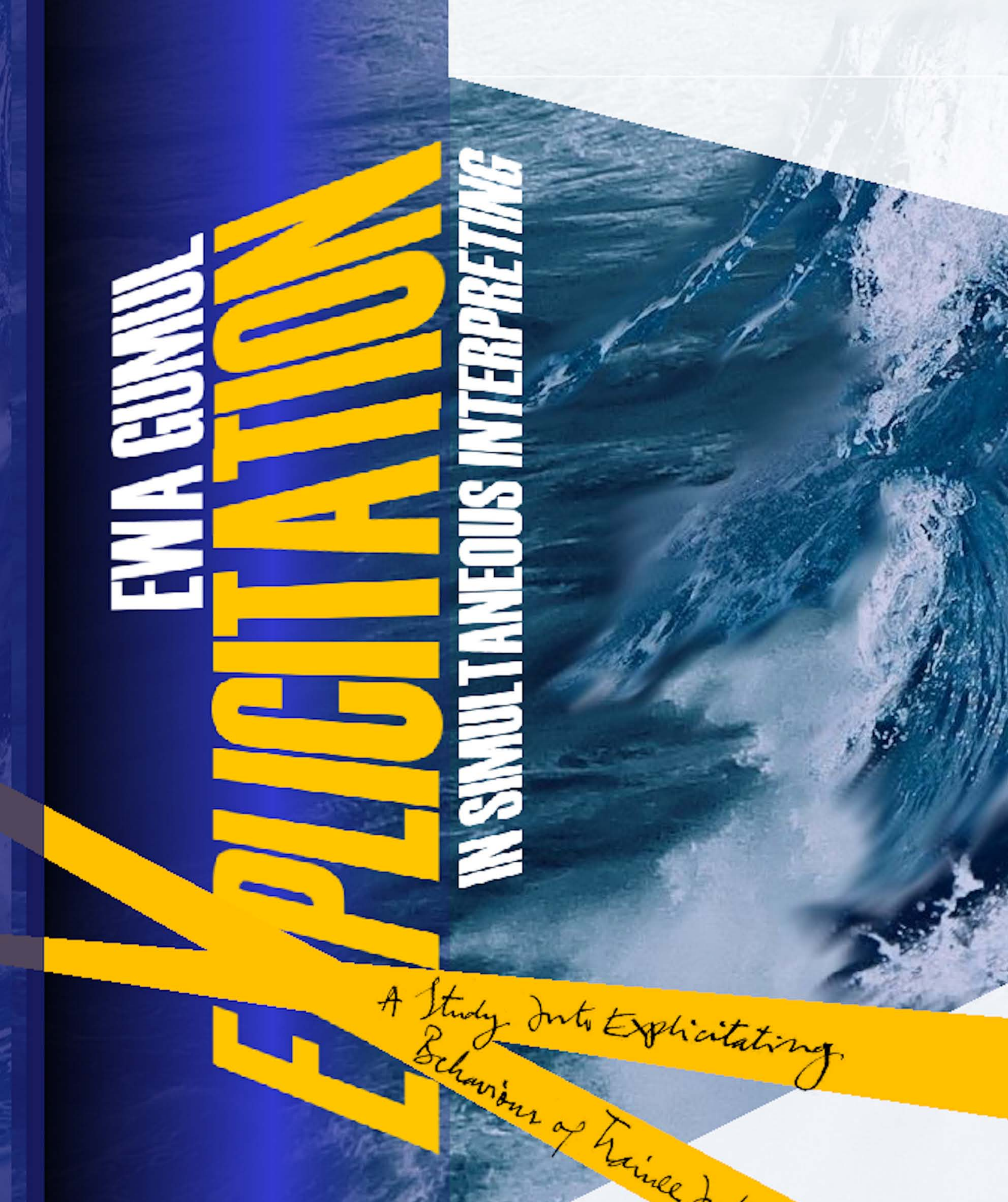

EWA GUMUL

EXPLICITATION IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING

A Study Into Explicitating Behaviour of Trainee Interpreters

WYDAWNICTWO
UNIWERSYTETU ŚLĄSKIEGO
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Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego ▪ Katowice 2017

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List of abbreviations

BT	– back translation
CI	– consecutive interpreting
EVS	– ear-voice span
G	– gloss
RC	– retrospective comment
S	– survey
SI	– simultaneous interpreting
SL	– source language
ST	– source text
TL	– target language
TSgm	– text segment
TT	– target text
TAP	– think-aloud protocol

Introduction

The simplest and the most blunt definition of explicitation I can think of is that it is about adding. This imprecise and simplistic definition brings to my mind a certain interpreter who probably resorted to the most extensive additions I have ever heard of. It is Juan Ranz – one of the best-known interpreters, although he is only a fictional character in Javier Marías's novel *A Heart So White*.[1] It is his brilliantly unfaithful translation, full of additions, that transforms meaningless and insipid small talk of a Spanish and an English politician into a passionate conversation about love and Shakespeare. Thanks to the interpreter's deliberate additions, the interlocutors become so involved that we come to think that perhaps he merely explicitates what in fact they meant and wanted to say. Obviously, explicitation is not about changing the course of conversation, as was the case of Juan Ranz, but the fictional interpreter in Marías's book is a perfect example, albeit somewhat extreme (the right of literature, one may say), of an interpreter's mediating role. In real life, interpreters do not add anything that could change the message, but they do add – usually to mediate the message. And such "additions," denominated explicitations, appear to be a universal feature of all translational activity irrespective of the mode, genre, and language pair.

Explicitation, manifesting itself in greater explicitness of target texts as compared to source texts – because in fact that is how we define it rather than say that "it is about adding" – has sparked unprecedented interest in the Translation Studies community in the last 60 years. Almost unanimously hailed as one of the translation universals, it has been investigated in relation to translational norms, strategic behaviour, translator's style, and many other aspects. However, the vast majority of these studies concern written translation, and the scale of empirical research on explicitation in interpreting appears to be incomparably smaller. Despite initial claims that the constraints intrinsic to simultaneous interpreting might preclude extensive and recurrent explicitation in this mode (Schjoldager

[1] I refer here to the English translation by Margaret Jull Costa, New Directions, 2002.

1995), the studies conducted so far (Shlesinger 1995; Ishikawa 1999; Niska 1999; Gumul 2006a, 2008, 2017; Baumgarten et al. 2008; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012) prove that this phenomenon does exist in SI and is by no means a marginal occurrence. Obviously, given the fundamental differences between written and oral translation as well as the inherent constraints impeding the simultaneous interpreting process, such as a substantial temporal load, the linearity constraint, and limited short-term memory capacity, explicitation acquires a different dimension in interpreting.

Motivations for the present study

As far as my personal motivations are concerned, it was in fact the pioneer study on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting by Miriam Shlesinger (1995) that sparked my interest in this phenomenon and inspired me to pursue this line of research. I read her article almost 20 years ago when I was preparing my PhD dissertation on cohesion in interpreting, and today I am still intrigued by the question why interpreters tend to make the target texts more explicit. The scarcity of studies undertaking this kind of analysis in simultaneous interpreting means that there are still many options open for further research and my studies on explicitation are an attempt to fill this lacuna. I had the opportunity to publish my first study on explicitation (Gumul 2006a) in *Across Languages and Cultures*, a journal edited by Kinga Klaudy, Krisztina Károly, and Pál Heltai – three people who contributed immensely to the explicitation research in translation and who set the ground for many further studies. Their interest in my study encouraged me to pursue further this line of research. Another major motivation was Franz Pöchhacker's proposal to write an entry "Explicitation" for his *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies* (Pöchhacker 2015c). Thus, in 2010 I began working on the project which I present in this book.

One of the reasons why I have chosen simultaneous interpretation is the relative scarcity of studies on explicitation in this mode of interpreting, a motivation which I already mentioned above. But above all, I believe it to be a modality which is particularly suitable for analysing explicitation. Unlike written translation, simultaneous interpreting is free from editorial or source-text author's intervention. All the decisions are taken by interpreters themselves, and they reflect only their preferences and linguistic habits. This mode of interpreting is also ideal for testing some aspects related closely to explicitation, like interpreting style. In simultaneous interpreting, the first draft is the final product at the same time as there is no revision, and therefore, simultaneous interpreting output is more indicative of interpreter's style understood as his or her linguistic habits than its written counterpart or any other mode in which the target text undergoes revision and editorial processes.

Overview of the goals and the adopted methodology

The present study aims at analysing various aspects of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting of trainee interpreters. The main aims of this study are the following: to analyse the strategic dimension of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting, to investigate the influence of the direction of interpreting on the tendency to explicitate among interpreting trainees, and to discover to what extent explicitation patterns are interpreter-specific and whether it is possible to identify any consistent explicitating styles. Although this study draws on the findings from my previous contributions (2006a, 2007a, 2008, 2017), the results and the analysis presented in this book are novel and have not been published elsewhere.

For the investigation of these problems, I have chosen the conceptual framework set within the Information Processing Theory, relying mostly on Gile's (1985, 1995, 1997b, 1999) Effort Models, Gravitational Model, and Tightrope Hypothesis. I have also found of assistance the explanatory power of Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of textuality factors in interpreting. With the aid of these theoretical foundations, I develop further and expand the model proposed by Shlesinger (1995), constructed around the interpreting constraints: the Time Constraint, the Linearity Constraint, the (Un)shared Knowledge Constraint, and the Memory Load Constraint.

For the purpose of the analysis, I also propose a taxonomy of explicitation based on its surface forms, which had evolved and undergone some changes in the course of my research on this phenomenon since 2006, before it took the final form of 15 surface manifestations of explicitation, ranging from the shifts at the level of text cohesion (adding connectives and discourse organising items, intensifying cohesive ties, lexicalisation of pro-forms, reiteration, and filling out elliptical constructions), through syntactic transformations (replacing nominalisations with verb phrases), to other texture enriching additions or specifications (adding modifiers and qualifiers, inserting hedges, shifts involving proper names and abbreviations, including explanatory remarks, disambiguating lexical metaphors, and lexical or meaning specification).

The experimental research design which I have chosen for my study is surrounded by many controversies in the interpreting studies community (see Gile 2000, 2001a 2001b). Mostly criticised for the lack of ecological validity and poor replication of field conditions, it is currently undergoing a major revival due to the growing interest in process research. Many process-oriented studies are conducted in experimental conditions simply because the invasive research tools, like TAPs, retrospective protocols, or eye-tracking, are difficult or impossible to apply in real-life setting. Despite its inherent weaknesses, this line of research is enjoying unprecedented popularity in recent years. In his article providing a comprehensive overview of recent advances in Translation Process

Research, Muñoz Martín (2014a) is talking about the "explosion" of publications and projects in this area of research, enumerating not only numerous articles and books, but also special issues of journals, conferences, and research groups in the timeframe of only eight years (2006–2013). Process studies with experimental research design also gained visibility thanks to the activity of the PACTE group, whose process-oriented research undoubtedly strengthened the position of experimental methods in the Translation Studies. Experimental research is taking a new turn with the accessibility of new technologies, as evidenced by the intensive research activity of the research groups at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and their studies involving eye-tracking and key-logging (e.g., Whyatt et al. 2016; Chmiel & Mazur 2013).

Leaving aside the growing popularity of such methods, I have chosen to conduct my study in experimental conditions because it offers better insight into the processes underlying explicitating behaviour and allows to control variables impossible to eliminate in observational studies. One of them is inherent in the very nature of the interpreting event, where a single text is translated only once. In this situation, any comparison of the same material as rendered by a number of subjects is impossible in a real-life setting. Apart from the variable of source-text difference, other barriers possible to overcome thanks to the experimental conditions were those of experience level, educational background, and setting. These were eliminated by employing interpreting students as subjects in the study, forming three fairly homogeneous sets of participants. The experimental setting made it possible to control another crucial variable, the speed of delivery of the source text, which may influence the frequency and extent of explicitating shifts. The final argument in defence of the experimental setting might be the words of a cognitive psychologist Flores d'Arcais, who remarks that

> after all, there are probably very few 'real life' situations which are more similar to a laboratory psychological experimentation than the situation of an interpreter in a conference booth. (Flores d'Arcais 1978: 393)

The experimental study presented in this book is both product- and process-oriented, relying on the transcripts and recordings of source and target texts as well as retrospective protocols of the participants in the experiment. The size of the corpus of the study permits to qualify it as a large-scale project as it consists of approximately 75 hours of recordings of simultaneous interpreting outputs in both directions of interpreting by 120 advanced interpreting students, which amounts to the total of 240 target texts. The size of the corpus was the major obstacle in this project, both at the stage of preparing transcripts and conducting the analysis proper. Analysing the phenomenon with such high frequency of occurrence as explicitation proved to be very time-consuming as I prepared the transcripts of recordings and retrospective protocols and performed the manual analysis entirely on my own, not counting with the support of any research group.

Outline of the book

The book is composed of two parts further subdivided into the total of six chapters: the first one presents an overview of literature, the second discusses the surface manifestations of explcitation, the third outlines the methodology and theoretical framework, while the remaining three are devoted to the analysis of three different aspects of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting.

Chapter One provides an outline of the current state of research into explicitation and a review of various approaches to this phenomenon. This part of the book begins with defining the very concept of explicitation by comparing it to related terms and explaining in detail the underlying notions of explicitness and implicitness. A substantial part of this chapter is devoted to the existing taxonomies of explicitation. The chapter closes with the presentation of the current debate on the motivations for explicitating behaviour of translators and interpreters.

Chapter Two presents a detailed discussion of those surface manifestations of explicitation that are believed to be relevant for the present study. The part is also aimed as a critical literature overview. However, whenever possible, the author uses own examples to illustrate specific surface forms of explicitation.

Chapter Three aims at presenting the goals of the study and the adopted research methodology. It describes the experimental procedure and characterises the participants as well as the corpus. One of the sections also refines the taxonomy of explicitating shifts already outlined in the previous chapter. This part of the book is concluded with the account of the conceptual framework adopted in the present study.

Chapter Four reports on the part of the study devoted to the strategic dimension of explicitation. The opening sections provide the necessary background for the analysis proper by elaborating a working definition of strategy and presenting the results of my previous study on the strategic dimension of explicitation in SI (Gumul 2006a). The analysis of the strategic and non-strategic occurrences of explicitation in the present study includes both the quantitative analysis and the qualitative examination of selected examples. The structure of this part of the chapter follows the proposed taxonomy of surface manifestations of explicitation, with each of the subsections contrasting strategic and non-strategic uses of explicitation belonging to a given category.

Chapter Five presents the results of the analysis into the impact of directionality on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. The initial section outlines the current state of research on directionality in simultaneous interpreting, reflecting both professional practice and training tendencies. This chapter also includes a brief description of the results of the pilot study on the relationship between explicitation and directionality in simultaneous interpreting (Gumul 2017). The main part of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of the results of the present study. It discusses the major difference between the native and the retour in terms of explicitating behaviour of trainee interpreters as well as correlates the results of process and product research with another source of data – the survey on directionality conducted among the participants in the experiment.

Chapter Six, the last analytical chapter, reports on the part of the study which aims at identifying idiosyncratic differences in explicitating patterns of individual trainee interpreters and their consistency in adopting explicitating styles. This part of the book begins with an overview of different approaches to translator's or interpreter's style, providing a fairly comprehensive account of the studies conducted in this area of Translation Studies. In this part, I focus mainly on the existing methodologies and linguistic features believed to be indicators of the style of a given translator or interpreter, distinguishing their performance from that of others. I also provide an overview of the studies specifically relating explicitation to the issue of translator style. The main part of the chapter is devoted to the presentation and discussion of the results of the analysis into the interpreters' explicitating styles and patterns. The structure of this chapter reflects the three criteria taken into account in the analysis: frequency, consistency, and distinctiveness.

The final part of this book, Conclusions, summarises the findings presented in the preceding chapters, discusses their implications, and offers some indications for further research.

PART ONE

Theoretical background and research methodology

CHAPTER 1

Explicitation

The aim of this chapter is to outline the current state of research into the phenomenon of explicitation. Due to a proliferation of studies in this field and also because of the limited relevance of some contributions for the present discussion, I do not aim at providing an exhaustive account of the development of this concept. Although an attempt is made to present a fairly wide panorama of works, the revision of literature is nevertheless limited to the studies that provide necessary background for the aspects of explicitation the present study focuses on.

As the first vital step in undertaking the study of explicitation seems to be defining the very concept, the chapter begins with an outline of existing definitions of the notion of explicitation, reporting on some difficulties in delineating the term voiced in the Translation Studies community and indicating common features shared by most of the existing studies. The section devoted to defining the term would be incomplete without the discussion of the two concepts underlying the phenomenon of explicitation, namely, explicitness and implicitness. We shall also undertake the comparison of explicitation with related, frequently overlapping terms in order to set the ground for the present research. A substantial part of this chapter is devoted to the taxonomies of explicitation, which has been categorised in the existing studies at different levels, taking into account a variety of criteria. We also discuss in detail selected surface manifestations of explicitation. This chapter also presents an overview of the wide spectrum of research methods and frameworks adopted by various researchers in their studies on explicitation. The chapter is concluded with the presentation of the current debate regarding the causes underlying explicitating behaviour of translators and interpreters.

1.1 Defining explicitation

1.1.1 Definitions of explicitation in previous research

Explicitation is an established term in translation studies, which is evidenced by the fact that all the encyclopaedic works published so far in English list it as a separate entry (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997; Baker 1998; Baker & Saldanha 2011; Delisle et al. 1999; Pöchhacker 2015c). Explicitation is currently one of the most frequently studied phenomena in translation studies. It has attracted unprecedented interest among translation scholars, giving rise to studies in a variety of language combinations, modes of translation, and text types.

Paradoxically, the widespread interest explicitation has generated in the Translation Studies community and the consequent proliferation of studies on this phenomenon have unfortunately led to conceptual inconsistency. As a matter of fact, it seems that it is precisely the prolific coverage which contributed to the current major discrepancies in the perception of explicitation, as attested by the fact that studies aiming exclusively at defining and delimitating the concept emerged only recently (e.g., Pym 2005; Kamenická 2007a; Murtisari 2016), following decades of intense empirical research on this phenomenon. The existing conceptual confusion is also emphasised in one of a fairly recent contributions of Englund Dimitrova, who observes that

> at the present time in studies of translation, a host of phenomena with certain aspects in common are grouped together under the term "explicitation" which tends to be used as a kind of umbrella term to label certain phenomena of differences between the ST and TT which seem to be permissible in translation. (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 40)

These observations coincide, also in terms of time, with those of Klaudy and Károly (2005), who have a long history of research into explicitation (e.g., Klaudy 1993, 1996, 1998/2011). They recognise that explicitation "in fact functions in translation literature as a cover term for a number of different transfer operations" (Klaudy & Károly 2005: 15). The lack of a clear-cut, unambiguous definition is also acknowledged by Kamenická (2008a), who admits that "the concept of explicitation has been surrounded by much conceptual vagueness" (p. 118) and stresses "the intrinsic difficulties involved in delimiting explicitation" (p. 55). Some researchers (e.g., Becher 2010) even go as far as to question the validity of previous research on the grounds of the alleged lack of a definition of the term.

However, going back to the previous research on explicitation, although obviously there is a certain degree of conceptual inconsistency and some lacunas, we can see some clearly recurrent patterns underlying the concept that the vast majority of the studies share. The term explicitation is chiefly employed in translation studies to denote a variety of translational shifts leading to greater explicitness of the target text, and at least at this general level there seems to be a consensus in the Translation Studies community, as we shall see in a number of definitions quoted in this section.

The first definition was already embarked upon in the pre-descriptive period of Translation Studies. It appeared in the 1958 work by Vinay and Darbelnet, who defined explicitation as "a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 342). This general definition of explicitation advanced by Vinay and Darbelnet as worded above remains largely valid today and, despite the reduction of the concept to mere "stylistic translation technique," it has constituted a point of departure for many subsequent studies. However, we have to bear in mind that their approach is essentially a contrastive one and as such has limited applicability to the studies in the field of translation. What Vinay and Darbelnet did was to perform a contrastive analysis of linguistic phenomena rather than describe textual solutions needed for translation. We shall further comment on this aspect of Vinay and Darbelnet's contribution in Section 1.1.2, in the context of language independence of explicitating shifts.

As a matter of fact, Blum-Kulka (1986) in her seminal work, where she formulated the explicitation hypothesis,[1] does not offer a strict definition of the concept.[2] Nevertheless, her perception of explicitation appears to be essential as a point of departure in many studies attempting to delimit this phenomenon (e.g., Kamenická 2007a; Murtisari 2016, etc.).

> The process of interpretation performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL [target language] text which is more redundant than the SL [source language] text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text. This argument may be stated as "the explicitation hypothesis," which postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between

[1] In fact, Blum-Kulka's contribution was the first systematic empirical study on explicitation. However, it has to be emphasised that before Blum-Kulka, the phenomenon of explicitation attracted considerable interest in the Translation Studies community, giving rise to a number of contributions exploring or at least commenting on this aspect of the ST-TT relation (e.g., Nida 1964; Комиссаров 1969; Бархударов 1975; Toury 1980; Васева 1980; Levý 1963/1983; Séguinot 1985).

[2] As observed by Kamenická (2007a), this is probably due to the fact that she restricted her research to only one form of explicitation, namely cohesive shifts. Given that such shifts can be objectively identified in the surface structure, the definition put forward by her predecessors (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995) proved to be a sufficient starting point for her research, and she does not address directly the shortcomings of this first definition.

> the two linguistic and textual systems involved. It follows that explicitation is viewed here as inherent in the process of translation. (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19)

The description of explicitation she offers is considerably broader than that of Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995). As we can see, in this approach, explicitation is viewed not just in terms of a translation technique but as an inherent feature of the process of translation observable regardless of the divergences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19). Describing explicitation in terms of a technique presupposes intentional, fully conscious choices of the translator, whereas Blum-Kulka's view implies a certain degree of involuntariness. This first systematic study of explicitation offers more details that help to clarify and delineate the concept. Blum-Kulka notes that explicitation inevitably leads to redundancy in the target text, an observation which is challenged in some of the later approaches (e.g., Saldanha 2008). We shall comment on this aspect further in this section.

The above-mentioned pioneer definitions of explicitation are to a certain extent reiterated in canonical, widely cited definitions offered by Klaudy (1998/2011) and Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997) in their encyclopaedic entries on this phenomenon. According to Klaudy, explicitation is "the technique of making explicit in the target text the information that is implicit in the source text" (Klaudy 1998/2011: 104). The definition elaborated in the dictionary of Shuttleworth and Cowie, in turn, stresses the potential nature of explicitation, pointing out that it is "the phenomenon which frequently leads to TT stating ST information in a more explicit form than the original" (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 55), which emphasises that the modifications that can be identified as explicitating shifts do not necessarily lead to greater explicitness of the target text.

Subsequent approaches introduced additional criteria for recognising explicitation and established new salient facts about this phenomenon that might have to be taken into account in an analysis of this type of translational shift. As emphasised by Pym (2005), exploring other manifestations of explicitation beyond Blum-Kulka's cohesive markers requires a far more detailed definition of the concept. Hence, apart from discussing cohesive markers (with a focus on connectives), Saldanha (2008) aims at investigating explicitating shifts resulting from self-referentiality (instances of metalanguage) and those triggered by the presence of culture-specific items in the source text. She observes that in the previous research, one of the defining characteristics of explicitation as a translation strategy seems to be a "correspondence between explicitness in the target text and implicitness in the source text" (Saldanha 2008: 21). As we can see from the discussion above, this relationship between the explicit and the implicit is indeed a recurrent feature of most definitions. However, Saldanha claims that explicitating shifts introduced in the target text are not always directly linked to implicit information in the source text, stating that "explicitation can be said to occur in relation to other less explicit options in the source text, even when there is no clear shift from an implicit connection to an explicit connection" (p. 23) (see Section 1.1.4). The author also challenges Blum-Kulka's assumption that explicitation invariably leads to increased redundancy. As a matter of fact, this aspect of Blum-Kulka's definition is also criticised in an earlier work of Séguinot (1988), who distinguishes between the repetition of information, which does result in redundancy, and clarification or emphasis of information. This aspect will be discussed further in Section 1.3, dealing with forms of explicitation.

Another important defining feature of explicitation is pointed out by Englund Dimitrova (2005). In her process-oriented research relating explicitation to the expertise of the translator, Englund Dimitrova provides a definition which emphasises that explicitation should be viewed in terms of both a process of translation and a resulting product:

> a phenomenon which is in translation studies usually labelled explicitation (…) could be loosely defined as a technique or strategy by which the translator makes such information explicit in the TT, which is only implicit in the ST; or to denote the resulting structure in the TT of using such a technique or strategy. (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 5)

Other significant facts completing the panorama of approaches towards explicitation appear in the contribution of Kamenická (2007a). In fact, the principal aim of her article "Defining Explicitation in Translation" is to clarify major misconceptions surrounding explicitation and delimit the term by comparing it to related terms. She postulates that instead of searching for unequivocal definition, which she considers a futile endeavour, it is vital to describe the centre and the periphery of the category. Thus, in line with Fillmore's Frame Semantics, which she applies in her research, explicitation should be recognised as a prototypical category with a core and a periphery (Kamenická 2007a: 55). Kamenická tries to delimit explicitation with respect to related phenomena, an issue we shall comment on further in Section 1.1.3.

The intrinsic difficulty in defining explicitation is expressed by Murtisari (2016: 65), who concludes that "much work remains to be done in order to pin down the elusive concept of explicitation."

1.1.2 Language independence of explicitation

Most of the studies on explicitation favour the view that it should be perceived as independent of language-specific differences. This standpoint was clearly expressed in Blum-Kulka's canonical description of the phenomenon, where, as mentioned in Section 1.1.1, she observes that translated texts tend to contain more overt cohesive devices "regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved" (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19). However, not all researchers share Blum-Kulka's opinion. In some studies – interestingly, irrespective of the publication date – the term explicitation has been used as an umbrella term covering unavoidable shifts which inevitably lead to greater explicitness.

Although they do not comment explicitly on this issue, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) clearly attribute some cases of explicitation to the systemic differences between the languages involved. This is understandable given the objective and scope of their work, which is essentially a contrastive rather than purely translational approach. Similarly, Delisle et al. (1999: 139) claim that in some cases, explicitation may be "due to constraints imposed by the target language." Explicitation required by different grammatical systems is also part of Klaudy's (1998/2011) broad taxonomy,[3] in which she distinguishes between obligatory, optional, pragmatic, and translation-inherent explicitation, considering all of the resulting shifts as legitimate cases of explicitation. In the same vein, Hopkinson (2008) distinguishes between translation-inherent explicitating shifts and language-constrained ones (although obligatory explicitation is not the object of his study), the latter category corresponding to Klaudy's both obligatory and optional explicitation.

Obligatory explicitation is conditioned by the differences in the syntactic and semantic structure of the languages. These are the shifts which the translator is obliged to perform; otherwise, the target text would be ungrammatical (Klaudy 1998/2011: 106). Given that languages differ in their inherent levels of explicitness due to typological differences (Séguinot 1988; House 2004), translations in certain language pairs and certain directions of translation trigger more obligatory explicitating shifts. This is, for example, the case of translation from synthetic into analytic languages. For instance, Klaudy identifies grammatical features, such as, among others, lack of prepositions and presence of complex inflected case endings in synthetic Hungarian, which result in many additions in the surface structure when translated into English (Klaudy 1993: 72).

The most frequent causes of obligatory shifts are the so-called missing categories (Klaudy 1993: 72). In quantitative terms, translations from Polish into English would include many obligatory additions, for instance, in the form of indefinite and definite articles. As a result, definiteness or indefiniteness are more effectively encoded in English. By contrast, in qualitative terms, gender-marked verbs in Polish make the translation of certain verbal forms, like *I was*, more explicit, as we have to opt for one of the two variants depending on the gender of the subject: the masculine form *byłem* or feminine *byłam*. Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995) also give examples of structural ambiguity that inevitably

[3] For a detailed account of explicitation taxonomies, see Section 1.2.

leads to explicitation. For istance, *Il prit son chapeau* has to become either *He took his hat* or *He took her hat* in the target text (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 166), as English distinguishes between feminine and masculine forms of the third-person singular personal pronouns.

Different structural properties of different languages require shifts at different levels. At the lexical/semantic level, when translated into Polish, the English word *nephew*, apart from gender specification of the referent, requires additional specification, depending on whether it is a child of a brother or a sister. Thus, the translator has to choose among four options in Polish (*siostrzeniec/siostrzenica*, *bratanek/bratanica*), each of them more explicit than the original, as is the case in this example:

> (1)[4]
> ST: My **nephew** Edward has just been given a Harry Potter outfit, which he wears on top of his Spiderman costume so that he can quickly put on his glasses and turn from warrior to wizard in a trice (Runcie 2003 – *The Guardian*).
> TT: Mój **bratanek** dostał niedawno strój Harry'ego Pottera, który zakłada na kostium Spidermana, aby móc szybko założyć okulary i w mig zamienić się z walecznego superbohatera w czarodzieja (Runcie 2004 – *Forum*).

As we shall argue further in this section, all types of obligatory shifts, that is, explicitations conditioned by systemic differences between SL and TL, are excluded from the analysis in the present study.

Systemic differences might also lead to explicitations which are not classified as directly attributable to language-specific differences, as it is the case with some shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion (referred in this work as lexicalisation of pro-forms):

> ST: Po stosunkowo silnej presji inflacyjnej, utrzymującej się do lipca, w dalszej części roku udało się zahamować wzrost inflacji i doprowadzić **ją** do poziomu 8,5% na koniec roku.
> TT: After a relatively strong inflation pressure observed till July, in the following months the inflation growth was stopped and the **inflation** stabilized at the level of 8.5% at the end of the year. (Gumul 2006d: 27)

In this particular example, substituting the pronominal form with the lexical item *inflation* is not a matter of the translator's choice. In Polish, the pronoun *ją* is gender-marked, and there is no doubt that it establishes a co-reference with the feminine noun *inflacja*, but in the English version, reiteration instead of the anaphoric reference is necessary to resolve the ambiguity of whether *it*

[4] Only examples appearing originally in this book are numbered. All examples quoted after other sources appear without numbering.

would refer to *inflation* or *growth* (Gumul 2006d: 27). Although the category of lexicalisation of pro-forms is analysed in the present study, such cases of ambiguity that need to be resolved as the one presented above are excluded from the analysis, as they are in fact obligatory interventions.

Another type of shift that raises some doubts in the Translation Studies community as to whether it should be considered as explicitation is the one conditioned by stylistic preferences of the target language, to which Klaudy refers as optional explicitation. She describes these instances as shifts "dictated by differences in text-building strategies and stylistic preferences between languages" (Klaudy 1998/2011: 106) and mentions that this category may subsume modifications like, for instance, sentence- or clause-initial addition of connectives, the use of relative clauses instead of left-branching nominal constructions, and adding emphasis to clarify sentence perspective. However, Klaudy's category of optional explicitation does not seem to be entirely a matter of choice for the translator. As Klaudy herself observes, without such shifts, the target text would be "clumsy and unnatural" (p. 106). In fact, in the division proposed by Hopkinson (2008), the shifts resulting from stylistic differences form a single category of language-constrained explicitation with obligatory explicitation, and as such are excluded from his analysis. In her proposal to modify Klaudy's classification, Vehmas-Lehto (2001a) divides explicitation into two main categories of obligatory and optional. However, her understanding of optional shifts appears to be considerably different from that of Klaudy (1998/2011). According to her, this broad category would include explicitations "caused by the wish to clarify the text and make it sound more natural – and thus help the recipient to understand the text" (Vehmas-Lehto 2001a: 227). She further specifies that this category should possibly be subdivided into pragmatic and cultural explicitations, text-strategic explicitations, and also stylistic explicitations. The latter category, however, she perceives as a "garbage container for all those cases that are difficult to explain (…) in any other way than that they just make it [the target text] sound better" (p. 227). Thus, it is clear that her perception of optional shifts reflects free choices of the translator to a much greater extent than Klaudy's (1998/2011) approach. Englund Dimitrova's understanding of optional explicitation also seems to diverge from the original idea of Klaudy. Apparently, in this approach, failure to perform optional explicitations would not result in a text that is "clumsy and unnatural" since she claims that it is "not self-evident that they [explicitations] should be found in the TT" (Englund Dimitrova 2003: 22). She further argues that in the case of optional explicitation:

> The choice of whether explicitate or not can be assumed to be influenced by various factors: the translator's view of the appropriate relationship between the ST and the TT, the permissible degree of freedom in translation, and/or by his/her notions of what is a good text in the TL. (Englund Dimitrova 2003: 22)

Thus, Englund Dimitrova's notion of optional explicitation reflects a truly free choice of the translator. This view has been adopted in the present study.

As far as English–Polish language pair is concerned, a clear example of explicitation resulting from stylistic differences, falling into the category of Klaudy's optional explicitation, would be Polish preference for using synonyms rather than reiteration. As noted by Baker (1992), different languages tolerate lexical repetition to differing extents. For example, reiteration in English is a major rhetorical and text-building device considered to be a legitimate means of maintaining text cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976), whereas Polish, whenever possible, tends to avoid repetition of the same lexical item, opting for lexical variation or co-reference, although such a shift is by no means obligatory in translation.

While some researchers, as mentioned above, regard shifts toward greater explicitness necessitated by systemic differences or stylistic differences as legitimate examples of explicitation (e.g., Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995; Klaudy 1993, 1996, 1998; Al-Qinai 2001), most opt for the view that explicitation proper occurs only when, as Nilsson (2002: 415) puts it, no systemic contrast can be seen to operate and when it is the translator's choice to adopt the most explicit of several available target-language alternatives. In the context of translation universals, to which explicitation has been postulated to belong, Baker (1993: 243) claims that these are "features which typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems." The majority of current approaches make a clear distinction between higher explicitness of the target text required by language-specific differences (corresponding to Klaudy's obligatory explicitation), where explicitation in one direction is always matched by implicitation in the other, and explicitation as a feature of the translation situation, leading to asymmetric relation between explicitation and implicitation when we reverse the direction of translation (Pym 2005: 29).

As Hopkinson (2008: 87) observes, shifts conditioned by language-specific differences are of interest mainly to contrastive analysis rather than to translation studies. The same view is expressed by Vehmas-Lehto (2001a), who, although she does analyse them, claims that "as translation problems (barring machine translation), they [obligatory explicitations] are rather primitive" (pp. 226–227) and as such should be studied within the field of contrastive linguistics.

A number of other approaches also favour the view that explicitation should be viewed as independent of language-specific differences (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1986; Séguinot 1988; Øverås 1998; Vehmas-Lehto 2001a; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Hopkinson 2008; Mesa-Lao 2011; Hejwowski 2015, etc.). This view is adopted in the present study. Hence the exclusion of all obligatory explicitating shifts and also those optional shifts which can be attributed to clear-cut stylistic differences between English and Polish. In this respect, the definition of explicitation adopted for the purpose of the present research comes to resemble closely what

Frankenberg-Garcia (2004: 2) refers to as voluntary explicitation, the term we would rather not use as it evokes associations with conscious, controlled action, and in this way arbitrarily implies intentional strategic choices.[5] The view of explicitation adopted in the present study is probably best reflected in Séguinot's (1988: 108) claim stating that "to prove that there was explicitation, there must have been the possibility of a correct but less explicit or precise version."

1.1.3 Explicitation versus addition, amplification, and overtranslation

As already signalled in Section 1.1.1, due to the lack of clear-cut definitions, different labels have been used in the literature to describe overlapping phenomena, with different authors associating similar textual phenomena with different categories. Explicitation is often discussed in the context of other related and/or partially overlapping terms, such as addition, amplification, and overtranslation. In this section, we shall see how these terms are used in the translation studies.

Addition is the term that appears in almost any discussion on explicitation, and it is also the one which probably causes most confusion due to its dual role – as a related term but also as a form of explicitation. However, relatively few studies on explicitation actually address the issue of the distinction between these two concepts (except for Klaudy 1993, 1998/2011; Steiner 2005; Gumul 2006d; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Kamenická 2007a; and Krüger 2013). As pointed out by some researchers (Kamenická 2007a; Krüger 2013), drawing a borderline between addition and explicitation is vital in understanding the latter phenomenon. It also helps to identify properly explicitating shifts. Kamenická (2007a: 51) stresses that the distinction between these two terms is especially important in descriptive translation studies.

When contrasted, these two terms appear to have their own distinctive features: whereas addition refers to introducing new meaningful elements that change the information content, leading to non-equivalence, in the case of explicitation, the resulting shift does not modify the message and is inferable from the source text or retrievable from the co-text or context. This perception of addition is reflected in the work of Delisle et al. (1999: 115), for whom addition is a translation error which consists in introducing unjustified superfluous elements and information or stylistic effects that are not present in the source text. The authors stress that addition should not be confused with explicitation, the latter being justified. In this approach, explicitation amounts to introducing precise details into the target text for clarification or is conditioned by constraints imposed by the target language (Delisle et al. 1999: 139).

[5] As previous research shows (e.g., Gumul 2006a), explicitation is not always a conscious strategic choice of an interpreter. Some studies on written translation also acknowledge that in some cases explicitation might be involuntary (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1986; Hopkinson 2007).

However, closer examination of other classifications of translation techniques indicates terminological inconsistencies. Nida's (1964) broad definition of addition encompasses shifts clearly corresponding to explicitation and some amplifications required by systemic differences between ST and TT, but apparently does not subsume additions as perceived by Delisle et al. (1999). Nida (1964) lists addition in the category of techniques of adjustment, the very name of which suggests that it is by no means an undesirable procedure. In fact, he emphasises that these are elements that "may legitimately be incorporated into a translation" (p. 227). Nida mentions different reasons that might induce the translator to resort to an addition: to avoid ambiguity in the target language, to clarify elliptical expressions, to add connectives and classifiers, to amplify implicit elements, to change a grammatical category, to perform necessary grammatical restructuring, etc. It becomes clear then that Nida regards addition as a more general concept than explicitation.

Another perception of addition appears in the work of Englund Dimitrova (1993), for whom these two terms are largely synonymous, as she uses them interchangeably.

In turn, Krüger's (2013) stance on addition is the one which reflects the understanding of the term prevailing in most recent studies on explicitation, even though the distinction between addition and explicitation is not always overtly discussed. He claims that:

> The distinction between explicitation and addition is concerned with the extent to which new information introduced in the target text can reasonably be claimed to be implicit in the source text. (…) If a certain piece of information that is verbalised in the target text is absent from the source text and not deemed to be implicit in it, this would be considered an instance of addition. (Krüger 2013: 288)

Addition also appears frequently in studies on explicitation for a different reason – not as an alternative or related term, but because it is one of the forms in which explicitation can be manifested. In some contributions, it is overtly referred to as a hyponym of explicitation (e.g., Séguinot 1988; Schjoldager 1995; Klaudy 1993; Øverås 1998, etc.). One of the manifestations of explicitation is longer surface form employed in target texts, which is a direct consequence of addition of syntactic or lexical elements. Another manifestation is specification, namely, replacement of one unit with another that is more informative, specific, and transparent. Thus, as we can see, addition is also perceived as physical addition, in a much narrower sense than addition leading to the modification of the information content. Such physical examples of surface addition would be, for instance, inserting connectives, filling out ellipsis, adding modifiers and qualifiers, and others, which we shall discuss in detail in Chapter 2 dealing with surface manifestations of explicitation. Klaudy (1993) points out that addition is not the only form of explicitation and not all cases of addition are explicitations.

The meaning of addition in translation studies as physical insertion of surface elements is closely connected to another partially overlapping term, namely amplification. As can be inferred from the definition that appears under the entry "Amplification" in the terminological glossary of Delisle et al. (1999), it is clearly tantamount to physical addition discussed above and is defined as

> a translation procedure where the translator uses more words in the target text than were present in the source text in order to re-express an idea or to reinforce the sense of a word from the source text whose correspondence in the target language cannot be expressed as concisely (…) *Il pilotait lui-même des coucous rafistolés.* → He even piloted the <u>old patched-together</u> crates. (Delisle et al. 1999: 116)

It is interesting to note that both the definition and the exemplification provided indicate obligatory explicitation (see Section 1.1.2), and not unmotivated addition. This is further confirmed by the additional remarks on the term amplification which can be found in the Polish adaptation of the glossary of Delisle et al. under the equivalent entry "Amplifikacja," where we can read that it is a result of systemic differences between SL and TL or constraints inherent in interlingual transfer (Tomaszkiewicz 2004: 23). Tomaszkiewicz also points out that amplification is not always desirable as in some cases, it might be a methodological error of the translator, and its overuse may deteriorate the quality of the target text. In this approach, amplification is clearly viewed as a broader term than that described in the original work by Delisle et al. and encompasses various forms of target text expansion, whether the resulting shifts are obligatory, optional, or redundant.

Delisle et al.'s (1999) understanding of amplification corresponds to Vinay and Darbelnet's definition of the term, who perceive it as "the translation technique whereby a target language unit requires more words than the source language to express the same idea" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 339), emphasising its obligatory character. Nevertheless, elsewhere in their work, they admit that in technical translation, the use of amplification is optional rather than compulsory (p. 204).

The term amplification also appears in the work of Nida, who, as already mentioned in this section, lists "amplification from implicit to explicit status" (Nida 1964: 227) as one of his additions. He defines this shift as taking place when "important semantic elements carried implicitly in the source language may require explicit identification in the receptor language" (p. 228). Thus, Nida's amplification amounts to obligatory explicitation, like in the case of Delisle et al. (1999) and Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995).

This understanding of amplification is partially reflected in the taxonomy of translation techniques of Molina and Hurtado Albir:

> Amplification. To introduce details that are not formulated in the ST: information, explicative paraphrasing, e.g., when translating from Arabic (to Spanish) to add *the Muslim month of fasting* to the noun *Ramadan*. This includes SCFA's explicitation, Delisle's addition, Margot's legitimate and illegitimate paraphrase, Newmark's explicative paraphrase and Delisle's periphrasis and paraphrase. Footnotes are a type of amplification. Amplification is in opposition to reduction. (Molina & Hurtado Albir 2002: 510)

The exemplification provided by the authors clearly indicates a type of optional explicitating shift,[6] as the information that Ramadan is the Muslim month of fasting is clearly retrievable if not from the co-text, then certainly form the pragmatic context of the text and the background knowledge of the translator. However, the comparison with Margot's illegitimate paraphrase and Delisle's addition suggests that their understanding of amplification might include unmotivated additions as well.

A somewhat different view of amplification is expounded in the work of Szeflińska-Karkowska (2001), who considers amplification to be a hypernym of explicitation and addition:

> L'amplification formelle ou qualitative qui consiste à verbaliser les informations implicites, contenues dans le texte de départ. Ce type de procédé est libre quant á son existence car il dépend du choix du traducteur; par contre il est déterminé quant á son contenue par la totalité d'informations implicites et explicites dans l'original. Cette modification est appelée par certains auteurs « explicitation ». (Szeflińska-Karkowska 2001: 445)

The other type of amplification mentioned by the author is quantitative amplification, which involves inserting additional elements absent from the source text and which invariably leads to expanding the target text. This distinction between qualitative and quantitative amplification seems to be corresponding to the two previously mentioned manifestations of explicitation: physical addition and specification. Note, however, that in this approach, only specification, that is, qualitative amplification, is recognised as explicitation.

Another term that appears in the context of the discussion on explicitation is overtranslation. Although none of the existing sources equals any manifestations of explicitation with overtranslation, as was the case with addition or

[6] Rather than referring to the classification of Klaudy, we shall use the term optional to indicate explicitation which is not mandatory and without which the text remains linguistically correct and natural.

amplification, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/1995: 342) point out that excessive use of explicitation might lead to overtranslation. The borderline, however, is not clearly drawn as they do not provide any exemplification of such shifts. The example illustrating overtranslation in their glossary, *aller chercher*, which should be translated as *to fetch* rather than *to go and look for* (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 347), does not involve any shift from the implicit to the explicit, as the element is present in the source text. As with Delisle et al.'s (1999) addition, Vinay and Darbelnet's overtranslation is seen as a translation error. The definition they provide in the glossary describes a fairly narrow phenomenon of "seeing two units of translation where there is only one" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 347) and does not seem to account for the cases of excessive explicitation which they mention when defining the notion of explicitation. Elsewhere in their work, they also mention cases of not performing omission or implicitation of information irrelevant for the target audience (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 209) and failure to adapt the target text to the local culture,[7] both of which they label as overtranslation. Thus, their view of overtranslation appears to be rather the case of not performing obligatory implicitation or omission required by differences between the two linguistic or cultural systems involved.

Vinay and Darbelnet's view of overtranslation is echoed in Delisle et al.'s glossary, where the authors define overtranslation as a translation error consisting in explicitating elements of the source text which should be implicitated in the target text. They provide the example of the German *Sprünge oder Risse* being wrongly rendered as *splits and cracks* instead of *cracks* (Delisle et al. 1999: 166). Again, like in the case of Vinay and Darbelnet's approach, it is clearly not the case of explicitating shifts, as the element is present in the source text, but a failure to perform necessary implicitation. A detrimental effect of overtranslation on the target text is also underscored by Hejwowski (2015), who distinguishes three types of overtranslations: unjustified additions, double renditions, and superflous explanations.

1.1.4 Explicitness and implicitness

The lack of a clear unequivocal definition of explicitation is attributed in some approaches (e.g., Murtisari 2013, 2014, 2016; Krüger 2013) to divergent perceptions of the concepts of the explicit/implicit and explicitness/implicitness demonstrated in previous research on this phenomenon. Both researchers consider that in defining explicitation, it is crucial to understand and delimit these underlying

[7] To illustrate the latter case, they argue that the sentence *He kissed his daughter on the mouth* translated literally as *Il embrassa sa fille sur la bouche* would constitute an overtranslation, and that to avoid it, it should rather be rendered as *Il serra tendrement sa fille dans ses bras* (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995: 39).

concepts. First of all, as emphasised by Krüger (2013: 287), it is important to distinguish between explicitation and explicitness. We can only talk about explicitation in the case of translation, as in order to be identified, explicitation requires what Krüger calls, after Schreiber (1993, quoted in Krüger 2013), a pre-text.[8] By contrast, explicitness is essentially a monotextual or monodiscursive phenomenon, since to identify it we do need reference to another text. This distinction is reflected in the terms used by Espunya (2006), who refers to explicitness as “intralingual explicitness” and to explicitation as “interlingual explicitness.”

In linguistics, in the most general sense, the term explicitness refers to the overt encoding of information, whereas implicitness describes a situation when information is recoverable only by inference. Communicative interaction obviously involves both meaning components, given that no utterance is entirely explicit or entirely implicit. Whereas overt encoding is naturally associated with lexical and grammatical means, the implicit meaning is the information “for which there is no form” (Larson 1984: 38) and which is construed on the basis of shared knowledge assumed by the addresser.[9]

The linguistic perception of explicitness and implicitness is very aptly summarised by Baumgarten et al. (2008), who observe that

> in most uses of the term in linguistics explicitness is a measure of difference between two comparable variants of expression. Following this view, for an expression to be considered explicit, there has to be the systemic possibility of an implicit (or less explicit) variant and this dichotomy facilitates distinguishing properties of languages, communicative behaviours and registers. In short, explicitness is a property of the linguistic encoding and it is at the same time an inherently relative and relational concept, usually presupposing the comparison of two or more variants. (Baumgarten et al. 2008: 179–180)

Baumgarten et al. (2008) raise an important question, talking not only about an implicit but also a less explicit variant. In this way, they emphasise that explicitness and implicitness are not two opposing categories, but should rather be perceived in terms of a spectrum of variants, given that there are different degrees of explicitness and implicitness. This is reflected in the graphic representation elaborated by Murtisari (2013) in order to illustrate explicitness based on textual and encoded/inferred distinction (see Figure 1.1).

[8] The term pre-text seems to be a more appropriate term in a general discussion on explicitation than the established term source text, as some studies do not rely on the comparison of ST and TT, but on the comparison of translated texts with non-translated text. This issue will be discussed at length in Section 1.4, where we talk about methods and theoretical frameworks adopted in translation studies to investigate explicitation.

[9] Baumgarten et al. (2008) observe that part of the implicit meaning is actually associated with certain lexical and grammatical means, which is the case of indirect speech acts and conventionalised connotations of lexical items (p. 178).

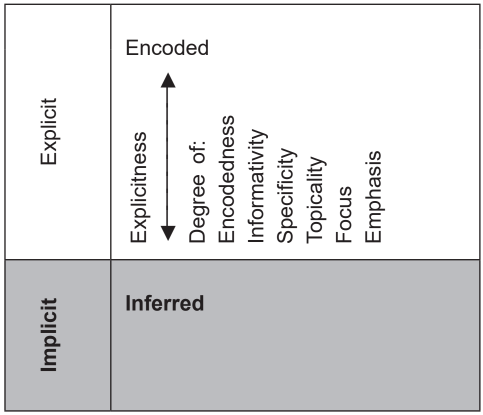

Figure 1.1. Explicitness based on textual and encoded/inferred distinction (Murtisari 2013: 318)

As we can see, explicitness not only is perceived in terms of the degree of encodedness, but also potentially indicates differing levels of informativity, specificity, topicality, focus, and emphasis.

However, as pointed out by Murtisari (2013), the encoded/inferred framework is of limited applicability to translation research. Although the framework presented above goes beyond a mere distinction between encoded and inferred information, it is still considered not to provide sufficient analytical power "to fit the dynamic nature of explicitation in Translation Studies" (Murtisari 2013: 319), as it can only describe the explicitness in the product of translation, that is, in the target text, without taking into account the relation between ST and TT and the very process of translation that might trigger explicitating shifts.[10] It is also emphasised by Baumgarten et al. (2008) that Translation Studies research clearly requires a different framework of explicitness and implicitness than that applied when investigating static explicitness in discourse analysis.

Therefore, Murtisari (2013) proposes a redefinition of the concepts of explicitness and implicitness on the basis of Relevance Theory in order to account for explicitation and implicitation in translation. With the analytical tools of this framework, Murtisari develops a typology of scalar and categorical shifts of both explicitation and de-explicitation.[11] She bases her model on the Relevance Theory concepts of explicature and implicature, which she applies with some modifications to the analysis of explicitation in translation studies in order to be able to account for explicitating shifts resulting in the form of specification and generalisation, for which the traditional inferred/encoded distinction has no

[10] Whereas such approach might be sufficient in testing explicitness in comparable corpora studies (which we shall discuss in more detail in Section 1.3), it proves deficient in testing explicitation in the studies that aim at comparing source and target texts either through parallel corpora or traditional manual comparison of ST and TT.

[11] Murtisari (2013) coined the term de-explicitation as an alternative term for implicitation.

explanatory capacity. We shall begin with presenting the concepts of explicature and implicature underlying explicitness and implicitness as understood originally in the Relevance Theory, and then proceed to discuss the framework proposed by Murtisari (2013).

In Relevance Theory, "the content of explicatures comes from two distinct sources, the linguistic expressions used and the context, and it is derived in two distinct ways depending on its source, by linguistic decoding or by pragmatic inference" (Carston 2002: 117), while "the conceptual content of an implicature is supplied wholly by pragmatic inference" (p. 134). In this theoretical framework, explicature is never fully explicit because of the underdeterminate nature of language and the fact that communication is always bound to involve some element of inference. Thus, as we can see, the concept of explicature in this framework is much wider than that of the encoded meaning, primarily because it is gradable or, in other words, comparative, as argued by Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995). As pointed out by Carston (2002: 117), different utterances may have the same explicatures but will differ in terms of the degree of explicitness, as illustrated by the following example:

a. Mary Jones put the book by Chomsky on the table in the downstairs sitting-room.
b. Mary put the book on the table.
c. She put it there.
d. On the table. (Carston 2002: 117)

In Carston's view, any of the above utterances could potentially be used to communicate explicitly the same proposition. However, they do not have the same pragmatic effects because they vary in the degree of explicitness. Utterances c and d will require much more inference compared with a and b, which are, therefore, more explicit. The smaller the contribution of the context, the more explicit the explicature. As we shall see later in the course of this chapter, this gradability of explicature is of crucial importance in explicitation research since it can also account for explicitation within explicatures, that is, from the explicit status to more explicit.

For the purpose of investigating explicitation in translation studies, Murtisari (2013) adapts the Relevance Theory Framework, developing a model of scalar and categorical explicitations that breaks with the traditional distinction between inferred and encoded meaning, which only accounts for shifts from the implicit to the explicit status. The term scalar explicitation has been coined to refer to explicitation shifts within explicature, which take the form of encoding in the target text the inferred meaning of the source text explicature. Murtisari has elaborated a formula that represents scalar explicitation, which reads as follows:

> X → X', in which X' is a development of the form X and is more explicit than X, an X' represents the same explicature as X. (Murtisari 2013: 331)

As previously mentioned, Murtisari distinguishes the category of scalar explicitation to provide a sound theoretical framework for analysing explicitating shifts in the form of specification. As she points out:

> Scalar explicitation shifts may result not only from the encoding of a meaning that is otherwise inferred in the ST (and thus addition of a new meaningful unit), but also the specification of this meaning, as long as the shift represents a development of the ST's logical form. (Murtisari 2013: 331)

Murtisari's exemplification includes lexicalisation of pro-forms (ST's *them* being rendered in TT as *feelings*[12]) and substituting a generic name with a proper name (*The capital* is translated as *Jakarta*).

Specification as a form of explicitation is part of major taxonomies of explicitating shifts (e.g., Séguinot 1988; Klaudy & Károly 2005) and has been analysed or at least discussed in a number of other approaches (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Perego 2003; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, etc.). However, most of these works rely on the traditional definition of explicitation, which involves making explicit in the target text what remains implicit in the source text. It is worth noting that this understanding does not really account for specification, since in such cases the information is encoded in the source text but in a less explicit way than in the target text. The category of scalar explicitation definitely provides a better explanatory framework for such shifts as, for instance, the above-mentioned lexicalisation of pro-forms and substituting a generic name with a proper name, lexical specification (e.g., ST's *say* rendered in TT as *accuse*), categorial shifts of cohesive devices (vaguely causative *and* translated as explicitly causative *so*), and a number of others that we shall discuss in detail in Chapter 2.

The other type of explicitation in Murtisari's model is categorical explicitation, which "refers to shifts of meaning from the implicature to explicature" (Murtisari 2013: 331). In coining the term, the author opts for the qualifier categorical because she considers the implicit and the explicit as two categories. The exemplification provided shows a clear case of spelling out in the TT the ST's implicature: "*So cold!*" *said the woman*. → "*It's freezing! Could you close the window, please?*" *the lady said*. In this example, the implication *So cold!* becomes an overtly encoded request.

Within categorical explicitation proposed by Murtisari, it is also possible to account for a very convincing example of generalisation as an instance of explici-

[12] For the sake of simplicity, in the case of all the examples that appear in English, either the source text or the target text is a back translation.

tation, provided by Kamenická (2007a). In the Czech translation of David Lodge's novel *Small World*, the name of the airport *Heathrow* is rendered as *London*:

> ST: The job of a check-in clerk at Heathrow, or any other airport, is not a glamorous or particularly satisfying one.
> TT: Checking in passengers at an airport counter, whether in London or anywhere else, is not an attractive or particularly satisfying job. (Kamenická 2007a: 48)

Taking into account the information inferable from the co-text and the context in which the translation was made,[13] TT's *London* indeed appears to be more explicit than the ST's *Heathrow* in this case, as the use of a more general toponym is likely to reduce the processing effort on the part of the target-text readers. This example seems to contradict the traditional approaches, in which it is assumed that generalisation leads to implicature (e.g., Levinson 2000), and previous studies on explicitation, which invariably classify such cases as implicitation (e.g., Klaudy & Károly 2005).

The model proposed by Murtisari also accounts better for explicitating shifts involving figurative language (e.g., disambiguating metaphors or replacing metaphors with similes; see Chapter 2), which are categorised as scalar explicitations, as in the case of *bull-headed* being replaced with *very stubborn* (Murtisari 2013: 340). She identifies the meaning of the figurative form as explicature, because the equivalent used in the target text is a development of the form employed in the source text. Thus, the literal translation is the elaboration of meaning within explicature.

On the basis of the model of scalar and categorical explicitation, Murtisari (2013: 332) redefines the phenomenon of explicitation as "shifts of meaning from the implicit to the explicit or simply to higher degree of explicitness." This definition I shall adopt in the research presented in this book to account for various forms of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. In line with the adopted research framework of the Relevance Theory, Murtisari also perceives explicitation as "a resource for the translator in rebuilding and reshaping the communication clues for the target reader in relation to the shifting context" (p. 342).

[13] The translation was published in 1988 in the Czech Republic, where, like in most Eastern Bloc countries of that time, air travel, especially to western countries, was uncommon, making it unlikely for the Czech readers to identify Heathrow as an airport in London.

1.2 Taxonomies of explicitation

A substantial proportion of studies conducted in the field of explicitation aim at investigating either one form of explicitating shifts (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1986; Olohan & Baker 2000; Whittaker 2004) or selected categories of this phenomenon (e.g., Saldanha 2008; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012) and thus make no attempt to categorise the analysed shifts. There are, however, a number of studies which propose taxonomies of explicitation categorising this phenomenon at different levels (e.g., Séguinot 1988; Klaudy 1993, 1996, 1998/2011; Vehmas-Lehto 2001a, 2001b; Perego 2003; Pápai 2004; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Kamenická 2007a, 2008b; Hopkinson 2007, 2008; Murtisari 2013). In this chapter we shall begin by outlining these contributions and then, in the subsequent chapter, proceed to present and discuss in detail various manifestations or forms of explicitation as they are approached in the research conducted within Translation Studies.

1.2.1 Séguinot's addition and specification

Séguinot's (1988) early work on explicitation is the very first attempt at classifying explicitation and the only one before Klaudy (1993, 1996, 1998/2011) proposed her broad typology. Séguinot divides explicitation according to surface manifestations:

> Explicitation can take three forms in a translation: something is expressed in the translation which was not in the original, something which was implied or understood through presupposition in the source text is overtly expressed in the translation, or an element in the source text is given greater importance in the translation through focus, emphasis, or lexical choice. (Séguinot 1988: 108)

Unfortunately, the author does not provide any exemplification of any of the categories. Whereas the second and the third category raise no doubts and can be easily identified as explicitations in the form of physical addition and specification, the first category appears to be vague. Something that was not in the original evokes the association with unmotivated addition rather than explicitation in the form of adding elements, especially taking into account that Séguinot already caters for such shifts in the second category of implied or presupposed information overtly expressed in the target text.

Explicitations in the form of physical surface additions possibly corresponding with Séguinot's second category could be, for instance, adding connectives, reiterating lexical items, filling out elliptical constructions, adding modifiers and qualifiers, inserting hedges and discourse organising items, adding a proper name to a generic name, and including additional explanatory remarks (Gumul

2006a). In turn, specification, or, in other words, what Séguinot refers to as elements "given greater importance in the translation through focus, emphasis, or lexical choice," could possibly be manifested in the form of lexicalisation of pro-forms, categorial shifts of connectives, substituting lexical specification, substituting a generic name with a proper name, disambiguating metaphors, or replacing them with similes. All of these forms will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

This distinction between two manifestations of explicitation, that is, addition and specification, has been adopted in the research conducted by Øverås (1998), Perego (2003), and Gumul (2006a, 2017).

1.2.2 Klaudy's causal typology

The typology elaborated by Klaudy (1993, 1996, 1998/2011), which has already been mentioned in the context of language (in)dependence of explicitation in the course of this chapter (see Section 1.1.2), is probably the most widely cited taxonomy. This first systematic typology aims at classifying explicitation according to the causes underlying such shifts, at the same time describing its surface manifestations. Although this broad division into obligatory, optional, pragmatic, and translation-inherent explicitations has proved to have limited applicability in empirical research, it nevertheless remains a very important contribution, as it set the ground for identifying explicitation resulting from the nature of the translation process and distinguishing it from target-language induced shifts. It also shed new light on the debate over the causes of explicitation.

Most of the critique against Klaudy's typology has been voiced on the grounds of its partially overlapping and slightly vague categories. The first, most controversial, category of obligatory explicitation is described by Klaudy as "dictated by differences in the syntactic and semantic structure of languages" and considered to be "obligatory because without them target-language sentences would be ungrammatical" (Klaudy 1998/2011: 106). As far as explicitation in the form of addition is concerned, the translation into English of Polish nouns would in many cases entail inserting definite or indefinite articles, making the definiteness or indefiniteness more explicit in the target-language version. At the level of specification, a convincing example is the case of the more explicit Spanish variants of *ser* and *estar*, both equivalents of a single English verb *to be*. As already indicated in Section 1.1.2, obligatory explicitation is almost universally hailed as having limited applicability in translation studies research, as it does not reflect any choice on the part of the translator. In turn, the name of the second category of optional explicitation potentially implies the translator's choice, but in fact, as we argued earlier in this chapter, optional explicitation as understood by Klaudy also depends heavily on the requirements imposed by the linguistic systems involved. To illustrate this type of explicitation, Englund

Dimitrova (2005: 36) quotes Vinay and Darbelnet's (1958/1995) example of the English *Walk in* written on the door outside an office, translated into French as *Entrez sans frapper*, since literal translation – with the idea of not knocking remaining implicit as in the original – would sound unnatural and strange in French. As we can see, the categories of obligatory and optional explicitations lack a clear-cut borderline, as both are in fact conditioned by the requirements of the target language. Thus, the term optional is confusing as it implies translator's free choice, while in this approach, it is apparently not the case.[14]

The remaining categories of pragmatic and translation-inherent explicitations also raise some doubts as to their scope and operational validity in empirical research. Pragmatic explicitation aims at bridging cultural gaps between source and target cultures. In order to cater for the anticipated difficulties of a target-text audience, translators often provide additional explanation (Klaudy 1998/2011: 106) (e.g., *the painter* inserted before Matisse when the translator expects that the readers might not be familiar with this name).

The category of translation-inherent explicitation goes beyond the linguistic realisations of meaning, as it is related to the cognitive processing of a text performed by the translator, who, naturally, also acts as a reader and goes through the process of decoding and interpretation of the text. As stressed by Klaudy, this type of explicitation "can be attributed to the nature of the translation process itself" and "explained by one of the most pervasive, language-independent features of all translational activity, namely the necessity to formulate ideas in the target language that were originally conceived in the source language" (Klaudy 1998/2011: 107). It is the very necessity to decode and re-process the text, the very cognitive activity the translator performs as a reader, which leads to explicitations when reformulating the text in another language. Although this idea sounds very convincing, unfortunately, Klaudy does not provide any example illustrating translation-inherent explicitation, which is a source of critique raised against this category. Vehmas-Lehto (2001a) and Becher (2011) even question the validity of this category, claiming that no examples can be found to prove its existence. This criticism appears to be largely unfounded as there are, as we shall demonstrate further in this book (see Chapter 2), some cases of explicitation which do not fall in any of the three remaining categories proposed by Klaudy. For instance, it seems that lexical specification, such as when the translator opts for a more specific equivalent of the reporting verb *to say* – which might be rendered as *oskarżyć* 'to accuse,' provided the co-text or the context implies that meaning – can be explained neither by systemic differences nor stylistic preferences of Polish. Nor is it pragmatically conditioned.

The major shortcoming of the last two categories proposed by Klaudy is that there is a probability of finding some cases which will fall into both categories,

[14] See also examples provided in Section 1.1.2.

mostly because pragmatic and translation-inherent explicitations operate at slightly different levels. As we have already mentioned, all four types of explicitations proposed by Klaudy are perceived in terms of linguistic realisations, but translation-inherent explicitation involves additionally an aspect of text processing. Moreover, we have to acknowledge that some shifts involving pragmatic content might actually result from text processing performed by the translator rather than from a conscious effort to increase the text readability for a target-text audience. For instance, in simultaneous interpreting, which is cognitively a highly demanding task and allows no post-editing, in some cases, disambiguating culturally-loaded metaphors by rendering them literally is not necessarily performed to facilitate decoding for the listeners, but stems from the difficulty of cognitive processing of the text and inability to find adequate equivalent under the time pressure (see Sections 4.3.11 and 5.3.4). Obviously, such reasons cannot be ruled out in written translation. Regardless of the mode of translation, analysing only the product of translation and searching for textual manifestations, it is impossible to identify the source of such operations. An insight into the process via think-aloud protocols or retrospective comments is essential. Thus, as we can see, the two categories of pragmatic and translation-inherent explicitations are overlapping. The idea of mental processing affecting the explicitness of the target text clearly applies to other categories of explicitation as well.

