trouver. Mais là encore, il nous oblige.

Notre plus grand défi, c'est de passer d'une **mondialisation** fondée sur la compétition à un modèle basé sur la coopération, où il sera plus rentable de protéger que de détruire. Nous devons penser la planète comme un espace unique, établir un pacte d'équité entre le Nord et le Sud et un partenariat entre l'homme et la nature.

C'est pourquoi nous sommes réunis, nous les dirigeants de la planète, c'est pourquoi Paris est un rendez-vous exceptionnel. Nous allons décider en quelques jours pour quelques décennies.

Le plus grand danger n'est pas que notre but soit trop élevé et que nous le manquions. Le plus grand danger, c'est qu'il soit trop bas et que nous l'atteignons.

Alors plaçons-nous au plus haut niveau pour qu'au moins, nous puissions approcher cette ambition, car il s'agit de décider ici à Paris de **l'avenir même de la planète**. Merci.

ANNEXE 2

THE TEXT USED FOR THE EXPERIMENT

Monsieur le Secrétaire général des Nations unies, cher BAN Ki-moon,

Mesdames, Messieurs les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement,

Madame la Secrétaire exécutive de notre conférence,

Mesdames, messieurs les ministres,

C'est un jour historique que nous vivons. La France accueille 150 **chefs d'Ethique et de gouvernement (RV1)**, des milliers de délégués venus de tous les continents. Jamais une conférence n'avait accueilli autant d'autorités venues d'autant de pays. Jamais, je dis bien jamais, l'enjeu d'une réunion internationale n'avait été aussi élevé, car il s'agit de l'avenir de la planète, de l'avenir de la vie. Et pourtant il y a 2 semaines, ici même à Paris, c'est la mort que semait un groupe de fanatiques dans les rues. Je veux ici vous exprimer la reconnaissance du peuple français pour toutes les

marques de soutien, tous les messages, tous les signes d'amitié que nous avons reçus depuis le 13 novembre.

Ces événements tragiques nous affligent, mais en même temps nous obligent. Ils nous forcent à nous concentrer sur l'essentiel. Votre présence soulève un immense espoir que nous n'avons pas le droit de décevoir, car ce sont des peuples et des milliards d'êtres humains qui ont le regard porté sur nous.

Je n'oppose pas la lutte contre le terrorisme à la lutte contre le réchauffement climatique. Ce sont deux grands défis mondiaux que nous devons relever, parce que nous devons laisser à nos enfants davantage qu'un monde libéré de la terreur. Nous leur devons une planète préservée des catastrophes, une planète viable.

L'année que nous venons de vivre a été l'année de tous les records : record de températures, record de **concertation de CO2 (N1)**, record du nombre d'événements climatiques extrêmes : sécheresse, inondations, cyclones, fonte des glaces, hausse du niveau de la mer, acidification des océans. Les victimes de ces phénomènes se comptent par millions et les dommages matériels par milliards. Aucun pays, aucune région n'est à l'abri des effets du dérèglement climatique.

Comment accepter que ce soient les pays les plus pauvres, ceux qui émettent le moins de gaz à effet de serre, ceux qui sont les plus vulnérables qui soient encore davantage touchés.

C'est au nom de la justice climatique que je m'exprime aujourd'hui devant vous. C'est au nom de **la justice climatique (RV3)** que nous devons agir. Prenons conscience de la gravité de la menace sur les équilibres du monde. Le réchauffement annonce des conflits comme la nuée porte l'orage, il provoque des migrations qui jettent sur les routes plus de réfugiés que n'en génèrent les guerres. Des Etats risquent de ne plus pouvoir satisfaire les besoins vitaux de leur population avec des risques de famine, d'exode rural ou d'affrontements pour accéder à ce bien de plus en plus rare qui s'appelle l'eau.

Oui, ce qui est en cause avec cette Conférence sur le Climat, c'est la paix. Et pourtant, une espérance s'est levée avec la préparation de la COP21. La communauté internationale s'est dotée, en septembre dernier, d'un agenda complet à travers les objectifs de développement durable qui ont été adoptés lors de l'assemblée générale des **Nations unies (RD1)**, et je veux en féliciter le secrétaire général BAN Ki-moon.

190 Etats, c'est-à-dire la quasi-totalité des pays de la planète ont formulé des plans d'action pour réduire les émissions de **gaz à effet de terre (RD3)** et s'adapter au dérèglement climatique. Et tous les acteurs de la société mondiale, les collectivités locales, les entreprises, les investisseurs, les citoyens de toutes les grandes régions se sont également engagés pour le climat.

A cette prise de conscience, à cette mobilisation s'ajoutent les progrès fulgurants réalisés dans les énergies propres et renouvelables, qui ouvrent la perspective d'une économie non carbonée. Alors pour réussir cette conférence, la France a jeté toutes ses forces et mobilisé l'ensemble de son gouvernement, à commencer par le ministre des Affaires étrangères Laurent FABIUS qui va présider cette **conférence (RV2)**.

J'ai moi-même visité les régions les plus affectées par le changement climatique, j'en suis revenu avec la même conviction que nous devons assurer un **développement durable (RD2)** et équitable sans pour autant compromettre les ressources limitées de notre planète. Telle est l'équation que nous avons à régler ensemble pendant cette conférence.

J'ai voulu que les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement du monde entier soient rassemblés dès le début de nos travaux, pour donner à cette conférence un souffle et une ambition à la hauteur de l'enjeu. Car le 12 décembre, un accord doit être trouvé à Paris. A quelles conditions pourra-t-on estimer que

c'est un bon accord, que c'est un grand **à corne (RV4)**, que c'est un accord qui correspond véritablement à l'attente des peuples et pour longtemps ? Il y a 3 conditions pour que nous puissions dire que la Conférence de Paris sera ou ne sera pas un succès.

La première condition, c'est que nous devons définir, dessiner, une trajectoire crédible permettant de contenir le réchauffement climatique en dessous des 2°C ou même dès 1,5°C si c'est possible. Il faudra, pour que nous soyons sûrs d'être sur cette trajectoire, prévoir une évaluation régulière de nos progrès au regard des conclusions de la science et, donc, mettre en place un mécanisme de révision à la hauteur de nos engagements avec des rendez-vous tous les 5 ans.

La deuxième **conviction (RV5)**, c'est que nous apportions au défi climatique une réponse solidaire. Aucun Etat ne doit pouvoir se soustraire à ses engagements, même si un mécanisme de **différence (N2)** pourra prendre en compte les niveaux de développement et les situations. Aucun territoire ne doit être laissé seul face au dérèglement climatique et, notamment, les pays les plus vulnérables.

Je pense à ces îles qui peuvent à brève échéance purement et simplement disparaître. Je veux ici être leur porte-parole, parce que c'est la biodiversité et la diversité même de la planète qui sont en cause. Tirons-en les conclusions, l'accord doit être universel, différencié et contraignant. Les pays développés doivent assumer leur responsabilité historique, ce sont eux qui ont émis pendant des années le plus de gaz à effet de serre.

Les pays émergents doivent accélérer leur transition énergétique, les pays en développement doivent être accompagnés dans leur adaptation aux impacts climatiques. D'où la nécessité de dégager les financements pour faciliter les transferts de **technologie (N4)**. Nous avons fixé – c'était à Copenhague – l'objectif des 100 milliards, aujourd'hui ce n'est pas un objectif que nous devons fixer, ce sont des ressources que nous devons dégager avec des garanties sur leur origine et sur leur accessibilité.

Enfin la troisième condition pour qu'il y ait un accord à Paris, c'est que toutes nos sociétés dans leur grande pluralité, diversité se mettent en mouvement. L'ensemble des dirigeants locaux, des investisseurs, des acteurs économiques et sociaux, des citoyens et même des grandes consciences, des religions, tous ceux qui contribuent à ce qui façonne l'esprit public mondial, tout ce mouvement doit comprendre que la donne a changé. Là est la clé pour relever le défi climatique.

Je veux rendre hommage à cet instant à tous les pionniers de la cause écologique, à tous les précurseurs qu'il n'y a pas si longtemps devaient affronter l'incrédibilité ou le dédain pour leurs alertes et leurs propositions. En quelques années, les esprits ont profondément évolué, les entreprises et les acteurs financiers hier réticents sont désormais prêts à s'engager et à modifier leur comportement.

Faut-il encore leur envoyer les signaux indispensables ? C'est l'enjeu de l'introduction progressive du prix du carbone pour que les émissions de gaz à effet de serre aient un coût qui corresponde aux dommages infligés à la planète ; et pour que les choix d'investissement soient peu à peu modifiés, afin que toutes les technologies puissent être accessibles à tous.

Mesdames et messieurs les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement, pour résoudre la crise climatique, je vous le dis franchement : les bons sentiments, les déclarations d'intention ne suffiront pas, nous sommes au bord d'un point de rupture. Paris doit être le départ d'une profonde mutation, nous ne pouvons plus considérer la nature comme un vulgaire et inépuisable réservoir de ressources destiné à notre seul et plein accomplissement.

Cette transformation est à la fois une obligation morale et une opportunité mondiale, parce qu'elle nous ouvre des possibilités de développement avec des **énergies renouvelables (RD4)**, des modes

de transport propres, le **restylage (N3)** des déchets, l'agro-écologie, la préservation de la biodiversité, l'accès de tous aux biens publics mondiaux.

Ainsi, en rendant l'électricité accessible à tous et notamment en Afrique, c'est plus que la lumière qui sera apportée, c'est la connaissance, c'est l'éducation, c'est le développement.

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Notre plus grand défi, c'est de passer d'une **mondialisation (N5)** fondée sur la compétition à un modèle basé sur la coopération, où il sera plus rentable de protéger que de détruire. Nous devons penser la planète comme un espace unique, établir un pacte d'équité entre le Nord et le Sud et un partenariat entre l'homme et la nature.

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Alors plaçons-nous au plus haut niveau pour qu'au moins, nous puissions approcher cette ambition, car il s'agit de décider ici à Paris de **l'avenir même de la manette (RD5)**. Merci.

COURT INTERPRETING RESEARCH IN HUNGARY – JUDGES’ EXPECTATIONS

MÁRTA FARKASNÉ PUKLUS

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Abstract: This study presents some results of an exploratory research conducted in Hungary. First, I give a short overview of the definitions of court interpreting in the literature and of the role of court interpreters, then I examine the articles about court interpreting in Hungarian interpreting studies. In the main part of the study the research on the communicative situation of court interpreting is described from language-specific (linguistic) and non-linguistic (extra-linguistic) aspects. I try to explore how interpretation is carried out in courtroom proceedings and what kind of expectations judges have towards court interpreters. The expectations of judges regarding court interpreters were investigated with a questionnaire in which judges were asked about different aspects of courtroom communication: appointing the interpreter, preparation for the trial, seating of the interpreter, interpreting modes used in the courtroom and their opinion on faulty interpreting, among others. The results of the questionnaire are analysed and discussed in the article.

Keywords: court interpreting, role of the court interpreter, right to interpretation and translation

1. INTRODUCTION

As Berk-Seligson (1990) states, “[t]he presence of a foreign language interpreter transforms normal courtroom proceedings into bilingual events” (Berk-Seligson 1990: 1). She points out that “[t]he problematical role of the court interpreter is not limited to the difficulties inherent in the interpreting process, but rests on the more fundamental contradiction between how the interpreter defines her role and how other court personnel and court clients perceive it” (Berk-Seligson 1990: 2).

Court interpreting is becoming a more and more interesting and challenging field of research on the international and also on the European level. Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings clearly defines the obligations of the European member states. It stipulates that accused or suspected persons who do not speak the language of the criminal proceedings must be provided with interpreting services of an appropriate standard during the main trial as well as during all interim hearings, police questioning and for communication with their legal advisors (Art. 2 of the Directive). It furthermore establishes the right to a written translation of all essential documents necessary to exercise their right of defence. In order to protect the human rights of the individuals subject to criminal proceedings the European Union also introduced Directive 2012/13/EU on the right to information. This Directive has the aim to ensure that suspects and accused persons promptly receive information about their rights. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights issued a research report that outlines the Member States’ legal frameworks and policies regarding these rights and reflects

the implementation of both directives, identifying promising practices (FRA 2016: 3; for findings of the report see Section 7 of this paper). Due to these directives and to the increased number of migrants the role of court interpreting has become more important and apparent in Hungary as well. This paper aims to give an overview of the findings of a questionnaire prepared for Hungarian judges regarding court interpreting and tries to determine court judges' perceptions of the role of the court interpreter.

2. DEFINITIONS: COURT INTERPRETING, COURTROOM INTERPRETING, LEGAL INTERPRETING

The international literature refers to this communication event as *court* or *courtroom interpreting* and expressions like *community interpreting* are also often used (Angelelli 2004; Berk-Seligson 1990; Hale 2004, 2010; Jacobsen 2003; Morris 1993, 1995, 2010).

There are various – sometimes similar, sometimes different – rules in the different countries for the provision of legal interpreting services, therefore an ISO Standard on Legal Interpreting was prepared (in status DIS 20228, see Katschinka 2016, 2017). In this standard, also the term *legal interpreting* is used for interpreting in any legal setting.

According to Horváth (2013) *legal interpreting* is the widest category, including all interpreting events in a legal context. In this wider sense, we can distinguish between *courtroom interpreting* and interpreting at other institutions (e.g. police, customs, immigration office), which is called *public service interpreting* (Horváth 2013: 25). Gamal (2008) refers to the latter as *non-courtroom interpreting*, focusing on *courtroom interpreting* in the research (Gamal 2008: 63).

There are different categorisation traditions where interpreting is divided into conference interpreting and interpreting outside a conference setting, such as *public service* or *community interpreting*. Kalina (2002) suggests the term NCI (*non-conference interpreting*) for the purposes of her article, where she argues that non-conference interpreters are not less important than conference interpreters, and she pleads for more scientific research in this field of study (Kalina 2002). Legal interpreting (interpreting in the courtroom) is sometimes included in this field, while sometimes court interpreters are regarded as a separate category. According to Morris:

In modern studies of interlingual interpreting outside the traditional conference setting, the main focus has been on those settings in which “public service” or “community” interpreting is required. Sometimes legal settings, whether in the narrow context of the courtroom or within broader frameworks, are included in this field; in other traditions or approaches, legal – also known as court or judicial or judiciary – interpreters are considered a breed apart from their non-legal colleagues, and as such subject to a specific set of constraints unique to the legal sphere (Morris 2010: 21–22).

As shown above, it is not so easy to name the exact field of study of the different researches conducted in a legal environment and in legal settings. For my research, I use the overall

expression of *legal interpreting* for the different areas where an interpreter can be used in order to provide help for a participant without sufficient language proficiency (at the police station, legal consultations, etc.) and I use the term *court interpreting* to refer specifically to the communication situation in the courtroom. I prefer the term *court interpreting* because it obviously refers to the communication event where an interpreter needs to be involved in the courtroom, therefore I will use this term hereafter.

3. WHO IS A COURT INTERPRETER?

For interpreters and linguists, the answer to this question might be evident. However, there are different metaphors used in the international literature for court interpreters that reflect mostly the opinion of the representatives of the legal profession. They often look at the court interpreter as an instrument rather than a human being.

Jacobsen’s (2003) investigations depart from “[t]he conflict between on the one hand, the official perception of the court interpreter as a kind of ‘translating machine’, which simply transfers language products from one language to another, and, on the other, the reality of the interpreting situation in the courtroom, where mechanical translations may result in miscommunication” (Jacobsen 2003: 237).

Berk-Seligson (1990) argues that court interpreters play a far more active verbal role than is allowed by the legal system. Her investigations have shown that a court interpreter is neither a conduit nor a translating machine, but plays an active role in the communication process and that the content of the legal proceedings is affected by the involvement of court interpreters (Berk-Seligson 1990).

Based on her research conducted at courts in Australia, Hale (2010) states that interpreting might seem to be a mechanical activity due to the misconception that interpreters perform a purely mechanical function, like a microphone or a typewriter. This idea “[r]emoves from the main speakers any responsibility to help the interpreter understand and render the message accurately” (Hale 2010: 441).

As formulated by Morris (2010), “[t]oday’s legal system generally demands that the interpreter function as a ‘faceless voice’, a conduit, that is, in a ‘neutral’ and non-intrusive way” (Morris 2010: 20).

From the above quotations, we can see that legal professionals think a court interpreter may function as an instrument. Researchers, however, would probably agree that these metaphors do not give an exact picture of a court interpreter’s tasks at all. This can be one of the main differences between how the legal profession looks at the interpreter and how the interpreters would like to be perceived.

A photocopier copies exactly the same paper with the same wording or picture that we put in it. If an interpreter renders the foreign party’s words verbatim then this might lead to misunderstandings and might result in communication problems. Hale emphasises the importance of pragmatics: accurate interpreting can only be performed if the interpreter understands the message at the discourse level. Interpreting word for word or interpreting the semantic meaning is not enough; the pragmatic meaning of utterances has to be conveyed. She states that interpreters must first become aware of their responsibilities as professionals,

they must understand and recognise the importance of their role and on the other hand, lawyers must become aware of the difficulties of the interpreting process and recognise that it is an activity that requires fully qualified professionals. Hale even argues that the system must change to make pre-service university training compulsory and ensure adequate remuneration and proper working conditions (Hale 2004: 2–5).

Hale (2010) expresses her opinion quite explicitly as she writes that “[u]ltimately, legal professionals need to work together with interpreters to achieve their goal and recognise them as expert participants, rather than ‘mere’ translation machines. Only when the bar is raised on court interpreting, will quality services be guaranteed and justice served” (Hale 2010: 453).

4. COURT INTERPRETING IN HUNGARIAN INTERPRETING STUDIES

Research combining language and law is relatively uncommon in Hungary. One important study was carried out in Miskolc, Hungary between 2000 and 2003 with the cooperation of lawyers and linguists. It focused on intralingual interpretation that is, “[i]nterpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language” (Jakobson 1959: 233) in police interrogations, in which lay narratives are translated into facts phrased in the legal register. As a result, a database of more than 18 hours’ recording enabled both linguistic and legal researchers to examine the language used in a legal process (see more details in Szabó 2010; Vinnai 2014a, 2014b). Much of my methodology for making and analysing recordings is informed by that research. The second part of this research project is running now (2014–2018), and in this context we are making recordings of court proceedings at the Miskolc District Court and at the Miskolc Regional Court.

The significance of language as a means of communication is even more apparent at court hearings where an interpreter is needed. Court interpreting in the classic sense – between languages – is a new research field in Hungary. Only a few observations have been made at interpreter-mediated court proceedings within Hungarian courtrooms (mainly by interpreter students, see also Horváth 2017). Not much research has been conducted yet and there are relatively few studies of court interpreting in Hungary.

In one of the publications Csörgő (2013) writes that court interpreters have to transfer between different cultures as well. He writes about one of the basic principles of court interpreting: impartiality. A court interpreter is appointed by the court for the foreign-language party, but to whom and to what should the court interpreter be loyal? That might not be evident either for the foreign-language party or for the interpreter. There are conflicting interests and expectations towards the interpreter, whose task is really complex: they have to make lots of decisions and face role conflicts (Csörgő 2013).

Horváth (2013) states that interpreters act as language experts: of course, they need to be impartial. However, this is not a question of language but of behaviour. Interpreters cannot make decisions regarding the legal case but this does not mean that they may not decide in communicational questions. In fact, as they are communication experts, it is worth counting on their opinion in language-related issues (Horváth 2013: 34). The author gives an overview

of the theoretical and practical issues of court interpreting, with special regard to the historical background of court interpreting and to the rights to interpretation across Europe, worldwide and in Hungary. In the practical part, she gives a summary of the definition of court interpreting, the different interpreting modes, the basic principles and the interpreter’s role and skills.

Another article by Horváth (2014) gives an overview of the right to interpretation in Europe, worldwide and in Hungary, beginning with human rights (The United Nations in Article 11 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), and the declaration from the Council of Europe on the right to liberty and security (Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights, 1950). In Article 14 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of the United Nations (1966) the minimum guarantees for persons criminally charged have been specified: “[T]o be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him; [...] to have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court” (for a detailed overview about the right to interpretation and translation see also FRA 2016). After the overview the author describes the new training course for court and community interpreting that was established at ELTE University at the Department of Translation and Interpreting and launched in 2014/2015 (Horváth 2014).

Farkasné Puklus (2016) deals with the principles of court interpreting and the different expectations towards court interpreters. The author analyses the different interpreting modes used in Hungarian courtrooms within the course of a criminal proceeding. Several international cases and research are quoted and the need for research in this field of study in Hungary is formulated (Farkasné Puklus 2016).

Another article by Farkasné Puklus (2017) describes two cases in Hungary where interpreters were involved and where according to the examinations of written protocols the course of the proceedings had been influenced due to the activity of court interpreters. In one of the cases a new proceeding needed to be opened because the interpretation was not satisfactory and in the other the role of the court interpreter had been extended and the interpreter acted as a competent language expert (Farkasné Puklus 2017).

Vinnai (2017) shares her opinion on the importance of court interpreting and describes the Hungarian situation in this field from the legal researcher’s side. The author tries to raise awareness of this field of study in legal researchers and experts.

I consider the research of this field of study important: my interest is on the one hand a personal one because I am a court interpreter in Hungary. On the other hand, the earlier mentioned conflicts of interest and confusion about roles led me to the investigation of this area. Researchers in Hungary have stated that not only language issues but also extra-linguistic features have an impact on the communication situation that may play an even more important role in a judicial context where mimic, gestures and intercultural differences also matter (Csörgő 2013, Horváth 2012, Klaudy 2003, Szabari 1999). My research on the expectations towards court interpreters and on the linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects of the interpreting process is the first of its kind in Hungary.

5. COURT INTERPRETING RESEARCH IN HUNGARY: JUDGES' EXPECTATIONS

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

My objective was to “look behind the scenes” and get some information from the legal side, from the judges as to what they expect from an interpreter and from an interpreter-mediated situation in the courtroom. The procedure and the instruments were selected after a short pilot study period (see 5.2), after which I was able to clarify the questions of the questionnaire. For this kind of research, a qualitative research method is suitable because I am interested in the opinion of judges and in the observation and description of courtroom situations. This research area, as stated above, is a complex interdisciplinary field, and for the investigation of the interpreter-mediated communication in the courtroom methodological triangulation needs to be applied (Denzin 1978). After the research instrument of the questionnaire protocols of interpreter-mediated courtroom proceedings are to be analysed as the second part of the research (Farkasné Puklus 2017) and in the third part interpreter-mediated courtroom hearings will be recorded.

One of the biggest difficulties in this research area is to gain the cooperation of courts in Hungary. The different court levels are centrally supervised by the Hungarian National Office for the Judiciary and researchers need to ask for permission in order to conduct investigations at Hungarian courts. It not only takes time but several rounds of negotiation, and a detailed research plan is needed as well.

I started the process of getting the required permissions and co-operation at the beginning of 2016 for the first version of the research questionnaire in Miskolc. In the summer of 2016 I prepared the detailed research plan built up of three main research parts. The Hungarian National Office for the Judiciary (OBH) expressed great interest in my research project and fortunately I got the overall permission in November 2016, when the research could be started.

In this paper, I would like to focus on the questionnaire for judges and on the evaluation of the responses.

5.2 THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was compiled in several steps. First, I took the *Vademecum Guidelines for a more effective communication with legal interpreters and translators* of EULITA, the European Legal Interpreters and Translators Organisation. In these guidelines, the following points based on practical experience are mentioned:

- the importance of selecting legal interpreters,
- the interpreter should be given information on the case before the proceeding,
- an assigned place is required for the interpreter in the courtroom,
- actors should be presented at the beginning of the proceeding (emphasising that the interpreter is a neutral person),
- written texts should be handed out to the interpreter for sight translation,
- interpreting the hearing in whispering interpreting mode should be allowed,
- interpretation should not be interrupted,
- short breaks should be scheduled after approximately one hour,

- judicial tasks should not be transferred to the interpreter,
- cultural characteristics should be discussed outside the courtroom.

Based on my experience as a court interpreter in Hungary I find these points important because through the fulfilment of these guidelines the quality of court interpreting can be improved and the tasks of the interpreters clarified.

Second, I looked at the research of Kadrić conducted in Vienna in 1998–1999 (Kadrić 2009: 105–148). Kadrić prepared a detailed questionnaire for judges, to which 133 judges responded. It contained various questions such as how often judges have to face communication problems with foreign participants in the proceedings; who takes part as foreign parties in these proceedings (migrants, managers, tourists, etc.); and what their mother tongue is. Kadrić asked about the appointment of the interpreter, about the function and tasks of the interpreter during the proceedings and about the required competences, items I have incorporated into my own research.

Third, as a pilot study I requested the help of legal professionals (three judges and a researcher), two linguists, an interpreter and a sociologist who all gave important feedback on the questionnaire. I asked them to look through the questions to judge whether they are clear and understandable and requested further remarks. They all contributed to the improvement of the measuring instrument (see Annexe 1; the questionnaire was conducted in Hungarian, the translation of the questions was made by the author of this study). Due to the feedback of the legal professionals, the linguists and the interpreter I was able to clarify the expressions used in interpreting studies (e.g. interpreting modes). As a result of a discussion with the sociologist suggestive questions could be avoided and the form of the questionnaire restructured. As a first phase, with the permission and help of the Miskolc Regional Court, judges in the North Hungarian region were asked to fill in the online questionnaire. Thirty judges in and around Miskolc responded, the response rate is 18.4% (163 judges work in the territorial competence of the Miskolc Regional Court).

6. DATA ANALYSIS – PARTICIPATION AND SAMPLING

The questionnaire as a research instrument was filled in on an anonymous basis, and the results are used exclusively for my research purposes. It was an online questionnaire and the data were collated automatically.

First, I asked the age and the sex of the respondents and how long they had been working as a judge. Thirty respondents answered the questions in June 2016, aged between 36–61, 19 male and 10 female (one of the respondents did not answer this question), and with at least five years of experience as a judge. After this short introduction 16 questions were asked: 15 closed-ended questions and one open-ended question. My intention with the closed-ended questions was to gain insight through a specific set of responses and to gather facts from the respondents. In the case of the closed-ended questions the data were collected and presented with the help of diagrams. One of the most important questions of the questionnaire was the open-ended question, which is useful for gathering detailed opinion from the judges. In this case the responses were read through and keywords were selected. With the help of this keyword extraction technique the responses were grouped to the respective keywords.

6.1 QUESTION 1: HOW MANY PROCEEDINGS DO YOU HAVE IN A MONTH?

As *Figure 1* shows, the number of proceedings that judges take part in monthly varies considerably, from under twenty to double that amount. Out of 28 respondents 11 have usually 10-19 proceedings, 7 respondents 20-29 proceedings, six judges 30-39 proceedings and four of them even 40-49 proceedings in a month.