The borderline between translation-inherent and optional explicitation is also believed to be fuzzy in some studies (e.g., Englund Dimitrova 2005). However, it is not a universal tendency. Kamenická (2008a) maintains that this claim about the lack of firm boundaries is largely exaggerated, and in her own research, she resorted to the criterion of naturalness:

> As far as the borderline between optional and translation-inherent explicitation/implicitation is concerned, the existence vs. a lack of a competing more or less explicit stylistic variant in TL conforming to the criterion of naturalness was used as a criterion of classification. (Kamenická 2008a: 126)

It is interesting to note that the term translation-inherent explicitation appears in other works but with a different, much broader meaning, apparently encompassing the category of pragmatic explicitation as well. For instance, both Kamenická (2008a) and Hopkinson (2008: 54) use it to refer to all the explicitating shifts which are not conditioned by language-specific reasons, so in fact to all types of shifts almost universally recognised as explicitation proper, as most studies refute modifications due to systemic differences (see Section 1.1.2).

1.2.3 Vehmas-Lehto's category of over-explicitation

Vehmas-Lehto's (2001a, 2001b) proposed classification of explicitation is essentially a modification of Klaudy's (1998/2011) typology. Although she does recognise Klaudy's contribution as a good preliminary classification, she nevertheless voices some doubts as to the feasibility of its application in translation research and pedagogy. Therefore, she proposes a simplification of Klaudy's typology and an alternative division of explicitation into obligatory and optional,[15] with pragmatic explicitation included as a subcategory of optional explicitation along with text-strategic and stylistic shifts. By optional explicitation, unlike in Klaudy's classification, Vehmas-Lehto means shifts "caused by the wish to clarify the text and make it sound more natural – and thus help the recipient to understand the text" (Vehmas-Lehto 2001a: 226).

Vehmas-Lehto also voices some doubts as to the validity of the category of translation-inherent explicitation. In her article "Translation-proper explicitation – a fallacy or reality?" (2001b), she argues that in fact all four types of explicitation are somehow translation-proper, as they occur in translated texts. Moreover, she perceives this category as vague and associates it, most probably due to the lack of exemplification in Klaudy's work, only with the cases of excessive explicitation, that is, when translators resolve the intentional ambiguity of the source text, reducing the scope of possible interpretations. On these grounds, she coins the term over-explicitation for such unnecessary shifts.

While there is no doubt that the category of over-explicitation is an important contribution, as it proves to be very useful in categorising explicitating shifts, allowing for a truly descriptive rather than prescriptive approach, the question remains whether Klaudy really meant this type of undesired shifts when coining the term translation-inherent explicitation. In fact, as we could see in the previous section, her description of this category does not imply that at all. Over-explicitation seems to be yet another level of categorising explicitation, cutting across Klaudy's both translation-inherent and pragmatic categories. A given instance of explicitating shift may be performed with the intention of catering for the cultural differences between source- and target-text audiences and at the same time constitute a case of providing superfluous, already known information and underestimating the reader's intellectual capacity, as illustrated by the following example of an authentic translation published in a Polish reprint magazine *Forum*:

> ST: Roddy Doyle, the Booker prize winner, and the bard of raucous Dublin demotic, chose a Joyce birthday celebration to slam the epic story of one day in the life of Leopold Bloom as overrated, overlong and unmoving.

[15] As pointed out earlier (Section 1.1.2), she emphasises that obligatory shifts are of no interest for translation research and should be studied within the field of contrastive linguistics.

> TT: **Powieściopisarz** Roddy Doyle, laureat nagrody **literackiej** Bookera, oraz znawca dublińskiego dialektu, dokładnie w dniu, gdy obchodzono rocznicę urodzin Joyce'a, zmieszał z błotem epicką opowieść o jednym dniu z życia Leopolda Blooma jako przereklamowaną, rozwlekłą i nudną. (Gumul 2006d: 31)

The translator chose to explicitate that Roddy Doyle is a writer although, even assuming that Polish readers are not familiar with him, this information can be inferred from the fact that he is a Booker prize winner. Equally, explicitating that a universally known Booker prize is awarded in the field of literature seems to underestimate the target readers' general knowledge. This example clearly illustrates pragmatic explicitation and at the same time, at a different level, may constitute a case of over-explicitation. Thus, the two categories cannot be treated as separate and parallel.

1.2.4 Klaudy and Károly's transfer operations

Another study of Klaudy, this time conducted jointly with Károly (Klaudy & Károly 2005), presents a different classification of explicitations. Within the two previously established broad categories of obligatory and optional shifts, the authors identify a number of what they refer to as standard transfer operations that lead to greater explicitness of the target text. These are lexical specification, lexical division, lexical addition, grammatical specification, grammatical elevation (raising), and grammatical addition. Thus according to this approach, explicitation occurs

> when a SL unit with a more general meaning is replaced by a TL unit with a more specific meaning; when the meaning of a SL unit is distributed over several units in the TL text; when one sentence in the ST is divided into two or several sentences in the TT; or, when SL phrases are extended or "raised" to clause level in the TT, etc. (Klaudy & Károly 2005: 15)

The authors include both obligatory and optional shifts in their analysis, claiming the validity of such approach in a bi-directional research. However, it is interesting to note that their perception of the category of optional explicitation differs considerably from that presented in Klaudy's previous works (1993, 1996, 1998/2011). It appears to be, at least to some extent, more genuinely optional, as they claim that "in the case of optional explicitation, the translator is faced with a choice: s/he may produce a well-formed target language sentence even without carrying out explicitation" (Klaudy & Károly 2005: 15). It is also broader than the original category, as it subsumes the category of pragmatic explicitation, formerly a parallel category along with obligatory, optional and translation-inherent explicitating shifts. The authors list "addition of explanation in translating institutional and geographical names" together with other manifestations of this type, such as, for instance, addition of elements to express emphasis, which possibly can be attributed to stylistic differences underlying the category of optional explicitation in Klaudy's previous contributions.

In this classification, optional explicitation is subdivided into semantic, syntactic, discourse level, and the above-mentioned pragmatic explicitation, exemplified respectively by specification of reporting verbs (e.g., *said – murmured*), elevation of participial and infinitival phrases to clause level, addition of elements to express emphasis or addition of theme/rheme boundary markers, and adding explanatory remarks when dealing with names of institutions and geographical proper names (Klaudy & Károly 2005: 17). In turn, obligatory explicitation is subdivided into semantic, morphological, and grammatical. Obligatory semantic explicitation takes the form of inevitable specification, as, for instance, in the case of a Hungarian word *arc*, for which the translator has to choose either *face* or *cheek* when translating it into English. Obligatory morphological explicitation usually occurs when translating into analytical languages and takes the form of necessary distribution of the meaning components of verbs. Finally, obligatory grammatical explicitation is manifested, for instance, when gender has to be specified, as is the case of English verb forms rendered into synthetic languages (Klaudy & Károly 2005: 16).

Compared with the previous proposal of Klaudy (1993, 1996, 1998/2011), this new classification by Klaudy and Károly (2005) seems to be more operationally feasible when adopted in empirical research – at least the optional category, given that obligatory shifts are almost universally excluded from translation research. The reservations voiced against this classification concern only some details and not the major assumptions. Hopkinson (2008) rightly notices that the transfer operation of distributing the meaning of SL over several units in the TL text does not necessarily make it more explicit. He claims that whereas rendering the phrase *an oil man* as *a man who sells oil* does result in explicitation, it is not the case with translating ***ideologizace*** *naši reformy* as ***the way*** *aspects of* ***the reforms have become an ideology***. Hopkinson argues that in this example, syntactic decomposition does not make the target-language version more explicit but "merely repackages all of the semantic components contained within the original means of expression," and the translator simply "opts for a syntactically more expansive paraphrase" (Hopkinson 2008: 57). Although it might be potentially considered as explicitation, the addition of *aspects of* is irrelevant in this case, as it does not play any role in distributing the meaning of the Czech *ideologizace*. Thus, apparently, this category should be treated with caution when identifying explicitating shifts.

From the list of the transfer operations leading to explicitation and the corresponding list of implicitating shifts, it can be inferred that Klaudy and Károly (2005) invariably associate longer surface form with explicitation, while omission and contraction leads to implicitation. However, as demonstrated by Perego (2003), reduced surface form also has a potential for making the text more explicit, as is the case with the phrase *amit mondanak róla* 'what people say about him,' translated in a more condensed yet definitely more explicit manner as *l'accusa* 'the accusation' (Perego 2003: 78). In fact, such shifts form a separate category of her classification, as we shall see in the subsequent section.

1.2.5 Perego's types and forms of explicitation

With the purpose of accounting for explicitation in subtitling, Perego (2003) divides explicitating shifts into three types: cultural, channel-based, and reduction-based. Each of the three types is further subdivided into two surface forms of addition and specification. The starting point for constructing her model is Klaudy's original four-component classification, although Perego openly discusses the weaknesses of this approach. First of all, unsurprisingly, she dismisses the category of obligatory explicitation on the grounds of it being irrelevant, which appears to be an almost standard practice in most current studies on this phenomenon.

Perego's classification is essentially causal, much like Klaudy's taxonomy. But it also classifies explicitations according to circumstances in which they occur. The first type, cultural explicitation, corresponds to Klaudy's pragmatic explicitation since it is caused by a cultural gap between the source and target cultures. As Perego's corpus consists of films referring to the history of Hungary, certain facts obviously need to be explained to an Italian audience since they cannot be expected to have the same background knowledge as the source-language viewers. It is the category that, as Perego emphasises, depends to a large extent on the knowledge of the translator, who may not always be able to perceive all the nuances at the intertextual level (Perego 2003: 79).

The second category of channel-based explicitation, to which Perego also refers as intersemiotic, reflects the specificity of the analysed mode of translation where the verbal message is accompanied by the image. Additionally, the prosodic, supra-segmental features of the spoken language have to be taken into account. Thus explicitations categorised as channel-based are "determined by the impact of shifts from one semiotic channel to another" and are manifested as "lexicalisations of those data conveyed also or only by visual or auditive support" (Perego 2003: 74). The author gives a convincing example of a polite and friendly intonation softening the character's command, which is rendered more explicitly at the lexical level by inserting *per favore* 'please' (p. 79) to ensure that all the semantic features of the source text are retained in the target-language version. This category is undoubtedly especially relevant in the context of the present study, as something akin to channel-based explicitation is bound to occur in simultaneous interpreting due to the nature of the process. There might be certain supra-segmental features of the speaker's intonation revealing his or her attitude that are more accessible to those listening to the source text, and which consequently the interpreter might decide to explicitate at the linguistic level.

The third category of reduction-based explicitation not only makes the text more condensed but is, in fact, also induced by the need of reductions inherent in the translation in the form of subtitling due to space and time constraints. So, the component "reduction" in the name of the category has two different facets. This becomes clear when we compare reduction-based explicitation achieved through surface addition to the one realised via specification, which is illustrated by the two examples provided by Perego:

> ST:[16] Come here… Agi's always leeching onto people. At one time **she was in love with a guy, had such a crush on him that** she decided to sleep with him.
> TT:
> Agi is terrible.
> She is always leeching onto people. Once she **even** decided
> to sleep with a guy.[17] (Perego 2003: 82)
>
> ST: Well, Irénke, come help me. I've left a basket downstairs, **I couldn't fetch it up alone**.
> TT:
> Help me, please.
> I left a **very heavy** basket downstairs. (Perego 2003: 83)

The first example is a case of reduction through addition. Although the term itself sounds like an oxymoron, it constitutes a legitimate case of explicitation, which can be logically explained. The mode-specific constraints induce the omission of the entire segment. To compensate for the loss, the translator resorts to the addition of the modifier *even*, which nevertheless cannot be considered as a direct equivalent of the deleted segment, deriving from the same part of the deep structure. Thus, it is a case of addition rather than specification, a case of addition induced by reduction. By contrast, in the second example the adjectival phrase *very heavy* only specifies the idea contained in *I couldn't fetch it up alone* by replacing an action with a cause. At the level of the explicature, the two phrases can be considered to have the same propositional content. As Perego (2003: 83) puts it: "explicitation and reduction occur together: indeed, the former often determines the latter, i.e., a part of the whole message is presented more explicitly because it has to be conveyed in fewer words."

16. For the ease of reference, we shall only provide here Perego's gloss into English of the source text originally uttered in Hungarian and the target text written in Italian.

17. The original division into individual lines of the subtitles has been maintained.

One of the questions Perego poses with reference to mode-specific explicitating shifts is whether certain ideas are deliberately expressed more explicitly because they have to be conveyed with fewer words, or on the contrary, the necessity of the conciseness of expression triggers unconsciously performed explicitations (Perego 2003: 85). Reduction-based explicitation is undoubtedly another category particularly relevant to the discussion on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting which the present study aims at. Due to the presence of the time constraint, similar shifts are bound to occur in this mode of interpreting (see Chapter 4, see also Gumul 2006a, 2012b, 2017).

1.2.6 Kamenická's and Hopkinson's functional classifications

A broad taxonomy including both explicitation and implicitation based on Halliday's distinction between three main metafunctions of language: ideational (subdivided into experiential and logical), textual, and interpersonal appears in the works of both Kamenická (2007b, 2008a, 2008b) and Hopkinson (2007, 2008). This classification is a functional linguistic one, focusing on how explicitating shifts affect the properties of target texts. It relates explicitation to different aspects of the pragmatic situation in which the act of communication takes place: the referential reality, the relationship of the participants of the communicative act, and the textual level (Kamenická 2007b: 18, 2008a: 119).

Ideational explicitating shifts may affect the core of ideational meaning by making the role of the participants more visible, foregrounding the processes described in the text, or may influence the more peripheral ideational components by making circumstance, setting, quality, manner, or quantity more clear.

Explicitating shifts of the experiential component might raise the prominence of particular aspects of the reality encoded in the text. For instance, explicitations within the transitivity system might foreground the role of the participants and make their responsibility more visible (Hopkinson 2008: 125). Thus, passive sentences, which can be effective neutralising (or mystifying) means of representing actions, processes, and participants in such a way that causal relations and responsibility for actions become obscure, when changed into active agentive construction, would constitute a case of ideational/experiential explicitating shifts. Similar effect is obtained when substituting nominal constructions with verbal ones, that is, disambiguating grammatical metaphors (see Gumul 2011a: 762), which makes process participants visible in the sentence and in this way explicitates their role and responsibility. It is the case with the example below, in which the translator opted for a more explicit construction that highlighted Mao's direct involvement:

> ST: The number of victims of **Mao's political campaigns and consequent famines** put Mao firmly among the "big three" slaughterers of the 20th century. Some 30 million to 40 million died as a result of Mao's policies. (*Financial Times* 14.08.2004)
> TT: Liczba ofiar **kampanii politycznych zainicjowanych przez Mao Zedonga i spowodowanych przez niego klęsk głodu** lokuje go w „wielkiej trójce" najgorszych oprawców XX wieku. W wyniku polityki prowadzonej prze twórcę komunistycznych Chin zginęło od 30 do 40 milionów ludzi. (*Forum* 41/2004)
> BT: The number of victims of **political campaigns initiated by Mao Zedong and famine he caused** put him among the "big three" of the worst murderers of the 20th century. As a result of the policies of the founder of communist China some 30 million to 40 million people died. (Gumul 2010a: 106)

Hopkinson observes that such shifts might also serve to explicitate processes, as is in fact the case with the above-mentioned example. Two processes of initiating campaigns and causing the famine are brought to the surface by introducing the verbal forms instead of the static forms employed in the original version.

As demonstrated by Hopkinson (2008), the explicitation of participants and participation may also take the form of lexicalisation of pro-forms, which serves to explicitate the identity of the agent, especially in a sensitive context, as in the following example:

> ST: Next I asked him if he still expected **them** to publish his memoirs.
> TT: Next I asked him if he still expected **the authorities** to publish his memoirs. (Hopkinson 2008: 129)

The segment comes from a text on a renowned Czech poet Jaroslav Seifert, who is disapproved of and neglected by the state authorities, and the fact that the authorities are not willing to publish his memoirs is intentionally only hinted in the source text and cannot be recovered from the immediate co-text. It is interesting to note that Hopkinson also classifies this example as pragmatic explicitation. As the information has to be retrieved from the extra-textual context rather than co-text, it is in fact only available to readers of the original Czech version, as only they are likely to be familiar with the circumstances.

Other surface manifestations of ideational explicitating shifts include lexicalisation of pro-forms,[18] which may serve to re-activate a previously mentioned element or narrow the set of potential referents, and reiteration which reinforces the continuity of reference to the same referent. Apparently, lexical specification

[18] Hopkinson uses slightly different terms to refer to these surface means of performing explicitation, for example: "replacement of a ST proform by a TT full lexical word" instead of lexicalisation of pro-forms and "cohesive repetition" rather than reiteration. However, for the ease of reference, we shall employ the terms as used in the present study since they refer to the same phenomena.

also belongs to this category. It is believed, like lexicalisation of pro-forms, to narrow the meaning potential by guiding the reader to select one option from various possibilities, as in the case of the Czech *články* 'articles' translated more precisely as *newspaper columns*.

In this classification, the broad category of ideational explicitness shifts also subsumes shifts related to binary coherence relations. These are additive, adversative, temporal, and causal relations perceived in terms of a dichotomy between static relations and dynamic ones. Generally speaking, static coherence relations are additive and adversative, whereas dynamic ones encompass causal and temporal relations. The term binary has not been adopted to reflect staticity and dynamicity, but to indicate the correspondence between two components of the majority of coherence relations; for instance, cause-consequence, problem-solution, and contrast or comparison between two propositions. At the level of ideational meaning, such shifts are realised by lexical means rather than connectives, which in turn would represent modifications of the textual function, the second main type in Hopkinson's taxonomy. Thus, for instance, an adversative coherence relation might be explicitated by inserting in the target text a modifier *ordinary* before the sole *citizens* appearing in the source, in order to signal the contrast more clearly (Hopkinson 2008: 149).

The second main category of Kamenická's (2007b, 2008a, 2008b) and Hopkinson's (2007, 2008) classifications, based on the textual function of language, "represents the author's intrusion into the communication in order to guide the reader through the text, providing a signposting apparatus to aid orientation" (Hopkinson 2008: 194). In this category, explicitation is mostly achieved by adding or specifying various cohesive devices. In most cases, the texture of the target text is enriched either by inserting explicit connectors overtly signalling relations only implied in the source text or by opting for stronger connectives (e.g., temporal sequential *and* becomes *furthermore*, additive *and* is translated as *both … and*, etc.) (Hopkinson 2008: 164, 167).

Another surface manifestation of textual explicitation is addition of metatextual markers which explicitly make reference to subsequent or preceding co-text (e.g., point to, identify, introduce, or anticipate). For instance, the addition of the marker *in other words* signals that the target text segment directly following it is a reformulation of the preceding part (Hopkinson 2008: 169–171). In turn, the addition of *as far as I am concerned* may mark more explicitly the conceptual transition point from one stance to another. Explicitation of Hallidayan textual function is also performed by re-ordering of information, as in the following extract from a Czech–English translation, in which shifting an interpretative cue to sentence-initial position reinforces its function:

> ST: People can even end up with the **paradoxical** feeling that their companion is more dispensable than the car, the washing machine or the computer.

> TT: **Paradoxically**, people can even end up feeling that their companion is more dispensable than the car, the washing machine or the computer. (Hopkinson 2008: 174)

Hopkinson argues that substituting lexical repetition and lexical variation for the reference leads to explicitation. At first, this might seem to be a mechanism that lowers the level of explicitness and produces the opposite shift of implicitness, given that lexical repetition is believed to form stronger cohesive ties than referential cohesion (see Section 2.4). But in fact, in this particular context, the use of the reference markers resolves the ambiguity more effectively and thus constitutes undoubtedly a case of explicitation:

> ST: There is a similar difference between 'R.U.R' and the comedy 'Adam the Creator': **in the collective drama** there is a battle of ideas, **in the comedy** there is a dramatized discussion.
> TT: There is a similar difference between 'R.U.R' and 'Adam the Creator': **the former** is a battle of ideas, **the latter** is a dramatized discussion. (Hopkinson 2008: 178)

In Hopkinson's classification, textual explicitation shifts also lead to a denser texture by establishing additional nodes in chains of reference and chains of lexical reiteration.

Finally, the last category in this classification, namely, that of interpersonal explicitness shifts, concerns the extent to which the translator makes the presence or involvement of the author more visible in the target text (Hopkinson 2007: 54). At the level of epistemic modality, for instance, the author's certainty or uncertainty can be explicitated by inserting modifiers and qualifiers, such as *undoubtedly*, *clearly*, *possibly*. The author's attitudes might be made more transparent by inserting attitudinal markers in the form of intensifiers. For instance, the addition performed in *the same **weary** clichés* clearly signals the author's frustration and criticism (this example comes from a context where this part of meaning is explicitated legitimately as it is retrievable from the co-text). However, these surface mechanisms of attitudinal meaning should be treated with caution. This type of shift seems to be particularly prone to excessive explicitation or over-translation. It might as well reflect the translator's personal attitude and lead to the distortion of the point of view or the ideology projected by the text (see Gumul 2011a).

1.2.7 Pápai's explicitation strategies

Pápai (2004) categorises explicitation into five levels, which are in turn subdivided into the total of 16 explicitating strategies. Although she opts for the term strategy to refer to explicitation, which implies the translator's conscious choice, she attributes certain forms to subconscious behaviour.

The first level is that of logical and visual relations, divided into addition of punctuation marks or replacing a punctuation mark with a stronger one, segmentation or merging of sentences, and addition of explanatory conjunction (*i.e.*). She provides examples illustrating how insertion of brackets can make the information comprised between them more explicit. The resulting text is, according to her, simpler and easier to read.

The second lexicogrammatical level comprises five types of shifts: lexical repetition, grammatical parallel structures, filling elliptical structures, reconstructing substitution, and lexicalisation of pro-forms. This category is based on Halliday and Hasan's (1976) typology of cohesive ties. According to Pápai, such shifts mostly lead to redundancy.

The third and fourth levels of Pápai's taxonomy subsume syntactic shifts. The first syntactic level includes two types of derivatives: participles and postpositional adjectives, both shifts resulting from systemic differences between English and Hungarian. This type of shift is thus equivalent to obligatory explicitation, discarded in most empirical studies as irrelevant to the study of an essentially translational phenomenon. The second syntactic level subsumes addition of conjunction and addition of cataphoric reference and conjunction. The last fifth level includes four types of textual and extra-linguistic shifts: lexical explanation, discourse-organising items, situational addition, and culture-specific items with added information.

1.2.8 Murtisari's scalar and categorical explicitation

Murtisari (2013, 2016) proposes a distinction between scalar and categorical explicitation in order to account better for the complex relationships not only between implicitness and explicitness, but also between different levels of explicitness manifested in the source and target texts. Her classification provides explanatory power for all surface forms of explicitation, whether they take the form of physical addition or specification.

A detailed account of this classification was presented in the Section 1.1.4, dealing with the notions of explicitness and implicitness, as I believed it to be crucial in demonstrating the relationship between explicitness and explicitation.

1.3 Research methods and frameworks

Explicitation has been investigated adopting diverse research methods, ranging from manual comparison of source and target text, through analysis of parallel translational corpora, to juxtaposing the levels of explicitness in monolingual and comparable corpora. Studies adopting any of these three methods are essentially product-oriented and observational, as they deal with existing texts. There are also some process-oriented – experimental or quasi-experimental – studies, usually combining analysis of the process, through think-aloud protocols or retrospective comments, with product analysis (Englund Dimitrova 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2008, 2017). It has to be emphasised that each of these research methods has its weaknesses, which we shall look into in this section.

Manual comparison of source and target texts is the first method employed in the early empirical research on explicitation (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1986; Séguinot 1988; Weissbrod 1992, etc.) and is still used successfully to investigate certain aspects of this phenomenon (Vehmas-Lehto 2001a, 2001b; Englund Dimitrova 2005; Murtisari 2013). The advantage of this method is a possibility of a thorough, meticulous analysis of the relationship between source and target texts. It is feasible to trace all the dependencies in the co-text as well as the impact of the extra-textual context by analysing the situation in which each text was created. However, this method is very time-consuming, and the analysed corpus is usually of a relatively small size, which makes it difficult to separate universal tendencies from text-specific features and idiosyncratic behaviour of translators.

By contrast, corpus studies allow for the generalisation of the results to a much larger extent, since they operate on an incomparably larger body of data.[19] The advent of corpus studies constitutes a turning point in empirical research on explicitation, as it opened up new possibilities, unattainable with the traditional approach of manual comparison. Above all, it allows to find linguistic patterns that are repeated across large numbers of translations. As pointed out by Zanettin (2013), over the last 20 years, corpus linguistics has made a significant contribution to translation research.

[19] The use of the term corpus requires some clarification since in a broad sense of the term, any texts selected for manual analysis are also considered to be a corpus (of a given study) (Saldanha 2009: 1). However, by corpus research in Translation Studies, we normally refer to studies employing "a large collection of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic form according to a specific set of criteria" (Bowker & Pearson 2002: 9, quoted in Saldanha 2008: 1). Following Bowker and Pearson, Saldanha mentions four aspects that differentiate a corpus from any other collection of texts. These are size, selection criteria, authenticity of the data, and means of storage. It is interesting to note that Hopkinson (2008) uses the term "parallel corpora studies" both for manual comparison of source and target texts and analysis of data organised in the form of a corpus complying with corpus linguistics requirements.

There are two research methods employing corpus-based approach: parallel corpora and comparable corpora studies. The first one is similar to traditional manual analysis in that it also compares target texts to source texts. However, the number of analysed texts is much higher, and the analysis is carried out with the tools of corpus linguistics, although parallel corpora studies often resort to manual analysis to a certain extent as well, due to the difficulties of tagging two parallel texts. This might limit the size of the data sample if the investigated aspect requires extensive manual analysis.

In turn, comparable corpora studies allow processing of massive amounts of data. This method measures the frequencies of indicators of explicitness in a corpus of texts translated into a given language and compares it with a corpus of non-translated texts written originally in the same language. Many studies working with English rely on the TEC (Translational English Corpus), which is a digitalised collection of contemporary texts translated into English from a variety of both European and non-European languages (including Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, French, German, Polish, Arabic, Thai, Tamil, and many others) set up and managed by Professor Mona Baker at the Centre for Translation and Intercultural Studies at the University of Manchester. Texts from this corpus are then compared to the BNC (British National Corpus) to find differences in patterning between translational and non-translational English. The advantage of this research methodology is the opportunity to compare translated texts and non-translated texts within the same language, ruling out the language-specific differences. Another strength of this approach is the scale of the analysis, due to a corpus size, and computer processing tools. This method is particularly suitable for investigating certain aspects – for instance, testing translation universals. As we can read in the webpage of the corpus:

> TEC has supported a broad range of studies in two main areas: the way in which the patterning of translated text might be different from that of non-translated text in the same language, and stylistic variation across individual translators.[20]

Comparable corpora studies make it possible to observe general trends and macro-textual tendencies thanks to quantitative statistical analysis that can only yield statistically significant results on large corpora.

However, corpora-based studies have received its share of critique, especially comparable corpora studies. For instance, as far as Chesterman's (2004) universals are concerned, Heltai (2005) claims that comparable corpora analysis on the one hand and parallel corpora or manual comparison of ST and TT on the other provide evidence of two different phenomena. Parallel comparisons allow the researcher to test S-universals, that is, universal differences between

[20] http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/translation-and-intercultural-studies/research/projects/translational-english-corpus-tec/, accessed 12.11.2016.

source and target texts, showing how translators process source texts. By contrast, comparable corpora can only account for T-universals, which are universal differences between translated and non-translated texts, which explain how translators handle target language. On the basis of Chesterman's distinction between S-universals and T-universals, Krüger (2014) proposes the terms S-explicitation and T-explicitation, arguing that the latter "is not a form of explicitation proper but rather a form of comparative explicitness, since it lacks the necessary criterion of translational intertextuality and thus falls outside the cognitive reality and the translational action of the translator" (Krüger 2014: 153).

Moreover, it has to be remembered that a large-scale corpus-based approach is only suitable for certain forms of explicitation that can be tagged in the corpus, and therefore such studies usually focus on adding connectives (e.g., Puurtinen 2004; Fabricius-Hansen 2005), addition of optional *that* after the verbs *say* and *tell* (e.g., Olohan & Baker 2000; Olohan 2001, 2002; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012), or few other forms of explicitation. Moreover, in purely comparable-corpora studies, in which there is no access to source texts, it is impossible to distinguish between legitimate cases of explicitation and unjustified addition, as no source text is used for reference. Likewise, it is difficult to filter all instances of obligatory shifts leading to higher explicitness, required by language-specific differences, from explicitation proper, which is by nature optional, given that certain surface manifestations of explicitation might be due to systemic or stylistic differences or entirely optional, depending on the context (e.g., lexicalisation of pro-forms in Polish–English translation, which sometimes have to be lexicalised to avoid ambiguity of reference). The comparable corpora approach has also been criticised as working against the relational nature of explicitation, since the compared texts are not related to each other (Murtisari 2016: 74). There are even voices in the Translation Studies community advocating going back to parallel corpora research (e.g., Kamenická 2008a: 118).

Some drawbacks of corpus studies can be overcome by combining analysis of both bi-directional comparable corpus and parallel corpora. Such a two-stage analysis was carried out, among others, by Konšalová (2007), who contrasted frequencies of analysed features in original Czech and German texts (monolingual corpora) and then, as a follow-up, examined explicitating shifts in a parallel corpus in both directions of translation. A combined analysis has also been conducted by Pápai (2004).

All the above-mentioned methods, that is, manual analysis, parallel corpus, and comparable corpus studies, are product-based, and their major shortcoming is that they offer little or no insight into the process of translation. Such doubts are voiced, among others, by Hopkinson (2008), who argues that

> the main potential weakness in any product-based study – compared with process-based studies – is the temptation to make speculative claims about

> the translation process without actually having any direct access to that process. There is not always a clear boundary between valid interferences drawn from the product data, on the one hand, and unsupported speculation, on the other. (…) Of course translation product data can provide good evidence for deductive claims about the processes which were involved in the translation (though this only applies to parallel corpora, from which we can at least trace the specific solutions chosen by translators faced with specific problems, and maybe uncover certain patterns and regularities in their choice of solutions). However, any process-related claims made on the basis of product evidence must necessarily remain tentative. (Hopkinson 2008: 31)

These shortcomings of product-oriented studies can, at least to a certain extent, be overcome by employing process-oriented research methodology. The methods employed in experimental translation studies are TAPs (think-aloud protocols), retrospective protocols, and computer logging, and in most cases, these are combined with product analysis. Compared with the proliferation of product-based research, such studies on explicitation are very few: Englund Dimitrova's (2005) study, which aims at analysing explicitation of implicit logical relations in written translation combining TAPs and computer logging recording the translators' keystrokes, Gumul's research (2006a, 2008, 2017), with a focus on explicitating shifts in simultaneous interpreting analysed through retrospective protocols, Denver's (2007) triangulated experimental study combining three introspective tools: keyboard loggings, concurrent verbalisations, and retrospective interviews, and Mesa-Lao's (2011) controlled experiment on computer-assisted translation conducted with the aid of video recordings and keyboard loggings.

The advantage of process research is the possibility to gain insight into the causes of explicitation. Thanks to introspective verbalisations, whether concurrent or retrospective, we can find out why a given solution has been chosen, which elucidates underlying cognitive processes (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 68).

Process-oriented research also has some inherent deficiencies. Firstly, translator's comments are not always fully reliable. Apart from commenting on the actual decisions made during translation, the translator may also, to some extent, present the process of translating in a way he or she considers desirable. Secondly, think-aloud protocols may influence the process of translation and the resulting product due to their invasive nature, and retrospective comments are liable to be influenced by short-term memory limitations of the translator, who is likely to forget certain decisions or reach some post factum conclusions. Finally, it has to be remembered that "many aspects of the translation process remain quite inaccessible, even to rigorously process-based methodologies (…), and ultimately belong to the 'black box' of translation" (Hopkinson 2008: 31). We shall return to the issue of the introspective method in translation process-oriented research in Chapter 3 on methodology, as it is one of the methods employed in the present study.

Another differentiating factor as far as the methodology is concerned is the theoretical framework within which explicitation is analysed. Some of the studies are firmly rooted in a linguistic framework either to classify instances of explicitation, or to be able to account for such shifts. As we could see in Section 1.2, Kamenická (2007a, 2008a, 2008b) and Hopkinson (2007, 2008) model their classifications within Hallidayan functional linguistics. In turn, Murtisari's (2013, 2016) taxonomy of scalar/categorical explicitation and de-explicitation is based on the Relevance Theory (see Section 1.1.4). As to the explanatory power of linguistic theories, Kamenická (2007a) proposes an alternative framework based on Fillmore's Frame Semantics to account for explicitation in translation of literary texts, in which explicitation should be recognised as a prototypical category with a core and a periphery (Kamenická 2007a: 55). Another study which has chosen the cognitive linguistics framework to investigate explicitation is that of Krüger (2013), whose aim is to "provide a cognitively plausible account of explicitation" (p. 295) in the context of scientific and technical translation. He establishes a link between the concept of linguistic construal and Langacker's cognitive semantic theory of domains in order to account for the phenomena of explicitation and implicitation. Krüger relates explicitation to Langacker's concept of specificity, claiming that within this framework "explicitation would occur when a given situation construed schematically in the source text is construed more specifically in the target text" (Krüger 2013: 297). According to him, explicitation arises from "a difference between the construal of a given source text and the construal of the corresponding target text" (p. 297); hence, the author refers to it as a cross-linguistic construal operation.

Even when adopting the same method or theoretical framework, the studies on explicitation differ greatly as to other criteria of analysis. They differ considerably as to the selection criteria of the corpus and its size. As we have seen in the course of this section, on the one hand, we have heavily interpretative example-based examinations of individual cases, working on single texts or a relatively small corpus of texts, and on the other, quantitative analyses on large samples of texts or extensive corpora – both undoubtedly very much needed to account for the phenomenon of explicitation.

The analysed genres range from fiction (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Klaudy 2003; Kamenická 2007a, 2007b; Saldanha 2008, etc.), through press discourse (e.g., Vehmas-Lehto 2002; Sidiropoulou 2004; Gumul 2010a), to specialised texts (e.g., Dósa 2009; Krüger 2013, 2015; Jiménez-Crespo 2015). Research on explicitation has been carried out on a wide range of modes of traslation: apart form the prevailing written translation, there are also studies on subtitling (Perego 2003), localisation of web pages (Jiménez-Crespo 2011), simultaneous interpreting (e.g., Shlesinger 1995; Gumul 2006a, 2007a; Baumgarten et al. 2008), consecutive interpreting (Gumul 2007a), and sight translation (Bakti 2017). There is also a great variety of language pairs analysed. Most combinations involve

English as either the source or the target language – for instance, Blum-Kulka (1986) combines it with Hebrew, Klaudy (1996, 2001, 2003), Pápai (2004), and Bakti (2017) with Hungarian, Krüger (2013, 2015) and Baumgarten et al. (2008) with German, Puurtinen (2004) with Finnish, Øverås (1998) with Norwegian, and Sidiropoulou (2004) with Greek. Many studies undertake analysis on other language combinations: Vehmas-Lehto (2002) investigates explicitation in Russian–Finish translation, Englund Dimitrova (1993) in Russian–Swedish, Perego (2003) in Hungarian–Italian, Konšalová (2007) in Czech–German, and Denver (2007) in Spanish–Danish, to name just a few.

The studies also differ considerably in methods to quantify explicitation. Many authors adopt the indicator of the ratio of explicitation to implicitation (Øverås 1998; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Konšalová 2007; Hopkinson 2008). Other authors take into account information density (e.g., Fabricius-Hansen 1998), type/token ratio (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007, or a simple word count (e.g., Klaudy & Károly 1996). The last method is believed to be unsuitable in some language pairs, especially when the two languages differ considerably (mainly due to typological differences) in the number of words employed to express the same proposition. It is the case of Czech and German, where it is counterproductive to compare word count (Konšalová 2007).

As we could see in the course of this section, the studies on explicitation differ greatly as to their research design, which makes it difficult to compare and generalise the results.

1.4 Causes of explicitation

Another issue which is a source of long-standing controversy in the Translation Studies community are the causes of explicitation. Although explicitation is currently one of the most thoroughly studied phenomena in translation studies, relatively little empirical research has been conducted into the triggers of these types of shifts. Most existing studies can only speculate and hypothesise on the causes of explicitation since, as we could see in the previous section, they are in the vast majority of cases product-based studies. Naturally, relying only on the product of translation offers little insight into the reasons for explicitating shifts, but even process-oriented research has its limitations, and it is not feasible to expect definitive answers as to the causes underlying explicitation. In fact, identifying them is not the principal objective of the vast majority of studies – one of the few studies whose aim is to investigate the reasons underlying explicitating behaviour is process-oriented research of Englund Dimitrova (2005). Nevertheless, deliberations about the reasons why translators explicitate appear in most studies pursuing this topic.

Apart from its postulated status as a universal feature of translation (Baker 1993) and ascribing it to the nature of the translation process itself (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1986; Baker 1993, 1995, 1996; Shlesinger 1995; Ishikawa 1999; Olohan & Baker 2000; Whittaker 2004), the idea of greater explicitness of translated text was also attributed to translator's comprehension processes (e.g., Englund Dimitrova 1993), translation norms (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Pápai 2004), deployment of conscious strategies (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Vehmas-Lehto 2001; Pápai 2004; Pym 2005), striving for optimal relevance and facilitating a reader's task (e.g., Setton 1999; Bogucki 2004), or translator's idiosyncratic preferences (e.g., Nilsson 2002; Kamenická 2008a).

In early pre-descriptive period of translation studies, any other form of explicitation than that required by language-specific or cultural differences was often attributed to translator's incompetence or ignorance (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958/1995). Levý (1963/1983) expresses a similar opinion, associating explicitation with average or mediocre translations. Vinay and Darbelnet's and Levý's assumptions about explicitation stemming from incompetence or ignorance are partially related to their different conceptualisations of the phenomenon. This line of reasoning might also derive from the idea dominating in early prescriptive approaches that translations should not read like translations, and that what later has been called translationese or the third code is something essentially negative.

Later studies also mention the lack of experience as a potential cause of explicitation, however only in certain cases. For instance, Blum-Kulka (1986) ascribes some occurrences of explicitation to the lack of experience, since she finds it to be a frequent tendency in non-professional translators and language learners, although she admits that it should be seen as a universal strategy, as the phenomenon is not absent from professional translations. The correlation between experience and explicitating behaviour has also been suggested by Englund Dimitrova's (2005) study, whose results indicate that students explicitate without a regular pattern whenever they need to solve problems in the translation process. Likewise, Puurtinen (2003) attributes some cases of explicitation (mostly non-systematic uses) to insufficient language and/or translation skills of translation students. She attributes it to their perceiving linguistic form and meaning as separate (Puurtinen 2003: 60). Attributing explicitation to the lower level of translational experience finds some support in the results obtained by Whittaker (2004), who observed a higher frequency of explicitating shifts in text segments of considerable discursive complexity. However, it has to be noted that studies conducted so far have produced some conflicting evidence as far as the influence of experience on explicitation is concerned. Whereas Blum-Kulka (1986) and Laviosa-Braithwaite (1996) show that the tendency towards explicitation is more marked in trainees and non-professional translators, Denver's (2002) results indicate that explicitating shifts are more frequent in the outputs of translators with a higher level of general knowledge and linguistic skills.

Although there is apparently some correlation between the level of experience and explicitating behaviour, and it is true that in constrained forms of translation, like interpreting and subtitling, the constraints of the medium may trigger explicitating shifts (Perego 2003; Pöchhacker 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2008), it has to be emphasised that generally, in most studies on written translation, explicitation is not related directly to the lack of experience or translation problems, and explicitating shifts are not considered as translation errors, unless we talk about the so-called excessive explicitation or over-explicitation (see Section 1.1.3). Blum-Kulka's and Englund Dimitrova's results reveal that inexperienced translators and professionals explicitate differently, but both groups do perform explicitating shifts. As most studies demonstrated, explicitation is a regular tendency in professional translations. In fact, the vast majority of empirical research on explicitation has been carried out analysing professional published translations.

Many researchers relate explicitation to the cognitive processes underlying text comprehension (e.g., Englund Dimitrova 1993; Klaudy 1998/2011; Øverås 1998; Steiner 2001; Konšalová 2007, etc.). It is assumed that it is the very cognitive activity the translator performs as a reader, that is decoding and processing the text, which leads to explicitations when reformulating the text in another language. As a result, the inferred information is encoded in the surface structure of the target text. Steiner (2001) observes that:

> At some point of that chain of de-metaphorisation, then, rewording in the target language begins, and although good translators will approximate a full semantic paraphrase (…), they will often not go all the way back up the steps of grammatical metaphorization. (Steiner 2001: 11)

Encoding inferred meanings and externalising them in linguistic expression is believed to be a subconscious, psycholinguistic process (e.g., Olohan & Baker 2000).

Englund Dimitrova's (2005) results show that this cause may indeed be, to a certain extent, related to the level of translational experience, as the process of text decoding is more automated in professional translators and, consequently, they use less of their cognitive capacity. The assumption about the impact of translator's comprehension processes on the target-text explicitness has been made on the basis of studies testing mostly cohesive explicitation (e.g., Englund Dimitrova 2005); thus, it appears that explicitating implicit logical relations is due to translator's text processing operations.

Linking explicitation to the process of text decoding and reformulation can be extrapolated to the idea of explicitation as a by-product of language mediation, a phenomenon related to the translation task as such, and an inevitable result of the act of mediation (Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 55), in which inferred meanings tend to be unintentionally encoded in linguistic expression, although this idea appears to be more vague and little tangible. Perceiving explicitation as triggered by the very process of translation constitutes the basis for Blum-Kulka's (1986) explicitation hypothesis and is, to some extent, reflected in Klaudy's (1993, 1998/2011) category of translation-inherent explicitation.

The idea of explicitation as a by-product of language mediation raises another question frequently posed in translation research – whether explicitating shifts are a result of a fully conscious, deliberate strategy of a translator, or whether they are performed involuntarily and subconsciously. According to Klaudy and Károly (2005: 15), explicitation can be both an automatic operation and a conscious strategy, depending on the circumstances. The question remains, however, which of them prevails and whether one or the other tendency is dependent on the text genre, mode of translation, or directionality, to name just a few potential variables.

Some researchers are in favour of the strategy standpoint (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Vehmas-Lehto 2001 Pápai 2004; Pym 2005; Baumgarten et al. 2008), while others maintain that explicitation is mainly a by-product of language-mediation (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1986; Baker 1993, 1995, 1996; Shlesinger 1995; Ishikawa 1999; Olohan & Baker 2000; Whittaker 2004). Many approaches emphasise that explicitation results from a mixture of variables (e.g., Baumgarten et al. 2008). It should be noted, however, that few of the studies cited above address the problem of strategy versus by-product, as they concentrate on other aspects of explicitation. Those studies that deal with this issue (Ishikawa 1999; Olohan & Baker 2000; Whittaker 2004) are product-oriented studies, and as such fail to provide first-hand evidence as to the reasons underlying explicitating shifts. Ishikawa (1999), who appears to opt for the by-product standpoint, does so relying solely on product data. She justifies her claim by referring to the specificity of simultaneous interpreting, which clearly exhibits certain traits of spontaneous communication discourse (Ishikawa 1999: 252). The two remaining contributions (Olohan & Baker 2000; Whittaker 2004) are corpus studies, each dealing with one form of syntactic explicitation (*that*-connective and demonstrative clauses, respectively). Notwithstanding the fact that examination of large corpora has been claimed to provide evidence of both conscious and subconscious translation processes by investigating, for instance, the relation between frequency and typicality (Olohan 2002: 6), it should be borne in mind that product-oriented research always gives little insight into the complex thought processes of translators.

The only process-oriented study that sheds some light on the strategy versus by-product of language mediation dilemma in translation is that of Englund Dimitrova (2005), whose results suggest that the (in)voluntariness of explicitation is expertise-related. Professional translators show the highest degree of automation in the process of explicitating, whereas language students' explicitations tend to be oriented towards solving a translation problem and thus appear to be strategic.

Previous research into simultaneous interpreting (Gumul 2006a) shows that explicitation in interpreting is in most cases an unconscious, that is, non-strategic procedure. The analysis of both interpreting outputs and the retrospective verbal protocols indicates that subconscious explicitation accounts for 93.15% of all cases of explicitating shifts detected in the outputs, while strategic explicitation only for 6.85%. The vast majority of subconscious shifts were found to be cohesion-related, whereas a large proportion of meaning specification, disambiguated metaphors, and explanatory phrases appeared to be fully conscious strategic choices of the interpreters.

Quite apart from the distinction into strategic and subconscious, or involuntary, explicitation, this phenomenon can also be accounted for in terms of maximising communication, risk aversion, and relevance-enhancing procedures (e.g., Setton 1999; Bogucki 2004; Pym 2005). After all, translation, as any other act of communication, is ostensive-inferential in nature. Moreover, translators might be expected to explicitate with a view to maximising contextual effects and minimising the processing effort of the target audience, thereby striving for optimal relevance, although it should be borne in mind that greater explicitness can by no means be assumed to lead automatically to better processability (see Heltai 2005). The idea that explicitation may, at least in certain cases, stem from the translator's desire to make the text more readable – that is, from his or her wish to cooperate with the reader – appears in many approaches (e.g., Pym 2005, Hopkinson 2008, etc).

Indeed, seeing explicitation as an attempt on the part of the translator to minimise the risk of non-cooperation and to prevent the reader from misinterpreting the text seems very plausible. This idea has been discussed extensively by Pym (2005) in his paper, where in order to provide a rationalist and sociological explanation of why the phenomenon might occur, he models explicitation within a risk-management framework (Pym 2005: 34). He perceives translators as risk-averse due to the cultural reward system that underlies their professional task. Pym summarises the causes of explicitation as a combination of pragmatic and sociological factors:

> The elements are three: prudence, Gricean cooperation, relevance to a new reception situation, the ethics of service (subservience), damage control or remedy. For all of those things, we could say that translators have reasons to be risk-averse; or they are given to minimizing risks; or they do not want to take risks in their own name. This hypothetical risk aversion would then be our general explanation for explicitation (…). To that we can add a second and entirely compatible reason: since translation involves communication into a context with fewer shared references, it involves greater risks than non-translation, which does not consistently have this feature. And where there are greater risks, there are greater opportunities for risk minimization, although those opportunities are clearly not obligations. (Pym 2005: 40–41)

Another sociological explanation for explicitation offered by numerous studies is the compliance with translational norms (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998). The understanding of norms in these studies reflects a descriptive approach to translation, in which translation norms are perceived as "regularities of translation behaviour within a specific sociocultural situation" (Baker 1998: 163), rather than guidelines to follow in order to produce correct and acceptable translations. The characteristic feature of the norms is that they operate "in a certain section of a given culture at a given time" (Weissbrod 1992: 154). Weissbrod perceives explicitation as a norm-oriented procedure and concludes that norms "may encourage the tendency to explicitate or, on the contrary, undermine and ever overpower it" (p. 154). Her results reveal diverse explicitating tendencies (both in terms of amount and form) in English–Hebrew translations performed in different periods and belonging to different genres.

Explicitation is also seen in some approaches as related to translator's idiosyncratic preferences, and thus the explicitation patterns are believed to reflect a translator's style (e.g., Nilsson 2002; Konšalová 2007; Kamenická 2008a; Hopkinson 2008). Since the relationship between translator-specific behaviour and explicitation patterns is one of the aims of the present study, we shall discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 6.

The reasons for explicitation have also been found to depend on other variables. For instance, Englund Dimitrova (1993) attributes explicitation to different causes, depending on the stage of the translation process:

> those semantic changes which emanate from the structure of the translator's semantic representation are usually manifest in the first version of the target text and/or in his verbalized thought processes. Other types of changes, i.e. pragmatic changes, tend to occur later in the text production processes. The former kind of change can either remain or be deleted, partly as a consequence of the translator's individual style. (Englund Dimitrova 1993: 292)

The causes underlying explicitating behaviour appear to be closely related to specific surface manifestations of explicitation. Thus, for instance, adding connectives is associated either with subconscious translational behaviour or a conscious desire to "improve" the text, whereas it would be unrealistic to perceive additional explanatory remarks as involuntary reflexes of the translator.

The picture emerging from a multitude of research on different types of explicitation in every mode of translation and a variety of text genres shows that explicitating shifts can potentially be induced by any of the hypothesised causes, depending on the circumstances, and that the pattern of explicitating shifts in a given target text might result from an interaction between several different factors.

1.5 Explicitation as a translation universal

Seeing explicitation in terms of a translation universal appears in some studies as one of the possible explanations for this phenomenon. However, I have decided to dedicate a separate section to its discussion, as the issue is much more complex and apparently enjoys a different status in the studies on explicitation. As Pym (2005: 39) observes, "if explicitation is held to be a universal of translation, then it may not require (or even be available) any other kind of explanation."

The idea of translation universals has provoked heated debate in the Translation Studies community, so much as to the extent of the phenomena involved and methodological considerations in their research, as to the validity of the very claim of universality of certain features in translated texts. Baker (1993: 243) defines translation universals as "features which typically occur in translated texts rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems." Chesterman (2004) adds that it is not only the problem of language-pair influence; if we are to consider a certain tendency as universal, it should also be independent of text genre, translator style, or historical period. Thus, universals are believed to result from nothing more than the mediating character of the translation process, which appears to be closely related to the issue of by-product of language mediation.

Apart from explicitation, which is the most serious candidate for the status of a translation universal, Laviosa-Braithwaite (1998: 288) lists other features: lexical, syntactic and stylistic simplification, normalisation or standardisation of unconventional features of source texts, naturalisation or over-representation of target-language features, avoidance of repetition, and discourse transfer. Kanter et al. (2006) identify another universal behaviour governing the joint probability distribution of words. The presence of such features whose distribution and extent in translated texts are believed to be different from those in non-translated texts or source texts contributes to the phenomenon referred to as the third code. Another potential candidate for a translation universal is implicitation, the reverse of explicitation. In some studies, implicitation is seen as a concept inseparably linked to explicitation (Klaudy & Károly 2005; Kamenická 2008a; Hopkinson 2008; Murtisari 2013[21]; Krüger 2014). Kamenická (2008a) goes as far as to adopt the term "explicitation phenomena" to refer to both explicitation and implicitation, as she considers them to be twin concepts which cannot be separated from each other.

Although claims about the universality of certain features of translational language have been voiced in the Translation Studies community since the 1980s, it was clearly the advent of comparable corpora studies that provided impetus for testing translation universals thanks to the possibility to investigate large bodies

[21] Murtisari (2013, 2016) opts for the term de-explicitation to refer to implicitation.

of authentic texts in computer-readable format. As we have seen in the previous section, this method allows to arrive at generalisations to a much greater extent than traditional pen and paper analysis of source and target texts. Thus, it appears to be ideal for investigating phenomena claimed to be universal and therefore requiring extensive approach. While the comparable-corpus approach has proved to be useful in testing translation universals, we have to bear in mind, as already pointed out in Section 1.3, that comparable corpora and parallel corpora provide evidence for two separate phenomena. In order to account for this diversification, Chesterman (2004) proposed a division into S-universals and T-universals, the former reflecting universal tendencies in relations between target texts and source texts, whereas the latter describing universal differences between translated and non-translated texts.

Research on translation universals poses some more conceptual and methodological problems. First of all, the terminology is far from consistent, and as Chesterman (2004: 44) observes, there is "a plethora of terms that appear at first sight to mean more or less the same thing." We also face a great deal of overlap between some of the proposed universals. Mauranen and Kujamäki (2004), the editors of a volume devoted to the debate on the existence of translation universals, admit that a lot remains to be done in the empirical research on this phenomenon:

> Given that the accumulated evidence is still scarce, it is impossible to tell how general we can get in our descriptions – without ending up with truisms such as 'all translations involve two linguistic codes' or other general statements which follow from the definition of translation. (Mauranen & Kujamäki 2004: 9)

Some researchers are quite tentative about calling such features universals and prudently opt for laws of translation (Toury 1995), regularities of occurrence, or even tendencies. There are also voices advocating abandoning the notion and denying its existence (House 2008). House argues that if we are to talk about universals, language universals should be sufficient to account for such phenomena, as there is no need to separate translational activity from other forms of language use.

Of all the translation universals, explicitation is the one which has attracted most attention in the Translation Studies research. In fact, although all of them are mentioned in encyclopaedic works on translation, explicitation is the only one which has been given separate entries, for instance, in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998; Baker & Saldanha 2011) and *Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies* (Pöchhacker 2015c). Opinions about the status of explicitation as a translation universal are divided, just like the entire debate about the existence of translation universals. There are studies that openly declare support for the idea and interpret their results as confirming the universal character of explicitation (e.g., Baker 1993; Olohan & Baker 2000, etc.) and those which deny the universality of explicitating shifts (House 2008; Becher 2010; Baumgarten et al. 2008).

Baumgarten et al.'s (2008) study, whose results the researchers interpret as disconfirming the universal character of explicitation, brings attention to an important issue in the research on translation universals, namely, the necessity of proper balance between the general and the specific. The authors of this study claim that "explicitation in language mediation is clearly not a universal phenomenon" (Baumgarten et al. 2008: 198) on the basis of the results of two small-scale investigations. One of their analyses aims at finding out how interpreters render the proper name *Amazônia* from Brazilian Portuguese into German (*Amazonasgebiet* being more explicit than *Amazonien*). Their results reveal considerable differences between the renditions of different interpreters, which, according to them, provides sufficient evidence that explicitation is not a universal feature of translation. There appears to be some problem with their interpretation of the results, though. Firstly, comparing the outputs of different translators or interpreters, we cannot expect that all of them would render the same item in a more explicit way. If they did, that would rather attest to clear stylistic preference for this form or another language convention that leads invariably to the same translational solution. To my mind, translator-to-translator differences in the rendition of a given item do not exclude the existence of translation universals. Apparently, the analysis conducted on such a specific level of one selected surface manifestation loses its generalising power and does not validate the categorical statement that explicitation is not a universal phenomenon. Clearly, to be able to provide evidence confirming or refuting the claims about the universal character of explicitation, we need large-scale, replicable studies on various language combinations. Possibly such joint effort of researchers could make it possible to answer some questions about this concept.

CHAPTER 2

Explicitation and its surface manifestations

For the purpose of analysing explicitation in simultaneous interpreting in the present study, the explicitating shifts are classified according to surface manifestations of explicitation, that is, the forms it might take in the texture of the target text. Therefore, in this chapter, we shall provide a detailed presentation and discussion of the linguistic features that are considered to be indicators of explicitation as they appear in previous research on explicitation (Table 2.1). However, a detailed discussion presented in Sections 2.1–2.13 concerns only the features relevant for the present study. The classification will then be further refined and limited to the forms expected to appear in Polish–English simultaneous interpreting and presented in Chapter 3 dealing with methodology.

The presentation will start with various forms of cohesive explicitation, and then we shall move on to discuss other linguistic features making the target text more explicit. The terms adopted in this overview to name surface forms of explicitation constitute an attempt at unification. Various researchers employ different terms to refer to the same phenomena. For instance, reiteration is alternatively called repetition or lexical repetition, or recurrence. Certain concepts are also used in various research studies in a slightly more general or more specific meaning. There are also cases when certain phenomena are grouped or, on the contrary, divided into finer, more specific categories. In some cases, the choice of the terminology depends on the focus of a given approach and its theoretical background. Most of the relevant terminological variation or inconsistencies will be commented on in the sections dealing with individual forms of explicitation. Table 2.1 presents a concise survey of surface manifestations of explicitation along with examples and the list of studies which deal with each particular form.

Table 2.1. Surface manifestations of explicitation in previous research (updated and adapted from Gumul 2006a)

No.	Surface manifestation of explicitation	Example	Previous research
1	2	3	4
1.	adding connectives	They are intended to be three separate sections. → They are intended, **however,** to be three separate section. We shall explain in detail the reasons behind (…) → **Moreover**, we shall explain in detail the reasons behind (…)	For example, Vanderauwera 1985; Blum-Kulka 1986; Vehmas-Lehto 1989, 2001; Weissbrod 1992; Séguinot 1988; Englund Dimitrova 1993, 2003, 2005; Shlesinger 1995; Klaudy 1996; Fabricius-Hansen 1998; Øverås 1998; Niska 1999; Puurtinen 2003, 2004; Pápai 2004; Sidiropoulou 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2007a, 2017; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Hopkinson 2007, 2008; Kamenická 2008b; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008; Mesa-Lao 2011; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016; Bakti 2017, etc.
2.	intensifying cohesive ties / categorial shifts of cohesive devices	Books **and** press articles (…) → **Both** books **and** press articles (…) (…) **and** they decided to wait. → (…) **so** they decided to wait.	Øverås 1998; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Hopkinson 2008, Kamenická 2008b; Bakti 2017
3.	lexicalisations of pro-forms (i.e., shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion)	The passage that described **him**. → The passage that described **the author**. **They** decided to act. → **The authorities** decided to act.	Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Olohan & Baker 2000; Olohan 2002; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2012a, 2017; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Mesa-Lao 2011; Murtisari 2013; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016
4.	reiterating lexical items and shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical/ partial repetition	(…) linked these two parts of the city (…) but it's not the linking process that I'm concerned with just now. → (…) linked these two parts of the city (…) but it's not this process of linking **two parts of the city** that I'm concerned with now. **new projects** could be introduced → **new projects**, **new ideas** could be introduced The northern entrance to **the city** (…) The motorway leading	Øverås 1998; Pápai 2004, Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2007a, 2017; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Hopkinson 2008; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008; Jiménez-Crespo 2011; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016; Bakti 2017

Table 2.1 continued

1	2	3	4
		to London (…) → The northern entrance to **the city** (…) The motorway leading **to the city** (…)	
5.	filling out elliptical constructions	(…) some of the other consequences, and there were many of them, some very important (…) → (…) some of the other consequences, and there were many of them, some **of the consequences were** very important (…)	Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Pápai 2004; Steiner 2005; Heltai 2005, 2007; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2007a, 2017; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Hopkinson 2008; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016; Bakti 2017
6.	reconstructing substitution	Preference for nominal constructions rather than verbal **ones**. → Preference for nominal constructions rather than verbal **constructions**.	Pápai 2004; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012
7.	insertion of optional *that*	They told me I should (…) → They told me **that** I should (…)	Olohan & Baker 2000; Baker 2000; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012
8.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	There were many consequences. → There were many **negative** consequences. He is bound to suffer psychological damage. → He is bound to suffer **serious** psychological damage.	Vanderauwera 1985; Øverås 1998; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2017; Kamenická 2008a, 2008b; Hopkinson 2008; Bakti 2017
9.	inserting hedges	The city was founded (…) → **As you probably know,** the city was founded (…) There are various motivations underlying such decisions. → **As far as I'm concerned** there are various motivations underlying such decisions.	Ishikawa 1999; Setton 1999; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Baumgarten et al. 2008; Hopkinson 2008
10.	inserting discourse organising items	We shall present the potential causes. → **We would like to begin with** the presentation of the potential causes.	Pápai 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Hopkinson 2008
11.	adding a proper name to a generic name; substituting a generic name with a proper name;	Every citizen is aware (…) → Every **American** citizen is aware (…) They travelled to **the capital**. → They travelled to **London**.	Vanderauwera 1985; Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2017; Kamenická 2007a; Baumgarten et al. 2008; Murtisari 2013; Hejwowski 2015

	substituting a pseudonym or a nickname with a name and/or surname	Posh Spice → **Victoria Beckham**	
12.	full expression for acronym or abbreviation	IATIS → IATIS (**The International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies**) AIIC → AIIC (**The International Association of Conference Interpreters**)	Baumgarten et al. 2008
13.	including additional explanatory remarks or providing descriptive equivalents	The information you can find on aiic.net (…) → The information you can find on **the web page** aiic.net (…) Ron and Hermione → Ron and Hermione (**the closest friends of Harry Potter**) joint custody → **division of child custody between former spouses**	Vanderauwera 1985; Weissbrod 1992; Baker 1992; Klaudy 1996; Øverås 1998; Al-Qinai 2001; Perego 2003; Pápai 2004; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2017; Baumgarten et al. 2008; Saldanha 2008; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008; Mesa-Lao 2011; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016; Bakti 2017
14.	adding examples	the world's highest peaks → the world's highest peaks (**e.g. Everest, Lhotse**)	Baumgarten et al. 2008
15.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	These demands are not **open to negotiation and discussion**. → **We will not negotiate or discuss** these demands.	Steiner 2001, 2005; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Puurtinen 2000, 2003; Gumul 2006a, 2006d, 2011a, 2011c, 2017; Konšalová 2007; Hopkinson 2008; Bakti 2017
16.	disambiguating lexical metaphors or replacing metaphors with similes	John is **the light of my life**. → John **brings me so much happiness**. She was **over the moon**. → She was **happy as a lark**.	Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Sidiropoulou 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Murtisari 2013; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016
17.	lexical specification (i.e., substituting a word with general meaning with a word with more specific meaning)	They **said** they would be there. → They **promised** they would be there. She heard **a noise**. → She heard **a thud**.	Englund Dimitrova 1993; Øverås 1998; Perego 2003; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Kamenická 2007a; Hopkinson 2008; Mesa-Lao 2011; Murtisari 2013
18.	meaning specification (i.e., articulating ideas	(…) to save the victims. → (…) to save the victims **of the attack**.	Weissbrod 1992; Ishikawa 1999; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008

Table 2.1 continued

1	2	3	4
	retrievable or inferable from the preceding part of the text or the cognitive context)	hijacked airplanes → airplanes hijacked **by terrorists**	
19.	distributing the meaning of a source-text unit over several units in the target text	this double focus → **this division into two urban centres**	Klaudy 1996; Pápai 2004; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a
20.	addition and modification of punctuation marks	Natural physical objects **like stones**, and designed and manufactured objects **like watches**. → Natural physical objects **(like stones)**, and designed and manufactured objects **(like watches)**.	Pápai 2004; Baumgarten et al. 2008

The surface manifestations of explicitation which are believed to be relevant for the present study will be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections, each dealing with a separate form.

2.1 Adding connectives

Connectives can be described as linguistic expressions whose function is to signal conceptual relationships established between different parts of a text and which in this way make the text cohesive and coherent. The category of connectives, as perceived in the majority of existing approaches to explicitation, broadly corresponds to Halliday and Hasan's (1976) category of conjunction or/and de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) junction. It also draws on other approaches to cohesion which we shall briefly recount here.

Conjunction is defined by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 227) as a semantic relation which involves "a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before." However, in contrast to reference and ellipsis, the use of conjunction as a cohesive marker does not require the recipient to consult the other part of the text to retrieve the missing information. Conjunctive elements are not cohesive in themselves, but by virtue of their specific meanings. As Halliday and Hasan (1976: 13) put it: "Here the cohesion resides in an abstract relation between one proposition and another." It is assumed that conjunctive cohesion consists mainly in using a formal marker to combine sentences and paragraphs into a meaningful text; therefore, it merely presupposes the presence of other components in the text and in this way signals relation to the preceding or following discourse. This discrepancy between conjunction and the remaining types of cohesive markers (reference, substitution, ellipsis, and lexical cohesion) is also acknowledged by Hatim and Mason (1990: 205), who refer to the former as "relations holding between propositions, in terms of both overt signalling (cohesion) and perceived intentions (coherence)." By contrast, the other cohesive relations are described as the ones "holding between various elements in a text" (p. 205).

The main relations commonly used to express conjunction are: additive conjunction, adversative conjunction, causal conjunction, and temporal conjunction. However, the borderline between the four categories is not always clear-cut. Baker (1992), who adopts Halliday and Hasan's (1976) classification for the purpose of her analysis, points out that one conjunction might indicate different relations, depending on the context. For instance, *and* may be additive, which is its default function, but also causal and sequential temporal, as we have seen in Section 1.2.6.