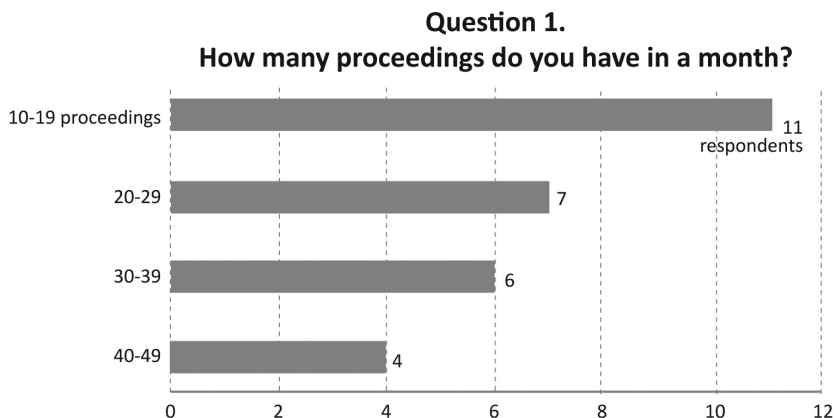


Figure 1: Number of proceedings judges have in a month

6.2 QUESTION 2: WHAT TYPES OF CASES, RANGES OF ISSUES DO YOU MOSTLY DEAL WITH?

Fourteen judges out of the 30 respondents answered that they deal with criminal cases, 14 judges with civil cases and 1-1 with labour and minor offences.

6.3 QUESTION 3: HAVE YOU EVER PRESIDED OVER A HEARING IN WHICH THE INVOLVED PARTIES/WITNESSES DID NOT SPEAK OR UNDERSTAND HUNGARIAN?

Thirty respondents answered this question and 26 judges wrote that they had had cases with foreign language participants; only three judges had not had this experience. One of them with the answer *no* did not continue with the questionnaire, and therefore the number of respondents in the following questions is 29 unless otherwise stated (see Annex after question 3. *If your answer is “No”, you do not need to answer the following questions. However, if you would like to share your experiences regarding court interpreting, feel free to continue with the questionnaire.*)

6.4 QUESTION 4: PER MONTH, HOW MANY HEARINGS DO YOU HAVE WHERE FOREIGN PARTIES ARE INVOLVED?

All respondents to the next question answered that they have 1–5 proceedings with foreign participants in a month.

6.5 QUESTION 5: HOW DO YOU SELECT AN INTERPRETER FOR COURT PROCEEDINGS?

There were different options, one of which was that interpreters can be appointed from the register of court interpreters (*Figure 2.*). In Hungary, we do not have a register of court interpreters but judges can choose experts from a register of experts. I wanted to know whether

the judges know precisely that there is no list of court interpreters. There were other options like choosing the interpreter based on the recommendation of colleagues or acquaintances, with the help of a translation agency or asking an acquaintance who speaks the foreign language in question. Twelve respondents gave more than one answer to this question. 18 judges mentioned that they appoint an interpreter based on the recommendation of colleagues or acquaintances. Ten judges answered that they choose an interpreter from the register of court interpreters. That might seem to be a logical answer, however no such list of interpreters who might be selected for court proceedings in Hungary has been drawn up. Two judges gave other answers: one of them said that the Public Prosecutor’s Office has to appoint the interpreter but that is not an exact answer according to the provision of Hungarian law, since the provisions do not specify which authority has to appoint the interpreter (for further details see 7.1) and another judge wrote that he selects an interpreter with the help of the Internet.

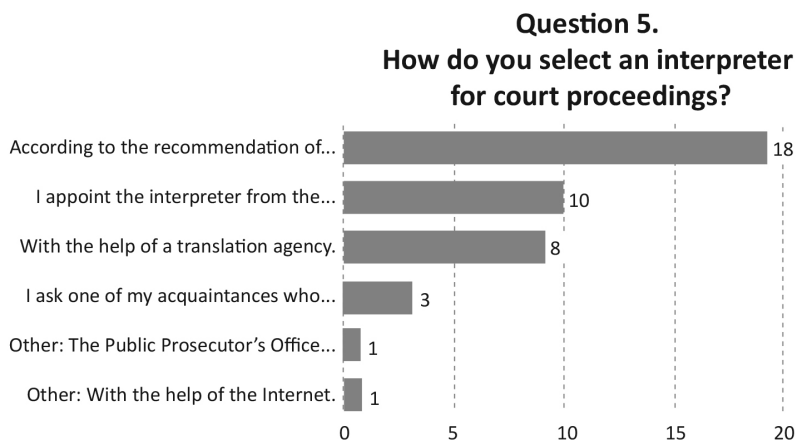


Figure 2: Selection of an interpreter

6.6 QUESTION 6: DO YOU USUALLY PROVIDE THE INTERPRETER WITH ANY DOCUMENT RELATED TO THE GIVEN CASE PRIOR TO THE HEARING?

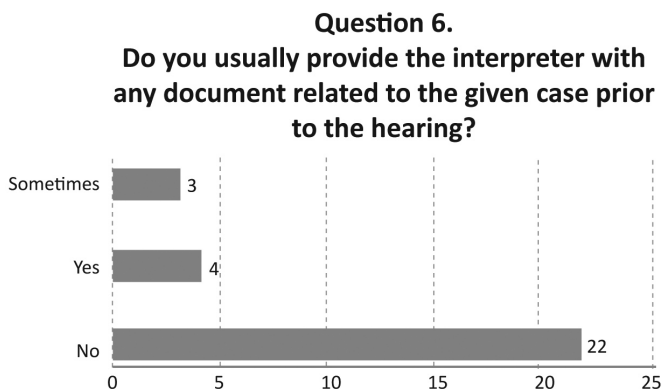


Figure 3: Providing documents for the interpreter

As *Figure 3* shows, 22 judges gave a negative answer. Three judges answered with *sometimes* and four respondents wrote *yes*, they provide documents for the interpreter. Six respondents specified the type of document they can provide for preparation. The answers included: summons, submissions of the parties, the charge or indictment, expert reports, protocols and the testimony of the accused person.

6.7 QUESTION 7: DO YOU INTRODUCE THE INTERPRETER AT THE BEGINNING OF THE HEARING?
 Out of the 29 respondents 26 judges introduce the interpreter at the beginning of the hearing, only three of them answered with *no*.

6.8 QUESTION 8: WHERE IS THE INTERPRETER SEATED IN THE COURTROOM?
 There were 21 answers for the option that the interpreter is seated next to the foreign language participant (*Figure 4.*). Six judges wrote that there is no assigned seat for the interpreter and two respondents added the remark that the interpreter usually sits next to the prosecutor or next to the accused person.

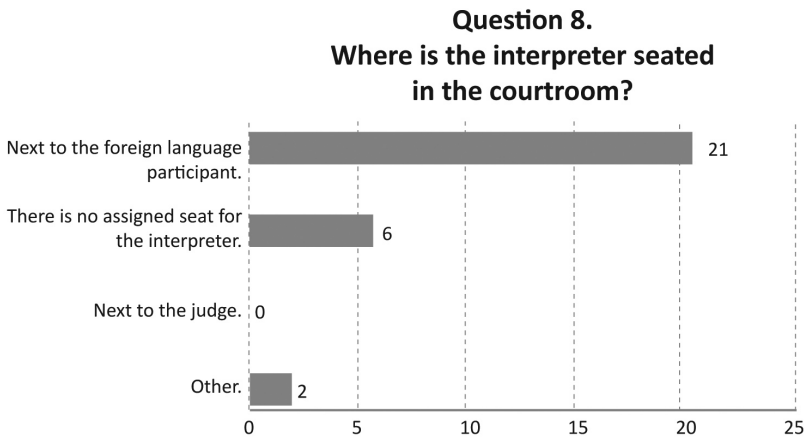


Figure 4: Seating position of the court interpreter

6.9 QUESTION 9: ARE THE WRITTEN TEXTS WHICH ARE READ OUT AT THE PROCEEDINGS HANDED TO THE INTERPRETER JUST BEFORE THE HEARING OR DURING THE HEARING SO THAT THE INTERPRETER CAN SIGHT-TRANSLATE THEM?

There were three options for the answers: *yes*, written texts are provided *just before the hearing* or *yes, during the hearing* or *no*. Twenty one respondents answered that they hand written texts to the interpreter during the hearing and six judges' answers were negative. Only two judges provide the documents for the interpreter just before the hearing, one of them answered that there had not been a case where the interpreter had to sight-translate a document and one added remark was that it depends, only in that case where the document is in connection with the statement of the person to be questioned.

6.10 QUESTION 10: IN YOUR VIEW, DURING A HEARING WHAT ARE THE MOST EFFECTIVE TYPES OF INTERPRETING?

All respondents stated that *consecutive interpreting* is the most effective, one of them added a vote also for the *simultaneous* mode and another judge for *chuchotage*, or whispering to the foreign language participant (Figure 5).

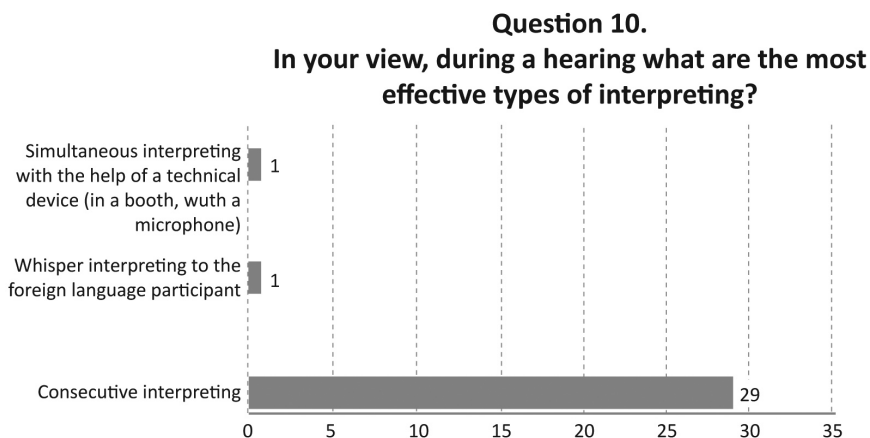


Figure 5: The most effective interpreting modes

To the question what the most effective interpreting modes are one respondent chose the further option that simultaneous interpreting with the help of a technical device is the most effective.

6.11 QUESTION 11: ARE THERE ANY TECHNICAL DEVICES FOR INTERPRETATION PROVIDED IN THE COURTROOM?

According to the answers to this question, Hungarian courtrooms are not equipped with booths or bidules. All respondents answered with *no*.

6.12 QUESTION 12: DURING THE COURSE OF A HEARING, ARE THERE ANY SCHEDULED SHORT BREAKS?

As Figure 6 shows, 17 respondents answered with yes and 15 judges specified their answers: mostly every two hours (three answers), every 1 and a half to two hours (two answers), every hour (two answers) and it depends on the course of the proceeding and on the parties involved (eight answers). One respondent expressed that a short break can be initiated by the interpreter as well. However, 12 judges responded that there are no short breaks during the hearing.

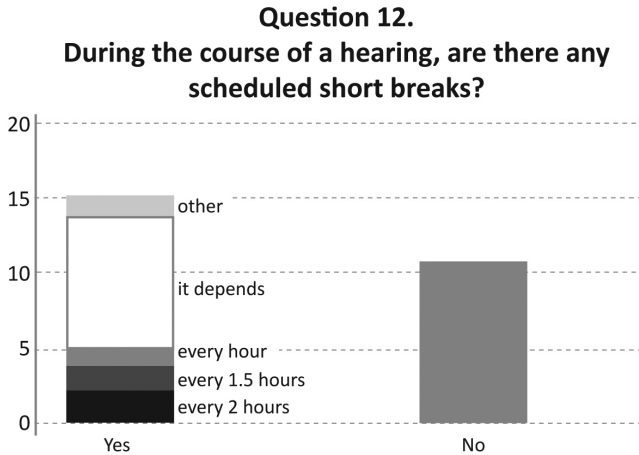


Figure 6: Short breaks during the proceeding

6.13 QUESTION 13: AT THE BEGINNING OF A HEARING AN INTERPRETER’S ATTENTION IS DRAWN TO THE CONSEQUENCES OF PERJURY OR FAULTY INTERPRETING (THAT BOTH OF THESE ARE PUNISHABLE ACTS). WHAT DO YOU THINK FAULTY INTERPRETING MEANS? PLEASE EXPLAIN.

The only open-ended question of the questionnaire was related to the fact that sometimes interpreting can go wrong. With the help of the keyword technique the answers can be grouped according to the following keywords: *not adequate rendering*, *translation*, *intentionality* and *relevant facts* (Table 1).

Table 1: Keywords in responses to Question 13

Question 13. keywords	Number of responses where the keyword was mentioned	Examples (quoted responses)
not adequate rendering	17	“Faulty: if he/she does not translate what is said by the speaker adequately into Hungarian.”
translation	14	“If the interpreter does not translate what the foreign language participant says.”
intentionality	8	“It means that the interpreter intentionally does not translate the meaning of what is said in Hungarian.”
relevant facts	3	“He does not translate what is said regarding relevant facts .”

Twenty-one respondents gave a detailed answer. As seen in Table 1, the importance of *adequate*, *equivalent* and *precise rendering* was mentioned by 17 judges. Eight of them regard *intentionality* as an important feature and three judges wrote *regarding relevant facts* as a keyword to their understanding of faulty interpreting (see also Section 7.6). It is worth mentioning that fourteen answers included the expression *translation* and not *interpretation* of what is said in the course of the proceedings, as seen in the following detailed response:

The attention of the interpreter is of course drawn to the consequences. In my view, false interpretation means that the interpreter does not translate what is said and what is happening during the proceedings in sufficient detail and/or translates in a deliberately ambiguous way for the defendant or witness who does not speak Hungarian.

6.14 QUESTION 14: HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE FUNCTION OF A COURT INTERPRETER?

There were different options and 7 respondents marked more than one option (Figure 7). The function as a *language mediator* was mentioned by 16 judges, seven respondents think that interpreters are *helper of a foreign language participant* and also seven that they are *foreign language experts*. Five judges feel that court interpreters act as *court assistants*. Two voted for the function of *foreign language and cultural expert* and one for *intercultural communication expert*.

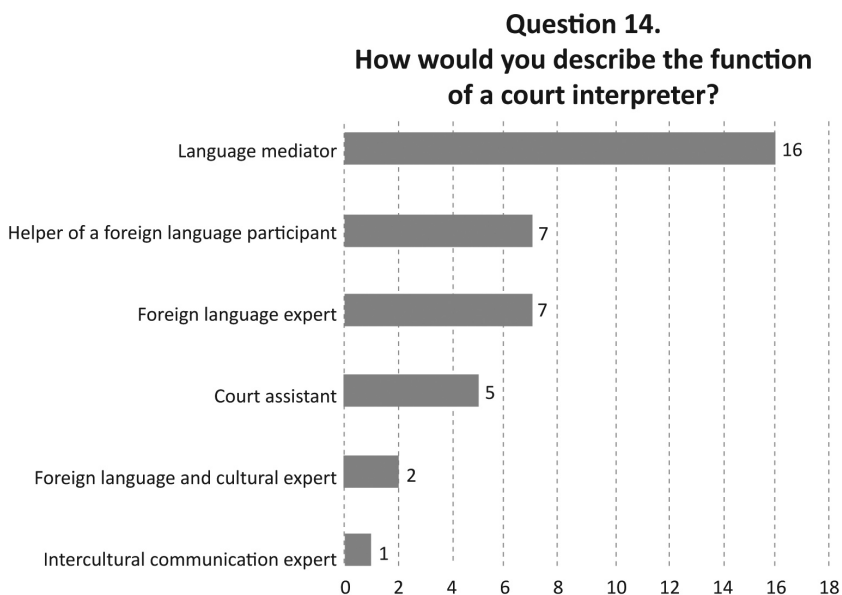


Figure 7: Function(s) of a court interpreter

6.15 QUESTION 15: WHICH PARTS OF THE PROCEEDINGS ARE INTERPRETED FOR THE FOREIGN-LANGUAGE PARTICIPANT?

As shown in Figure 8, the majority of respondents opted for *the whole proceeding* being interpreted, while others chose only *relevant parts of the proceeding* or even just *questioning of the foreign language participant*. In addition, one judge specified that in the case of a foreign language party the whole proceeding, in the case of a witness only the questioning part should be interpreted.

Question 15.
Which parts of the proceedings are interpreted for the foreign language participant?

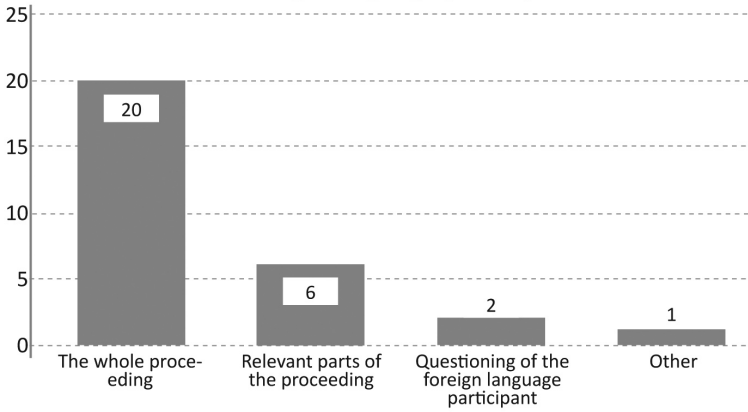


Figure 8: Interpreted parts of the proceeding

6.16 QUESTION 16: ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE CURRENT PRACTICE OF INTERPRETATION WITHIN THE COURTS?

To the last question in the questionnaire most of the judges, 20 respondents, reported that they are *satisfied* with the current interpretation practice, one of them is *totally satisfied*, one of them is *not satisfied* and seven judges expressed that they are *somewhat satisfied* with how interpretation occurs at courts nowadays.

Question 16.
Are you satisfied with the current practice of interpretation within the courts?



Figure 9: Satisfaction with the current practice of court interpretation

7. DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

In this part of the paper I would like to highlight some data from the questionnaire, pointing to six aspects of court interpreting, and reflect on findings of the international literature of court interpreting.

7.1 HOW TO CHOOSE AN INTERPRETER?

As shown in *Figure 2*, ten respondents reported that they choose an interpreter from the register of court interpreters, which has not actually been officially drawn up in Hungary. Judges have a list of experts they can choose from and a register of court interpreters would help them, too. Directive 2010/64/EU requires member states to take measures to ensure the proper quality of interpretation and translation and member states “shall endeavour” (but are not required) to establish a register of appropriately qualified translators and interpreters. According to the report of the European Union on implementing Directives 2010/64/EU and 2012/13/EU, seventeen member states have provided such a register and in eight European countries that have a register, courts are obliged to use it when choosing a legal interpreter (FRA 2016: 46–47). One of Hungary’s neighbours, Austria, has a register of court interpreters and as seen in the research of Kadrić conducted in Vienna, judges treat this register as a guarantee of quality (Kadrić 2009: 118).

One of the respondents gave a different answer to this question: in their opinion the Public Prosecutor’s Office should appoint the interpreter. According to Section 60 of the Hungarian Act CXL of 2004 on the General Rules of Administrative Proceedings and Services

- (1) If the officer in charge does not speak the language of the client or any other party to the proceeding, *an interpreter shall be engaged*. (emphasis by the author)

According to Section 114 of the Hungarian Act XIX of 1998 on Criminal Proceedings

- (1) If a person whose native language is not Hungarian intends to use in the course of the proceedings their native language, or – pursuant to and within the scope of an international agreement promulgated by law – their regional or minority language, *an interpreter shall be employed* (unofficial translation, emphasis by the author).

It is, however, not specified which authority needs to employ the interpreter. Another respondent’s answer was that they look for an interpreter on the Internet. In the event a register of certified court interpreters were available on the Internet, it could be an appropriate answer. Not only the interpreters but also the court has the responsibility for ensuring the proper quality of interpretation. This is only achievable when judges are able to appoint a qualified interpreter. As written in the German literature, the interpreter has to give a faithful and complete rendering but this is only possible when the interpreter is qualified and prepared for the respective proceeding (Driesen and Petersen 2011: 6). See also my investigation of written protocols where due to the interpreting mistakes of an unqualified interpreter a new proceeding had to be opened (Farkasné Puklus 2017: 173–176).

7.2 IS AN INTERPRETER ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS AN EXPERT OR NOT?

In Germany and in Austria, interpreters are not experts because they cannot add any content to the relevant case. However, the court can appoint the interpreter as a language expert if there is a forensic issue to be decided on (Driesen and Petersen 2011: 6, Kadrić 2009: 49–51). According to the Hungarian provisions the rules for experts shall also be applied for interpreters (see also Farkasné Puklus 2016, Horváth 2013) but interpreters usually do not get access to documents. Court interpreters are rarely able to consult documents and prepare for the proceedings, although this would be essential and would contribute to the success of interpreting.

When asked about providing documents to interpreters prior to the hearing (Question 6., Figure 3.), 75% of the judges responded that they do not do so, meaning that interpreters are unable to prepare for that specific case. This leads to the question of whether an interpreter is really regarded as an expert or not.

However, this is the case not only in Hungary: “many legal translation and interpretation associations stated that there are no procedures in place to prepare interpreters or translators for specific cases” (FRA 2016: 58). The Danish researcher Bente Jacobsen (also vice-chairman of the Association of Danish Authorised Translators and Interpreters) mentions that “[i]nterpreters are assumed to need no preparation for a trial. Therefore, they rarely get prior information about the case, including the alleged offence or the type of offender/victim. Interpreters are mainly regarded as [...] individuals whose only job is to copy words from one language into another (a linguistic photocopier)” (FRA 2016: 58).

7.3 WHERE IS THE INTERPRETER SEATED?

Most typically the interpreter is seated next to the foreign language participant or in the case of questioning suspected or accused persons or hearing witnesses the interpreter stands (see Figure 4). Six judges wrote that there is no assigned seat for the interpreter and three respondents added the remark that the interpreter usually sits next to the prosecutor (two answers) or next to the accused person (one answer). The situation is quite different for example in Austria, where court interpreters usually sit next to the judge. This has a symbolical importance as well: court interpreters are appointed by the court and they represent neutrality. If they sit next to the judge it might implicate that they are part of the hierarchical system of the court as well. In Hungary seating assignments might convey the meaning that interpreters are there for the foreign-language party and this could raise questions of loyalty, too (see also Csörgő 2013).

7.4 INTERPRETING MODES AND INTERPRETED PARTS

When judges were asked about the different interpreting modes, all of them answered that consecutive interpreting is the most effective (see Figure 5). There was only one added answer for the simultaneous mode and another for *chuchotage*, or whispering to the foreign language participant.

In order to achieve sufficient interpreting Mikkelsen (2000) argues that text passages of maximum 100 words (one or two sentences) should be interpreted consecutively, as interpreters need not only remember facts and content but all the extra-linguistic elements as well (Mikkelsen 2000: 71).

Angermeyer (2015) also states that “[i]f the goal is to put non-English speakers on an equal footing with English speakers, the consistent use of short consecutive interpreting appears more likely to guarantee equality of access to information produced during the trial” (Angermeyer 2015: 214).

In the Hungarian literature Farkasné Puklus (2016) considers the fluency of communication and the speed of the proceeding and therefore argues in some parts of the proceedings – especially at the beginning of the hearing (opening statement) – for whisper interpreting.

Kadrić (2004) admits that the interpreting modes used in Austria – usually consecutive or summary interpreting (although it is not clear what is meant by this term) – should be reviewed in order to secure equal rights for foreign-language participants. For example, she points out that in the case of summary interpreting the foreign participant’s right to ask questions at any stage of the proceeding might be violated.

The majority of judges reported that interpretation of the entire hearing takes place (Figure 8.), although in some cases it was more limited. It is the stance of The Hungarian National Office for the Judiciary (OBH) that the judge has no say as to how much of the hearing is interpreted, and therefore after the OBH review the question was removed from the second version.

7.5 FUNCTION AND ROLE OF THE INTERPRETER

Responding to *Question 14* on the function of interpreters, judges believed that court interpreters act as *language mediators, helpers of a foreign language participant, court assistants, foreign language experts, foreign language and cultural experts* or *intercultural communication experts*. It is important that not only the interpreter but also judges and lawyers shall be aware of the role and function that an interpreter plays in the course of the proceeding. Hale (2004) formulates that “[i]nterpreters must first become aware of their responsibilities as professionals,” and

Secondly, lawyers must become aware of the difficulties of the interpreting process and recognise that it is an activity that requires fully qualified, trained professionals; they must fully understand the role of the interpreter; take responsibility for their own speech rather than expect interpreters to clarify their utterances or ensure the comprehension is reached; and they must treat interpreters with the respect they deserve, as equal professionals (Hale 2004: 2).

As seen from the responses in *Figure 7*, some judges expect the interpreter to help the court, to provide assistance to the court or to help the foreign language speaker. However, the interpreter’s task is actually to remove the language barrier and to transform the utterances in a pragmatically correct form and not word for word (Hale 2004: 12). As Mikkelsen states, the “[i]nterpreter’s task is not to ensure that the defendant understands the proceedings” (Mikkelsen 1998: 22). Interpreters are not machines or “part of the furniture” of the courtroom, because they are an active participant of the communication process (Berk-Seligson 1990: 55). Interaction will occur due to the presence of the interpreter triadic (Hale 2004: 10) and interpreters might play an even more active role and have more influence than expected by the participants of the communication process (Jacobsen 2003: 239).

7.6 FAULTY INTERPRETING

If we look at the summoning of the interpreter usually used in Hungary, we can find that court interpreters are being appointed by the court to provide professional and accurate *translation* and their attention is drawn to the consequences of faulty *translation*. In the answers of the judges to the question as to what faulty interpreting means the expression *translation* was used by 14 respondents (See Table 1). Morris says that typically “[c]ourt interpreters are not to *interpret* – this being an activity which only lawyers are to perform, but to *translate* – a term which is defined, sometimes expressly and sometimes by implication, as rendering the speaker’s words verbatim” (Morris 1995: 26). Although in Hungarian we have our own expression for interpreting (*tolmácsolás*) and yet another for interpretation (*értelmezés*) judges tend to use the term *translation* (*fordítás*) for both oral and written renderings.

It is formulated in the Hungarian Act C of 2012 on the Criminal Code (Perjury, Section 272) that

- (1) Any witness who gives false testimony before the authority *concerning an essential circumstance of a case*, or suppresses evidence is guilty of perjury.
- (2) The provisions relating to perjury shall be applied to any person who:
 - a) gives false opinion as an expert or false information as a special adviser;
 - b) *falsely* translates as an interpreter or a translator... (unofficial translation, emphasis by the author).

The adjective *falsely* was used in the wording of the Criminal Code but it is not further specified what that means. In the answers of judges as to what they think faulty interpreting means *relevant facts* were mentioned three times (e.g. “*He does not translate what is said regarding relevant facts.*”) and the importance of *adequate rendering* (expressions like *interpreting or translating according to reality, verbatim if possible, text-true*) appeared in 17 answers. It is often the expectation of legal professionals that literal, verbatim interpretation shall take place in the courtroom. Verbatim interpretation is mostly impossible in the interaction of two languages because of the differences of the language structure and as a consequence of the interpretation process (González et al. 1991: 17). Some researchers argue for “accuracy of message and intention” and consider “[a]ccuracy as a pragmatic reconstruction of the source language into the target language” (Hale 2004: 3, House 1977).

In eight answers of the judges, *intentionality* was also mentioned (e.g. “*It means that the interpreter intentionally does not translate the meaning of what is said in Hungarian.*”), which implies the importance of a deliberate action before the court. In the exhaustive answer of one of the respondents there is even a detailed explanation given (with more details than in the applicable legal provision):

The rules applicable to experts should also apply for interpreters, they are warned about the consequences of faulty interpreting – it is the obligation of the judge laid down in legal provision. In my opinion, faulty interpreting means that the interpreter **intentionally** mistranslates what is said during the proceedings. If the interpreter states that he or she does not understand certain legal expressions

or is not aware of their content then this is not faulty interpreting: in this case the judge needs to supply the relevant information and if this is not sufficient, another interpreter needs to be appointed.

In this part of the paper (chapters 7.1–7.6) I discussed six aspects of court interpreting that might be important from the interpreter’s point of view and relevant for the communicational context. Other aspects are to be analysed in the light of further research data.

8. CONCLUSION

The main target of my research is to investigate what the legal side – especially judges – expects from the interpreter and how the communication event with the interpreter in the courtroom can be described with all its linguistic and extra-linguistic aspects. The research consists of three parts: First I investigate the expectations towards court interpreters through a questionnaire that was answered in two phases. Secondly, I consult written protocols of interpreter-mediated courtroom proceedings. And thirdly I analyse recordings from courtroom proceedings where an interpreter is involved. Due to the results of the three research parts I hope to gain more insight into the role of the court interpreter “[w]ho takes part in an interaction that is constrained by the institution in which it is embedded” (Angelelli 2004: 83). This article analyses the results of the first part: the opinion of the judges who responded to the questionnaire in its first version.

Although the results cannot be representative due to being limited to one region, I tried to show some interesting aspects of the interpreter-mediated communication event in the courtroom. The analysed answers and the shown aspects demonstrate that the interpreter often needs to seek for a balance between the expectation of judges and his or her knowledge of the role and responsibility of an interpreter (Angermeyer 2015: 100).

According to the results of the first version of the questionnaire (territorial competence of the Miskolc Regional Court) and to the negotiations with two legal experts of the Hungarian National Office for the Judiciary (OBH), the questions had been specified and a second version prepared (one question needed to be removed, see chapter 7.4 and one – Question 13. – modified). Regarding the second version a German article will be published soon (Farkasné Puklus 2018).

This article and the ongoing research are an attempt to raise awareness of the legal side in Hungary to court interpreting and to argue for further research and improved conditions for interpreters in Hungarian courtrooms.

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WEB SOURCES

- The Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council on the right to interpretation and translation
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32010L0064>
- The original English version of Vademecum and its translations
<http://eulita.eu/sites/default/files/VADEMECUM%20-%20Guidelines%20for%20a%20more%20effective%20communication%20with%20interpreters%20and%20translators.pdf>
- EULITA: European Legal Interpreters and Translators Organisation
www.eulita.eu
- FRA European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, Rights of suspected and accused persons across the EU: translation, interpretation and information
<http://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/rights-suspected-and-accused-persons-across-eu-translation-interpretation-and>
- Act C of 2012 on the Criminal Code of Hungary
http://thb.kormany.hu/download/a/46/11000/Btk_EN.pdf

**ANNEXE 1
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR JUDGES**

1. How many proceedings do you have in a month?
H1-19 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59
2. What types of cases, ranges of issues do you mostly deal with?
Criminal: issue
Minor offences: issue
Civil: issue
Labour: issue
Administrative: issue
Other:
3. Have you ever presided over a hearing in which the involved parties/witnesses did not speak or understand Hungarian?
Yes No

If your answer is “No”, you do not need to answer the following questions. However, if you would like to share your experiences regarding court interpreting, feel free to continue with the questionnaire.

4. Per month, how many hearings do you have where foreign-language parties are involved?
1-5 6-10 11-15 16-20 >20
5. How do you select an interpreter for court proceedings? (You can give more than one answer.)
– I appoint the interpreter from the register of court interpreters.
– Based on the recommendation of colleagues/acquaintances.
– With the help of a translation agency.
– I ask one of my acquaintances who speaks the relevant foreign language.
– Other:
6. Do you usually provide the interpreter with any document related to the given case prior to the hearing?
Yes If your answer is “Yes”, type of documents:
Sometimes If your answer is “Sometimes”, type of documents:
No
7. Do you introduce the interpreter at the beginning of the hearing?
Yes No
8. Where is the interpreter seated in the courtroom?
Next to the judge.
Next to the foreign language participant.
There is no assigned seat for the interpreter.
Other:
9. Are the written texts which are read out at the proceedings (correspondence, contracts, court orders, etc.) handed to the interpreter just before the hearing or during the hearing so that the interpreter can sight-translate them?
Yes, just before the hearing.
Yes, during the hearing.
No
Other:

10. In your view, during a hearing what are the most effective types of interpreting? (You can give more than one answer.)
 Consecutive interpreting.
 Whisper interpreting to the foreign language participant.
 Simultaneous interpreting with the help of a technical device
 (in a booth, with a microphone)
 Other:
11. Are there any technical devices for interpretation provided in the courtroom?
 Yes, ‘bidule’ equipment (with a microphone and an earphone):
 Yes, an interpreter’s booth:
 No
 Other:
12. During the course of a hearing, are there any scheduled short breaks?
 Yes
 No
 If your answer is “Yes”, how often:
13. At the beginning of a hearing an interpreter’s attention is drawn to the consequences of perjury or faulty interpreting (that both of these are punishable acts). What do you think faulty interpreting means? Please explain.

14. How would you describe the function of a court interpreter? (You can give more than one answer.)
 Foreign language expert
 Intercultural communication expert
 Foreign language and cultural expert
 Language mediator
 Court assistant
 Helper of a foreign language participant
 Other:
15. Which parts of the proceedings are interpreted for the foreign language participant?
 Questioning of the foreign language participant
 Relevant parts of the proceeding
 The whole proceeding
 Other:
16. Are you satisfied with the current practice of interpretation within the courts?
 Yes, I am totally satisfied.
 I am satisfied.
 I am somewhat satisfied.
 I am not satisfied.

DILEMMAS AND CONTEXTS OF JUDICIAL ETHICS IN COURT INTERPRETING¹

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Abstract: In this study, I will try to present to what extent the personal activity of language professionals acting in court hearings does and can influence public trust in justice, in general. I will also point out the moral expectations of the professional and legal supervisory bodies towards the technical service provider fulfilling public duty by virtue of the powers delegated by the state arising thereof. Interpreters and translators thus shoulder huge responsibility, of that there I no doubt. Finally, I will present a few specific translation agency solutions that support the work of language professionals providing court interpreting and attested translations with high professional standards, all in the grand hope that they meet even the most demanding ethical challenges in the field of justice.

Keywords: court interpreting, ethics, responsibility of the language professional, public trust in justice, attested translation

1. THE PUBLIC TRUST ROLE OF COURT INTERPRETING IN JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

The trustworthiness of court interpreting is a fundamental issue of judicial ethics at all times, which always depends on the ethical responsibility-taking of the language professional involved, which (or the lack of such) may have specific consequences in the given legal dispute.

Court interpreting has several participants. At the same time, all participants have totally different technical priorities in these proceedings: the judge, the interpreter, the party or witness to the proceedings and other participants involved if any (for example, forensic experts) in fact all want different things.

The interpreter wishes to perform the language mediation task flawlessly to the best of their abilities, to decide on linguistic issues independently, and at the end of performing such a service faultlessly, rightfully expects to receive not only the certificate of performance, but following that, also the payment of the interpreter fee in due time. Thus, based on civil law commission or undertaking legal relations, the interpreter is a service provider who has

¹ The author holds a degree in law, was Head of the Civil Law and Codification Department (CIKFO) of the Ministry of Justice between 2014 and 2015, earlier the Head of the Department for Judicial Supervision (IFFO), and Chair of the Supervisory Committee of the Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation Ltd. (IFFO and CIKFO are responsible for the legal supervision of bailiffs and forensic experts, for keeping the register, and the legal basic and further trainings and examinations and codification of the laws passed in this field.) As of 2015 the author is the CEO of OFFI Ltd., appointed by the Minister of Justice as the person exercising founder's rights and currently holds said position when this article is written. OFFI Ltd. is a 100% state-owned business entity that makes attested (legal) translations for private persons, companies and government bodies pursuant to the laws. See: www.offi.hu.

been resorted to, providing a service and thus becomes entitled to remuneration. **The judge**, who shall resolve the dispute, requires the assistance of the ethical interpreter to keep perfect contact with one or more foreign participants of the proceedings and to facilitate understanding. In addition, the judge requires smooth procedure, i.e. the interpreter does not hinder the course of the procedure, but is invisibly present (as a secondary figure) in the court case, so that it can run just as smoothly as in the cases where interpreting is not required. As client, the judge would like to obtain good value for money, low priced fees as quickly as possible. And although the role of judges in legal proceedings is mostly determined by the rules laid down in the Code of Civil Procedure², this cannot be regarded as a standard client position. But unquestionably, this aspect exists and feeds judges' needs for flawless and professional performance. On the side of the quasi-principal there is also the actual client whose language competence necessitated the intermediary service necessary, as after all they will make specific use of the interpreting service, translation is carried out for them. **The party or witness** or other participant **to the proceedings**, whose mother tongue is other than Hungarian, basically yearns for a helpful assistant inspiring a sense of safety, who will aid them in everything so that the foreign language proceedings run smoothly from their point of view too, without adding extra stress; and should the said person have any concern or question, the issue will be resolved on the spot in their own mother tongue, hence *within their own comfort zone*. Furthermore, the **underlying legal case** before the court also has its own interest (but cannot be regarded as a participant as it is not a person): interpreting or translation should not cause any errors, interpretation misunderstandings or delays in the deadline simply because exercising the right to use the mother tongue of the persons concerned requires an extra participant in the proceedings, i.e. the interpreter. The reconciliation of these interests is quite a huge ethical challenge for the language mediator, the court interpreter. The situation is particularly complicated by the fact that **all cases differ**. Thus, even if an interpreter gains experience in court cases, they can never claim that they are able to provide court interpreting and that no surprises can occur after a certain point. The only comfort in this situation is that the same applies for the judge, the lawyers and the forensic experts, too. Irrespective of how many years of practice a lawyer has, there are always new situations which require new legal solutions. Given the infinite variety of legal solutions existing, the challenge for the interpreter is to find ever new linguistic solutions for the next legal case, as well.

Another aspect that adds to the importance of the topic of court interpreting is that court interpreting itself has a role in and may influence the positive or negative change³ of **public trust in justice**⁴. Today state (certified or legal) translators and interpreters are neither listed in a register nor belong to a public body (chamber), instead court interpreting and attested translation

² Act CXXX of 2016 on Civil Procedure

³ For example, similarly to the role of the other court room participant, that of the forensic expert.

⁴ Minister of Justice Prof. Dr. László Trócsányi has himself formulated the goal of instituting measures that reinforce general public trust in justice and the launch of the legislative work necessary along with the strengthening of the constitutional identity of Hungary. The extensive judicial reform between 2014 and 2017 is a result of such effort, thus the birth of legislative notions affecting the mentioned bailiff, expert, and civil, criminal and public administrative proceedings, too. The role of interpreters in civil and criminal proceedings has been tackled as a separate issue, also in the course of legislative work.

are performed by a business entity operating in the form of a state-owned limited liability company⁵. In exceptional cases, the courts may resort to other interpreting or translation bureaus.

There are numerous international examples of different models, where the interpreter is a registered person who assumes personal responsibility for the quality of their translation and interpreting activity and who even takes an oath before commencing the activity, the very circumstance defining the framework of their ethical working⁶. In 2016 the formerly two-tier chamber structure of the other frequent participants of court proceedings, the forensic experts, was changed into a unified national chamber of experts. Other judicial service providers, for example, public bailiffs (independent court bailiffs) earlier had their own public body⁷ but this chamber of bailiffs was transformed into the body of bailiffs as a result of the judicial reforms in recent years. Lawyers and public notaries also have several public duties, while the register of lawyers is an existing establishment that is maintained by the Bar Association. As we have seen, the state can even found public bodies for carrying out certain public duties, if it so wishes. This means passing on public duty. If it does not wish to do so, one possibility is to delegate the public or judicial duty to a 100% state-owned business entity through law, as in the case of OFFI Ltd. However, the concept of public duty, its precise definition does not appear in the law itself⁸.

In my opinion, when regarded from the aspect of ethical operation, it has no fundamental relevance whether a given public duty or service is performed by an authorised public body, chamber, or experts or translators listed in a specific register of professionals, or employees or subcontractors of a 100% state-owned business entity, because when viewed from the **side of the client requiring such a service**, there are **three** expectations that always apply.

- flawless and ethical performance of quality service,
- by the agreed deadline, and
- at fair and proportionate prices.

It is not the form of the providing organisation that leads to the fulfilment of these criteria. With public task performance, should the state service providers make mistakes in the course of fulfilling their duty, in price determination or handling complaints or voluntary legal compliance, or simply impolite communication, **public trust in justice itself may suffer damage**. This also holds for court and public service interpreters, since they act as service providers in the field of justice. This can also be caused by the fact that the legal environment is not clear, not transparent, too complex and not simple, but rather fragmented, overstretching onto various levels,

⁵ Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation Ltd. (OFFI Ltd.), www.offi.hu.

⁶ For example, see the German, Austrian, French, Estonian, Polish or Swedish models, where entry in the register is usually subject to an examination in language and law and clean criminal record, and the register is supervised by the state (for example the Ministry of Justice or Courts of Appeal), but certain models may differ in this respect.

⁷ Hungarian Chamber of Court Bailiffs (MBVK)

⁸ Dr. Gabriella Németh: Az Igazságügyi Szakértők és a Bírósági Végrehajtók [Forensic Experts and Court Bailiffs]. In: András Jakab and György Gajdusчек (szek.) 2016 *A magyar jogrendszer állapota* [Status of the Hungarian Legal System]. Budapest: MTA Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont Jogtudományi Intézete [Institute for Legal Studies of the Centre for Social Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences]. 641–642.

appears in too many laws or is just obsolete. (For example, laws regulating public procurement are often criticised for making the controllable spending of public money unbelievably complicated. Prior to bailiff and expert reforms, the laws passed back in the 90s have become obsolete in the past 20 years and this is what happened to the Decree of the Council of Ministers regulating attested translations, dating back to the late 80s and not updated to this day)⁹.

2. ETHICAL DILEMMAS FROM THE JUDICIAL VIEWPOINT OF PROFESSIONAL AND LEGAL SUPERVISION

In the course of performing public duties in the field of justice, a number of ethical questions continuously arise. In the system of justice, there is legal and professional supervision of those performing judicial services in the form of supervisory powers laid down in the laws¹⁰. We can thus state that, in this sense, ethics can also be interpreted as the **possible framework of public trust in justice**. Taking the general meaning of ethics as a basis, the sensibly taken, optimal (the solution deemed the best of all existing options) and right decisions based on sound judgement should be characteristic of all special fields, as they are essential in our private life as well, in addition to many other personal and institutional values (like openness, cost-effectiveness, environmental awareness or even innovation). Therefore, the following ethical standards should characterise not only forensic experts, bailiffs, lawyers and public notaries, but also the translators preparing attested translations, and court interpreters, together with many other judicial service providers performing public duties in the course of performing public duty or state service entrusted upon them by the state (including but not limited to): voluntary legal compliance, honest work, constantly high level of proficiency, honesty and integrity, facilitating the reinforcing of public trust towards their own profession, cooperation, neutrality and impartiality, conflict of interest, compliance with standards of conduct laid down by other codes of ethics, etc.

In the daily operation of the Hungarian system of justice, several members of the legal and non-legal professions participate whose activities I have already referred to earlier, and in administrative or court proceedings several technical questions requiring special technical knowledge often need to be decided.

In our legal system, the legal professionals typically function as members of a certain public body and are also listed in the register kept by the public body or the organ exercising **legal supervision**¹¹. In contrast, **professional supervision** of the representatives of the above

9 Pursuant to Decree 24/1986 (VI.26) of the Council of Ministers on technical translation and interpreting: „§ 5. Unless otherwise stipulated by the law, attested translations, attestation of translations, and foreign language certified copies may only be done by the Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation Ltd. § 6(1) The central sectoral control of the technical translation and interpreting activity shall be carried out by the minister of justice. This control activity shall cover all technical translation and interpreting activity, irrespective of the organisational framework or organisational subordination in which the body or person carrying out the activity operates.”

10 For example, the central sectoral control of the technical translation and interpreting activity and the legal supervision of forensic experts and bailiffs shall be carried out by the minister of justice.

11 Apart from the legal professionals working at courts and authorities, the bar associations, notarial chambers and forensic expert chambers and the bailiff public body consolidate the professionals typically taking part in judicial proceedings. Pursuant to the substantive laws establishing the chambers it is also the Ministry of Justice that exercises legal supervision over the latter four public bodies.

professions is usually exercised by the relevant chamber itself. The mentioned Decree of the Council of Ministers¹² stipulates that the central sectoral control of the technical translation and interpreting activity shall be carried out by the minister of justice. Some public bodies were established through law for the purpose of fulfilling certain public duties delegated by the state¹³. Based on the outdated law in force since the 80s, legal translations are still carried out by OFFI Ltd. as the solely and exclusively entitled provider; the educational system of Hungarian certified translators and interpreters is fragmented, and the supervision of the profession is not supported by a chamber or professional register, supervision currently being the responsibility of the minister of justice¹⁴. At the same time, it is worthy of note that OFFI Ltd., as service provider, has moved in the last few years in line with the modern expectations and requirements of its owner. It has extended its focus, not only to client-friendly solutions and the flawless handling of client complaints, but also to the quality assurance of language service providers, together with expanding their training possibilities. Furthermore, the focus now extends to pricing developments in the interest of the more favourable determination of the above mentioned fair and proportionate prices. The three specific client requirements apply to OFFI as well: flawless and ethical performance; in due time; at fair and proportionate prices¹⁵.

A neuralgic point of almost all judicial service areas, when viewed from the ethical aspect, is **the manner of certain internal complaint procedures**¹⁶ regulating the handling of client or obligor complaints. The anomalies of ethical and complaint procedures may be rooted not only in organisational system deficiencies, but also in other issues related to judicial relations. In some areas, the underfinanced model did not permit the involvement of adequate legal expertise in ethical procedures (see the functioning of forensic experts), whereas in another

12 Decree No. 24/1986 (VI.26) of the Council of Ministers § 6.

13 Dr. Gabriella Németh, page 641.

14 This supervision is rather a narrow organisational supervision, carried out by the supervisory committee standing above the company or the auditor supporting the supervision of property management and the ministry's budget control unit.

15 Naturally, a 100% state-owned translation bureau generating and spending public money, and having a budget of HUF 1.7 billion in 2016 as per its public balance sheet data, with approx. 160 employees, operates 26 offices nationally and fulfilling more than 80,000 orders annually, can never be as flexible as an open market translation agency. The latter presumably has fewer regulations to observe, while the owner (sometimes just 1 or 2 private persons) can employ a much more flexible decision-making mechanism given its few hundred million budget, compared to the possibilities of the State as owner to be carried out in the field of public administration. For this reason, small business flexibility cannot be an ethical expectation towards an OFFI-size service provider with a strict budget based on public money. At the same time, it is an ethical expectation towards the state-owned translation bureau as a service provider that it operates the same way as an open market business heavily relying on its clients as regards its attitude and always striving to provide the best quality and service. We know that unhappy customers walk away. This is not an option in the case of attested translations, as here "walking away" from OFFI is not possible, but neither can OFFI refuse incoming orders. For this reason, the translation bureau's assumed responsibility for the high quality of its services and the quality of its customer-handling is huge.

16 In the past 15-20 years several contradictions and anomalies have emerged in the complaint procedures of the Chamber of Forensic Experts and the Chamber of Bailiffs, and it was confirmed on the basis of professional control carried out through the power of supervision of the Ministry of Justice that the chamber structures formed in the 1990s had not fully fulfilled the legislator goals formulated in the legislation of the time during the past 20 years or more.

area those judicial players having acquired excessive wealth did not pay due and just attention to proper execution before 2014 (see the diminished social trust towards bailiffs that was traceable in several press articles of the time). For this reason, examining the ethical relations of court interpreting and language mediation activity in the judicial field and conveying these findings to the language mediation profession concerned via all possible channels (education, trainings, seminars, conferences, scientific publications, workshops etc.), is very timely when viewed from the perspective of these judicial reforms.

The earlier mentioned honest work, honesty and integrity, neutrality and impartiality, conflict of interest or other requirements of compliance with standards of conduct are spheres of regulation typically laid down in the ethical codes. In the Ethical Code approved pursuant to the new act on forensic experts¹⁷, the reformed chamber of experts regards a committed act as ethical misdemeanour in the case of intentional or negligent breach of the general rules of conduct. Such things may occur not only after the acceptance of the commission or appointment, but also prior to it. The obligation of confidentiality, the obligation of information, the requirement of impartiality and keeping contact in a polite and neutral manner, the obligation of being available, and regarding expert opinion, the qualities of clarity and verifiability, and the requirements of objectivity and justification specifically appear. Some often compare the role of court interpreters to the courtroom role of forensic experts, because they too are facilitating the course of the hearing and the passing of judgement, in a sense. At the same time, while experts have to expressly present their own expert opinion in the proceedings, usually compiled in advance in writing, interpreters cannot have opinions of their own, they have to be invisible and convey feelings, words and culture in a neutral way from the side of the source-language speaker into the target-language sphere of culture, promptly and live.

The state-owned translation bureau also has its **Code of Ethics for Attested Language Services**¹⁸ which aims to consistently record the principles and expectations that the 100% state-owned company sets towards its collaborators in order that the high quality service criteria laid down in the medium-term organisational development strategy of attested language mediation services be met. This Translators' Code of Ethics effectively provides a not too narrow but sufficiently specific framework and lays down the requirements of honesty, professionalism and confidentiality that must be observed by all stakeholders who have work related contractual relations with the translation bureau. The Translators' Code of Ethics includes impartial, diligent work, ethical and truthful conveyance of the original text in the course of translation and interpreting, the obligation to avoid personal conflict of interest, together with meeting the agreed deadline and regularly acquiring the latest professional requirements at a high level. The confidential handling of information and data is a basic ethical expectation towards translators and interpreters, and suitable attire and adherence to certain customs, just as in the case of bailiffs, appears here as a fundamental criterion. Expression of opinion, spreading of rumours, and any statement damaging reputation also appear in the internal regulations of the renewed translation bureau. The translators establishing contractual relations with OFFI Ltd. accept this regulation as part of the contracting process, and for the purpose

17 Section 62(1)f) of Act XXIX of 2016

18 hereinafter: Translators' Code of Ethics

of accountability for their work, this also constitutes the contractual agreement assumed by the parties voluntarily. Given that in Hungary there is no such register of professionals, the non-registered (certified) translators and court interpreters do not have to take an oath. This Translators' Code of Ethics currently constitutes the parties' voluntary undertaking and the mutual and unanimous intention of OFFI Ltd. and the subcontractor or appointed translator in a contractual framework, thus its acceptance in accordance with the contract contributes to a broader application of moral aspects in the course of performing public service language mediation on behalf of OFFI.

We can establish that the framework of behavioural standards laid down in the professional code of ethics leads to constant operational development, resulting in **trust towards the state provider and state services** that is essential in the actual activity. In my opinion, and based on my personal legal experience gained in the judicial reform processes, I can state that the ethical regulations worked out with the active participation of the professionals of the given fields are always easy to obey, and can thus result in a high degree of loyalty of the trained members of such professions towards their own, and even supervisory bodies. Furthermore, the resulting strong public service attitude may also result in **high social appreciation** through **ethical duty performance**. If the ethics-consciousness of the workers who take part in judicial services is high¹⁹ and they develop a permanent and personal need for mandatory or voluntary trainings and further trainings²⁰, the services characterised by **quality knowledge** result in more ethical duty performance at all levels, which lead to a decrease in the number of complaints and improved customer satisfaction as well²¹. If the complaints still arising in lesser number lead to faster and fairer handling, be it a client complaint against bailiff activity performed by a bailiff, or a court interpreting mistake in the courtroom, client satisfaction entails social appreciation and the strengthening of public service. Let us not forget that in the courtroom the judge himself/herself is a principal, a 'client' who would like to obtain maximum satisfaction when accessing the services of the court interpreter, and this

19 In the case of court interpreting or attested translation this shall not only apply to the translator or interpreter, but also to the client service colleagues responsible for OFFI complaints.

20 Today the so-called "lifelong learning" approach of the employee or collaborating partner is unavoidable in all professions regardless of specialisation, and this is particularly true of the translator and interpreter professions. The state-owned translation bureau places special emphasis on the encouragement and support of this attitude in its HR strategy for years 2016-2017. The Ministry of Justice formed the Legal Academy of Judicial Service Providers in cooperation with the University of Szeged in 2016, where experts, bailiffs and liquidators undergo continuous and mandatory legal and judicial trainings and further trainings are repeated every few years. Judicial ethics as a subject has appeared as a separate educational block in the reformed education since 2014, conveying professional dilemmas in a practical and easily intelligible manner and even demonstrated with situational practices to students of the relevant programme.

21 A live practice, for example, from OFFI Ltd.'s attested translation area: if a client raises a complaint that cannot be solved immediately on the spot or is not satisfied with the outcome of the complaint examination procedure, then the client applies directly to the Ministry of Justice for resolving his case as soon as possible. It is another matter that in such cases the complaint is redirected to OFFI, but the fact of the complaint reaches the leader heading the sector. This also means that it is a common interest of all parties concerned that the number of complaints be reduced and that they be handled with an equitable and fair outcome, preferably at the place where raised.

is regardless of the fact whether the interpreter is an entrepreneur or commissioned by the state-owned translation bureau.