It has to be noted that the choice of the term conjunction adopted by Halliday and Hasan (1976) is not uniform in all available approaches. This type of cohesive device is referred to as junction in de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) model, whereas the term conjunction is used to talk about one particular junctive relation, roughly corresponding to Halliday and Hasan's category of additive conjunction. Other junctive relations include: contrajunction, which is equivalent to adversative conjunction; subordination, encompassing the causal relations; and disjunction, a category that includes some of the relations subsumed under the heading of additive conjunction in Halliday and Hasan's classification (e.g., *or*, *either … or*, etc.).

Likewise, a closer look at Gajda's (1982) list of exponents of connectivity and segmentation, as he refers to cohesive devices, reveals that one type of those relations, namely, connexity, partly overlaps with Halliday and Hasan's (1976) category of conjunction. Gajda's (1982) category of connexity encompasses five types of connectives: conjunctions, prepositions, relative pronouns, particles, and a heterogeneous group referred to as connective constructions (*konstrukcje więzi*) comprising elements that are semantically redundant and often metatextual, but nevertheless lend a text its quality of being a cohesive whole (Gajda 1982: 135–138).

The issue of terminological and classificatory inconsistencies is also addressed in Hatim and Mason's (1990) account of discourse texture, where they observe that the four broad categories of Halliday and Hasan (1976) subsume the relations that are listed separately in other approaches. For instance, Graustein and Thiele (1983, cited in Hatim & Mason 1990: 206) divide conjunctive relations into alternative, explicative, conditional, concessive, instrumental, comparative, etc., whereas Crombie (1985, cited in Hatim & Mason 1990: 206) categorises conjunctions in terms of binary values (e.g., cause–effect, condition–consequence, statement–exemplification, etc.), which we have seen reflected in Hopkinson's approach (see Section 1.2.6).

There seems to be no general consensus in literature on the issue of the cohesive properties of intrasentential conjunctions. Halliday and Hasan (1976) maintain that only intersentential ties are cohesive. By contrast, Baker (1992) extends the scope of cohesion for the purpose of her analysis of translated texts, considering "any element cohesive as long as it signals a conjunctive-type relation between parts of a text, whether these parts are sentences, clauses (dependent or independent), or paragraphs" (p. 192).

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) maintain that apart from disjunction (nearly always expressed by the conjunction *or*), employing junctives is rarely obligatory. In most cases, such relations do not have to be marked explicitly since they can be recovered simply by applying world knowledge. However, using such cohesive markers to express junctive relations enables text producers to exert control over how those relations are recovered by text users (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 74). The function of this type of cohesion is characterised by de Beaugrande and Dressler as follows:

> junction demonstrates how communicative interaction, not just grammatically obligatory rules, decides what syntactic formats participants use. Junctives can be a simple token of courtesy to help make reception of a text efficient. They can assist the text producer as well during the organization and presentation of a textual world. They can (…) imply or impose a particular interpretation. Yet they are seldom to be found in every transition among events and situations of an entire textual world. (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 75)

It appears that it is this optionality and consequent frequent absence of overt cohesive markers signalling conjunction that creates space for proliferation of explicitation of such relations in translation. Translators, acting at first as readers, recover them from the underlying structure and in many cases insert them into the surface structure, either automatically, as a by-product of the process of decoding, or just like authors – as "a simple token of courtesy to help make reception of a text efficient," to use de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981: 75) words again.

The category of adding connectives is undoubtedly the most frequently investigated in empirical studies on explicitation. There is a considerable amount of studies that only aim at investigating this form. The seminal work of Blum-Kulka (1986) is concerned with that form of cohesive explicitation, and in fact the Explicitation Hypothesis, which has generated unprecedented interest in this phenomenon, is based on cohesive shifts. Many subsequent studies rely exclusively on this form of explicitation or combine it with other related forms to confirm or refute its universal character (e.g., Fabricius Hansen 1998; Øverås 1998; Pápai 2004; Puurtinen 2004, etc.) or to investigate other aspects of the phenomenon (e.g., Englund Dimitrova 1993, 2005; Hopkinson 2008; Kamenická 2008a, 2008b, etc.). Thus, due to the widespread interest of researchers, this category has provided more evidence on explicitation than any other surface manifestation.

One of the reasons behind the popularity of this form of explicitation in research is the fact that it lends itself not only to traditional ST–TT comparison, but also to the analyses performed with the tools of corpus linguistics, given that it is possible to tag connectives in the corpus (see, e.g., Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007). In fact, as we have seen in the previous chapter (see Section 1.3), the increasingly popular corpus-based studies go as far as to rely solely on the frequency of its occurrence in corpora of target-texts without reference to the corresponding source-texts (e.g., Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Castagnoli 2008, etc.). Instead they are compared to frequencies in monolingual corpora of texts originally written in the same language. Unlike many other forms, connectives investigated in this way produce valid results even without comparison with the original version of the translated text. The advantages and disadvantages of this approach were discussed in Section 1.3, dealing with research methods.

Another factor that differentiates adding connectives and other related categories of cohesive explicitation from the remaining forms of explicitation is that such cohesion-based shifts usually occur at a different stage of the translation process. As suggested by Englund Dimitrova (1993, 2005), semantic changes which emanate from the structure of the translator's semantic representation usually appear in the first version of the translation, often as a result of an involuntary reflex, whereas other forms, like, for instance, those related to pragmatic information, tend to occur at a later stage of a translation process and are, therefore, more conscious and deliberate. This observation is confirmed by previous research on conference interpreting (Gumul 2006a, 2017), whose results reveal that adding connectives is almost never verbalised in retrospective comments of interpreters, whereas, for instance, additional explanatory remarks are frequently commented on, which seems to prove that cohesive devices are added unconsciously in most cases.

There are different functions of explicitating the semantic relations by means of adding connectives in translation. The most evident and inherently linked to this form is making the text more intelligible for the readers by making the texture more transparent and clear (e.g., Englund Dimitrova 2005; Pym 2005). The texture of the target text is enriched by explicit connectors overtly signalling relations implied in the source text, as in the following example:

> ST: Lauffenburger's team has developed a microscopic cantilever system, for example, where each arm is set up to detect a specific protein.
> TT: **Z kolei** zespół Douglasa Lauffenburgera opracował mikroskopijny system wykrywania białek, którego ramiona reagują na określone proteiny. (Gumul 2006d: 33)

Adding connectives also has the potential of changing the point of view or, in other words, ideology of the text, given that such linguistic choices may reflect subtle changes in attitudes (Puurtinen 2003; Sidiropoulou 2004; Hopkinson 2008; Gumul 2010a, 2011a). In her study on mediation and inscription of ideology in translation, Sidiropoulou refers to connectives as "an ideologically loaded network." She quotes an example from press translation from English into Greek, in which the underlying contrast relation is explicitated and reinforced by the addition of a contrastive element *while* to the surface structure:

> ST: In the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Serbia, where gypsies are at the bottom of a vicious ethnic pecking order, Roma from Bosnia are driven out of refugee camps by fellow victims of the civil war (…)
> TT: In the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Serbia, gypsies are targeted for national purification, **while** Roma from Bosnia are driven out of refugee camps by the very victims of the civil war (…). (Sidiropoulou 2004: 26–27)

2.2 Intensifying cohesive ties

The idea of intensifying cohesive ties as a shift in the level of explicitness stems from the fact that semantically, linkage may be placed on a scale of cohesive force. As pointed out by Øverås (1998), certain ties are more cohesive than others. According to her, for instance, the connectives *therefore* and *and* would occupy different positions on the scale. While the former is strongly cohesive, explicitly relating the clauses, the latter is believed to be the vaguest, whether it expresses addition or consequence (Øverås 1998: 7).

The idea of the hierarchy of strength of cohesive markers also appears in Hopkinson's (2008) study, as we could see in Section 1.2.6. He provides exemplification showing that the relatively weakly explicit connective *and* is explicitated as *furthermore* or *both … and*, depending on its semantic function. In some cases, it is not only the cohesive force that changes, but also the category of cohesive device. The example provided by Øverås (*and they decided to come back early* explicitated into *so they decided to come back early*) might in fact be considered as a change of category of a cohesive tie from additive to causative, as in this particular context *and* may be perceived as merely signalling a connection between propositions rather than the cause-consequence relation. That is why in the previous research such cases were subsumed in a separate category of categorial shifts of cohesive devices (see Gumul 2006a, 2007a, 2008, 2017). In the present study, I decided to opt for a more general category of intensifying cohesive ties to be able to account for other types of shifts on a cohesive force scale.

Unlike the previous category of adding connectives, this form of explicitation does not involve physical addition but specification, as it is not a case of encoding the meaning inferred in the source text, but raising to a higher degree of textual explicitness the element that is already present in the source text. In Murtisari's (2013) model, this category of intensifying cohesive ties would represent scalar explicitation shifts.

2.3 Lexicalisation of pro-forms

Lexicalisation of pro-forms has been investigated or at least commented on in a variety of translation studies on explicitation (Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Olohan & Baker 2000; Olohan 2002; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2017; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Hopkinson 2008; Mesa-Lao 2011; Murtisari 2013; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016). It is associated with explicitating the identity of the referent and establishing stronger cohesive ties within a text.

Lexicalisation of pro-forms is the most common consequence of the shift from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion, especially in longer texts, where endophoric reference is more likely to occur. Lexicalised pro-forms often establish a relation of reiteration or paraphrase (by the latter we mean using a synonymous lexical alternative) with other items in the co-text, as the referent which the pronominal forms point to is often mentioned elsewhere in the text. That is why such shifts are sometimes categorised as reiteration or lexical repetition in the studies dealing with explicitation (e.g., Pápai 2004).

The term reference is used here in the understanding adopted in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model, in which reference is used to state a relationship of identity which exists between expressions in different parts of a text, for example, pro-forms referring to a noun or a noun phrase. There might also be cases of exophoric reference, in which the missing information must be identified in the context of situation (Halliday & Hasan 1976). In both cases "there is a presupposition that must be satisfied; the thing referred to has to be identifiable somehow" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976: 33).

Chains of referential markers build up text cohesion and as Halliday and Hasan observe:

> One occurrence of *John* at the beginning of a text may be followed by an indefinitely large number of occurrences of *he*, *him* or *his* all to be interpreted by reference to the original *John*. This phenomenon contributes very markedly to the internal cohesion of a text, since it creates a kind of network of lines of reference, each occurrence being linked to all its predecessors up to and including the initial reference. (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 52)

It seems to be this "large number of occurrences" where the explicitating potential of this type of relation resides. As pointed out by Brown and Yule (1983), given the limitation of human processing, it would be virtually impossible when dealing with long stretches of text to be able to retain in memory the original expression. The potential danger of the presupposed item being displaced from active storage – whenever there is a long stretch of text before the presupposing form appears – is also underscored in de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981: 60) and Gajda's (1982: 133) approaches. This might be a factor that induces translators to perform explicitation of such relations with the aim of facilitating text decoding for the readers. It might also be a consequence of text processing performed by the translator as a reader, given that a reader "establishes a referent in his mental representation of the discourse and relates subsequent references to that referent back to his mental representation, rather than to the original expression in the text" (Brown & Yule 1983: 200–201). This phenomenon may thus account for involuntary lexicalisation of pro-forms performed by translators and interpreters (see Gumul 2006a).

As pointed out by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), using pro-forms might involve a trade-off between compactness and clarity. Since pro-forms tend to be shorter than the items they replace, they save processing effort. However, if the presupposed elements are hard to locate or determine, the processing effort is wasted on search and matching operations (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 64–65).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish three types of reference: personal, demonstrative, and comparative. Personal reference is achieved by means of the function it has in the speech situation, and the category involved is the one of person. This category includes three classes of pronouns: personal pronouns, possessive determiners, and possessive pronouns.

Although lexicalisation of pro-forms is not recognised as obligatory explicitation, as we could see in Section 1.1.2, in certain cases, systemic differences between English and Polish might lead to ambiguity of reference and require the translator to perform explicitation by lexicalising a pro-form:

(2)
ST: Celem artykułu jest analiza polskich i rosyjskich anegdot o muzykach. Dowodzą **one**, że Polacy i Rosjanie mają podobne poczucie humoru.

TT1: The aim of the article is the analysis of Polish and Russian anecdotes about musicians. **They** indicate that Russians and Poles have a similar sense of humour.
TT2: The aim of the article is the analysis of Polish and Russian anecdotes about musicians. **The anecdotes** indicate that Russians and Poles have a similar sense of humour.

In this hypothetical translation (TT1), the use of the pronominal form *they* results in ambiguity, as due to the absence of gender distinction of the third person plural form in English, it might refer to both anecdotes and musicians. Thus, lexicalisation of this pro-form (TT2) is required to avoid ambiguity. Such instances of necessary lexicalisation of pro-forms have been excluded from the analysis in the present study, in line with general policy to focus only on shifts independent of language-specific differences.

Talking about the category of lexicalisation of pro-forms, it is worth mentioning some terminological and taxonomic variation. For the same type of shifts, Hansen-Schirra et al. (2007) and Mesa-Lao (2011) use the term "phoric to fully lexical (auto-semantic) phrases," reflecting the types of reference: exophoric, endophoric, anaphoric, and cataphoric. In turn, Hopkinson (2008) classifies lexicalisation of pro-forms under the broad category of cohesive lexical repetition.

2.4 Reiteration

Reiteration, often referred to also as lexical repetition in the studies on explicitation, is widely recognised as a form of explicitation (e.g., Øverås 1998; Pápai 2004; Gumul 2006a, 2007a, 2017; Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007; Hopkinson 2008; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016).

In Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model, reiteration is a type of lexical cohesion that takes different forms, ranging from an identical repetition of the same lexical item, through using a synonym or a near-synonym, making use of a superordinate form, to employing a general word. Apart from repetition, all these mechanisms are subsumed under the common heading of paraphrase. In the present study, however, the analysis is restricted to the first form, that is, repetition. A similar approach is adopted in the study of Hopkinson (2008), who argues that it might be difficult to determine the cohesive strength of the other forms and that direct lexical repetition at least provides an objective and tangible criterion (Hopkinson 2008: 184).

The primary function of repetition is that of reaffirmation. According to de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 55), this textual strategy is "prominently used to assert and re-affirm one's viewpoint." Hatim and Mason (1990: 199) stress the role of this cohesive device in creating the rhetoric of a text. Repetition is the preferred lexical cohesion strategy in those types of discourse where it is vital to avoid any ambiguity. This is especially true in the case of legal or academic discourse, where identical repetition of key terms contributes to the precision of expression. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), however, point to a potential drawback of employing this form of cohesion. Excessive use of lexical recurrence might lower the informativity of the text (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 54). Identical repetition as a means of establishing cohesion should be used sparingly in those texts where potential ambiguity is acceptable (e.g., literary texts) and unduly frequent repetition of the same item might lower its stylistic value.

Some disadvantages of repetition are also pointed out in the Relevance Theory, according to which repetitive, redundant utterances are believed to go against the principle of optimal relevance since such language features require extra processing effort to be offset by extra effects (Sperber & Wilson 1986; Bogucki 2004; see also Gumul 2008).

According to Hatim and Mason (1990), identical repetition constitutes a cohesive lexical tie only when “the exact repetition of a word or string of words is a motivated, deliberate choice on the part of the speaker” (Hatim & Mason, 1990: 124). This observation is crucial particularly for the purpose of this study since repetition is a common feature of many interpreting outputs in the study corpus, but in the majority of cases, it amounts to making false starts and does not contribute to higher explicitness of the target text. We do, however, take into account reiterations resulting from self-correction (a strategy of repair), provided that both lexical items are correct equivalents. The other distinct type of reiteration in this category is repeating words or phrases in the course of the text, a form which corresponds to how reiteration is perceived in the studies on written translation, as the first-mentioned manifestation in the form of self-correction occurs only in interpreting. The example provided by Hopkinson (2008) illustrates the second type of reiteration:

> ST: Its [i.e. the state’s] role will be to encourage development in the desired **direction**. That means towards decentralization, plurality of sources, efficiency, ecological soundness (…)
> TT: Its role will be to encourage development in the desired **direction**, that **direction** being towards decentralization, plurality of sources, efficiency, ecological soundness (…). (Hopkinson 2008: 187)

The study also aims at analysing another type of reiteration, which are shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical/partial repetition. Reiteration might also be a result of shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion or filling out ellipsis, but in the present study, all such cases are categorised under lexicalisation of pro-forms and filling out elliptical constructions, respectively; unlike in Hopkinson’s (2008) approach, in which such shifts are classified as cohesive lexical repetition.

Talking about identical lexical repetition in translation, it is worth noting that there are two contradictory tendencies related to this cohesive mechanism in translation studies. On the one hand, as a category of shifts frequently adopted by translators, it is recognised as a universal behaviour characterising translated texts, and as such, a likely candidate for a translation universal (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998: 289; Pápai 2004). On the other hand, translation research shows (e.g., Blum-Kulka & Levenston 1983; Shlesinger 1991; Toury 1991) that translators tend to avoid lexical repetition, whenever possible opting for lexical variation. This tendency is believed to be another candidate for a translation universal (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1998: 289). Toury claims that the translational shift of reducing and omitting lexical repetition is "one of the most persistent, unbending norms in translation in all languages studied so far" (Toury 1991: 188). Pápai (2004), whose results reveal that translators tend to resort to repetition with considerable frequency, attributes this tendency to striving for text cohesion. She argues that "while they [translators] want to create a clear and transparent target sentence, their aim can override the otherwise respected norm of translation, i.e. avoidance of repetition" (Pápai 2004: 153).

As indicated in Section 1.1.2, in the case of English–Polish language pair, lexical repetition is to a certain extent related to stylistic differences between these two languages. Polish tolerates lexical repetition to a far lesser extent than English, opting for lexical variation and co-reference rather than direct repetition.

2.5 Filling out elliptical constructions

Filling out elliptical constructions has been identified and analysed in some studies on explicitation (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Heltai 2005, 2007; Steiner 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2007a, etc.). However, different works adopt different views of the concept of ellipsis. The broadest view of ellipsis can probably be found in the studies by Heltai, who not only perceives ellipsis in terms of a grammatical feature, but also distinguishes semantic and pragmatic ellipsis, the latter category corresponding to a potential trigger of pragmatic or cultural explicitation (in some approaches, including the present study, it is referred to as inserting additional explanatory remarks).

In the present study, ellipsis is understood in a much narrower sense than that of Heltai, and it essentially reflects the understanding of Halliday and Hasan (1976) as one of the forms of grammatical cohesion, or what Steiner (2005) refers to as cohesive ellipsis.

In Halliday and Hasan's approach, ellipsis is manifested by the omission of an item, which must be retrieved from the preceding, or sometimes the following, text, and thus is often interpreted as a form of substitution in which the item is replaced by zero. It is assumed that "ellipsis occurs when something that is structurally necessary is left unsaid" and "there is sense of incompleteness associated with it" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 144). However, it is emphasised in the same work that this definition might be an over-simplification as "the essential characteristic of ellipsis is that something which is present in the selection of underlying (systemic) options is omitted in the structure – whether or not the resulting structure is in itself incomplete" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 144). This type of ellipsis can be illustrated by the following example:

> ST: Kredyty poniżej standardu stanowiły 4,90% kredytów osób prywatnych (3,48% na koniec grudnia 1999 r.), **wątpliwe** – 1,32% (1,56% na koniec grudnia 1999 r.), a **stracone** – 5,29% (6,04% na koniec grudnia 1999 r.).
> TT: Sub-standard loans constituted 4.90% of the retail loans (3.48% at the end of December 1999), **doubtful loans** – 1.32% (1.56%), and **lost loans** – 5.29% (6.04%). (Gumul 2006d: 35)

Polański et al. (1993: 133) mention two factors differentiating ellipsis from other types of omission in the surface structure. The first one is the possibility of interpolation, that is, filling the slot with the ellipted element. The other is the synonimity of the phrase containing ellipsis and the interpolated one. The interpolation condition as a prerequisite for structural acceptability is also underscored by Saloni (1974: 82) in his account of ellipsis in Polish. Like reference, ellipsis is a form of presupposition, and accordingly, its sole function is to refer to something that is already present in the text.

The choice of any of those cohesive devices is often determined by the requirements of a given language system. It has been observed by Polański et al. (1993: 133) that the contextual restrictions forcing ellipsis or reference differ across languages. The following example illustrates this kind of discrepancy. Polish sentence employs ellipsis (here signalled by square brackets), whereas its French equivalent requires reference:

> Los Cezara był równie tragiczny jak **(…)** Pompejusza.
> La fortune de César fut aussi tragique que **celle** de Pompée. (adapted from Polański et al. 1993: 133)

It is interesting to note that the same cohesive device is necessary in English and in Spanish:

> (3)
> The fate of Caesar was as tragic as **that** of Pompey.
> El destino de César fue tan trágico como **el** de Pompeyo.

Differences in grammatical possibilities for ellipsis between English and Polish are also underscored by Shopen and Świeczkowski (1976: 124). They claim that Polish allows subject ellipsis more freely. This is due to the fact that in Polish, verbs are marked for gender. Given that explicitation proper does not stem from systemic differences between source and target texts, all examples of filled ellipsis induced in this way have been excluded from the analysis.

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) perceive ellipsis as a cohesive device contributing to compactness and efficiency of the text. However, excessive use of ellipsis might be counter-productive, requiring too much time for search and problem-solving operations. Thus, like the use of reference ties, ellipsis involves a trade-off between compactness and clarity since the author "must weigh the appropriateness of ellipsis to the setting to decide what extent will contribute to rather than damage efficiency" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 69). This decision has to be taken by the translator as well, who often decides to explicitate such relations by filling out ellipsis for the sake of efficiency, thus easing the processing effort of a reader.

2.6 Adding modifiers and qualifiers

Adding modifiers and qualifiers in both English and Polish usually takes the form of pre- or post-modification of the noun phrase or post-modification of the verb phrase. The explicitating potential of adding various types of modifiers and qualifiers has been explored in numerous studies (e.g., Vanderauwera 1985; Øverås 1998; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2007a; Kamenická 2008a, 2008b; Hopkinson 2008). Inserting additional modifying or/and qualifying items may have different functions: to explicitate coherence relations, to organise the structure of the text, or to amplify/modify the expression of attitude.

As observed by Hopkinson (2008), such shifts may serve to express explicitly coherence relations implied in the source text, which, as we have seen in Section 2.1, are usually explicitated by the addition of connectives. The example provided by Hopkinson shows that adversative relation can also be explicitated at the lexical level:

> ST: Western peace groups, it seems, are turning in even greater numbers not to the state-sponsored Peace Committees in the eastern part of Central Europe but to those citizens who concern themselves with global issues independently of the government, that is, they are turning to the so-called "dissidents."
> TT: Western peace groups, it seems, are turning in even greater numbers not to the **official**, state-sponsored Peace Committees in the eastern part of Central Europe but to those **ordinary** citizens who concern themselves with global issues independently of the government, that is, they are turning to the so-called "dissidents." (Hopkinson 2008: 149)

Due to the insertion of *official* and *ordinary* in the target text, the contrast between the two groups is made more visible.

Likewise, another coherence relation, typically explicitated with the aid of grammatical cohesive markers (connectives), may also be foregrounded by premodification of a noun. In the example provided by Hopkinson (2008: 150–151), *the investigation* becomes *the subsequent investigation* in the target-language version:

> ST: (…) thirty nine men and women of the Heaven's Gate sect (…) committed mass suicide (…) It emerged from the investigation that the sect's members had bought an astronomical telescope and tried to detect the spaceship with their own eyes.
> TT: (…) thirty nine men and women of the Heaven's Gate sect (…) committed mass suicide (…) It emerged from the **subsequent** investigation that the sect's members had bought an astronomical telescope and tried to detect the spaceship with their own eyes. (Hopkinson 2008: 150–151)

This shift creates a more coherent chain of narration by explicitating the temporal sequential relation. It is interesting to note that the addition of the item *subsequent* also explicitates a causal relation since it visibly strengthens the link between the two events referred to in the text – the mass suicide and the investigation.

Pre-modification of the noun phrase may also perform the metatextual function of organising the text (Hopkinson 2008: 169), a role which, like in the examples quoted in Section 2.1, is usually attributed to connectives. Pointing to, identifying, introducing, or anticipating another segment of the text can also be carried out at the lexical level. Thus, inserting *the following* before the noun *example* would express the relation between this phrase and the exemplification that follows more explicitly than only using a colon.

As we could see above, such modifications of the surface structure may be relatively neutral, only serving to emphasise the ideas implied in the source text. However, as pointed out in some studies, the addition of such items might modify the expression of attitude (Hopkinson 2008; Kamenická 2008a; Gumul 2010a, 2011a):

> ST: **Mr Blair's response** was to talk about the challenge of globalisation at his informal summit at Hampton Court – worthy but insubstantial.
> TT: **Jedyne na co było stać Blaira**, to przemówienie na temat wyzwań globalizacji podczas nieformalnego szczytu w Hampton Court, która to impreza była zupełnie wyprana z treści.
> BT: **The only response Blair was capable of** was the speech about the challenge of globalisation at the informal summit at Hampton Court – the event completely lacking in substance. (Gumul 2010a: 104)

The author's negative attitude toward Tony Blair has been explicitated, so the effect of the shift is to strengthen the illocutionary force of the statement. Although such an attitude towards the role of Mr Blair is implied in the source-language version in other segments of the text, it is not verbalised explicitly. In fact, in this example, the translator's intervention goes beyond the addition of the modifier *only*. Neutral wording of *Mr Blair's response* has been rendered as *the only response Blair was capable of*, which imbues the utterance with a distinctly negative tone.

Such cases as the one just mentioned form part of Hopkinson's broad category of shifts related to the author's subjective evaluation. Likewise, Øverås (1998) refers to this form of explicitation as insertion of evaluative additions. Such shifts strengthen the illocutionary force of the propositions, the author's attitude or stance is expressed more overtly than in the source text, claims are more assertive and confident, and statements more emotive (Hopkinson 2008: 199). According to Hopkinson, explicitation of subjective evaluations may be realised via boosting devices, a broader category including also other surface manifestations than just modifiers and qualifiers. The boosting devices may change the degree of certainty or uncertainty, express approval or disapproval more openly, or simply increase the intensity with which the statement is expressed, as in the following example provided by Hopkinson:

> ST: I remember the day Stalin dies. Many of those who believed in his supernatural powers wept.
> TT: I remember the day Stalin dies. Many of those who believed in his supernatural powers wept **openly**. (Hopkinson 2008: 201).

The fragment comes from a text in which the author gives the example of the cult of Stalin to support his thesis that people need the cult of personality as a substitute for religion. Taking into account this context, the addition of *openly* gives greater intensity to the author's statements, explicitating his attitude.

This category seems to be particularly prone to over-explicitation or even overtranslation when the meaning is not retrievable either from the co-text or from the extra-textual context, but merely reflects the subjective interpretation of the translator. Cautious analysis of the source text as well as the extra-textual reality in which it was created is essential. Definitely, this category cannot by analysed relying solely on the target text in corpus-based studies, as without reference to the source text, it is impossible to determine whether a given addition of a modifier or qualifier constitutes explicitation or simply unjustified addition.

2.7 Inserting hedges and discourse organising items

Inserting hedges and inserting discourse organising items are two separate categories in the present study and the approaches that deal with these surface forms of explicitation. Both categories partially overlap with the previous category of adding modifiers and qualifiers, as both hedges and discourse organising items might also assume the form of pre-modification of the noun phrase. As we could see in the previous section, for instance, the addition of *the following* before the noun *example* would carry out a discourse organising function and at the same time be a modifier. Since the classification adopted in the present study aims at categorising explicitating shifts according to their surface manifestations, the case of *the following* is classified under adding modifiers and qualifiers, and a separate category of discourse organising items has been established to account for other forms performing this function. It corresponds approximately to Hopkinson's category of discourse markers, which he defines as "linguistic means whose function is to organize the text, to guide the reader by providing interpretative cues to what he or she is about to read, and otherwise to explicitly comment on the following text" and "which indicate the speaker's intentions with regard to organizing, structuring and monitoring the discourse" (Hopkinson 2008: 169). However, Hopkinson's category of discourse markers is broader as it subsumes also hedges. In the present study, we make a distinction between these two types of markers. By discourse organising items we understand those performing strictly metatextual function, and by hedges all other mitigating expressions that somehow lessen the impact of an utterance and soften the categoricality of the statement, and which perform interpersonal rather than textual function. They are used by the speakers or writers to distance themselves from their statements, and in pragmatic terms, they show the speaker's commitment to Grice's conversational maxims (Yule 1996).

Thus, discourse organising items could include, for instance, the use of *in other words* to signal reformulation of the previous part of the discourse, *for example* to offer an illustration or an example, *summing up* to introduce a summary of the ideas discussed, and *what is more* to present additional or supplementary ideas, etc. In turn, the potential hedges might be, for example, *as far as I know* to signal that the information provided by the speaker is not an undisputable, confirmed fact, *it seems to me that* to emphasise the subjectivity of the utterance, and *as you probably know* to make an assumption about shared knowledge, etc.

2.8 Explicitating shifts involving proper names

Explicitating shifts involving proper names include three surface operations: adding a proper name to a generic name, substituting a generic name with a proper name, and substituting a pseudonym or a nickname with a name and/or surname. In all these cases the assumption is that a proper name makes a more explicit reference to the referent than a generic name, which by its nature designates more entities.

The first example of explicitation, if taken out of context, might seem to be a necessary modification to avoid confusion:

> ST: Small boys around **the country** are donning the horn rims (…)
> TT: W całej **Wielkiej Brytanii** mali chłopcy zakładają okulary w rogowej oprawie (…) (Gumul 2006d: 32)

However, this extract comes from a translation published in a Polish reprint magazine *Forum*, in which case the reader is perfectly aware that he or she is reading an article published originally in *The Guardian*, as the translation is preceded by its logo and abounds in references to Great Britain throughout the text. Thus, the case should be considered as a genuine instance of explicitation reflecting the translator's choice to make the reference to the geographical location more explicit.

Adding a proper name to a generic name may potentially fulfil the function of easing the processing effort of a reader by making the geographical location more explicit, but it might also aim at emphasis, as seems to be the case with *every citizen* rendered as *każdy obywatel amerykański* ('every American citizen'). This particular example comes from a speech by George Bush, and the references to the United States are more than obvious. This subcategory of adding proper names to generic names demonstrates partial overlap with the category of adding modifiers and qualifiers, as the inserted proper name may modify the noun. In fact, Øverås (1998: 581) includes such cases (*the polar explorer – Roald, the polar explorer*) in her broad category of additions in the specification of nouns, along with other forms (e.g., *psychological damage – serious psychological damage*).

In translated texts, we may also encounter frequent cases of adding a name before a surname, not necessarily conditioned by different naming conventions of the target language or by the necessity to avoid misunderstanding as to the referent, since we often deal with universally recognised names; for instance, *Blair* becomes *Tony Blair* and *Lakoff* is rendered as *George Lakoff* (Gumul 2006d: 28).

Another shift which may potentially lead to explicitation is substituting a nickname or a pseudonym with a name and/or surname of the person in question, as is the case in the following example:

> ST: Nicole Kidman, Natalie Appleton and **Posh Spice** all make glasses cool, serious and distinct.
> TT: Dzięki Nicole Kidman, Natalie Appleton i **Victorii Beckham** okulary stały się fajnym dodatkiem, dodającym powagi i wyjątkowości. (Gumul 2006d: 32)

In Poland, Victoria Beckham is more recognisable as the wife of David Beckham than as a member of the Spice Girls pop group. Thus, the reference to the described person is made more explicit in the target text. However, supposing the opposite is true and she is known mostly as a singer in the target-language culture, this might as well be a case of implicitation. Thus, this type of shift does not automatically count as explicitation.

Shifts within proper names are also described by Hejwowski (2015), who provides an interesting example of an explicitation resulting from substituting the first name with the surname. Here the translator assumes that for readers unfamiliar with the politician under discussion, it would be easier to search information on him having at their disposal the surname rather than only the first name:

> ST: However many niggers there are, we don't like it. We are with **Enoch**.
> TT: Niezależnie od liczby czarnuchów, nam się to nie podoba. Jesteśmy za **Powellem**. (Hejwowski 2015: 103)

Finally, summing up the presentation of explicitating shifts involving proper names, it is worth mentioning the stance of Kamenická (2007a) and Murtisari (2013), who argue that the reverse transformation of substituting proper names with generic names also has an explicitating potential. Kamenická provides an interesting example from a Czech translation of David Lodge's novel *Small World*, illustrating this kind of shift:

> ST: No one can figure out how she can stand being married to **Howard**.
> TT: No one can figure out how she can stand living with **that kind of man**. (Kamenická 2007a: 49)

Kamenická argues that the shift explicitates the speaker's attitude towards Howard. In this case the reference to a specific person is not ambiguous in any way, as the immediate co-text makes it clear that the phrase refers to Howard. Thus, it appears to be a very convincing, legitimate case of explicitation. It is interesting to note that the Polish translation explicitates the attitude to Howard in a similar way, whereas Spanish translation maintains the pattern of the source-text:

> (4)
> TT: Wszyscy się dziwią jak ona może wytrzymać z **takim mężem**. (Billi 2001: 134)
> TT: Nadie puede figurarse cómo resiste estar casada con **Howard**. (Riambau 2003: 130)

Thus, analysing explicitating shifts involving proper names one has to take into account that the initial assumption – namely, that a proper name makes a more explicit reference to the referent than a generic name – is not always true.

Murtisari also argues that generalisation may lead to explicitation. While she maintains that translating *The capital* as *Jakarta* in the excerpt she quotes is a legitimate case of scalar explicitation, the reference used in the target text being a development of the ST's logical form, she argues that the opposite shift may lead to explicitation as well. According to her, rendering *She likes to go to Sydney and Melbourne* as *She likes to go to big cities* also results in explicitation. She considers this shift to be a case of categorical explicitation on the grounds that it is a deductive generalisation based on the source-language version

(Murtisari 2013: 336). However, the questions remains whether we can establish equivalence between these two sentences, as they seem to communicate different information. While there is no doubt that certain cases of generalisation constitute legitimate cases of explicitation, also those involving proper names – as was the case with Kamenická's example quoted above (see also Section 1.1.4 for *Heathrow* rendered as *London*; Kamenická 2007a: 48) – Murtisari's example does not seem to be a clear instance of explicitation.

2.9 Including additional explanatory remarks and providing full forms for abbreviations

The category of including additional explanatory remarks subsumes the category of pragmatic explicitation or cultural explicitation usually categorised separately in some approaches (e.g., Mesa-Lao 2011; Vahedi Kia & Ouliaeinia 2016) along with other surface forms. In the present study, adding cultural information is included in the broad category of additional explanatory remarks, as we focus on surface manifestations of explicitation, while the terms cultural and pragmatic point to function rather than form. Thus, the category would include both culture-related explanations (e.g., *the Andalucian village* preceding *Pampaneira*) and those not related to culture (e.g., *The article describes molarity – The article describes the term molarity*).

Additional explanatory remarks might range from a single item, as in the case of *the painter* added before *Matisse*, through short phrases inserted in the sentence, to even extensive footnotes or endnotes. Still, it is worth noting that, for instance, in Hejwowski's (2015) work, we find examples attesting that he considers only the first category as explicitation (*a Millais, a Constable, a Ford Madox Brown* rendered as *obraz Johna Millais, obraz Constabla, obraz Forda Madoxa Browna*; Hejwowski 2015: 102). In the case of explanations retrievable from the extra-textual context, he opts for the term explanation (*objaśnienie*).

Also some of the parentheticals analysed in the study of Baumgarten et al. (2008) are forms of providing additional explanation in translation; for instance, giving the full expression for acronyms, blends, or other types of word formation, giving an explanation of the phenomenon denoted by the proposition in non-specialist, everyday language, giving an example for the phenomenon denoted by the proposition outside the parenthesis, giving geographical location, and giving biographical data of persons and historical dates, etc. (Baumgarten et al. 2008: 189–190).

A wide variety of possible explanations leading to increased explicitness is illustrated by the examples taken from the Polish translation of Bill Bryson's humorous travel book *Notes from a Small Island*, deeply rooted in the British culture. The explanations provided in the translation by Michał Dzierża range from facilitating encyclopaedic information (5 and 6) to explaining the mechanism underlying humour (7):

(5)
ST: The news had not yet come out there was oil under the park and that it all soon might turn into a new Sullom Voe (…) (Bryson 1995: 70)
TT: Wtedy jeszcze nie podano do wiadomości publicznej informacji, że pod parkiem znajdują się pokłady ropy i że wkrótce może się on zamienić w nowe Sullom Voe* (…) (Bryson 2002: 62)
*Sullom Voe – nazwa największej rafinerii ropy naftowej na Szetlandach, na północ od Szkocji.[1]
(6)
ST: Coming from a country where mapmakers tend to exclude any landscape feature smaller than, say, Pike's Peak, I am constantly impressed by the richness of detail on the OS 1:25,000 series. (Bryson 1995: 115)
TT: Jako że pochodzę z kraju, gdzie kartografowie zwykle nie wspominają o cechach krajobrazu, jeśli są mniejsze od, powiedzmy, Pike's Peak, 4 300 m n.p.m., wciąż sprawia na mnie wrażenie bogactwo detalu na mapach serii OS 1 : 25 000. (Bryson 2002: 103–104)
*Pike's Peak – jeden ze szczytów Gór Skalistych.[2]
(7)
ST: The best part of Underground travel is that you never actually see the places above you. You have to imagine them. (…) Chalk Farm is an open space of fields where cheerful peasants in brown smocks cut and gather crops of chalk. (…) Barking is a dangerous place overrun with packs of wild dogs (…). The problem with losing yourself in these little reveries is that when you surface things are apt to be disappointing. I came up now at Tower Hill and there wasn't a hill. There isn't even any longer a Royal Mint (which I always preferred to imagine as a very large chocolate wrapped in green foil) as it has been moved somewhere else and replaced with a building with lots of smoked glass. (Bryson 1995: 54–55)
TT: Najlepszą częścią podróży metrem jest to, że nigdy nie widać miejsc, pod którymi się jedzie. Trzeba je sobie wyobrazić. (…) Chalk Farm to otwarta przestrzeń pól, gdzie radośni chłopi w brunatnych chałatach zbierają plony z kredy*. (…) Barking to niebezpieczne miejsce opanowane przez zgraje dzikich psów** (…). Problem z tego typu marzeniami polega na tym, że jeśli się już wynurzysz na powierzchnię, często spotyka cię rozczarowanie. Na Tower Hill, dokąd przyjechałem, nie było żadnej twierdzy ani tym bardziej wzgórza. Już nawet nie ma Mennicy Królewskiej (którą zawsze wolałem sobie wyobrazić jako wielką czekoladę zapakowaną w zieloną folię***), gdyż została przeniesiona

[1] The footnote appearing in the target text says: "Sullom Voe – the name of the oil refinery on Shetland, north of Scotland."

[2] The footnote appearing in the target text says: "Pike's Peak – one of the peaks of Rocky Mountains."

gdzie indziej i zastąpiona budynkiem z mnóstwem przyciemnionych szyb. (Bryson 2002: 47–48)
* *Chalk* – kreda.[3]
** *Bark* – szczekać.
*** Mennica Królewska to po angielsku Royal Mint. Samo słowo *mint* oznacza także miętę albo czekoladę z nadzieniem miętowym. Stąd też humorystyczne skojarzenie autora.

The foregoing examples illustrate the aspect of explicitation that has been commented on in Section 1.2.3 in the context of over-explicitation. Indeed, the category of including additional explanatory remarks seems to be particularly prone to shifts that border on, or even are clear cases of, excessive explicitation. The aim of adding culture-related explanatory remarks is to bridge the assumed cultural gaps between the source and target cultures and consequently, to cater for the anticipated difficulties of the target-text audience. Obviously, since it is extremely difficult to make assumptions about the knowledge of the audience, to be on the safe side and minimise the risk of incomprehension, translators frequently provide superfluous explanations. We should, however, make a distinction between superfluous, redundant information and underestimating the target readers' intellectual capacity. In Example (5), adding a footnote with the information that Sullom Voe is an oil and gas terminal on the Shetland Islands is undoubtedly of great help to a Polish reader. However, informing that the Shetland Islands are located north of Scotland is nothing short of underestimating a reader's general knowledge. Most readers, even if the choice of Bill Bryson's book does not stem from their interest in Great Britain, certainly have seen a map of the United Kingdom. A similar problem occurs with the double explicitation in Example (6). Indeed, the target-text reader most probably needs information that the English proper name Pike's Peak refers to a mountain summit, but that can already be inferred from its height, which is also added in the target-language version. One of these explanations is thus redundant. Likewise, in Example (7), explanations of the common nouns that are part of the proper names seem essential for the reader to understand the play on words. However, informing the reader that it is supposed to be amusing clearly spoils the intended humorous effect.

Talking about explicitation of culture-specific items, Saldanha (2008) argues that such shifts, unlike many other forms of explicitation – mainly cohesive, do not contribute to increased redundancy, and that the relationship between implicitness and explicitness is less clear, since the items are usually only recov-

[3] The first two footnotes appearing in the target text (marked with a single and a double asterisk) provide the Polish dictionary equivalents of the primary meaning of the words in question. The third footnote (marked as ***) says: "*Mennica Królewska* means Royal Mint in English. The very word mint also means *mięta* (a herb) and mint-filled chocolate. Hence the humorous association of the author."

erable from the extra-textual context rather than co-text. Therefore, Saldanha proposes to explain explicitation as a strategy that is associated with the role of the translator as a cultural mediator and his or her assumptions about the cognitive store of the readers rather than with shifts on the implicitness-explicitness scale (Saldanha 2008: 27–28). Nevertheless, Øverås (1998: 11) points out that, in fact, explicitation of culture-related information also occurs when the information is recoverable from the co-text, even as close as in the succeeding sentence. She gives an example of the name of the cigarette brand *Hobby* translated as *a Hobby cigarette* although the protagonist talks about the cigarette he is lighting in the sentence immediately following the appearance of the trademark. Thus, explicitation in this case cannot be explained just in terms of the translator's role as a language mediator because it is not necessary in this context. A similar observation regarding the redundancy of this kind of surface operations is made by Pym (2005: 37), who points out an inherent difficulty in delimiting different forms of explicitation according to such criteria as the one proposed by Saldanha. Providing an example of inserting the item *novel* and repeating the name of the novelist, he argues that if the reference is recoverable from the co-text, even culture-related explicitating shifts will be very similar in nature to apparently redundant cohesive markers.

2.10 Replacing nominalisations with verb phrases

The explicitating potential of replacing nominalisations with verb phrases in the process of translation has been recognised and investigated in a number of studies (e.g., Puurtinen 2000, 2003; Steiner 2001, 2005; Gumul 2006c, 2010a, 2011a; Gumul & Łyda 2010; Konšalová 2007).

According to Halliday (1985/1994), nominalisation is the most powerful resource for creating grammatical metaphor – the concept propounded within his framework of Systemic Functional Grammar. It is perceived as variation in the expression of a given meaning. The situation described in a sentence might be realised in two different ways on the level of syntax: by a semantically congruent construction, when semantic functions fulfill primary syntactic roles, and by a semantically non-congruent construction, that is, grammatical metaphors, when semantic functions play secondary syntactic roles (Sušinskiene 2004). Thus, the process of grammatical metaphorisation should be seen as the shift in the semantic function, and the unit undergoing such transformation, referred to as a grammatical metaphor, as an alternative lexicogrammatical realisation of a semantic choice (Ravelli 1988). It is worth noting that metaphorical constructions and their congruent equivalents should never be perceived in terms of a mere variance in syntactic form, since different structuralisations might be referring to the same entities but do not communicate the same (Jędrzejko 1993).

Variation in the lexicogrammatical realisation is generally associated with differences in interpretation and different discourse and stylistic effects (Gumul 2011a).

Opting for nominal constructions rather than verbal ones makes the resulting text more abstract, impersonal and increases its lexical density, whereas the reverse transformation makes process participants visible in the sentence and reduces the experiential distance between the text and the portrayed reality. Due to these features, both grammatical metaphor and its more explicit variant – namely, substituting nominal constructions with verbal ones, also referred to as disambiguation of grammatical metaphors or denominalisation – are widely recognised in both linguistic studies (e.g., Fairclough 1989; Fowler 1991; Simpson 1993) and translation research (Puurtinen 2000, 2003; Gumul 2006c, 2010a, 2010b; Gumul & Łyda 2010) as having the potential for ideological manipulation and changing the point of view projected by the text. The example below illustrates how the operation of replacing nominalisation with verb phrases brings to the surface the agenthood, pointing directly to the actor of the process – the UK government in this case. The verbal form emphasises the direct involvement of the agent and makes its responsibility more transparent:

> ST: And the legislation to free trade in services inside Europe – **a high priority for the UK government** – is still languishing in the European parliament. (*Financial Times* 24.11.2005)
> TT: Ustawy liberalizujące wymianę usług w ramach zjednoczonej Europy, **którym rząd brytyjski nadał wysoki priorytet**, wciąż tkwią w Parlamencie Europejskim. (*Forum* 49/2005)
> BT: Laws liberalising service exchange within unified Europe, **to which the UK government has given a high priority**, are still languishing in the European parliament. (Gumul 2010a: 105)

A shift in the point of view projected by the source text is also visible in another example. Although the grammatical rules of the target language allow for a fairly literal rendition of the nominal segment *Mao's political campaigns and consequent famines*, the translator chooses to disambiguate the grammatical metaphor, opting for a more explicit verbal construction that highlights Mao's direct involvement:

> ST: The number of victims of **Mao's political campaigns and consequent famines** put Mao firmly among the "big three" slaughterers of the 20th century. Some 30 million to 40 million died as a result of Mao's policies. (*Financial Times* 14.08.2004)
> TT: Liczba ofiar **kampanii politycznych zainicjowanych przez Mao Zedonga i spowodowanych przez niego klęsk głodu** lokuje go w „wielkiej trójce" najgorszych oprawców XX wieku. W wyniku polityki prowadzonej prze twórcę komunistycznych Chin zginęło od 30 do 40 milionów ludzi. (*Forum* 41/2004)

BT: The number of victims of **political campaigns initiated by Mao Zedong and famine he caused** put him among the "big three" of the worst murderers of the 20th century. As a result of the policies of the founder of communist China some 30 million to 40 million people died. (Gumul 2010a: 106).

Obviously, this ideological potential is only realised when such textual transformations form a consistent pattern and possibly intertwine with other translational shifts commonly recognised as vehicles of ideological meaning, such as, for instance, modifications in transitivity, modality, lexical choice, and cohesion.

As pointed out by Puurtinen (2003: 58), replacing nominalisations with verb phrases may also improve persuasive power of argumentative texts, making them more convincing and "having a stronger impact on the reader than the more abstract and distant source text." However, she emphasises that an excessive use of such translational shift may be counterproductive, as it may lead to changing the text type from argumentative to narrative.

Excessive use of denominalisation in translation may also prove counterproductive in genres where brevity and compactness are requisites, just like intentional ambiguity created by the less precise and transparent nominal structure, as is the case with press headlines; for instance:

ST: The Perils of Primacy.
TT: Złapał Jankes Rosjanina. (Gumul 2010a: 115)

In the above example, the target text is equally brief and compact as the source one. However, the headline has not only been transformed in terms of the grammatical structure. The original proposition has been substituted by a completely different proposition that is only comparable in terms of functional equivalence. Thus, apart from being more explicit by virtue of a verbal construction, it is additionally more transparent and direct by shifting a proposition from the body of the text to the more prominent level of a headline. And although the target-text version is undoubtedly an interesting translational solution offering additional references via intertextuality, the question remains whether such explicitness and directness was the intention of the author of the original article.

As previous research shows (Gumul 2006c, 2010b; Gumul & Łyda 2010), when we consider disambiguation of grammatical metaphor in simultaneous interpreting, there is an additional factor that needs to be considered. Apart from such potential reasons as the interpreter's deliberate intention to express his or her own point of view, lack of awareness of the consequences of such translational shifts, or simply sheer lack of competence, we have to take into account the specificity of the medium. The retrospective remark referring to the following example indicates that the phenomenon of disambiguating grammatical metaphors in simultaneous interpreting is determined to a large extent by the constraints of the medium:

> ST: (…) give the United States full access to terrorist training camps / so we can make sure they are no longer operating / these demands / are **not open to negotiation or discussion** (…)
> TT: (…) chcemy żeby mieć dostęp do do / chcemy dostać się do wszystkich terrorystycznych miejsc w których są trenowani żeby się dowiedzieć się że są zamknięte / **nie będziemy tego negocjować i nie będziemy tego konsultować** (…)
> BT: (…) we only want access to to / we want to get to all those terrorist places where they are trained to learn that they are closed / **we will not negotiate it and we will not discuss it** (…)
> Retrospective Remark: I couldn't remember the equivalent of the expression *not open to negotiation or discussion*. These words were followed by applause, so I could finish the sentence not risking that I wouldn't hear the next part of the speech. (Gumul 2010b: 53–54)

In this particular case, the key factor was the time pressure preventing the retrieval of a right lexical item from the long-term memory. The analysis of the source text indicates also other factors characteristic of simultaneous interpreting. As indicated by Hatim and Mason (1997), this mode of interpreting is marked by a direct, albeit short-lived, access to texture of the source text, increased working memory load, as well as potential problems with processing capacity management. In this particular fragment of the target text, the item *demands* has been substituted by a pronominal form, which occupies a further position within a sentence. Thus, it appears that while decoding this segment of the text, the interpreter focused on the negation and, by venturing on such a sentence structure, naturally opted for a verbal construction.

Another aspect worth considering is the fact that nominal constructions, although more concise and thus theoretically very convenient in simultaneous interpreting, are not economical in terms of processing capacity management. Their production requires more processing capacity and, consequently, it is more difficult to coordinate the listening and analysis effort, production effort, and short-term memory effort (see Section 3.4.1). Thus, it appears natural to opt for verbal constructions, which are easier to process and produce (Gumul 2010b).

Replacing nominalisations with verb phrases is one of the explicitating shifts that is bound to be influenced by language pair specificity. Thus, for instance, as previous research shows (Konšalová 2007; Hopkinson 2008), Slavic languages' preference for verbal structures might result in frequent denominalisations in the process of translation. Some of them are obviously obligatory; others result from stylistic preferences. Such shifts have been excluded from the analysis in the present study, leaving only those cases of disambiguation of grammatical metaphors where there is a possibility of translating a given segment using a nominal structure, with the resulting target text remaining grammatically correct and sounding natural.

2.11 Disambiguating lexical metaphors

Another surface manifestation of explicitation is disambiguation of lexical metaphors, which may take the form of rendering the meaning components literally (or, in other words, turning a metaphor into a non-metaphor, using Toury's terminology) or replacing metaphors with similes. This form of explicitation has been explored by Weissbrod (1992), Øverås (1998), Sidiropoulou (2004), and Murtisari (2013). Given that figurative language tends to exhibit a certain degree of semantic and logical violation to the referential components of their lexical constituents and due to that is associated with indirectness and implicitness, neutralising metaphorical expressions usually reduces the processing effort and thus increases readability (Øverås 1998: 583). This is not only the case with metaphors of different mapping conditions, where the source culture conceptualises experiences, attitudes, and practices differently than the target culture. Metaphors of similar mapping conditions drawing on shared or universal notions or schemata are also more difficult to decode than non-figurative equivalents. Literal rendition explicitates the relationship between tenor and vehicle (or target and source in cognitive linguistics). The same is true of replacing metaphors with similes, which make explicit comparison between the two components of a metaphor (Weissbrod 1992: 159), as in the following example:

> ST: (…) his breath a thin winter-whistle in his throat.
> TT: (…) his breath sounded like screams that went unheard. (Øverås 1998: 584)

The studies that investigate this form of explicitation (e.g., Weissbrod 1992; Øverås 1998; Murtisari 2013) reveal some interesting findings. Weissbrod attributes adopting non-figurative language or similes instead of source-text metaphors to translation norms operating in the 1960s and 1970s in translation of prose-fiction from English into Hebrew. Her analysis indicates that the restricted use of figurative language was due to striving for increased readability. She finds this surface manifestation of explicitation highly norm-dependent and as such, bound to change with time and historical circumstances. The research conducted by Øverås on a corpus of literary texts also reveals that explicitation of figurative language is norm-governed.

Sidiropoulou (2004) observes that in press translation, disregard for figurative language in favour of informativity is a relatively common feature. It is especially frequent in the case of political articles and press news, where metaphors are often reduced to the analogies they imply, as in the example provided by Sidiropoulou:

> ST: The decision has kept the oil and gas pumping (…)
> TT: The decision has ensured continuation of enterprises (…) (Sidiropoulou 2004: 78)

The results obtained by Sidiropoulou (2004: 79) indicate that the treatment of metaphors in press translation depends to a large extent on the topic dealt with in a given text. In articles dealing with topics perceived as crucial and influential, metaphors are neutralised, whereas in the case of a subject matter of less weight, figurative language is preserved. She proposes three possible explanations of that tendency. One is realisation of a low-effort translation strategy. Assuming that articles dealing with crucial political issues attract the readership anyway, due to high interest in the topic, the translator does not have to reinforce the intimacy[4] between the text and the reader with metaphorical expressions. By contrast, low-interest topics require extra effort on the part of the translator to attract attention. Such behaviour of the translator can be accounted for by Levinson's minimisation maxim that assumes that one produces minimal linguistic clues sufficient to achieve his or her ends (Levinson 1987: 72–73). Another hypothesis she puts forward is that neutralising metaphorical expressions in translation is due to "a realisation of a normative constraint which disallows the use of metaphorical language in the translation of articles dealing with crucial political/national issues" (Sidiropoulou 2004: 80–81). She argues that in situations where the message has to be clear, inferring metaphorical entailments is not left in the hands of the readers, but the literal sense is rendered explicitly as a non-metaphor. The last possible reason for neutralising metaphors is related to "a realisation of a general (sub/conscious) mediator tendency to suppress expression of linguistic identities in target discourses, in which accuracy is more important than appropriateness" (Sidiropoulou 2004: 81).

Murtisari (2013) highlights the distinction between different grades of non-figurative rendition. It proves to be crucial as some shifts lead to explicitation, whereas others produce an opposite effect and result in implicitation:

> ST: The man is indeed bull-headed.
> TT1: The man is very stubborn indeed.
> TT2: The man is bull-headed. He never listens to anyone, no matter what.
> TT3: The man never listens to anyone, no matter what. (Murtisari 2013: 340–341)

[4] Sidiropoulou refers to the idea of Goatly (1993), assuming that one of the functions of metaphors is cultivating intimacy and a sense of community between the author and the reader by activating knowledge shared by both parties.

Murtisari claims that only TT1 and TT2 can be considered as explicitations. The first translation has been categorised as scalar explicitation, as the target-language form is a development of the source-text logical form. In turn, the second version is, according to her, an instance of categorical explicitation, since it involves a physical addition of extra items and, consequently, shifts the meaning to the level of explicature. Murtisari considers the third rendition as a shift from explicature to implicature and categorises it as an instance of implicitation (which she refers to as de-explicitation).

2.12 Lexical specification

Lexical specification is the category present in numerous studies on explicitation (Englund Dimitrova 1993; Øverås 1998; Perego 2003; Klaudy & Károly 2005; Kamenická 2007a; Hopkinson 2008; Mesa-Lao 2011; Murtisari 2013). It can be defined as substituting a word with a general meaning with a word with a more specific meaning. As with almost all the remaining categories of explicitation, there are some terminological differences and inconsistencies. Although Mesa-Lao defines lexical specification in the same way, the exemplification provided corresponds to the category of additional explanatory remarks, *Spyware refers to* (…) being translated as *El término spyware o software espía hace referencia a* (…) (Mesa-Lao 2011: 49).

In Klaudy and Károly's (2005) study, this shift is referred to as optional semantic explicitation. They provide examples of specification of reporting verbs (e.g., *said* specified as *murmured*). A similar shift providing a more specific equivalent in translation has been introduced in the target text below:

> ST: So, instead of **talk** of western military intervention, pressure needs to be put on the rebels to pick genuine representatives and get to the negotiating table. (*The Guardian* 6.08.2004)
> TT: Dlatego zamiast **zachęcać** do zachodniej interwencji militarnej, trzeba wywrzeć presję na rebeliantów, by wybrali autentycznych przedstawicieli i zasiedli do stołu rokowań. (*Forum* 33/2004)
> BT: So, instead of **urging** western military intervention, pressure needs to be put on the rebels to pick genuine representatives and get to the negotiating table. (Gumul 2010a: 108)

Perego (2003) argues that more specific lexical items are more explicit by virtue of having higher lexical density and accumulation of semantic features. She provides an example of the phrase *what people say about him* rendered as *the accusation* (Perego 2003: 78). This example shows that the shift of lexical specification might involve a certain degree of text condensation.

When analysing instances of lexical specification, one has to be aware that this shift does not invariably lead to explicitation. As we have already seen in Section 1.1.4, Kamenická (2007a) provides convincing argumentation that the reverse transformation of using a more general equivalent may, in certain cases, prove to be more explicit than the specific item from the source text:

> ST: As he spoke they both heard a small, muffled explosion – the sound, distinctive and unmistakable, of a bottle of duty-free liquor hitting **the stone composition floor** of an airport concourse and shattering inside the plastic carrier bag (…)
> TT: Suddenly, they both heard a muffled explosion – the distinctive, unmistakable sound of a bottle of duty-free liquor that shattered inside a plastic bag against **the hard floor** of an airport concourse (…) (Kamenická 2007a: 50)

Kamenická argues that in this case, replacing a specification of the material of the floor with a general property raises the level of explicitness of the proposition, as the general term is more relevant in this context due to the more transparent cause–effect relation between the property of being hard and the shattering of the bottle. Kamenická does acknowledge that lexical specification leads to explicitation in many cases, providing examples of such shifts: *the noise* rendered as *the rattle* and *told* becoming *warned* in the target text.

Øverås (1998) makes an interesting observation that links lexical specification to the notion of collocational range. She assumes that employing a more specific lexical item in translation may be a consequence of a shift from collocational clash or unusual collocation to conventional combination (Øverås 1998: 583). This is consistent with Toury's claim that translators tend to produce repertoremes, which means that the network of textual relations present in the source text tends to be transformed in translation and replaced by "established models and repertoires" (Toury 1995: 271). In like manner, Baker (1992) argues that:

> Without our being aware of it, each occurrence of a lexical item carries with it its own textual history, a particular textual environment that has been up in the course of the creation of the text and that will provide the context within which the item will be incarnated on this particular occasion. (Baker 1992: 205)

Thus, it is the immediate co-text that determines to a certain extent shifts leading to lexical specification.

2.13 Meaning specification

This broad category comprises all cases of articulating ideas retrievable or inferable from the preceding part of the text or the cognitive extra-textual context. Unlike lexical specification, which consists in choosing a more specific surface form, meaning specification involves addition of lexical item(s). The term has been employed in previous research (Gumul 2006a, 2017) to account for shifts which clearly do not fit into any of the remaining categories of surface manifestations of explicitation. Roughly corresponding categories can be found in other works; for instance, Ishikawa (1999) uses the term information via background knowledge, Pápai (2004) situational addition, and Vahedi Kia and Ouliaeinia (2016) specification. This type of shift has also been identified by Øverås (1998), although she discusses such surface shifts separately as different forms of surface additions, without grouping them under one general category.

Different surface operations, often marginal, have been grouped in the present study and previous research under the umbrella term of meaning specification to avoid diluting the analysis. The category of meaning specification comprises, for instance, insertion of a cognate object, as in the example provided by Øverås (1998: 578), where *it lived* becomes *it lived its life* in translation, or addition of an instrumental object, as in *airplanes* rendered as *airplanes hijacked by terrorists* (Gumul 2006a: 181). Øverås gives an example of inserting a reporting clause absent in the source-text: *Now remember,* ***she admonished****, not a sound* (Øverås 1998: 580). Surface manifestations of meaning specification may also take more extensive forms. Weissbrod (1992) identifies adding complete propositions that explicitate the ideas implied in the source text, which she attributes to the process of interpretation performed on the ST.

CHAPTER 3

Research methodology

The main objective of this chapter is to present the aims of the study and the adopted research methodology. The study sets out to investigate the strategic aspect of explicitation, the relationship between explicitating behaviour of simultaneous interpreting trainees and directionality, and finally, interpreter-specific explicitating behaviour in a bi-directional English–Polish corpus of 240 interpreting outputs. The first subsection provides further details as to the aim of the study, then we shall outline the research design. As the study is an experimental one, it is essential to describe the experimental procedure and to characterise the participants and the corpus. One of the sections also refines the taxonomy of explicitating shifts, outlined already in the previous chapter. This part of the book is concluded with an account of the conceptual framework adopted in the present study. The proposed Model of the Interpreting Constraints is set within the information-processing theory and relies on the explanatory power of Gile's (1995, 1997b, 1999) Effort Models, Gravitational Model, and Tightrope Hypothesis as well as Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of textuality factors in interpreting.

3.1 Aims and research questions

The main aim of this study is threefold: to (dis)confirm the results of the previous research (Gumul 2006a) and provide further analysis of the strategic dimension of explicitation, to analyse the influence of the direction of interpreting on the tendency to explicitate by advanced interpreting students, and to see to what extent explicitation patterns differ from interpreter to interpreter and whether it is possible to identify interpreter-specific explicitating styles. Thus, the main research questions are:

– Is explicitation a fully conscious, strategic choice of an interpreter or an involuntary, non-strategic behaviour that can possibly be seen as a by-product of language mediation?
– Is explicitation direction-dependent, and if so, to what extent?
– Is explicitation interpreter-specific, and if so, how do the explicitating patterns of various interpreters differ, and to what extent are interpreters consistent in their explicitating styles?

In her pioneer study on explicitation in simultaneous interpretation, Shlesinger (1995) puts forward a claim that the constraints inherent in the process of interpreting may exert a stronger influence on the explicitating behaviour than other factors. Results of further research into explicitation in simultaneous interpreting (Gumul 2006a, 2007a, 2008, 2011c, 2017) also indicate that explicitation in this mode may be influenced to a large extent by the constraints of the medium. Thus, it has been hypothesised that explicitation might be more frequent in the retour, which is considered to be more demanding. In fact, the pilot study (Gumul 2017) revealed a higher frequency of explicitating shifts in an into-B interpreting. However, given the complexity of the phenomenon and a variety of additional factors that might have influenced such results (e.g., specificity of the textual material), the evidence obtained in the pilot study should be treated with caution. Thus, the present study aims at confirming or disconfirming this finding and providing further evidence on the relation of explicitation and directionality.

Findings from previous research concerning the impact of the constraints also gave grounds to another hypothesis with respect to another aim of the study. Due to the intrinsic constraints of this mode, explicitation in SI may be expected to be highly individual. Leaving aside specific difficulties related to the source text material, all other potential problems are bound to take very different forms and come in various order depending on how the interpreter has handled previous segments of the text and how much processing capacity remains available.

Since the participants in the study are advanced interpreting students, the present research is also hoped to provide didactic implications.

It has to be emphasised that the study does not aspire to confirm the explicitation hypothesis or to provide decisive evidence on whether explicitation is a translation universal. I believe that it is unrealistic to expect that a single study, albeit relatively large-scale, on only one language pair can provide answers to such complex questions.

3.2 Research design

3.2.1 Method

The main research tools in this study are manual product-oriented comparison of source and target texts and retrospective protocols verbalised by the subjects. Additional data were obtained by means of a short survey on directionality carried out among the participants in the experiment. The triangulation of different research tools is becoming increasingly popular in Translation and Interpreting Studies because, as Hurtado Albir et al. (2015: 6) observe, "the use of different elicitation tools [allows] to 'locate' the process of translation from different yet complementary vantage points."

Although triangulation of research methods is believed to provide more insight into an analysed phenomenon than any of the methods used separately, studies on explicitation with such a research design, combining both process and product approach, are relatively few (Englund Dimitrova 2005; Gumul 2006a, 2008; Denver 2007; Hjort-Pedersen & Faber 2010; Mesa-Lao 2011; see Section 1.4). Nevertheless, in general, process-oriented research in Translation and Interpreting studies is increasingly popular. In the last decades, we have seen a proliferation of process-oriented research designs in studies investigating different aspects of the translation activity.[1]

The process-oriented methods employed in translation studies are: TAPs – think-aloud protocols, also called concurrent verbalisations (e.g., Tirkkonen-Condit 1991; Piotrowska 2002; Hjort-Pedersen & Faber 2010), computer logging recording the translators' keystrokes with the use of Translog software (e.g., O'Brien 2006), eye-tracking (e.g., Chmiel & Mazur 2013; Whyatt et al. 2016), joint translating (e.g.; Séguinot 2000; Hjort-Pedersen & Faber 2010), and finally, retrospective interviews (e.g., Napier 2002, 2004) or retrospective protocols (e.g., Bartłomiejczyk 2006a; Shamy & de Pedro Ricoy 2017). Of all these methods, obviously for practical reasons, only retrospection is feasible in interpreting.[2] This method has been used in interpreting research since the mid-1990s, following the growing interest in TAPs in written translation research in the 1980s. The two experimental methods have been borrowed from cognitive psychology, in which introspective research has long tradition (see, e.g., Ericsson & Simon 1984).

Retrospection consists in obtaining verbal reports from the subjects who verbalise comments about their translation or interpreting process after having

[1] See Jääskeläinen (1998/2011), Piotrowska (2007), Bartłomiejczyk (2007), Muñoz Martín (2014a, 2014b), and Hurtado Albir et al. (2015) for comprehensive accounts of process research in Translation and Interpreting Studies.

[2] The eye-tracking method has been used in the studies on interpreting with Power Point or sight interpreting (e.g., Chmiel & Mazur 2013; Korpal 2012a).

completed the task. It is hoped to provide some access, unfortunately mostly indirect, into the mental processes of the interpreter.

At the most general level, the purpose of retrospective methodology is to gain an insight into the mechanisms underlying the translation process, but in practice, it is usually adopted to investigate a specific aspect of the translation or interpreting process. For instance, Ivanova's (1999, 2000) and Vik-Touvinen's (2002) studies focus on various levels of interpreters' expertise. Napier (2002, 2004) analyses omission, while Gumul (2006a, 2008, 2017) investigates explicitation. In turn, studies by Bartłomiejczyk (2006a) and Chang and Schallert (2007) focus on different aspects related to directionality. The purpose of the most recent study by Englund Dimitrova and Tiselius (2014) is to test the validity of retrospective data, comparing it with process data in both translation and interpreting.[3]

Although all of the above-mentioned studies rely on retrospective protocols, the research designs differ substantially. Whereas in most cases the retrospective session follows immediately the interpreting task, taking into account the immediacy condition emphasised by Ericsson & Simon (1984) and Kalina (1998, quoted in Bartłomiejczyk 2007), some studies use delayed retrospection (e.g., Vik-Tuovinen 2002). The studies also differ as to the extent of the researcher's intervention into the retrospective procedure. Kalina (1998) emphasises that the role of the experimenter should be very limited not to affect the interpreters' reports, but the practices employed in retrospective research vary. While in some studies the subjects are left to report freely without being prompted by the researcher during the procedure (e.g., Bartłomiejczyk 2006a, 2007; Gumul 2006a, 2008, 2017), in others the retrospective session takes the form of an interview (Napier 2002, 2004). Ivanova (2000) combines both approaches, allowing her subjects to comment freely, but intervenes asking additional questions each time her notes indicate a problem which is not verbalised by the interpreter.

Researchers also use different cues to elicit the interpreters' verbal protocols. For instance, Ivanova (1999) and Englund Dimitrova and Tiselius (2009, 2014) use transcripts of the original speech as a cue, whereas Bartłomiejczyk (2006a, 2007) and Gumul (2006a, 2008, 2017) provide the interpreters with recordings of their own outputs in order to trigger the memory. Vik-Tuovinen (2002) employs double cueing, providing both source-text transcripts and target-text recordings.

The validity of retrospective research in translation and interpreting has been questioned, and many researchers point to the weaknesses of this method (Englund Dimitrova & Tiselius 2014; Hild 2015). First of all, a researcher adopting this methodology has to bear in mind that retrospection does not allow complete recall of the information. This is due to the fact that – unlike in concurrent verbalisations (think-aloud protocols), which allow tapping into the

[3] By process data the authors mean the interpreting and translation outputs.

subjects' short-term or working memory – retrospection, because of the inherent delay, relies on information stored in long-term memory (Ericsson & Simon 1993). This is true even if retrospection follows immediately the interpreting task, but the problem aggravates in observational studies, in which obtaining the material in natural conditions (e.g., Kohn & Kalina 1996) usually delays the retrospective session for hours or, in some cases, even days. Certainly, the most effective and informative are retrospective sessions following immediately the interpreting task. Thus, whenever possible, the immediacy condition should be observed. However, the condition of having completed the interpreting task is equally important in order to observe ecological validity of the research and not to depart excessively from the field reality. This means that retrospective protocols immediately following interpreting should not be confused with immediate retrospective accounts, which consist in eliciting the data interrupting the interpreting task, as in the study of Ng and Obana (1991). The authors try to overcome the obstacle of memory decay by performing what they refer to as "concurrent verbalizations," adapting the procedure employed in written translation research. The subjects in their study were interrupted after each sentence and asked to report on their thoughts about the interpreting process. Although such procedure allows to tap into the working memory of the subjects, it appears to be counterproductive, as it certainly interferes with the processes under investigation by, for instance, obscuring the cohesion and coherence relations between analysed segments.

The reports might also be distorted for other reasons. Cueing, which on the one hand helps to trigger memory, on the other, entails the risk of installing false memories. As pointed out by Hansen (2005), apart from the thoughts about the task, what is verbalised are also reflections, justifications, explanations, and emotions. Moreover, we cannot rule out the possibility that what the interpreter's protocols reflect is also to a certain extent what he or she wants the process to appear rather than what it really was, having learned during the training that certain behaviours are expected of interpreters. As Bartłomiejczyk (2007) rightly observes, the verbosity of the participants might also stem from their being eager to please the researcher.

Another drawback of retrospection is that subjects' protocols usually display a low degree of selectivity (Ericsson & Simon 1984). Researchers adopting this method report that a substantial proportion of the verbalisations refer to issues irrelevant to the research in question. Bartłomiejczyk (2006a) classifies about half of the encoded segments as pertaining to strategic processing, which was the object of analysis in her study. In turn, in Gumul's (2006a) study, only 55 out of 413 comments refer to explicitation. The difference in proportions between these two studies is most probably attributable to the nature of the analysed phenomena, strategic processing being more general than explicitating behaviour. In any case, both results confirm that Ericsson and Simon's observation about a low degree of selectivity applies to interpreting as well. This drawback can potentially be overcome by providing the subjects with precise instructions. However, we have to remember that excessively specific instructions might be counterproductive by suggesting the answers and guiding the subjects to focus on certain aspects only. General instructions are, therefore, often intentional and help to ensure ecological validity of the experiment. The experience also shows that asking the subjects to refrain from certain kind of comments is not effective. In both Bartłomiejczyk's (2006a) and Gumul's (2006a) studies, the participants were asked to avoid commenting on the quality of their outputs; still, in both cases, a considerable amount of the verbalisations referred to that aspect. Anyway, I believe that this issue is not a major drawback, as the abundance of comments unrelated to the researched aspect does not diminish the validity of the relevant remarks. This obstacle can be overcome by an efficient encoding system adopted at the analysis stage.

Some of the other drawbacks can also be addressed by observing certain conditions. In order to enhance the credibility and validity of retrospective research, we need to observe some rules. Apart from those mentioned previously, like immediacy of the retrospective session and limited interaction between the researcher and the participants, Hild (2015: 353) also emphasises the need for explicitness and transparency of data handling procedures to make the comparison between studies possible. She also draws attention to the benefits of the triangulation of research methods.

Despite numerous weaknesses of retrospective protocols in interpreting research, this method clearly has its advantages. Drawing on the experience gathered in her empirical research with this methodology, Bartłomiejczyk (2007) observes that:

> retrospective verbal reports are the method that, provided the numerous conditions regarding the experimental design are scrupulously met, can yield a lot of useful material for studying the mental processes involved in simultaneous interpreting (Bartłomiejczyk 2007: 8)

Undoubtedly, product data only allows for speculation as to the causes of the interpreter's decisions, whereas process research provides at least some answers.

Retrospection also has certain advantage over concurrent verbalisations used in written translation research, which are much more invasive.[4] Retrospection

[4] In fact, opinions about the invasive nature of TAPs are divided. Ericsson and Simon (1984) stress that think-aloud protocols do not influence the sequence of thoughts. They only tend to "increase the solution time due to the time required for the verbalization" (p. xxii). However, most translation scholars are not so optimistic about the influence of the procedure on the translation task. Hansen (2005: 519) observes that "it seems clear that TA must have an impact both on the thought process and on the translation product." Gile (1998: 75) voices similar doubts, pointing

does not interfere with the interpreting task, as it is posterior to the actual text processing. It does not influence the rendition either by suggesting certain comments or segmenting the task with verbalisations.

Finally, anyone undertaking introspective research into interpreting has to resign him or herself to the fact that even the most rigorously designed and consistent research methodology observing the conditions advocated for effective recall of process decisions will not allow direct and complete access to text processing, which mostly belongs to the "black box" of interpreting.

3.2.2 Participants

The participants in this study were 120 advanced interpreting students from three Polish universities: University of Silesia in Katowice (participants referred to in the study as P01 to P60), University of Gdańsk (P61–80), and University College of Social Sciences in Częstochowa (College of Foreign Languages at the time of conducting the experiment) (P81–120).

The students of the University of Silesia were at the final (2nd) year of the master programme in translation and interpreting, whereas those from the University of Gdańsk and the University College of Social Sciences in Częstochowa were students of a one-year post-graduate programme in conference interpreting. Prior to the experiment, the students of the University of Silesia received 150 hours of conference interpreting training, the students of the post-graduate course of the University of Gdańsk 120 hours, and the students of the University College of Social Sciences 120 hours. All the subjects were native speakers of Polish with English as language B in their language combination.

As far as prior training of the participants is concerned, the classes in SI provided practice in both the native and the retour, in almost equal proportion, in an attempt to cater for the needs of the Polish interpreting market and the situation of the Polish language on the international scene, owing to which interpreters are regularly required to work into their B language.

The participants of the experiment remain anonymous – each of them was assigned a number from P01 to P120. The same number was used for both directions of interpreting in order to perform comparison between native and retour interpreting.

out that "the numerous TAP (think-aloud-protocol) studies performed on translators over the past few years also entail a strong possibility of interaction between the research process and the translation process under study."

3.2.3 Corpus

The corpus of the study consists of approximately 75 hours of recordings of simultaneous interpreting outputs of 120 advanced interpreting students. The source texts are seven authentic texts constituting six sets (referred to in the study as Texts 1–6). In order to ensure the uniform length of the source texts for each direction of interpreting, two of the Polish speeches were used together during one experimental session. The source texts belong to three different genres in order to minimise the influence of genre specificity. They comprise typical text types, routinely interpreted using simultaneous mode: conference presentations, commencement addresses, and political speeches. I have selected two texts for each genre – one in English and one in Polish.

The texts belonging to the same genre are similar in terms of the subject matter – to a different extent in each pair of texts and as far as it has been possible with authentic texts. The most similar are the conference presentations (delivered by Virginia L. Hood, Konstanty Radziwiłł, and Jerzy Umiastowski) since they come from the same seminar on medical ethics, whose aim is to debate whether a physician may refuse to help a patient. The two political speeches of George W. Bush and Leszek Miller come from the same period (year 2003) and although delivered on different occasions and in different places, both are about the Iraqi conflict. The commencement addresses were both delivered at artistic schools: Berklee College of Music and the Academy of Fine Arts in Wrocław by Pat Metheny and Zbigniew Rybczyński, respectively. Both are very similar in structure and argumentation. The speeches are fairly general and comment on the role of artists in the present world. What is crucial, the texts comprising each pair are comparable in terms of the degree of orality. Both T1 and T2 are relatively spontaneously delivered, with apparently the lowest degree of prior preparation in terms the exact wording and form. In turn, T3 and T4 appear to be written texts delivered orally, while T5 and T6 are pre-prepared speeches aimed to resemble closely oral discourse, with T6 having slightly more features of orality in comparison to T5. The details of the texts comprising the corpus are summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Details of the texts composing the corpus

Text and direction of interpreting	Genre	Speaker	Place and date of delivery	Length of the source text	The code numbers of participating interpreters and the university
Text 1 B–A	Commencement address	Pat Metheny	Berklee College of Music, 1996	22'01"	P01–P40 University of Silesia

Text 2 A–B	Commencement address	Zbigniew Rybczyński	University of Wrocław, 2010	22'04"	P01–P40 University of Silesia
Text 3 B–A	Conference presentation	Virginia L. Hood	7th Conference of the Polish Society of Internal Medicine, Warsaw, 24 April 2008	19'01"	P41–P60 University of Silesia P61–P80 University of Gdańsk
Text 4 A–B	Conference presentation	Konstanty Radziwiłł	7th Conference of the Polish Society of Internal Medicine, Warsaw, 24 April 2008	19'06"	P41–P60 University of Silesia
		Jerzy Umiastowski	7th Conference of the Polish Society of Internal Medicine, Warsaw, 24 April 2008		P61–P80 University of Gdańsk
Text 5 B–A	Political speech	George W. Bush	Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, 3 April 2003	15'13"	P81–P120 University College of Social Sciences
Text 6 A–B	Political speech	Leszek Miller	Warsaw, 26 March 2003	15'20"	P81–P120 University College of Social Sciences

Each text has been interpreted by 40 interpreters, which amounts to a total of 240 target texts. Obtaining multiple renditions of the same source texts was seen as necessary in order to avoid random findings resulting from interpreters' idiosyncratic behaviour in the analysis of directionality and to ensure enough material for comparison in the analysis of the idiosyncratic behaviour itself.

The source texts used in the experiment are authentic speeches. However, they have been slightly modified from their original form to control some variables. First of all, three of the speeches were shortened in order to ensure that the texts forming a pair were of comparable length. Furthermore, the texts were recorded in laboratory conditions by native lectors to control the rate of delivery and keep it at the same level in each text. For English source texts, it is the average of 110–120 words per minute,[5] whereas in the case of source texts delivered in Polish, the rate is 80–90 words per minute. The difference in word count stems from the systemic differences between Polish and English, since Polish words tend to be longer. These values are believed to be roughly equivalent on the basis on the syllable count per minute. Controlling the rate of delivery and ensuring its uniform length in both directions of interpreting seems essential in a study on explicitation, as this variable is bound to affect the explicitating behaviour to some extent by either "providing more space" for additions if slower, or on the contrary, impeding them if it is excessively fast. The texts have also been slightly modified to make the text in both directions comparable in terms of "the explicitating potential," for instance, in terms of the equal number of metaphors that could potentially be disambiguated or abbreviations that can be given a full form in the target text. Obviously, the modifications do not concern all forms of explicitation. It was not my intention to include exactly the same number of implicit logical relations or nominalisations. Manipulating the texts to that extent would require rewriting them entirely and could be counterproductive in a study aiming at investigating various surface manifestations of explicitation. That would probably create excessively artificial conditions for interpreting and force certain explicitating shifts. The intention was to carry out the experiment using a fairly natural discourse.

The three sets of texts were recorded each at a different university, apart from Set 2 (Texts 3 and 4), which was recorded both at the University of Silesia (P41–P60) and at the University of Gdańsk (P61–P80) due to the small number of subjects in the latter. The aim of the division of material between different training institutions was to control the variable of the influence of previous training when analysing individual differences between interpreters (interpreter-specific explicitation). The texts were recorded during four consecutive years between 2010 and 2014.

3.2.4 The experimental procedure

The experiment was recorded in standard laboratories used for teaching simultaneous interpreting at the premises on the training institution of each group of the subjects: the University of Silesia, the University of Gdańsk, and the College of Foreign Languages in Częstochowa. These laboratories vary as to the software used and the size, which has no influence over the conditions of the experiment.[6]

[5] The average of 120 words per minute is the rate of delivery of the source text in English which is generally believed to be the most comfortable and optimal for simultaneous interpreters to ensure the best quality of interpreting (e.g., Gerver 1975).

[6] The University of Silesia makes use of the Mentor software and has 6 interpreting booths, the laboratory of the University of Gdańsk is powered by Sanako and holds 5 booths, while that of the College of Foreign Languages in Częstochowa is a manual laboratory with 8 booths.

Irrespective of the size of the laboratory, the experiment was carried out in groups of five interpreters. In order to avoid the fatigue effect, the two directions of interpreting were recorded during separate sessions on different days.

Prior to the interpretation, the subjects received a thorough briefing concerning the pragmatic setting of each speech, that is, the details concerning the identity of the speaker, the profile of the target audience, time, venue, and the subject matter of each text. To avoid interfering with their interpreting, the participants were not informed about the pending retrospective session. At this stage, they were simply asked to interpret the recorded text. Obviously, when interpreting the text in the other direction during a separate session, they already knew that the retrospection would follow. That is why to minimise both the influence of the awareness of the pending retrospection and of the direction of interpreting, the sequence of texts was reversed with each subsequent group of five interpreters. Thus, twenty subjects in each of the three sets interpreted into native first, and the remaining twenty started with the retour.

In order to ensure ecological validity of the experimental study, at no stage were the trainees informed about the actual research object, that is, explicitation. The aim was to avoid unnatural behaviour on the part of the participants. In retrospective sessions in previous research (Gumul 2006a) and in the pilot study (Gumul 2017), the subjects were asked to make comments whenever they felt they expressed something more explicitly than it was articulated in the source text, or added any words or expressions that did not appear in the input. This instruction was modified in the present study, and the participants were asked instead to report all consciously taken decisions during the interpreting task. The aim was to avoid comments made to please the researcher rather than reflecting the actual conscious decisions about what to explicitate. Moreover, I noticed that in the previous research (Gumul 2006a, 2017), asking specifically about additions and specifications elicited a number of comments reporting on such shifts without giving any reason. It is probable then that they were posterior reflection and observations triggered by listening to the outputs rather that reports on the conscious decisions taken at the moment of interpreting. Moreover, asking for comments regarding all types of decisions allowed me to see how problems with text processing influenced explicitating behaviour, as there were a substantial number of retrospective remarks which, albeit not referring directly to explicitating shifts, were apparently related to certain occurrences of explicitation.

Verbalisations were elicited with the recording without any prompting of the researcher other than the prior instructions. They were not given a transcript of the source text to limit the number of stimuli. Immediately following the interpretation, the subjects were asked to listen to the dual-track recording of their own outputs and the source text. Each participant in the booth was given control of the in-built recorder and was asked to stop the recording each time he or she remembered a consciously taken decision and comment on it aloud.

The retrospective comments were recorded on the external source (portable digital sound recorders placed in the booths) activated by the researcher prior to the retrospective session. To make it possible for the experimenter to identify which segments the comments referred to, the participants were asked to take notes of the number of remark and the corresponding segment (two or three words) in the table provided.

They were specifically asked not to make any comments regarding the quality of their outputs, but rather to talk about the decisions taken and the reasons behind them. With a view to obtaining truly retrospective remarks, the subjects were instructed to try and recall what they thought during the task of interpreting, rather than base their comments solely on their outputs. In this part of the experiment, there was no time limit imposed.

Both interpreting outputs and retrospective comments were recorded and transcribed. The retrospective remarks appear in the transcript as footnotes. The analyses have been made mainly on the basis of the transcribed material, while the original recordings have been used for control purposes. All false starts and mispronunciations are recorded in the transcripts. However, due to technical limitations, there is no measurement of time, such as the length of utterances, duration of pauses, or lags between original speech and interpretation. The transcriptions have, nevertheless, been marked for pauses within the respective utterances, where a single slash (/) denotes a short pause, and a double slash (//) denotes a long pause (over 2 seconds). Apart from capitalised proper names, only lower case letters have been used in the transcription. No punctuation marks are used.

Experimental research is often criticised for poor replication of field conditions, and one of the aspects that is particularly difficult to imitate in an experimental setting is the aim of the interpreting. The lack of the target audience means that the interpretation performed in laboratory conditions is directed into "the vacuum." In order to offset this inherent weakness of the experimental setting, at each of the sessions, there were some people invited to act as the audience, although the participants were fully aware that they were taking part in an experiment.

In the analysis of the relationship between explicitation and the direction of interpreting, product and process analysis has been accompanied with a survey on directionality. The short survey was distributed to the participants of the experiment after the retrospective session had been completed. It was aimed only as a supplementary analytical tool, and its main aim was to obtain additional information about how their preferences as to the directionality of interpreting and the declared use of explicitation in a given direction of interpreting correlate with their explicitating behaviour.

Table 3.2. Questionnaire on directionality distributed to the participants of the experiment

No.	Question	Answers
1.	Which direction of interpreting do you find easier?	a. into Polish
		b. into English
		c. it does not matter to me
2.	What do you find most difficult in interpreting into Polish? Rate them in order of difficulty (1 – most difficult) and write any additional comments in the space provided	a. choice of lexis/vocabulary in Polish
		b. production of syntactic structures
		c. comprehension of the source text
		d. other (please specify)
		Additional comments:
3.	What do you find most difficult in interpreting into English? Rate them in order of difficulty (1 – most difficult) and write any additional comments in the space provided	a. choice of lexis/vocabulary in English
		b. production of syntactic structures
		c. comprehension of the source text
		d. other (please specify)
		Additional comments:
4.	When do you feel you tend to add additional words or phrases or make the text more explicit?	a. when interpreting into Polish
		b. when interpreting into English
		c. the direction of interpreting does not matter
		d. it is difficult to say
		Additional comments:

3.3 Taxonomy of surface manifestations of explicitation

The taxonomy of explicitating shifts used in the present study is a slightly modified version of the classification employed in previous research (Gumul 2006a, 2007a, 2008) and in the pilot study (Gumul 2017) constituting a point of departure for the analysis of directionality in simultaneous interpreting undertaken in the present investigation. It reflects the current interest in explicitation, as the selected forms have been analysed in different studies on explicitation, jointly or individually, mostly in written translation. A detailed account of surface manifestations of explicitation along with the studies in which they are discussed was presented in Chapter 2. Not all forms of explicitation covered there (see Table 2.1) are relevant to the present study – some due to the specificity of the medium, namely, simultaneous interpreting (e.g., changes in punctuation), and others because of the specificity of the language pair (e.g., optional *that* after *say* and *tell*). Thus, the classification includes 15 shifts that can potentially occur in Polish–English and English–Polish simultaneous interpreting enumerated in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3. The taxonomy of surface manifestations of explicitation employed in the study

No.	Surface manifestation of explicitation	Coding symbol	Example
1	2	3	4
1.	adding connectives	ACon	They are intended to be three separate sections. → They are intended, **however**, to be three separate section. We shall explain in detail the reasons behind (…) → **Moreover**, we shall explain in detail the reasons behind (…)
2.	intensifying cohesive ties	ICT	Books **and** press articles (…) → **Both** books **and** press articles (…) (…) **and** they decided to wait. → (…) **so** they decided to wait.
3.	lexicalisations of pro-forms	LxPF	The passage that described **him**. → The passage that described **the author**. **They** decided to act. → **The authorities** decided to act.
4.	reiteration	Reit	(…) linked these two parts of the city (…) but it's not the linking process that I'm concerned with just now. → (…) linked these two parts of the city (…) but it's not this process of linking **two parts of the city** that I'm concerned with now. **new projects** could be introduced → **new projects**, **new ideas** could be introduced The northern entrance to **the city** (…) The motorway leading **to London** (…) → The northern entrance to **the city** (…) The motorway leading **to the city** (…)
5.	filling out elliptical constructions	FEll	(…) some of the other consequences, and there were many of them, some very important (…) → (…) some of the other consequences, and there were many of them, some **of the consequences were** very important (…)

6.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	Md/Q	There were many consequences. → There were many **negative** consequences. He is bound to suffer psychological damage. → He is bound to suffer **serious** psychological damage.
7.	inserting hedges	Hdg	The city was founded (…) → **As you probably know,** the city was founded (…) There are various motivations underlying such decisions. → **As far as I'm concerned** there are various motivations underlying such decisions.
8.	inserting discourse organising items	DOI	We shall present the potential causes. → **We would like to begin with** the presentation of the potential causes.
9.	shifts involving proper names (e.g., adding a proper name to a generic name; substituting a generic name with a proper name)	PrN	Every citizen is aware (…) → Every **American** citizen is aware (…) They travelled to **the capital**. → They travelled to **London**. Posh Spice → **Victoria Beckham**
10.	full expression for acronym or abbreviation	FAA	IATIS → IATIS (**The International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies**) AIIC → AIIC (**The International Association of Conference Interpreters**)
11.	including additional explanatory remarks or providing descriptive equivalents	ExR	The information you can find on aiic.net (…) → The information you can find on **the web page** aiic.net (…) Ron and Hermione → Ron and Hermione **(the closest friends of Harry Potter)** joint custody → **division of child custody between former spouses**
12.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	N-VP	These demands are not **open to negotiation and discussion**. → **We will not negotiate or discuss** these demands.
13.	disambiguating lexical metaphors or replacing metaphors with similes	DLM	John is **the light of my life**. → John **brings me so much happiness**. She was **over the moon**. → She was **happy as a lark**.
14.	lexical specification	LxSp	They **said** they would be there. → They **promised** they would be there. She heard **a noise**. → She heard **a thud**.

Table 3.3 continued

1	2	3	4
15.	meaning specification	MSp	(…) to save the victims. → (…) to save the victims **of the attack**. hijacked airplanes → airplanes hijacked **by terrorists**

The intention is to provide a fairly comprehensive taxonomy that covers most possible surface forms. However, it has to be emphasised that any attempt at categorising surface forms of explicitation will inevitably result in a partially overlapping division. As observed by Vehmas-Lehto (2001a: 228), "there will always be loose ends."

The shifts analysed in the present study are all independent of language-specific differences. In other words, I have excluded all cases of what some studies refer to as obligatory explicitation (e.g., Klaudy 1993, 1998/2011) and also those optional shifts which can be attributed to clear-cut stylistic differences between English and Polish. The main criterion in identifying the analysed explicitating shifts was the possibility of grammatically and stylistically correct translation of a given text segment equally implicit as in the source text. In other words, whenever there was a possibility of alternative implicit rendition, yet an interpreter opted for a more explicit version, such cases were treated as instances of explicitation proper.

Although some forms of explicitation are not recognised as inherently obligatory, certain occurrences had to be excluded from the analysis. It was the case with some instances of lexicalisation of pro-forms given that in certain cases, systemic differences between English and Polish might lead to ambiguity of reference, and translators are forced to perform explicitation by lexicalising a pro-form (see Section 2.3).

3.4 Conceptual framework

Given that explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is conditioned to a great extent by the mode-specific constraints, the conceptual framework in the present study has been constructed around the interpreting constraints: the Time Constraint, the Linearity Constraint, the (Un)shared Knowledge Constraint, and the Memory Load Constraint (see also Shlesinger 1995; Łyda & Gumul 2002; Gumul 2006a, 2011b, 2013; Gumul & Łyda 2007).

The term constraint, or any of its synonymous forms denoting a factor impeding the process of interpreting, has been widely used in Interpreting Studies literature to refer to different kinds of difficulties inherent in the process (e.g., Chernov 1994; Gile 1995, 1997b; Shlesinger 1995; Viaggio 1996; Hatim & Mason

1997; Riccardi 1998, etc.). Virtually every approach, irrespective of its theory-oriented or more practical attitude, developed a system of strategies to counteract various constraints imposed by the interpreting process (e.g., Ilg 1978, cited in Gile 1995; Gile 1995; Kohn & Kalina 1996; Jones 1998; Gillies 2001),[7] and thus the problem of its constrained nature is addressed in most works on this subject.

Constraints that distinguish simultaneous from other modes of interpreting (i.e., consecutive and liaison), and written translation are manifold. The factors most often referred to in literature are: substantial temporal pressure and limited short-term or working memory capacity (cf. Kirchhoff 1976/2002; Gile 1995, 1997b; Wei 2002; Zhong 2003; Gumul 2005, 2013). Moreover, owing to virtual simultaneity of the input reception and output production, the interpreter's receiver and sender roles overlap in time. Another major problem is the lack of revision phase – the interpreter's output is always the first draft and at the same time the final version of the text. Numerous accounts also stress the potentially adverse effects of the linearity constraint (e.g., Hatim & Mason 1997; Setton 1999). Since the input is presented to the interpreter in segments short enough to be accommodated in the maximum time lag of no more than a few seconds, there is hardly any text available for co-processing. Only the most local information concerning the structure and context of the utterance is made accessible to the interpreter. As emphasised by Setton (1999: 10), in SI the decisions are made on the basis of units not only smaller than a text, but often even smaller than a proposition. Last but not least, it is essential to highlight the transient nature of the text delivered orally and its consequences for the target audience. The subsequent segments of the target text in SI are made accessible to the recipients for a matter of seconds, after which time they are irrevocably gone, thereby depriving them of the possibility to go through the text again and trace cognitively demanding interconnections (Gumul 2008). All

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[7] At this points it seems necessary to specify what is meant by strategy in this book. Unlike in written translation, where the clear distinction between strategies and techniques is widely accepted and generally respected, in the Interpreting Studies, the term strategy acquires a different dimension. Strategy understood as "goal-oriented process under intentional control" (Kalina 1998: 99, quoted in Pöchhacker 2004: 132) refers to both the global approach to the text and micro-level solutions. This is reflected in Van Besien and Meuleman's (2008) distinction between global and local strategies. It is also evidenced by the fact that in the most up-to-date ground-setting publication, *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies*, there is a separate entry for "strategies," while techniques are mentioned only as an alternative, synonymous term (Kalina 2015: 402). Another instance of adopting the term strategy is Bartłomiejczyk's (2006a) comprehensive study on the strategic behaviour of trainee interpreters, in which she consistently refers to a wide variety of interpreting solutions as strategies. While strategy appears to be the most widely used term, the labels used in the literature vary; Gile (1995) also adopts the term tactic and coping tactic, Jones (1998) opts for technique and Setton (1999) uses the term skill to refer to interpreter's strategic behaviour. There are also voices in the Interpreting Studies community that we should make a clear distinction between strategies and techniques, following the tradition of written translation (e.g., Tryuk 2007).

of these aspects underlying the adopted Model of the Interpreting Constraints will be discussed further in the subsequent sections, each dedicated to one of the four major constraints.

The general conceptual framework embraced for the Interpreting Constraints Model relies to a large extent on the information-processing theory. Especially the explanatory power of Gile's (1985, 1995, 1997b, 1999, 2016) Effort Models, Gravitational Model, and Tightrope Hypothesis has been instrumental in determining the features of individual constraints. It also relies on Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of textuality factors in interpreting.

The models constructed within the framework of information-processing theory are largely based on Massaro's model of information processing for speech comprehension as well as on Miller's findings on human cognitive functions. The proponents of the information-processing paradigm contend that it can claim a stronger scientific foundation than the interpretative theory (Setton 1999: 26). Unlike the interpretive approach and many other previous research paradigms, information-processing models do not attribute errors only to environmental conditions, poor interpreting technique, and lack of background knowledge or language competence. They also take into account the difficulty in allocation of processing-capacity resources between listening, memory, and production.

The foundations of Gile's Effort Models rest on the assumption that there is an intrinsic difficulty in interpreting, which lies in the cognitive tasks involved (Gile 1997b: 197). Having analysed errors and omissions found in target-language outputs, he concludes that they cannot always be attributed to an inadequate level of language proficiency, fatigue, fast delivery rate, or text-specific features, such as dense information content or technical and syntactic complexity. Thus, the approach in question focuses on explaining this difficulty inherent in the interpreting process in "a way that should facilitate the selection and development of strategies and tactics toward better interpreting performance" (Gile 1995: 156). Gile emphasises the model was designed to serve training purposes and is central to his teaching of interpreting (p. 160), which proves its suitability for the analyses conducted within the present study, where the participants are interpreting trainees.

The core concept of this theory is that of processing capacity. The direct association between the deterioration of the interpreter's performance and overload of short-term memory[8] induced Gile to develop a model based on processing capacity requirements and limitations. The initial assumption was that whenever there is a shortage of the processing capacity available for a particular

[8] This hypothesis was inspired by the findings of Claude Shannon (1948, cited in Gile 1995: 161), a communication engineer, who claimed that any channel transmitting information had a limited capacity. This idea was implemented by cognitive psychologists (e.g., Moray 1967; Norman 1976, both cited in Gile 1995: 161) to the studies of the human mind.

task, performance is bound to deteriorate as the cognitive processes involved in interpreting compete for resources (Gile 1995: 161).

The approach in question also offers a variety of strategies, or coping tactics, as they are called in Gile's model (1995: 191ff),[9] which the interpreters employ not only in case of the most often identified causes of failure, but also to counteract processing capacity limitations and processing capacity management problems (Gile 1995: 191).

The adopted Model of Interpreting Constraints does not rely solely on Gile's Effort Models, but also depends on other studies in the field. Therefore, the findings of other researchers are presented in the subsequent sections in an attempt to account fully for the complexity of the interpreting process.

3.4.1 The Time Constraint

Simultaneous interpretation is affected by the temporal load to a substantially greater extent than any other mode of interpreting or other constrained forms of translation mainly due to the simultaneity of the operations constituting it. The time pressure is aggravated by the external pacing, to which the interpreter working in this mode has to adjust his or her output. Another factor imposing an additional temporal load is that of processing capacity management and the necessity to coordinate multiple efforts involved in the process of interpreting. The interpreters working in this mode have to resort to various strategies or coping tactics to counteract different aspects of The Time Constraint, such as EVS regulation and economy of expression (Gumul & Łyda 2007).

The external pacing conditions virtually all text processing operations involved in simultaneous interpreting. Unlike translators, interpreters are forced to work at speech delivery speed set by the speaker of the source text. As observed by Kirchhoff (1976/2002: 113), the presentation rate, which the interpreter has no control of, has an impact on all operations of the SI process. The problem becomes more acute when they are faced with pre-written read-out speeches delivered without hesitation marks, false starts, or any other natural pauses reflecting the decision-making process of an impromptu speech (Kopczyński 1980; Jones 1998; Chmiel 2015).

Processing capacity management under conditions of performing concurrent operations is another factor closely related to the temporal load present in SI. This idea is central to Gile's Effort Models, but the problem of multiple task performance and their coordination is also addressed to some extent in other

[9] In fact, Gile makes a distinction between strategies and coping tactics, the former deployed to prevent failure, while the latter resorted to in emergency situations (Gile 1997b: 208). A similar distinction can be found in Kohn and Kalina's (1996) account of interpreting strategies, where they distinguish between strategies proper and the so-called emergency strategies (p. 131).

works. In his normative approach, Jones (1998: 72) writes about the acoustic difficulty of listening and speaking at the same time, which simultaneous interpreters have to overcome. It is further complicated by the necessity of listening to two lines of discourse, as it is not only the speaker's, but also the interpreter's own output, which has to be monitored closely all the time (Hatim & Mason 1997: 61; Kirchhoff 1976/2002: 117ff). Other researchers (Gerver 1969/2002; Wei 2002) also emphasise that being able to cultivate distributed attention between input comprehension and output production is an important prerequisite for successful performance in SI.

The concept of cultivating split attention has been further developed in Gile's Effort Models, in which the simultaneity of the operations involved in SI is explained in terms of the three competing efforts. Gile emphasises that unlike other models developed within the information-processing paradigm, this tripartite model of operational constraints does not postulate a particular mental structure or information-processing flow (Gile 1999: 154). Effort Models are meant to function as operational tools, with their explanatory and predictive potential being applicable to the actual interpreting performance. Nevertheless, they are based on the sound foundations of the cognitive science. The underlying cognitive concepts are those of limited attentional resources and the assumption of a direct correlation between the difficulty and complexity of the task on the one hand, and the duration of its implementation on the other.

Gile's Effort Model of simultaneous interpretation lists three concurrent operations requiring processing capacity. They are as follows:

> **the Listening and Analysis Effort – (L)**
> consisting of all comprehension-oriented operations, from the analysis of the sound waves carrying the source language speech that reach the interpreter's ears, through the identification of words, to the final decisions about the meaning of the utterance;
> **the Production Effort – (P)**
> defined as the set of operations extending from the initial mental representation of the message to be delivered, through speech planning, and up to the implementation of the speech plan;
> **the (Short-Term) Memory Effort – (M)**
> described as the high demand on short-term memory during simultaneous interpreting, due to the operation of several factors including (a) the time interval between the moment SL speech sounds are heard and the moment their processing for comprehension is finished, (b) the time interval between the moment the message to be formulated in the target language (TL) speech is determined and the completion of its formulation, (c) tactical moves, which are used, for instance, if an SL speech segment is unclear to the interpreter because of bad sound, strong accent, unclear logic, errors in the SL speech, and so on (the interpreter may decide to wait until more context is available to help understand the unclear segment), and (d) linguistic reasons. (Gile 1997b: 198)

Describing the last effort in terms of all the mental operations related to storage in memory of heard segments of discourse (Gile 1995: 93), at the same time Gile stresses that the Memory Effort should not be understood as tantamount to working memory. First of all, because working memory is also a part of the reception (the Listening and Analysis Effort) and the output formulation (the Production Effort). Moreover, the concept of the Memory Effort has a strong functional component and has been elaborated bearing in mind a strong tactical component, implying the question whether the interpreter should wait or not, rather than just a temporary storage of information available for processing (Gile 2016: 23).

The model stresses that coordination of the efforts is an important prerequisite for satisfactory rendering. Thus, the simplest equation describing simultaneous interpreting would be:

$$SI = L + P + M + C,$$

where the final C stands for the Coordination Effort. Other studies also provide some empirical evidence that this coordination component is of particular importance (e.g., Timarová et al. 2014). However, incorporation of the Coordination Effort is not the only requirement for successful performance. Two more conditions must be satisfied. In the first place, L + P + M + C must be less than the Total Available Processing Capacity (TAPC). Secondly, "the capacity available for each effort (LA, MA, PA, and CA) must be equal to or larger than its requirements for the task at hand" (Gile 1997b: 199); hence:

$$\begin{aligned} LA &> LR \\ MA &> MR \\ PA &> PR \\ CA &> CR \end{aligned}$$

There are three operational assumptions underlying this model: largely non-automatic nature of the three efforts, the competition hypothesis, and the tightrope hypothesis.

As for the first operational assumption, Gile regards all the operations constituting the simultaneous interpreting process – that is, listening and analysing, producing the target text, and storing it in memory – as non-automatic, at least to some extent. In fact, as Gile points out, the name of the model was chosen to underscore the non-automatic nature of these operations (Gile 1997b: 197). The assumption of non-automaticity also applies to listening and analysis, although they are generally viewed to be fast and unconscious (Gile 1995: 161ff).

The competition hypothesis assumes that even though the three efforts may be to some extent cooperative, their coexistence will invariably increase processing capacity requirements (Gile 1999: 156). Gile's Effort Model for SI emphasises the need to allocate processing capacity resources to three competing concurrent operations: the Listening and Analysis Effort, the Production Effort, and the short-term Memory Effort. In an ideal interpreting situation, each effort is working on a separate subsequent speech segment (Gile 1995: 171). However, given the intrinsic nature of discourse, the pattern is not always predictable. Two or even three of the Efforts might have to be active simultaneously. Looking closely at a variety of interpreting tasks, it can be inferred that there is no single rule that accounts for the application of individual efforts to specific speech segments. Still, in the most general case, when dealing with a succession of segments A, B, C, etc., production may be involved in A, memory may be responsible for B, while listening and analysis may be working on C. But in certain circumstances the pattern might be broken. For instance, employing the coping strategy of anticipation leads to producing a target-language segment before the corresponding source-language segment has been heard (Gile 1997b: 199). In mathematical terms, Gile represents his competition hypothesis with the following set of one equation (1) and three inequalities (2–4):

(1) $TotC = C(L) + C(M) + C(C)$
(2) $C(i) \geq 0 \quad i = L, M, P$
(3) $TotC \geq C(i) \quad i = L, M, P$
(4) $TotC \geq C(i) + C(j) \quad i,j = L, M, P$ and i different from j

As Gile (1999: 156) states:

> equation (1) represents the total processing capacity consumption
> inequality (2) means that each of the three Efforts requires some processing capacity
> inequality (3) means that the total capacity consumption is at least equal to that of any single Effort
> inequality (4) means that the total capacity consumption is at least equal to that of any two Efforts performed in conjunction (in other words, adding a third Effort means adding further capacity consumption). (Gile 1999: 156)

By comparing metaphorically the process of interpreting to the difficulty of performing acrobatic feats on a tightly stretched rope, the third operational assumption of the Effort Models, the tightrope hypothesis, presupposes that interpreters work near saturation level. Thus, it follows that in this approach, failure can be ascribed to either overall saturation of the TAPC, or a temporary shortage of capacity for one of the tasks. Gile (1995: 172ff) identifies several sources of SI processing failure corresponding to these two problems. Those resulting from saturation are grouped according to individual efforts' processing capacity requirements.

Firstly, processing failure might be due to high density of the speech associated either with fast delivery rate or high density of the information content. Densely informative strings may be rich in enumerations or devoid of hesitations (e.g., pre-composed written texts which are read out). This problem area applies to both the Listening and Analysis Effort and the Production Effort. Secondly, failure in SI can be attributed to such external factors as poor quality of sound or some outside interferences taxing the Listening and Analysis Effort. The processing capacity requirements of this particular effort are also increased when the interpreter is faced with technical terms which cannot be immediately recognised, strong accents, or ungrammatical linguistic structures and incorrect lexical usage. Thirdly, the capacity requirements of the Memory Effort are substantially raised when coping with unknown names, such as, for instance, composite proper nouns. Finally, the Short-Term Memory Effort is taxed heavily when the language pair involved is marked by syntactic differences requiring reordering (Gile 1995).

Problems resulting from temporary lack of capacity for one of the tasks are associated with signal vulnerability. This means that the handled segments do not necessarily demand a great deal of processing capacity. These segments are vulnerable to lapses of attention due to their low redundancy and short duration, as in the case of non-contextual information, such as short names, acronyms, or numbers, whose information content is difficult to recover when the interpreter experiences a momentary lapse of attention in the Listening Effort (Gile 2015: 136). The research conducted by Gile (1984) confirms high rate of failure in rendering proper names with low morphological redundancy.

Because of the time pressure inherent in SI, the way one segment is processed affects the availability of processing capacity for handling further incoming segments. This makes the interpreter working in this mode prone to temporary overload or saturation, which might result in erroneous performance. Thus, to account for different errors and omissions, Gile (1995) introduces the idea of failure sequences,[10] which assumes that a given problem trigger[11] might potentially give rise to EOIs (errors, omissions, or infelicities – see Gile 2015) as a result of processing capacity mismanagement rather than only because of its inherent difficulty. Thus, for instance, the interpreter faced with an incoming

[10] Gile considers this idea as a tentative one, emphasising that "the failure scenarios built around the Effort Models are intuitive, and rely on many cognitive hypotheses: the idea that the efforts are highly competitive; that because of this competition, their individual processing capacity requirements can be added against total available capacity; that interpreters have substantial control over the allocation of processing capacity to the efforts; and so on. Close inspection of these hypotheses by cognitive scientists is required" (Gile 1997b: 212).

[11] Gile uses the term problem triggers to refer to "factors and conditions which increase processing capacity requirements or make the interpreter more vulnerable to attention lapses and attention management errors" (Gile 2015: 136).

speech segment requiring additional capacity resources for production (e.g., a speech segment of high density in terms of either fast delivery rate or dense information content) may be forced to delay producing target-language version until more processing capacity is available for the Production Effort. Obtaining extra processing capacity is possible after the interpreter has been freed from the Listening Effort, that is, working on the incoming speech segment. This, however, may impose excessive strain on the Short-Term Memory Effort because of the backlog of incoming input segments that has accumulated in the meantime. If the interpreter tries to deal with the problem by directing more processing capacity to the Short-Term Memory Effort, this may lead to losses in the capacity aimed for the Listening and Analysis Effort, jeopardising comprehension of another incoming segment (Gile 1997b: 200).

It can be inferred from the above simulation that failure sequences do not necessarily affect the problematic segment that triggered them, but may occur at a distance, influencing the rendition of those segments that pose no particular difficulty (Gile 1995: 175). Therefore, identifying the exact source of failure is not always possible by analysing the corresponding input segment. It may be more productive to attempt to trace it by looking globally at larger portions of discourse (Gumul & Łyda 2007). It is also worth noting that the very presence of problem triggers does not necessarily engender problems with processing capacity. Problem triggers can only be treated as potential sources of errors or omissions, but whether they occur or not depends on the context. For instance, informationally dense segment may come at the end of the sentence and additionally be followed by a pause. Then, the Listening and Analysis Effort is no longer active, and the whole processing capacity can be directed to the Memory and Production components (Gile 1995: 174).

In order to minimise the adverse effect of the Time Constraint in SI, interpreters can deploy various strategies.[12] One of the available options is that of EVS regulation (Gumul & Łyda 2007; Chmiel 2015; Kalina 2015). Obviously, the very presence of the EVS is hardly strategic, as it is an inherent aspect of SI performance. What makes it a strategic behaviour is going beyond the average comfortable delay and adjusting its length to the current conditions when facing

[12] Obviously, a clear-cut division of the interpreting strategies according to the individual constraints is not always viable, as the needs to adopt a particular tactic might overlap. For instance, naturalisation or approximate repetition – necessary at times because of the (Un)shared Knowledge Constraint – are favoured over explanation or paraphrasing due to excessive time pressure. Thus, the choice of a particular tactic is not random, but follows certain rules. The one applied in the above example is the rule of minimising recovery interference. It follows from the basic principle of processing capacity management that "the way one segment is processed affects the availability of processing capacity for the processing of other segments" (Gile 1995: 202). Moreover, as observed by Kohn and Kalina (1996: 132) in their account of interpreting as strategic discourse processing, "any one single strategic decision will have consequences for numerous others to be taken" since "in practice, strategies of very different types and levels interact to a large extent."

problems in the interpreting task. Thus, assuming that most studies report the average time lag around two to four seconds (e.g., Paneth 1957/2002; Oléron & Nanpon 1965/2002; Gerver 1969/2002; Anderson 1994; Niska 1999; Timarová 2015), the strategy of EVS regulation usually involves the time lag shorter than two seconds or longer that four, subject to variation depending on the nature of the processed segment.

As emphasised by Gumul and Łyda (2007), regulating the EVS enables interpreters to control to a certain extent the processing-capacity requirements. However, this strategy has to be adopted with caution, as both reducing or increasing the time lag entail potential risk. Shortening the EVS is beneficial in terms of decreasing short-term memory requirements but may produce an adverse effect, resulting in misunderstanding the propositional content or embarking on a sentence which would be difficult to complete. Extremely short time lag is only entirely safe when dealing with lists of items or non-contextual information, such as numbers and proper names appearing in certain contexts (Chmiel 2015). On the other hand, lagging too far behind the speaker does increase comprehension potential, but might prove to be excessive, and as such impose severe strain on short-term memory leading to breakdown (Hatim & Mason 1997: 62). As pointed out by Chmiel (2015), lengthening the time lag far beyond the average comfortable EVS is advisable only in the case of syntactically complex sentences requiring reordering. There is some recent empirical evidence suggesting that ear–voice span exceeding four seconds is likely to have a detrimental effect on accuracy (Timarová et al. 2014; Timarová 2015). Kirchhoff (1976/2002: 115) claims that "the interpreter's optimum starting point would have to lie where a maximum amount of certainty and a minimum load on capacity are insured (…) and would have to correspond to the respective limits of the smallest recoding unit." It is worth noting that the EVS is considered to be a fairly sensitive measure that reflects the underlying cognitive processing (Timarová 2015: 419; see also Pöchhacker 2004: 117).

Another possible way of coping with the temporal constraints inherent in simultaneous interpreting is maximising the efficiency of expression. Terms adopted in studies on SI vary widely although in fact they describe essentially the same phenomenon. Chernov (2004) refers to it as compression strategies, Sunnari (1995) uses the label condensing strategies – much like Truyk (2007), who also writes about condensation (*kondensacja*) – Hatim and Mason (1990) talk about selective reductions, Jiménez Ivars (2012: 207) opts for the strategy of synthesis (*la estrategia de síntesis*), while Napier (2015) and Bartłomiejczyk (2006a) use the term strategic omission.

As the last term indicates, such measures usually involve some form of physical omission (either semantic or syntactic), although they not necessarily entail the loss of information content and the lack of source–target correspondence. Some earlier studies emphasise the need of a complete rendition, perceiving omissions as violating one of the basic norms of interpreting. In such approaches, omissions are either associated with failure or emergency solutions when faced with difficult conditions (e.g., Altman 1994; Barik 1994). Nevertheless, most practical approaches to the profession of conference interpreting usually advocate opting for the shortest possible form in the simultaneous mode (e.g., Jones 1998; Jiménez Ivars 2012). According to Jiménez Ivars (2012: 207), the strategy of synthesis required by the temporal restrictions is one of the two most frequently adopted strategies in simulaneous interpreting (along with anticipation). She perceives it as particularly useful especially for inexperienced interpreters and stresses the necessity of a coherent and fluent synthesis of the source text. The benefits of a more economic way of expression are also emphasised by Gile, who observes that by trying to be particularly eloquent, interpreters run the risk of allocating too much processing capacity to the Production Effort thereby depriving themselves of sufficient processing capacity for the Listening and Analysis Effort (Gile 1995: 175).

Two possible strategies aiming at economising expression are skipping and filtering described by Al-Khanji et al. (2000). The former can only be considered as a conscious strategy of the interpreter to seek a more economic way of expression when it comes to leaving out semantically redundant lexical items, since in its broadest sense, the term skipping encompasses also omissions resulting in failure to render the entire propositional content. Filtering is defined as a conscious attempt "to compress the length of an utterance in order to find an economic way of expression" (Al-Khanji et al. 2000: 554). These two operations correspond roughly to some time-saving solutions recommended by Jones (1998), that is, avoiding unnecessary repetition and removing filler words such as *really*, *actually*, or *well* (unless they are used in their primary sense) (Jones 1998: 106).

Surface omissions like skipping or filtering, which do not result in a loss of propositional content of the message, are particularly relevant to the present study, as they often lead to implicitation. Implicitating shifts are often a co-existing phenomenon of explicitation, especially in constrained forms of translation, as observed by Perego (2003), who established a category of reduction-based explicitation in AVT (see Section 1.2.5).

The possible drawback of adopting excessive economy of expression or text-editing measures is failing to render the attitudinal meaning of source-language text (Hatim & Mason 1997: 39). It might happen that deploying a particular stylistics (e.g., the use of repetition in creating involvement) is a conscious effort on the part of the speaker, and as such should be recognised by the interpreter and rendered accordingly (see Gumul & Łyda 2007; Pym 2008). As pointed out by Pym (2008), another potential obstacle in the way of efficient and judicous omissions in SI is the lack of sufficient context to make a sound judgment of what can be left out without modyifying the message. Given that such decisions require both cognitive resources and contextualisation, in such cases, the very time pressure that requires omissions may, in fact, preclude them, as there is no time to make an appropriate decision of what to omit. Although Viaggio (2002) is a strong advocate of this strategy, he makes a point that omissions in SI must be employed sparingly even in the case of extensive redundancy of the source-language text, given that in this mode, the output is immediately comparable to the input in terms of length. According to Pym (2008), interpreters might also be unwilling to resort to omission, as it migh involve the risk of non-cooperation in terms of communication.

There is, however, some emprical evidence that interpreters routinely perform low-risk omissions as "part of a general economy of time managment" (Pym 2008: 95). This practice has been proved by Pym's (2008) reanalysis of Gile's study (1999), Korpal's (2012b) experiment, and Van Besien and Meuleman's (2008) case study. Strategic omission is also defended in pragmatic-oriented studies, which perceive it as a relevance-enhancing tactic (e.g., Viaggio 2002). The subjects in Korpal's (2012b: 110) study report that they "omitted some information to make the speeches more communicative." As pointed out by Garzone (2002: 114), employing this strategy may, under certain circumstances, be the only way to ensure the best possible quality of interpretation. It is also worth noting that numerous studies on interpreting quality (e.g., Kurz 1993/2002; Moser 1996, cited in Garzone 2002: 114; Kalina 2002; Pöchhacker 2002; Riccardi 2002a) indicate that completeness of interpretation is not an absolute priority for conference participants.

3.4.2 The Linearity Constraint

The concept of the Linearity Constraint as perceived in the present study and the author's previous research (Gumul 2007b, 2011b, 2012b) is largely based on Hatim and Mason's (1997) model of accessibility of texture, structure and context in interpreting, but at the most general level stems from the notion of the linearity of language, characteristic of the surface structure of any linguistic expression (Polański 1993: 309).[13] It is through the surface structure of the input that the interpreter can have access to the propositional content of the source-language speech. However, as shown in Hatim and Mason's (1997) text-linguistic model, the interpreter's access to the structure at both macro- and micro-levels is limited in the simultaneous mode.

In their model accounting for the textuality factors in interpreting, Hatim and Mason (1997) focus not only on simultaneous, but also on consecutive and

[13] In contrast to the deep structure, which cannot be fully described in terms of the linearity of language (Polański 1993: 309).

liaison, the latter being given the status of the third mode in their approach.[14] The three domains of textuality constituting the core elements of Hatim and Mason's text-linguistic approach are texture, structure, and context. The notion of texture refers to "various devices used in establishing continuity of sense and thus making a sequence of sentences operational (i.e. both cohesive and coherent)" (Hatim & Mason 1997: 36). The second of these notions, namely structure, is described as the compositional plan of a text which "otherwise would only be a disconnected sequence of sentences" (Hatim & Mason 1997: 37, 224). The last textuality indicator, the context, is defined in this approach as the extra-textual environment exerting a determining influence on language use through its three domains: register, intentionality, and intertextuality (Gumul 2011b).

Hatim and Mason's (1997) model purports that each mode of interpreting focuses on a different domain of textuality. In simultaneous interpreting, the input is presented to the interpreter in segments short enough to be accommodated in the maximum time lag of no more than a few seconds. Owing to that, only the most local information concerning the structure and context of the utterance is made available to the interpreter. Thus, having only a partial view of these two domains of textuality, the interpreter has to depend on the texture for comprehension, "maintaining text connectivity through interacting with the various aspects of cohesion, theme–rheme progression, etc." (Hatim & Mason 1997: 59). It is only via texture that he or she can gain access to structure and context. By contrast, the consecutive interpreter receives the source-language text as a whole or in portions of at least a few sentences, each constituting a "micro-text." Having to operate on considerably long strings of discourse, interpreters working in this mode tend to rely on text structure for its retention and processing. Due to an extra memory load, especially the texture-related information is too detailed for the interpreter to retain it easily. Therefore, texture and context can only be retained "in a most short-lived manner and can thus be stored more effectively via structure" (Hatim & Mason 1997: 42, 49). In the third mode accounted for in Hatim and Mason's model, the liaison interpreting, due to its mostly dialogic nature, the interpreter has limited access to texture and structure. Therefore, he or she is forced to take recourse to the only available textuality indicator, namely, context (Gumul 2011b). The acessibility of the three domains of textuality in different modes of interpreting is illustrated in a graphic form in Figure 3.1, adapted from Hatim and Mason.

[14] Gentile's (1996) handbook *Liaison interpreting* presents the following classification of the interpreting modes: "There are two basic *modes* in which interpreting is performed, the first being *consecutive* interpreting and the second *simultaneous*. Each mode has at least two variants, which are used in liaison interpreting" (Gentile et al. 1996: 22). He defines liaison interpreting as a type or genre of interpretation.

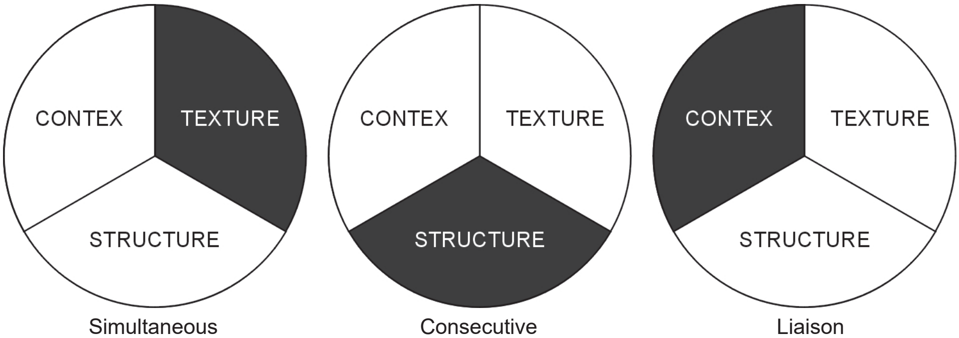

Figure 3.1. Accessibility of context, structure, and texture (Hatim & Mason 1997: 43)

Bearing in mind the differences in the availability of textuality between individual modes, Hatim and Mason (1997) contend that regardless of the mode, texture can be regarded as a privileged category. It is most prominent in SI, but it is also of assistance in CI and liaison, retrieving structure in the former, and context in the latter.

It is made explicit in Hatim and Mason's approach that the simultaneous interpreter has only a partial view of the overall structure of the source-language text. Owing to that, he or she has no way of knowing where the speech is headed. What impedes the interpreting process even more is the fact that in most cases, the interpreter has to embark on rendering a sentence before it is completed. Considering the average length of the EVS, even at the sentential level, the so-called micro-level of the speech, rarely does the interpreter benefit from hearing the sentence in its entirety (Gumul 2011b).

Limited accessibility of text structure in SI has also been underlined in other accounts, ranging from introductory textbooks (Jones 1998), to the models set within the framework of cognitive psychology (de Groot 1997; Tijus 1997) at the other end of the continuum. It is also accounted for in Gile's Effort Models (Gile 1995, 1997b) and forms a part of Setton's (1999) approach. Therefore, the Linearity Constraint, or a short horizon constraint, as it is termed by Setton (1999: 36), is considered to make the strongest demands on the interpreter in this particular mode.

Hatim and Mason's structure and texture may be seen as corresponding roughly to the notions of macro- and micro-structure of the text present in other approaches. According to Jones (1998), the process of simultaneous interpreting is intrinsically impeded by the so-called intellectual difficulty, which refers to speech-processing difficulties on both macro- and micro-level (Jones 1998: 72). A macro-structure of a speech "finds its way into sentences (…) at the time of speaking" and "can correspond either to a minimal summary of the speech, or to some message the speaker wants to deliver" (Tijus 1997: 31). Given the permanent presence of The Linearity Constraint in simultaneous interpreting, it has been contended by Tijus (1997: 32) that the major obstacle in SI is the one of having to grasp the structure through inductive inferencing. The need to formulate output on the basis of partial meanings has been also emphasised by Setton (1999: 21).

Those accounts that favour language-specificity of interpreting (Altman 1994; Gile 1995; Riccardi 1995, etc.) claim that language-specific factors might influence the accessibility of the micro-structure on the sentential level. The significance of the source and target language typology in simultaneous interpreting has been the subject of much debate in the interpreting research community. The two paradigms that have developed conflicting attitudes are the Paris School (the interpretive theory) and the information-processing theory. The proponents of the former (Seleskovitch 1978; Lederer 1978/2002, 1981, 1990; Seleskovitch & Lederer 1986, 1989) claim language-independence of interpreting. On the other hand, Gile's Effort Models (1985, 1995, 1997b), set within the framework of the information-processing theory, acknowledge that syntactic differences between source and target languages have impact on source-language rendition. Other authors holding this view include Goldman-Eisler (1972/2002), Kirchhoff (1976/2002), Ilg (1978, cited in Gile 1997b: 209), Wills (1978, cited in Riccardi 1995: 214), Altman (1994), Isham (1994, see Gile 1997a), Riccardi (1995), Setton (1999), and Van Besien (1999).

In his Effort Models, Gile (1997b) makes a direct link between language specificity and processing capacity requirements. He contends that "syntactic differences that force interpreters to wait longer before starting to formulate their target-language speech tend to increase the load on the memory effort" (Gile 1997b: 209). He also believes that "the intrinsic requirements of specific languages" might tax the listening effort and the production effort. The drawbacks of syntactic differences between SL and TL texts have also been observed by Kirchhoff (1976/2002), who believes that "in the case of structurally divergent languages, syntax is of decisive importance for the choice of processing strategy," as "proceeding with TL production before syntactic disambiguation involves a high probability risk" (Kirchhoff 1976/2002: 113).

The language-specific factor that has generated a wealth of SI literature is the word order in German. Its left-branching structures (SOV) pose considerable difficulties for interpreters working from this language (Setton 1999: 50). Although this syntactic pattern is not encountered in English–Polish combination, there are, nevertheless, substantial discrepancies between these two languages in terms of surface structure word order.[15] The most apparent one is that in English, the syntactic function of a noun phrase is marked by its position in a sentence,

[15] It has to be stressed that this section does not undertake to account for all kinds of language-specific factors, but merely those that are believed to pose difficulties in terms of structure accessibility of the input.

whereas in Polish, the position of a noun phrase does not have a distinctive function in this respect. It is the case endings that mark the syntactic function of a given noun phrase (Fisiak et al. 1978: 36). This structural difference might prove to be an obstacle when working into English, due to its relatively fixed word order.[16] It should not, however, constitute a major obstacle when the target language is Polish, since its syntactic rules allow for juxtaposition of elements within a sentence to a far larger extent than in English. Still, word order is not the only dimension in which these two languages differ. There is another feature of the Polish language that might impede preserving text linearity. Unlike in English, where only pronouns are marked for gender, in Polish also nouns, verbs, and adjectives take gender endings (Gumul 2011b).

In order to offset the inherent restrictions present in simultaneous interpreting, the interpreters working in this mode employ various strategies for coping with the Linearity Constraint. Setton (1999: 50ff) distinguishes four major strategies employed to counteract limited accessibility of input structure as well as structural asymmetries between source and target languages. Terms tend to vary widely, as virtually every approach labels the individual strategies in a different way (Gumul 2011b).

The first one is simply referred to as waiting (Setton 1999), or, in other words, delaying the response (Gile 1995). The strategy in question amounts to prolonging the EVS while awaiting forthcoming input, described in the previous section. The second strategy involves either delaying output by slowing delivery, described as stalling (Van Besien & Meuleman 2008), or uttering non-committal material contributing no new information, labelled as padding (Kirchhoff 1976/2002; Setton 1999). The third tactic of chunking (Riccardi 1998; Setton 1999; Yagi 2000; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008; Gorszczyńska 2015) or pre-emptive segmentation of the input (Setton 1999: 50) corresponds to Gile's (1995), Goldman-Eisler's (1972/2002), Kirchhoff's (1976/2002), and Pöchhacker's (2015a) segmentation or to Jones's (1998) salami technique to some extent. Other equivalent terms cited by Setton include *saucissonnage* (Ilg 1978, cited in Setton 1999) and preserving linearity (Zhong 1984, cited in Setton 1999). Finally, Setton (1999: 52) refers to anticipation. This particular strategy has generated a wealth of SI literature, including the works of Kirchhoff (1976/2002), Lederer (1978/2002, 1981), Wills (1978, cited in Riccardi 1995: 214), Adamowicz (1989, cited in de Groot 1997), Gile (1995), Riccardi (1995), Kohn and Kalina (1996),

[16] The statement that English word order is fixed, whereas the Polish one is free is a common misconception. In fact, a more detailed contrastive analysis of these two languages shows that "neither is Polish word order entirely free nor is English word order entirely fixed" (Fisiak et al. 1978: 37). A similar view is expressed by Kubiński (1999), who emphasises that "English word order is relatively more constrained than word ordering in Polish" (Kubiński 1999: 77). Thus, the statement used in the present study merely serves to show certain tendencies of the surface structure in both languages, without going into much detail.

de Groot (1997), Hatim and Mason (1997), Setton (1999), and Van Besien (1999). The last two strategies, namely, segmentation and anticipation, clearly involve more complex operations than waiting or stalling; therefore, we shall elaborate on them. These two have also been considered as crucial not only for the practice of SI, but also interpreter training (see, e.g., Torres Díaz 2004; Jiménez Ivars 2012; Florczak 2013; Gorszczyńska 2015).