3. TRANSLATION AGENCY RESPONSES AND SOLUTIONS TO THE CHALLENGES OF JUDICIAL ETHICS

OFFI Ltd.'s **Qualifying Body for Translation and Interpreting**, established in 2015, is the advisory and consultative panel²² of the CEO. This body is led by a chair elected by and from its members and operates as an independent, decision-preparatory, proposal-making body. One task, among others, is to "formulate an opinion on the recommendations drawn up for the purpose of quality assurance of translation, revision and interpreting, and the ratings formed on the basis thereof"²³. This Body has already formulated numerous opinions regarding internal organisational and regulation reforms aimed at the renewal of the state-owned translation bureau. Naturally, this Body has also expressed opinions on the Translators' Code of Ethics of OFFI Ltd., which was thus formulated with the participation of experts with a leading role in the education of translator and interpreter professions. It was highly informative for the members of the Body and for the employees of OFFI Ltd., both to get to know each other's standpoints as to the issues and dilemmas arising from the perspectives of science, education and actual performance of public duty as a service provider, and the comparison and clash of such standpoints. The adaptation of professional and ethical considerations to the extremely high volume activity performance²⁴ characteristic of OFFI and the related duty performance obligation, and its integration into its internal work processes have at times posed specifically demanding challenges.

The state translation bureau has its **own internship and mentoring programme** for newly hired fresh graduate translators (or experienced translators who have not yet worked for OFFI), where the most up-to-date specialist knowledge required for attested translation and special OFFI work techniques can be acquired. The aim and result of this programme is that in this way inexperienced translators and interpreters or university students finishing their related studies can be integrated in the work of the translation bureau, without any risk. Through this professionally supportive methodology, client interests cannot suffer any harm, the possibility of making a mistake is minimal, and acquiring special knowledge in a real operating system, not merely reading theoretical studies, presents an extraordinary opportunity. As OFFI wishes to devote serious attention to the efficient future supply of translators, revisers, terminologists, it is crucial to introduce OFFI's special activity and professional requirements to gifted young people finishing their internship, and to career starters or experienced and qualified professionals who have successfully applied for external translator/interpreter/reviser positions. Herein lay the reason for establishing the mentoring programme in 2016.

²²The Organisational and Operational Regulation of OFFI Ltd. stipulates since 2015 that the body shall consist of five expert members delegated by prestigious higher education institutions (associate professors, heads of departments assuming an esteemed role in translator and interpreter education), the operation of which is assisted by a separate organisational unit within OFFI.

²³The Organisational and Operational Regulation of OFFI Ltd. in force since 2015, Section V/6

²⁴On an annual basis, orders for attested translation may reach the figure of 80,000.

The direct passing on of experience by mentoring reviewers and terminologists through personal, live and profession-related examples is the best way for the mentoree to learn about the ethical aspects referred to in this study and the magnitude of translators' or court interpreters' personal responsibility in each given translation case or scenario.

Through **OFFI Academy**²⁵, the state-owned translation bureau places great emphasis on trainings. Trainings apply to all OFFI collaborators, and personal development can be achieved in the form of trainings, workshops, conferences, study trips abroad, and department meetings. The **instruction of project managers** working in the field of interpreting is extremely important, as finding the right interpreter for the right case (for example in a case involving a child: a particularly kind individual for the child concerned; in a serious criminal case: a colleague who works well under intense pressure etc.) requires adequate communication skills, proper attitude, a high level of problem-solving, instant decision-making skills and a consensus-seeking attitude that can be developed via trainings. Within OFFI Academy, apart from development in language, grammar and linguistic issues via conferences or internal workshops, interpreters also have the occasional opportunity to attend so-called safety trainings. For let us not forget: the interpreter profession is a sensitive and potentially risky field too²⁶, which by all means may require extra attention from interpreters who wish to act ethically.

I hope that the above thoughts of a legal professional on certain professions fulfilling public duties in the field of justice shall contribute to concluding that: **court and official interpreting in the judicial system is a highly responsible activity**, and if any damage is suffered in the process, the social trust in justice may be directly affected. Thus, it is a special pleasure to have the possibility in this volume of studies to highlight the **responsibility of translators and interpreters** participating in legal cases, and the importance of questions and risks pertaining to professional and ethical responsibility arising in the field of justice, not only through the examples of other professions in the field of justice, but also through presenting OFFI Ltd.'s organisational features, together with some solutions and good practices appearing in its medium-term organisational development strategy, approved for the period 2016-2018.

25 OFFI Academy is an internal brand of OFFI Ltd., with its own training activity focus, basically consisting of 3 pillars: i) training of all workers (for example client services, project managers), ii) training of leaders (heads of organisational units), iii) training of language professionals (employees of the relevant department).

26 See, for example, migration affairs that are ever topical nowadays, or interpreting at big international state conferences, etc.

THE IMPACT OF AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE USE OF THE TARGET LANGUAGE AUDIENCE

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Abstract: In this paper, a research is presented which was conducted in 2016 in 6 primary schools in Budapest. More than 300 students filled out a questionnaire consisting of 11 questions related to the respondents' consumption of translated audiovisual materials and their language use. The aim of the research was to prove that the language of audiovisual translations can have an impact on the language use of the target language population, can add new meanings to words, make previously incorrect or unnatural expressions increasingly acceptable and install new expressions into the target language. The research's theoretical background is provided by the polysystem theory of Even-Zohar (1978) which was applied to the field of audiovisual translation (AVT) by Diaz Cintas (2004). The results of the research corroborate the hypothesis that translations (including audiovisual translations) in fact have an impact on the development of the target language, although the extent and in-depth examination of this impact may be the subject of further research.

Keywords: audiovisual translation, dubbing, language use, polysystem theory, audience-focused research

1. INTRODUCTION

As a practising audiovisual translator I have become increasingly sensitive to unnatural translations and mistranslations in dubbed and subtitled television programmes. However, when talking with members of the older generation, I started to realise that we, the younger generation are more accepting of certain linguistic elements coming from foreign languages than they are, but when listening to the language use of the younger generation (those in primary and secondary school especially), I sometimes feel shocked hearing the foreign expressions, borrowed in unchanged form from another language, being used naturally in their oral discourses. That was the initial observation which made me want to conduct a research which might be able to show how translations – especially foreignising translations – might shape the language use of the new generations, who are much more exposed to audiovisual contents and translated language than the previous generations.

I conducted a questionnaire-based research with students between the age of 13 and 16 years, and assessed their television viewing habits and language use through a few linguistic phenomena identified by myself and other experts of Translation Studies through our day-to-day experiences. My research is based on the postulates of the polysystem theory and the characteristics of the audiovisual translation modes, especially dubbing, which is the most commonly used method of audiovisual translation (AVT) on the Hungarian market.

In this paper, I present the theoretical basis for my research, the design and circumstances of the research, which was conducted in 6 primary schools in Budapest in 2016, and the results of the questionnaires filled out by more than 300 students.

2. THE POLYSYSTEM THEORY IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

According to the polysystem theory outlined by Even-Zohar between 1970 and 1977 “semi-otic systems [...] co-exist dynamically within a particular cultural sphere” (Diaz Cintas 2004: 22), taking a central or peripheral position within the system. Translations have a place within the literary system of a given culture. While “original” literature is the result of “primary” activity which is “presumed to be that activity which takes the initiative in creating new items and models for the repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1978:7), translated literature is the result of “secondary” activity which “is conceived of as a derivatory, conservatory and simplificatory activity” (Even-Zohar 1978: 7). Based on this dichotomy “the whole corpus of translated literature [can] be considered secondary systems” (Even-Zohar 1978: 16).

The literature polysystem was further dichotomised into canonised and non-canonised systems:

By “canonised” literature we mean roughly what is usually considered “major” literature: those kinds of literary works accepted by the “literary milieu” and usually preserved by the community as part of its cultural heritage. On the other hand, “non-canonized” literature means those kinds of literary works more often than not rejected by the literary milieu as lacking “aesthetic value” and relatively quickly forgotten, e.g., detective fiction, sentimental novels, westerns, pornographic literature, etc. (Even-Zohar 1978: 15).

Even-Zohar realised the necessity to include translated literature in the polysystem and in his 1976 essay on the subject he wrote “I conceive of translated literature not only as a system in its own right, but as a system fully participating in the history of the polysystem, as an integral part of it, related with all the other co-systems” (Even-Zohar 1978: 22). Translated literature can maintain primary a position within the literary polysystem – the fact that often the most acknowledged literary authors are also translators of important foreign literature and the process of selecting which literary works are translated are shaping the literary polysystem. Even-Zohar enumerates three possible situations where the translated literature can have a primary position:

(a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallised, that is to say, when a literature is “young,” in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either “peripheral” or “weak,” or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature (Even-Zohar 1978: 24).

In other instances, translated literature holds a secondary place within the polysystem and “has no influence on major processes and is modelled according to norms already conventionally established by an already dominant type” (Even-Zohar 1978: 25).

However, it does not mean that translated literature is either wholly primary or wholly secondary within the polysystem since “[o]ne section of translated literature may assume a primary position, another may remain secondary” and usually it is the “portion of translated literature deriving from major source literature which is likely to assume a primary position” (Even-Zohar 1978:25). However, Even-Zohar says that his own research “indicates that the “normal” position assumed by translated literature tends to be the secondary one.” (Even-Zohar 1978: 26)

But how can we apply the polysystem theory for the specific field of audiovisual translation? Jorge Diaz Cintas applies the theory of polysystems to the film polysystem of Spain which “is made up of the national products and the translated ones – dubbed or subtitled” (Diaz Cintas 2004: 23), and also points out an important difference between the literary and the film polysystems of the country: while in the literary polysystem translated literature’s “normal” position is the secondary one, it is not so in the case of the film polysystem. As he puts it,

[g]iven the fact that in Spain USA translated films are more numerous than the national ones, attract larger number of spectators and generate more revenue, it seems legitimate to say that they occupy a primary position and the Spanish films a secondary position (Diaz Cintas 2004: 25).

It is an important statement especially when talking about languages of lesser distribution and economies far smaller than that of the US (or in that case Spain itself), where the national film making industry is smaller beyond all comparison than the distribution of foreign films – which is definitely true in the case of Hungary.

Another important remark of Diaz-Cintas is the fact that a similar dichotomy of canonised and non-canonised groups of audiovisual products can be recognised within the film polysystem and through the research conducted on audiovisual translation. He remarks that “film or cinematographic polysystem is too limited to films and neglects other products of the audiovisual world that are also translated such as TV series, documentaries, cartoons, soap operas, commercials or corporate videos” (Diaz-Cintas 2004: 25).

3. AUDIENCE-FOCUSED RESEARCHES IN AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION

Based on the above we can assume that translated audiovisual products are present and have some kind of impact on the national culture of a certain country. But what kind of impact are we really talking about? It is surprisingly hard to find a concrete answer to this question. Audiovisual translation itself has been researched widely within the scope of Translation Studies in the last few decades. It is a current and popular subject, and various publications deal with questions of norms, cultural transfer, translation strategies in audiovisual translation (to name but a few). In the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* Baker and Hochel even state that “any form of audiovisual translation, including dubbing, ultimately plays a unique role in developing both national identities and national stereotypes” (Baker and Hochel 1998: 76). Still, the number of publications dealing with the impact of audiovisual translations on the target language system and on the target language audiences is limited both in numbers and in scope.

This imbalance in research is stressed in Gambier's (2009) paper in which he proposes a differentiation between three types of reception: response, reaction and repercussion, although the first two are related to subtitles (not dubbing) dealing with issues of legibility and readability and the third is a kind of attitudinal issue and sociocultural dimension of the reception. The possible linguistic impact of the language of translated audiovisual products is not taken into consideration. However, Gambier proposes relevant methods for the research of reception including the use of questionnaires, interviews and experimental methods – but again, the suggestions are solely related to the reception of subtitles.

Chaume Varela presents a “possible set of quality standards” for dubbing “motivated by the implicit presence of an ideal viewer or spectator in the target polysystem” (Chaume Varela 2007: 71). While his approach to the quality standards and norms of translation for dubbing is definitely an audience-oriented one, in his paper he deals with “an ideal viewer, an abstraction” (Chaume Varela 2007: 73) and only mentions the importance of conducting true research on audience groups. When listing the expectations of this “ideal viewer”, Chaume Varela mostly enumerates phenomena related to the “technical” characteristics of dubbing (e.g. respect for articulation and body movement, coherence between what is heard and what is seen, technical conventions) and mentions only one expectation strictly related to the target language, that is “writing of credible and realistic dialogues, according to the oral registers of the target language” (Chaume Varela 2007: 74). He also defines “the ultimate aim of dubbing” which is “to create a believable final product that seems real, that tricks us as spectators into thinking we are witnessing a domestic production, with easily recognised characters and realistic voices” (Chaume Varela 2007: 75). More interestingly, he mentions that the translated dialogue “must be acceptable according to the canonical standards of an audiovisual text translated into the target language” (Chaume Varela 2007: 79). By this he makes an interesting assumption: while the aim of the dialogue of translated films is to create acceptable and realistic language, it seems that this acceptable and realistic language is not the same as the “real” target language in everyday oral use. It is “a prefabricated, artificial, non-spontaneous oral register” (Chaume Varela 2007: 82) which “should sound as though it has not in fact been written” (Chaume Varela 2007: 79).

Authors differ on what the goal of dubbing is. Baker (1998) applies House's terminology (House 1981) to dubbing and says it can be viewed as a “prime instance of **overt translation** [...]”. In other words, “a dubbed film or program is always overtly presented and perceived as a translation” (Baker and Hochel 1998: 76). However other authors argue that the most important goal of dubbing is to create an illusion: the illusion of authentic language, as if it was originally written in the target language. As Dries (1995) puts it, it “should be absolutely convincing to the audience. Dubbing should create the perfect illusion of allowing the audience to experience the production in their own language without diminishing any of the characteristics of the original language, culture and national background of the production” (Dries 1995: 9). According to Parini (2009), “[t]he purpose of the translation can be interpreted as an attempt to produce in the spectators who watch the film in the target language the same response as the spectators who view the film in the source language” (Parini 2009: 293). But through the differences in approach one necessary characteristic is mentioned in almost every paper dealing with dubbing: that is **the need to create the impression of natural language**.

Whitman-Linsen remarks that “artificiality is one of the main faults pilloried in denouncements of dubbed versions: the audience can *hear* that is not an original. Dubbed language simply does not correspond to the way normal people talk” (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 118). This view leads to the notion of “dubbese”, the specific language of dubbing products, defined by Iaia (2015):

dubbing is supposed to create and spread a peculiar, artificial language, defined “dubbese” [...]. The term denotes an easily-recognisable form of language, whose peculiar features have caused the audience to perceive it as an “estranged” means of communication that does not correspond to that used in everyday, face-to-face conversations, but which is nonetheless accepted and recognised as typical of audiovisual texts (Iaia 2015: 11).

4. PRACTICAL RESEARCHES ON THE AUDIENCE OF AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATIONS

As for practical research conducted on the audience of translated audiovisual products, I would like to highlight four such researches. Bucaria and Chiaro (2007) conducted an experiment showing a corpus of clips from American TV series dubbed into Italian to samples of viewers made up of cinema and TV experts, linguists, practitioners of dubbing and laymen of the general public. The clips included problematic elements focusing on culture-specific references and examples of “dubbese”. The viewers had to fill out a questionnaire after watching the clips. The questionnaires’ aim was to determine how much respondents were able to understand and enjoy the content of the selected clips.

From the point of view of my own research the most important feature of the research was the inclusion of language specific features. The research analysed the “audience awareness and perception of Italian dubbese which is heavily marked with formulaic features commonly adopted in dubbed produce” (Bucaria and Chiaro 2007: 110), including less frequent solutions for typical English forms and calques for often occurring English words or expressions. Respondents were asked to mark the Italian, translated versions’ naturalness. The results clearly showed that some target language solutions which are not at all frequent or acceptable in “natural” spoken Italian have become acceptable in the translated spoken language through their frequency in translated audiovisual products. As a conclusion, the authors remarked that “such massive exposure to *dubbese* appears to be numbing people’s sensitivity to what is and is not *real* spoken Italian” (Bucaria and Chiaro 2007: 115). It is an extremely important statement which I hoped to confirm by my own research as well.

Antonini (2009) conducted another research on the perception of cultural references in dubbing with a carefully selected corpus and with random respondents of the general audience of audiovisual products and results showed that there was “great discrepancy between what the viewers think they understand of the huge amount of culture-specific references they are exposed to on a daily basis, and what they actually do understand” (Antonini 2009). It seems to prove that the impact of translation is not something that is a conscious, reflected effect on the mind of the viewer but a process happening in the background, mostly unconsciously.

The above research was further elaborated by Antonini and Chiaro (2009). In their paper one of the questions they wanted to answer was whether the viewers of dubbed products are aware that many mediated linguistic forms are unusual in natural spoken Italian. They also examined the acceptability of lingua-cultural shortcomings and differences in the perception based on the age, gender and other characteristics of the viewers. As for the viewers of translated audiovisual materials they made a mostly instinctive but definitely noteworthy assumption:

It can be safely assumed that recipients of translations, that is to say, the consumers of these translations, are mainly those who are not *au fait* with the Source Language and that such viewers perhaps would rather not perceive translations *as* translations. Presumably most recipients would like to hear a smooth, easily digestible text in their mother tongue and, in the case of AVT, although what appears on the screen may be unfamiliar, what is perceived through the ears (in the case of dubbing) should be identifiable and free of turbulence of any sort (Antonini and Chiaro 2009: 100).

They conducted their research with a 300 hours' corpus of Italian-dubbed fictional programmes through a web questionnaire. The respondents had to watch four video clips and answer one question per clip. In the case of language-specific features the respondents were asked to determine how likely a certain expression was to appear in naturally occurring Italian. According to the results respondents above the age of 50 appeared to be more oriented towards considering the appearance of the generally "dubbese" expressions unnatural, while younger people tended to accept them more readily. In the words of the authors:

The Italian dubbing industry appears to be producing a nation of viewers who are suffering from a syndrome of linguistic bipolarity. On the one hand, they are aware that TV dubbese is unlike real Italian, on the other hand they are willing to accept it but as long as it remains on screen (Antonini and Chiaro 2009: 111).

This result is in fact an excellent indicator of how constant exposure to dubbed (and otherwise translated) content may change the perception of people regarding linguistic features – a basic hypothesis of my own research.

Widler (2004) conducted a survey in Vienna with 100 viewers of subtitled films in Viennese cinemas in 2002. The questions of the survey were related to the educational and professional background, language knowledge and age of the cinema-goers and examined how often the viewers go to the cinema and why they watch subtitled films instead of dubbed versions. Based on the results it was confirmed that the majority of the viewers who preferred subtitled movies were regular cinema-goers with university degree. It also turned out that they believed that watching subtitled movies is a tool for language learning and they were generally happy with the quality of subtitles.

Based on the above it is ascertainable that most authors agree and instinctively feel that audiovisual translations have some kind of impact on the target audience, be it cultural or linguistic. It is assumed and hypothesised, but has been proven only indirectly. The presented research is also based on this assumption, but its aim was to find evidence that the language of audiovisual translations, especially that of “dubbese” has a demonstrable impact on the language use of the target language viewers.

5. AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION IN HUNGARY

According to the 2016 Nielsen audience measurements the average time spent daily watching television in Hungary was 4 hours and 16 minutes. This number is among the highest in Europe and comes close to the time spent watching television in the US (4 hours and 47 minutes)¹, the largest producer and consumer of television programmes. We can safely say that for an average Hungarian watching television is more than a part time job.

Traditional television faces a new challenge in the digital era ever since the number of downloaded films and audiovisual contents have been on the rise. However, audiovisual translation is not affected as much. Younger audiences might prefer downloading content to watching it on a traditional TV, but that doesn't mean that their foreign language proficiency is up to par to watch programmes in the original language. And for as long as the language knowledge is lacking, translations will be needed and used by them. It is not within the scope of the current paper to discuss the implications of using un-edited fan-subtitles instead of official, edited and proof-read ones, although it might be an interesting subject in further assessing the impact of audiovisual translations on the language use of the younger generation.

Hungary, although a relatively small country with relatively small economic power, has been a dubbing country from the beginning of television and the cinema. We might safely say that it is not due to economic considerations, simply a force of habit that even today dubbing is the preferred method of audiovisual translation for the cinemas, and almost the only used method for translating fictional genres for television, while the preferred method for non-fictional programmes such as documentaries, reality shows and nature programmes is voice-over. Subtitling so far has been solely used for art movies and blockbuster movies, but in the case of the latter, almost always together with the dubbed version, as a selectable option for the cinema-goers preferring the original soundtrack. As for audiovisual translation – and mostly the dubbing industry – the situation in Hungary is quite similar to that described by Antonini and Chiaro (2009) in Italy:

With globalisation dictating that films should be premiered simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic, many operators working in Italy's dubbing sector who are feeling the strain of such a great workload, poor wages and working conditions have begun to take issue with their employers (Antonini and Chiaro 2009: 99).

¹ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/186833/average-television-use-per-person-in-the-us-since-2002/>

Furthermore, they note that

[i]n a totally anarchic market, a film which once required three weeks to dub from start to finish, in the new millennium necessitates the same task to be completed in five days or else it runs the risk of being sent to a small make-do ‘do it yourself’ company willing to comply with a lower fee and a quick and dirty translation (Antonini and Chiaro 2009: 100).

It is true that quality has taken a backseat in the world of dubbing. In Hungary, the largest dubbing studios record the dubbed version of a movie in just a few days, and record 3-4 45-minute voice-over programmes in a day in one studio. Work pressure, strict deadlines and low wages have a strong impact on the quality of translations as well. Usually there is no time or money to proofread the translations, and due to the fast-paced recording many mistakes and unnatural translations are making their way into the finished and broadcasted products.

Another important factor is that Hungary’s own television and film production industry is relatively small. The number of Hungarian movies produced a year is under 100, and most of them never make it to the big screen, and even if they do, their audience figures are much lower than that of large Hollywood productions. On any given day even the largest commercial television channels broadcast foreign (thus translated) programmes more than 40% of their broadcasting time and the smaller, thematic channels hardly ever broadcast anything originally produced in Hungarian. Therefore, television viewers and cinema-goers are mostly exposed to translated audiovisual content.

Based on the above data we can safely assume that an average Hungarian is listening to “dubbese” more than 10 hours a week, which seems to be pointing to the hypothesis that the language of dubbed audiovisual products must have some kind of impact on the language use of the viewers. The goal of this research was to prove this hypothesis and find some specific examples of this impact.

6. THE SETUP OF THE RESEARCH

The research was conducted between April and June 2016 in 6 primary schools in Budapest with the participation of 318 students in 7th and 8th grade (aged between 13 and 16). The students were asked to fill out a questionnaire (see Annexe 1) consisting of 11 numbered questions, in person. In 4 cases I was able to attend the classes in person and describe the aim of the questionnaire, in the case of 2 schools I sent a detailed description of the questionnaire to the teachers helping my research.

I conducted a pilot in one school, with two classes (7th and 8th grade), and modified my questionnaire according to the results of the questionnaires and the students’ feedback. The final questionnaire consisted of 11 questions, 3 open-ended and 8 multiple choice questions. *Question 1* was related to the age of the respondent, the aim of *Questions 2 to 4* was to assess the audiovisual content consumption habits of the respondents and *Questions 5 to 11* were questions related to specific linguistic phenomena.

When selecting the target group of the research, I wanted to choose an age group which is equally exposed to audiovisual content in the cinemas, on television and on the internet, has

some kind of foreign language knowledge and can be the source of the language's development by openness to use new words and expressions and a less conservative approach to the "rules of language use". Primary school students within the age group 13–16 seemed to be an appropriate choice based on the above criteria.

The linguistic features examined in the questionnaire were selected based on my own experience with dubbed audiovisual contents and discussions with other professionals from the dubbing industry, and from the Translation Studies PhD program. The questions included instances where the original meaning of a certain Hungarian word got "sidetracked" in audiovisual translation due to erroneous translations based on similarity in form. *Question 7* included expressions where the English form of certain words appeared more and more frequently in translated audiovisual contents, *Questions 8 and 9* included words which were used in new contexts based on their similarity in form to neologisms frequently appearing in fictional English television programmes and movies, and *Questions 10 and 11* were open-ended questions asking the respondents to define the meaning of two expressions in Hungarian which are recognisable calques from English expressions and haven't existed in original, natural Hungarian. The questions and words are presented in detail in the next section of this paper along with the presentation of results.

7. ANALYSIS

The results of the questionnaire are presented separately, with the explanation of the specific question and the examined expression.

7.1 QUESTION 1: AGE

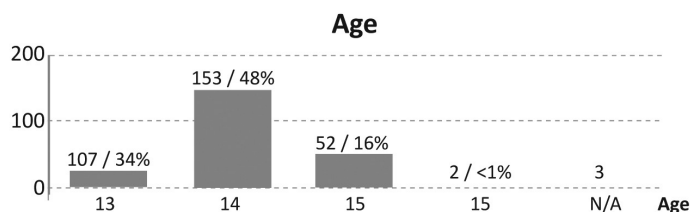


Figure 1: The age of respondents

As demonstrated in *Figure 1* within the examined group 34% of the respondents were 13 years old, 48% 14 years old and 16% 15 years old. Only 2 (less than 1%) students were older, 16 years old. 3 people did not answer this question.

7.2 QUESTION 2: TIME SPENT WATCHING MEDIA PROGRAMMES

In *Question 2* I examined how much time the respondents spent watching films, television series and television programmes daily (irrespective of the medium they are watching them on). As can be seen in *Figure 2* 126 (40%) of the respondents watch audiovisual content 1-2 hours per day. 59 (19%) watch 2-3 hours per day and 16 (5%) more than 3 hours a day. 113 (36%) of the respondents watch less than 1 hour of audiovisual content daily.

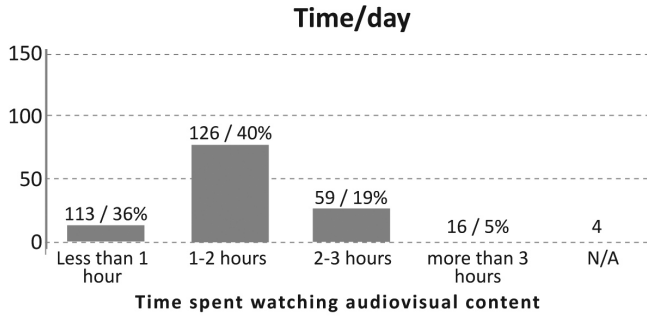


Figure 2: Time spent watching audiovisual content per day

7.3 QUESTION 3: LANGUAGE PREFERENCE

In *Question 3* I examined the preferences of the respondents regarding the type of audiovisual translations. They had to choose how often they watch foreign movies/television programmes with Hungarian dubbing, with Hungarian subtitle, with subtitle in the original language and without subtitles.