As pointed out by Pöchhacker (2015a), segmentation in its most general sense refers to the interpreter's processing of both source and target texts and involves their decomposition into "processing-relevant units" (Pöchhacker 2015a: 367). In turn, Goldman-Eisler's (1972/2002) definition of one of the types of discourse segmentation she identifies draws attention to how this decomposition is manifested in output production. Her strategy of fission involves "starting to encode before the chunk in the input has come to a halt" (Goldman-Eisler 1972/2002: 72).

There is some emprical evidence from recent studies that segmentation is a commonly adopted strategy. The vast majority of subjects in Meuleman and Van Besien's (2009) study opted for segmenting instead of tailing, that is, following source-text syntax when faced with syntactically challenging input. However, it is not a universal behaviour of all interpreters, as their previous small-scale study of two subjects rendered contradictory results, attesting to the idiosyncratic nature of segmentation (see Van Besien & Meuleman 2008). References to the strategy of segmentation can also be traced in Kohn and Kalina's (1996; see also Kalina 2015) account of interpreting strategies. The authors mention two kinds of what they label as surface operations. The first type of operation involves producing small and comparatively independent discourse chunks which are identified and processed separately. This strategy often entails linguistic simplification, including sentence splitting, paraphrasing, and restructuring. The other one consists in selecting linguistically open gambit forms "which leave the largest possible number of options for continuation and correction" (Kohn & Kalina 1996: 130).

There is a general consensus in SI literature that segmentation is primarily a preventive tactic (Gile 1995; Setton 1999; Yagi 2000; Liontou 2015; Pöchhacker 2015a), employed when faced with potential problems. One of them is the syntactic discrepancy between the source and target languages. When faced with SL–TL syntactic asymmetry (Setton 1999), or simply syntactic structures of considerable complexity (Jones 1998), the interpreter might resort to reformulating the already available segment or producing neutral sentence beginnings (Gile 1995). This view is also reiterated in Goldman-Eisler's (1972/2002) contribution, in which she observes that the use of the strategy of segmentation depends not only on the rate of the input, the nature of the message, and the interpreter's preferences either for storing or anticipating, but also on the structural differences between the source and target languages. It is worth noting that in terms of processing capacity requirements, segmentation is claimed to reduce short-term memory load (Gile 1995: 196; Riccardi 1998: 178; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008: 149).

Another strategy employed to counteract the Linearity Constraint is anticipation. Due to a partial view of the gradually unfolding text structure, the interpreter is forced to take frequent recourse to inductive inferencing (Tijus 1997: 32). In other words, he or she has to anticipate the upcoming input. Quite apart from its function in SI, anticipation is generally believed to be "a fundamental feature of strategic discourse processing," enabling the listener to predict what the speaker is going to say (Kohn & Kalina 1996: 124). However, anticipation gains additional importance in interpreting, where, as Kohn and Kalina (1996: 130) point out, there is a need to anticipate strategically. This strategic anticipation, or early anticipation, is based on "far less information than would be considered sufficient in monolingual communication."

Liontou (2015: 15) defines anticipation in simultaneous interpreting as "prediction of source-text constituents not yet available for the interpreter's output planning." Taking into account temporal relation between source text and target text, Van Besien offers a more refined definition of this phenomenon, distinguishing between pure anticipation and freewheeling anticipation (referred to originally by Lederer as *l'interprétation 'en roue libre'*; Lederer 1981: 253). The former is described as "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: 250), whereas the latter amounts to producing a target-language segment after the corresponding source-language segment has been uttered, "but so soon afterwards and at so correct a place in his own language that there is no doubt the interpreter summoned it before hearing the original" (Lederer 1978/2002: 139).

In their experimental studies, Jörg (1997) and Seeber (2001) draw attention to another important aspect of anticipation in simultaneous interpreting, namely, its correctness. Unlike in monolingual communication, anticipation in SI always entails some risk of mistranslation. No matter how plausible the hypotheses about the incoming segment might be, whether they are based on pure anticipation or freewheeling interpretation, they are still tentative (Hatim & Mason 1997: 45). There are obviously a number of factors that minimise the risk of making false assumptions. Chernov's (2004) model of comprehension in SI, where anticipatory processes occupy a prominent position, assumes that one of these factors is the probabilistic nature of speech comprehension (see also Gile 1995; Dźwierzyńska 2001), presuming the existence of highly differentiated probabilities governing the word order both in terms of structure (syntactic patterns) and lexis (collocations, fixed phrases, idioms). Thus, it can be inferred that proficiency in the source language is a vital prerequisite for successful anticipation. The mastery of transitional probabilities is of paramount importance especially in terms of processing capacity requirements. High level of linguistic proficiency reduces processing capacity requirements of the Listening and Analysis Effort, making it possible to allocate the remaining part to two other competing efforts (Gile 1995: 177). As stressed by Jones (1998: 118), linguistic anticipation is an invaluable tool when the process of interpreting involves languages differing in terms of syntactic structure. Thus, this strategy is frequently employed to overcome language-specific problems.

The inherent redundancy of all natural languages is another feature increasing the predictability of the incoming message, and thus facilitating anticipation (Chernov 1979/2002: 99; Tryuk 2007: 129). Redundant elements (e.g., recurring lexical items, synonymous expressions, rhetorical questions, etc.) are the factors triggering anticipation mechanisms, since they reduce the indeterminacy of the utterance (Dźwierzyńska 2001: 67).

Looking at anticipation in terms of Hatim and Mason's model of accessibility of textuality domains, it becomes clear that the interpreter's chances of successful anticipation increase as the target-language text unfolds. At the early stages of input encoding, the amount of information concerning the performance characteristics of the speaker and the subject matter available to the interpreter may not be sufficient to anticipate correctly (Kirchhoff 1976/2002: 115). This aspect is underscored in various approaches (Kopczyński 1980; Van Dam 1989; Seeber 2001; Liontou 2015).

These two above-mentioned factors facilitating anticipation are clearly beyond the domain of strictly linguistic features of the discourse. Thus, as emphasised by Kirchhoff (1976/2002: 115), "the construction of expectations depends on linguistic and extra-linguistic determinants." The feasibility of forming assumptions about the upcoming input on the basis of extra-linguistic knowledge in interpreting and communication in general is underscored in a number of approaches (Chernov 1979/2002; Kohn & Kalina 1996; de Groot 1997; Dźwierzyńska 2001). It must be stressed that in order to ensure successful anticipation, a certain degree of extra-linguistic knowledge concerning the conference situation, the subject, and possibly the speaker (i.e., the context in Hatim and Mason's model) should be available to the interpreter prior to the interpreting event (Gile 1995: 178; Tryuk 2007: 131).

3.4.3 The (Un)shared Knowledge Constraint

The extra-linguistic knowledge, or rather its limitations, mentioned in the previous section, lie at the core of the (Un)Shared Knowledge Constraint. In pragmatic approaches to interpreting, it is often underscored that the peculiarity of the interpreting event lies in the fact that although it serves communication, it cannot be considered as a natural communication situation. Not being the prime target of the speech, the interpreter is neither the interlocutor, who shares the same reference frame with the speaker of the source text, nor a casual listener, who does not find it necessary to understand the message completely (Seleskovitch 1978: 21ff; Garwood 2002: 276). In such circumstances, the information gap is likely to occur, imposing some constraints that impede the communication process. There are a number of factors that are likely to widen this information gap.

One of them is the external sourcing of the message. In a normal communication situation, the speaker puts his or her own train of thoughts into words. The outcome of the interpreter's work, however, which is his or her output produced in the target language, can by no means be described in terms of "sovereign" speech. The interpreted version conveys someone else's ideas, line of reasoning, judgements, and intentions. The interpreter's contribution as a language mediator consists only in formulating and articulating the target-language speech (Setton 1999: 2). Still, recent research shows that the role-related supernorm advocated by professional bodies preventing interpreter's active agency in the communication process is not so strictly observed by practising interpreters (Zwischenberger 2015), who tend to see themselves as potential partners rather than subordinates merely expected to process information.

Another factor retarding the interpreting process is the audience design. Naturally, speakers at a conference adjust their output to an expected level of specialised knowledge of the audience (Shlesinger 1995: 194; Hatim & Mason 1997: 62). The interpreter, however, not being the intended addressee of the source-language speech, does not share the same reference frame with the speaker and is, therefore, less likely to boast the same level of expertise in a given field. As pointed out by Gile (1995: 165), "the interpreters' relevant extralinguistic knowledge, and often terminological part of their linguistic knowledge, are less comprehensive than the delegates'." This problem is also addressed in Garwood's (2002) study, in which he remarks that "however well interpreters prepare for a conference, they will rarely share the same background knowledge as the other participants" (p. 268). The problem is further aggravated by the fact that, unlike in dialogic modes of interpreting, in conference simultaneous interpreting, the meaning is not co-constructed (Tiselius 2015: 4).

The level of interpreters' background knowledge is the main focus of Feldweg's (1990) contribution, in which he points to a number of potential pitfalls resulting from the inadequate level of specialist knowledge acquired by interpreters. His observations confirm the widespread belief that the majority of interpreters are generalists lacking expertise in the field in which they attempt translation. Also most pedagogical approaches to interpreting discuss extensively the importance of extra-lingustic knowledge acquisition as a component of interpreting competence (e.g., Gasek 2015).

Another factor contributing to the (Un)Shared Knowledge Constraint is the availability of terminology under the conditions of simultaneous interpreting. As observed by Rütten (2015), unlike community interpreters, who work in asymmetric communication situations involving experts on the one hand and laypersons on the other, which justifies less precise use of terminology, conference interpreters are expected to deploy correct and precise terms. This is mostly due to quality criteria and user expectations confirmed by various studies (see Pöchhacker 2015b; Rütten 2015).

Interpreters' use of terminology in SI is accounted for in Gile's Gravitational Model of linguistic availability.[17] The model assumes that the overall mental lexicon of a given person consists of a variable part and an invariable part. The latter is represented in Gile's graphic depiction of the model (see Figure 3.2) by the Nucleus and includes words of high frequency of use in the language. By contrast, the invariable part, which is represented by several Orbits revolving around the Nucleus, is larger by several orders of magnitude and includes thousands of lexical items. In this model, Orbits represent various degrees of availability of lexis. The distance from the Nucleus reflects the growing requirements in terms of processing capacity management, which means that the words on more distant orbits require substantially more cognitive effort and time to access them in long-term memory than those close to the Nucleus. There is one more differentiating factor characterising different degrees of lexical availability; the orbits belong to two zones: the Active Zone, including words immediately available for text production (roughly equivalent to what is commonly denominated in literature on language acquisition as the active lexicon), and the passive Zone, composed of words that an interpreter is capable of understanding but which he or she does not use in speech production. In turn, the zone cutting across the orbits, denominated as the Sector, represents the interpreter's command of lexis in a given field, both active and passive. Gile stresses that the

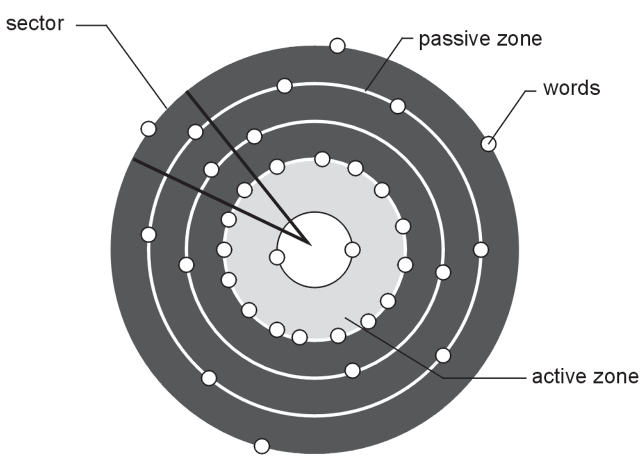

Figure 3.2. Gile's Gravitational Model of Linguistic Availability (adapted from Gile 1995)

[17] This lexicon-oriented model as such has been designed to account for interpreters' language proficiency in general, but is also used by Gile to explain terminological deficiencies of interpreters.

model accounts for lexical items available to the interpreter not only in natural conditions of communication, but first of all within certain range of processing capacity values (Gile 1995).

The availability of terminology in an interpreting situation is different in many respects from that of an ordinary language user. The two factors of primary importance are polarisation and volatility. On the one hand, due to the Centripetal Effect of Stimulation, low-availability lexical units belonging to specialist terminology may be moved inward to more central Orbits by frequent stimulation, as they appear in the context of a given conference with high frequency. On the other hand, although interpreters boast wider than average technical vocabulary, this highly specialised component of their lexis is volatile. Owing to the Centrifugal Principle, words which are not stimulated, that is, used frequently, tend to drift outward and occupy a place further from the Nucleus. As observed by Gile (1995: 225), "interpreters encounter and use many thousands of technical terms in the course of their careers at a rate of a few dozen or a few hundred at each conference" but "technical terms tend to be forgotten rather rapidly (which may be due to infrequent stimulation because of the long intervals between conferences on the same subject)."

One of the main postulates of Gile's Gravitational Model is that the cognitive load of the interpreting task reduces the availability of the lexis. The use of lexis is assumed to depend heavily on the interpreter's cognitive ability to access linguistic knowledge in long-term memory. Gile draws attention to the fact that his model is not intended to be used for lexicometric purposes, but has rather been designed to characterise the interpreter's language skills and requirements.

The strategies aiming to overcome the (Un)Shared Knowledge Constraint include transcoding, instant naturalisation, and simplification. According to the proponents of the Paris School, transcoding (*transcodage*), which amounts to rendering a source-language term or speech segment word for word, is employed when dealing with proper names, numbers or standardised technical language (see Lederer 2015).[18] Obviously, such instances of transcoding can hardly be considered in terms of coping tactics. The verbatim rendering of this kind of lexical items is natural. Interpreters, however, may resort to transcoding as a preventive tactic, for instance, when faced with unfamiliar terminology (Gile 1995: 199; see also Van Besien & Meuleman 2008: 150).

Another strategy employed in SI to offset the (Un)shared Knowledge Constraint is that of instant naturalisation. Interpreters often tend to naturalise the source-language term by adapting its morphological and phonological form to the rules of the target language (Gile 1995: 198). Specialised vocabulary abounds in naturalised lexical items. Thus, an interpreter resorting to this strategy might

[18] The proponents of the interpretive approach claim that transcoding is occasionally resorted to in SI to counteract linearity problems (Lederer 1981: 50).

actually arrive at an existing target-language term. But even if the naturalised lexical item does not exist, it may nevertheless facilitate comprehension for those listening to the output, as such forms tend to be easily recognisable.

Simplification falls into the category of text-editing strategies, and as such should be used sparingly and with caution. When faced with the task of interpreting a highly technical material, the interpreter might not be able to render all the details. In such a case, he or she might have to resort to simplifying the content and saving the essentials in order to maximise communication (Jones 1998: 108).[19]

3.4.4 The Memory Load Constraint[20]

The issues related to memory in simultaneous interpreting are part of Gile's Effort Models and as such have been recounted in Section 3.4.1, dealing with the Time Constraint, the main difficulty lying in coordinating the Memory Effort with the remaining ones under the time pressure inherent in SI. In this section, we shall thus focus only on the aspect not previously discussed, that is, presenting the mechanisms that underlie memory for discourse.

According to van Dijk and Kintsch (1983), memory for discourse occurs at three levels, resulting in three distinct, though interrelated, memory traces. The intake of linguistic input entails forming a short-lived surface representation. This simply amounts to remembering the exact wording, the memory of which is lost within seconds. The second stage that follows immediately is the formation of propositional representation, that is, the semantic interpretation of the surface form. Finally, at the third level, the situational representation is constructed, which is understood as the mental or causal model of information in discourse (Gumul 2013).

As emphasised in van Dijk and Kintsch's (1983) model of discourse comprehension, the memory for surface form is short-lived. This finding corresponds to Cohen's (1996) claim that the inherent feature of memory for discourse is the crucial role performed by the working memory:

> With any form of linguistic input, working memory has to function as a temporary holding store where new information can be related to previously acquired information and where parts of a message can be integrated with other parts. (Cohen 1996: 237)

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[19] This controversial strategy is defended by Jones (1998), who claims that "an interpreter's first duty is not so much to be faithful to the speaker's words come what may, but to maximise communication" (p. 109).

[20] Fragments of Section 3.3.4 have been published in the article "The Memory Load Constraint in Simultaneous Interpreting" (Gumul 2013).

This is in stark contrast to other kinds of everyday remembering (e.g., memory for places, autobiographical experiences, witnessed events, and expert knowledge, etc.), which rely on long-term memory. There is a wealth of empirical evidence cited in literature (see, e.g., Garretson 1981; Cohen 1996; Bajo et al. 2001) proving the validity of the surface form rapid decay hypothesis. The verbatim wording and form are briefly stored in short-term memory before their semantic representation is retained in long-term memory.

One of the experiments providing evidence for the loss of the memory for the original wording is that of Sachs (1967, see Cohen 1996). In this experiment, the subjects were to compare sentences they heard and decide whether any changes in wording and meaning occurred. The subjects were able to identify any changes in wording at the zero delay, but after 50 seconds, their judgments were far from accurate, whereas the changes in meaning were detected with about 80% accuracy.

Memory for discourse is also influenced to a large extent by the prior knowledge schemas. The idea of schemas was introduced by Bartlett in the 1930s to refer to mental frameworks built up from prior knowledge and experience which assist in forming the memory of a text. His findings have been confirmed by a number of contemporary studies providing empirical evidence that having appropriate schemas is an essential prerequisite for better recall (e.g., Bransford & Johnson 1973; Herrman et al. 1992, both studies cited in Cohen 1996).

The impact of prior knowledge on discourse recall in interpreting has been explored by Alexieva (1994) in her study of text types and intertextuality. The results of her experiment reveal that recurring information from previously interpreted texts facilitates recall. What is particularly interesting is the fact that verbatim recurrence has been found to be more conducive to identification and recall than paraphrase. This finding provides evidence that "the interpreter retains not only his interpretation of the segment but also some of the acoustic material as well, i.e. the surface structure also seems to leave a trace in the interpreter's memory"[21] (Alexieva 1994: 186).

Another factor that facilitates recall of texts is the formation of mental models described by Setton (1999) in his model of simultaneous interpreting. The concept of mental models has been proposed by Johnson-Laird and Garnham, and it refers to a global representation of the text constructed in the working memory as the text unfolds on the basis of propositional representations of discourse as well as the situational context and the receiver's assumptions. It must be emphasised that the construction of a mental model of a text does not depend on the reception of percepts, concepts, or attitudes from a speaker, but

[21] Although there is empricial evidence that effective consolidation of knowledge in long-term memory is lower in simultaneous interpreting compared to consecutive or listening, which is due to the complexity of cognitive processing involved in SI (see Bajo & Padilla 2015: 253).

relies exclusively on building analogue representations (Cohen 1996: 273ff; Setton 1998/2002: 192ff). The concept in question has been found to account for the utterance interpretation and recall mechanisms in simultaneous interpreting (Setton 1998/2002, 1999).

Setton (1999) postulates that the actual input constituents are not the only source of information required to form target-language output. Interpreters are believed to rely heavily on any extratextual information available as well as a variety of pragmatic cues, such as familiarity with the audience design, knowledge of social conventions and standard conference arrangements, and finally, an extensive general knowledge. Additionally, interpreters resort to exploiting thematic and logical cues offered by the source text. In accordance with the frame theory postulates, lexical choices are a source for formulation by evoking their known attributes in an interpreter's mind. Likewise, establishing relations between propositions may assist in maintaining logical macrostructures that allow to explicate these relations (p. 269).

The interpreter's ability to infer pragmatic, thematic and logical information led Setton to formulate the hypothesis that "the interpreter assembles and maintains a complex mental model representing these features" (p. 269). This hypothesis is reflected in the four principles employed to account for the complexity of the SI task: SI Principle of (Pragmatic) Incrementality, SI Placeholding Principle, Principle of Efficiency for an SI Mental Model, and SI Pragmatic Compensation Principle.

The SI Principle of (Pragmatic) Incrementality rests on the assumption that should the need arise, SI processing becomes opportunistic. The incremental assembly of viable meanings results from relying on either a contextualised mental model or a logical/propositional form. This mechanism of initiating the production of the target-language output before the equivalent source-language constituent emerges is accounted for by the SI Placeholding Principle. Formulation is facilitated by incomplete or partly unresolved logical forms that act "as 'placeholders': provisional approximations standing in for referents, relations, or attitudes and illocutions which have not yet been adequately contextualised or resolved" (p. 271).

Adherence to the Principle of Efficiency for an SI Mental Model demonstrates the need for rationalisation and simplification of semantic structure in SI. However, following this principle carries the potential risk of distorting the information content of the input message. Such threat frequently triggers compensatory behaviour underlying the SI Pragmatic Compensation Principle, whereby "the interpreter (…) reclaims a degree of autonomy (…), assuming responsibility for the reconstruction of the pragmatic and ostensive dimension of the discourse in production, using local devices in the target language appropriate to the linear dependency of the SI process" (p. 274).

The novelty of Setton's approach is reflected in his account of failure in simultaneous interpreting. It transpires from the empirical evidence he gathered that the traditionally recognised sources of failure in SI, such as, for instance, complex sentence structure or semantic density, do not necessarily engender loss of intended meaning unless they are coupled with the absence of illocutionary marking or the sudden emergence of new or unfamiliar referents. It was in fact the combination of two or more factors that was found to delay conceptualisation in the mental model and judgements about the speaker's intentionality (p. 275).

The construction of mental models may also be seen to some extent in terms of strategic behaviour intended to compensate for the The Memory Load Constraint in simultaneous interpreting. Another, far more obvious, strategy used to counteract the excessive load on memory is shortening the ear–voice span in order to relieve the Memory Effort (see section 3.4.1). It is worth noting that this constraint constitutes a serious drawback in this mode of interpreting when coupled with other constraints – the time pressure and the resulting processing capacity management problems, the Linearity Constraint preventing effective construction of complete mental models and a global representation of an interpreted text, and the (Un)Shared Knowledge Constraint affecting prior knowledge of the interpreter.

* * *

The proposed Model of the Interpreting Constraints can be summarised in a graphical form in the following way (see Figure 3.3).

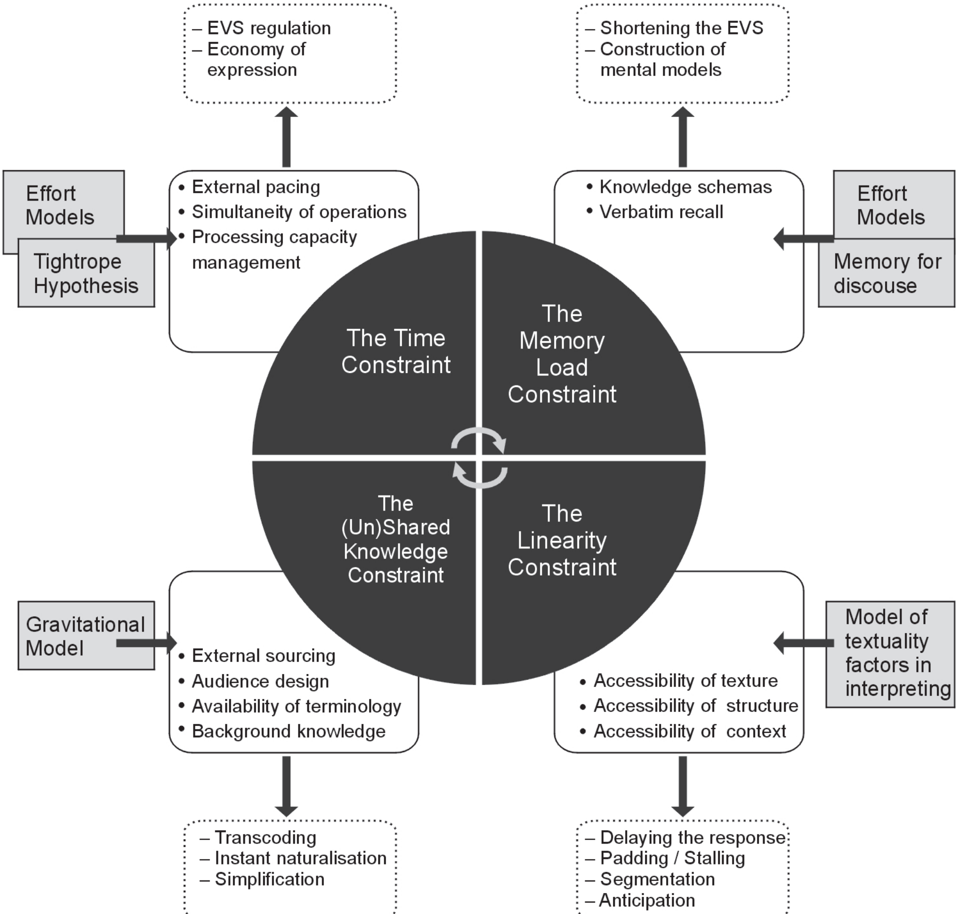

Figure 3.3. The Model of the Interpreting Constraints

The description of each constraint lists the aspects that characterise it, the models and hypotheses that provide the explanatory power (marked with the inward arrows), and finally, the interpreting strategies that might be used to counteract these constraints (marked with the outward arrows). It is worth noting that the individual constraints are closely related to each other and their influence is often overlapping. As indicated in the course of this chapter, a strict division of strategies according to particular constraints is difficult. Thus, the proposed division in the above graphical model should be treated as an approximation. The Model of the Interpreting Constraints will serve as the basis for the analysis of explicitation presented in the subsequent part of the book.

PART TWO

Analysis

CHAPTER 4

Explicitation and strategy

The aim of the present chapter is to investigate the strategic dimension of explicitation. The analysis presented here is meant as a continuation and extension of the author's previous research (Gumul 2006a) and aims at verifying its results in an improved experimental setting. The main research question is thus to what extent explicitation is a fully conscious, strategic choice of the interpreter, and to what extent it is an involuntary, non-strategic behaviour that can possibly be seen as a by-product of language mediation.

The chapter begins with a presentation of the working definition of strategy in simultaneous interpreting and the results of the author's previous study on the strategic dimension of explicitation in SI. The main part of the chapter is devoted to the analysis of the results of the present study, starting with the quantitative analysis and then proceeding to the qualitative examination of selected examples. This part of the chapter is organised according to surface manifestations of explicitation, each of the subsections contrasting strategic and non-strategic use of explicitation belonging to a given category.

The examples from the corpus quoted in the text of this chapter and the subsequent analytical chapters are marked with the number of the source text – from ST (T1) to ST (T6), the number of the target text – TT (P01) to TT (P120), and the number of a corresponding retrospective comment – RC with a pertinent number beginning with 1 for each of the 240 outputs.

4.1 Working definition of strategy in simultaneous interpreting

Talking about the strategic aspect of explicitation (see also Section 3.4), it seems essential to specify what is meant by strategy in the context of this particular research. In this section, I shall propose a working definition of strategy elaborated for the purpose of research on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting (see also Gumul 2006a).

Taking into account the nature of explicitation and its function in discourse, explicitation certainly appears to fall within the broad category of "product-oriented strategies for communicating effectively with the target-language audience" (Pöchhacker 2004: 132), aiming at increased processability. While it should be borne in mind that greater explicitness cannot be assumed to lead automatically to better processability (Heltai 2005), interpreters, like translators, might be expected to explicitate with a view to easing the processing load of the target audience, thereby striving for optimal relevance of the message. An additional argument supporting this line of reasoning is the claim put forward by Pym (2005) that explicitation in translation is employed to manage the risk of non-cooperation in communication, that is, the risk of violating the Gricean maxim of cooperation (cf. Gumul 2008). Since "translation involves communication into a context with fewer shared references, it involves greater risks than non-translation" (Pym 2005: 41). As indicated by Øverås (1998), "conscientious translators will do their best to reduce to a minimum the damage related to the transfer process, and it seems better to end up with some redundancy than with major losses" (Øverås 1998: 589). Strategic explicitation would thus be a product- or audience-oriented strategy aiming at improving the text, avoiding ambiguity, or helping the receiver decode the message.

The term strategic explicitation also appears in Englund Dimitrova's (2005) both product and process study of explicitation in translation. According to her, this kind of explicitation occurs "in order to solve a problem in the process" (Englund Dimitrova 2005: 237) and results from reformulating tentative solutions. Although it does not seem viable to attribute explicitation in simultaneous interpreting to the same causes as in Englund Dimitrova's study, given the specificity of this mode and the lack of a revision phase, her observation is vital in determining the nature of strategic explicitation in SI because it emphasises that strategic behaviour of translators and interpreters might also be induced by the very process of translation or interpreting.

Thus, in determining the nature of strategic explicitation in SI, we need to focus on both the nature and function of the analysed textual phenomena and the constraints underlying the interpreting task. The majority of existing studies on strategies in interpreting emphasise the aspect of problem solving, preventing potential problems, or simply facilitating the interpreter's task (e.g., Gile 1995; Kohn & Kalina 1996; Jones 1998; Bartłomiejczyk 2004; Kalina 2015). Consequently, the strategies adopted in order to offset these inherent difficulties can be referred to as "process-oriented strategies for coping with high-load-inducing input" (Pöchhacker 2004: 132), or "workload management strategies," to use Riccardi's term (Riccardi 2002b).

Taking into account all these factors, the working definition of strategy has been elaborated for the purpose of the present research. It is partly based on Klaudy and Károly's (2005) notion of transfer strategies in translation and

Færch and Kasper's (1980) communication strategy in second and foreign language acquisition, since both approaches emphasise the conscious aspect of such operations. Thus, in the present study, by strategy we mean both a conscious effort on the part of the interpreter to communicate effectively with the target-language audience, and a conscious[1] procedure for coping with high-load-inducing input.

4.2 Previous research

The previous study (Gumul 2006a) on the strategic dimension of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting aimed at investigating the causes triggering shifts leading to greater explicitness of the target texts. The scope of the analysed explicitating shifts closely resembled the one employed in the present study encompassing all linguistic strata, ranging from syntax and lexis to pragmatics. In fact, as indicated before, the present taxonomy evolved on the basis of this first classification. The analysis of both product data (interpreting outputs) and process data (retrospective comments) indicated that the vast majority of explicitating shifts in simultaneous interpreting are not attributable to the interpreters' conscious strategic behaviour. The total number of explicitating shifts identified in 28 outputs amounted to 802 cases of explicitation, out of which subconscious explicitation accounted for 93.15% of all cases of explicitating shifts detected in the outputs, while strategic explicitation for only 6.85%.[2]

Table 4.1 presents the frequencies for each type of shift, beginning with the number of strategic and subconscious explicitating shifts respectively, and following with the total number and percentage values of explicitations detected in all target texts.

Table 4.1. Types and number of explicitating shifts in the previous study (Gumul 2006a)

No.	Types of explicitating shifts	Number and percentage of shifts			
		strategic	subconscious	total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	adding connectives	1	310	311	38.8
2.	reiterating lexical items	10	84	94	11.7
3.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	1	88	89	11.1

[1] It also needs to be emphasised that strategic behaviour in simultaneous interpreting might involve conscious or subconscious, that is, fully automated strategies (Riccardi 2005), an issue we shall refer to later in the course of the discussion on the nature of explicitation in this mode of interpreting.

[2] All explicitating shifts which were reported in the retrospective comments were treated as conscious choices of the interpreters and accordingly, counted as cases of strategic explicitation.

Table 4.1 continued

1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical/partial repetition	0	79	79	9.9
5.	shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion (i.e., lexicalisation of pro-forms)	3	39	42	5.2
6.	filling out elliptical constructions	0	40	40	5
7.	meaning specification	25	12	37	4.6
8.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	0	34	34	4.2
9.	disambiguating metaphors	8	16	24	3
10.	inserting hedges	3	10	13	1.6
11.	distributing the meaning of a ST lexical unit over several units in the TT	2	10	12	1.5
12.	categorial shifts of conjunctive cohesive devices (i.e., from vaguely cohesive to more explicitly cohesive)	0	10	10	1.2
13.	including additional explanatory remarks	2	4	6	0.8
14.	inserting discourse organising items	0	6	6	0.8
15.	lexical specification	0	3	3	0.4
16.	substituting generic names with proper names or adding a proper name to a generic name	0	2	2	0.2
	Total	**55 (6.85%)**	**747 (93.15%)**	**802**	–

The distribution pattern of explicitating shifts in analysed target texts clearly indicated the dominance of cohesive explicitness (types 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 12), which accounts for over 70% of all shifts detected in the analysed interpreting outputs.

The study allowed the author to reach a tentative conclusion that in most cases, explicitation in simultaneous interpreting appears to be subconscious, and can possibly be interpreted partly as a by-product of language mediation and partly as automated strategic behaviour.

4.3 Analysis

The present study aims at further analysis of this aspect of explicitation, employing a different textual corpus, different subjects, and a slightly modified classification of explicitating shifts (as specified in Chapter 3).

As we can see in Figure 4.1, the results revealed fairly similar ratios between different types of explicitating shifts to those detected in previous research (Gumul 2006a, 2007a, 2017).

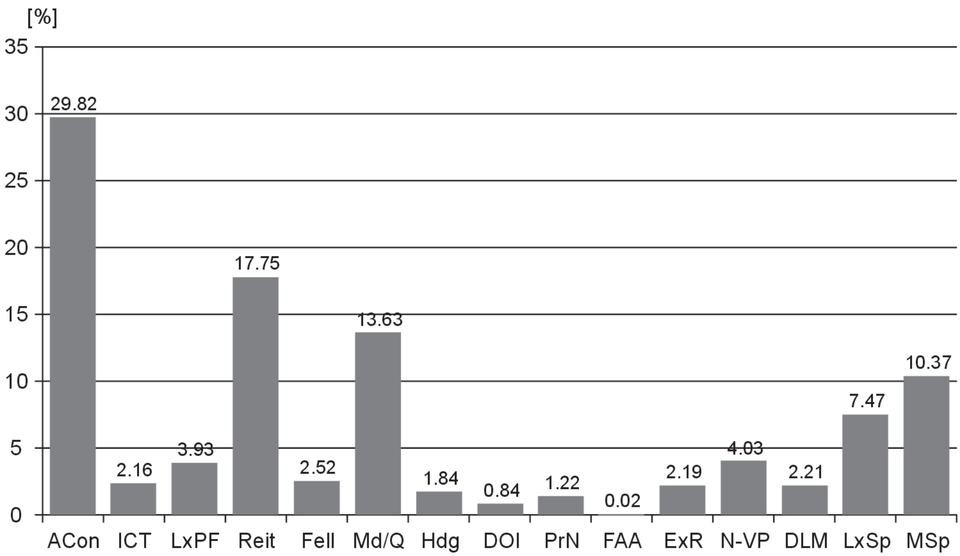

Figure 4.1. Frequencies of surface forms of explicitating shifts. For abbreviations, see Table 4.2

Explicitating shifts have been categorised according to their surface manifestations and divided further into strategic and non-strategic. As in the previous research, all unreported shifts have been classified as non-strategic, that is, subconscious or involuntary, whereas all shifts mentioned in the comments (whether referred to specifically as explicitation, addition, specification, or simply described as a conscious shift made by an interpreter) have been categorised as strategic. Such a distinction has its inherent weaknesses. On the one hand, it might be the case that some accounts of explicitation are in fact *a posteriori* observations, provoked by listening to one's own output. This problem was overcome, at least to some extent, by eliminating all retrospective comments in which the reason for explicitating was not provided. On the other hand, the participants might have omitted to mention some explicitating shifts performed deliberately and consciously possibly because they did not remember them any more at the moment of verbalising retrospective protocols. Despite the weaknesses of this method, retrospective protocols are the only tool we can apply to attempt to find out more about conscious and strategic shifts on the one hand, and those performed involuntarily on the other.

As described in Chapter 3 (see Section 3.2.4), the participants were not asked directly about explicitation, but were instructed to report on all consciously taken decisions during the interpreting task. The total number of obtained retrospective comments is 5,005. They were initially classified into relevant (3,933 comments) and irrelevant (1,072 comments), coded in the corpus as RC and IrC, respectively. The former category subsumes all verbalisations complying with the instructions, that is, reporting on decisions consciously taken during an interpreting task, while the latter includes all kinds of irrelevant comments, for instance, observations about the quality of the output, observations clearly made *a posteriori*, comments explicitly referring to solutions adopted automatically, and also protocols reporting explicitation without giving any reason. From the relevant protocols, I have extracted comments reporting explicitation (coded in the corpus as CEx), which were further subdivided into four categories according to the declared reason for performing an explicitating shift. The reasons are: constraints of the interpreting process (coded as Ctr), intention to improve the text (ImpT), avoiding ambiguity (AvAm), and helping the receiver (HR). As indicated above, these are not necessarily referred to specifically as explicitation, addition, or specification by the participants. Any comments describing conscious shifts made by the interpreter, identified in product analysis as explicitations, were also taken into account. In fact, the vast majority of subject did not employ the term explicitation while reporting on this phenomenon, but rather opted for "addition" or "expressing something more clearly/precisely," or simply described the shift as in the following comment reporting on reiteration:

> (1)
> RC6 (P91/T5): Mówiąc o tym, że nie jest łatwo być *Marines*, powtórzyłam to jeszcze raz w podobnych słowach, by podkreślić wagę tego, na co decydują się ludzie podczas walk w Iraku i podczas innych misji ratowania ludzkiego życia i na misjach militarnych.
> G:[3] Saying that it is not easy to be Marines, I repeated it once again in similar words in order to emphasise the importance of what these people are determined to do while fighting in Iraq and during other missions of saving human life and military missions.

A detailed qualitative analysis of selected relevant comments reporting on explicitation will be provided in each of the sections dealing with specific surface forms of explicitation (see Sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.13).

All comments reporting on explicitation without providing any reason were excluded from the analysis as potentially indicating observations made *post factum* rather than reporting on conscious decisions taken during the interpreting process. Such comments were classified as irrelevant and belonging to the category of irrelevant comments related to explicitation (coded in the corpus as IrC Ex). This fairly broad category subsumes also verbalisations reporting automatic or subconscious explicitation and obligatory explicitation, as in the examples of retrospective protocols below, reporting on lexical specification and adding a modifier:

[3] The gloss is only provided for the retrospective comments which are intended to illustrate certain methodological aspects of the study. Due to the lack of space, the remaining extracts from retrospective protocols are left as verbalised by the participants in the study.

(2)
RC8 (P101/T5): Tutaj nastąpiło niezamierzone uściślenie. Było ono spowodowane nie strategią czy techniką, ale zwykłym przejęzyczeniem.
G: Here I made an unintentional specification. It wasn't caused by a strategy or a technique, but a simple slip of the tongue.[4]
RC6 (P107/T5): Dodałem słowa. Dodałem po prostu coś czego nie ma w oryginalnym tekście. Szczerze mówiąc nie wiem dlaczego.
G: I added some words. I simply added something which is not present in the original text. Frankly speaking, I don't know why.

The exact numbers of all types of retrospective protocols for each of the 120 participants are presented in Appendix 4 and Appendix 5.

Table 4.2 and the corresponding Figure 4.2 below present the results obtained, contrasting the number of strategic with non-strategic occurrences of explicitating shifts for each of the 15 categories of surface manifestations of explicitation.

Table 4.2. Types and number of explicitating shifts

No.	Surface manifestation of explicitation		Number and percentage of shifts					
			strategic (reported)	%	non-strategic (unreported)	%	total	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	adding connectives	ACon	11	0.50	2183	99.50	2194	29.82
2.	intensifying cohesive ties / categorial shifts of cohesive devices	ICT	0	0.00	159	100	159	2.16
3.	lexicalisations of pro-forms (i.e., shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion)	LxPF	19	6.58	270	93.42	289	3.93
4.	reiterating lexical items and shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical/partial repetition	Reit	136	10.41	1170	89.59	1306	17.75
5.	filling out elliptical constructions	FEll	10	5.40	175	94.60	185	2.52
6.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	Md/Q	40	3.99	963	96.01	1003	13.63

[4] In all provided glosses, an attempt has been made to follow closely the wording, register, and form of the original retrospective comment.

Table 4.2 continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
7	inserting hedges	Hdg	8	5.93	127	94.07	135	1.84
8.	inserting discourse organising items	DOI	2	3.22	60	96.78	62	0.84
9.	shifs involving proper names (e.g., adding a proper name to a generic name; substituting a generic name with a proper name)	PrN	16	17.78	74	82.22	90	1.22
10.	full expression for acronym or abbreviation	FAA	0	0.00	2	100	2	0.02
11.	including additional explanatory remarks or providing descriptive equivalents	ExR	31	19.25	130	80.75	161	2.19
12.	replacing nomi-nalisations with verb phrases	N-VP	10	3.37	287	96.63	297	4.03
13.	disambiguating lexical metaphors or replacing metaphors with similes	DLM	66	40.50	97	59.50	163	2.21
14.	lexical specification (i.e., substituting a word with general meaning with a word with more specific meaning)	LxSp	75	13.56	476	86.44	550	7.47
15.	meaning specification (i.e., articulating ideas retrievable or inferable from the preceding part of the text or the cognitive context)	MSp	194	25.43	569	74.57	763	10.37
		Total	**618**	**8.40**	**6741**	**91.60**	**7359**	–

The results confirm the previously obtained ones (Gumul 2006a), as the proportion of strategic shifts, performed consciously with a determined reason in mind, remains relatively low, at the level of 8.4% compared with 6.85% in the previous study. The vast majority of explicitating shifts are not reported and even taking into account that some decisions are forgotten at the moment of retrospection, explicitations in simultaneous interpreting appear to be performed involuntarily to a large extent.

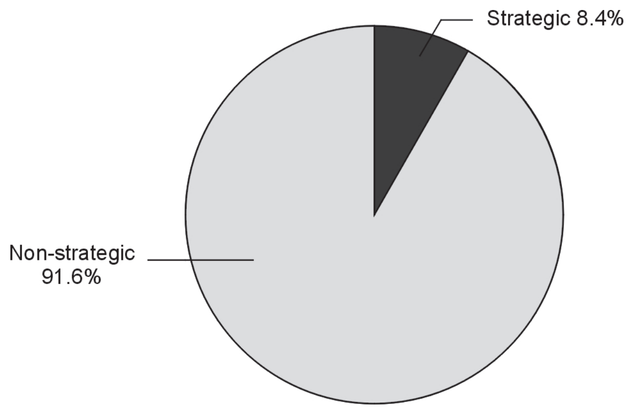

Figure 4.2. Strategic vs. non-strategic explicitating shifts

It is interesting to see how these proportions change for different surface manifestations of explicitation. Strategic explicitation is highly form-dependent, as different categories display divergent ratios between strategic and non-strategic shifts (see Figure 4.3).

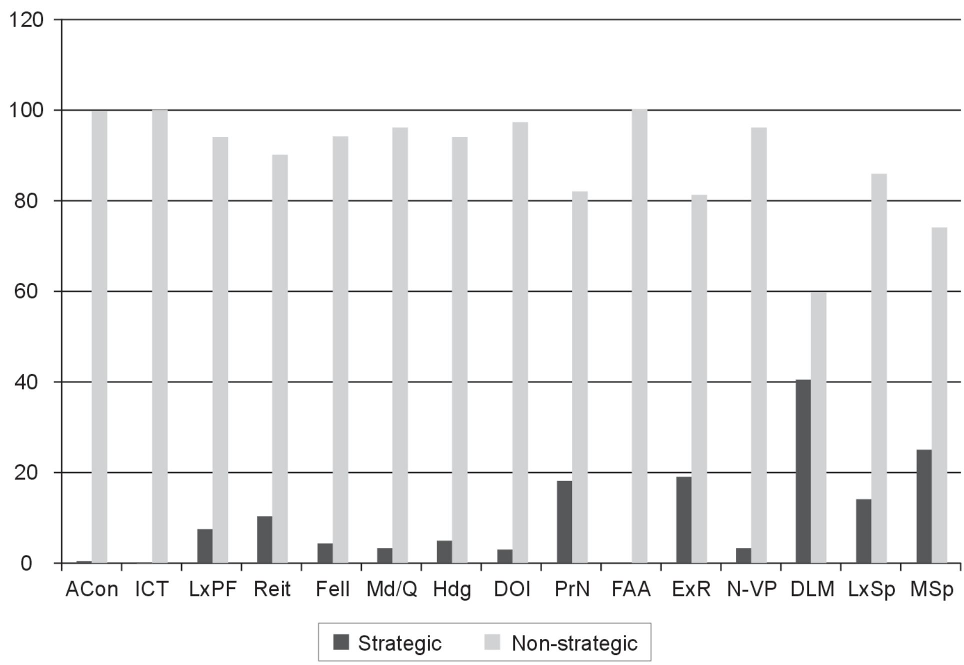

Figure 4.3. Strategic vs. non-strategic explicitating shifts

The surface forms of explicitation which are relatively frequently reported in retrospective protocols are disambiguating lexical metaphors, with over 40%, and meaning specification, scoring over 25%. Other categories where strategic explicitation is not marginal are explanatory remarks and descriptive equivalents (about 19%), shifts involving proper names (almost 18%), lexical specification (over 13%), and reiteration (over 10%). In the case of the remaining categories, the proportion of reported explicitation is far below 10%. The distribution of strategic shifts between categories appears to be corresponding to their function in discourse. Shifts involving function words (e.g., adding and intensifying connectives or inserting hedges and discourse organising items) are rarely reported, and as such are most probably performed subconsciously, whereas those involving content words are conscious to a much greater extent. Thus, we have the distinction between shifts requiring focusing on the form of the message, which tend to be non-strategic, and those demanding concentration on the content of the text, which are strategic to a larger degree.

The retrospective protocols reveal that strategic explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is most frequently caused by mode-specific constraints. Thus, it is used as process-oriented strategy for coping with high-load-inducing input, to use Pöchhacker's (2004) distinction. The other three reasons could be grouped together under the common denomination of product-oriented strategies for communicating effectively with the target-language audience in Pöchhacker's dichotomy. The difference between these two broad categories for the whole corpus is not radical (58% for constraints compared with 42% for product-oriented reasons). However, the proportion changes substantially depending on the direction in interpreting. Reporting constraints as a reason for explicitation prevails in the retour, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

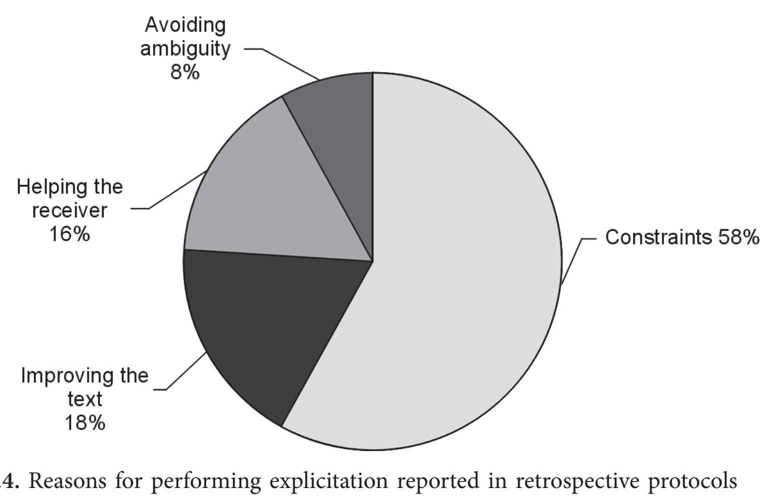

Figure 4.4. Reasons for performing explicitation reported in retrospective protocols

The present study makes a distinction between three different types of product-oriented strategies for communicating effectively with the target-language audience to provide a more fine-grained analysis. There is a certain difference of intention between these three reasons. For instance, improving the text might be done with the audience in mind, but it may also be seen as a face-saving strategy (see Bartłomiejczyk 2016), given that the texture quality of the output is attributed to the interpreter as well. Thus, helping the receiver is a label used to refer to only those comments which mention the receiver explicitly. The examples of retrospective comments below illustrate each of the four categories of retrospective comments, the first two referring to constraints and the remaining three to improving the text, helping the receiver, and avoiding ambiguity respectively:

(3)
RC13 (P44/T4): Powtórzenie słówka spowodowane potrzebą wydłużenia czasu skonstruowania zdania.
G: The repetition of the word was caused by the necessity to lengthen the time necessary for formulating the sentence.
RC15 (P44/T4): Pierwsze słówko *code* zostało wypowiedziane zanim powstało w umyśle pojęcie *civil code* – stąd powtórzenie.
G: The first word *code* was uttered before the idea of civil code appeared in my mind – that's the reason for repetition.
RC2 (P67/T3): *Pacjenci* – słowo to jest dokładniejsze niż słowo *ludzie*, lecz wydało mi się lepsze w kontekście tekstu o medycynie.
G: *Patients* – this word is more precise than *people*, but it seemed to me to be better in the context of the text about medicine.
RC7 (P46/T3): Tutaj natomiast wyraziłam się bardziej eksplicytnie, ponieważ *them* z tekstu wyjściowego zamieniłam na *lekarzy*, dla lepszego zrozumienia tekstu u odbiorcy.
G: Here I expressed myself more explicitely, substituting *them* from the source text with *lekarze* (physicians) for a better understanding of the text by the receiver.
RC2 (P61/T4): Zamiast użyć krótkiego *Nie, nie może*, przypomniałam czego lekarz nie może, dla rozwiania wątpliwości, o co chodzi.
G: Instead of using a short *No, he can't* I reminded [the receiver] what a doctor can't do, in order to avoid ambiguity.

Table 4.3 below presents the number of shifts for each of the four categories with their distribution between different surface forms of explicitation. As we can see, the reasons for explicitating are form-dependent. Reiteration and disambiguating lexical metaphors are reported to be caused much more often by constraints that by any other reason, whereas in the case of lexicalisation of pro-forms and filling out elliptical constructions, there are more verbalisations indicating the reasons related to the product and the audience. A detailed analysis of selected examples of retrospective comments reporting shifts within each category will be provided in the sections dealing with specific surface forms of explicitation (see Sections 4.3.1 to 4.3.13).

Table 4.3. Reasons for performing explicitation reported in retrospective protocols

No.	Coding symbol	Constraints		Improving the text		Helping the receiver		Avoiding ambiguity	
		no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
1.	ACon	3	0.84	8	7.07	0	0	0	0.00
2.	ITC	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00
3.	LxPF	3	0.84	5	4.42	8	8	3	6.12
4.	Reit	104	29.21	13	11.5	8	8	11	22.44
5.	FElli	1	0.28	5	4.42	3	3	1	2.04
6.	Md/Q	18	5.05	12	10.61	9	9	1	2.04
7.	Hdg	3	0.84	3	2.65	0	0	2	4.08
8.	DOI	1	0.28	1	0.88	0	0	0	0.00
9.	PrN	6	1.68	1	0.88	5	5	4	8.16
10.	FAA	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0	0	0.00
11.	ExR	20	5.62	1	0.88	7	7	3	6.12
12.	N-VP	6	1.68	3	2.65	1	1	0	0.00
13.	DLM	53	14.89	3	2.65	6	6	4	8.16
14.	LxSp	34	9.55	21	18.58	14	14	6	12.24
15.	MSp	104	29.21	37	32.74	39	39	14	28.57
	Total	**356(58%)**	–	**113(18%)**	–	**100(16%)**	–	**49(8%)**	–

4.3.1 Adding connectives

Adding connectives is the most frequently performed explicitating shift, with almost 30%, compared to other identified forms, for instance, to reiteration, the second most frequent, with 17.75%. The lowest number of added connectives is two (in the case of five outputs), while the highest is 20 (one target text). The average number of this type of explicitating shifts per output is 9.14%.

The category of adding connectives displays an even distribution in the corpus, since all of the 120 participants employed this form of explicitation (see Appendix 2). It is interesting to note, however, that despite its high frequency and even distribution, it is among the least frequently reported. In the retrospective protocols, it is mentioned only 11 times, which means that merely 0.5% of such shifts are reported.

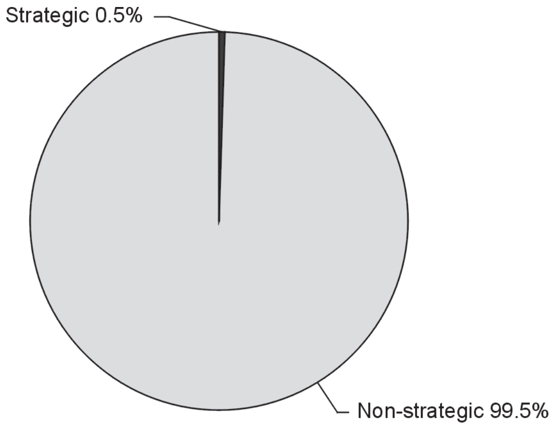

Figure 4.5. Strategic vs. non-strategic addition of connectives

The scarce protocols reporting addition of connectives reveal the intention to improve the text. Such a reason was verbalised in eight comments made by eight different participants, so the intentional strategic use of additional connective does not form a consistent, recurrent pattern in any of the outputs. The example quoted below is one of the verbalisations indicating the intention to improve the text and make it more cohesive by inserting an adversative cohesion marker:

(4)
ST (T6): opowiadamy się zdecydowanie za dialogiem cywilizacji / odrzucamy tezę o nieuchronności konfliktu między nimi
TT (P109): we are against the dia we are for the dialogue of civilization **but*** we reject the thesis of yyy an of the conflict between them[5]
RC11: Użyłem *but* aby wprowadzić kontrast, żeby tekst był bardziej spójny.

Another example of conscious strategic addition of a connective reveals an interesting facet of explicitation, which is apparently mode-specific:

(5)
ST (T4): i tutaj przede wszystkim pierwszym najważniejszym artykułem jest artykuł trzydziesty który mówi że lekarz ma obowiązek udzielać pomocy lekarskiej w każdym przypadku jeśli zwłoka w jej udzieleniu mogłaby spowodować niebezpieczeństwo utraty życia / ciężkiego uszkodzenia ciała lub ciężkiego rozstroju zdrowia / artykuł trzydziesty ósmy przyznaje prawo lekarzowi odstąpienia od leczenia pacjenta / ale tylko w takich przypadkach kiedy nie zachodzą okoliczności opisane w artykule trzydziestym
TT (P64): and most of all the article number thirty which says the doctor must treat the patient in any case / if the delay can pose the danger yy the threat

[5] The asterisk always marks the segment of the target text to which the retrospective comment following it refers.

of death yyy major eee damage of health / **and for example*** article thirty eight grants doctors the yy right to yy refuse y treating patients / but only in the cases when there are / the situations that take place that is described in earlier y articles
RC14: Dodałam między dwoma zdaniami *and for example* ponieważ ładniej i płynniej moim zdaniem brzmiało połączenie tych dwóch zdań.

The only motivation verbalised by the subject is the one of improving the text. However, leaving aside process data when we focus on the product, it is interesting to note that explicitation here is performed at a cost of omission. Instead of the distinction between *ciężkie uszkodzenie ciała* ('severe body damage') and *ciężki rozstrój zdrowia* ('severe health disorder') the interpreter opts for a more general equivalent of *major damage to health*, most probably because she did not know English equivalents expressing what to a layperson seems to be a very subtle distinction. This, in turn, gave her time to insert the connecting formula. Such correlation is, in fact, a major tendency observed in the case of both strategic and non-strategic shifts, as we shall see in the exemplification quoted in the course of this and the following chapters. This tendency might be seen as consistent with the findings of Perego (2003), who identifies the category of reduction-based explicitation in subtitling. Both subtitling and interpreting bear some resemblance, as they are constrained types of translation subject to the time constraint. Thus, in SI, just like in subtitling, due to temporal limitations, either some items are omitted to accommodate explicitation, or omission caused by other reasons makes explicitation possible – or even necessary to fill the gap.

This last reason is also verbalised in one of the comments, where the participant attributes explicitation to the interpreting constraints. This general comment reports on the use of a connective *and* inserted consistently throughout the text in order to maintain text cohesion:

(6)
RC7 (P116/T6): Podczas tłumaczenia tekstu w wielu momentach nie robiłem przerw gdy mówca kończył wypowiadać zdanie. Dodawałem łącznik *and*, żeby połączyć wypowiedzi i być na bieżąco w tłumaczeniu z oryginałem. Często też żeby wypełnić luki powstałe przez opuszczenia. Ponadto w wielu momentach, chcąc zachować jak najmniejsze opóźnienie między tekstem mówionym a tłumaczeniem, wybiegałem poza tekst dodając wyrażenia.

Although the interpreter's wish to link the propositions in the target text reveals an intention to improve the text, this comment has been classified as reporting explicitation due to constraints. This subject clearly points to the strategy of EVS regulation. He aims to shorten it in order to reduce the memory load and to offset the constraint of external pacing.

The same solution of inserting linking *and* is very frequent in the whole corpus. It tends to be interpreter-specific, as we shall see in Chapter 6. In the example below, it is adopted by another participant, although this time it is not reported in the retrospective protocols. In this target text, the connective *and* forms a net of cohesive nodes, most probably inserted in an attempt to link the discourse into a coherent whole. The cohesive marker *and* forms a consistent pattern and is apparently used as a means of compensation whenever omission occurred. In fact, the omission rate is quite high in this output. There are frequent hesitation marks, and what is interesting, the insertion of linking *and* is often preceded by a short pause, so introducing the connective is a way of resuming the target-text production. There are a total of 19 nodes in this cohesive chain throughout the whole text. Here we can see some representative extracts from the target text including 15 occurrences:

> (7)
> TT (P103/T6): (…) there are many indications that we are now living in such a moment **and** aaa the way of solving the Iraqi conflict will determine the way in which the world will face the most important threats of global security in the twenty-first century / it will determine the future of the United Nations and eee the shape of relations between the between Europe and the United States / **and** yyy about yyy the relations yyy inside the Europe European Union and eee the attitude of United States towards yyy the rest of the world (…)
> (…) the Polish government together with eee the president of the Republic of Poland have eee made eee a tough but justified decision of eee / taking part in the operation of disarmament of Iraq / **and** this decision serves well our national interest (…)
> (…) of course yyy it is not yyy obligatory yyy in our law eee **and** we put all effort in the equipment for our soldiers / **and** we are sure that our participation in this coalition is morally justified **and** eee we are aware of eee different yyy assessments of this problem / **and** ehm we know that they are formulated in aaa an international situation **and** eee the world now is different when it comes to the global security and peace (…)
> (…) Poland is a country free from terrorism there are no structures or yyy terroristic yyy organisations / yyy the effective prevention however needs yyy the yyy engagement of yyy society / after nine eleven America ehm found itself in need yyy for help / **and** we know that eee a friend indeed is a friend in need and the true solidarity is based on eee helping each other in difficult situations / **and** nowadays Poland as never before is secure yyy however if in the future yyy there yyy there is a new threat eee over us we know that we can yyy count for help and solidarity yyy of others yyy which nowadays we demonstrate to our American all allies / Poland has yyy a rich tradition of contacts with the Islamic world **and** ehm we / **and** we support the dialogue between ehm civilizations **and** yyy we do not think that yyy the conflict between us is inevitable eee it is here in eee Polish Sejm that yyy last year a conference took place on the dialogue between civilizations / and we are also going to to talk about it in

the nearer future **and** eee the actions of eee the international coalition are not eee against eee people of the region of the Middle East we are convinced that disarmament of Iraq will open a new chapter in its history / it will determine the pers perspective of eee the developme of the development of this region everybody yyy were and are for eee liquidation of eee the weapon of mass destruction / however there are discrepancies yyy concerning the way of yyy solving of this problem / **and** yyy these discrepancies divided the whole world Europe and our society and yyy these divisions cannot be only said to eee be eee / divided into the supporters and people who are against yyy this war ehm because all of us are against war and against Hussein's regime

The three most common types of conjunction added in order to explicitate the underlying logical relations are additive, adversative, and causal. There are relatively few instances of temporal conjunction and continuatives. As indicated at the beginning of this section, most are unreported. They do, however, provide valuable data, as the product also provides some indication as to the nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting.

In the following example of two occurrences of adding an adversative connector, it can be seen that in both cases, the insertion of an additional connective is preceded by a substantial pause (marked in the transcript with a double slash //), which might indicate that it was meant to signal that the subsequent segment is linked to the one preceding the pause and in this way somehow maintain text cohesion and coherence despite the gap:

(8)
ST (T3): early in history physicians chose whether they were going to take care of patients or not / later when the plague hit Europe there were laws / and the society started to expect physicians to take care of patients even at some risk to themselves / in the United States this happened more during an epidemic
TT (P70): na początku yyy lekarze mogli wybierać czy będą opiekować się pacjentem czy nie // **jednak** później yyy kiedy w Europie była plaga dżumy epidemia dżumy były duże straty w ludziach a społeczeństwo zaczęło uważać że yyy lekarze mają obowiązek zajmować się pacjentami nawet jeżeli będzie to się to wiązało z pewnym zagrożeniem ich życia // **zaś** w Stanach Zjednoczonych / stało się to yyy proceder ten pogłębił się w czasach yyy epidemii

Another unreported instance of adding a connective, this time a case of explicitating an additive relation, might be interpreted as an attempt by the participant to avoid reproducing the redundant repetition – a false start made by the speaker – by using the linking word as a filler:

(9)
ST (T1): many of the greatest people that I've known have been essentially musicians / whether professional or not / they have lived their lives in a way

that this musical process was a guiding part in how they went about solving their problems and living their lives / I realize that / I realize that of all the cool things that have happened to me / the best one is that I know I can play a whole lot better now than twenty years ago
TT (P33): bardzo wielu z z tych wszystkich wspaniałych muzy ludzi których poznałem jest znakomitymi muzykami / przeżyli swoje życia / ww taki sposób że ten proces muzyczny / yy / wiódł y ich ich przez y nie / pomagał im rozwiązywać ich problemy / pomagał im żyć / i zrozumiałem **również** że / z tych wszystkich fajnych rzeczy które mi się przytrafiły / najlepszą jest to że wiem że teraz mog teraz gram o wiele lepiej niż grałem że teraz mogę grać o wiele lepiej niż dwadzieścia lat temu

Finally, it is interesting to note that some interpreters reported subconscious addition of connectives, which provides further evidence for the non-strategic nature of such shifts or for explicitation of cohesive ties being a highly automated strategy in simultaneous interpreting. In the example presented below, the participant reports the addition of a sequential temporal device, but admits that she did it subconsciously and only realised the shift upon listening to her output:

(10)
ST (T2): medycyna partnerska wymaga uzgodnienia sprawy między lekarzem i pacjentem / potrzebna jest świadoma zgoda pacjenta / i o tym się mówi
TT (P75): **firstly***/ the medicine / should y determine relation between a patient and a doctor / there an aware agree y agreement of the patient is needed and people talk about it
RC12: *Firstly* dodałam od siebie, mimo że w ogóle nie ma tego w oryginale. Zrobiłam to nieświadomie. Być może dlatego, że pasowało do kontekstu.

In the entire corpus, there are four more such protocols reporting on non-strategic involuntary explicitation of cohesive relations in the form of adding connectives.

4.3.2 Intensifying cohesive ties

The frequency of intensifying cohesive ties, also referred to as categorial shifts of cohesive devices (Gumul 2006a, 2007a, 2008, 2017), is not marginal, as it has scored a total of 159 occurrences in the corpus. The distribution is relatively even, as 87 out of 120 participants performed this kind of shift, with the average of almost 2 shifts per person and 1 per output (each of the participants interpreted two texts).

This shift is one of the two surface forms of explicitation which are not reported in the retrospective protocols. It is probable that the shifts are not performed with the intention of intensifying the surface cohesive link, but are simply the first choices that came to the interpreter's mind under the time pressure and the necessity to coordinate the three efforts involved in the act of simultaneous interpreting. It might also be an effect of the process of text processing and decoding of the meaning underlying the surface form. If this is the case, then it is bound to be unreported given that, as observed by Olohan and Baker (2000), encoding inferred meanings and externalising them in linguistic expression is believed to be a subconscious, psycholinguistic process.