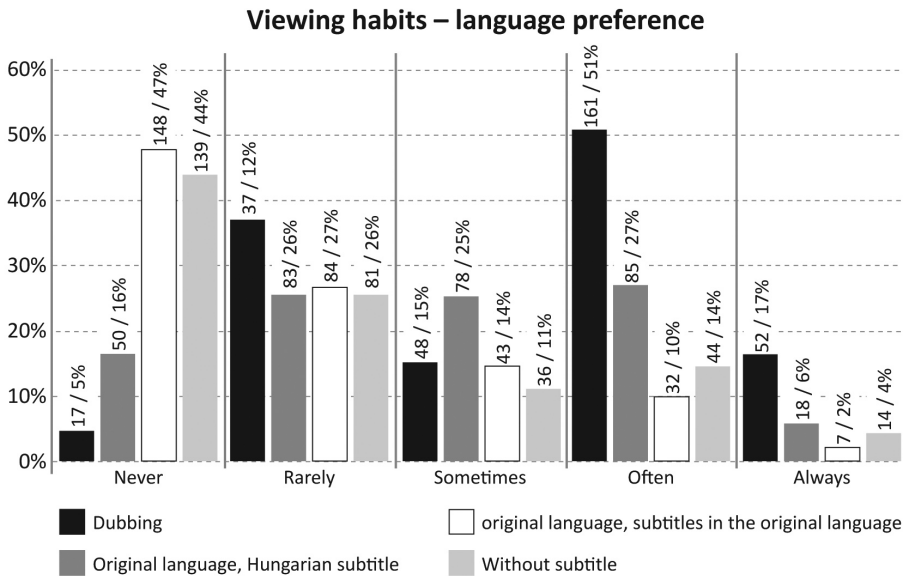


Figure 3: Language preference

Based on the numbers it can be seen that although the members of the group of respondents all have some kind of foreign language knowledge (they all studied English as a second or third language), dubbing is still their preferred method of watching foreign language programmes. 17% of them said that it's the only way they watch audiovisual content, and for 51% it was deemed to be the most often preferred method. Based on the answers the second most preferred audiovisual translation method for the respondents is Hungarian subtitles. 27% of the respondents often

watch programmes this way, and only 6% of them answered that they never watch television programmes and movies this way. The least preferred methods are subtitles in the original language, which was the most preferred method of only 2% of the respondents and never used by 47%, and watching movies without subtitles (never used by 44% and often or exclusively used by only 18%).

7.4 QUESTION 4: VIEWING HABITS

With *Question 4* I tried to find out what kind of programmes the respondents watch and how often. The respondents had to mark how often they watched movies, TV series, infotainment programmes, reality shows, cartoons, talk shows together with stand-up comedy programmes and music programmes.

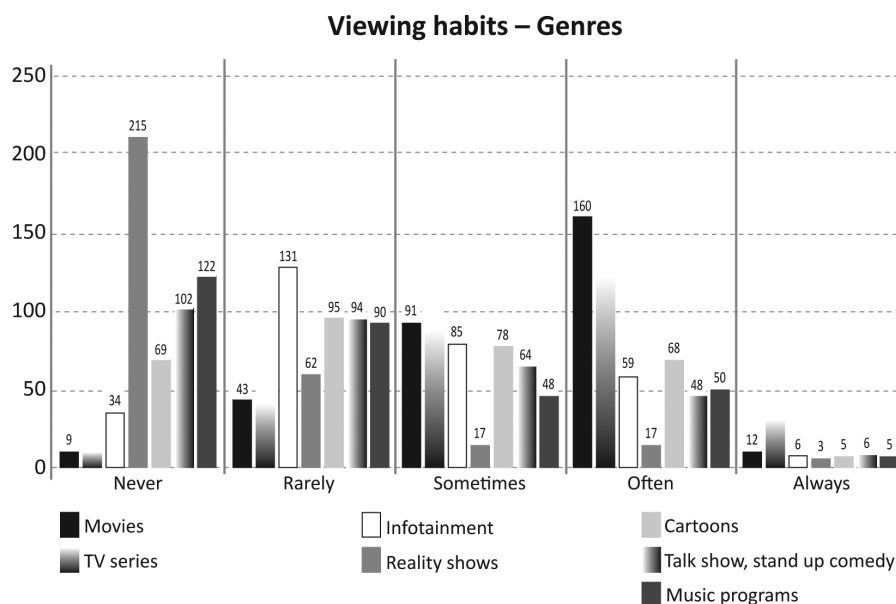


Figure 4: Viewing habits

Based on the results it turned out that the respondents watched fictional programmes, movies, TV series and cartoons the most often. Reality shows seem to be the least popular genre among the examined programmes within the group of respondents. Infotainment programmes turned out to be a bit more popular within the group of respondents than talk shows and music programmes.

7.5 QUESTION 5: TRANSLATION OF *PATETIKUS* “FULL OF PATHOS”

Question 5 was the first question related to a language-specific phenomenon which needs a short explanation. The adjective “pathetic” is a frequently used slang expression in fictional programmes, especially in informal context where it is used to signal that someone is miserably inadequate in some regard. In Hungarian, the equivalent translation would be *szánalmas* “miserable”, however a word similar in form is also existing in Hungarian: *patetikus*. The meaning of *patetikus* is by no means close to the meaning of the English word pathetic.

It is a less frequently used word, meaning something is full of pathos and solemnity. Nevertheless, the English word *pathetic* is very often translated incorrectly in TV programmes with the Hungarian non-equivalent *patetikus*. We may even assume that the examined age group might come across this mistranslation more often than the word *patetikus* in its original context. In Question 5 the respondents had to choose the meaning of the Hungarian word, *patetikus*. The three options were: *szánalmas* “pathetic”, *ünnepélyes* “full of pathos” and *ellenszenves* “disagreeable”.

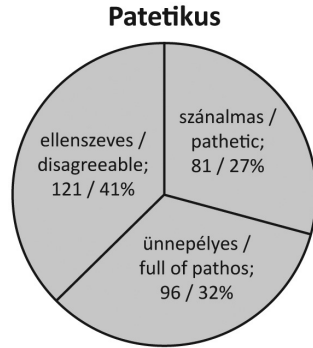


Figure 5: Patetikus

As can be seen on the pie chart, 121 respondents, almost half (41%) of the respondents have chosen the meanings closer to the meaning of the English word *pathetic*, and only 96 (32%) of the 298 respondents have chosen the linguistically correct answer. What is more interesting is the fact that the largest number of respondents have chosen the meaning disagreeable, which is not the lexical meaning of *pathetic*, but which can be derived from the use of the word in informal contexts in movies and fictional TV programmes.

7.6 QUESTION 6: TRANSLATION OF *EPIKUS* “EPIC”

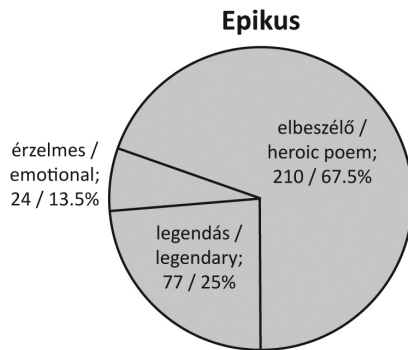


Figure 6: Epikus

Question 6 was similar to Question 5 and examined a similar case. In that question, I examined the Hungarian word *epikus*, which in Hungarian means epic, but only used when talking

about the literary genre, the heroic poem (e.g. *Odyssey* by Homer). In English, the word *epic* is often used in informal, oral context to describe something which is legendary and extraordinary in some regard. This usage seems to be more and more frequent in US TV series and movies of late. However, this new use is often translated with the Hungarian word *epikus*, even when used in another context. The respondents had to choose from three meanings: *elbeszélő* “heroic poem”, *érzelmes* “emotional” and *legendás* “legendary”.

Based on the results it turned out that most of the respondents (210, 67.5%) knew the correct Hungarian meaning of the word. However, a small deviation can still be detectable, since 77 of the 311 respondents (25%), have chosen the alternative meaning, *legendás/legendary*.

7.7 QUESTION 7: DNA, SILICON VALLEY, URANIUM AND MORPHINE

Question 7 has proven to be the most problematic and its results are the most questionable. In that question, the respondents had to choose the correct form of four Hungarian words often mistranslated in television programmes, especially in infotainment and documentary programmes. In all four cases, they had the option to choose the correct Hungarian form, the English-based, incorrect form or the answer “both”. After the analysis of the results of the questionnaires it turned out that the design of the question may have been misleading for the students, and since the question was not unambiguous, the results may not be wholly representative of the knowledge of the students. Although the results may not be considered valid, I present them here keeping in mind the above reservations.

The first examined expression was the Hungarian version of DNA. The correct Hungarian translation of DNA is *DNS*, but it happens quite often that it is left in its English form in audiovisual translated programmes.

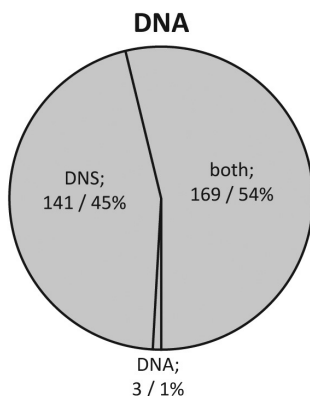


Figure 7: DNA

In this question, as well as in the following three, respondents were asked to choose which form they deem to be correct: DNA (which is borrowed incorrectly from English), *DNS* (the correct Hungarian translation) or both. As seen in Figure 7, 54% of the respondents thought that both versions are correct, and less than half of the respondents (45%) have chosen the correct Hungarian translation as the only correct option.

The second examined expression was *Szilícium-völgy*, the correct translation of Silicon Valley. Since *szilikon* is an existing word in Hungarian, meaning a type of plastic used for example in plastic surgeries, Silicon Valley is often translated incorrectly to *Szilikon-völgy* instead of *Szilícium-völgy* into Hungarian.

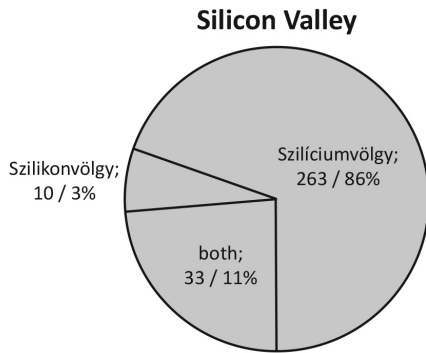


Figure 8: Silicon Valley

In that case the majority of respondents (86%) know that the correct version is *Szilícium-völgy*, and only 33% thought that both versions are correct. Only a negligible 3% have chosen the incorrect *Szilikon-völgy*.

The case is similar with the third examined expression, *urán*. The short version, *urán* is the correct Hungarian translation of uranium, but it is more and more often translated to a longer form which is similar to the English version: *uránium*.

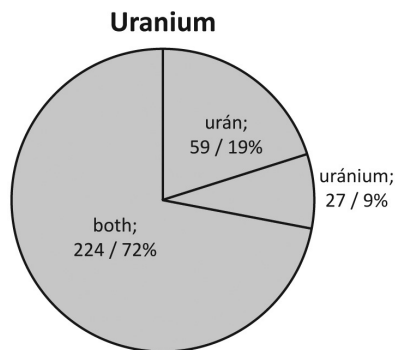


Figure 9: Uranium

In that case, the majority of the respondents (72%) thought that both versions – the shorter and linguistically correct *urán*, and the longer version borrowed from English (*uránium*) are correct.

It is almost the same with the third expression, *morfium*, which is the correct translation of morphine, a word that is often mistranslated to a form closer to the English one: *morfin*.

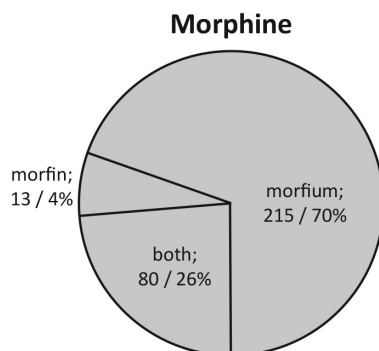


Figure 10: Morphine

In this last case, 70% of the respondents have chosen the correct Hungarian version (*morfium*), only 4% the incorrect form (*morfin*) and 26% thought that both versions are correct.

7.8 QUESTIONS 8 AND 9: LLAMA AND GEEK

I examine the results of *Questions 8 and 9* in one section, as they are the indicators of the same type of linguistic input into the target language. In English sit-coms and other (mainly fictional) TV programmes the slang words *geek* and *lame* are often used in informal oral context. *Geek* is a slang word mostly used to describe a “peculiar person, especially one who is perceived to be overly intellectual, unfashionable, or socially awkward”². *Lame* in slang means a person “out of touch with modern fads or trends; unsophisticated”³. Although they have no relation to the original meaning of the words, in Hungarian they are often translated in audiovisual programmes (especially in dubbing) with similarly pronounced words. In the case of “geek” the Hungarian translation is often *gyík*, which is pronounced quite similarly but in Hungarian originally means lizard. In the case of *lame*, the Hungarian translation is often *láma*, which is pronounced quite similarly, but in Hungarian means llama.

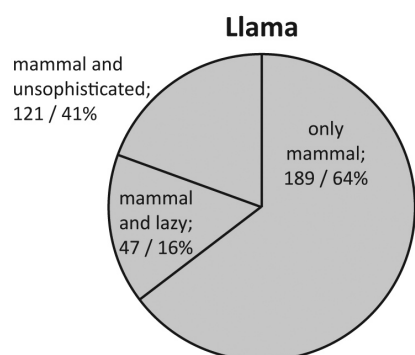


Figure 11: Llama

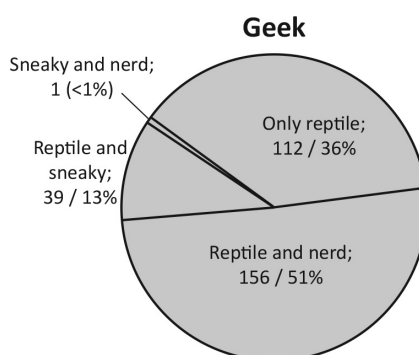


Figure 12: Geek

² <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/geek>

³ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/lame>

In the two questions, I asked the respondents to choose the meaning of the Hungarian words *gyík* and *láma* out of three options, allowing them to choose more than one answer. In the case of *láma* the options were: *ügyetlen, értetlen ember* “unsophisticated person”, *emlősállat* “a type of mammal” and *lomha, lusta* “slow, lazy”. In the case of *gyík* the options were: *alattomos, sunyi* “sneaky, treacherous”, *kocka (ember)* “nerd, socially awkward person” and *hüllök egy típusa* “a type of reptile”.

The results have proven to be really interesting especially in the case of *gyík*. In the case of *láma* most of the respondents (64%) have chosen only the original meaning of the word, although 60 respondents (20%) included the meaning derived from the meaning of the English word lame, and there were 47(16%) respondents who underlined the answer lazy as well as that of mammal, which might be an intuitive answer based on the characteristics of the animal, which may seem to be a bit slow and therefore lazy.

However, in the case of lizard such an assumption can't be the basis for more than half of the respondents (51%) choosing nerd as a possible meaning for *gyík* beside reptile. 36% of the respondents have chosen only one meaning (lizard) and 13% underlined the answer sneaky as well, which again might be because of the sneaky nature of the animal.

7.9 QUESTION 10: BUTTERFLIES IN THE STOMACH

Question 10 was an open-ended question, and probably presented the most interesting results. The question itself came to my mind when I heard two girls about the age of 14 talking on the subway in Budapest about their love life, and one of them said in Hungarian “it was not like having butterflies in my stomach.” It was really strange to hear this expression in Hungarian, as it was never a naturally occurring one in this language. The only way it could have become part of the natural oral Hungarian is through the literal translation of the English version. In English, it is an often used expression describing excitement, especially excitement related to the presence of a love interest in casual talk, and it is quite often used in US TV series and movies. Although it should be translated with equivalent Hungarian expressions (there are options for sure), lately it is often translated literally and can be heard in various TV shows and programmes.

In the questionnaire, I asked the respondents to describe in their own words the meaning of the expression *pillangók vannak a hasamban* – which is the literal Hungarian translation of having butterflies in one's stomach. When distributing the questionnaire, I emphasised that I am interested in the meaning of this particular Hungarian expression, but it is not necessary to respond, they can write whatever comes to their mind hearing/reading this expression in Hungarian.

I collected the answers and put them in groups based on keywords present in the descriptions.

Based on the results we can see that out of the 280 responses, 179 (64%) listed the keyword excitement when defining the meaning of the expression. 44 of the respondents (16%) also included love in their definition. 29 respondents (10%) connected the meaning to some kind of stomach-ache (which might be because they did not know the expression but tried to guess its meaning based on the picture described by it), and only 28 (10%) of the respondents have chosen other types of replies.

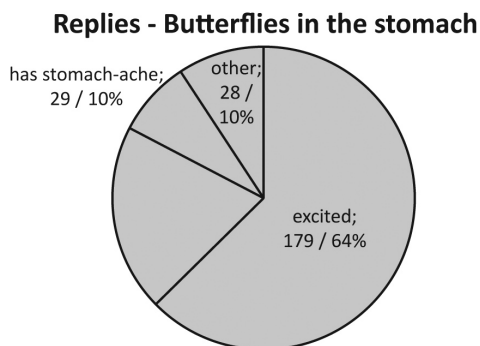


Figure 13: Replies – Butterflies in the stomach

7.10 QUESTION 11: SAVE THE DAY

The last question was another open-ended question about a similar expression to the one in *Question 10*. The English expression *save the day* is often translated literally in audiovisual contents into Hungarian. The question was the same as in the case of *Question 10*: I asked the respondents to define the Hungarian (literally translated) expression with their own words, if they are able to do so. I identified key words in the replies and grouped the answers accordingly.

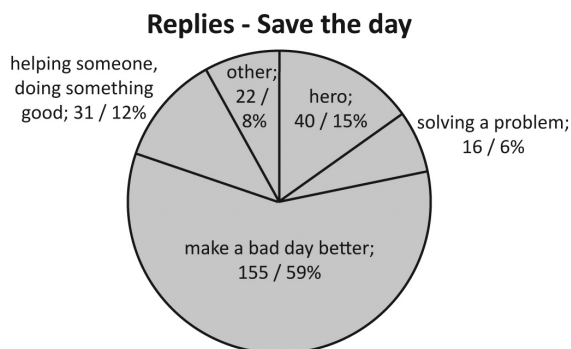


Figure 14: Replies – Save the day

Of the overall 264 replies, more than half, 155 (59%), defined the meaning of the expression as making a good day better. 31 respondents (12%) stayed close to this area of meaning by describing the definition as helping someone, doing something good. 40 (15%) mentioned some kind of heroic act in the definition, and 16 (6%) wrote that the expression means solving a problem. Only 22 (8%) of the answers were completely different from the other 4 options. In that case one interesting reply has surfaced: in one class, three respondents wrote that the expression means “carrying the game”. This expression is used by gamers, players of video games, and means someone is spotting opportunities to catch an enemy and take

the initiative, especially in games played in online multiplayer mode. Since this answer only appeared in one class, but was written by three different students, it seems to indicate that expressions could gain new meanings in small sub-groups as well.

8. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

8.1 QUESTIONS 2, 3 AND 4: THE MEDIA CONSUMING HABITS OF THE RESPONDENTS

In my questionnaire with *Questions 2, 3 and 4* I examined the media consuming habits of a specific age group (students of 7th and 8th grade). Based on the answers it turned out that this age group spent less time watching audiovisual content than the national average (based on the 2016 Nielsen audience measurements), but still spent considerable time every day in front of the television or the computer screen. Therefore, most of them are exposed to the language of television more than 1 hour a day.

With *Question 2* I examined what type of audiovisual translations the group of respondents prefers when watching media content, and it became clear that this age group, which is much more exposed to downloaded and on-demand contents than the previous generations, and learns foreign languages from a young age (usually from the beginning of primary school), still prefers watching audiovisual content with some kind of translation aid. This leads to the conclusion that this age group is still exposed to audiovisual translations (either in the form of dubbing or subtitling) quite regularly, which underlines the assumption that the language use of this age group can be affected by the language of audiovisual translations, as I hypothesised earlier in this paper.

The aim of *Question 4* was to get a picture of the content preferences of the examined age group. Based on the answers it turned out that they watched fictional programmes – movies, TV series and cartoons – the most often. These genres are usually dubbed or subtitled, which again points to the conclusion that this age group is often exposed to such modes of audiovisual translations. Reality shows seem to be the least popular genre among the examined programmes within the group of respondents. Infotainment programmes turned out to be a bit more popular within the group of respondents than talk shows and music programmes. Although this question was not directly related to audiovisual translation, the types of preferred genres hold importance, because usually movies and TV series are translated by more experienced translators and are of a higher quality than translations of infotainment and reality programmes, which are generally translated by voice-over in Hungary. It leads us back to the polysystem theory: we can safely say that movies and TV series have a central position within the audiovisual polysystem, since they are watched by the highest number of viewers, and their translation is done by the most experienced translators of the profession.

8.2 QUESTIONS 5 AND 6: NEW MEANINGS THROUGH MISTRANSLATIONS

The rest of the questions examined 4 distinct phenomena related to the impact of audiovisual translations on the language use of the group of respondents. *Questions 5 and 6* examined two words that are often mistranslated in audiovisual translations, and the results in one case (*patetikus*) confirmed that the translations were able to deviate the original meaning of the word toward a new meaning derived from the regular mistranslation of the word. It turned out that

only 32% of the respondents knew the original meaning of the word, and 68% of them have chosen a meaning closer to the look-alike English version (pathetic). A similar case however did not end in the same results, as most of the respondents were able to select the correct meaning of another similar word, *epikus*. It might be due to the fact that they are studying literary genres in school, and the use of epic in English in a new kind of informal way is a more recent phenomenon. The case of *patetikus* proves that mistranslations can lead to changes in a word's meaning. Although we can't state as a fact that this deviation is only due to mistranslations in audiovisual translations, due to the occurrence of this English word in programmes translated to Hungarian, this might definitely be a factor in this interesting change in language use.

8.3 QUESTION 7: RAISING ACCEPTABILITY OF ENGLISH LOOK-ALIKES

Question 7 included 4 words often appearing in infotainment programmes and often mistranslated into forms more similar to the English original. Unfortunately, the results of the question might be misleading, because when I wasn't present at the school when the students filled out the questionnaires, the teachers might have failed to clarify that the question is related to the correct Hungarian form. Since DNA is the correct English form of this word, students studying English might have chosen the answer "both", not because they thought that both are correct forms in Hungarian, but because they knew that it is a correct form in English. In the other three cases, there were no such problems, as the incorrect forms are definitely Hungarian words (*uránium* and *morfin*). If we disregard DNA because of the misleading nature of the question, we can see that in two cases (Silicon Valley and morphine) the respondents seemed to be aware of the correct form of the Hungarian versions. Only a few of them voted for the incorrect form, and only ¼ of them (or even less in the case of Silicon Valley) have reckoned both forms to be correct. One reason for that might be that the examined expressions are not often present in programmes watched by the examined group, which is supported by the results of *Question 4*, where the answers showed that the students rarely watch infotainment and documentary programmes. Another possible explanation is that the mistranslation of the examined words is not as regular as I presumed, therefore it hadn't been heard by the examined group that frequently.

The translation of uranium has been the only one of the four questions which seemed to support the idea that the frequent occurrence of the incorrect form in translations might make this incorrect form more acceptable, since only 59 of the 310 respondents have chosen the correct Hungarian form as the only correct form, while a large majority of the respondents have thought that both forms (the English-style longer and the correct Hungarian version) are correct. This might well be due to the fact that the incorrect form is often appearing in translations – although it might be argued that its occurrence is not the most frequent in audiovisual translations, but in translated news and other internet-based contents. Therefore, it might not be the best example to assess the impact of audiovisual translations on the language, although it is still a relevant example of the impact of translations in general on language use.

8.4 QUESTIONS 8 AND 9: NEW MEANINGS FROM INNOVATIVE TRANSLATIONS

Questions 8 and 9 presented two cases where the translators' innovative translation of newly emerging target language items make their way into the vocabulary of the audience of translations. The results were unequivocal in the case of geek and its Hungarian translation, *gyík*,

since more than half of the respondents seemed to know the new meaning added to the word by the regular translation of geek. The results were not so evident in the case of lame, although the answers showed that 20% of the respondents have already heard the word *láma* as the translation of lame. This seems to indicate that the new meaning, added to the words by translation based on the word's pronunciation, is starting to spread among the viewers of audiovisual translations – a new meaning is added to already existing words in the Hungarian language, and it happened through the work of translators.

8.5 QUESTIONS 10 AND 11: NEW EXPRESSIONS FROM MIRROR TRANSLATIONS

The results of *Questions 10 and 11* were probably the most enlightening of all. The fact that in the case of *Question 10* 64%, and in the case of *Question 11* 59% of the respondents explained the examined expression using the same words seems to verify the assumption that new Hungarian expressions can be born by mirror translations. While older viewers might find such expressions foreign and strange, members of the younger generations can get used to hearing them at a younger age, they can include the expressions in their everyday vocabulary as well. The results in this case seem to suggest that the two expressions are spreading among the Hungarian youth and starting to become completely acceptable in natural Hungarian discourse as well.

However, a few of the answers categorised in the 'other' group were also quite instructive and thought-provoking. One of the most revealing answers came from one of the respondents who wrote "I am not using it, but it is often written in books when someone is in love". This insightful observation shows that although it does not come naturally for most people, there are some who realise and are aware of instances of 'translationese' in written and audiovisual translations.

9. CONCLUSION

The aim of the research presented in the current paper was to prove a mostly intuition-based hypothesis regarding the impact of audiovisual translations on the language use of the audience in the target language. While the polysystem theory provides a strong theoretical basis for the assumption that translated literature has a place in the literature polysystem of a certain language, it could be taken one step further and it could be assumed that the translated movies, or more broadly, translated audiovisual materials have a place in the audiovisual polysystem of a language.

The assumption that translations (and by extension audiovisual translations) have an impact on the target culture is not a new notion, however in the past it was mostly an intuitive assumption made by researchers in the field, and this impact was mainly considered as an impact or influence on the culture of the target language, and not on the target language itself. The impact on the language use of the audience in the target culture was mostly ignored or mentioned *en passant*.

By analysing the audiovisual content consumption of a specific age group in Hungary I tried to lay the foundations for the hypothesis that many members of this age group (and the general public) have some kind of exposure to translated audiovisual content. By the selected linguistic examples and the related questions my goal was to prove that the impact of translated language can be detected through empirical research. I found proof that regular

mistranslation of a word can lead to new meanings added to a word (see the case of *patetikus*), non-translations can raise the acceptability of foreign word forms by the target audience (as in the case of *urán* and *uránium*), innovative translations can also add new meanings to existing target language words (as in the case of *gyík*) and new expressions can make their way into the active and passive vocabulary of the target language audience (like the mirror translations of “butterflies in one’s stomach” and “save the day”).

Of course, the development of a language through its interaction with other languages is a well-known and long existing phenomenon, but this research tried to capture it in real time, and in some cases I believe it has succeeded. By including the questions related to the television (and audiovisual material) consuming habits of the examined students and by selecting language phenomena often appearing in audiovisual materials, I was trying to prove that there is definitely a connection between the language use and audiovisual translations, although it is impossible to prove that the source of the examined impact is strictly from audiovisual translations. It is most probably not true: the viewers of audiovisual materials are also consumers of the translated and foreign language written materials on the internet, translated literature and foreign language classes, all of which can be a source of new words and new meanings.

Although the small number of examined linguistic phenomena can be viewed only as an indicator of this impact, the results may prove to be useful for designing wider and more in-depth researches in the future. One such research may address a question which was not in the scope of the current study, namely awareness. It may prove to be useful to assess how much the target audience is aware of the impact of translations. Do they know where the expressions they are starting to accept and use come from? Are they able to pinpoint the instances of dubbing in television programmes? A research similar to the one done by Antonini and Chiaro (2009) might help in answering such questions in the future.

I believe that the research was able to ascertain two things: one, that the language of translations has an impact on the language use of people, and two, audiovisual translation is a factor in that impact, and maybe should not be overlooked as a secondary, or even tertiary element in the polysystem of language.

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ANNEXE 1

THE ORIGINAL QUESTIONNAIRE (TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH)

Dear Respondent,

My name is Judit Sereg, I am a PhD student in Translation Studies at ELTE University as well as an active film translator. My subject of study is the translation of movies and television programmes, and I would like to ask you to fill out this questionnaire anonymously, to help me conduct a study on the subject, which will be used for writing a paper. Thank you very much for your help!

1. Age:

2. How many hours do you spend daily watching movies or television programmes? (Please underline your answer)

Less than an hour 1-2 hours 2-3 hours more than 3 hours

3. How often do you watch foreign movies and series with the below listed translation methods? (1: never, 2: hardly ever, 3: sometimes, 4: often, 5: that's the only way I watch programmes) Circle your answer.

With Hungarian dubbing	1	2	3	4	5
In original language, with Hungarian subtitles	1	2	3	4	5
In original language with subtitles in the original language	1	2	3	4	5
In original language without subtitles	1	2	3	4	5

4. How often do you watch the below listed types of programmes? (1: never, 2: hardly ever, 3: sometimes, 4: often, 5: that's the only way I watch programmes) Circle your answer.

Full-length movies	1	2	3	4	5
Television series	1	2	3	4	5
Infotainment programmes	1	2	3	4	5
Reality shows	1	2	3	4	5
Cartoon movies	1	2	3	4	5
Talk show, stand up comedy	1	2	3	4	5
Music programmes	1	2	3	4	5

5. What does the adjective *patetikus* “full of pathos” mean? Underline the answer you think is correct. Underline only one answer.

szánalmas “pathetic”

ünnepélyes “full of pathos”

ellenszenves “disagreeable”

6. What does the adjective *epikus* “heroic poem” mean? Underline the answer you think is correct. Underline only one answer.

elbeszélő “heroic poem”

legendás “legendary”

érzelmes “emotional”

7. Which one is correct? Underline the answer you think is correct. Underline only one answer.

DNA	DNS	both
Szilikon-völgy	Szilícium-völgy	both
urán	uránium	both
morfin	morfium	both

8. What does the word *láma* “llama” mean? You can underline more than one answer.

ügyetlen, értetlen ember “unsophisticated person”

emlősállat “a type of mammal”

lomha, lusta “slow, lazy”

9. What does the word *geek* “lizard” mean? You can underline more than one answer.

alattomos, sunyi “sneaky, treacherous”

kocka (ember) “nerd, socially awkward person”

hüllők egy típusa “a type of reptile”

10. What is the meaning of the expression: *pillangók vannak a hasamban* “I have butterflies in my stomach”? Define it with your own words.

.....

11. What is the meaning of the expression: *megmenteni a napot* “save the day”? Define it with your own words.

Thank you very much for your help!

A CLASSIFICATION OF REVISIONAL MODIFICATIONS

EDINA ROBIN

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Abstract: Revision has become a widely recognised and essential component for the quality assurance of professional translations. In order to ensure that revision is indeed performed with total precision and expertise, the work has begun to collect, synthesise and summarise the know-how of translation revision, with more and more emphasis being given to the training of professional revisers. In the present paper, after a brief discussion of revision as a norm-governed activity, I aim to propose a typology for the categorisation of revisional interventions on the basis of linguistic and translation rules, norms and strategies (Toury 1995, Heltaï 2004, 2005), providing examples for each operational category. With the classification of modifications, it becomes easier for revisers to explain and justify their interventions, as well as for translators to understand and accept what has been *corrected* and *improved* (Mossop 2001) in their target texts. Separating rule-based, norm-based and strategy-based revisional modifications from unnecessary, unjustifiable revisional interventions may hopefully foster more conscious and more professional work on the part of the revisers, and result in more harmonious cooperation between the participants of the translation process.

Keywords: revision, interventions, modifications, rules, norms, strategies, preferences

1. INTRODUCTION

Revision has now become a widely recognised and essential tool for quality assurance within the translational profession, its importance and beneficial effects are underlined by numerous experiences and case-studies (e.g. Eszenyi 2017). The EN-15038¹ quality standard, and more recently the ISO 17100:2015² international standard on translation services, clearly specifies that any translation service must include as a minimum, translation and review. According to the definition, revision is done by a person other than the translator, examining the target text against the source language content for its suitability for the agreed purpose, and respect for the appropriate conventions of the domain to which it belongs, as well as recommending corrections on the basis of the identified errors and nonconformities. Under the standard, quality is guaranteed not only by the translation itself, but by the fact that the translation is being reviewed and by the specification of the professional competences of the participants.

In order to make sure that revision is indeed performed with total precision and expertise, the work has begun within translation studies to collect, synthesise and summarise the theory and methodological know-how of translation revision, with more and more emphasis being given to the training of professional revisers (Arthern 1991, Mossop 2001, Hansen 2009,

1 <http://qualitystandard.bs.en-15038.com/>

2 <https://www.iso.org/obp/ui/#iso:std:iso:17100:ed-1:v1:en>

Robin 2016, Robert et al. 2017, Terryn et al. 2017). In the present paper, after the discussion of revision as a norm-governed activity, I aim to propose a typology of revisional interventions on the basis of language and translation rules, norms and strategies (Toury 1995, Heltai 2004, 2005), as well as previous research (Robin 2014, 2015), providing examples from the Hungarian–English language pair for each operational category. With the classification of revisional modifications, it may become easier for revisers to explain and justify their interventions, as well as for translators to understand and accept what has been *corrected* and *improved* in their texts.

2. REVISION AS A NORM-GOVERNED ACTIVITY

It is evident from the above definition and also from the studies of translation revision that the reviser must fulfill certain expectations and adhere to certain norms when doing their job – similarly to the translator. Both professionals must abide by so-called preliminary norms (Toury 1995), translation policies and professional norms (Chesterman 1993). These mainly include general principles, such as ethical considerations, quality standards, terminological and translation conventions. Revisers must also closely follow the specifications of the revision brief as an essential part of their professional behaviour.

Additionally, translators and revisers alike must keep in mind the specific features of the source text so that the resulting translation is indeed an accurate rendering of the original meaning, which fulfils the requirements of *adequacy* (Toury 1995). At the same time, revisers and translators must achieve this goal by mobilising the so-called operational norms, which affect the textual make-up and verbal formulation of the text. By obeying the systemic rules and patterns of the target language, revisers aim to produce a target text which satisfies the needs of modern language use, achieving *acceptability* (Toury 1995). Thus, the revised translation becomes equivalent to the original source text, as well as processable (Mossop 2001) and acceptable (Toury 1995) for the target language reader. Translation and revision, therefore, seem to be a balancing act between the source language text and target language norms.

When the translator fails to live up to the expectations of the potential reader, falling short of the optimal result – adequacy, acceptability and processability – the reviser must intervene. According to Klaudy (1994), any translation can only be equivalent to the original source text if it corresponds to the target language norms, just as much as the original does to the norms of the source language. The reviser, therefore, needs to be well-acquainted with the target language system, its lexical, grammatical and stylistic conventions – even more so than the translator, for they approach the text from the perspective of the target language and the target language reader, not creating a text, but modifying somebody else's work, applying global, macro-level strategies (Horváth 2009). They should also be able to justify their modifications if necessary, based on their knowledge of language and translation norms, avoiding unnecessary revisional interventions and helping the professional development of the translator – all in the interest of quality assurance (Robin 2016).

When describing the conventions of language use, Heltai (2004, 2005) differentiates between compulsory rules and optional norms. Language norms are defined as manifestations

of customary language use, which may allow for a number of alternatives. These alternatives are correct in themselves, but in a given communicative situation or in a given text may not seem feasible, so the translator or reviser looks for other solutions. However, rules do not offer a choice between alternatives, so they may even be considered extreme versions of prescriptive linguistic norms. Both can be found in books on grammar and style and both may entail sanctions when they are not adhered to, but the reviser considers the risks involved, and makes a conscious choice between the possibilities.

These decisions regarding word-level and sentence-level norms are influenced by higher level text building strategies (Heltai 2004: 416–417). They may not always be evident, they are not compulsory in nature, and do not result in language errors when they are not applied in the text. Such strategies are connected to the expectations of the target readers. They do not depend on the grammatical structures of the language, but aim to enhance the readability and the processability of the target text – keeping in mind the general principles of communication and cooperation, in accordance with conversational maxims such as adequate and truthful information, clarity, relevance, brief and orderly manner of speech (Grice 1975). According to Klaudy (1994), translators automatically apply linguistic rules, but translations often seem strange at text-level, leaving the task to the reviser of enhancing readability.

3. REVISIONAL MODIFICATIONS

Although the EN-15038 and ISO 17100:2015 standards do not specify who should change the translated text on the basis of the reviser's recommendations, in professional practice it is generally the reviser who makes the required modifications. Horváth (2009) defines revision as direct intervention in somebody else's written text, and these interventions manifest themselves in the form of different revisional operations. These can easily be identified by following Arthern's (1987: 17) definition: "By intervention I define a point in the translation at which the reviser has changed the translator's text".

When categorising revisional interventions, Horváth (2009: 156) lists the following operations: *rearrangement*, *insertion*, *deletion*, *replacement*, *marginal note*. This typology reflects how the reviser modifies the wording, what is actually being done, except for the last operation, marginal note, which does not intervene directly in the text, but serves as a tool to offer further remarks regarding the translation. Horváth's categorisation may be combined with Klaudy's (2003) typology of transfer operations, since both translation and revision use the tools of monolingual editing for the construction of the target language text. Therefore, *rearrangement*, *insertion* and *replacement* can include lexical transposition, specification, generalisation, division, addition, compensation and replacement, as well as grammatical specification, generalisation, division, elevation, lowering and addition, whereas *deletion* can refer to lexical or grammatical omission and contraction performed within the target text.

In essence, the above revisional interventions serve the double purpose of *correcting* and *improving* the target text: "[...] the reviser is a gatekeeper, who corrects the text so that it conforms to society's linguistic and textual rules and achieves the publisher's goals. The [...] reviser is also a language therapist, who improves the text to ensure ease of mental processing

and suitability of the text for its future readers” (Mossop 2001: 1). Modifications which are aimed at amending mistranslations, language errors and other nonconformities – based on the demands of equivalence, language rules and the requirements of the translation brief – belong to the category of “correction”, together with the optional, norm-based modifications which the reviser sees fit because of the given communicative situation and the features of the text. Modifications which aim at “improving” the textual make-up are also optional, the reviser performs them to perfect the translation, to enhance readability and processability – employing stylistic, structural and content editing (Mossop 2001).

Building on the above discussed, different expectations which motivate the reviser’s interventions, I would like to propose the following typology of revisional modifications in order to connect the reviser’s interventions with the motivating factors that guide their work and to gain a better understanding of what revisers actually do when they decide to modify the translated text. The proposed typology has already been applied in previous research for the analysis of revisional operations (Robin 2014, 2015):

Rule-based: obligatory operations; motivated by the morphologic, syntactic and semantic rules of the target language. Without these modifications, the resulting target text would be incorrect, inadequate and unacceptable for the readers.

Norm-based: optional operations; motivated by language customs and stylistic preferences. Without these modifications, the resulting target text would not conform fully to the expectations of the target audience, and remain only “quasi-correct” (Klaudy 1994).

Strategy-based: optional operations; motivated by general communicative principles and text building strategies, employing stylistic, structural and content editing, promoting the processability and readability of the text for readers.

The interventions listed by Horváth (2009), as well as Klaudy’s operations, can be grouped into the presented categories, depending on what motivates the reviser when performing them. This typology may be helpful in justifying the reviser’s decisions, pointing out the different levels of motivations and clarifying what counts as actual mistakes, not improvements.

If the differences between rules, norms and strategies become evident for the reviser and they perform their operations consciously, they may find it easier to avoid unnecessary interventions, which Arthern (1987: 19) describes as having no effect on the text and show up in the reviser’s work when “[...] they changed words or word order without correcting the sense or improving the style of the text”. Such modifications are simply based on individual preferences and do not serve the processability of the translated text. Horváth (2009) sees such interventions as a potential universal of revision, but Arthern (1987) points out that great differences can be found between the individual revisers – the experienced, knowledgeable reviser can resist the temptation. Mossop (2001) lists as one of the principles of revision avoiding preferential modifications for they can introduce new errors into the target text. The summary of the proposed typology is presented in *Table 1* below.

Table 1: The typology of revisional modifications

Modification	Basis of intervention	Prescriptive force	Attribute	Effect
Rule-based	equivalence, linguistic rules, translation brief	compulsory	required correction	positive
Norm-based	translation and linguistic norms	optional	recommended correction	positive
Strategy-based	communication principles and text-buliding strategies	optional	improvement	positive
Preference-based	individual preferences	unnecessary	pointless intervention	no effect/negative

Identifying revisional modifications is probably easiest in the case of compulsory, rule-based interventions, as without them the resulting text would be entirely unacceptable. The first example below shows the correction of a transfer error made by the translator, which makes the reviser’s intervention absolutely necessary.

(1)	“A	BARQUE	WOULD HAVE SEEN	HER	IF	THE	INGRID LINDE	HAD KEPT	HER COURSE.”
DRAFT	“EGY	BÁRKÁRÓL	LÁTNI	KEL-LETT VOLNA,	HOGY	AZ INGRID LINDE	TARTJA-E	AZ	ÚTIRÁNYÁT.”
	A	BARQUE. ABL	SEE.INF	WOULD HAVE	WETHER	THE INGRID LINDE	KEEP.3SG	THE	COURSE.POS. ACC
RE- VISED	“EGY	BÁRKÁRÓL	LÁTNIUK	KEL-LETT VOLNA,	AZ INGRID LINDÉT,	HA AZ	TARTOTTA	AZ	ÚTIRÁNYÁT.”
	A	BARQUE. ABL	SEE-INF.3.PL	WOULD HAVE	THE INGRID LINDE. ACC	IF IT	KEEP-PAST.3SG	THE	COURSE.POS. ACC

Similarly, in the second example, the reviser followed the rules of grammar when correcting the error made by the translator in the target text, translating from Hungarian to English; there is no question as to the necessity of the rule-based revisional intervention.

(2)	“A SZERZŐDÉST	BÁR-MELY	FÉL	HÁROM	HÓNAPOS	FEL-MONDÁSI	IDŐVEL	FELMOND-HATJA.”
	THE CONTRACT. ACC	ANY	PARTY	THREE	MONTH. ADJ	CANCEL-LATION	PERIOD. COM. ABL	MAY TERMINATE.3SG
DRAFT	“THE CONTRACT	MAY BE	TERMI-NATED	BY EACH	PARTY	BY GIV-ING	3-MONTH’S	NOTICE.”
RE- VISED	“THE CONTRACT	MAY BE	TERMI-NATED	BY EACH	PARTY	BY GIV-ING	3-MONTHS	NOTICE.”

For the identification and justification of norm-based revisional modifications, we must refer to Heltai’s (2004) definition of norms, describing them as less regulatory, having less prescriptive force than linguistic rules. In the following examples the reviser’s modification brought

the text closer to the idiomatic, customary target language use, even though the translated version did not contain any lexical or grammatical ‘errors’ as such.

(3)	“[...] THEY	BEGAN	TO ARGUE	ABOUT	THE	MOTH-EATEN	PELT.”
DRAFT	“[...] MIKÖZBEN	ŐK	A MOLYRÁGTA	PRÉMRŐL	KEZDTEK	VITATKOZNI.”	
	WHILE	THEY	THE MOTH-EATEN	PELT. ABOUT. ABL	BEGIN. PAST.3.PL	ARGUE.INF	
REVISED	“[...] MIKÖZBEN	Ø	A MOLYRÁGTA	PRÉMRŐL	KEZDTEK	VITATKOZNI.”	
	WHILE	Ø	THE MOTH-EATEN	PELT. ABOUT. ABL	BEGIN. PAST.3.PL	ARGUE.INF	

In example (3), the translator did not omit the personal pronoun from the text, and while the sentence is grammatically accurate, the wording may still be considered as only quasi-correct, since Hungarian does not normally use personal pronouns, unless given special emphasis. The reviser deleted the redundant item, bringing the text closer to the target language norm.

(4)	“FŐKÉNT	TAPASZTALT	FORDÍTÓK	ÉRTENEK	AZ	ALKALMAZÁSUKHOZ.”	
	MAINLY	EXPERIENCED	TRANSLATOR. PL	KNOW.3PL	THE	APPLICATION.POS. TO.ABL	
DRAFT	“MAINLY	EXPERIENCED	TRANSLATORS	KNOW	HOW	TO APPLY	THEM.”
RE- VISED	“IT IS MAINLY	EXPERIENCED	TRANSLATORS	WHO KNOW	HOW	TO APPLY	THEM.”

In example (4) above, the translator closely followed the original text, translating from Hungarian to English, and produced a grammatically accurate sentence, the reviser, however, modified the structure, employing a “cleft sentence” through a norm-based intervention. Cleft sentences are used to emphasise one part of the sentence by putting everything into a kind of relative clause except the words we want to emphasise; this makes them stand out. They are useful in writing because we cannot use intonation for emphasis.

Strategy-based modifications are probably the most difficult to identify because they are more idiosyncratic in nature. Revisers use strategy-based operations with the purpose of optimising the lexical and grammatical redundancy, creating a balanced text and enriching the vocabulary, aiming for maximum contextual effect. Examples of typically used strategy-based modifications are shown below:

(5)	“IT	WAS	GROWING	COLDER	WHEN	I	LEFT	THE	WOODS.”
DRAFT	“EGYRE	HIDEGEBB	LETT,	AMIKOR	EL-HAGYTAM	AZ	ERDŐT.”		
	GROWING	COLD.COM	BECOME-PAST.3SG	WHEN	LEAVE-PAST.1SG	THE	WOOD.ACC		
RE- VISED	“MI- UTÁN	EL-HAGYTAM	AZ	ERDŐT,	EGYRE	HIDE-GEBBRE	FORDULT	AZ	IDŐ.”
	AFTER	LEAVE-PAST.1SG	THE	WOOD.ACC	GROWING	COLD.COM.ABL	TURN-PAST.3SG	THE	WEATHER.

In the above example, the translator closely followed the sentence structure of the original source-text, but the reviser changed the order of the clauses with grammatical transposition to enhance processability, giving more emphasis to the logical and temporal order of the

described events. In the next example below, the reviser used more explicit wording to further emphasise the message of the original source text.

(6)	“THAT	WAS	MADDY’S	FAULT,	OF	COURSE.”
DRAFT	“AMI	TERMÉSZETESEN	MADDY	HIBÁJA	VOLT”	
	WHICH	NATURALLY	MADDY	FAULT.POS	BE-PAST.3SG	
REVISED	“AMI	TERMÉSZETESEN	MADDY	BŰNE	VOLT.”	
	WHICH	NATURALLY	MADDY	SIN.POS	BE-PAST.3SG	

Apart from enhancing readability and enriching vocabulary, revisers often aim to lessen the grammatical and lexical redundancy of the translated text by modifying the translator’s operations, employing strategy-based, editing modifications, as shown in the next example:

(7)	“[...] AS	A	BLADE	OF	GRASS.”
DRAFT	“[...] MINTHA	CSAK	EGY	FŰSZÁL	LETT VOLNA.”
	AS IF	ONLY	A	BLADE OF GRASS	BE-PAST.CON.3SG
REVISED	“[...] MINT	EGY	FŰSZÁL.”		
	AS	A	BLADE OF GRASS		

The translator raised the nominal phrase of the source text to clause level, with grammatical elevation, using a verb phrase. The reviser, however, counteracted the transfer operation and employed a nominal phrase instead, bringing the revised version closer to the original version, creating a more concise, less redundant text. In a similar way, the reviser created a simpler, more concise version of the target text in example (8).

(8)	“IMPROVIZATÍV –	TEHÁT	AZ ELŐ- ADÓNAK	NAGYOBB	SZABAD- SÁGA,	TÖBB	TERE	VAN	MO- ZOGNI.”
	IMPROVISA- TIONAL	SO	THE PER- FORMER	GREATER	FREEDOM. POS	MORE	SPACE. POS	HAVE. 3SG	MOVE. INF
DRAFT	“IMPROVISA- TIONAL	MEANS	THE PER- FORMER	HAS	MORE	FREE- DOM,	MORE	SPACE	TO MOVE.”
REVISED	“IMPROVISATION	MEANS	MORE	FREEDOM,	MORE	SPACE	TO	MOVE.”	

Revisers may also delete conjunctions from the translation when deemed unnecessary, if the meaning can be deduced from the context, as shown below. The faithful translator followed the wording of the source-text, but the reviser deleted the conjunction from the sentence, employing strategy-based, grammatical omission.

(9)	“BUT	THEY	WERE	READY	FOR	US.”
DRAFT	“DE	MÁR	VÁRTAK	BENNÜNKET.”		
	BUT	ALREADY	WAITPAST.3PL	US		
REVISED	“Ø	MÁR	VÁRTAK	BENNÜNKET.”		
		ALREADY	WAITPAST.3PL	US		

All of the above examples show how revisers may alter the transfer operations employed by translators in order to edit the information content of texts, reduce grammatical, as well as lexical redundancy, enhance readability, enrich vocabulary, optimising textual features—all with the purpose of living up to the expectations of future readers. Empirical investigations

seem to show (Robin 2015) that revisers prefer strategy-based operations. When translators do their job well, there is no need for extensive ‘correction’, revisers can concentrate more on ‘improving’ the quality, using strategy-based editing strategies at a higher level – which they can still justify by referring to the general principles of communication.

If revisers can recognise at which level they perform their operations, regardless of whether they employ rule-based, norm-based or strategy-based modifications, they may successfully refrain from performing preference-based interventions and keep away from falling into the trap of over-revision, which is motivated by individual preferences rather than conscious and professional decisions. Unnecessary revisional interventions can be identified as having no effect on the target text, as demonstrated by the final example below:

(10)	“AS	FAST	AS	THIS	LITTLE	WIND	WILL PUSH	US.”
DRAFT	“OLYAN	GYORSAN,	AMENNYIRE	A	GYENGE	SZÉL	ENGEDI.”	
	AS	FAST	AS	THE	WEAK	WIND	ALLOW. _{3SG}	
REVISED	“OLYAN	GYORSAN,	AMENNYIRE	A	GYENGE	SZÉL	LEHETŐVÉ	TESZI.”
	AS	FAST	AS	THE	WEAK	WIND	POSSIBLE	MAKE. _{3SG}

4. CONCLUSION

It has become essential for translation studies to provide the profession with a well-grounded, sound theoretical background and methodology for revision, due to its growing importance in translation quality assurance. In the present paper, the aim was to propose a typology for the classification of revisional operations, based on linguistic and translation rules, norms and strategies, as well as the experiences of previous research (Robin 2014, 2015), to gain a better understanding of what revisers actually do when they decide to intervene and modify the translated text. By employing rule-based, compulsory modifications, revisers *correct* the translated text, eliminating transfer and language errors, as well as nonconformity to the translation brief. Norm-based and strategy-based interventions, on the other hand, serve to *improve* the translation, bringing it closer to idiomatic, customary target language use and reader expectations. Therefore, we may distinguish the justifiable modifications from preferential interventions, which do not have any positive effects on the target language text.

The presented typology may prove useful as a basis for analysing revised texts for the examination of revision methods and procedures. Furthermore, it can provide the theoretical background for an objective discussion of the ethical aspects of translation revision, shedding light on where and why revisers have the authority to intervene. Separating rule-based, norm-based and strategy-based revisional modifications from unjustifiable and preference-based interventions may hopefully enhance more conscious and professional work on the part of the revisers, and result in more harmonious cooperation between the participants of the translation process. Similarly, the classification of revisional modifications, with the clear distinction of *correcting* and *improving* the target text, can serve particularly well in the translation classroom, when employing didactic revision, i.e. marking student translations. Differential evaluation of their work helps translation trainees gain a more realistic view of their achievements, gives a clear picture of where their errors are rooted and where there is still room for improvement, without giving them unnecessarily all-negative feedback.

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CHALLENGES OF TEACHING LEGAL TERMINOLOGY IN TRANSLATION TRAINING COURSES – THE BACKGROUND TO EDITING A TEXTBOOK

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Abstract: Bridges between the theory, i.e. research infrastructures and lectures of translation and terminology studies, introductory courses of subject knowledge domains as law and the practice – teaching of legal translation and terminology are essential for the further development of the training methods of the prospective language service providers such as translators, interpreters and terminologists. The aim of the textbook presented in this article is to enforce the link and complete the transition between different subjects such as introductory courses of conceptual knowledge and courses for practising language skills held at the Department of Translation and Interpreting, Faculty of Humanities at ELTE University.

Keywords: legal terminology, translator training, textbook, theory of terminology, translator skills and competences

1. INTRODUCTION

The three-way combination of research, practice and education has always been the aim of our Department since its foundation in 1973. The keys to achieving these objectives are in employing trainers involved in practice and the continuous working out of the appropriate theory background, methods and useful learning materials.