The following examples extracted from two different renditions of the same source-text segment illustrate the tendency to substitute the vaguely cohesive *and* with explicitly adversative connectives:

(11)
ST (T1): we all need to practice and improve / and we will all need to practice and improve / but I do think that when I was younger / there would be a day when I would sort of get it / and that everything would be cool / and I would have arrived at that promised land of being a great musician and I would just be / **and** I can see now that that is never going to happen
TT (P23): wszyscy musimy ćwiczyć i poprawiać się i wszyscy będziemy musieli ćwiczyć i polepszać się / jednak myślę że / kiedy byłem młodszy / wierzyłem że będzie dzień kiedy załapię to / kiedy wszystko będzie już jasne / kiedy dotrę do tego / do tej ziemi obiecanej bycia wspaniałym muzykiem i po prostu będę / teraz **jednak** dostrzegam to / że to się nigdy nie wydarzy
TT (P24): wszyscy powinniście ćwiczyć / ii / poprawiać swoje yy / udoskonalać swoje umiejętności // ale kiedy byłem młodszy / bywały dni / że // wszystko // że wszystko wydawało się proste że wydawało mi się że mam prawo do tego żeby być wspaniałym muzykiem i że po prostu nim będę / **ale** teraz widzę / że to nigdy się nie stanie

The explicitations encountered in the corpus include the most typical shift in this category, which is intensifying the causative relation expressed in the source text by a vaguely cohesive *and* (see Øverås 1998; Gumul 2006a):

(12)
ST (T1): and even though I was really just a kid he seemed to feel that I had something to offer the school / and recommended me to the provost at that time / Bob Share / who was truly a great person / he gave me a job **and** I moved here to Boston
TT (P39): mimo że właściwie y wciąż byłem dzieckiem / on wyda wydawało się że yyy / on myślał że ja mogę coś zaoferować szkole / i yyy mmm hy yyy i polecił mnie rektorowi mówiąc że jestem / który był naprawdę świetną osobą / i to tak **dlatego też** przeprowadziłem się tutaj do Bostonu

In this particular example, opting for a more explicit cohesive marker is part of the coping tactic of repair. We can see that the interpreter already began the rendition of this segment using a direct equivalent of the source-text *and*, but then made a false start uttering some incongruent fillers, and as a consequence, was forced to resume this part of the sentence with a stronger cohesive tie, probably to signal the auto-correction and the beginning of the proposition.

There are also cases of intensifying cohesive ties that do not involve the change of category of a conjunction. These include the type of shifts identified by Hopkinson (2008) in his study, which involves substituting a simple additive connector with a coordinative additive marker, which is a stronger cohesive tie. In the examples below, *and* was rendered as *zarówno … jak i* ('both…and') which occupies a higher position on a cohesive force scale:

(13)
ST (T1): the level of musicianship of the students **and** the teachers around Berklee then / like now / was quite inspiring and really amazing for me / coming from this little town in Missouri like I did
TT (P21): poziom muzy poziom yyy umiejętności muzycznych **zarówno** studentów **jak i** nauczycieli tutaj w Berklee wtedy kiedy ja tam uczyłem zupełnie jak teraz był naprawdę inspirujący i / zachwycił mnie chłopaka który pochodził z takiego maleńkiego miasteczka w Missouri
TT (P28): ich poziom muzykalności / eee **zarówno** studentów **jak i** nauczycieli był był był inspirujący i wspaniały dla mnie / dla osoby która która przybyła tutaj z Missouri

4.3.3 Lexicalisation of pro-forms

Lexicalisation of pro-forms, also referred to as shift from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion, constitutes almost 4% (289 occurrences) of all explicitating shifts identified in the corpus.

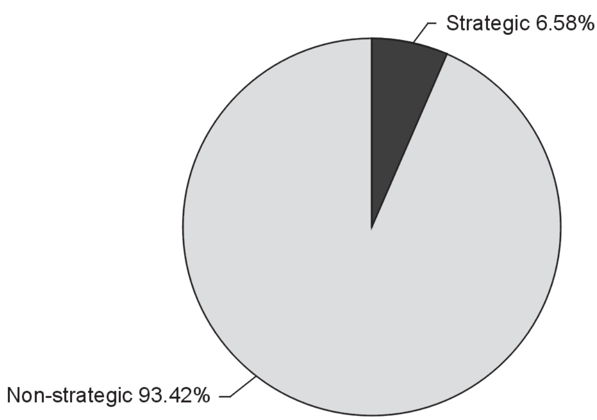

Figure 4.6. Strategic vs. non-strategic lexicalisation of pro-forms

Like in the case of the previous categories, this shift appears to display a relatively even distribution across the corpus – 96 out of 120 participants lexicalised a pronominal form at least once, with the average of three shifts per person. However, there are substantial differences between texts. The set of the target texts of T3 and T4 displays the highest frequency of lexicalisation of pro-forms, which is attributable to source-text features, but as we shall see in Chapter 5, it is also conditioned by individual differences in interpreting style between different participants. The vast majority are unreported (270). Nevertheless, the 19 retrospective comments reporting this shift provide us with some insight into the reasons why trainee interpreters decide to explicitate the meaning encoded in pronominal forms, as we shall see in the course of this section.

Lexicalisation of pro-forms is one of the two categories in which the subjects report product- and audience-oriented explicitation more often than the process-oriented strategy of counteracting the interpreting constraints. Eight comments report the intention to help the receiver, five improving the text, and three avoiding ambiguity, compared with only three mentioning the difficulties inherent in the process of SI as a cause triggering explicitation.

In Example 14, the interpreter verbalises the intention to facilitate the task of the receiver. The explicitated referential relation is retrievable from the immediate context, so the lexicalisation of the pronominal form is achieved through reiteration of the item *tradition* and, in fact, this is how the interpreter refers to the shift:

> (14)
> ST (T6): Polska ma bogate tradycje kontaktów ze światem arabskim i islamskim / chcemy **je** wszechstronnie rozwijać
> TT (P92): Poland has huge traditions of contacts with Islamic and Arabian countries / we want to develop **those traditions***
> RC17: Tutaj dokonałam eksplicytacji mówiąc, iż chcemy rozwijać te tradycje. W oryginalnej przemowie mówca powiedział, iż *chcemy je wszechstronnie rozwijać*. Wydawało mi się, że jeśli wspomnę jeszcze raz o tych tradycjach będzie to bardziej zrozumiałe dla odbiorcy.

Interestingly, it is one of the relatively few comments in which the term explicitation is used. Most subjects refer to it as addition, specification, or simply describe the shift. Another subject (Example 15) who reports the same lexicalisation of pro-forms with the intention of helping the receiver also uses the term explicitation, whereas neither of these two interpreters does so reporting other shifts. Thus, apparently, they do recognise the lexicalisation of pro-forms as explicitation; they associate this phenomenon with this particular surface form, while other shifts are not directly identified with it. This gives us some interesting insight into the awareness of explicitation among the trainee interpreters. All of the three groups of students participating in the experiment share the same training background, and all of them have been acquainted with the notion of explicitation during their Translation Theory course, but despite that, their awareness of the phenomenon seems to be rather low and it tends to be associated only with certain surface manifestations.

(15)
ST (T3): but even as late as two thousand and three when physicians again were faced with the SARS epidemic / they couldn't come to consensus that there was an obligation for any physician to treat any patient / if that put **them** at risk
TT (P46): ale nawet tak późno jak w dwutysięcznym trzecim roku kiedy ee lekarze e mieli styczność z epidemią SARS nie mogli się zgodzić że był obowiązek dla jakiegokolwiek lekarza ee leczyć kogokolwiek jeżeli to ss stwarzało jakieś zagrożenie dla **lekarzy***
RC7: Tutaj natomiast wyraziłam się bardziej eksplicytnie, ponieważ *them* z tekstu wyjściowego zamieniłam na *lekarzy*, dla lepszego zrozumienia tekstu u odbiorcy.

In the following example, although the interpreter declares the intention to help the receiver, the comment indirectly indicates that the shift is also due to the linearity constraint:

(16)
ST (T1): well / first of all I would like to sincerely thank everyone here at Berklee for bestowing this great honor on me / it is probably the most meaningful recognition I have ever received / and I am really proud and flattered to be standing in front of you here today / when I think back at the time that I was here at Berklee / it is always with fond memories and good feelings that make **it** even more special for me / well I have never had to give a speech before
TT (P38): no cóż / po pierwsze / chciałbym szczerze podziękować każdemu tutaj / za // za przyznanie mi tego wielkiego zaszczytu / to prawdopodobnie // najważniejsze uznanie / jakiego kiedykolwiek doświadczyłem / jestem naprawdę dumny / i zadowolony / ymm stojąc tutaj / przed przed wami w dniu dzisiejszym / kiedy wracam myślami do czasu / kiedy byłem tutaj / ymm zawsze wiąże się to z ymm wspomnieniami / i miłymi uczuciami / które sprawiają że jest to **wydarzenie*** nawet bardziej szczególne dla mnie / nigdy wcześniej nie musiałem wygłaszać mowy
RC4: Dodałam słowo *wydarzenie*, ponieważ nie byłam pewna, czy bez niego odbiorca będzie wiedział, co autor słów uznaje za szczególne.

The complex syntax of this source-text segment, full of parenthetical constructions, makes it difficult for the receivers to follow the speaker's message. Such long complex phrases are difficult for the interpreter in terms of coordinating and controlling the cohesion of a given segment because of the intrinsic short horizon constraint. The necessity to embark on the translation of the sentence before it is finished and the impossibility to revise the part already rendered often induces interpreters to substitute pronominal forms with lexical items to ensure precise reference.

Another extract from the retrospective protocol of one of the participants in the experiment explicitly points to the interpreting constraints as a reason for explicitating the referential cohesion into a lexical one:

> (17)
> ST (T6): po jedenastym września dwa tysiące pierwszego roku Ameryka znalazła się w potrzebie i udzieliliśmy **jej** poparcia
> TT (P101): after September the eleventh yy two thousand one America yyy was in need and we supported yy the **United States of America***
> RC11: Zamiana zaimka *jej* na całą nazwę kraju wynikała z tego, że miałam chwilę zawahania jakiego zaimka użyć i stwierdziłam, że mimo iż nazwa jest dłuższa bez zastanowienia mogę ją dosyć szybko wypowiedzieć i nie będzie też tu ani błędu ani też niezrozumienia czy niedopowiedzenia.

Also many unreported instances of lexicalisations of pro-forms imply that the shifts might be triggered by constraints, as in the following example, in which explicitation is probably due to the complexity of the ST syntax. Like in Example 16, the long parenthetical remark probably made the interpreter doubt whether the reference was retrievable in the target text and induced her to repeat the name of the person in question. It is worth noting that in this context lexicalisation of a pro-form is coupled with the intensification of a cohesive tie, as vaguely cohesive *and* becomes explicitly causative *dlatego* in the target text:

> (18)
> ST (T1): I was asked to take a position on the guitar faculty by Gary Burton who had seen me teaching and playing at various jazz festivals and band camps around the country / and even though I was really just a kid he seemed to feel that I had something to offer the school / and **he** recommended me to the provost at that time
> TT (P23): poproszono mnie aby przyjąć / pracę na / wydziale gitary po Garym Burtonie / Burtonie / yy który / widział jak grałem na różnych festiwalach jazzowych / i mimo że byłem tak naprawdę tylko dzieciakiem wydawało mu się / że mam coś do zaoferowania szkole / yy dlatego **Gary Burton** / polecił mnie rektorom w tamtym czasie

Another extract from the source text and two different renditions of that segment provide further exemplification of the tendency to shift from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion. The first occurrence of *they* in the output of Interpreter P72 had to be explicitated due to the omission of the item *residents*, which had to be compensated; therefore, this instance should be considered as an obligatory explicitation in this context. However, the explicitating shift performed by Subject P73 is not obligatory in any way. Neither is it required with the second pronominal reference to *doctors*, which is, nevertheless, explicitated in both cases:

(19)
ST (T3): there is the issue of restricting resident's work hours / **they** are not encouraged or not allowed to stay longer than the hours they are allocated / what happens if the person is sick and **they** should stay / they somehow have to transfer care to another / this is a whole new way of taking care of patients that none of us grew up with
TT (P72): jest jeszcze yy sprawa ograniczenia yy godzin pracy / **lekarz** nie może / yy pracować dłużej yy niż jest to w grafiku / mm ale co się dzieje jeśli ktoś jest chory / i **lekarz** musi zostać // muszą jakoś znaleźć zastępstwo // to jest zupełnie nowyy sposób yy opiekowania się pacjentem / sposób który nie jest nam tak bardzo dobrze znany
TT (P73): istnieje także kwestia / eee ograniczenia e godzin które lekarze powinni wykonywać w pracy // eee / **lekarzy** nie zachęca się do pozostawania w pracy dłużej niż jest to wyznaczone w ich grafiku / co natomiast eee dzieje się jeżeli pacjent jest chory i **lekarz** taki powinien z nim zostać / eee / muszą oni przekazać obowiązek opieki nad danym pacjentem do innego lekarza //

4.3.4 Reiteration

Reiteration is the second most frequent shift detected in the corpus after adding connectives. It constitutes 17.75% of all explicitations, out of which slightly over 10% (136 comments) are reported in the retrospective protocols.

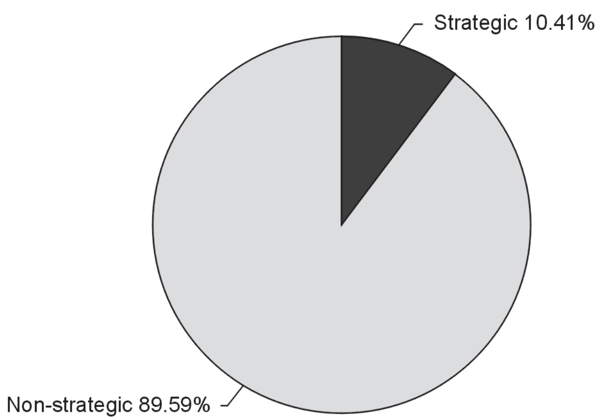

Figure 4.7. Strategic vs. non-strategic reiteration

It is also one of the categories which display a significant difference between native and retour interpreting, as we shall see in Chapter 5. Almost all participants (119 out of 120) made their outputs more explicit through reiteration, in the vast majority in both texts (117 out of 119). Thus, reiteration appears to be a universal behaviour in SI by trainee interpreters. This is mostly due to the fact that a substantial number of such shifts result from the strategy of repair which consists in providing a second equivalent of a given lexical item just after the first one. Obviously, not all lexical self-corrections are treated as explicitation – only when both lexical items are legitimate equivalents of the source-text item. This form of reiteration is certainly specific only to interpreting. The study also aims at analysing two other forms of reiteration, which may occur in any form of translation: repeating a given lexical item later in the text and shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical or partial repetition (see Section 2.4).

The vast majority of protocols referring to reiteration report the interpreting constraints as the reason for explicitation (104 out of 136). Only in 32 cases did the interpreters perform strategic explicitation having in mind the audience or the target text.

The most common reason for reiteration declared by the participants is the strategy of repair. Since the analysis focuses only on successful attempts at explicitation, in the analysed cases both lexical items are correct, legitimate equivalents, and although the objective of the repetition is self-correction, the second item reinforces the meaning of the first one, as exemplified by the two examples below:

(20)
ST (T1): this process is an essential part of all music making activities / that we as musicians probably take for granted / but it is a **skill** that throughout our lives as players / we have an opportunity to learn about and refine to a very high degree
TT (P40): ten proces jest najważniejszą częścią / tworzenia muzyki / którą my jako muzycy / prawdopodobnie uznajemy za oczywistą / lecz jest to **zdolność / umiejętność*** przez naszą / które w czasie naszego życia jako muzycy mamy okazję się nauczyć
RC32: Dodane słówko *zdolność*, bo nie od razu pamiętałam umiejętność, które odnosi się do *skill.*
(21)
ST (T3): those of us who are practicing medicine every day / frequently have situations when an extra patient comes to a clinic / somebody comes late / we have to adjust / we feel a little irritated / but we make those adjustments because **that's what is in the best interests of the patients**
TT (P66): ci z nam którzy yy / są yy / wykonują ten zawód bardzo często spotykają się z sytuacjami kiedy yy dodatkowy yy nadprogramowy pacjent przychodzi do ich yy do ich kliniki / yy i musimy yy pomimo irytacji / musimy eemm gdzieś go zmieścić / ponieważ / **to jest to leży yy w interesie pacjenta to jest mu potrzebne***

RC16: *To leży w interesie pacjenta, to jest mu potrzebne* – dodałam drugą część zdania ponieważ pierwsza wydała mi się tłumaczeniem zbyt dosłownym i niekoniecznie pasującym do tego kontekstu.

In Example 20, self-correction can be explained in terms of Gile's (1995) Gravitational Model of linguistic availability (see Section 3.4.3), which assumes that lexis, apart from the most basic high frequency vocabulary, belongs to the variable part of the language resources stored in the memory and is, therefore, less accessible and requires more processing capacity. Thus, the interpreter might need more time to access certain lexical items. Interpreter P40 was at first unable to retrieve the Polish equivalent from the long-term memory store and opted for another, less precise in her opinion, in order to avoid a pause, but shortly she recalled the desired lexical item and decided to include it as well. A similar scenario is described by another subject who reports having opted for what she calls "worse" equivalent to avoid excessive EVS and problems with processing capacity management in dealing with the subsequent segment before venturing on the repair:

(22)
RC13 (P29/T1): Pierwsze tłumaczenie bardzo dosłowne, ponieważ w momencie tłumaczenia nie przyszedł mi do głowy lepszy ekwiwalent i aby nie gubić dalszej części tekstu wolałam użyć gorszego, acz jakiegokolwiek słowa.

By contrast, in Example 21, the interpreter was dissatisfied with the direct equivalent, which she describes as too direct, and opted for reformulation. This behaviour is referred to by Bartłomiejczyk (2006b), following Gile (1995), as transfer resistance. Both Bartłomiejczyk and Gile observe that for fear of committing a calque, interpreters tend to avoid legitimate, correct equivalents which happen to resemble source language items.

The retrospective protocol quoted below relates in detail the process of the interpreter's decision-making when adopting the strategy of repair resulting in reiteration. Upon verbalising one equivalent, she realises it has a negative connotation and adds another word to provide counterbalance for this negative shade of meaning and to make her rendition more precise:

(23)
ST (T2): słuchajcie siebie najuważniej / to bardzo cichutki szept / trzeba się nauczyć go słyszeć / nie ceńcie za bardzo swoich prac i osiągnięć / i siebie samych jako artystów / pozostawcie to innym i historii / **bądźcie samokrytyczni** i kształcie tę umiejętność / to wielka sztuka
TT (P24): you should listen to yourselves very carefully / one must it's a very y quiet voice and one must learn to to listen to it // do y do not evaluate your-

selves rather leave it to others and to history // be / you should of course / yy **criticise yourselves / aa / evaluate yourselves*** / which is a very difficult art
RC13: *Bądźcie samokrytyczni* – pierwsza moja strategia. Samokrytyczni skojarzyło mi się z krytykowaniem, więc dałam to jako *criticise*, po czym jak tylko wypowiedziałam to słowo, zrozumiałam, że coś tu jednak nie gra, że to słowo ma taki wydźwięk bardzo negatywny. A samokrytyka jest jednak czymś pozytywnym, w związku z czym szybko dodałam kolejne słówko *evaluate*, żeby niejako doprecyzować i znieść to negatywne znaczenie tego poprzedniego słówka.

Below we can see an interesting case of what might seem like a typical repair, but in fact, providing another equivalent is a conscious use of the strategy of compensation and, as the interpreter comments, it is the anticipated compensation for potential omissions and mistranslations that might occur later on in the target text:

(24)
ST (T3): those of us who are practicing medicine every day / frequently have situations when an **extra** patient comes to a clinic
TT (P65): ci z nas którzy praktykują medycynę każdego dnia często napotykają na sytuacje kiedy ee ee **dodatkowy ponadprogramowy*** yy pacjent przychodzi do kliniki
RC10: Tutaj powiedziałam *dodatkowy. Extra* przetłumaczyłam jako *dodatkowy* i podkreśliłam *ponadprogramowy* żeby było tak fajnie i tak bardziej elegancko. Typowo stylistyczna decyzja z mojej strony, ale jak sobie uświadomiłam w pewnym momencie, że jest to proste i przychodzi mi parę synonimów do głowy, to dlaczego nie użyć przynajmniej dwóch obok siebie i podkreślić któryś fajnie intonacyjnie żeby nadrobić jakby tymi poprzednimi lukę, błędy, bądź też niedociągnięcia w tłumaczeniu. Być może dla niektórych to może się wydawać komiczne, nie wiem jak to wygląda z boku bo trudno jest oceniać siebie samą obiektywnie, ale taki właściwie był mój cel, że jeżeli w jakimś fragmencie mogę się popisać to robię to z pewnością celem jakby nadrobienia strat poprzednich i następnych, bo z pewnością takowe będą.

When resorting to the strategy of repair, some interpreters (11 cases) tend to report the intention to avoid ambiguity, as in the following example:

(25)
ST (T3): perhaps the most important basis for treating people / when in need / and not refusing care for them is the personal belief of the physician / that person's belief that doing good is what they should be doing / and that doing what is right is important to their own personal **belief** / those of us who are practicing medicine every day / frequently have situations when an extra patient comes to a clinic / somebody comes late / we have to adjust / we feel a little irritated / but we make those adjustments

TT (P61): być może najważniejszą podstawą tego by leczyć ludzi kiedy są w potrzebie i nie odmawiać opiekowania się nimi jest przekonanie lekarza że czynienie dobra jest czymś czym powinno się robić dokonanie tego co dobre jest ważne dla ich własnych osobistych **wierzeń przekonań*** / ci z nas którzy uprawiają medycynę każdego dnia często znajdują się takiej sytuacji że dodatkowy pacjent przychodzi do kliniki / ktoś się spóźnia i musimy się dostosować yy się
RC10: Początkowe tłumaczenie słowa *beliefs* jako *wierzenia* mogło nieść skojarzenia z wiarą religijną, więc szybko dodałam słowo *przekonań*.

Another cause of explicitation which can be inferred from some reports is risk aversion, which has been hypothesised by Pym (2005) to be one of the reasons for explicitation in translation (see Section 1.4). The results of the present study indicate that the use of reiteration related to risk avoidance is apparently mode-specific. In simultaneous interpreting, because of the constraints of time pressure and lack of the revision phase, the interpreter is often unable to decide which equivalent is better in a given context and, to be on the safe side, includes two, as in the following example:

(26)
ST (T1): as record companies come and go / as styles change / as trends and audiences change / the work of being a musician and **being involved with the fabric of music itself** is essentially the same and essentially real
TT (P23): nawet jeśli wytwórnie płytowe pojawiają się i znikają / zmieniają się style / zmieniają się trendy i / yy grono słuchaczy / bycie muzykiem i **bycie związanym z produkcją yy / z wytwarzaniem* muzyki** jest takie same i / prawdziwe
RC22: Wyrażenie *the fabric of music* tłumaczę podwójnie jako *produkcja i wytwarzanie muzyki*, ponieważ nie umiałam szybko ocenić, które słowo lepiej pasuje do całego zdania.

The interpreting constraints are also visible in reports declaring the use of the strategy of padding, that is, uttering non-committal material that does not change the information content of the message (see Kirchhoff 1976/2002: 116 and Setton 1999: 50). In the retrospective remark quoted below, the interpreter declares that reiteration is meant to act as a filler in order to avoid a lengthy pause and gain time to think how to render the remaining part of the sentence:

(27)
ST (T1): the main thing I have to acknowledge is just how unbelievably lucky I personally have been to see so many of my musical **dreams** come true like they have / I have had the opportunity to play with many of the greatest musicians on Earth / I've gotten some nice awards and recognition from my peers / even the general public

TT (P23): główną rzeczą którą muszę przyznać jest to / jak niezwykle szcześli / jak niezwykle dużo szczęścia miałem osobiście że tak wiele moich muzycznych **marzeń i pragnień*** zostało spełnionych / miałem szansę grać z wieloma wspania najwspanialszymi muzykami na świecie / dostałem y y / słowa uznania od moich kolegów a nawet opinia publiczna
RC13: Wyrażenie *musical dreams* przetłumaczyłam jako *muzyczne marzenia i pragnienia* ponieważ dodanie słowa pragnienia ma znaczenie pokrewne, a dało mi kilka chwil na zastanowienie się nad sensem wypowiedzi i nad tym jak połączyć początek zdania z końcem. Zdanie było dosyć długie i nie pamiętałam, od czego się zaczęło.

The interpreter reports problems with the memory load constraint and the linearity constraint, which are apparent in not being able to recount the initial part of the sentence and the need to allocate more time to coordinating the beginning and the end of the sentence. A similar scenario of providing two equivalents in order to gain time to think about the right solution is also verbalised by another participant in the experiment:

(28)
ST (T2): wyznam wam szczerze że nie mam właściwie jasnej odpowiedzi na to pytanie / sztuka będzie tym co wy stworzycie / ale **uważajcie** żeby nie była to sztuka której jedynym miejscem będzie muzeum czy galeria
TT (P37): I must admit that I have no idea / the art will be yy the thing that you will create but **watch out / be careful*** because it shouldn't be the gallery the only place to exhibit art
RC33: Podwójne tłumaczenie jednej frazy ponieważ szukałam najlepszego odpowiednika.

Reiteration in simultaneous interpreting may also be due to inefficient processing capacity management. In Example 29, the interpreter declares having had to repeat information reformulating one of the preceding discourse segments because of the excessive EVS and consequent working memory overload. The resulting phrase happens to be more explicit than the corresponding source-text segment, which is fairly general. Thus, as in the majority of cases of constraints-based explicitation oriented towards the process of interpreting, the interpreter's intention is not to make the text more explicit, but to adopt an adequate emergency strategy to cope with the task of interpreting:

(29)
ST (T4): niektórzy prawnicy interpretują to również w sposób jednoznaczny że praktycznie strajk lekarski jest zabroniony / proszę Państwa / tyle mówi prawo / myślę że w kontekście naszego kodeksu który dopuszcza udział w proteście / ale pod warunkiem **nie narażania zdrowia i życia chorego** / dlatego każdy w swoim sumieniu musi rozważyć czy dopuszczalny jest udział w takich akcjach czy też nie

TT (P74): so according to this one a a doctor's um protest or strike is practically forbidden // so a doctor might take part in a pro protest but only if this will not **affect a patient in any negative way** and every doctor has to answer this question to himself / whether his actions will **have any negative influence on the patient*** or not
RC22: W tym momencie byłem już mocno do tyłu z tłumaczeniem, więc cały kolejny fragment był praktycznie odtwarzaniem z pamięci tego co udało mi się zapamiętać i staranie się by nie zostawić na wpół urwanej wypowiedzi.

Constraints-based reiteration in SI may also be adopted in order to fill a pause in the source text. Interpreters' awareness of the quality expectation of the target audience, who tend to associate pauses with omissions (see Tryuk 2006), makes them feel obliged to fill gaps in order to maintain fluent discourse, as declared in the retrospective protocol accompanying the following extract:

(30)
ST (T2): umiejętność podjęcia ryzyka / tworzenia i organizowania eksperymentów to wielka sztuka / ale do tego potrzebna jest wiedza aby poznać to co inni przed nami zrobili i wyciągnąć właściwe wnioski w którą stronę zrobić krok do przodu **i przede wszystkim po co** / wasza edukacja nie kończy się w momencie wręczenia dyplomu
TT (P15): to try and to risk something is a great art but you really need a knowledge what others before have done and just to / know where we should st do a step now / further **and first of all why why what's the reason*** / your education / does not end when you are graduated
RC12: Aby zapełnić ciszę, jaką wyprodukował sam mówca, powtarzam ostatnie zdanie innymi słowami.

In this particular case, the participant declares having had to compensate for the pause in the source text, but in fact the necessity to fill the gap is due to the fairly high omission rate in the target text. Nevertheless, this retrospective comment, albeit very subjective, provides interesting insight into interpreters' motivations and their perception of the process of interpreting.

Regardless of the reason declared by the interpreters, or even when unreported, in certain cases, reiteration in SI appears to be directly related to the strategy of segmentation, as in the following example, in which the participant declares the intention to improve the text:

(31)
ST (T2): wy artyści tak jak lekarze inżynierowie czy biolodzy uczestniczycie w procesie ulepszania i upiększania **świata** w którym wszyscy żyjemy
TT (P26): you artists just like doctors engineers or biologists take part in the process of improving and making **the world** more beautiful **the world / the world*** in which we all of us live in live
RC1: Dwa razy *world* – uważałem, że tak będzie zgrabniej.

There is a general consensus in SI literature that segmentation is primarily a preventive tactic (Gile 1995: 194; Setton 1999: 186[6]; Yagi 2000: 523), employed when faced with potential problems (see Section 3.4.2). It helps to overcome the linearity constraint (Gumul 2011b). In terms of processing capacity requirements, it is also claimed to reduce short-term memory load (Gile 1995: 196; Riccardi 1998: 178). It also allows the interpreter to include missing information omitted in the preceding segment, as is the case in the output below, where the interpreter omitted the adverb *wyłącznie* ('solely') due to the linearity constraint and compensated for the omission by adding another phrase requiring the repetition of the modified noun *future*:

(32)
ST (T2): może warto się choć na chwilę zastanowić jaki jest powód że w takim dniu jak ten czujemy się czymś podekscytowani / myślę że wszyscy tutaj jesteśmy podekscytowani **wyłącznie przyszłością** / ktoś mądry powiedział że ze wszystkich rzeczy najbardziej zależy mu na przyszłości gdyż zdecydowaną większość swojego życia zamierza tam właśnie spędzić
TT (P30): maybe it's worth to take a moment and think about yyy / the reasons why we feel excited about something in a day like this / I think that we all here are e very excited eee **with the future eee and the future only*** / someone wise once told that out of all things he cares most about future // because definitely most the y his life yyy is // yyy
RC1: Tutaj dodałam *and future only* ponieważ nie umiałam umiejscowić tego *wyłącznie* w toku zdania, które niestety już się uformowało w mojej głowie i ciężko było mi przerwać mówienie tego zdania i wtrącić *wyłącznie*, a wydawało mi się dosyć istotne. Dlatego też zamiast powtarzać całe zdanie po raz kolejny w sposób poprawny postanowiłam jakby zrobić mentalny przecinek i dodać *and future only* bo to wyrażenie wydaje mi się często spotykane. Ale zrobiłam tak tylko i wyłącznie dlatego, że było już za późno na podjęcie innej decyzji i przekształcenie sobie w głowie tego zdania.

Repair-related segmentation involving reiteration of a lexical item is also evident in another output, in which the interpreter declares the intention of helping the receiver in understanding the message:

(33):
ST (T6): polski rząd wspólnie z Prezydentem Rzeczypospolitej podjęli przed kilkoma dniami **decyzję trudną lecz uzasadnioną** / decyzję o udziale w operacji rozbrojenia Iraku / ta decyzja służy naszym narodowym interesom
TT (P92): Polish government along with the president em has decided yy has taken **the difficult decision but the decision which was the jus justified*** the

[6] Setton uses the term pre-emptive segmentation to refer to the same feature (Setton 1999: 186).

decision to disarm Iraq the decision serves our ee national and international goals
RC3: W tym fragmencie wyraziłam się bardziej eksplicytnie ponieważ zdecydowałam się powtórzyć zwrot dotyczący decyzji. Powiedziałam, że *Polish government* (…) *has taken the difficult decision but the decision which was justified*. Wydawało mi się, że tłumaczenie dosłowne będzie niejasne więc zdecydowałam się na wyjaśnienie tej sytuacji czytelnikowi poprzez powtórzenie słowa *decision*.

Despite abundant exemplification of strategic reiteration provided in this section, the vast majority of shifts observed in the corpus are unreported, like the fragment quoted below, and are most probably non-strategic. The examples encountered in the corpus include the same type of shifts as those exemplified earlier in the course of this section. There are numerous instances of repair:

(34)
ST (T4): artykuł trzydziesty ósmy **przyznaje** prawo lekarzowi odstąpienia od leczenia pacjenta / ale tylko w takich przypadkach kiedy nie zachodzą okoliczności opisane w artykule trzydziestym / również z pewnymi ograniczeniami które przypominam tylko że są / **nie będę ich omawiał** / i tak jak już wcześniej wspomniałem
TT (P74): the article thirty eight **admits yy allows** a doctor to refuse to treat a patient only in cases / where / there are no circumstances that are described in article thirty // of course with additional restrictions that I only want to / um emphasize that exist but **I will not concentrate on them I will not talk about them** and just as I've mentioned earlier

Reiteration involving segmentation of the source-text structure occurs also in unreported fragments of outputs and is a marked tendency in the analysed corpus:

(35)
ST (T1): all of you here have **roads** ahead of you that will be filled with good musical days / the ones where you feel **you can play or hear anything** / and bad musical days / the ones where everything you do sounds like a bad Madonna tune / but that variety / that sense of unknowing / that feeling of having to make it up yourself / that sense of adventure
TT (P21): wszyscy tutaj z was macie przed sobą yyy wielką **drogę** do przebycia / **droga ta** będzie przeplatała wspaniałe dni muzyczne dni kiedy / macie wrażenie że **możecie zagrać wszystko możecie usłyszeć wszystko** // są tam też te gorsze dni które sprawiają że wszystko co będziecie robić będzie brzmiało jak zła muzyka Madonny / ale właśnie ta różnorodność / ten / ta świadomość nieznanego / to uczucie że będziecie musieli to sami wszystko osiągnąć to wrażenie przygody

(36)
ST (T1): most of my lessons consisted of me **relating** whatever thing it was that I happened to be working on myself right then to the guy whoever happened to get assigned to me
TT (P26): przez większość lekcji tylko **opowiadałem** innym tylko to co to co akurat nad czym akurat pracowałem mm **mówiłem** to temu kto akurat był mi przydzielony

Unreported reiteration frequently takes the form of substituting paraphrase with identical repetition, which, unlike other forms of reiteration, is very rarely reported in the retrospective protocols:

(37)
ST (T4): niektórzy prawnicy interpretują to również w sposób jednoznaczny że praktycznie **strajk** lekarski jest zabroniony / proszę Państwa / tyle mówi prawo / myślę że w kontekście naszego kodeksu który dopuszcza udział w **proteście**
TT (P73): some doctors interpret very clearly that **strike** is prohibited / this is ladies and gentlemen what law says / I think that in the context of our code which allows us to participate in the **strike**

These shifts might reflect an intention to make the connection between the two items more clear and transparent, but since they are unreported, they are more likely to stem from the difficulties of lexical search in SI.

4.3.5 Filling out elliptical constructions

The category of filling out elliptical constructions displays a similar ratio between reported and unreported occurrences as the category of lexicalisation of pro-forms. As many as 94.6% of the shifts are non-strategic and only 5.4% are verbalised in the retrospective protocols.

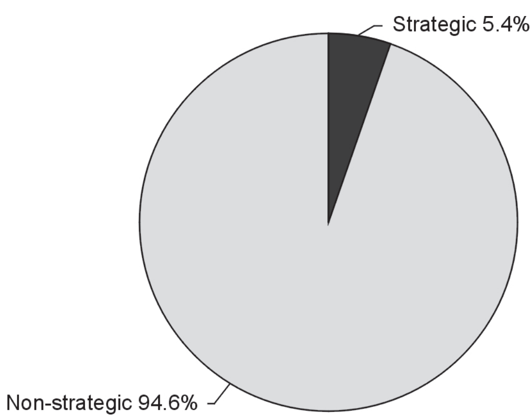

Figure 4.8. Strategic vs. non-strategic filling out ellipsis

The number of occurrences is much smaller. A total of 185 of such shifts have been observed in the corpus. Altogether, 88 participants resorted to this form of explicitation, and the 10 comments verbalising it were made by nine different interpreters, so the distribution across the corpus is relatively even. This textual feature is highly text-specific, with more cases recorded in texts T1 and T2 (100, with no significant difference between them in terms of number of occurrences, as I tried to control this variable) compared with the remaining four (85).

Almost all of the scarce retrospective comments reporting this shift refer to product- and audience-oriented strategies of helping the receiver, avoiding ambiguity, and improving the text. There is only one comment signalling the interpreting constraints. In the examples below, we can see how three different interpreters performed the same shift in the same segment of the text, but for three different reasons. Interpreter P61 reports avoiding ambiguity, P65 improving the text, and P68 handling the interpreting constraints:

(38)
ST (T4): proszę państwa / z pewnym niepokojem przyjąłem / oczywiście poczytując to jako wielki zaszczyt / jednak z wielkim niepokojem przyjąłem to zaproszenie do udziału w sesji czy lekarz może odmówić pacjentowi pomocy? / myślę że znaczna większość z państwa / tak samo i ja właściwie / na to pytanie może odpowiedzieć tylko jednym słowem / nie / nie może / zwłaszcza jeśli pytanie jest sformułowane w taki sposób / odmówić pacjentowi pomocy
TT (P61): ladies and gentlemen I'm a bit apprehensive / I was afraid to to accept / this invitation tho / I was not very convinced / the subject was can a doctor refuse to his patient to help his patient? / I think that most of you / and me as well eee to such a question would answer no / the doctor can't **refuse help*** / especially when the question is formulated in this way / refuse the patient to help him
RC2: Zamiast użyć krótkiego *Nie, nie może*, przypomniałam czego lekarz nie może, dla rozwiania wątpliwości o co chodzi.
TT (P65): ladies and gentlemen I ee // can a doctor say no to the patient? / I think that eee most of you ee just like me can answer the question with one word only / no he cannot **say no to the patient*** / especially if a question is formulated in such a way / say no to a patient
RC3: W tym momencie w oryginale końcówka tego zdania po myślniku brzmiała *nie, nie może*, a ja w celu uczynienia tej wypowiedzi bardziej eksplicytną czyli bardziej dokładną, ale też z chciałam nadać tej wypowiedzi taki groźniejszy, bardziej patetyczny, bardziej oratorski wydźwięk, dlatego też użyłam powtórzenia i po raz kolejny to będzie się powtarzało również w następnych częściach mojego tłumaczenia. Ale tutaj zastosowałam to po raz pierwszy, właśnie w celu podkreślenia wagi tej wypowiedzi.
TT (P68): now ladies and gentleman / y I y agreed to y to y give a speech in this session / y with a kind of anxiety y y the theme is y can a doctor refuse

help to a patient / y I think that y most of you would answer that no of course **doctor cannot refuse help to a patient***
RC1: Powtórzyłam całe zdanie *a doctor cannot refuse help to a patient*, gdyż poprzednie zdanie utworzone przeze mnie było bardziej zagmatwane.

In the last of the quoted renditions, the shift is introduced as a means of compensation or repair, as the interpreter feels her rendition might be confusing. Probably what she meant here is a substantial amount of omission which is visible in this output, so filling the elliptical construction might have been necessary not only to clarify the meaning but also to fill the gap.

The retrospective protocol quoted below is one of the three reporting filling out an elliptical construction with the aim of helping the receiver. It is worth noting that this is the only comment reporting this shift which uses the term ellipsis to refer to the performed explicitation. The other participants perceive it in terms of repetition.

(39)
ST (T1): for me personally / after everything / the only thing that remains really true is the feeling that at the end of the day I know that I really played good or I didn't / or that I made some progress and I understand something that I didn't understand at the beginning of the day
TT (P11): dla mnie po wszystkim co przeżyłem jedyne co zos zostaje rzeczywiście prawdą to uczucie że pod koniec dnia wiem że yy naprawdę zagrałem dobrze albo że **nie zagrałem wcale dobrze*** / wiem że yy poczyniłem jakies postępy i że zrozumiałem ee coś czego nie rozumiałem wcześniej ee na początku dnia
RC24: Chciałam wypełnić elipsę, że te dwa zagadnienia, które zostały, będą tu w tej chwili omówione, aby uzupełnić to zdanie i sprawić, aby było bardziej czytelne dla odbiorcy.

The vast majority of the cases of filling out ellipsis are unreported. In the corpus, there are instances of similar solutions in the same text segments as those presented above, and many others contexts in which this feature of texture is explicitated, as in the following example:

(40)
ST (T1): I realize that of all the cool things that have happened to me / the best one is that I know I can play a whole lot better now **than twenty years ago** / I wouldn't trade any of the outside benefits of what my career has offered me with that / that sense of personal and especially musical growth
TT (P30): i zdaję sobie również sprawę z tego że z wszystkich świetnych rzeczy które sta przytrafiły mi się w ciągu mojego życia najlepsza jest najlepsza jest ta że wiem że mogę grać dużo lepiej **niż ee grałem dwadzieścia lat temu /** n nie zamieniłbym ee żadnych korzyści e ż yy żadnych innych korz żadnych

korzyści które moja ee praca mi za zaoferowała na na inne / ten wzrost za ten rozwój muzyczny

4.3.6 Adding modifiers and qualifiers

Addition of modifiers or qualifiers is the third most frequent explicitation shift detected in the corpus, after adding connectives and reiteration. It accounts for 13.63% of all explicitations. Retrospective protocols of 29 interpreters report this shifts in the total of 40 retrospective comments, which amounts to 4%. That means that the vast majority of 1,003 occurrences of this form of explicitation remain unreported.

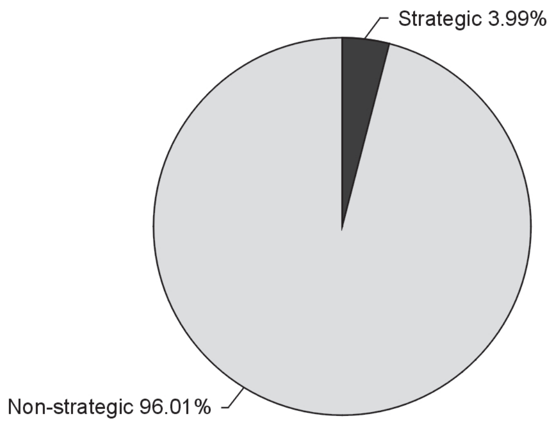

Figure 4.9. Strategic vs. non-strategic addition of modifiers and qualifiers

The distribution across the corpus is fairly even, as 116 out of 120 participants used this form of explicitation at least once and at least in one direction of interpreting (see Appendix 2). The average number per output is about four, although different interpreters tend to use this form of explicitation to differing degrees, as we shall see in Chapter 6.

Retrospective protocols reporting addition of modifiers and qualifiers attribute it in almost equal proportion to the interpreting constraints on the one hand, and product- and audience-related reasons (improving the text, avoiding ambiguity and helping the receiver) on the other.

Since one of the functions of modifiers and qualifiers in language is emphasis, not surprisingly, some participants (12 of them) report this objective in their protocols. The two following examples of placing more emphasis in the target texts have been classified as an intention to improve the text:

(41)
ST (T1): it is that need and desire to want to go home and practice / that's the coolest thing / the part where you start with nothing / have a musical idea or vision or aspiration / and through discipline and organization and preparation / and especially inspiration / you finally end up with the capacity to do something that you didn't know you could do
TT (P29): to ta potrzeba / chęć yy powrotu do domu i **ciągłego*** ćwiczenia / to najwspanialsza rzecz // zaczynasz z niczym / masz pewne wizje / pomysły muzyczne / pewne inspiracje / i poprzez dyscyplinę / organizację / przygotowanie / a w szczególności inspirację / yy w końcu / udaje ci się zrobić coś o czym wiedziałeś że mógłbyś to zrobić
RC25: Dodałam słowo *ciągłego* aby podkreślić informację zawartą w zdaniu, to że muzyk musi dużo ćwiczyć. Nie chciałam też pozostawiać słowa *ćwiczyć* bez żadnego określenia.
(42)
ST (T1): this process is an essential part of all music making activities / that we as musicians probably take for granted / but it is a skill that throughout our lives as players / we have an opportunity to learn about and refine to a very high degree / knowing about that process can apply to everything in life / and it is for that reason that many of the greatest people that I've known have been essentially musicians / whether professional or not
TT (P32): ten proces jest niezbędną niezbędną częścią / procesu tworzenia muzyki / które my jako muzycy bierzemy za pewnik / ale / przez nasze całe życie jako muzycy / mamy szanse nauczyć się / i osiągnąć bardzo wysoki poziom / wiedząc że ten proces **tak naprawdę*** dotyczy każdej rzeczy w naszym życiu / z tego powodu / wiele najwspanialszych ludzi których znam / są muzykami / bez względu na to czy są profesjonalistami czy też nie
RC19: Tutaj dodałam z kolei *tak naprawdę*, żeby podkreślić. Bo on tak bardzo mocno podkreśla świadomość tego procesu, więc dlatego że tak naprawdę on dotyczy wszystkiego w naszym życiu. Wydawało mi się, że ładniej jak to zostanie podkreślone.

Another declared reason is helping the receiver – nine subjects verbalise this intention. In the example below, in which the interpreter reports the intention to make the text more informative for listeners, the referential function of the added qualifier helps the target audience to link this part of the discourse to the preceding one, thus making the text more cohesive:

(43)
ST: (T4) no i druga sytuacja w której jest zerwana ta nić porozumienia zaufania szacunku wzajemnego / przede wszystkim wtedy kiedy pacjent po prostu nie akceptuje lekarza / wówczas / moim zdaniem / lekarz ma pełne prawo do tego żeby nie podejmować się leczenia takiego pacjenta
TT (P64): and the second situation / where the thread of trust respect is broken / and especially when the patient simply doesn't want the help of **this**

particular* doctor / then mm in my opinion / doctor has full right not to mm undertake treating of such patient
RC10: Wyraz *lekarza* odnosi się do wcześniej omawianego lekarza. Dodałam słowo *this particular* do *doctor* aby doinformować odbiorcę.

Interpreters are more likely to provide this type of additional references due to the short-horizon constraint. Only having direct access to the micro-structure or texture of the text they are producing and unable to see its global structure, with no possibility to go backwards whenever in doubt, they are likely to add redundant references to be on the save side and make sure the receiver gets sufficient information.

Addition of modifiers and qualifiers is often due to the constraints inherent in the simultaneous interpreting task. As many as 18 subjects admit having performed this shift when faced with problems. The retrospective comment quoted below is an interesting example of reporting both the impact of the constraints and the consequent intention to improve the text:

(44)
ST (T6): jesteśmy przekonani że rozbrojenie Iraku otworzy nowy rozdział w jego historii / wytyczy perspektywę przyspieszonego rozwoju gospodarczego dla całego regionu / wszyscy byli i są za pozbawieniem władz w Bagdadzie broni masowego rażenia
TT (P101): we are sure that yy demilitarization of Iraq will open a new chapter of its history / will emmm speed up its development // everyone em has been in favour of / yyy disarmament of yy Iraq **especially*** when it comes to mass weaponry
RC15: Dodanie słówka *especially*, które w tekście się nie pojawia, dotyczyło tego, że zdałam sobie sprawę, że uciekła mi informacja, że nie chodzi o zwykłą demilitaryzację, ale o pozbawienie władz broni masowego rażenia, co jest już dosyć znaczną różnicą i chciałam po prostu wrócić do tego. Chciałam zaznaczyć to, że chodzi o broń masowego rażenia, natomiast chcąc zachować spójność, ładną stylistykę tekstu, aby to zdanie nadal było poprawne i aby brzmiało tak, aby słuchający nie zaczął podejrzewać, że coś mi uciekło i umknęło, po prostu kontynuowałam je tak jak wydawało mi się najzręczniej.

In this particular case the shift is more complex, as it involves forming another verbal phrase and segmenting the proposition into two separate sentences. This additional phrase is meant as a compensation for the information omitted in the preceding segment. At the same time, the interpreter emphasises that she adopted this solution with the aim of maintaining text cohesion. In this retrospective comment, there is also an explicit indication of the interpreter's concern for quality, as she declares having performed the shift in order to prevent the receiver from noticing an omission.

Another example illustrating constraints-based explicitation reveals that adding modifiers or qualifiers can be, like reiteration (see Section 4.3.4), an effective means of increasing the time lag separating the two lines of discourse (ST and TT) without leaving a pause. The interpreter inserted a qualifier *very* to gain time and to fill the gap while thinking about how to formulate the target text. She considers it as a non-committal item that does not affect substantially the information content of the text:

(45)
ST (T2): to nie jest tylko poetycka przenośnia / to rezultat analiz i badań naukowców / nie tylko nasza planeta / ale cały wszechświat staje się dokładnie taki jak go sobie wyobrażamy i jak go rozumiemy / to niezwykłe odkrycie / któżby przypuszczał że nasza wyobraźnia i marzenia mogą mieć aż tak niezwykłą siłę sprawczą
TT (P23): it's not just a poetic metaphor / it's a / it's the result of y the analysis and scientific research not only our planet but the whole universe becomes exactly what we imagine it to be and how we understand it / this is a **very*** unusual finding / who would have thought that our imagination and our dreams can have such a huge y force
RC4: Wyrażenie *to niezwykłe odkrycie* tłumaczę jako *it's a very unusual finding*. Dodanie słowa *very* nie wnosi nic nowego do treści, ale daje dodatkową chwilę na zastanowienie się co powiedzieć dalej.

The retrospective comment below illustrates yet another facet of explicitating shifts involving addition of modifiers and qualifiers. The interpreter reports on a pause-induced insertion of a modifier. In order to give a semblance of a complete, coherent and cohesive phrase and to avoid the impression of a fragmentary discourse, she made a decision to add a modifier:

(46)
ST (T3): we really need as physicians to ensure that people who are in need get care / even in an environment where institutions may not necessarily be able to deliver that care / we need to look at our current codes to decide if they are strong enough to ensure that people can get care / and policies and laws / we need to think of new models of care
TT (P67): potrzebujemy jako lekarze zapewnić że ludzie którzy są w potrzebie otrzymują pomoc // nawet w środowisku gdzie instytucje mogą niekoniecznie być w stanie nieść tą pomoc / musimy popatrzeć na nasze obecne sposoby zachowań aby zdecydować czy są one wystarczająco silne aby zapewnić ludziom właściwą pomoc // a także **właściwe*** prawo / musimy myśleć o nowych sposobach opieki
RC17: Dodałam słowo *właściwe*. Ostatnie słowa tego zdania przetłumaczyłam dopiero po chwili namysłu i dodałam to słowo, aby nie kończyć zaledwie jednym słowem *prawo*.

This strategy above could be considered as yet another form of reduction-based explicitation, reflecting Perego's (2003) category established originally for subtitling but apparently applying to all constrained modes of translation (see Section 1.2.5 and 4.3.1).

Retrospective protocols also reveal that modifiers or qualifiers are added to compensate for omissions and mistranslations. They might be used instead of an omitted item or further on in the text as a means of repair. In the following example, the interpreter made a conscious decision to replace the number he did not manage to hear with the idea of the marines being united, which does not affect the meaning of the message but merely emphasises the idea implied in the course of the text:

(47)
ST (T5): there's no finer sight / no finer sight than to see twelve thousand United States marines and corpsmen / unless you happen to be a member of the Iraqi Republican Guard / for more than sixty years / marines have gone forth from Camp Lejeune to fight our country's battles
TT (P109): Nie ma wspanialszego widoku niż widzieć **zjednoczonych*** przedstawicieli wojska Stanów Zjednoczonych yyy przez więcej niż sześćdziesiąt lat marines byli rozmieszczani z Camp Lejeune / z obozu Lejeune aby walczyć na całym świecie
RC1: Dodałem słówko *zjednoczonych* w celu pominięcia liczby niedosłyszanej. Postanowiłem również uogólnić i dodać *zjednoczonych wojsk marines*.

The second example illustrating explicitation used as compensation is an interesting case of compensating not only for an omitted lexical item in quantitative terms, but also for a rhetorical effect. The emphasis expressed by *all* referring to *America* is shifted to *grateful*, whose meaning is strengthened by the addition of the modifier *bardzo* ('very'). Having realised that she omitted one item, the interpreter made a decision to compensate for it in this way:

(48)
ST (T5): when freedom needs defending / America turns to our military / and as they do their job / our men and women in uniform count on their families / like you all here today / this is a time of hardship for many military families / some of you have been separated from your loved ones for quite a while because of long deployments / all of America is grateful for your sacrifice
TT (P101): kiedy wolności trzeba bronić ym Ameryka zwraca się do swojej armii yy a oni mmm wykonują swoją pracę / tak jak wy dzisiaj // jest to trudny czas dla wielu rodzin żołnierzy / wielu z nich yy jest yyy wiele z nich jest rozdzielonych / Ameryka jest **bardzo*** wdzięczna za to poświęcenie
RC5: Wzmocniłam trochę stwierdzenie *Ameryka jest wdzięczna za wasze poświęcenie* dodając słowo *bardzo*. Miało to zrekompensować to, że nie powiedziałam *cała Ameryka*. Chciałam po prostu gdzieś ten nacisk jednak położyć,

właściwie w celach głównie retorycznych, i po prostu tutaj dokonałam takiej zamiany kiedy usłyszałam, że, kiedy zorientowałam się, że zapomniałam powiedzieć, że *cała Ameryka jest wdzięczna*.

The category of adding modifiers and qualifiers is one of the few where the participants acknowledge unconscious, involuntary insertion of an adjective. Made *post factum* and not reflecting decisions taken during the task of interpreting, such remarks were not taken into account in the analysis. Nevertheless, they do provide valuable evidence that there are indeed cases of explicitation in SI of which interpreters are not aware while interpreting. There are 11 retrospective remarks of this type, those quoted below being representative examples of this tendency:

(49)
ST (T1): just go home / try to understand as much as you can about why you wanted to be a musician in the first place / and exactly what it is about music that knocks you out / and practice like crazy on that / and if you can do it about fourteen hours a day that will help too
TT (P39): po prostu idźcie do domu i starajcie się zrozumieć najwięcej jak umiecie / dlaczego yy / przede wszystkim chcecie być muzykiem / oraz / dokładnie / mm / co w muzyce sprawia ci trudności i ćwicz to / i jeśli / możesz robić to przez około czternaście godzin dziennie / to **na pewno*** pomoże
RC10: Dodałam od siebie *na pewno*, mimo że słowo to nie pada w oryginale. Wyszło to automatycznie, ale raczej nie zniekształca sensu wypowiedzi i brzmi naturalnie.
(50)
ST (T3): this is not always happening in the United States / the health system does not always support a physician's ability to see a patient when needed / apart from urgent situation / some physician groups and hospitals do not take patients under certain circumstances
TT (P63): ale / w Stanach Zjednoczonych taka sytuacja nie zawsze ma miejsce / nie zawsze nie zawsze sy system zdrowotny yyyy pomaga ludziom / którzy są w potrzebie / czasa jedynie ee w zdarza się to w **takich*** nagłych sytuacjach
RC2: Podczas tłumaczenia miałam problem, żeby poprawnie przetłumaczyć zwrot *apart from*, więc zmieniłam, że *zdarza się*. W tym fragmencie dodałam *w takich nagłych sytuacjach*, ale było to nieświadome.
(51)
ST (T2): myślę że każdy z was używa tego narzędzia na co dzień i będziecie to nadal robił / komputer jest sercem we wnętrzu każdego nowoczesnego urządzenia / maszyny
TT (P06): I think that all of you use computers and you will do in the future / the computer is the heart of every modern **digital*** machine
RC27: Dołożyłam słowo *digital* do słowa *machine* czego niestety nie potrafię uzasadnić. Moja koncentracja działała już coraz słabiej i zrobiłam to odruchowo.

The last two of the above examples also provide further evidence of the impact of the interpreting constraints on non-strategic explicitation. In Example 50, the involuntary addition of the item *takich* might have been triggered by a failure sequence. Having directed all the processing resources to coordinating the efforts in the prior segment, for which she reports problems, the concentration was naturally lower in the subsequent segment, possibly leading to the involuntary, uncontrolled addition of a qualifier. In turn, Subject P06 openly declares a lapse of concentration and admits it was a buildup effect, which is understandable given that it was almost the end of an over 20-minute long source text.

In fact, the non-strategic, unreported addition of modifiers and qualifiers is the dominant tendency, like all the other surface forms of explicitation analysed so far. In absence of retrospective evidence, in such cases, we can only speculate about the causes. However, in some instances, the product also provides some indications. In the following extract from the corpus of the study, especially the second explicitating shifts is probably due to processing capacity management problems.

> (52)
> ST (T3): the profession has a mission to care for patients / and if you don't want to care for patients / you shouldn't choose to be in medicine / if you want to make money / you should become an investment banker / and this is again outlined in the physicians charter that altruism is important / and this is reinforced by the professional society codes
> TT (P70): lekarz ma obowiązek opieki nad pacjentem / a jeżeli nie chce opiekować się pacjentem / nie powinien wybierać medycyny / jeżeli ktoś chce zarabiać dużo pieniędzy powinien zostać bankierem inwestycyjnym / a inwestorem iii zostało tu już yyy uwzględnione w karcie lekarza yyy gdzie napisano że altruizm jest **niezwykle** ważny dla tej profesji // zostało to również podkreślone yyy przez yyy **różne** kodeksy lekarzy / kodeksy stowarzyszeń lekarzy

In this segment of the text, there are two substantial pauses (marked in the transcript by a double slash) and the consequent prolonged EVS, which clearly indicate problems. Numerous hesitation marks, all grouped in the segment where the explicitating shifts occurred, may indicate that the interpreter found it hard to retrieve from the long-term memory store the proper Polish equivalent for *professional society*, used here as a modifier, which makes it more difficult, since a change in the word order is required.

4.3.7 Inserting hedges and discourse organising items

These two surface manifestations of explicitation are among the least frequent shifts detected in the corpus. In both cases, the vast majority of occurrences (94% of hedges and 97% of discourse organising items) is not reported, and therefore considered as non-strategic. There are only eight retrospective comments reporting the addition of hedges and two declaring the insertion of an additional discourse organising item. Slightly more than half of the participants (72) added hedges in their target texts, at least in one direction of interpreting. Discourse organising items were added by 46 interpreters, in most cases only once per target text.

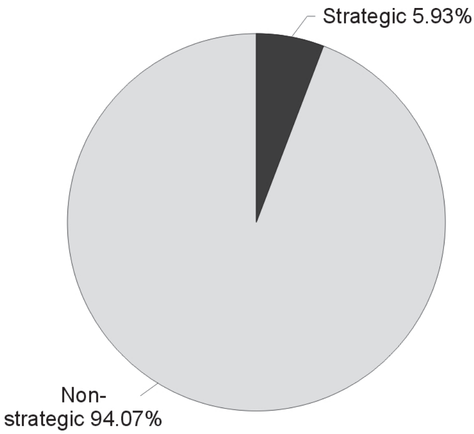

Figure 4.10. Strategic vs. non-strategic addition of hedges

Figure 4.11. Strategic vs. non-strategic addition of discourse organising items

The retrospective comments reporting the addition of hedges indicate the interpreting constraints (three comments), the wish to avoid ambiguity (two), and the intention to improve the text (three). The two reports referring to the addition of discourse organising items reveal that explicitation was performed due to constraints in one case and in order to improve the text in the other.

Hedges, like reiterations and additional modifiers/qualifiers that we have seen earlier in this chapter, are sometimes added as fillers while awaiting incoming source text and planning the rendition of the subsequent segment:

(53)
ST (T2): potrzebna jest wiedza aby poznać to co inni przed nami zrobili i wyciągnąć właściwe wnioski w którą stronę zrobić krok do przodu i przede wszystkim po co / wasza edukacja nie kończy się w momencie wręczenia dyplomu / kontynuujcie naukę przez całe życie

TT (P11): you need knowledge aa to get to know what other people do before our times and to come to the conclusions in which side to make a step in front and ee / and why we should do that / your education is not over in the moment of taking the diploma / **you are supposed to*** continue learning for your whole life
RC7: Dodałam kilka słów, których nie było w tekście po to, aby mieć troszkę więcej czasu na zastanowienie nad tym jak później pokierować swoim tłumaczeniem.

Hedges are also added with the intention to improve the cohesion and coherence of the text. In the example below, the interpreter declares that he performed the shift in order to avoid giving the impression of a fragmentary, disjointed discourse, which in this particular case happens to be an unfounded concern, as both the source text and the target text would be perfectly cohesive without this shift. Nevertheless, the shift explicitates the involvement of the speaker:

(54)
ST (T4): szanowni państwo / jestem przede wszystkim pod wrażeniem / na sali / na sesji etycznej jest ponad pięćset osób
TT (P73): ladies and gentlemen / **I would like to say*** that I am above all impressed / this ethic session has gathered almost five hundred people
RC1: Dodałem słówko *I would like to say* żeby zdanie w języku angielskim było nie tyle co bardziej rozbudowane, ale żeby miało większy sens i nie brzmiało jak zdanie urywane.

Another occurrence of the addition of a hedging expression is an interesting example of the interpreter wishing to distance herself from the wording chosen by the speaker. She considers the item *fantastyczny*, which she correctly renders literally as *fantastic*, as too colloquial and not fitting the register of the conference paper. Therefore, she adds a hedging expression *I must say* to emphasise that it should be attributed to the speaker. Instead of neutralising the register, which is an acceptable practice in interpreting, she opts for explicitating the speaker's subjectivity by using a mitigating expression that somehow lessens the impact of the utterance and softens the categoricality of the statement:

(55)
ST (T4): szanowni państwo / jestem przede wszystkim pod wrażeniem / na sali / na sesji etycznej jest ponad pięćset osób / tak mniej więcej to obliczyłem / jeszcze nie byłem w takim miejscu / zwykle takie sesje gromadzą trzydzieści do pięćdziesięciu osób maksimum / więc naprawdę głęboki ukłon przed Państwem bo jest to naprawdę coś fantastycznego / jest to wielki dowód na to że lekarzom te problemy nie są obce
TT (P66): ladies and gentlemen / I am under impression that here in the room that in the ethic session there are over five hundred people / I've ee

counted that I've never been in such place before / as usual such sessions / aamm are visited by thirty to fifty people / so I'm grateful to you / because / that is a fantastic thing **I must say***/ it's an evidence for the fact that doctors are familiar with such problems
RC2: Dodałam słowa *I must say* po *coś fantastycznego*, dlatego że chciałam podkreślić, że jest to osobista uwaga autora. Może też dlatego, że słowo *fantastic* wydało mi się zbyt kolokwialne, nie do końca pasujące. Chciałam jakoś podkreślić, że jest to jakieś wrażenie, które odniósł autor.

As indicated at the beginning of this section, most additions of hedges are unreported in the retrospective comments and hence probably non-strategic. We can only speculate about the reasons underlying them on the basis of the very product of translation. In the example below, the measurement of the EVS might indicate that the addition was necessary to avoid a gap while waiting for the incoming input segments. Given that in this particular segment the interpreter was following the speaker fairly close, at this point, he had to prolong the lag waiting for the emerging sentence to disambiguate:

(56)
ST (T3): I'd like to mention some of these issues here / the first issues were the ethical principles / and these are the principles we are taught in the medical school and we teach our medical students / they evolved around doing good / not doing harm / fairness / making sure patients with equal problems have equal access to healthcare resources / and an autonomy of patient's participation in health care / which is not as much relevant to this question here / and the most important thing all physicians want to do is what is in the best interest of the patients
TT (P71): chciałabym odnieść się do niektórych z tych problemów / pierwszym problemem / są zasady etyczne / są to zasady które przekazywane nam są / yy w akademii medycznej / i których uczymy naszych studentów / dotyczą one / czynienia dobra / nieszkodzenia / traktowania pacjentów z takimi samymi problemami w taki sam sposób i zapewnianie im takiego samego dostępu do służby zdrowia / a także autonomia / a także respektowanie pewnej autonomii pacjenta jeśli chodzi o / leczenie / co jednak nie bardzo wiąże się z tematem y **w mojej opinii** / to do czego dążą wszyscy lekarze / to za / najlepsze dobro pacjenta

Some retrospective comments provide further evidence of the non-strategic nature of inserting hedges in the target text. There are five remarks reporting automatic, unconscious explicitation, of which the one quoted below is a representative example. Given that they reflect *a posteriori* observations, obviously, they were not counted as cases of strategic explicitation:

(57)
ST (T2): waszą publicznością jest cała ludzkość / nie miejcie żadnych kompleksów / twórzcie to czego jeszcze nikt nie widział i nie słyszał
TT (P39): your audience is the whole y population whole human population / I don't think you should have any complexes / use what has ee hasn't ever been heard or seen
RC9: Dodałam od siebie *I don't think* – wyszło to automatycznie, bez konkretnej przyczyny.

Retrospective remarks reporting the addition of discourse organising items are very scarce. The one quoted next reveals the intention to improve the text:

(58)
ST (T3): and I'd like to address some of the principles on which we as physicians have agreed to this duty to treat / in the time I have / so duty means an action that's required by one's physician or by a moral or legal considerations
TT (P70): chciałabym właśnie / omówić kilka podstaw które kilka zasad do których yyy na które żeś zgodziliśmy się jako lekarze / oczywiście w czasie który mi pozostawiono który mam do dyspozycji / dlatego **chciałam powiedzieć zacząć od tego że*** obowiązek yyy znaczy wszystkie czynności wymagane przez wymagane do zrobienia przez lekarza które mogą mieć mogę mieć wpływ skutki moralne bądź prawne
RC4: Starałam się uniknąć zaczynania zdania od *więc*, w związku z czym lekko zmieniłam formę samego zdania odbiegając od oryginału.

What is interesting is that in fact, the interpreter's aim is not to mark the text macro-structure with an explicit indicator, in line with the intended function of this particular discourse organising item, but to manipulate the texture on the micro-level. In an attempt to avoid the literal translation of what she considers to be a causal relation, and what is in fact more of a transitional marker, she decides to add the phrase marking the beginning of the speaker's argumentation in order to "justify" the use of a causal connective.

4.3.8 Shifts involving proper names and abbreviations

The category of shifts involving proper names involves various types of surface transformations. These are adding a proper name to a generic name, substituting a generic name with a proper name, and adding the first name to a surname. All these shifts account for only slightly over 1% of all explicitations detected in the corpus. The proportion of strategic shifts is higher than in the majority of other categories: 16 out of 90 explicitations are reported in the retrospective comments. Six retrospective comments attribute explicitation to the interpreting constraints, while the remaining 10 report taking into account the needs of the audience or the intention to disambiguate or improve the text. As many as 46 interpreters performed at least one shift involving a proper name, apart from those interpreting texts T3 and T4, in whose texture there was no potential for such surface operations.

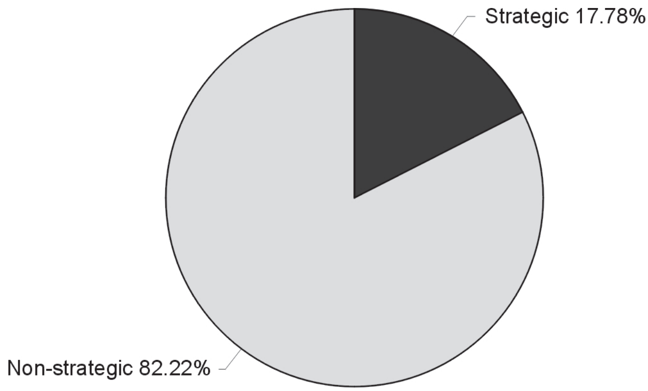

Figure 4.12. Strategic vs. non-strategic shifts involving proper names

The processing of proper names in simultaneous interpreting differs considerably from that employed in any other mode of translation. As observed by Gile (1984, 1999), proper names are characterised by low redundancy, and at the same time, they are especially prone to attentional lapses. Because of that, they are potential problem triggers in simultaneous interpreting. The research conducted by Gile (1984) reveals high failure rate in rendering proper names, both the short ones, with low morphological redundancy, and the more complex composite proper nouns, imposing heightened attentional requirements. The main difficulty in handling the items characterised by low morphological redundancy is signal vulnerability. They are not necessarily demanding in terms of the required processing capacity. Such segments are simply vulnerable to lapses of attention due to their low redundancy and short duration. By contrast, composite proper nouns do consume a substantial amount of processing capacity.

These observations may shed some light on the reasons behind the explicitating shifts involving proper names in the present study. In fact, in one of the comments reporting adding the first names to surnames, the interpreter admits having done so because she no longer remembered whether they appeared or not. In this case, the prolonged EVS imposed an excessive strain on the interpreter's short-term memory:

(59)
ST (T1): the last thing / and maybe the most important thing that I've noticed over the years of playing with people from all kinds of stylistic zones and

> all different types of music / and in fact the only thing that they all seem to have in common / from Rollins to Reich / from Bowie to Nascimiento / from Hancock to Burton / is just how much fun they all have doing what they do when they are doing it at their best
> TT (P31): ostatnią rzeczą / i rzeczą najważniejszą którą zauważyłem w czasie tych wszystkich lat grania // ee że wszyscy ludzie grający różną muzykę / wydaje się że rzeczą wspólną dla nich // od amm **Steve** Reicha **Davida** Bowie / **Miltona** Nascimento / **Herbie*** Hancocka / że to co oni ro wykonują kiedy wykonują to najlepiej jak potrafią
> RC38: Słysząc nazwiska i będąc trochę spóźnioną dodałam imiona, gdyż wydawało mi się, że być może się pojawiły.

The same surface operation is performed by two interpreters in a parallel text. Although neither of them reports it, an assumption might be made that the scenario was similar in these cases. At the moment of engaging the production effort in this segment, the interpreters probably no longer remembered whether the first names were mentioned or not. It is worth noting that this shift is not applied consistently, as some surnames remain on their own. Probably the interpreters did not know the first names, or did not remember them, so the shift was apparently also triggered by the (un)shared knowledge constraint:

> (60)
> ST (T2): tak samo wielcy artyści dokonywali stałych eksperymentów / czym się kierowali Chaplin Disney albo Cameron? / Grotowski Kantor? / co robił Rembrandt Picasso albo Robakowski? / wymieniłem tylko kilku
> TT (P21): just like them great artists have discovered something / what drove **Charlie** Chaplin? Disney or **James** Cameron? / **Jerzy** Grotowski? **Tadeusz** Kantor? / what was Rembrandt doing? what was **Pablo** Picasso doing? / or maybe Robakowski? / I've mentioned only a few of them
> TT (P35): // what was the aim of ee the work of ee Chaplin **Walt** Disney **James** Cameron Grotowski Kantor Picasso Robakowski? //

Another instance of adding the first name to a surname is also probably due to the interpreting constraints rather than the orientation towards the audience. The explicitating shift itself is not mentioned in the retrospective protocols. However, in the same segment, the interpreter reports not having heard the surname *Burton*; hence the resulting omission. The EVS is long enough to make an assumption that the explicitation might have been an effort to compensate for the imminent omission. However, taking into account the immediate repair (i.e., repeating only the surname), a more plausible explanation is that the first name was added automatically. Because it is so widely known, the name *David Bowie* may function in the interpreter's long-term memory store almost as a lexical bundle that is reproduced automatically as a whole, without separating it into the two constituent parts.

(61)
ST (T1): the last thing / and maybe the most important thing that I've noticed over the years of playing with people from all kinds of stylistic zones and all different types of music / and in fact the only thing that they all seem to have in common / from Rollins to Reich / from Bowie to Nascimiento / from Hancock to Burton / is just how much fun they all have doing what they do when they are doing it at their best
TT (P33): jest jeszcze jedna bardzo ważna rzecz która zaobserwowałem w trakcie tych wszystkich / yy lat w których pracowałem z ludźmi / którzy prezentowali rózne różne różne typy muzyki / mieli różny styl / to to że oni wszyscy wydawali się mieć jedną cechę wspólną / czy to **David** Bowie czy Bowie czy Nascemento czy Hancock* e // oni wszyscy właśnie chcieli robić to co robili i kiedy robili to najlepiej jak yy mogli to to dawało im satysfakcję
RC39: Niedosłyszenie i opuszczenie jednego z nazwisk.

Another participant adopted the same solution as above, adding the first name only to the surname of David Bowie, and most probably, it can be attributed to the same reasons:

(62)
TT (P35): ostatnią rzeczą i prawdopodobnie najważniejszą rzeczą którą zauważyłem w latach w których grałem jest to że ludzie z każdej strefy muzycznej i różnych typów muzyki mówią że oni wszyscy to co mają wspólnego od Rollinsa do Reicha od **Davida** Bowie do Hancocka to to że kiedy grają / cała ta satysfakcja cała ich praca praktyka która którą poświęcają temu by być dobrymi muzykami

Two other shifts performed due to the interpreting constraints have been reported. The first occurrence is an instance of substituting a generic name with a proper name. The interpreter admits not having heard the segment in question and having reconstructed the meaning relying on contextual information. The second shift is a more complex surface transformation. This metonymic relation affects the reference, shifting the focus from the impersonal regime to a specific person. At the level of the product analysis, such a solution might imply the interpreter's intention to change the point of view projected by the source text and to express her personal attitude. After all, such an explicitating shift serves to emphasise the blame put on Saddam Hussein and does affect the ideology of the text (see Gumul 2010a, 2011a). However, the retrospective comment reveals that the shift was simply due to processing capacity mismanagement. The informational density of the text and the fact that not enough processing capacity was allocated to the memory effort led to working memory saturation. To compensate for that, the interpreter adopted the same strategy as in the previous segment, namely, reconstructing the proposition on the basis of contextual information:

(63)
ST (T5): for more than sixty years / marines have gone forth from Camp Lejeune to fight our country's battles / now America has entered a fierce struggle to protect the world from a grave danger and to bring freedom to an **oppressed people** / as the forces of our coalition advance / we learn more about the atrocities of the **Iraqi regime**
TT (P110): przez yy wiele lat yy marynarze z Camp Lejeune yy wyjeżdżali by y walczyć dla naszego kraju / teraz mają za zadanie bronić świat y przed wielkim niebezpieczeństwem / i przynieść wolność / **narodowi irackiemu*** / w miarę jak nasza armia posuwa się naprzód / dowiadujemy się coraz więcej o okrucieństwach **Saddama Husa Husajna****
RC1: Wyrażenie *opressed people* przetłumaczyłam jako *naród iracki*, ponieważ nie usłyszałam tej końcówki, ale wiedziałam, że chodzi o naród iracki, więc wyraziłam to bardziej dosłownie.
RC2: Wyrażenie *Iraqi regime* zamieniłam na *Saddama Husajna*, ponownie dlatego, że po prostu wiedziałam, o kogo chodzi, po prostu już nie pamiętałam, co było w oryginale.

Substituting a generic name with a proper name due to the interpreting constraints is also reported by other participants in the rendition of another source text (T6).

(64)
ST (T6): wszyscy byli i są za pozbawieniem władz w Bagdadzie broni masowego rażenia / ale pozostają różnice / jak ten cel osiągnąć / rozbieżności wokół sposobów rozwiązania tego dylematu podzieliły świat / zróżnicowały Europę / podzieliły również i nasze społeczeństwo / tych podziałów nie wolno sprowadzać do kategorii zwolenników czy przeciwników wojny / a tym bardziej zwolenników czy przeciwników **irackiego dyktatora**
TT (P106): everybody is and still are / everybody were everybody was and still is want to / mmm disarming the Bagdad but mmm how to do it divided whole world and also and also our country and we cannot say that it is only about the supporters or the people who are against the war or aaa **Saddam Hussein***
RC18: Zamiast irackiego dyktatora zostało podane imię i nazwisko. Było to po prostu szybsze, i było to pierwsze skojarzenie.

The main cause reported by the interpreter is the speed of processing. It was less demanding in terms of processing capacity to use the proper name than think of an English equivalent of the generic name *dictator*. This participant also admits that it was the first idea that came to his mind. Analysing this case in terms of Gile's Gravitational Model, apparently, the name *Saddam Hussein*, due to its frequency of occurrence, occupies a zone closer to the nucleus than the lexical item *dictator*, at least in English.

A similar solution is adopted by another interpreter in another segment of the same text. This time, the interpreter reports that it was meant as a time-saving strategy. *Rejon operacji* ('the region of operation') rendered as *Iraq* is undoubtly a case of the strategy of economy of expression (see Jones 1998; Gumul & Łyda 2007):

(65)
ST (T6): wierzymy że cele wojskowej operacji zostaną osiągnięte minimalnym kosztem / a nasi żołnierze którzy udali się w **rejon operacji** / wrócą szybko cali i zdrowi do swoich domów
TT (P110): we believe that y the aim of the intervention will be y achieved yy at minimal costs and that soldiers who yy have been deployed to **Iraq** will yy return safe and sound to our country
RC6: *Rejon operacji* przetłumaczyłam na *Iraq*, żeby zaoszczędzić czas.

Retrospective reports on shifts involving proper names also reveal an intention to avoid ambiguity (four comments). Substituting a generic noun with a proper name presented below (Example 66) was performed with this aim in mind. Although there are other contextual indicators of the place, the interpreter decided to explicitate the reference to the city:

(66)
ST (T2): nie chcę niczego sugerować / ale może warto abyście się trochę lepiej rozejrzeli po **okolicy** jaki jest potencjał tuż przed waszym nosem / aktorzy muzycy i plastycy / wszyscy jesteście dziś artystami multi-medialnymi / macie do dyspozycji potężne narzędzia / nie jesteście już tylko artystami lokalnymi / macie dostęp do całego świata i Waszą publicznością jest cała ludzkość
TT (P26): I don't want to suggest anything but maybe it's worthwhile to look around a bit this / **Wrocław*** a bit and see others / all artists are musician are now the multimedia artists you have at the your disposal the powerful tools you are not only you are and not only the local artists and you have the access to the public of the whole world whole humanity is your audience
RC8: Uzupełniłem słowa *look around* wymieniając miasto *Wrocław*. W ten sposób jest bardziej precyzyjnie.

Some participants verbalised the intention to help the receiver. The extract from the corpus presented in Example 67 is an interesting example of the complex thought processes performed by the interpreter while processing this speech segment. Instead of a generic noun *patient*, this participant opts for a proper name *Mr Brown*, which in fact has a generic function in discourse, as it designates an average person. Nevertheless, the aim of the interpreter is to make this reference more personal and thus help the receiver to comprehend the message by identifying himself or herself with the patient mentioned in the text. Additionally, the interpreter reports that this explicitating shift was also meant to fulfill the emphatic function, which she identifies as the speaker's intention and which she aims to maintain in the target text:

> (67)
> ST (T2): ileż razy słyszałem że publiczność jest głupia / rozumiem że lekarz może powiedzieć do **pacjenta** jesteś głupi że palisz papierosy lub że zażywasz narkotyki / ale jak artysta może powiedzieć do widza jesteście głupi / bo moja sztuka wam się nie podoba / albo jesteście głupi bo nie rozumiecie mojej sztuki
> TT (P30): how many times have I heard that the public is stupid / I understand that the doctor can say ee **Mr Brown*** you're stupid that you smoke / or that you ee take drugs but how can an artist say to the public / you're stupid because you don't like my em my art / or you're stupid because you don't understand my art
> RC6: Tutaj akurat mmm pierwszą rzeczą jaka mi wpadła do głowy było spersonifikowanie takiego przeciętnego pacjenta. Nie chciałam używać słowa *patient* bo wydało mi się takie odległe. Wydaje mi się, że właśnie powiedzenie *Pan Kowalski* – bardzo częste nazwisko używane odnośnie statystycznego Polaka. A *Pan Brown Mr Brown* wydawał mi się również bardzo takim przyjemnym nazwiskiem. Wstawienie tutaj konkretnej osoby miało na celu właśnie według mnie zmuszenie słuchacza do postawienia się w sytuacji takiego pacjenta i zrozumienie całego kontekstu oraz znaczenia tego fragmentu, ponieważ jest to bardzo ważna rzecz, o której wypowiada się autor i bardzo mu najwidoczniej zależy na tym żeby ludzie zrozumieli o co mu chodzi. Czyli żeby zrozumieli, że krytyka jest bardzo potrzebna. Dlatego też właśnie jakby przez to użyłam *Mr Brown*. Wydaje mi się, że jest to łatwiej przyswajalne przez słuchaczy i bardziej przemawia do nich.

Two other instances of shifts intended to help the receiver both concern the same proper name. The shortened version *America* used here to designate the country was rendered as *the United States*. Both interpreters adopted the same solution to avoid potential misunderstanding and to make it clear that it does not refer to the whole continent. Although in both languages *America* is an established and conventional way of referring to the USA,[7] and the context disambiguates the reference, these interpreters opted for a more explicit equivalent:

> (68)
> ST (T6): zdecyduje o przyszłości Organizacji Narodów Zjednoczonych / o kształcie stosunków między Europą a Stanami Zjednoczonymi / przesądzi

[7] Unlike, for instance, in Spanish, in which the use of *America* is much more ambiguous, especially, quite understandably, in Latin American countries.

o relacjach wewnątrz Unii Europejskiej oraz o podejściu **Ameryki** do reszty świata
TT (P104): it will decide about the future for United Nations / the shape of the relationships / between e the United States and Europe / and / they / internal relationships / within / the European Uno / Union / as well as / the am / **the United States*** attitude towards the world
RC1: Pierwszy fragment o podejściu Ameryki do reszty świata. Użyłam określenia *Stany Zjednoczone* jako że uznałam, że z tekstu wynika, że właśnie do tego odnosi się polskie określenie *Ameryka* i wydawało mi się, że po angielsku nie będzie to jasne dla odbiorcy. Dlatego użyłam nazwy kraju.

It is interesting to note that in the second case, the explicitating shift was introduced as a repair. Having already uttered the item *America*, the interpreter decided to explicitate the reference to the country by adding *United States*.

(69)
ST (T6): po jedenastym września dwa tysiące pierwszego roku **Ameryka** znalazła się w potrzebie i udzieliliśmy jej poparcia. Z własnego doświadczenia wiemy, że przyjaciół poznaje się w potrzebie, a prawdziwa solidarność polega na wspomaganiu się w trudnych chwilach
TT (P92): after the eleventh of September two thousand and one **America United States** aa has found itself in a difficult situations and we have helped the country from the experience we know that a friend in need is a friend indeed and such ym help requires mutual help
RC15: W tej części zdecydowałam się na dopowiedzenie. Wydawało mi się, że jeżeli zostawię samo słowo *America* to odbiorca może pomyśleć o kontynencie, więc zawęziłam sytuację z 11 września do Stanów Zjednoczonych.

The unreported shifts involving proper names, constituting the majority of this type of surface operations, subsume all the manifestations mentioned in this section, namely, adding a proper name to a generic name, substituting a generic name with a proper name, and adding the first name to a surname. Example 70 provides further exemplification of the tendency illustrated above, that is, performing the shift as a means of auto-correction:

(70)
ST (T1): I was asked to take a position on the guitar faculty by Gary Burton who had seen me teaching and playing at various jazz festivals and band camps **around the country** / and even though I was really just a kid he seemed to feel that I had something to offer the school / and he recommended me to the provost at that time / Bob Share / who was truly a great person / he gave me a job and I moved here to Boston / having grown up in the small town of Lee's Summit Missouri / at the time I moved

TT (P26): poproszono mnie o nauczanie gry na gitarze w / prosił mnie o to Gary Burton który widział jak uczę i gram na różnych festiwalach jazzowych i różnych obozach **w całym państwie w całych Stanach** mimo że byłem tylko dzieciakiem / on wydawał się widzieć że jest coś co mogę zaoferować tej szkole i rozpoznał we mnie i ee yy zarekomendował mnie

4.3.9 Including additional explanatory remarks

The category of including additional explanatory remarks also subsumes the subcategory of descriptive equivalents.[8] These two types of surface operations together account for slightly over 2% of all explicitating shifts detected in the corpus with the total of 161 instances, 31 of which are reported in retrospective protocols and 130 remain unreported. Thus, as far as the ratio between strategic and non-strategic explicitation is concerned, it is the third category, after disambiguation of lexical metaphors and meaning specification, with the highest proportion of reported shifts. As many as 95 out of 120 participants added an explanatory remark or provided a descriptive equivalent at least in one direction of interpreting.

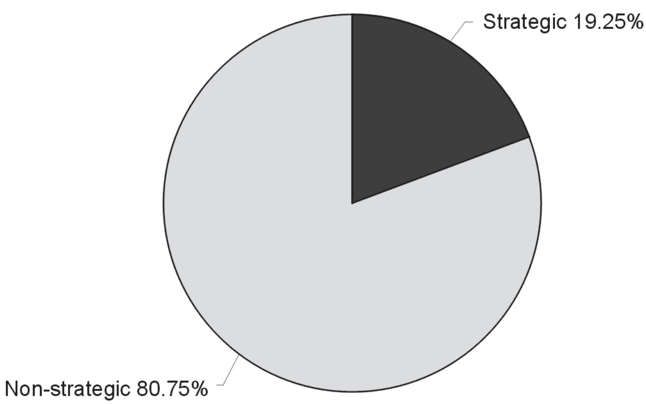

Figure 4.13. Strategic vs. non-strategic addition of explanatory remarks and descriptive equivalents

[8] The main difference between these two consists in the inclusion of an equivalent of a source-text item. While the explanatory remarks proper, as understood in this study, include additional explanation apart from the direct equivalent of the item/segment in question (e.g., ***the state of** Missouri*), descriptive equivalents are used instead of the direct equivalents (*niewielkie odległości* 'short distances' instead of *two hundred yards*). Naturally, not all descriptive equivalents are more explicit than their source-language counterparts, as is the case with *people who operate on brains* substituting *neurochirurdzy* 'neurosurgeons.' Such cases were obviously not taken into account in the analysis.

Eleven out of 31 retrospective comments referring to explanatory remarks or descriptive equivalents report one of the three product- and audience-related reasons, and almost twice as many (21 comments) attribute explicitation to the interpreting constraints.

Naturally, some descriptive equivalents are used when confronted with the (un)shared knowledge constraint or when the interpreter is simply unable to retrieve the item from the long-term memory store. Some of such surface operations happen to be more explicit that the corresponding source-language items, as is the case with the first instance of explicitation in the following example:

> (71)
> ST (T3): there was a recent article published in a New England Journal of Medicine that looked at over two thousand physicians in the United States to see how they would respond to certain questions about what to do if they were asked by a patient / that say give a prescription for **a morning-after pill** / or to provide a help to a dying person / those kind of questions / most but not all believed it was ethical or moral to at least describe their moral objection to the patient / they were obligated to present other options
> TT (P74): nie tak dawno temu pojawił się artykuł w England Gernan / Journal of Medicine który przeprowadził badanie wśród / bardzo dużej ilości lekarzy by zobaczyć y w jaki sposób y odnieśliby się do niektórych / y spraw y kwestii gdyby / na przykład zostali y poproszeni przez pacjenta / o przepisanie **tabletki y poronnej stosowanej do siedemdziesięciu dwóch godzin po*** / czy / y czy zabiliby pacjenta tak by mu pomóc / pytanie brzmiało // **czy czy czy udzieliliby takiej pomocy czy zgodziliby się na to**** / i byli zobligowani wypowiedzieć się na ten temat
> RC35: Nie byłem pewien jaki jest odpowiednik *the morning-after pill* dlatego zdecydowałem się przetłumaczyć to bardziej obrazowo, bardziej opisowo.
> RC36: Nie usłyszałem dobrze drugiej części zdania w związku z czym musiałem ją pominąć i dopuścić się lekkiego powtórzenia tego co było powiedziane w jego pierwszej części.

The above extract from the corpus and the corresponding retrospective protocols constitute an interesting example of an explicitating shift resulting from a failure sequence. Because of the doubts how to render *a morning-after pill* and the use of a more time-consuming and processing-capacity consuming descriptive equivalent, the interpreter was unable to hear the subsequent segment and resorted to the reiteration of the previous one in order to fill the gap. Thus, one explicitating shift leads to another, which shows how the constraints of the medium influence the explicitating behaviour of trainee interpreters. The problems with text processing and production are reported in the retrospective protocol, but in fact, they are also visible in the very product of translation. The substantial pause just before the reiteration, the false start, and the resulting redundant repetition indicate that the interpreter was working close to processing capacity saturation, which is a convincing example illustrating the tightrope hypothesis proposed by Gile (1995).

Another instance of providing a descriptive equivalent also stems from the (un)shared knowledge constraint. The interpreter reports not knowing how to convert yards into kilometers and opts for a more general solution of describing the length of the stretch in terms of small distances, which would be more informative for the Polish audience than the US measure of yard:

(72)
ST (T5): having traveled hundreds of miles we will now go the last **two hundred yards** / the course is set / we're on the advance / our destination is Baghdad
TT (P112): podróżując tysiące yy kilometrów przejdziemy także **niewielkie odległości*** / nasz cel to Bagdad
RC14: Nie umiejąc przeliczyć dwustu jardów, powiedziałam ogólnie *niewielkie odległości.*

At any rate, even if the interpreter had known how to convert the number, it would not have been feasible given that converting numbers in SI is cognitively too demanding to perform while interpreting. It is one of the cases similar to those described by Kamenická (2007a) and Murtisari (2013), where generalisation proves to be more explicit that the specific source-text equivalent (see Section 2.8).

Another reason for explicitation reported by the participants in the experiment is the intention to help the receiver, as is the case with the following addition of an explanatory remark. The interpreter decided to mention the spheres of the organisation's activity in order to make the reference to the foreign-sounding name *Mom-to-Mom* more understandable for the Polish audience. What is interesting, the analysis of the target text reveals a hesitation before the additional explanatory remark was made, manifested in prolonging the final sound of the two immediately preceding words:

(73)
ST (T5): very much want to say a little something about a person that Laura and I met at Marine One when it landed Laura Kay Brett (…) she runs a Mom-to-Mom program to help people who may need help
TT (P91): // i chciałem teraz powiedzieć o jednej osobie / jessst to Laura Kay / zzz marines / (…) stworzyła Mom-to-Mom program któryyy pomagał ludziom wymagającymmm opiekiii **medycznej iii pomocy humanitarnej***
RC5: Kiedy wymieniałam zasługi Laury Kay powiedziałam, że wprowadziła ona program *Mom-to-Mom*, który niósł pomoc ludziom, którzy potrzebowali tej pomocy. Ja tutaj dodałam od siebie, że to była pomoc medyczna i humanitarna. Po prostu wyszczególniłam to czym konkretnie zajmowała się w tym programie i w jakim celu został on utworzony, żeby było to jasne dla odbiorcy.

Like in the previous categories, most of the explanatory remarks remain unreported. However, whereas some of them may be added involuntarily and entirely automatically (Examples 74, 75, and 76), the one presented further in the text (Example 77) most probably is an unreported conscious decision:

> (74)
> ST (T1): I have been able to survive and have a life playing creative music at a high level / any one of these things would have been beyond my wildest dreams / when I was a little kid in Missouri / thinking about one day becoming a musician
> TT (P39): udało mi się przeżyć wtedy / i grać yy muzykę na naj / na wysokim poziomie / żadna z tych yy rzeczy / nie wydarzyłaby się w moich najśmielszych snach / gdy / małym / gdy byłem małym dzieckiem w **stanie** Missouri / które myślałe / które myślałoby o tym że jednego dnia może stać się muzykiem
> (75)
> ST (T2): aby sztuka była sztuką przez wielkie S musi się stać częścią rozwoju naukowego i technologicznego / albo nawet ten rozwój wyprzedzać / tak jak było w renesansie
> TT (P33): for an art to be art capital capitalized A it has a part of the / of the scientific and technological development or even be ahead of it / just as it was in **the period of** the renaissance
> (76)
> ST (T4): prawo to także kodeks karny / ustawa którą może mniej znamy / ale która mówi w artykule sto sześćdziesiątym drugim
> TT (P75): law is also a penalty **Polish** penalty co code it may be just an act we don't know so well but which says in em in the article one hundred and sixty two

Assuming that explicitating shifts in the above examples were not made deliberately,[9] such surface modifications can be explained in terms of the surface form rapid decay hypothesis (see, e.g., Garretson 1981; van Dijk & Kintsch 1983; Bajo et al. 2001; Cohen 1996). Taking into account that the verbatim wording and form are briefly stored in short-term memory and are, therefore, very short-lived (see Sections 3.3.1 and 3.4.4), these interpreters might simply have thought that such brief explanatory remarks were included in the source texts.

However, in the example below, the additional information provided in the target text about the most recognisable profession of the Polish composer Krzysztof Komeda is most probably an intentional shift introduced to acquaint the English-speaking audience with the facts the interpreter assumed they might not have known.

[9] Given the limitations of retrospection as a research tool, we have to assume in some cases the unreported shifts might be in fact conscious decisions and the interpreter simply did not remember having taken the decision or did not want to disclose the reasons (see Section 3.2.1).

(77)
ST (T2): i że Komeda był studentem medycyny i lekarzem laryngologiem?
TT (P24): **Krzysztof** Komeda was yy / aa was a doctor / y **but he also was a composer and a pianist**

The segment also contains an explicitating shift involving a proper name (adding the first name to a surname), which is consistent with the other explicitation and has an explicative function in this context. This one, however, unlike adding information about Komeda's profession, might as well be attributed to the limitations of the memory for surface form (as we could see in one of the examples in the previous section).

4.3.10 Replacing nominalisations with verb phrases

The explicitating shifts that involve replacing nominalisations with verb phrases, also referred to as disambiguation of grammatical metaphors or denominalisation, account for 4% of all explicitations detected in the corpus. There is a total of 297 instances of this surface transformation, 287 of which are unreported and thus most probably non-strategic, and only 10 are verbalised by the participants in their retrospective comments. As many as 104 out of 120 participants replaced a nominal structure with a verbal one at least once, at least in one direction of interpreting. There are, however, substantial differences in terms of frequency between renditions of the same source texts performed by different interpreters, as we shall see in Chapter 6. Six out of 10 retrospective comments reporting this type of explicitating shift indicate the interpreting constraints, while the remaining four mention improving the text and facilitating the task of the receiver.

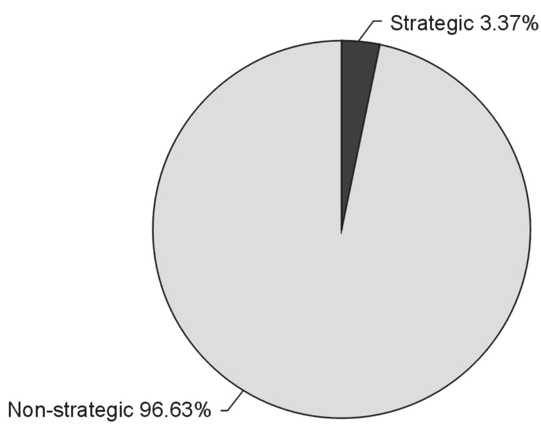

Figure 4.14. Strategic vs. non-strategic shifts involving replacing nominalisations with verb phrases

There are, in fact, more comments reporting unconscious explicitation, classified as irrelevant when categorising retrospective protocols, as they do not refer to decisions consciously taken during the process of interpreting. These 14 comments, nevertheless, do provide important evidence on the automatic or subconscious nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. In the comment quoted below, the interpreter admits it was not a conscious decision and attributes it to the time constraint, or the time pressure, to be more specific:

(78)
ST (T2): powstaje pytanie / jaka ma być rola artysty i sztuki **w tym tak szybko przeobrażającym się świecie**?
TT (P32): it raises the question / what should be the role of / of an artist and art in such world / **in such a world that is changing so fast***
RC17: Tutaj dodałam, zrobiłam z tego, nie *tak szybko przeobrażający się* jako przydawka tylko *the world that is changing*, ale to tylko wyłącznie z jakiegoś, nie wiem, pośpiechu. To nie była świadoma decyzja.

It is interesting to note that the same solution is adopted by another interpreter, this time consciously. As indicated in Section 2.10, nominal constructions, although more concise and requiring less time when articulating them, are more demanding in terms of processing capacity management. Given that their production requires more processing capacity, it is more difficult to coordinate the listening and analysis effort, production effort, and short-term memory effort. Previous research suggests that simultaneous interpreters might, therefore, be more willing to opt for verbal constructions (see Gumul 2006c; Gumul & Łyda 2010). The retrospective comment below most probably refers to the ease of processing when the interpreter says that it was an easier solution:

(79)
TT (P40): there is a question // what will be the role of the artist and the art / **in this world that changes so quickly*** //
RC65: *Tak szybko przeobrażający się świat* – przymiotnik przekształcony na zdanie. Tak było prościej.

This motivation has also been verbalised in another retrospective comment. Although the interpreter claims that it takes less time to articulate the verb phrase, he most probably refers to the fact that producing a VP requires less processing capacity and is less demanding in terms of coordinating the efforts involved in SI:

(80)
RC7 (P101/T6): Zmieniłam strukturę zdania, ponieważ po prostu wiem, że jest szybsza w mówieniu i zazwyczaj bardzo pomaga, moim zdaniem.

Another decision to disambiguate a grammatical metaphor, also stemming from the interpreting constraints, is related to the linearity constraint, which precludes efficient access to text structure at both micro- and macro-level. Faced with this constraint, simultaneous interpreters tend to choose neutral syntactic options that give them more possibilities to continue the utterance whatever meaning emerges in the subsequent segment (Gile 1995; Kohn & Kalina 1996: 130; see also Section 3.4.2). This practice is also advocated by interpreter trainers as it reduces short-term memory load (e.g., Gile 1995; Riccardi 1998). According to the interpreter in the example below, the insertion of a verb allows for a greater syntactic flexibility while awaiting the incoming speech segments:

(81)
ST (T1): but the role of musicians in this society is really changing / **due to technology** / due to mass communications / and mainly because things just naturally change and we happen to be in a period where they are massively changing
TT (P27): jednak rola muzyka w tym społeczeństwie zmienia się / y **wpływa na to technologia*** yy masowa komunikacja / oraz po prostu zmiany które zachodzą / i obecnie y znajdujemy się w okresie w którym wiele zmienia się drastycznie
RC19: Dodanie czasownika do zdania w celu możliwości dalszego zmieniania jego sensu i w oczekiwaniu na dalszy ciąg wypowiedzi.

Replacing nominalisations with verb phrases is apparently also due to the strategy of output segmentation. Although the retrospective comment below does not refer to denominalisation (it reports meaning specification), it clearly indicates that this explicitation shift was triggered by target-text segmentation that was necessary as a result of meaning specification which the interpreter considered essential in relation to the word *technology*:

(82)
ST (T1): but the role of musicians in this society is really changing / due to technology / **due to mass communications** / and mainly because things just naturally change and we happen to be in a period where they are massively changing
TT (P28): ale rola muzyka we współczesnym świecie się zmienia cały czas / w związku z technologią / z rozwojem technologii* / **spowodowane to jest też masową komunikacją** / i może dlatego / rzeczy tak naprawdę muszą się zmieniać // yy i i zmieniają się w bardzo szybkim tempie
RC20: Nie pasowało mi logicznie *w związku z technologią*, więc zmieniłam to na *w związku z rozwojem technologii*, stąd to powtórzenie.

Target-text segmentation, involving sentence splitting or choosing open gambit forms, is very often an automated strategy in simultaneous interpreting (see, e.g., Kohn & Kalina 1996, Gumul 2011b). As a result, explicitation in the form of denominalisation that is triggered by segmentation is very often unreported, as illustrated by the two extracts from the corpus presented below:

(83)
ST (T1): all of you here have roads ahead of you that will be filled with good musical days / the ones where you feel you can play or hear anything / **and bad musical days** / the ones where everything you do sounds like a bad Madonna tune / but that variety / that sense of unknowing / that feeling of having to make it up yourself / that sense of adventure
TT (P21): wszyscy tutaj z was macie przed sobą yyy wielką drogę do przebycia / droga ta będzie przeplatała wspaniałe dni muzyczne dni kiedy / macie wrażenie że możecie zagrać wszystko możecie usłyszeć wszystko // **są tam też te gorsze dni** które sprawiają że wszystko co będziecie robić będzie brzmiało jak zła muzyka Madonny / ale właśnie ta różnorodność / ten / ta świadomość nieznanego / to uczucie że będziecie musieli to sami wszystko osiągnąć to wrażenie przygody
(84)
ST (T1): because for as much as I can stand here and claim to be a successful player / **with Grammy awards** and winning polls and now honorary degrees and all that stuff one very fundamental thing has not changed / and I realized that it will never change / and that is this / that the main thing in my life / even as I stand here right now / right this second / is that I really need to go home and practice
TT (P24): ponieważ // aa / yy kiedy myślę o tym że jestem yy / znanym muzykiem **mam na koncie nagrody Grammy** yy / wygrane sondaże konkursy / jednak / jedna rzecz naprawdę ważna rzecz się nie zmieniła i zdałem sobie sprawę że ona nigdy się nie zmieni / a to jest tą rzeczą jest to że / y / główną sprawą w moim życiu nawet jak / tutaj sobie / jak tu stoję przed wami // prawda jest taka że właściwie powinienem iść do domu i ćwiczyć
TT (P33): ponieważ // mimo tego że stoje tutaj przed wami i moge się uznać za / doskonałego muzyka **na koncie którego znajdują się rozmaite nagrody w tym Grammy** / jedna podstawowa rzecz nigdy nie uległa zmianie i zdałem sobie sprawę z tego że ona nigdy nie ulegnie zmianie / mianowicie jest to fakt że najważniejszym najważniejsza rzeczą w moim życiu nawet tu i teraz kiedy stoje przed wami w tym momencie / jest to że / muszę iść do domu / i ćwiczyć

4.3.11 Disambiguating lexical metaphors

Turning metaphors into non-metaphors, either by rendering the underlying meaning literally or replacing them with similes, constitutes slightly over 2% of all identified explicitating shifts. Although its frequency of occurrence is fairly low, it is the category with the highest number of conscious, strategic shifts, as 66 out of 163 instances are reported in the retrospective protocols, the vast majority in the retour, which we shall analyse in detail in Chapter 5. As far as the distribution across the corpus is concerned, 81 out of 120 participants disambiguated a lexical metaphor at least once.

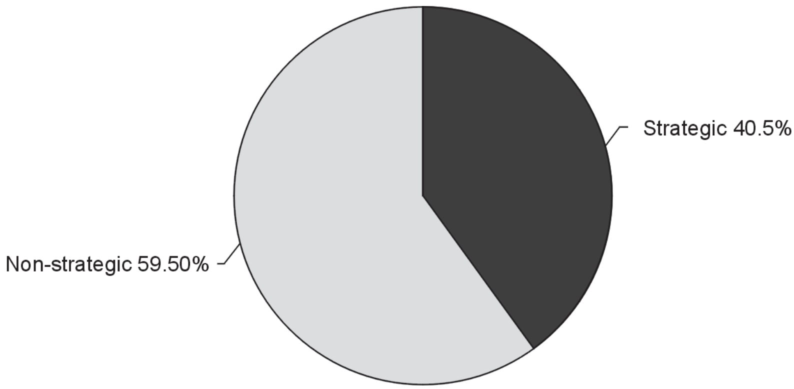

Figure 4.15. Strategic vs. non-strategic disambiguation of lexical metaphors

This surface modification is also marked by the largest disproportion between the two types of strategic behaviours: process-oriented motivations due to the interpreting constraints were verbalised in 53 retrospective comments, whereas product- and audience-oriented reasons are mentioned only in 13 cases.

The main reason for rendering metaphors as non-metaphors stems from the specificity of simultaneous interpreting, in which due to its instantaneous nature, items belonging to figurative language are not accessible immediately. Decoding and recovering the target-text equivalents from the long-term memory takes much more processing capacity than in the case of non-figurative language. In terms of Gile's Gravitational Model, these are items which occupy the orbits distant from the nucleus.

Thus, disambiguating lexical metaphors in the corpus analysed in the present study is mainly caused by the inability to find an equivalent of a metaphorical expression in the target text under time pressure, at least in reported cases. Many subjects refer to it simply as unknown expression, referring obviously to the target-language equivalent, as they render the meaning component correctly:

> (85)
> ST (T2): stoicie przed zamkniętymi drzwiami / za którymi jest niezwykły świat przyszłości / uchylcie te drzwi i wejdźcie tam jako pierwsi / I nie zapominajcie zaprosić tam publiczności / zapewniam was że nikt z obecnych nie będzie w stanie wypowiedzieć nawet najmniejszej pochwały / każdy będzie stał oniemiały **z szeroko rozdziawioną gębą**

TT (P27): you're in front of a closed door behind which there's the whole world / open the door / and be there as the first and I assure you / that nobody will be able / to praise / to praise it / everybody will be amazed and **astonished***
RC21: Mniej opisowy opis zadziwienia z powodu nieznajomości frazy angielskiej.

Some participants refer explicitly to the interpreting constraints, perceiving the task in terms of time pressure and potential problems with processing capacity management. Thus, disambiguating lexical metaphors is treated not only as a coping tactic, but also as a preventive tactic, to use Gile's (1995) distinction. In the example below the interpreter decided to opt for what he calls a more general equivalent, so as not to allocate too much time to lexical search:

(86)
ST (T6): należymy bowiem do świata który **stał się zespołem naczyń połączonych** / gdzie nie ma już miejsc oddalonych / cichych i bezpiecznych
TT (P113): because all countries / in our world aa **are joined together*** / there are no safe places now
RC15: Tu też bardziej uogólnienie, żeby nie za długo zastanawiać się nad *naczyniami połączonymi*, które mogłyby mnie zatrzymać za długo w miejscu.

Disambiguating lexical metaphors also stems from the intention to facilitate the task of the target audience. In the retrospective protocol quoted below, the interpreter argues that the metaphor is redundant and that rendering it in a figurative manner would make the task of the listener more difficult. It is also interesting to note that she expresses some doubts as to whether the interpreter should make the same lexical choice as the speaker. Thus, for fear of sounding artificial, she opts for a direct rendition of the meaning component, in this way pointing also to the (un)shared knowledge constraint:

(87)
ST (T4): no i druga sytuacja w której **jest zerwana ta nić porozumienia** zaufania szacunku wzajemnego / przede wszystkim wtedy kiedy pacjent po prostu nie akceptuje lekarza
TT (P65): and the second situation is where the ee **communication is broken between the patient and doctor* /** there is no respect mutual respect and in such situations
RC12: *Zerwanie nici* w tym momencie jest taką obrazową metaforą, której tutaj nie potrzebowałam żeby nie utrudniać percepcji osobom słuchającym wypowiedzi tłumacza. Wydaje mi się, że mogłoby to zabrzmieć sztucznie w moich ustach, nie w ustach oryginalnie mówcy. Dlatego też teraz używam terminu *komunikacja* ponieważ wiem, że właśnie o to chodzi.

4.3.12 Lexical specification

Lexical specification is one of the relatively frequent explicitating shifts compared to the majority of explicitation forms identified in the corpus. Its 550 occurrences account for over 7% of all surface manifestations of explicitation. Only 74 cases are strategic, whereas the remaining 476 are not reported in the retrospective protocols, most of them probably resulting from automated or subconscious, involuntary processes. Thus, it is a category with a relatively high number of strategic shifts.

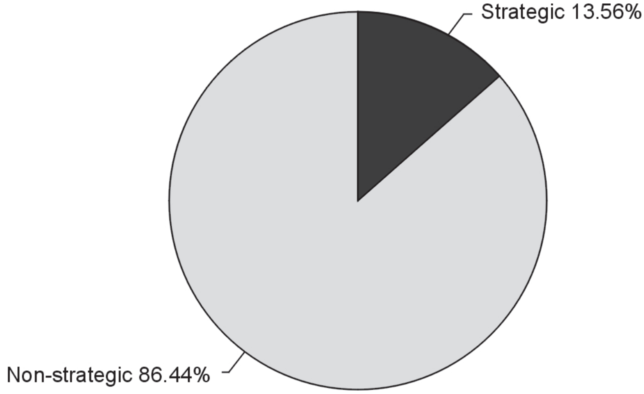

Figure 4.16. Strategic vs. non-strategic lexical specification

This shift has a fairly even distribution in the corpus, as 106 out of 120 participants performed lexical specification. There is, however, substantial inter-subject variation, as some interpreters tend to use it to a greater extent compared with the others (see Appendix 2). We shall discuss this aspect in detail in Chapter 6.

As far as the reasons for strategic lexical specification are concerned, the ratio between process-oriented strategies, that is, shifts caused by the interpreting constraints, and those performed with the audience and the product of interpreting in mind is fairly balanced in the whole corpus. There are 34 comments referring to constraints, while 41 report on the intention to help the receiver, improving the text, and avoiding ambiguity, mentioned here in the order of frequency. There are however, substantial differences between the two directions of interpreting. In the retour, the strategic behaviour is more oriented towards coping with the constraints, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

Lexical specification is in many cases simply due to time limitations when selecting appropriate lexical items. Interpreters often resort to using the first equivalent which can be retrieved from the long-term memory store, and this equivalent may happen to be more specific, although the interpreter had no intention to make the message more explicit, as in the following examples:

(88)
ST (T2): wielu artystów napędza się dosyć naiwną i zgubną myślą / artysta powinien za wszelką cenę wyrażać siebie / jak to wygląda w praktyce / otóż po obudzeniu się z rana / albo po **wyjściu** z McDonalda / nagle doznajemy tajemniczego olśnienia / jesteśmy przekonani że oto wpadliśmy na genialną / wspaniałą / odjazdową ideę / tak tak koniecznie musimy natychmiast podzielić się tym z całym światem / to bardzo żałosna postawa
TT (P28): they are yy / artist should yyyy should express himself / they think that / after yy **eating*** in McDonald's they are struck / with the great idea / ee a cool idea / and we should inform a whole world about it / it's a very pitiful
RC9: W oryginale jest *po wyjściu*, ale nie wpadło mi to do głowy, więc użyłam pierwszego słowa, które skojarzyło mi się z *McDonald's*.
(89)
ST (T1): I actually didn't teach very long / just a couple of semesters / and that is because at the time I was totally involved with trying to figure out a way of **doing things** with my instrument musically / that would fit the ideas that I had in my head
TT (P31): nie nie uczyłem także bardzo długo tylko kilka semestrów / i to / ponieważ w tym czasie / byłem zajęty / próbowaniem // ee próbowaniem ee / mmm **grania*** na instrumencie ee muzycznym jak i wprowadzaniu swoich pomysłów które miałem w głowie
RC10: Nie wychwyciłam dokładnego sensu zdania i użyłam przez to bardziej dokładnego sformułowania w języku polskim. Użyłam słowa *granie*, gdyż ten czasownik sam nasuwa się kiedy słyszę słowo *instrument*.

Lexical specification may also be due to the linearity constraint. In the extract presented below, the excessively short EVS precluded effective management of this segment. Having begun this sentence adopting the same word order as in the source text, the interpreter was forced to search for another option instead of a direct equivalent:

(90)
ST (T4): szanowni państwo / jestem przede wszystkim pod wrażeniem / na sali / na sesji etycznej jest ponad pięćset osób / tak mniej więcej to obliczyłem / jeszcze nie byłem w takim miejscu / zwykle takie sesje **gromadzą** trzydzieści do pięćdziesięciu osób maksimum / więc naprawdę głęboki ukłon przed Państwem bo jest to naprawdę coś fantastycznego / jest to wielki dowód na to że lekarzom te problemy nie są obce
TT (P66): ladies and gentlemen / I am under impression that here in the room that in the ethic session there are over five hundred people / I've ee counted that I've never been in such place before / as usual such sessions / aamm are **visited*** by thirty to fifty people / so I'm grateful to you / because / that is a fantastic thing I must say / it's an evidence for the fact that doctors are familiar with such problems

RC1: Fragment *sesje gromadzą trzydzieści do pięćdziesięciu osób*. Troszkę zmieniłam tutaj zdanie. Powiedziałam, że *sesje odwiedzane przez trzydzieści do pięćdziesięciu osób*. Nie użyłam słowa *gathered* dlatego, że zaczęłam już zdanie inaczej i dlatego czasownik nie pasowałby już tutaj. Musiałam użyć tutaj innego.

Another participant in the experiment justifies lexical specification with the intention to improve the text. In fact, the motivation behind it is the belief that it is required by language-specific differences in lexical choice, while in Polish there is a direct equivalent of *to take patients* (*przyjmować pacjentów*). Thus, this shift is also due to constraints, as the time pressure prevents effective lexical search. The unshared knowledge constraint also means that interpreters are less likely to have in their active lexicons conventional collocations typical of a given field:

(91)
ST (T3): apart from urgent situation / some physician groups and hospitals do not **take** patients under certain circumstances
TT (P72): jednak niektórzy lekarze i szpitale // nie **pomagają*** pacjentom mm w pewnych sytuacjach
RC3: *Some physician groups and hospitals do not take patients* – w języku polskim *nie biorą pacjentów* brzmiałoby co najmniej dziwnie, dlatego wiedząc, że chodzi tu tak naprawdę o pomoc, zamieniłam słowo *take* na *help* czyli na *pomagać*: *nie pomagają pacjentom*. Sens jest ten sam, a myślę, że brzmi to znacznie lepiej.

There are also cases, in which lexical specification is performed with its intended function, that is, making the reference to the designated person, object, event, or phenomenon more explicit, as in the following examples reporting on the intention to improve the text:

(92)
ST (T3): it's generally thought that physicians are always available / and will always be willing to take care of **people** whenether they are in need / unfortunately / there is a perception among patients and the public that this is not always happening in the United States
TT (P67): uważa się że lekarze zawsze są dostępni i chętni do opieki nad **pacjentami*** / nad tymi którzy są w potrzebie // niestety / pomiędzy wśród pacjentów funkcjonuje przekonanie że nie zawsze tak jest w Stanach Zjednoczonych
RC2: *Pacjenci* – słowo to jest dokładniejsze niż słowo *ludzie*, lecz wydało mi się lepsze i precyzyjniejsze w kontekście tekstu o medycynie.
(93)
ST (T4): w takiej sytuacji oczywiście powinien zapewnić lekarz realną pomoc innego lekarza czy innego **miejsca**

TT (P68): and the doctor should be a real should provide a patient with a real y help of another doctor or another y **hospital***
RC4: *Miejsce* przetłumaczyłam jako *hospital*, gdyż chodzi o leczenie w szpitalu. Jest to bardziej sprecyzowane i brzmi lepiej.

Lexical specification is also aimed to improve the lexical choice of the original speaker, which the interpreter considers imprecise. It is interesting to note how the complex decision-making process reported in the retrospective comment is visible in the transcript of the target text, where some false starts and hesitation marks precede the explicitated item:

(94)
ST (T4): to w jej artykule dziewiętnastym jest wprost napisane że **niedopuszczalne** jest zaprzestanie pracy w wyniku akcji strajkowych na stanowiskach pracy / urządzeniach i instalacjach na których zaniechanie pracy zagraża życiu i zdrowiu ludzkiemu
TT (P72): article nineteen says that / aa / there is aa / no aa / yy / it is **illegal*** to stop working when it comes / aa during protests / aa / when aa / when mm this aa / when stopping / aa / when one when if one stops to work aa it may endanger somebody's life
RC14: Tutaj chodzi o tekst ustawy, która mówi, że *niedopuszczalne jest zaprzestanie pracy w wyniku akcji strajkowych* i później jest wymienione, o jakie zawody chodzi. Użyłam słówka *illegal* i to rzeczywiście jest bardziej eksplicytnie, bardziej dosłownie wyrażone, bo *niedopuszczalne* a *bezprawne*, *wbrew prawu* – myślę, że *illegal* jednak jest to mocniejsze słowo, zakładające już karę. Ale jeśli jest to ustawa i ustawa mówi, że coś jest niedopuszczalne, to ja to automatycznie interpretuję, że jest to wbrew prawu. I dlatego myślę, że moje tłumaczenie było dobre, że była to dobra decyzja. Bo gdybym uznała *niedopuszczalne* i użyłabym czegoś w stylu *unthinkable*, no to jakby nie niesie to ze sobą żadnych skutków prawnych. Więc *illegal* wydawało mi się lepsze, zwłaszcza, że to tekst ustawy, która poprzez słowo *niedopuszczalne* mówi tak naprawdę *nielegalne*, *nie wolno tego robić*. Dlatego użyłam słowa *illegal*.

Lexical specification is also meant to help the receiver. In the interpreter's opinion, the equivalent *wielkie miasto* ('great city') is more precise than *urban environment*. Although this participant acknowledges that it has a different shade of meaning, he considers it to be more effective in getting the message across to the target audience. Undoubtedly, the target-text equivalent is a more conventional collocation and requires less processing effort on the part of the receiver:

(95)
ST (T1): having grown up in the small town of Lee's Summit Missouri / at the time I moved to Boston / I had never really lived on the East Coast in an **urban environment** / and although I had quite a bit of playing experience

by that time / in Kansas City and later Miami / I had certainly never seen so many good players all in one place / like here in Boston
TT (P24): dorastałem właściwie w małym mieście Lee's Summit w Missouri ee i kiedy przeniosłem się do Bostonu aa / właściwie nigdy wcześniej e nie mieszkałem na wschodnim wybrze e na wschodnim wybrzeżu w **wielkim mieście** / i miałem właściwie jakieś doświadczenie bo byłem wcześniej w Kansas City i w Miami / ale nigdy wcześniej nie widziałem tak wielu wspaniałych yy / wspaniałych muzyków yy w jednym miejscu tu w Bosto tu w Bostonie
RC3: Tutaj pojawia się wyrażenie *an urban environment*. Przetłumaczyłam to jako *wielkie miasto*, chociaż to nie dokładnie tutaj chyba o to chodzi, chodzi o *miejskie środowisko*, ale wydawało mi się, że takie doprecyzowanie jakby lepiej trafi do odbiorcy.

Helping the receiver is the motivation verbalised by another subject. The reference to the Iraqi conflict is explicitly designated as *war* although surely the intention of the original speaker was to give the impression of the effort involved, hence the choice of the item *struggle*. Although it does not affect the information content of the message, as both items designate the same event, the lexical choice of the interpreter changes the point of view projected by the source text (see Gumul 2010a, 2011a). The connotation changes from the impression of an effort to aggression and open conflict. However, the interpreter merely reports on the intention to get the message across more effectively to the target audience, probably unaware of the manipulative potential of this explicitating shift:

(96)
ST (T5): for more than sixty years / marines have gone forth from Camp Lejeune to fight our country's battles / now America has entered a fierce **struggle** to protect the world from a grave danger and to bring freedom to an oppressed people
TT (P101): przez ostatnie sześćdziesiąt lat yymm mm nasi żołnierze piechoty morskiej wyruszali z yy tego obozu do walki teraz Ameryka zaangażowana jest w **wojnę*** która ma y przynieść y pokój i wolność yy uciskanym ludom
RC4: Tutaj *walkę* nazwałam bardziej dobitnie *wojną* ponieważ kontekst wojny w Iraku jest, wydaje mi się, na tyle powszechnie znany odbiorcom na całym świecie, także w Polsce, że słowo *wojna* tutaj po prostu bardziej sprzyja takiej lepszemu zrozumieniu przez odbiorcę tego co się działo w Iraku.

Another motivation for performing lexical specification encountered in the corpus is avoiding ambiguity. Example 97 is an interesting case, as the interpreter reports on the explicitating shift which is related to anticipation. Having been acquainted with the subject matter and the title of the source text ("Can a physician refuse to help a patient?") and predicting more occurrences of the key word *physician*, the interpreter decides to explicitate only the first occurrence:

(97)
ST (T3): it's generally thought that **physicians** are always available / and will always be willing to take care of people whenether they are in need / unfortunately / there is a perception among patients and the public that this is not always happening in the United States
TT (P69): jest ogólnym przekonaniem że **lekarze ogólni*** powinni być zawsze dostępni i zawsze chętnie udzielą pomocy ludziom którzy są w potrzebie / niestety jest pewne przekonanie wśród pacjentów i opinii publicznej że w Stanach Zjednoczonych nie zawsze się właśnie tak dzieje
RC1: Tutaj *physicians* przetłumaczyłam jako *lekarz ogólny*, później będę się odnosiła do tego pojęcia tylko jako *lekarz,* chciałam żeby było jasne, o czym mowa i później już płynnie przejść do *physician* jako *lekarz* po prostu.

Like other previously mentioned categories, there are also *a posteriori* reports of unconscious, involuntary lexical specification, which provide further evidence that there are indeed explicitating shifts which are not performed deliberately:

(98)
ST (T6): mamy świadomość że **stosowanie siły** jest rozwiązaniem złym / ale nie możemy też nie widzieć że w przypadku interwencji w Iraku / po wyczerpaniu różnych możliwości / nie było innego wyjścia
TT (P90) we are aware that **war** is the ultimate measure / but in the case of Iraq there was no other solution
RC9: Zwrot *użycie siły* został bezwiednie zmieniony na *war*, ale taki był tutaj sens tej wypowiedzi.

In fact non-strategic, unintentional use of lexical specification is to be expected in simultaneous interpreting, taking into account the cognitive complexity of the process. The necessity of constant coordination of three efforts and effective counteracting the interpreting constraints leads to lexical choices which are simply the first accessible items and which happen to be more specific. There is evidence from previous research that simultaneous interpreters "devote more effort in the interpreting process to monitoring the meaning than to lexical analysis" (Padilla & Bajo 2015: 71, referring to the works of Christoffels & de Groot 2005, Fabbro et al. 1991).

The extracts from the corpus presented below exemplify cases of unreported lexical specification which might stem from such reasons:

(99)
ST (T1): it is just that I found that even as things change / as record companies **come and go** / as styles change / as trends and audiences change / the work of being a musician and being involved with the fabric of music itself is essentially the same and essentially real

TT (P21): zauważyłem że nawet jeżeli rzeczy się zmieniają // yyy wytwórnie muzyczne yyy **plajtują i rozwijają się** / gusty widowni się zmieniają słuchacze się zmieniają / ale jeżeli chodzi o to jak to jest być muzykiem być zaangażowanym w muzykę / sprawa ta jest w zasadzie taka sama bardzo rzeczywista

(100)

ST (T1): many times I run into young guys who want to get a record contract / or a manager / or how to get their music on the radio / and my answer is always the same / and I think that regardless of how much **things** keep changing or mutating through the years / it will always be the same

TT (P22): wiele razy eee rozmawiam z ludźmi którzy chcą eee wydać swoją płytę lub nagrać jakiś program radiowy / eee zawsze mówię im że bez względu na zmieniające się **środowisko i warunki** / zawsze będzie to to samo

4.3.13 Meaning specification

Surface transformations subsumed under the broad category of meaning specification are relatively common in the analysed corpus. There are 763 occurrences accounting for over 10% of all 15 forms of explicitation. Its distribution in the corpus is comparable to the categories of adding connectives and reiteration: 117 out of 120 participants performed meaning specification, most in both directions of interpreting (see Appendix 2). There are, however, considerable inter-subject differences in the frequency, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6. In terms of the ratio of reported, strategic shifts to those unreported, it is the second category with the highest proportion of reported shifts, after disambiguating lexical metaphors. In terms of the number of occurrences, it is the most frequently reported explicitating shift: 194 meaning specifications have been commented on in the retrospective protocols. There are substantial differences in the frequency of reporting between the retour and the native (58 remarks in into-B compared to 136 for into-A), which we shall analyse further in Chapter 5, dealing the directionality.

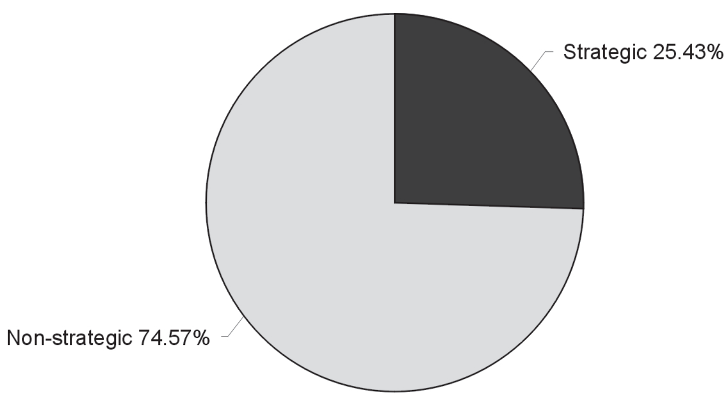

Figure 4.17. Strategic vs. non-strategic meaning specification

Taking into account the whole corpus, the retrospective protocols reporting meaning specification mention the interpreting constraints with comparable frequency as product- and audience-oriented strategies of improving the text, avoiding ambiguity, and helping the receiver. However, when we distinguish between the two directions of interpreting, there are substantial differences as to the motivations. In the retour, explicitation is more often attributed to the constraints than to any other reasons (see Chapter 5).

The interpreters reporting meaning specification due to constraints often declare that it is used as a coping tactic when missing part of the source text. The strategy of padding is meant to act as a filler in order to avoid a lengthy pause while awaiting incoming input segments that the interpreter considers necessary to listen to in order to be able to render the subsequent part of the source text (see Section 3.4.2):

> (101)
> ST (T4): jednak nawet w takiej sytuacji kiedy to pytanie pada / kiedy udział w proteście jest powszechny / lekarz musi sobie zadać swoje własne pytanie / czy moje działanie nie naraża na szwank konkretnego chorego / a granice tego narażenia na szwank życia i zdrowia chorego są rzeczą niezwykle cenną
> TT (P66): even in such situation when such question is asked and when eer taking part in protest is common / a doctor must ask him or herself is my action eer dangerous for specific patient / aaand the limitations **of such behaviour*** / of risking someone's life and health are very valuable
> RC12: Dodałam tutaj słowo *limitations of such behaviour*, ponieważ nie zdążyłam w porę załapać słów, które wypowiada autor, dlatego też użyłam tutaj *behaviour*, które wypełnia lukę kiedy czekałam na resztę zdania.

The same coping tactic is used in another extract from the corpus. Not having heard the beginning of the phrase, the interpreter decides to add non-committal material to fill the gap and avoid a pause. The interpreter additionally remarks that she considers additions to be a good strategy whenever she misses a source-text word:

> (102)
> ST (T1): since I've been given the honor today / and the responsibility that comes with it / I should try / I should try and use this opportunity to relate to you all / some of the things that I've noticed to be true since my days here at Berklee / so to keep my own little Berklee tradition going here / I am going to do it sort of like I used to do my lessons
> TT (P24): **cieszę się*** że / że / dzisiaj yy dano mi tą / szansę // powinienem ją wykorzystać / aby yy odnieść do was wszystkich pewne rzeczy które uważam za prawdziwe // więc y żeby odwołać się niejako do niejako do tradycji Berklee / ee chciałbym poprowadzić tą przemowę tak jak prowadziłem moje lekcje

RC5: Tutaj jest zdanie z *since I've been given the honor today*. Nie usłyszałam słowa *since*, dlatego moją strategią było dodanie czegoś od siebie, co właściwie przypasowało się do tekstu znaczeniowo. Przetłumaczyłam to jako *cieszę się, że dzisiaj dano mi tą szansę*. Tutaj jest *ponieważ dano mi ten zaszczyt*, natomiast ja tu zrobiłam *cieszę się*. Myślę, że to dobra strategia jeśli się nie usłyszy się jakiegoś słówka, zwłaszcza że to pasuje mniej więcej do znaczenia tekstu.

In the following example meaning specification is also performed as a filler, this time to be able to allocate more time to the listening and analysis effort, which was necessary to think about the target-text equivalent(s):

(103)
ST (T4): niektórzy prawnicy interpretują to nawet tak daleko że w zasadzie każdy lekarz ze względu tylko na to że wykonuje ten szczególny zawód zaufania publicznego / jest w pewnym sensie gwarantem bezpieczeństwa zdrowotnego każdego obywatela będącego w potrzebie / nie wszyscy prawnicy z tym się zgadzają / ale takie opinie prawne istnieją
TT (P71): some lawyers interpret it that in fact each doctor **only because he is a doctor*** he fulfils this specific public trust functions in some sense a guarantor of health for each citizen in need / but not all lawyers agree with this / however such legal opinions do exist
RC15: Potrzebowałam chwili, żeby zastanowić się nad tłumaczeniem zwrotu *zawód zaufania publicznego*, dlatego powiedziałam dodatkowo *only because he is a doctor*. Nie zmienia to znaczenia ogólnego wypowiedzi, a dało mi dodatkowy czas na zastanowienie się.

Meaning specification performed due to constraints may also be related to anticipation, as in Example 104. The interpreter admits having "invented" the segment of the target text since she missed a fragment and apparently experienced some problems with processing capacity management and the resulting local attentional deficit, to which she refers as unexpected complications. Having been acquainted with the subject matter of the source speech, she could anticipate correctly what would follow. This participant stresses the necessity of filling pauses, making a direct association between fluent discourse and quality expectations of the audience:

(104)
ST (T3): so refusing to help means you decline this duty that we feel physicians may be obligated to / so my question is what is the basis for this duty to treat / where did it come from? / and I'd like to mention some of these issues here / the first issues were the ethical principles
TT (P65): więc yy yy odmowa ee pomocy znaczy ee odmawa odmo odmówić mm o wykonania swojego obowiązku więc moim pytaniem jest jak jaka jest podstawa **według której ma jesteśmy zobligowana zobligowani do leczenia**

pacjenta* / i chciałabym wspomnieć niektóre z tych yy yy z takich sytuacji yy dzisiaj / pierwszą sytuacją kiedy yy sytuację można p opisać za pomocą etycznych zasad
RC4: To zdanie wymyśliłam całkowicie kompletnie. Starałam się przewidzieć co będzie następowało z racji tego, że wiedziałam o czym po temacie przemowy. Wiedziałam o czym mówca bądź też mówczyni mogą mówić. Tego zdania nie usłyszałam kompletnie, a nastąpiły jakieś nieprzewidziane komplikacje, a nie chciałam, nie chciałam żeby nastąpiła taka dłuuuga przerwa, taka pauza, która oczywiście sprawiłaby, że słuchacze zaczęliby się zastanawiać nad jakością tłumaczenia mojego. Dlatego też wymyśliłam to zdanie. Takie zdanie wymyśliłam zresztą, które można by wkleić w każdym momencie tej przemowy i nie zabrzmiałoby sztucznie.