As Klaudy (2017) describes in her study, terminology was not a separate subject of the translation training programme. The language specific economic and legal terminology practical courses were introduced from 2009 for second-year students of the MA translation programmes. As a result, first it became a requirement to prepare terminological glossaries as compulsory elements of final theses, and in 2012 a series of introductory lectures was launched on general terminology. Terms and concepts may change in time, so the main purpose of the lectures is not to teach target language equivalents, but to familiarise the students with the principles and methods of terminology which can be useful tools for language service providers during their everyday work. These principles and methods incorporate the concept-oriented approach on the level of basic concepts, questions of harmonisation and standardisation of terms as methods of translation oriented terminology and, finally, methods of data management and the introduction to the termbases as tools, as methods of terminology management. Klaudy (2017) highlights that the reinforcement of the training of terminology in MA and specialised translation training programmes is a sign of cooperation between Translation Studies and Terminology, apparent for example in the teaching of the use of termbases in the General Theory of Terminology and Language Technology courses.

One of our recent developments is the launch in 2015 of the postgraduate course for court interpreting and the postgraduate course for translators and terminologists specialised in the fields of economics and law. In 2016 the latter was transformed in a distance e-learning course, which also includes as practice an optional working out of entries in the terminology database, IATE, of the European Union and the use of an e-book about an introduction to the Hungarian terminology of law with an overview of English, German, French and Italian legal terminology. This paper sets out to present the background, the methods used during the development and emphasises the features of this experimental e-book of terminology.

2. OBJECTIVES AND CONCEPTS IN THE BACKGROUND

This book was edited by ELTE University Publishing House (ELTE Eötvös Kiadó) primarily as an online edition *Introduction to Legal Terminology observed through the lens of a Terminologist* (*Bevezetés a jogi terminológiába a terminológus szemüvegén át*), the managing editor is the Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation Ltd.: <http://www.elte reader.hu/kiadvanyok/tamas-dora-maria-bevezetes-a-jogi-terminologiaba-a-terminologus-szemuvegen-at/>.

The aim of this edition, examining the practical questions of legal terminology, is to be equally beneficial in academic training and in trainee and mentoring programmes of the translation office, therefore it is primarily for students and new career entrants.

In academic training, it attempts to create a link between the general introductory lectures offered in Hungarian on Translation Studies, Terminology (Theory) and Law and the language specific training and practice of translation, interpretation and terminology. Accordingly, the examples elaborated on can be used to lay the foundations for legal knowledge, concepts and terms used on language specific courses, complementing the lectures entitled Introduction to the Terminology or Introduction to Law.

Outstanding experts working for the ELTE University or the Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation Ltd., lawyers and terminologists contributed to the creation of the book, by reviewing and evaluating the glossary, calling my attention to missing elements or parts that had to be clarified. I strove to accept their advice while taking into consideration my terminological and didactic approach. I assume full responsibility for the occasional mistake, while the revisers are credited with all the book's merits. In Hungary, there were earlier works published in the fields of terminology and law, for example about the terminology of the European Union (Trebts–Fischer 2009, Várnai–Mészáros 2011), about Hungarian legal terminology in relation with the training of court interpreters (Horváth 2013), in English related to one specific area such as civil law and contract law (Petz 2014, Kovács 2015). These publications do not particularly focus on giving a general overview, in Hungarian with multi-lingual references, of those legal terms of Hungarian national law which usually pose challenges for translators.

The main purpose of the book is to present, from a terminological point of view, the Hungarian legal terminology with an international perspective. The book does not aim to be exhaustive, but presents terms and concepts that are relevant from terminological point of view, collected from various areas of law on the basis of the author's practical and educational experience. The reader can learn about the practical use of principles and methods of terminology that can be used for conveying legal terms, managing terminological data and relied on as reference for further legal

terms. The book does not intend to share general linguistic and legal knowledge but aims to present terminological legal issues. As Klaudy (2017) also mentions, raising the level of consciousness of the language service provider may help them to provide higher quality services.

3. ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book consists of three major parts: a professional-theoretical introductory study on legal terminology, a glossary and a collection of documents in the Annexe. The theoretical introduction examines legal terminology from the perspective of terminology as a modern discipline, which is different from the aspects of lexicography and research of LSPs. The terminological perspective is obviously concept-oriented and it cannot disregard the unity of linguistic sign and concept, interpreting terms as representations of concepts and focusing on the concept, as it appears in the definition, as its core category. The purpose of the glossary is to define the selected Hungarian legal terms, to describe their translation-terminology related challenges and to provide international references. The terms in the glossary focus on Hungarian legal terms, calling attention to the separation of concepts but without presenting the whole process of bilingual comparison since they do not contain foreign language definitions, rather they help to recognise the problems inherent in terms and to teach a terminological way of thinking. The International overview describing and not prescribing foreign language equivalents is mainly a reference to the concepts of the legal systems of various countries, for example mainly their country specific aspects in four languages (English, German, French and Italian). The document samples in the Annexe contain four document types in four languages: company documents (mainly certificates of incorporation), court decisions (judgments on dissolution of marriage), a Hungarian real property sales contract, a copy of a Hungarian abstract of title. The purpose of the document samples is to present basic types of documents to familiarise new translators with these texts. This will make it easier for them to locate in their original contexts the legal terms analysed in the book, also contributing to their easier understanding. For the selection of English and German document samples it was also a requirement to select documents from various countries in order to represent a broader scale of texts (e.g. documents from Germany, Austria and Switzerland are also in the Annexe).

The core of the book is the terminological glossary, its structure reminds the reader of the terminological databases with some differences from a didactical point of view. The records have the following structure:

Term:		Domain:	
Definition:		Notes for translators (Attention!):	
International overview:			
EN	DE	FR	IT
See also:			
Context:			
Document type:			
Sources:			

Figure 1: The structure of the records

The records contain various data categories, each of them having specific functions. Under the data category **Term** in the heading there is always one single term even if there are more related words entered under the data categories of **Definition** or **International overview**. Terms not listed under the headings can be found in the Index. The terms are nouns in most of the cases but not exclusively, there are some adjectives, verbs or adverbs among them, they are either constructed of one or more elements. Pursuant to the principles of terminology, all terms appear under a specific **Domain** as data category since terms are always understood in the context of a certain domain. In one case, the same term appears under two domains, as it refers to different concepts under different domain categories (see *'hatáskör'* – *competence* under general 'Law' and 'Public Administration' domain categories). There are seven domain categories in the book: law (general), court, constitutional law, law of public administration, criminal law, civil law, company law. The **Definition** data category is the definition of the term referring to the Hungarian legal concept, created on the basis of laws, official websites, textbooks and legal encyclopaedia after being reviewed by lawyers as subject matter experts. This data category is not always filled in with standard terminological definitions, often there are quotes from laws, in the case of organs the definition is the description of the functions. The **Notes for translators** data category contains pieces of advice from the perspective of revisers, translators and terminologists that can be useful for new translators to meet challenges in the right way. The data category entitled **See also** contains references to other related records in the book, covering similar subjects or where the same term occurs in another context this can ensure the interconnectedness of the records. The **Context** data category contains short Hungarian phrases, further demonstrating the use of the term and its occurrence in some texts. The **Document type** data category may contain useful information for beginners especially because the Annexe contains some original document types which can be browsed for the terms. Under the **Sources** data category legal and linguistic sources are also listed. The **International overview** data category lists the terms recommended for use on the basis of their conveyance in four foreign languages. The list was compiled with the help of highly qualified and experienced lawyers and linguists. There are more versions listed as foreign language equivalents since the book was created from a descriptive and not prescriptive terminological perspective. In a number of cases country codes follow the terms (See: UK, USA, D, A, CH, F, I).

In order to list the foreign language equivalents of the terms we took into consideration the terminological principle that terms should be conveyed and not translated. The essence of conveyance is that concepts are compared on the basis of the conceptual characteristics in definitions and it is established on the basis of this comparison to what extent the terms can be conveyed to one another (the so called process of conceptual comparison). As a result, the levels of equivalence can be established between the terms and their equivalents: full equivalence, partial equivalence and lack of equivalence. If, as a result of conceptual comparison we find partial equivalence or lack of equivalence then, depending on the scale of differences, there are two options pursuant to the principles and methods of terminology: in the case of considerable equivalence use of an analogous concept (functional equivalent) (with the country code if possible) or in the case of minor equivalence or lack of equivalence (e.g. because the concept is country specific) creation of a new linguistic sign called term candidate. Term candidates are results of the "harmonisation process done by the translators" (Tamás 2014: 144) from

a terminological perspective, they are either newly coined or already used terms in the process of the provision of language services, as there is a need to offer solutions for new concepts and for concepts demonstrating small levels of equivalence. There are several references to this in the book, mainly between brackets (see functional equivalent, term candidate). In Terminology, we aim at unambiguity but in practice there are ambiguous cases for which the use of functional equivalents and term candidates are also acceptable. In such cases both of them may appear but their status as functional equivalent or term candidate should be indicated. If the conceptual differences between terms are important then some short descriptions or references in keywords are also added to their records. The description of this method can be found in the study included in the book.

Additional information is also added to the glossary in order to enhance the identification of the concepts. The majority of these pieces of information are presented in tables but in the case of public administration, for example, a tree diagram contributes to the clarification.

4. ON LEGAL TERMINOLOGY THROUGH THE EYES OF THE TERMINOLOGIST: DIFFICULTIES AND CHALLENGES

The book introduced in this paper is based on the idea of the author and, considering its genre, it is an experimental work. The study in the book aims to give an insight into theoretical questions. It describes briefly the main characteristics of legal terminology and it analyses from various points of view the terminological approach that may be used in this domain.

Subject to socio-cultural changes, legal terminology should always be up-to-date and, as a result, concepts and terms continuously change, disappear, emerge and re-emerge; it is characterised by a strong verbality accompanied by unambiguity and flexibility at the same time, and it is also embedded in a system which is manifested in the fact that national legal institutions are country specific and closely linked to laws. As concepts are complex, lawyers often use the principle of *praesumptio similitudinis* and they presume similarity between linguistic versions in order to enhance successful communication (Villányi 2016: 95). However, they have to aim for exact language use as it is crucial for legal certainty. Let's consider about the status of court interpreters. As Németh (2017) states, interpreting at courts and for public authorities is a responsible activity in the judicial system that is closely linked to social trust in justice. Therefore, court interpreters should have an extensive knowledge of the basics of law (Horváth 2017).

4.1 LEGAL TERMS OF A NATION VS. THE EUROPEAN UNION

It is important to call the attention of a beginner translator to the fact that the legal terminology of a nation and of the European Union is not necessarily the same. The LSP for law and administration and terminology, created by the institutions of the European Union in order to operate the same, is usually differentiated from the national LSP for law mainly containing terms corresponding to the local, geopolitical territory with national specificities.

The system of legal concepts and terminology of the European Union (that is based on the *acquis communautaire*) has different features as it is not country-specific but it is built on similar, artificial, neutral and uniformly understood concepts. From the perspective of content

and language it aims to be homogeneous. Legal terms of the European Union have a priori autonomous equivalences, autonomous concepts and conceptual systems (Somssich 2011). During the selection process of the terms, it is worth examining the way they relate to the already existing terms linked to the specific countries. Is it worth highlighting the differences between the concepts on the level of terms or is it enough to standardise the use of the already existing concepts? Is it worth introducing a new term? For example, in Hungarian a new term (*béa*) was coined for value added tax of Member States, while in other countries there were no new linguistic signs coined for the same concept but the interpretation (definition) of value added tax (*áfa*) was extended. Term creation in this case is ideal if, as a result, the legal systems of the EU and the countries complement each other (Tamás 2014).

4.2 CHALLENGES STEMMING FROM DIFFERENCES IN LEGAL SYSTEMS

While the LSP for law between Hungarian and German and between French and Italian, together all members of the Roman Civil Law system, share similar features for historical reasons. The separate development of the English special language for law is due to the different development path of Common Law. For this reason, it is common knowledge that the use of English in Civil Law as lingua franca is poses great challenges. There are several reasons for these difficulties. Roman Civil Law prefers written law, while Common Law is built on case law (precedents) and differences are visible in many areas: the legal areas are divided differently, there are different legal institutions with different structures, even parts of judgments may follow a different order. It is also a fact that English is the official language of many countries and it is not always a solution to use “British Law” for reference since there is a different system in England and Wales, while there is a so called hybrid legal system in Scotland, mixing traditions of Roman Civil Law and Common Law. The legal systems of the federal states of the United States are also different from each other and also from the federal level. The large number of native and non-native language users makes the situation even more complicated, making country-specific the use of English. The use of English terms is otherwise characterised by strong dependence on context as a result of certain linguistic economy. In the field of law these characteristics make particularly difficult for English to play the role of lingua franca.

In a situation like this the non-native users of English need points of reference to help them in making their decisions. This is why it is important to give an exact and detailed presentation of the legal concepts, to indicate the document types and to force the language users to make decisions, since it is beneficial for the language user to choose a specific solution depending on the context and on the client. An example for this is in the paper: *A jogszabály terminus megfeleltetésének kihívásairól az Alaptörvény angol nyelvű fordításaiban* (<http://www.jogiforum.hu/blog/5/188>) *The Challenges of Conveying the Term “jogszabály” in the English Translation of the Fundamental Law of Hungary* that analyses the specific English equivalents of the Hungarian term “*jogszabály*” (*laws*) in a specific context i.e. in various English translations of the Fundamental Law of Hungary (see *legislation*, *legal regulations*, *law* and other versions). The analysis points out that several aspects should be taken into consideration when making the final decision, there is no perfect solution, the most suitable term might also be a functional equivalent which does not completely cover the Hungarian concept but might

be a suitable solution in the given context. The use of a functional equivalent works only if important conceptual differences are not hidden and the term selected is not misleading. Where there is a need for a new solution its definition and the sharing of such definitions help to keep the related concept obvious for the language users, even if the term is reinterpreted. This can ensure the universal use of a term.

This book contains no similar analysis, it was not part of its objectives, but such examinations may contribute to the most detailed analysis of English legal terms. The difficulties of teaching English LSP for law are examined in the paper of Balog (2017), who also highlights the dependence of English legal terms on contexts and deals with the questions of categorising legal genres.

4.3 DIDACTICAL DILEMMAS

A primary objective during the creation of the book was to make it useful for those who are interested in the topic. The target group of readers is not homogeneous since legal terminology classes are attended by students with different backgrounds of conceptual and linguistic knowledge.

The definition of legal terms raises a number of questions, while professional knowledge is a central question in terminology, too (Fóris 2008). The primary sources for defining legal concepts are laws in force. Since they are authentic sources they follow changes, such up-to-datedness is not possible in printed legal encyclopaedias. The laws often list separately under general provisions the definitions of their concepts. Traditional terminological definitions to define legal concepts are rare. Sometimes the role of the definition is played by the description of functions (i.e. court types). When the court levels are examined it is not worth examining and conveying the courts separately, rather it is better to think in a system (levels, case types, etc.). Although sometimes it takes more effort to understand the original definitions from laws, they are often more accurate and they correspond to practice and, as examples, they can provide us with information about finding definitions for legal terms.

Under the data category of foreign language equivalents of a single Hungarian term there are more versions listed, standardisation of this type was not the objective of the book, this would have required broader discussions. The purpose of International overview is limited to describing different versions, the students may look for reliable sources in a foreign language on the basis of the description of the legal concepts and the equivalents and they can complete the process of conceptual comparison.

During the choice of terms an objective was to select terms which are particularly important when learning legal terminology and in practice, too. Certain records will remain current (e.g. *'szándékosság'*- *intentionality*) while others will lose their up-to-datedness due to changes in law (e.g. tree diagram of *public administration*), but these records may be used in the future as examples for finding sources for legal terms, describing legal concepts, approaching problems or for finding solutions.

Selecting the types of documents also raised several questions related to, for example their more detailed classification and description, as well as further opportunities for using them. The aim was to collect in the Annexe original, anonymised documents related to the terms presented in the glossary, possibly from several countries within the same language area.

These documents in Hungarian and four foreign languages may, on the one hand, be useful for students with a preliminary knowledge of languages and linguistics, who want to become familiar with certain types of documents even before they actually have to translate them, while, on the other hand, the country specific characteristics may be of interest in the context of exploring terminology.

5. SUMMARY

As suggested above, although conveying legal terms is a complex task, terminology offers some solutions that language service providers may rely on and use for orientating their choices. Students in translation, interpreting and terminology programmes will manage to learn legal terms in a foreign language if they first become acquainted with and understand the concepts represented by Hungarian legal terms. As a textbook introducing legal concepts based on a terminological approach, this work endeavours to help meet this challenge. In order to achieve this, the book presents the theoretical background while it also demonstrates through the glossary how theory is put into practice. Although social changes will inevitably bring about changes in legal terminology, the approach adopted in the book may maintain its relevance.

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PROJECT WORK IN THE LEGAL TRANSLATION CLASSROOM – FIRST RESULTS OF AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

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Abstract: The project method is a frequently quoted subject in translation methodology, but it is mainly case studies that are introduced and there is a scarcity of empirical research related to project work. In this paper, we introduce the project method from a critical point of view and summarise the results of an empirical research, based on a legal translation project conducted in two different higher education institutions in Hungary with different types of training: a postgraduate (MA) course at SZTE – the University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts, and a postgraduate specialist training course at PPKE JÁK – Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences. Starting from 2015, 19 groups and 84 students have participated in the projects, translating a 15-page long legal text in teams of four or five. They were also asked to fill in questionnaires and answer questions about the translated text, the workflow and the cooperation between team members. Altogether 79 questionnaires were analysed. Relying both on student feedback and on our experiences as translator trainers, we compare the efficiency of team work and individual work, and introduce the advantages and the possible challenges posed by the project method.

Keywords: legal translation, translator training, project method, empirical research

1. INTRODUCTION

The project method is a frequently quoted subject in translation methodology these days, it is one of the most recurrent topics at TS conferences. However, after reviewing the research papers and articles written in the topic we find that in spite of the popularity of the subject, there are only a few papers presenting findings based on empirical research.

In our paper we attempt to narrow the gap between the theory and the practical application of the project method by introducing research results, based on a legal translation project conducted in two different higher education institutions in Hungary (SZTE – the University of Szeged, Faculty of Arts and PPKE JÁK – Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences) at different educational levels: postgraduate (MA) level at SZTE and postgraduate specialist training program level at PPKE JÁK. The MA level training is a two-year, four-semester translator training program, where students are not required to have any specialist legal knowledge at entry level, as legal translation constitutes only a part of their training. In contrast, the students of the postgraduate specialist training program are all qualified in law, as the entry requirement for their three-semester training was a legal degree.

Within the framework of the project students had to translate three interconnected legal documents (a total of 15 pages) from English into Hungarian in teams of four or five. The

project was done on three occasions (in the spring semester of 2015, 2016 and 2017) at both institutions, however, as the data for 2017 have not been processed yet, the present study focuses on the data of the first two years (2015 and 2016).

Our research has been divided into two phases so far: while in the first phase we focused on the pros and cons of project work, in the second phase we examined the differences between the quality of the translations prepared by students with and without legal knowledge. The present study is based on the results of the first phase of the research, where our main aim was to collect data on the practical realisation of the project (conditions, timing, pros and cons, challenges, etc.) by way of questionnaires given out to the students after finishing the project, and to assess and analyse the answers given to the questionnaires. The research method applied was mainly quantitative in both phases, with some qualitative aspects.

2. THE RATIONALE FOR PROJECT WORK IN THE CURRICULUM OF THE LEGAL TRANSLATOR TRAINING

The use of project work in translation courses has long been advocated by several researchers in translation methodology (Bieł 2011, González-Davies 2004, 2016, Greere 2014, Kiraly 2000, 2003, 2005, 2012, Li 2013, 2015, Horváth 2013, 2016, Olvera Lobo et al. 2007, Pralas 2014, Nord 2005, Kovács 2016, Kelly 2005, Pym 2007). Most of them agree that a project-based methodology with its student-centered and reflective approach not only leads to an enhanced awareness of learning, but also develops professional skills and competences in a complex and effective way. As Bieł (2011: 174) sees it, “this approach positions translation as part of a larger whole, a project cycle”. Nord suggests that project work should be introduced at advanced phases of the program and that each translation student should take part in at least one project during their training. González-Davies (2004) specifically urges that translator training should take place in student-centred and task-based classes, since different tasks can help students experience the exploration of translation processes which are delineated in the syllabus, while Hurtado Albir (2007) recommends that translation task-based approaches are built into the curriculum to promote students’ translation competence.

Further arguments for applying project-based learning are related to the benefits students gain from it by group work and cooperative learning. Although some suggest that projects in translation classes can also be done individually (Li et al. 2015), in most cases project work includes group work, or the concept of group work is frequently merged with project work (González-Davies 2016, Thelen 2016). A possible explanation for the growing importance of group work in translation methodology might be that the need for the quick translation of lengthy texts has increased dramatically in the 21st century and translation agencies can only meet this demand by dividing the texts among translators. As a consequence, translators need to learn to cooperate, at least at a minimum level. Translation is not a lone activity any more, rather, it is a cooperative action. According to Horváth (2013), the modern translator works in online projects and teamwork, intensively interacting with others and building relationships. Carefully designed and supervised project work helps students manage and improve their individual learning styles, autonomous learning skills and critical thinking, develops learner responsibility, evaluation and self-evaluation skills (Horváth 2016).

It is also relevant to note that the literature on translation pedagogy differentiates between pedagogical and authentic projects (González-Davies 2004). In the case of authentic projects, students translate texts commissioned by real clients, while in pedagogical projects the trainers select the text(s) to be translated, which gives more scope for methodological planning. As authentic projects are of an ad hoc nature and cannot be planned in advance, most of the project work applied in translator training is pedagogical, as is the project presented in this study.

3. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECT

3.1 TEXT SELECTION

Project work allows for the translation of a complete, longer text instead of parts of text or paragraphs, and thus helps focus on textual features, such as cohesion, coherence, consistency of terminology and style. Furthermore, most researchers (e.g. Nord 2005, Kelly 2005, Bieł 2011, Kiraly 2005, House 2015) agree that authentic texts increase the efficiency of the training. However, in legal translation training it is a sensitive issue, as, due to confidentiality issues, authentic texts, especially private legal documents are hard to find. Some other aspects to be considered when selecting the text to be translated in addition to the length and the authenticity of the text are the legal genre, the difficulty of the text and the direction of the translation.

As the contract is a prototypical legal genre (Bieł 2011) and it is also one of the legal document types most frequently ordered for translation at translation agencies, we chose a fifteen-page long agreement made up of three parts (in which an Italian company subcontracted another Italian company to carry out the renovation of a hotel in Budapest) with all the attributes necessary to present students with problems they also face in commercial practice, such as the special terminology of the given area (that of the construction industry in our case) or the occasional ambiguity of the text. It was authentic in the sense that one of the authors had been assigned with the translation of the text some years earlier. The text was written in *lingua franca* English (translated from Italian into English by Italians), which increased the level of difficulty of the text, but as we did not have a wider choice of texts to select from, we had to compromise on that aspect. The text included many unusual phrases and structures, which made it difficult to understand and identify legal terms and phrases, as they were not always formulated in standard legal English (examples include IVA instead of VAT, Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Handicrafts and Agriculture in Budapest – an institution not existing in such a form) together with some other types of errors. In addition – as the renovation took place in Hungary – the applicable law was Hungarian and the subject of the agreement required a certain level of understanding of architectural and engineering concepts and a competent use of appropriate terminology.

From a methodological point of view, this choice raises a few concerns, as the number of variables increases in a text that is not written by native speakers. The appropriate use of legal terms and register is a challenge in itself (especially for students who are not trained in law), so we both agreed that the text is more difficult than what is reasonably justified. On the other hand, Kelly (2005) and Bieł (2011) argue that texts should be unmanipulated (presented in their original form) and they both suggest that students try translating *lingua franca* texts, so that they learn that not all source texts are perfect and they are forced to develop strategies to tackle these problems. Considering the fact that our MA students were in their final semester

and the students of the postgraduate specialist training course were all qualified lawyers, we finally came to the decision that such a challenge would be beneficial for them.

3.2 THE REALISATION AND THE TIMING OF THE PROJECT

Students were asked to translate the selected 15-page text before a given deadline in teams of 4-5, and to proofread the translation prepared by one of the other teams. As the aim was to simulate the whole translation process, each student in a team was required to undertake one of the following roles:

- project manager
- terminologist
- proofreader/revisor (in groups of four, these tasks were separated, while in groups of five these roles were merged and performed by one person)
- editor
- language technologist.

In addition to the text, students received a detailed description of the tasks, the roles and the schedule (see Annexe 1) in writing. The task was also conceptualised, that is, students were provided with a brief informing them about the background, the recipients and the aim of the translation. The teams had to reach mutual agreement on the allocation of the text, the roles and also on internal deadlines. They were informed that the trainers act as clients, so they may ask them any question they would ask a real client. They had the opportunity to ask questions, discuss the tasks and allocate the roles during the orientation lesson, when they also received the instructions (the two-page translation brief, see Annexe 1) and the text to be translated. They had approximately one month to prepare the target text and at PPKE JÁK another month to proofread and revise the translation of one of the other groups. In 2015 at SZTE the final phase of the project coincided with the end of the term when students were required to hand in their diploma work, so proofreading was omitted. In 2016, when the schedule was brought forward, the proofreading phase was reintroduced, but students had to do it in a week.

In order to have information on the collaboration process, students were asked to record their experiences and reflections in a journal. They were instructed to note down both professional (i.e. translation related) and social (cooperation related) issues. These observations were presented and discussed in the last classroom session, when each group had to give a Power point presentation focusing on major translation problems, the process of solving them, and the advantages and challenges of cooperation. Presentations were followed by the trainers' evaluation and whole class discussions, after which the students were asked to fill in the questionnaires.

4. THE RESEARCH

4.1 THE AIM OF THE RESEARCH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

After reviewing the literature written on project work and realising the relative scarcity of empirical data, we focused our research questions mainly on empirical results, in the hope that our findings will give clues to translator trainers who would like to apply the project method. The questions were formulated as follows:

- What are some of the conditions necessary for the efficiency of project work in translation training?
- What are the advantages of the project method?
- What challenges does it pose to students and trainers?

4.2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS AND TOOLS

To answer our research questions, we used mixed methods (action research combined with survey technique).

The underlying objective of the research was to introduce and evaluate up-to-date methodology (i.e. the project method) in translation teaching *by the trainers themselves*. It is the paradigm of Action Research (AR) that is best suited for such purposes, as a result AR was adopted in the study. Griffée (2012: 109) defines AR as a “small-scale investigation by teachers on specific classroom problems for the purpose of curriculum renewal and/or professional development”. The research questions listed above are in line with this definition: they focus on the project method as an instrument of change.

The primary data we have from AR are notes from the trainers (as researchers), both from the orientation phase (before carrying out the project) and the evaluation phase (after the project). In the orientation phase, the description of the project (see Annexe) prompted students’ questions and sometimes remarks. In the evaluation phase, the following set of reflection questions were used as a starting point for discussion:

- How did you like the project?
- How did you organise group work? (How did you allocate roles? How did you decide about deadlines?)
- How successful do you think cooperation was in your group? (Why? Facilitators? Problems?)
- How did you communicate during the project?
- How well could you fulfil your roles in the group? (Can you tell us some details? Did you have any specific difficulties because of the roles assigned to you?)
- What were the most important lessons learnt in the project?

The students’ Power Point presentations (for their structure, see Annexe) provided further insights into professional and social experiences during the project. In addition, e-mails and other discussion notes provide information on how the project evolved and how the trainers reported and reflected on their experiences.

However, AR design has several limitations and disadvantages, the most widely known being its less rigorous, less systematic and more informal nature, coupled with limited repeatability of the actual design and the lack of generalisability of the findings (see e.g. Nunan 1992, Griffée 2012, Rose et al. 2014). Consequently, we decided to balance AR by using structured data collection instruments, specifically a questionnaire, data from which could be quantified and statistically analysed.

In 2015, we devised a questionnaire in Hungarian to collect data on students’ experiences with the project they have participated in and on their views on project method and cooperation in general (see Annexe 2 for the English version of the questionnaire, translated by the

authors). The questionnaire included both closed items with five-point-Likert-scales and open-ended questions. In the analysis below we will rely on data collected in 2015 and 2016.

In addition to the data collected by means of the questionnaire, our reflections based on notes, observations, discussions and e-mails provided valuable insights into the workings of the project method. We will rely on both sources of information when answering the research questions.

4.3 PARTICIPANTS

Altogether 19 groups and 84 students participated in translation projects in the past two years (Table 1). 79 questionnaires were returned out of the 84 distributed for the study, giving a response rate of 94%. Our analysis is based on these 79 questionnaires.

Table 1: The sample

	SZTE BTK MA	PPKE JÁK
2015	34 students (8 groups)	9 students (2 groups)
2016	28 students (6 groups)	13 students (3 groups)
Total	62 students (14 groups)	22 students (5 groups)

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In the following sections, the findings of the questionnaire will be presented first, followed by a summary of the trainers' reflections.

4.4.1 The organisation and the management of the project

The first part of the questionnaire focused on the context of the project, that is, the instructions and descriptions given about the project itself and the translation task, the perceived difficulty of the text, and its relevance for the course (legal translation). A question on the time allotted was included in the questionnaire, too. Our findings are summarised in *Table 2*, where mean values and standard deviation are shown by institution as well, although it must be emphasised that overall, no statistically significant differences were found between the opinion of students from the two different universities. Nevertheless, the figures deserve a closer analysis.

Table 2: Students' opinion on some organisational elements of the project. Mean values and standard deviation by institutions (SZTE = Szeged University, PPKE = Pázmány Péter Catholic University, n.s = non-significant)

	mean (SD)	mean SZTE (SD)	mean PPKE (SD)	t-test
description of project (clear?)	4.38	4.28 (0.86)	4.63 (0.60)	n.s
translation brief (clear?)	4.31	4.38 (0.78)	4.00 (1.00)	n.s
relevance of text	4.59	4.65 (0.60)	4.42 (0.84)	n.s
difficulty of text (1 = very easy; 5 = very difficult)	3.90	3.86 (1.25)	4.00 (0.82)	n.s
allotted time (enough?)	3.94	3.94 (0.50)	4.05 (0.62)	n.s

The data suggest that the **description of the project** and the **translation brief** was clear for most of the students (mean values were 4.38 and 4.31 respectively). Similarly, the **relevance** (mean = 4.59) and the **difficulty of the source text** was judged to be appropriate for the course. As already indicated, no significant differences were found between the students enrolled in SZTE and PPKE, which, on the one hand, suggests that the same instructions work effectively with the two different populations. On the other hand, however, it was somewhat surprising that students of humanities and legal professionals did not differ significantly with respect to how **difficult** they found the **source text**. Given the difficulty of the source text described above in detail, it can be hypothesised that students of humanities did not recognise the difficulty of the text because of their lack of professional knowledge. This is a well-known phenomenon often reported in translation process research (see e.g. Jääskeläinen 1999). In addition, the second phase of our study has already started, where translation errors of humanities and law students are quantified and compared. Our preliminary results suggest that students of humanities tended to make more mistakes, indicating that the text was probably more challenging for them than they have realised.

The lack of significant differences in satisfaction with allotted time hides substantial annual anomalies in Szeged. In 2015 the mean value was only 3.36, which rose to 4.72 in 2016, and the change was significant ($F=9.29$ / $p \leq 0.01$, $t=-3.16$ / $p \leq 0.01$). The reason behind the change in students' satisfaction was that the timing of the project was changed and an extra week was offered for the project. This example of growing satisfaction shows that minor organisational issues can have a considerable effect on the perception of project work.

4.4.2 The translation student: a lone wolf or the life of the party?

The questionnaire offered insights into the social aspects of translation, too, although in an indirect way. In question 8, students were asked whether they found individual translation or teamwork more useful in translation training. 78.2% of them said that both methods were equally useful, whereas 20.7% preferred individual translation to project work. There was no one who would have favoured teamwork. It was also apparent that students of humanities were clearly overrepresented among the “individualists” (see Figure 1). The chi-square test showed that the differences between the humanities majors and the legal professionals were statistically significant ($X^2(2, N = 84) = 6.88, p < .05$).

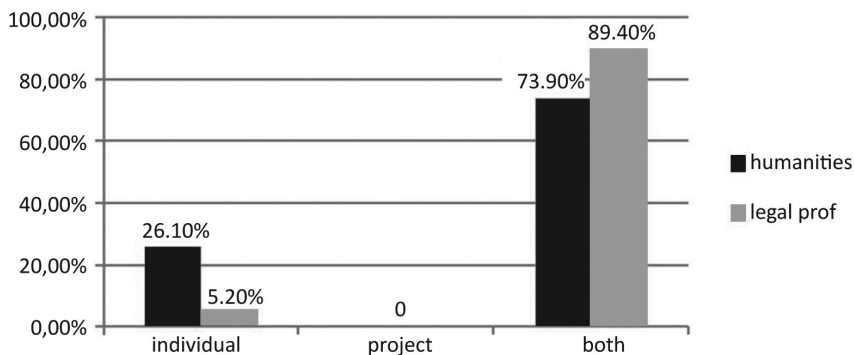


Figure 1: Students' answers to question: which form of work do you find more useful in translation training?

Several explanations can be found for this finding. It is relatively well-known that personality types are related to career choices (see, for example, the Big Six theory and its relation to the Big Five personality theory – Costa and McCrae 1999, Hogan and Blake 1999, Mount et al. 2005). As far as we know, there is no reliable empirical data on what personalities are drawn to humanities *and* to translation and interpretation (although there are many guesses and hunches), but we can set up a hypothesis that humanities students and law students/legal professionals may differ in some personality factors that surfaced in the above research finding. Validated personality tests should be used to test this hypothesis.

Also, differences in age and experience (legal professionals being older and already working) can explain the differences (partially or wholly). Horváth's research (2007a) surveying the learning habits of students at the beginning and end of their interpreter and translator training at ELTE University, Budapest, seems to justify this assumption: according to her results, freshly enrolled students prefer individual learning methods to teamwork, which might be explained by their being socialised in the traditional learning environment and rejecting group-work simply because they have not acquired the social skills necessary for teamwork. As for the legal professionals, the world of work could have taught them how to learn in collaborative, task-oriented settings. Obviously, tests on previous experiences with project and group work could help to shed light on the role of this factor.

What remains a puzzle, however, is the difference among humanities students themselves. Clearly, humanities students do not form a completely homogeneous group either, thus, personality differences and previous experiences may account for the differences in their group, too, and, as said, this could and should be tested in a separate study partly by professional psychologists.

Another possible explanation for the differences is that students' social and communication competences influence how they perceive individual and project/group work and how they react to it. Accordingly, we assumed that the pro-individual-work students might have deficiencies in their social and communication competences, which may result in a preference for lone work. In 2016, humanities students at SZTE filled out the Hungarian version of the ICQ (Interpersonal Communication Questionnaire, Buhrmester et al. 1988). The ICQ measures five dimensions of interpersonal communication: initiation, negative assertion, disclosure, emotional support and conflict management. The ICQ was chosen because its dimensions represent skills that are needed for successful cooperation (Lesznyák 2016).

The results of the ICQ did not confirm our hypothesis. 'Individualists' did not have significantly weaker social skills than other students, but they scored significantly *higher on self-assertion*, indicating that their preference for solitary work in a learning situation might have nothing to do with their cooperation skills. It is simply a personal preference for a learning environment. In summary, our results suggest that individuals with *average social skills and high assertiveness* will prefer solitary work and learning to project and group work. It must be noted, however, that this is students' spontaneous reaction to their probably first experience of project work. It is widely known that learning techniques must be learnt, as a consequence, students' opinion may change after having gained more experience with group and project work.

Nevertheless, the relatively high proportion of reluctant team-workers can be a warning sign for translation teachers, as it suggests that students will not be equally motivated to do projects and the profit they gain from team-work may be highly individual, too.

4.4.3 Benefits and drawbacks of teamwork

Information on the benefits and drawbacks of teamwork was collected with the help of open-ended questions (numbers 6–7 and 9). To analyse students' responses, content analysis was performed. Answers given by the students were copied to an excel file to facilitate efficient coding. After reading responses carefully, words and themes were established as coding units. As a next step, typical words and themes (keywords and key themes) in recurrent patterns and topics were identified and coding categories were set up relying on these keywords and key themes. This was followed by the categorisation of responses and the quantification procedure.

As for the benefits of teamwork, 152 answers were given (more than one answer was acceptable), the most common being

- opportunities to learn cooperation (19% of the answers)
- mutual help, consultations (13.1%)
- the quality of the translation (better) (10.5%)
- the opportunity to get feedback (7.9%)
- the opportunity to learn from each other (7.2%)
- speed (it is faster than individual translation) (6.5%).

The challenges (109) that students encountered during the project could clearly be divided into two categories, that is, professional and social. It is remarkable that many problems they listed are not related to the project itself but to translation in general. The most common challenges were as follows:

Professional challenges:

- source text too difficult (14.7%)
- terms, terminology (13.8%)
- proofreading/editing (11.9%).

Social challenges:

- time management (13.8%)
- cooperation, communication (11%)
- unsociable, non-cooperative peers (6.4%)
- allocating tasks (3.7%).

In conclusion, students' answers suggest that, although teamwork in projects can be a useful experience as students learn social skills this way, at the same time it is hard work for many of them precisely because of the lack of social skills some of their peers show. Students' reports of specific conflicts imply that it is an illusion that project work is nothing but fun and laughter, no matter how positive students usually are about it in the end.

4.4.4 The advantages of individual work

We also asked respondents to name the advantages of individual work. 165 answers were given and they could be grouped in the following categories:

- no need to adjust, negotiate, coordinate, etc. (24.2%)
- own timing and pace (23%)
- full responsibility (on only one person) (16.4%)

- text more coherent; unity of style and tone (7.9%)
- do not have to take responsibility for others (6.7%)
- no conflict, tension or fight (3%)
- faster (3%).

The most frequently named advantages of individual work are all related to independence. They reflect students' recognition that it is easier to organise work if they do not have to adjust to others. The "full responsibility on only one person" category deserves further attention. In the literature on project work it is often suggested that projects help students learn to take responsibility. Our data suggests that many students in our sample do already know how to take responsibility for themselves. What they are not comfortable with, is taking responsibility for others.

These findings, again, suggest that group work should be learned and practised. Nevertheless, we must note that individual work will always have its advantages over group work (and vice versa) – being able to name the advantages of one and the other does not necessarily suggest preference, it simply indicates sound reflection on behalf of the students.

4.4.5 The trainer's reflections on project work

In the past two years, we made important observations that could not have been collected by any other means than personal participation in the projects. From the perspective of the trainer, projects in translation offer the opportunity to students to translate longer (often complete) authentic texts, which results in the students facing problems they have not faced before (e.g. terminology, coherence, time-management). Projects also help in making students more autonomous and independent. Similarly, they make students realise the importance of translator's competences in addition to translation competences. Finally, we agree with students on the point that they can learn a lot from each other.

Our notes from the discussions in the project closing classroom sessions suggest that project work is generally well received well by the students and it is a positive experience for most of them. As some of the students stated, it might very well be the most positive and memorable experience of their courses. Nevertheless, some problems emerged within the two years that need addressing, as well. The source text (its difficulty and its length) and the timing of the project are crucial factors: we should avoid overchallenging students as much as underchallenging them. In other words, the difficulty of the task should be matched to what Vygotsky calls the students' zone of proximal development (Vygotsky 1978). This is easier said than done as it varies from group to group what counts as a difficult text and how much time is needed for students to translate it.

The biggest challenges we faced during the implementation of the project were related to the composition of the teams and the allocation of the roles within the teams. Group dynamics and the success of the achievement of the teams depends largely on their composition, which, according to our experience, works best when the team is heterogeneous. Cohen (1994) states that a group task has two characteristics, one being that the resources are not possessed by one single person, the success of achievement depending on every group member's contribution. The other is that the interdependence between the group members is reciprocal, that is, each student is dependent on the contributions of all others. When students form teams themselves,

they tend to follow the well-known principle of social psychology, “birds of a feather flock together” (Aronson 2008, Forgas 1989, McPherson et al. 2001) that is, they tend to form relatively homogeneous groups. This has several drawbacks: on the one hand, some groups (with weaker students) are doomed to fail, which evokes negative feelings in itself. Also, if there are no “more proficient” students in the group, there is no chance to learn from each other, either. As a result, project work loses one of its main advantages. In addition, if students form groups spontaneously, they are more likely to choose their friends and acquaintances, thus they miss the chance to learn to cooperate with someone they hardly know. Therefore, it might seem a better idea if the trainer selects the members of each team, taking into consideration the personality traits of the team members (if possible), in addition to their competences.

The allocation of roles within the teams and the uneven distribution of the workload proved to be an even more difficult problem. The autonomy and responsibility (and consequently the motivation) of the team members are more effective if they can allocate the roles among themselves, provided they are aware of their own and each other’s strengths and weaknesses, as well as the workload assumed by each role. We have found that in spite of the clear and detailed written instructions and verbal briefing, students were not always able to estimate the weight and quantity of the work attached to each role. It must be highlighted that the roles in our project system do not require the same amount of work. While the proofreader and the editor are usually overburdened, the language technologist has hardly anything to do, mostly because students carry out technology related tasks as part of the translation process and nothing is left for the technologist. The project manager has a hard task but it is more psychologically than professionally challenging, and it is not time-consuming in contrast to the role of the proofreader. The terminologist’s workload is highly dependent on the source text and, partly, on the translators in the group (some translators seem to have problems with delegating the task of terminological search to colleagues). All this suggests that the amount of the source text that a particular group member has to translate must vary with the role accepted to avoid a disproportionate workload.

Furthermore, the attitude of the team members has a great impact on the quantity of the workload. If team members recognise the importance of cooperation and implement the ‘one for all, all for one’ principle, that is, they help their team members in need, the result is successful and cooperative teamwork.

Two important conclusions can be drawn from our experiences with project roles. First, it might be necessary to think through roles and group size in order to create a project design with a role configuration that is fair on students with respect to workload. Second, the orientation lesson must be extremely well-designed, and ample time has to be devoted to the discussion of the possible pitfalls related to the allocation of the roles, on the one hand, and to raising students’ awareness of responsibility issues and effective communication within the groups, on the other. In other words, students must be made aware that the ultimate goal is the production of a homogenous and marketable target text for which the team members are mutually responsible: the success or failure of the individual is the success or failure of the team.

Conflicts within the groups raise the question whether trainers should intervene in social processes when conflicts emerge. The teacher’s (or the trainer’s) role is fundamentally different in autonomous learning, cooperative learning and project work than in the traditional

classroom (Kagan 2001, M. Nádasi 2003, Horváth 2007b). The trainer acts more as a facilitator who ensures that project work occurs as planned. A corner stone of project work and cooperative learning is, however, that students solve problems (both professional and social) on their own. This creates a dilemma for the teachers and trainers: they must decide when to interfere with group work. Stories of peers doing lousy work, sabotaging work, not keeping deadlines etc. do turn up in questionnaire-answers (see the social challenges of teamwork, above). About one group per year is affected by extreme instances of uncooperation. Nevertheless, students never complain while still in the process of translating, probably because of solidarity. This, however, means that the trainer has a hard time finding out whether there is a social conflict in the group. (It is interesting that students turn to the trainers when they have task-related questions – 2-3 times per trainer/per year). What is clear, however, is that, contrary to what we can read in the literature (Kagan 2001, Aronson 2012), in such extreme cases, the groups in our sample could not handle noncompliant individuals, they could not tame them or help them in any other ways – at least, not in the framework of a 5-week-long project.

5. CONCLUSION

Both our experiences and the answers on the questionnaires returned by the students lend support to most of the arguments (listed under point 1.) that advocate the project method, while shedding light on some new aspects as well. We found that project work narrows the gap between training and the industry by providing students with a holistic approach and making them realise the importance of translator competences (the ability to produce a target language text from a source language text according to certain requirements [Koller 1992]), in addition to translation competences (competences needed to be able to translate a text from the source language to the target language).

Our first research question focused on identifying some of the conditions necessary for the efficient use of project work in translation training. Based on the questionnaire data and the experiences gained in the two institutions over the past two years, we find that the success and the efficiency of project work is greatly influenced by the clear definition of the tasks and a suitable quantity of available time, therefore, it is crucial that trainers devote enough time to planning these when preparing for the project.

The second and the third research question (the role and the importance of project work in translation training, its advantages, disadvantages and challenges) are closely related, therefore, answers to these questions will be presented simultaneously, below.

Students' responses suggest that most of them consider project work as useful as traditional individual work. Learning to cooperate, learning from peers and helping each other are highlighted as major advantages of project work. Some students stress that project work is faster and leads to increased quality. The greatest challenges of project work are time management and cooperation. Most of the time these challenges simply presented themselves as tasks that the group could solve, if and when required, however, these challenges turned into hindrances that impeded efficient group work. Carelessness, no communication, disrespecting deadlines are examples of disruptive behaviour that can endanger the success of project work, even if they are far from being typical.

On the whole, the advantages of project work clearly outweigh its possible disadvantages. The most powerful argument for its use in translator training is that teamwork and cooperation are becoming common requirements of the profession. Project-based learning offers excellent opportunities to prepare for these requirements.

6. LIMITATIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

To the best of our knowledge, our study is the first attempt to test project work in translation training empirically on a relatively large sample. As a consequence, the study has the typical shortcomings of a pioneering research effort: the sample is still relatively small and not representative and the research methodology is constantly evolving: after analysing the questionnaire and its data, we plan to modify it, that is, to include new items and to change some items. Action research design obviously sets limits, too: although we could provide a valuable insight into some of the factors that influence the success of project work and we also shed light on some potential problems and challenges, further research is needed to determine how far these results are generalisable. Our findings can serve as a basis for devising more sophisticated and efficient instruments (e.g. questionnaires with more closed questions that could allow for quantitative analysis), which, in turn, could eventually contribute to generating more generalisable findings.

It is, however, not only the data collection instruments that can and should be modified in later research. We have realised the necessity for modifying some of the variables of the project work (e.g. changing the text and the available time). In terms of text selection, the dilemma caused by the lingua franca language of the text has already been described, but the length and the genre of the text might also be modified, so that more general conclusions can be drawn. Accordingly, we are planning to assign a new text with different parameters from the academic year onwards.

Furthermore, we have considered whether to include all the elements of the translation project management workflow in the process – currently the preparation of the price quotation, the confirmation of the order, the signing of the confidentiality agreement and the billing are missing. Although most of these are usually arranged online, the involvement of these elements would increase the overall time-span of the project and consequently would imply structural changes in the curriculum.

Another dilemma we faced was whether the use of CAT tools during the project work should be made obligatory. The use of CAT tools is a basic requirement for translators, but very few translator trainings in Hungary require the use of translation software on a daily basis (Ugrin 2017). The reason why we finally decided not to make it obligatory was partly ethical (not all students can afford to buy the program even at the discounted rate offered by the service provider) and partly didactical (at this stage of the training not all students are comfortable with its use).

The necessity of peer-review also remains a question to ponder. Especially among the population of students of humanities, concerns were raised about whether their subject field competence has reached a level where they can confidently judge the errors made by others. Furthermore, the revision phase puts extra workload on students and lengthens the overall time of the project. On the other hand, it is clearly beneficial for the students if they revise

the same part of the text that has been translated by them, it forces them to have a look at the text again and make a conscious effort to analyse it, or even to review their own decisions, not to mention the fact that revision and proofreading are organic components of the total workflow management.

Already at the beginning of the project work we thought it would be an exciting experiment to get the two different student populations to cooperate in one way or another, probably in the form of mixed groups. We finally rejected the idea due to issues of time management and synchronisation, but we were also concerned about the age difference of the two populations. However, such cooperation could provide a solution to the above mentioned problem of proofreading, with the experienced legal professionals giving advice to their younger and less experienced peers in matters related to legal content, and MA students contributing with their more sophisticated language proficiency.

Finally, in both institutions, project work was first introduced in a later phase of the course (2nd and 4th semesters) and in a relatively demanding class (legal translation). It might be a good idea to introduce project work earlier in the training (e.g. in the very first semester), so that students learn on easier tasks how to do a project and how to cooperate with others. If students can take part in several projects during their studies, they also have the opportunity to try out more roles, which can help them find out what they are really good at.

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ANNEXE 1

DESCRIPTION AND TIMING OF THE PROJECT

(SZTE AND PPKE JÁK ACADEMIC YEARS 2015-2016)

You are working for a translation agency in a team of 4/5 translators. The agency has asked the team to translate, edit and revise proofread a 15-page long legal agreement. The teams have to agree on the allocation of the following roles:

1. **terminologist:** will be consulted by the other team members in the event they are not sure about the appropriate usage of a term. After listening to the translators' suggestions for alternative solutions, the terminologist will do background research and decide on the right term to use. When the translation work has been completed, they will check the text for consistent use of terminology.
2. **proofreader/revisor:** will revise the content and proofread the language usage of the translated text when the translators have finished the translation.
3. **editor:** will do the final editing (and if necessary, the pre-editing) of the text when the other group members have finished with their parts. They will make sure the format corresponds to the original.
4. **project manager:** will keep contact with the customer (the teacher), will set and coordinate deadlines and enforce their observation by sending reminders to the other group members.
5. **language technologist:** will provide technical support with managing google clouds or any other platform and/or CAT tools, finalise the ppt presentation based on the slides sent to them by other group members.

TASKS:

1. Translating a part of the text (as divided up by the team) and keeping a translation journal during the translation, by recording the following data:

- What is the problem or the translation dilemma (a word, an expression, a term, syntax, collocation, register)?
- Why is it a problem? What causes the problem?
- Your options and suggestions for solving the problem.
- Reasons for deciding on the final solution you opted for.

In the journal, also give a brief account of:

- a) what you have learnt from the process
- b) your experiences in terms of the cooperation between the members of your group

2. Revising/proofreading the translation handed in by one of the other groups (also in team work, dividing parts of the text among team members)

In the last lesson, the teams give a presentation summarising their experiences of the project work (problems and difficulties of the translation, critical parts, strategies for tackling the problems) and also evaluate the work of the other team (highlighting their good and bad solutions).

SCHEDULE:

End of February/beginning of March: discussion of the text, the context and the tasks of the project, allocation of the roles

End of March/beginning of April: deadline for submission of the translations and the translation journals to the client (teacher), who forwards the text to the proofreading group.

Proofreading – Done also as teamwork (with every group member proofreading approximately 3-4 pages). All corrections must be accompanied by a brief explanation.

10/15 April: Deadline for (electronically) sending the proofread and revised text to the client and also to the team members who have done the translation.

11/17 April: PPT presentations (about 20-25 minutes for a team, some time also scheduled for defending your version of the translation).

Section 1: the team members summarise their *professional* experiences (problems during the translation, critical points, solutions and strategies). Note! The presentation may be given collectively by all the members of the team, or by an appointed representative.

Section 2: the opposite team evaluates the translation – the translating team may defend their choices if they want to.

Section 3: the team gives a summary of the *social and organisational* aspects of the project work (repeated as many times as there are teams).

Section 4: evaluation by teacher (client).

The context of the translation:

2 Italian companies with their registered offices in Budapest conclude a contract (drafted in English) with each other.

Dolce Vita Kft. (the Client) and Hotel Resort Kft. – (the Agent, whose profile is the design and the construction of hotels).

Dolce Vita commissions Hotel Resort with the renovation and reconstruction of a hotel in Budapest, with the aim of converting it into a luxury-category hotel.

The two companies need the contract to be translated into Hungarian, as the venue of the investment is in Hungary and the authorities issuing the permits need the documentation in Hungarian.

ANNEXE 2

THE QUESTIONNAIRE ON STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES WITH THE PROJECT

- Questions related to the translation task and the source text (questions 1-5):
 - *The description of the project and its phases was clear. (1-5 Likert scale – agreement)*
 - *The translation brief and the description of the context was clear. (1-5)*
 - *The content of the source text was in harmony with focus of the course. (1-5)*
 - *The allocated time was enough for the translation task. (1-5)*
 - *How difficult do you think the source text was? (1-5)*
- Questions on experiences with cooperation and project work (questions 6-7):
 - *What were your most positive experiences during the project? (open-ended)*
 - *What were the biggest challenges of project work? (open-ended)*
- Questions that asked respondents to compare individual translation and team work in the translation classroom (questions 8-9).
 - *Which technique is more appropriate for developing translation competence? (forced choice: individual translations, project work, both)*
 - *What are the advantages of project work/individual translations? (open-ended)*

Translation Studies is a young discipline, but Hungarian Translation Studies is even younger, since it only dates back to the autumn semester of the 2003–2004 academic year, when the first and only PhD Programme in Translation Studies was founded at ELTE University. It is interesting to note that while the first PhD dissertations focused mainly on the written form of language mediation, today, interpreting is becoming a very frequent subject of PhD research within the framework of the programme. This volume reflects this emerging phenomenon: the majority of its articles deals with different modes and aspects of interpreting, while others present research results in the field of revision, terminology and project work. The underlying characteristic of the papers lies in the fact that these aspects are being investigated for the very first time in the Hungarian context.

Latest Trends in Hungarian Translation Studies is the result of a unique endeavour since it presents the research findings of seven PhD students of ELTE University's Department of Translation and Interpreting, together with those of two trainers and the CEO of the Hungarian Office for Translation and Attestation. It may be of interest to Translation/Interpreting Studies scholars and PhD students, applied linguists, interpreter and translator training programme administrators and trainers, as well as to professional language mediators.

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