Avoiding a lengthy pause as a consequence of missing part of a sentence is also the reason for meaning specification performed by yet another participant. The interpreter's retrospective protocol points to one of the main quality indicators that trainees are sensibilised to, which is not leaving unfinished sentences. The explicitating shift is preceded with some false starts, which are evidence of the processing effort:

(105)
ST (T1): here in Boston / the level of musicianship of the students and the teachers around Berklee then / like now / was quite inspiring and really amazing for me / coming from this little town in Missouri like I did / I think the first few years I was in Boston was probably the time that I developed and crystallized whatever style I had / that was largely due to the incredible stimulating musical environment
TT (P38): tutaj w Bostonie poziom ymm zdolności muzycznych który prezentowali uczniowie i nauczyciele był naprawdę inspirujący / był naprawdę niesamowity to nie było niesamowite dla mnie to nie było dla mnie naprawdę niesamowite przyby przyby **kiedy tu przybyłem*** / pierwsze dwa lata przebywałem w Bostonie przebywania w Bostonie ee to był czas kiedy rozwinąłem wszystko co wcześniej umiałem / to było naprawdę stymulujące muzycznie ymm środowisko
RC15: Zaczęłam tłumaczyć zdanie, nie dosłyszałam jednak późniejszych fragmentów. Kiedy zorientowałam się, że nie dam rady przetłumaczyć tego w zgrabny sposób, byłam już w połowie wypowiedzi i chciałam uniknąć wielkiej pauzy i niedokończonego zdania.

Another extract from the corpus and the corresponding retrospective comment show the adverse effect of the linearity constraint. Lagging only seconds behind the speaker, the interpreter in the simultaneous mode has merely a partial view of the discourse structure, even at the sentential level. In this case, the excessively short EVS precludes effective planning of the target-text sentence, which means that at a certain point, the interpreter is forced to add some words to be able to apply the intonation appropriate to the sentence ending:

(106)
ST (T3): the health system does not always support a physician's ability to see a patient when needed / apart from urgent situation / some physician groups and hospitals do not take patients under certain circumstances / but if you asked individual physicians / do they feel there is a duty to treat patients / they would all agree and would believe that patients do get care somewhere even though they may not be providing it
TT (P73): służba zdrowia nie zawsze daje lekarzom możliwość e odwiedzin pacjenta kiedy ten jest w potrzebie / chyba że jest to sytuacja bardzo nagła // niektóre grupy lekarzy i szpitale / nie przyjmują // eee pacjentów chyba że są to okoliczności bardzo poważne / lecz jeśliby zapytać poszczególnych lekarzy czy czują odpowiedzialność do leczenia pacjenta wszyscy zgodziliby się i wierzą że pacjenci eee otrzymują taką pomoc eee **nieważne z jakiego źródła*** / e nawet jeżeli nie jest to bezpośrednio od nich
RC4: Dodałem polskie słowa *nieważne z jakiego źródła*, ponieważ nie wiedziałem, że mówca będzie kończył zdanie, a nie chciałem urwać polskiego zdania.

The excessively short EVS and embarking on a sentence that proves difficult to finish is also a reason for source-text amplification in the form of meaning specification. The interpreter in the example quoted below had already begun the subordinate clause, which had to be concluded somehow so as not to give the impression of an unfinished sentence. Given that each unfinished sentence, whether it leads to omission in relation to the source text or not, is automatically interpreted by the audience as incomplete information content, interpreters are well aware that each sentence they embark on has to be finished both syntactically and phonologically:

(107)
ST (T5): overcoming evil is the noblest cause and the hardest work
TT (P118): pokonywanie zła / to jedno z najbardziej szlachetnych zadań jedno z najtrudniejszych misji / jakie mm / **musimy wykonać***
RC13: Dodany fragment *jakie musimy wykonać*, dodane jako próba gramatycznego zakończenia zdania, do którego na końcu nieopatrznie dodałem *jakie*, z którego należało wybrnąć.

The subsequent example illustrates how explicitation in the form of meaning specification is performed with the aim of compensating for the omissions. This sequence of two cases of compensation is meant to act as a filler rather than semantic compensation. The added items are neutral in terms of information content as they do not affect the message. Comment RC13 elaborates on the reasons leading to omission, pointing to the aspect of external pacing and difficulties with lexical search. The transcript reveals that this segment of the target text is marked with substantial pauses and hesitation marks which confirm difficulties experienced by the interpreter:

(108)
ST (T2): wasza edukacja nie kończy się w momencie wręczenia dyplomu / kontynuujcie naukę przez całe życie / współczesny neurochirurg który dokonuje operacji ludzkiego mózgu potrzebuje około siedemnastu lat edukacji / a współczesny artysta dysponujący potężniejszymi od skalpeli narzędziami umożliwiającymi wpływ na stan funkcjonowania milionów mózgów / łącznie z mózgiem tego neurochirurga / zbyt często traktuje swoją pracę i powołanie bez najmniejszego poczucia jakiejkolwiek odpowiedzialności
TT (P01): your education / does not stop when you get a diploma / mmm you continue / eee learning throughout your life / whole life / a contemporary neuro surg surgeon / needs seventeen years of education **to perform one single operation*** / mmm and the contemporary artists who has a greater means than the / neurosurgeon surgeon / because he can affect million of minds / brains / including the brain of the / neu neurosurgeon // eee so he shouldn't leave / the responsibility **for his act****
RC12: Obszerniejsze wyrażenia użyte, aby zrekompensować wcześniejsze pominięcie zdania.
RC13: Wyrażenie zmienione ze względu na szybkie tempo tekstu oryginalnego, niemożliwość odnalezienia automatycznego odpowiednika wyrażenia oraz chęć zrekompensowania wcześniej pominiętego wyrażenia.

Apart from the interpreting constraints, which, as exemplified above, are a frequent cause of meaning specification, the participants report with almost equal frequency the use of this explicitating shift as a product- and receiver-oriented strategy for communicating effectively with the target-language audience. One of the reasons verbalised by some subjects is the impression that the source-language wording is too general and unclear:

(109)
ST (T3): so what do we need to do / we really need as physicians to ensure that people who are in need get care / even in an environment where institutions may not necessarily be able to deliver that care
TT (P76): więc co musimy zrobić / my jako lekarze / naprawdę musimy / zapewnić że ludzie którzy są w potrzebie otrzymują pomoc / nawet w przypadku kiedy mmm instytucje **stworzone do tego*** nie mają możliwości zap dostarczyć tej pomocy
RC29: Tutaj dodałam *instytucje stworzone do tego*, bo tak samo instytucje wydawało mi się zbyt ogólnikowe i niejasne w tym zdaniu.

There are also numerous retrospective accounts of explicitation which mention explicitly the receiver and the need to facilitate the task of decoding the target text. The analysis of the very transcript of the fragment below might suggest that the addition is a result of compensation for the omitted segments. This impression is strengthened by the presence of prolonged vowels and hesitation marks implying problems with the interpreting task. However, this participant states that her intention was to make this proposition more clear for the target audience:

(110)
ST (T4): po pierwsze / w szczególnie uzasadnionych wypadkach lekarz może nie podjąć się lub odstąpić od leczenia chorego / ale nie podejmując takiego działania powinien / o czym już pani profesor Hood wspomniała / odstępując od leczenia wskazać choremu inną możliwość uzyskania pomocy
TT (P42): we have situations ee which / ee / in specific ee caseees eem the doctor can refuse tooo treat a patient but ee during this time ee as professor Hood said before ee e he **should find another doctor*** another ee source of help foor aa patient
RC3: W dalszej części, kiedy mówca mówił o tym, że lekarz może odmówić udzielenia pomocy pacjentowi, ale musi wskazać mu inną możliwość uzyskania pomocy, ja dodałam, że może to być na przykład inny lekarz, coś w tym stylu. Po prostu rozwinęłam to bardziej, żeby było tak bardziej precyzyjnie przedstawione dla odbiorców.

The relationship between meaning specification and omission is visible not only in the cases where it is used as compensation for segments that have been omitted due to the interpreting constraints, but also in those where meaning specification is meant to make the text more informative for the target-language audience. Given that meaning specification is a type of shift that entails substantial text amplification, physical addition of extra items in the surface structure usually requires economy of expression. Thus, in both cases, there is a clear relationship between omission and explicitation in the form of addition: explicitation is required due to omission and, conversely, a given segment is omitted to make space for another one that the interpreter wants to add. The latter case is illustrated by the example below, in which the interpreter reports on adding a segment explicitating the idea implied in the text. She admits having omitted the adjacent segment (*ludzi regionu Bliskiego i Środkowego Wschodu*) in order to be able to accommodate additional items. In fact the omitted information is inferable from the co-text and the extra-textual context, so the relation here is between explicitation and implicitation rather than just omission:

(111)
ST (T6): działania międzynarodowej koalicji nie są wymierzone przeciw narodowi irackiemu / wspólnotom religijnym czy godności ludzi regionu Bliskiego

i Środkowego Wschodu / jesteśmy przekonani że rozbrojenie Iraku otworzy nowy rozdział w jego historii
TT (P82): our operation is not aimed to be against the people of Iraq / religious groups yyy and their dignity / and safety / **but against the regime*** / and we know that this operation would open a new chapter in the history of Iraq
RC19: Tutaj dodałam informację, że jesteśmy nie przeciwko narodowi, ale przeciwko reżimowi. Tej informacji nie ma w tekście oryginalnym, ale wydawało mi się, że dodanie jej spowoduje, że zdanie stanie się bardziej zrozumiałe dla odbiorcy. Musiałam trochę skrócić ten fragment, żeby zmieścić dodatkowe zdanie.

The two subsequent examples combine various motivations of the interpreters in performing explicitating shifts. The dominant reason verbalised during retrospection is facilitating the task of the receiver. However, both participants conclude their reports with remarks indicating that the shift is partly due to the interpreting constraints:

(112)
ST (T3): so if history gave us no consistent tradition / but the sense we should be doing this / what about the law / and in the United States the law does not recognise physician's obligation to treat any patient / only a contractual model between a physician and a patient
TT (P66): jeśli historia nie po nie dała nam żadnego konkretnego eem konkretnego sposobu **jak powinniśmy się zachowywać*** / a co ymm co powie na to prawo / w Stanach Zjednoczonych prawo nie uznaje eee obowiązku lekarza by leczyć jakiegokolwiek pacjenta / jedynie / pewien określony model zachowania między lekarzem a pacjentem
RC11: Tutaj troszkę zbyt dokładnie przetłumaczyłam *gave us no consistent tradition*. Rozwinęłam to trochę, gdyż użyłam słowa *sposób*. Dalej postanowiłam trochę rozwinąć, by było to bardziej zrozumiałe dla odbiorcy. Chciałam to lepiej wyjaśnić. Już użyłam tego słowa, dlatego musiałam odpowiednio dobrać całą resztę.
(113)
ST (T1): and especially inspiration / you finally end up with the capacity to do something that you didn't know you could do / this process is an essential part of all music making activities / that we as musicians probably take for granted / but it is a skill that throughout our lives as players / we have an opportunity to learn about and refine to a very high degree
TT (P31): i szczególnie dzięki inspiracji / aa znajdujemy się wreszcie w momencie kiedy mamy możliwość robienia czegoś / co wiemy że potrafimy robić / ten proces to zasadnicza część / tworzenia muzyki / **wszystkich czynności w tym związanych*** / a my muzycy uznajemy to za oczywiste / ale to jest umiejętność // ee której my jako muzycy możemy się uczyć / i możemy ją udoskonalać
RC21: Rozbudowałam trochę frazę, gdyż wydawało mi się to z jednej strony bardziej oczywiste. Dzięki temu, uważam, że trochę lepiej jest to wyjaśnione,

klarowniejsze dla odbiorcy, z drugiej troszkę zasugerowałam się pierwszymi słowami i automatycznie to rozbudowałam.

Meaning specification intended to improve the text may also stem from the intention to make the text sound natural in the target language. This is what is reported by the subject below, although the shift is by no means required by language-specific differences, and the text without this meaning specification would be correct and natural:

(114)
ST (T1): well / first of all I would like to sincerely thank everyone here at Berklee for bestowing this great honor on me / it is probably the most meaningful recognition I have ever received
TT (P31): po pierwsze / ee chciałem / eemm serdecznie podziękować wszystkim tutaj / w Berklee / za za ten wielki zaszczyt / **który mnie spotkał*** / to najprawdopodobniej / najbardziej znaczące uznanie / jakie otrzymałem
RC1: Dodałam frazę *który mnie spotkał*, gdyż połączenie jej ze słowem *zaszczyt* wydaje się być naturalne w języku polskim.

Like in all the previous categories of surface manifestations of explicitation, the vast majority of shifts involving meaning specification are not reported in the retrospective protocols, and they are most probably non-strategic. Instances of such shifts resemble those performed deliberately as far as the surface realisation is concerned.

* * *

The results of the present study confirm the findings of the previous research (Gumul 2006a) on the nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. Contrasting reported occurrences of explicitation with unreported cases for all surface manifestations of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting that can potentially occur in the English–Polish language pair leads to the conclusion that explicitation in SI appears to be mostly non-strategic and involuntary. The consciously performed shifts account for only slightly more than 8% of all explicitations. The non-strategic and largely automatic nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is confirmed by numerous retrospective protocols, in which interpreters report having performed explicitations involuntarily or automatically and openly admit having realised it only upon listening to their outputs.

CHAPTER 5

Explicitation and directionality

The present chapter reports on the part of the study devoted to the impact of directionality on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. The aim of the analysis is to establish whether explicitation is mode-dependent and to what extent the two directions differ in terms of the explicitating behaviour of trainee interpreters.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of literature on directionality in simultaneous interpreting regarding both professional practice and training tendencies. The subsequent section presents the results of the pilot study (Gumul 2017) on the relationship between explicitation and directionality in simultaneous interpreting. The main part of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of the results of the present study.

5.1 Directionality in interpreting[1]

The problem of directionality in interpreting has been one of the most contentious issues in the translation and interpreting studies community since the beginning of the profession. However, it is only recently that we can observe a surge in the number of empirical studies and discussions based on firm theoretical foundations from other fields.

Despite the fact that pioneer simultaneous interpreters worked both into their native and a variety of non-native languages (Baigorri Jalón 2000), the first four decades of the existence of the profession were marked by two contrasting policies regarding the direction into which simultaneous interpreting should be performed. Whereas Western Europe rejected interpreting into B, Eastern Europe claimed the supremacy of this direction. In contrast to the two prevailing

[1] Fragments of Section 5.1 have been published in the article "Explicitation and directionality in simultaneous interpreting," published in *Linguistica Silesiana* (Gumul 2017).

dogmas of the past, recent research provides a wealth of evidence indicating that this issue, for various reasons, certainly cannot be perceived in terms of a clear-cut dichotomy. Before presenting the results of these studies, let us have a brief look at the arguments behind the two conflicting views on directionality, as they reflect to some extent the specificity of each direction.

The views favouring into-A interpreting range from highly critical standpoints, opting even for excluding into-B interpreting from curricula of interpreter training institutions (Seleskovitch 1968; Seleskovitch & Lederer 1989), to those slightly more liberal, recognising the needs of the market, although at the same time emphasising its inferior quality (Seleskovitch 1999; Déjean Le Féal 2002, 2005; Donovan 2003, 2005). The above-mentioned proponents of the Paris school claim that interpreting into a foreign language is cognitively more demanding, more stressful, and far more prone to errors, and that interpreters working into a B language are unable to demonstrate the same level of confidence and flexibility of expression as in their mother tongue. According to Seleskovitch (1968: 43), "only in the A language will the speech production be spontaneous and idiomatic." As observed by Bartłomiejczyk (2015: 109), the very term retour, a widely-used synonym of into-B interpreting, implies that into-A interpreting is a default option.

This standpoint is reflected in the policy of many international organisations. In the European Union, until very recently, the only direction of interpreting was into-A interpreting. It was only with the most recent accessions that retour interpreting from relatively rare languages has been accepted (Bartłomiejczyk 2015: 109), while into-A interpreting remains the dominant direction of interpreting.

The preference for into-A interpreting in Western Europe is also reflected in the legislation of some countries. For instance, the Code of Professional Ethics of the Translators' Guild of Great Britain quoted by Baker (1992) stipulated that translators should work into their native languages except for extraordinary cases. In fact, the current Code of Professional Conduct from 2013 of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting, a professional association of practising translators and interpreters in the United Kingdom, still favours native competence as far as producing the target text is concerned: "members shall translate only into a language that is either (i) their mother tongue or language of habitual use, or (ii) one in which they have satisfied the Institute that they have equal competence."[2] It is interesting to note that an equivalent document of Polish Association of Conference Interpreters[3] does not mention the issue of directionality, as in Poland interpreters routinely work in either of the two directions, an issue we shall elaborate later on in this chapter.

[2] Cf. http://www.iti.org.uk/become-a-member/code-of-professional-conduct, accessed 12.11.216.

[3] Cf. http://pstk.org.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Og%C3%B3lne-zasady-wykonywania-t%C5%82umacze%C5%84-ustnych-1.pdf, accessed 12.11.2016.

The conflicting view of directionality was voiced by the Eastern European camp led by the Soviet Union, where priority was given to into-B interpreting. This direction was believed to be superior mostly due to the ease of comprehension of a text delivered in one's native tongue. Denissenko (1989: 157) argued that "a full or near full message gotten across even if in a somewhat stiff, less idiomatic or slightly accented language serves the purpose much better than an elegantly-worded and an impeccably pronounced half message or less." Another argument was that of a "cognitive enonomy." Given that while speaking in a foreign language one usually has fewer ways of conveying the message and, consequently, is able to come up with fewer possible target language renditions, the effort of re-encoding the message is considerably lesser, which paradoxically facilitates the interpreting task (Iglesias Fernández 2005). Talking about the preference for into-B interpreting in the former Eastern bloc, we have to take into account the political and social context. For ideological reasons, only local interpreters were considered as reliable and trustworthy (Brander de la Iglesia & Opdenhoff 2014: 9–10).

Currently, there are many voices in the translation and interpreting studies community advocating the need to adopt a more balanced view on directionality (e.g., Gile 2005; Martín 2005; Padilla Benítez 2005; Brander de la Iglesia & Opdenhoff 2014). The traditional dichotomy loses its ground in the light of the results of the recent empirical studies which reveal far less obvious disparities between the retour and the native (e.g., Tommola & Helevä 1998; Al-Salman & Al-Khanji 2002; Bartłomiejczyk 2004; Donovan 2004; Seel 2005; Opdenhoff 2011, 2012; Nicodemus & Emmorey 2013). In the last two decades, directionality has become one of the most popular research lines in the interpreting studies. We can witness a proliferation of empirical studies addressing different aspects of the direction of interpreting.

The studies that aim at testing interpreters' preferences through surveys provide seemingly conflicting evidence of both into-A (Donovan 2004; Nicodemus & Emmorey 2013) and into-B preferences (Al-Salman and Al-Khanji 2002; Nicodemus & Emmorey 2013), which might obviously be attributable to some related aspects, like, for instance, the language pair involved or the mode of interpreting, as in the case of the research by Nicodemus and Emmorey (2013), who investigate both spoken-language interpreters and signed language interpreters. The results of this study indicate that the latter group reports a clear preference for the retour, whereas spoken-language interpreters find it easier to work into their native. In contrast, analysis of questionnaire responses conducted by Al-Salman and Al-Khanji (2002), who investigate directionality in terms of strategic processing, reveals that the majority of respondents (professional interpreters) find it more comfortable to perform retour interpreting. Their declared preferences coincide with the results of the analysis of the recordings of their outputs in terms of linguistic adequacy, strategic competence, and communication strategies, in which they score more when interpreting into their B language.

The issue of strategic processing in relation to directionality is discussed at length in the works of Bartłomiejczyk (2004, 2006a), whose results indicate that the strategies adopted by interpreters differ substantially depending on the direction of interpreting, at least in the case of trainee interpreters who were the subjects in her study. The strategies used with more frequency in into-A interpreting (into Polish in this case) were inferencing, parallel reformulation, trancoding, addition, personal involvement, and resorting to world knowledge, whereas those favoured in the retour were approximation, syntactic transformation, paraphrase, and visualisation. Bartłomiejczyk also emphasises that in some cases, the differences in strategic processing between the retour and the native are attributable to language-pair specificity, which confirms a frequently voiced opinion in the interpreting studies community (e.g., Kalina 2005) that it is impossible to consider the issue of directionality without taking into account the conditions imposed by the language pair involved.

As far as propositional accuracy is concerned, the existing empirical studies, like in the case of interpreters' preferences, also provide evidence in favour of either direction. Whereas the above-mentioned Al-Salman and Al-Khanji (2002) report higher scores for the retour, Chang and Schallert (2007) detected higher propositional accuracy in the outputs of interpreters working into their A language. This study, like the one by Bartłomiejczyk, investigates directionality in the context of interpreting strategies. Their results indicate that professional interpreters regularly working in both directions develop strategic behaviours that help them cope with the difficulties inherent in each direction of interpreting, which is consistent with Bartłomiejczyk's (2004, 2006a) findings, although the subjects in the latter study were trainee interpreters, so the author detected this tendency at an earlier phase of developing interpreting competence. Chang and Schallert (2007) attribute the asymmetry between into-A and into-B interpreting to differences in the level of proficiency between A and B languages, to metacognitive awareness of interpreters of the limits of their language abilities, and finally, to language-specific differences between the languages involved.

Another aspect of directionality that has inspired numerous studies recently is its position in the curricula of interpreter training institutions. In contrast to the policy that until fairly recently allowed only into-A interpreting in Western European institutions and interpreting schools, there is also a growing tendency among interpreter trainers to recognise the need to incorporate the retour into training curricula (e.g., Adams 2002; Donovan 2005; Iglesias Fernández 2005; Opdenhoff 2011; Brander de la Iglesia & Opdenhoff 2014). In fact, as emphasised by Brander de la Iglesia and Opdenhoff (2014), "for the past two decades interpreter trainers have been wondering not whether retour interpreting should be taught, but how it can be taught" in order to cater for the needs of the market. A large-scale study by Opdenhoff (2011), which surveys more than 2000 interpreters in 94 countries, indicates that most interpreters are convinced that into-B interpreting should be taught at universities. The study also reveals that the majority of professionals (81.2%) believe the retour to be totally legitimate, with only a marginal proportion of interpreters (0.8%) considering this direction as unacceptable.

Incorporating the retour in training curricula has become a fact in many countries in which it has not been taught until recently. It is, for instance, the case of Spain due to the needs of the market and the influence of some empirical studies (Stévaux 2003; Brander de la Iglesia and Opdenhoff 2014). The study by Brander de la Iglesia and Opdenhoff (2014) reports on a project within the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) which aims at fostering the skills inherent in into-B interpreting by elaborating and circulating materials for teaching the retour from Spanish into English and German. By contrast, in Poland, teaching this direction of interpreting has always been a standard practice at all conference interpreting courses at graduate and post-graduate levels, which is reflected in the syllabi, elaborated within Polish Qualifications Framework, of each university offering a translation and interpreting programme. The practice of routinely teaching the retour in Poland is, apart from the influences of the Soviet school, mostly due the necessity – the limited scope of Polish on the international arena and the fact that in the private market, interpreters have always been expected to work in both directions (Gumul 2017).

The presence of both native and retour in simultaneous interpreting in most language combinations with Polish is one of the reasons for undertaking the study investigating the relationship between explicitation and directionality presented in this chapter. Testing translation universals in interpreting appears to be one of the promising research areas, as none of the previously mentioned works on directionality has undertaken the analysis of this aspect of simultaneous interpreting.

5.2 The pilot study

The aim of the pilot study was to conduct preliminary analysis of the relationship between explicitation and directionality in simultaneous interpreting. The point of departure for the study was the assumption that each of the two directions of interpreting – into the interpreter's mother tongue (B into A) and into a foreign language (A into B) – entails different difficulties, and that the constraints inherent in each direction have an impact on the phenomena that are believed to be universal tendencies in the translation process, like explicitation. Given that explicitation in this mode of interpretation is often triggered by the constraints inherent in the process of interpreting, the preliminary hypothesis was formulated predicting that explicitating shifts might be more frequent in the retour, which is considered to be more demanding.

The research design of the pilot study was similar to the present investigation (see Chapter 3) in that the study was both product- and process-oriented, relying on recordings and transcripts of interpreting outputs as well as retrospective protocols. The main difference lay in the size of the corpus. The corpus of source texts consisted of 5 fragments of authentic speeches, constituting 4 sets of equal length (in order to ensure the uniform length of the source texts, two of the speeches were used together during one experimental session). The source texts were comparable in terms of the subject matter – all of them were political speeches delivered following the terrorist attack on the 11th of September. The original speeches were slightly modified to make them comparable also in terms of explicitating potential, that is, as far as lexical choice and the levels of morphosyntactic complexity and redundancy are concerned. Each of the analysed sets was interpreted by 18 subjects, which amounts to 72 interpreting outputs. The participants in the pilot study were 36 advanced interpreting students of the Translation and Interpreting Programme offered within English Philology at the University of Silesia. Unlike in the present study, in which the participants were asked to comment on all consciously taken decisions, in the pilot study, the interpreters were instructed to report specifically on additions and explicitations that they decided to perform consciously during the process of interpretation. For fear of influencing their answers, this variable has been modified for the purpose of the present investigation.

The results of the analysis revealed that explicitation is more frequent in interpreting into a B language. The number of explicitating shifts detected in interpreting outputs into an A language, that is, Polish, is 875, while in the other direction (into B), as many as 1,108 such shifts was identified.

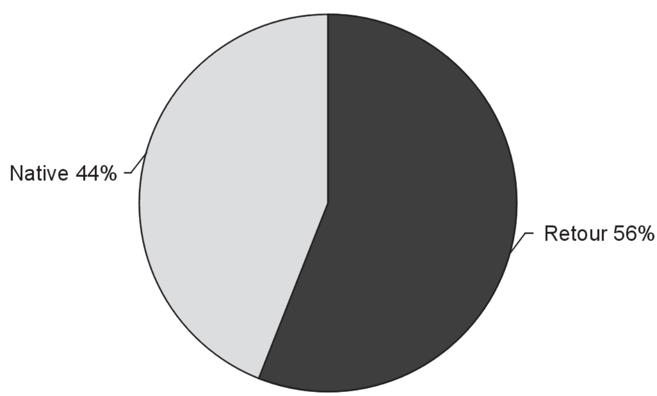

Figure 5.1. The frequency of explicitating shifts in the native and the retour in the pilot study (Gumul 2017)

Quite predictably, the difference was not uniform for all categories of explicitating shifts. The four categories which showed markedly higher proportion of explicitations in retour interpreting were: adding connectives, reiteration, meaning specification, and disambiguating metaphors (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Types and number of explicitating shifts in the pilot study (Gumul 2017)

No.	Types of explicitating shifts	B → A Native		A → B Retour	
		number of occurrences	%	number of occurrences	%
1.	adding connectives	338	38.62	432	38.98
2.	categorial shifts of conjunctive cohesive devices (i.e., from vaguely cohesive to more explicitly cohesive)	13	1.48	16	1.44
3.	reiterating lexical items	93	10.62	148	13.35
4.	shifts from reiteration in the form of paraphrase to reiteration in the form of identical/partial repetition	79	9.02	89	8.03
5.	shifts from referential cohesion to lexical cohesion (i.e., lexicalisation of pro-forms)	56	6.4	49	4.42
6.	filling out elliptical constructions	38	4.34	45	4.06
7.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	89	10.17	79	7.12
8.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	40	4.57	52	4.69
9.	inserting hedges	16	1.82	18	1.62
10.	inserting discourse organising items	7	0.8	10	0.9
11.	disambiguating metaphors	32	3.65	59	5.32
12.	including additional explanatory remarks	10	1.14	12	1.08
13.	substituting generic names with proper names or adding a proper name to a generic name	5	0.57	8	0.72
14.	lexical specification	12	1.37	16	1.44
15.	meaning specification	47	5.37	75	6.76
	Total	**875**	–	**1108**	–

Closer analysis of the outputs and retrospective remarks revealed that a substantial proportion of these types of explicitating shifts were apparently due to adopting repair or preventive strategies. However, it is important to remember that on the whole, this explanation probably accounts only for a certain percentage of explicitating shifts. The vast majority of explicitations identified in both directions of interpreting appeared to be either subconscious or automatic and hardly ever attributable to any strategic behaviour.

Thus, concluding the results of the pilot study, it appears that explicitation may be dependent on the direction of interpreting to a certain extent. More frequent occurrence of explicitation in interpreting into English (i.e., the B language) is, in a relatively large number of cases, apparently due to the constraints intrinsic to the process of interpreting. The final conclusion of the pilot study is the need to verify the results on a larger sample of interpreting outputs, taking into account different source texts and participants. This aim is pursued in the study reported in the subsequent section.

5.3 Analysis

The present study yielded similar results to those of the pilot study. As can be seen in Figure 5.2, explicitating shifts have also been found to be relatively more frequent in the retour, and the ratio of explicitations between the two directions of interpreting is comparable in both studies.

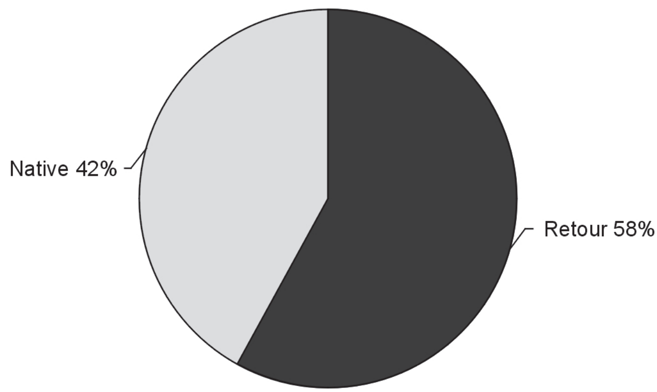

Figure 5.2. The frequency of explicitating shifts in the native and the retour

Closer analysis of specific surface forms of explicitation reveals that explicitating shifts prevail only in certain categories. Like in the pilot study (Gumul 2017), there are more occurrences of adding connectives, reiteration, meaning specification, and disambiguating metaphors in the retour than in the native (see Table 5.2). Thus, it appears that the prevalence of these surface forms of explicitation in the retour is not source-text dependent, but may be a general tendency. As indicated in Chapter 3, which described in detail the research design, the source texts have been modified to make them comparable in terms of the explicitating potential. Whenever possible I tried to create similar conditions for potential explicitations. Moreover, the variable of the source-text texture has been controlled to some extent by the size and variety of the corpus (6 different speeches ranging from 15'30" to 22'04" minutes).

Additionally, in this study, the category of adding modifiers or qualifiers shows a certain prevalence in the retour. There is only one category which displays slightly higher frequency in the native, namely, lexicalisation of pro-forms. In the remaining categories, the frequencies are very comparable:

Table 5.2. Number of explicitating shifts in the native and the retour

No.	Types of explicitating Shifts		B → A Native		A → B Retour	
			number of occurrences	%	number of occurrences	%
1.	**adding connectives**	**ACon**	**893**	**28.6**	**1301**	**30.71**
2.	intensifying cohesive ties / categorial shifts of cohesive devices	ICT	73	2.33	86	2.03
3.	lexicalisations of pro-forms	LxPF	150	4.80	139	3.28
4.	**reiterating lexical items**	**Reit**	**476**	**15.24**	**830**	**19.60**
5.	filling out elliptical constructions	FEll	91	2.91	94	2.21
6.	**adding modifiers and qualifiers**	**Md/Q**	**433**	**13.86**	**570**	**13.45**
7.	inserting hedges	Hdg	61	1.95	74	1.74
8.	inserting discourse organising items	DOI	28	0.90	34	0.80
9.	shifts involving proper names	PrN	44	1.40	46	1.08
10.	full expression for acronym or abbreviation	FAA	1	0.03	1	0.02
11.	including additional explanatory remarks or providing descriptive equivalents	ExR	74	2.36	87	2.05
12.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	N-VP	145	4.64	152	3.59
13.	**disambiguating lexical metaphors**	**DLM**	**44**	**1.40**	**119**	**2.80**
14.	lexical specification	LxSp	278	8.90	272	6.42
15.	**meaning specification**	**MSp**	**332**	**10.63**	**431**	**10.17**
		Total	**3123**	–	**4236**	–

Another interesting difference between the native and the retour is the distribution of retrospective reports. There are considerably more comments attributing explicitation to constraints in the retour, whereas in the native, participants tend to report the reasons falling into the broad category of product- and audience-oriented strategies (see Figure 5.3).

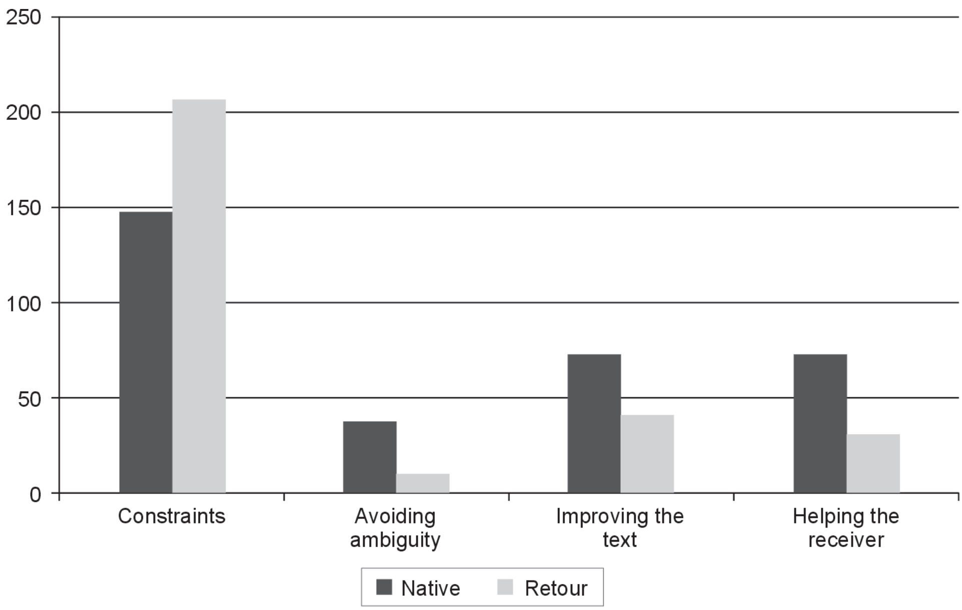

Figure 5.3. Frequencies of retrospective reports attributing explicitation to a given reason

This tendency seems to confirm the observation that explicitation in into-B interpreting is to a greater extent due to the interpreting constraints than in the other direction of interpreting. Moreover, there are substantial differences between different categories. Whereas, for instance, reiteration displays a comparable distribution in both directions of interpreting regardless of the reason, the cases of disambiguation of lexical metaphors differ between the native and the retour depending on the reason. There are only three reports attributing it to the constraints in into-A interpreting, while as many as 50 subjects verbalise the same type of operation in the other direction. A similar tendency can be seen, albeit with a less marked difference, in the category of lexical specification. Another major disparity can be noticed in the case of meaning specifications. Whereas meaning specification attributed to constraints shows comparable distribution between the two directions, this surface operation is much more frequently reported in the native as having been performed with the target audience or the target text in mind. The reports on adding connectives, albeit scarce, are more frequent in the retour, and mostly stem from the interpreter's intention to improve the text.

Table 5.3. Retrospective comments reporting strategic explicitation

No.	Coding symbol	Constraints		Improving the text		Helping the receiver		Avoiding ambiguity	
		Native	Retour	Native	Retour	Native	Retour	Native	Retour
1.	ACon	1	2	0	8	0	0	0	0
2.	ITC	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3.	LxPF	3	0	3	2	6	2	1	2
4.	Reit	48	56	5	8	4	4	5	6
5.	FElli	0	1	3	2	3	0	0	1
6.	Md/Q	9	9	10	2	7	2	1	
7.	Hdg	1	2	0	3	0	0	0	2
8.	DOI	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
9.	PrN	2	4	1	0	1	4	3	1
10.	FAA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.	ExR	7	13	0	1	6	1	2	1
12.	N-VP	2	4	3	0	1	0	0	0
13.	DLM	3	50	2	1	1	5	4	0
14.	LxSp	11	23	12	9	12	2	5	1
15.	MSp	59	45	33	4	30	9	14	0
	Total	**147**	**209**	**73**	**40**	**71**	**29**	**35**	**14**

In the subsequent sections (5.3.1–5.3.5) of this chapter, we shall provide exemplification for the categories exhibiting some disparities between the native and the retour.

5.3.1 Adding connectives

Explicitation in the form of adding connectives is markedly more frequent in the retour. The vast majority of the shifts in both directions are not reported and therefore probably mostly involuntary.

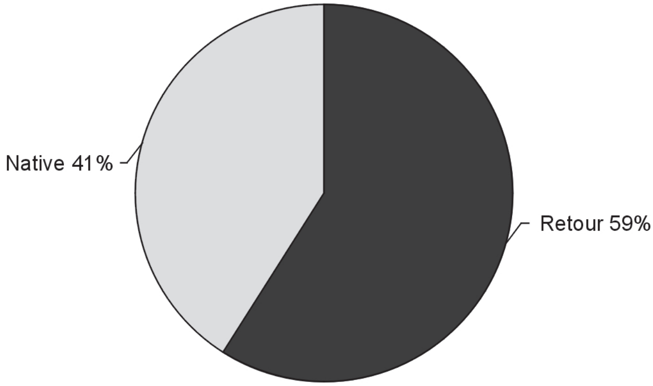

Figure 5.4. Frequency of adding connectives in the native and the retour

The scarce comments and, above all, the product analysis provide evidence that whereas in the native this form of explicitation is apparently due to a variety of reasons, related to both product- and audience-oriented strategies (improving the text and communicating with the audience), in the retour it appears to be more often attributable to the interpreting constraints. As indicated in Section 4.3.1, it is visible in those segments or entire outputs in which there seems to be a direct relationship between the omission rate or/and failure to render the propositional content on the one hand, and recurrent insertion of additional connectors on the other, apparently with the aim of giving a semblance of a coherent and cohesive discourse. The following example shows two renditions of the same segment illustrating two different ways of handling it and, as a consequence, two divergent reasons for inserting additional cohesive ties. While the first interpreter appears to be doing it to improve the logical links in a successful rendition of the text, the second one apparently uses it to fill the pauses resulting from omissions and compensate for the incoherent sentence structure:

> (115)
> ST (T4): podsumowując można powiedzieć tak / prawo z pewnymi wyjątkami zakazuje odmówienia udzielenia pomocy pacjentom / etyka lekarska dopuszcza pewne wyjątkowe sytuacje w których lekarz może nie podjąć się udzielenia pomocy / zobowiązując go do jej zapewnienia i otrzymania z rąk innego kolegi
> TT (P73): summing up we can say that the following / law with some exceptions forbids to refuse help to a patient / **however** the doctor's ethics allows certain exceptional situations in which the doctor may refuse to render assistance / **however** in such a situation the doctor is obliged to ensure that such help is provided by another doctor
> TT (P80): summing it up one may say something like that the law / with some exceptions / forbids yy / not to receive a patient / **but** the ethical / medical ethics aaaaa allows for some situations where the doctor can refuse to help / **and** / **but** obliges him to provide it / **and therefore** sending him to another doctor

Another major difference between the two directions of interpreting is the extent of reporting the addition of connectives in the retrospective protocols. Whereas in the native there is only one comment referring to adding connectives, there are 10 in the retour. The result for into-A interpreting is consistent with the results obtained in the previous studies (Gumul 2006a, 2017), in which there were no reports on adding connectives. It is, therefore, surprising that in the present study, as many as 11 interpreters reported this surface transformation. This might be explained by the idiosyncratic nature of explicitation in SI. Due to a larger corpus size, a greater variety of explicitating patterns and some rare, untypical explicitation behaviours are more likely to occur, as in the following example, where the interpreter reports on one of the three explicitating shifts in this segment, attributing it to mode-specific constraints:

(116)
ST (T4): dlatego każdy w swoim sumieniu musi rozważyć czy dopuszczalny jest udział w takich akcjach czy też nie / podsumowując można powiedzieć tak / prawo z pewnymi wyjątkami zakazuje odmówienia udzielenia pomocy pacjentom / etyka lekarska dopuszcza pewne wyjątkowe sytuacje w których lekarz może nie podjąć się udzielenia pomocy / zobowiązując go do jej zapewnienia i otrzymania z rąk innego kolegi
TT (P71) we have to clear this out with our conscious whether it is possible for us to take part in such strikes / **so** let's sum up / the law refuses us the right not to treat the patient **but** medical ethics accept some situations in which the doctor can refuse to treat a patient / **however*** obliging him to seek that kind of help from other doctors
RC17: W angielskim tłumaczeniu dodałam słowo *however*, które nie zmienia znaczenia zdania, ani nic nowego nie wnosi, ale dało mi chwilę na zastanowienie się nad tym, jak to zdanie dokończyć.

Although product analysis leaves no doubt that adding connectives is in many cases due to constraints of SI, reporting it is very rare, as there are only three such retrospective comments in the corpus of approximately 75 hours, and there were no such cases in previous studies.

5.3.2 Reiteration

Reiteration is another category which shows a substantial difference between the native and the retour. As can be seen in Figure 5.5, explicitating shifts are performed more frequently in into-B interpreting, with an almost double number of occurrences.

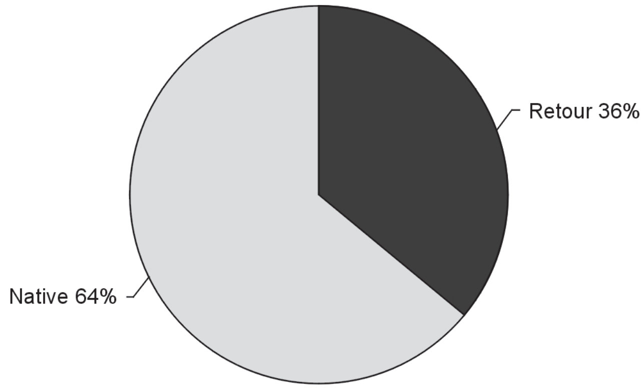

Figure 5.5. Frequency of reiterations in the native and the retour

However, there is no major difference between the number of reports between the two directions, which means that the prevalence in the retour is more likely to be triggered by the constraints than audience- and product-oriented strategies, as these tend to be more deliberate and conscious choices. In fact, there are slightly more comments reporting the impact of constraints on explicitation than the other reasons (62 in the native versus 74 in the retour).

Product analysis of unreported cases of reiteration reveals a tendency towards reiteration resulting from self-repair, which is probably due to the constraints of the medium. As in the example below, such shifts in many cases follow a similar scenario: the interpreter is probably unable to recall the right equivalent, opts for approximation, and then retrieves a precise equivalent from the long-term memory:

(117)
ST (T2): macie do dyspozycji potężne narzędzia / nie jesteście już tylko artystami lokalnymi / macie dostęp do całego świata i Waszą publicznością jest cała ludzkość / nie miejcie żadnych kompleksów / twórzcie to czego jeszcze nikt nie widział i nie słyszał
TT (P36): you have great disp great tools at your disposal so you're not just local / you have access to the whole world / and your audience is the all humanity / amm so **you don't have to be embarrassed / you don't have to have any complexes** / create something that is not common that no one has heard or seen heard of or seen

The impact of the interpreting constraints on reiteration that can be inferred from the product analysis is confirmed in numerous retrospective protocols. The analysis of the corpus reveals a wide spectrum of motivations for performing this surface form of explicitation. Those predictable ones are related to the difficulties of lexical search, which is obviously more demanding in the retour, especially for trainee interpreters:

(118)
ST (T2): wyznam wam szczerze że nie mam właściwie jasnej odpowiedzi na to pytanie / sztuka będzie tym co wy stworzycie / ale **uważajcie** żeby nie była to sztuka której jedynym miejscem będzie muzeum czy galeria
TT (P37): I must admit that I have no idea / the art will be yy the thing that you will create but **watch out / be careful*** because it shouldn't be the gallery the only place to exhibit art
RC33: Podwójne tłumaczenie jednej frazy, ponieważ szukałam najlepszego odpowiednika.

A similar cause is reported by another participant, who also decides to opt for what he considers to be a less adequate equivalent before recalling a more precise one:

(119)
RC15 (P44/T4/A–B): Pierwsze słówko *code* zostało wypowiedziane zanim powstało w umyśle pojęcie *civil code* – stąd powtórzenie.

Another retrospective comment also reports on the necessity of resorting to reiteration when unable to retrieve the proper lexical item from long-term memory:

(120)
ST (T2): gdy wasze nazwisko stanie się już znane / cokolwiek byście nie zrobili / w stu procentach będzie wielbione przez pochlebców / szczególnie w waszej obecności i oczywiście do czasu jak wam się noga nie powinie
TT (P22): if your name becomes **respected and well-known / recognized*** / whatever you do will in one hundred percent be respected and adored by the flatterers / particularly in your presence and up to the time when you stumble
RC8: Dodałem słówka *respected* i *well-known* ponieważ nie mogłem wpaść na słówko *znany* dlatego starałem się ująć jakoś innymi słowami i dodać więcej synonimów które w sumie znaczyły to samo.

Reiteration in retour is also performed with the aim of gaining time to think about the right solution, in which case it serves as a gap-filling resource:

(121)
RC13 (P44/T4/A–B): Powtórzenie słówka spowodowane potrzebą wydłużenia czasu skonstruowania zdania.

Reiteration in the form of repair is also performed with the aim of avoiding ambiguity. This tendency is equally frequent in both directions of interpreting. However, in the retour, it appears to be directly related to doubts about the meaning of the selected target-language equivalents, quite natural when interpreting into a foreign language, rather than directly to facilitating communication with the target-audience in mind:

(122)
ST (T2): na początku waszym najlepszym krytykiem będą wasi nauczyciele / później ten kręg się poszerzy / możecie się nie zgadzać z krytyką / ale wysłuchajcie jej o wiele uważniej niż pochwały
TT (P33): first / your best critics will be your teachers afterwards this circle is going to broaden / you might not agree with words of criticism but listen to it much more carefully then to words of **recognition and approval***
RC15: Tłumaczenie słowa *pochwała* jako *recognition and approval* w celu uniknięcia niejasności. Nie byłam pewna, które słowo będzie lepsze w tym kontekście.
ST (T4): etyka sformalizowana w kodeksie etyki lekarskiej mówi że są jednak sytuacje w których taka odmowa może być uzasadniona / po pierwsze / w szczególnie uzasadnionych wypadkach lekarz może nie podjąć się lub odstąpić od leczenia chorego / ale nie podejmując takiego działania powinien / o czym już pani profesor Hood wspomniała / odstępując od leczenia wskazać choremu inną możliwość uzyskania pomocy
TT (P46): but in the code of medical help it is written that there are some situations where this kind of refusal is justified first of all yym in some yyy accidents doctor can stop e **curing healing*** the patient but of course / when he yyy stop yyy giving patients saa some help he should show other directions
RC7: Wyraz *leczenie* w moim przypadku doczekał się dwóch ekwiwalentów, ponieważ wydawało mi się, że pierwszy nie był do końca właściwy, ale okazuje się, że jednak był.

Thus, it might be expected that reiteration resulting from self-repair would be much more common in the retour and that, in fact, it would account for the dominance of such shifts in this mode. Indeed, it does account for the prevalence; however, reiteration in the form of substituting paraphrase with identical repetition is also present in the retour, although the strategy of repair remains the most common reason for reiteration declared by the participants in their retrospective protocols. Recurrent use of identical repetition rather than lexical variation might be explained by other mode-specific factors: the (un)shared knowledge constraint and limited accessibility of words belonging to the variable part of the language resources in Gile's Gravitational Model, especially under the time constraint. More limited lexical choice in a foreign language is also bound to play a vital role. Greater frequency of this type of reiteration might also potentially be due to the stylistic differences between the two languages, since Polish tolerates lexical repetition to a far lesser extent than English, opting for lexical variation and co-reference rather than direct repetition (see Section 2.4). Thus, it might be expected that Polish interpreters working into English would feel more free to resort to identical repetition when interpreting into their B language. However, none of the participants reported or even hinted at this kind of motivation, and this type of reiteration does not show prevalence in either mode.

In the retrospective protocol presented in Example 123, the interpreter explains her motivation behind the use of identical repetition, but also reports on her general strategy towards text processing in simultaneous interpreting. She deliberately relinquishes lexical variation in order to counteract the time constraint. Although she is aware that unduly frequent repetition of the same item might lower the stylistic value of the text, she emphasises the difficulty of lexical search under the time pressure of SI. It is interesting to note that this particular case of substituting paraphrase with identical repetition is also interpreted by this participant as lexical specification, recognised as a form of explicitation, and named accordingly using this term:

> (123)
> ST (T4): artykuł trzydziesty ósmy przyznaje prawo lekarzowi **odstąpienia** od leczenia pacjenta / ale tylko w takich przypadkach kiedy nie zachodzą okoliczności opisane w artykule trzydziestym
> TT (P72): paragraph thirty-eight says aa that the doctor may **refuse*** to help the patient only when aa / there're no / aa / there're no aa // aa / there there's nothing like what is described in the previous aa paragraph
> RC10: Lekarz ma prawo do *odstąpienia od leczenia pacjenta*. Ja znowu tutaj użyłam słowa *refuse*. Wydaje mi się, że chociaż jest to tłumaczenie bardziej dosłowne od tego co wyraził mówca, myślę, że mówca używa takich sformułowań, żeby tekst nie był „słaby" stylistycznie, żeby używać różnych słów określających właściwie to samo. Chodzi o to, że lekarz nie zgadza się na udzielenie pomocy pacjentowi. Dlatego za każdym razem używam tutaj słówka *refuse*. Jednak trudno jest szukać dobrych synonimów, wyrazów bliskoznacznych w czasie tłumaczenia symultanicznego, dlatego często zdarza mi się, że jeśli chodzi o daną kwestię, wybieram sobie jedno słówko. Tak jak wcześniej były słowa *chory* i *pacjent*, a ja cały czas używałam słowa *patient* i tego się trzymałam, tak samo tutaj *odstąpienie od pomocy*, *odmówienie pomocy* – to są podobne wyrazy. Ja zdecydowałam się na tą najbardziej eksplicytną wersję, czyli *refuse* (świadoma odmowa udzielenia pomocy) i wydaje mi się, że jest to dobry wybór, bo dobrze przekazuje to, co robi lekarz: odmawia. Odstąpienie to przecież tylko rezultat odmowy.

5.3.3 Adding modifiers and qualifiers

The category of adding modifiers and/or qualifiers shows a less marked disparity between the two directions of interpreting than that of reiteration. There are, nevertheless, considerably more occurrences in the retour (433 in the native versus 570 in the retour).

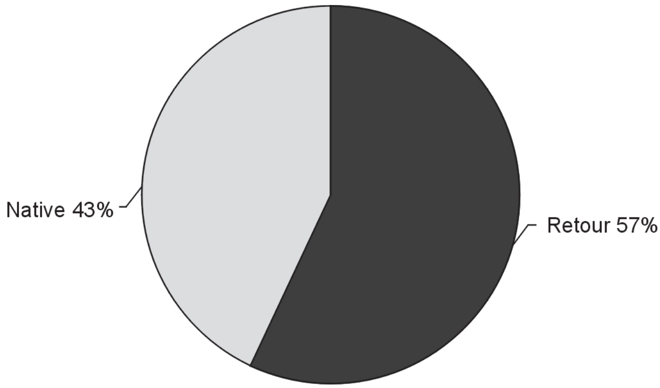

Figure 5.6. Frequency of adding connectives in the native and the retour

However, the tendency is reversed when it comes to the number of reported shifts: there are twice as much retrospective comments reporting the addition of a modifier or a qualifier in the native than in the other direction (27 compared to 13). Whereas there is an equal proportion of comments attributing this form of explicitation to the constraints of SI (nine in each direction), those relating to product- and audience-oriented strategies are much more frequent in the native (18 versus four in the retour). This result and the product analysis of the unreported cases imply that the higher frequency of such shifts in into-B interpreting is again likely to be caused by mode-specific constraints, as exemplified by the retrospective comments in the excerpt below. In this case, the interpreter inserted a redundant lexical item to offset the constraints of time and linearity. She filled the gap by uttering non-committal material while thinking about how to formulate the target text:

(124)
ST (T2): to nie jest tylko poetycka przenośnia / to rezultat analiz i badań naukowców / nie tylko nasza planeta / ale cały wszechświat staje się dokładnie taki jak go sobie wyobrażamy i jak go rozumiemy / to niezwykłe odkrycie / któżby przypuszczał że nasza wyobraźnia i marzenia mogą mieć aż tak niezwykłą siłę sprawczą
TT (P23): it's not just a poetic metaphor / it's a / it's the result of y the analysis and scientific research not only our planet but the whole universe becomes exactly what we imagine it to be and how we understand it / this is a **very*** unusual finding / who would have thought that our imagination and our dreams can have such a huge y force
RC4: Wyrażenie *to niezwykłe odkrycie* tłumaczę jako *it's a very unusual finding*. Dodanie słowa *very* nie wnosi nic nowego do treści, ale daje dodatkową chwilę na zastanowienie się, co powiedzieć dalej.

Another retrospective comment not only reports on the specific segment of the text, but also provides interesting testimony of the recurrent strategic use of additional modifiers and qualifiers of this interpreter. The participant describes how she tends to resort to the coping tactic of padding to counteract the mode-specific constraints:

(125)
RC9 (P30/T2/A–B): Po raz kolejny *important* moje słowo-zbawca. Po prostu moje moja głowa natychmiastowo podsuwa mi niektóre rozwiązania, które zdążyłam sobie wypracować w przeciągu ostatnich lat. Są takie słowa, które naprawdę mają mocne znaczenie, albo wręcz przeciwne, bardzo ogólne, i których można użyć w kontekście niemalże do każdego zdania, jeżeli chodzi o przemowy, o jakieś takie debaty, bo są to bardzo powszechne słowa i zazwyczaj wyrażają intencje, które człowiek ma w tym momencie, w momencie wypowiadania tego zdania. Czyli albo są to intencje pozytywne, albo są to negatywne, albo ktoś chce powiedzieć, że coś jest ważne, że coś jest doniosłe, smutne, przykre, haniebne, i tak dalej. Tak naprawdę warto jest ustalić sobie taki system swoich własnych słów, które ratują człowieka w takiej sytuacji, która grozi po prostu takim zacięciem się, kiedy myśli się, jak coś przetłumaczyć.

By contrast, when interpreting into their A language, the participants tend to report improving the text or helping the receiver twice as often compared with the constraints (18 versus nine). As indicated above, such reports are scarce in the retour (there are only four). In the following example, the interpreter verbalises the intention to make the segment more emphatic, which is a tendency visible in the native interpreting:

(126)
ST (T1): in the process of putting this speech together it has forced me to really examine a few details about what has been particularly significant for me / as an individual / in this life that I have been having as a musician / and the results of this self-examination process getting ready for this speech were interesting to me / because for as much as I can stand here and claim to be a successful player / with Grammy awards and winning polls and now honorary degrees and all that stuff one very fundamental thing has not changed / and I realized that it will never change / and that is this / that the main thing in my life / even as I stand here right now / right this second / is that I really need to go home and practice
TT (P33): w trakcie tworzenia tej przemowy / zostałem zmuszony do przeanalizowaniu przeanalizowania pewnych szczegółów // rzeczy które były dla mnie ważne jako dla muzyka / w moim życiu jako muzyka / y rezultaty tego tej samooceny / w trakcie przygotowania się do udzielenia tej przemowy wydały mi się **bardzo*** interesujące ponieważ // mimo tego że stoje tutaj przed wami i moge się uznać za / doskonałego muzyka na koncie którego znajdują

się rozmaite nagrody w tym Grammy / jedna podstawowa rzecz nigdy nie uległa zmianie i zdałem sobie sprawę z tego że ona nigdy nie ulegnie zmianie / mianowicie jest to fakt że najważniejszym najważniejsza rzeczą w moim życiu nawet tu i teraz kiedy stoje przed wami w tym momencie / jest to że / muszę iść do domu / i ćwiczyć
RC33: Dodanie słowa *bardzo* w celu zwiększenia emfazy.

5.3.4 Disambiguating lexical metaphors

The category of disambiguating lexical metaphors exhibits considerable differences between the native and the retour in the frequency of occurrences (44 versus 119), as shown in Figure 5.7.

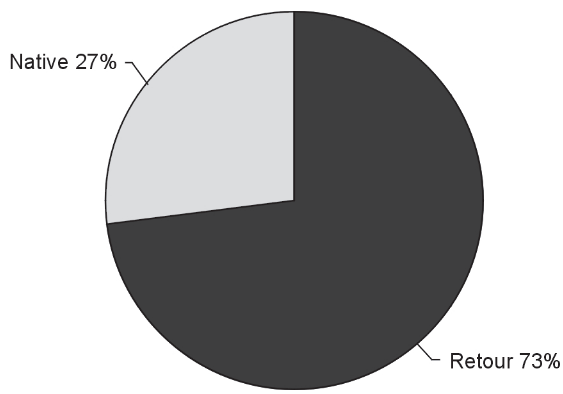

Figure 5.7. Frequency of disambiguating lexical metaphors in the native and the retour

Moreover, it shows an enormous disparity between the two modes in reporting such shifts in retrospective protocols. Out of the 53 retrospective comments referring to turning metaphors into non-metaphors, only three concern into-A interpreting, whereas the remaining 50 report this shift in the retour. In the vast majority of cases of disambiguating lexical metaphors in this latter direction, the interpreters report problems with lexical search under mode-specific constraints or simply being unfamiliar with the target-language equivalent.

(127)
ST (T2): otóż po obudzeniu się z rana / albo po wyjściu z McDonalda / nagle **doznajemy tajemniczego olśnienia** / jesteśmy przekonani że oto wpadliśmy na genialną / wspaniałą / odjazdową ideę / tak tak koniecznie musimy natychmiast podzielić się tym z całym światem / to bardzo żałosna postawa
TT (P30): after waking up in the morning or getting out of the McDonald you eeee you **come up come up come up with some eeee idea*** and you're so

> sure that it is very y special and you have to share it with the whole world / it's a pathetic attitude
> RC10: Tutaj też pominęłam niestety bardzo ładną metaforę – mianowicie *nagle doznajemy tajemniczego olśnienia jesteśmy przekonani, że oto wpadliśmy na genialną, wspaniałą, odjazdową ideę* – zarówno ten cały fragment o tajemniczym olśnieniu, jak i *odjazdowa idea* została przeze mnie pominięta. Oczywiście fragment stał się bardziej czytelny, bardziej taki prosty w moim przekładzie, ale właśnie nie umiałam sobie przypomnieć słowa *olśnienie*, bo to było kluczowe dla decyzji jaką podjęłam. Po prostu w momencie kiedy nie umiem znaleźć słowa, które jest mi potrzebne w tamtym momencie od razu staram się wykorzystywać jakieś inne zabiegi, które pomogą mi wybrnąć z sytuacji, mianowicie przykładowo opisać coś i nawet jeżeli zamiast jednego słowa miałabym użyć pięciu słów to i tak się opłaca, ponieważ pięć słów to znowu nie jest taka duża różnica, a zdążę w tym czasie usłyszeć jakiś kawałek chociażby fragmentu następnego, który jest aktualnie mówiony, że się tak brzydko wyrażę i nie zgubić sensu całej wypowiedzi. Jest to bardzo istotne w takich momentach kiedy ktoś mówi bardzo szybko. Tutaj akurat tak nie było, ale kolejnym zabiegiem jakiego często używam jest pominięcie niektórych bliskoznacznych słów w celu uproszczenia zdania, sprawienia, że jest ono bardziej dosłowne i mniej elokwentne, ale oczywiście przez to przynajmniej zrozumiałe. I nie tworzy się z tego jakiś tam tłumaczeniowy bełkot, w którym są zawarte główne słowa i zdania z wypowiedzi, ale tak naprawdę nie łączy się to w żadną logiczną całość i przypadki są pomieszane i tak dalej, więc myślę, że to jest w porządku.

This extensive retrospective report gives some evidence of the complex decision-making process underlying this form of explicitation in SI, and in into-B interpreting in particular. Although the interpreter is aware of the stylistic value of the source-text metaphor, she decides to render the meaning components directly for the sake of effective management of the processing capacity and coordinating the efforts involved in the process of simultaneous interpreting.

5.3.5 Meaning specification

When it comes to the category of meaning specification, the difference between the two directions of interpreting is less pronounced than in the case of disambiguating lexical metaphors. The ratio is 332 (B–A) to 431 (A–B) shifts (see Figure 5.8).

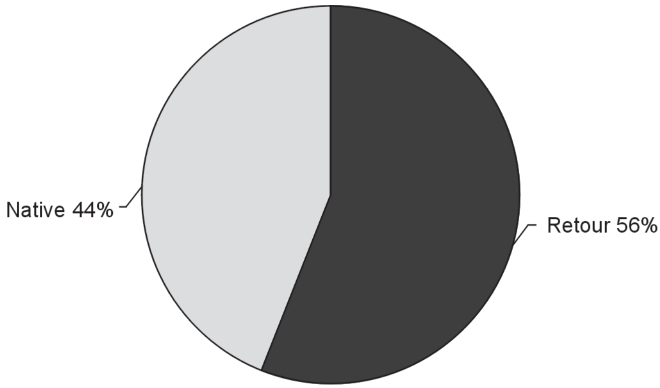

Figure 5.8. Frequency of meaning specifications in the native and the retour

There is a very significant difference in the frequency of reporting this surface manifestation of explicitation between the two directions of interpreting and, like in the case of adding modifiers and qualifiers, the prevalence is reversed. Although meaning specification is considerably more common in the retour, there are much more retrospective comments reporting it in the native (136 compared to 58 in into-B interpreting). Thus, meaning specification appears to be strategic and conscious to a much greater extent when interpreting into A language (see Figure 5.9).

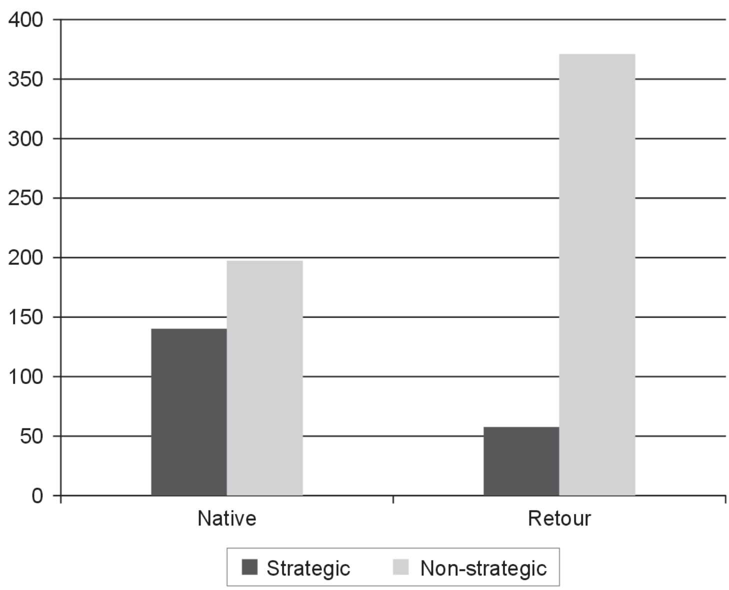

Figure 5.9. Strategic vs. non-strategic meaning specification in the two directions of interpreting

When it comes to the reasons for performing meaning specification, the disparity is only visible in product- and audience-oriented strategic use. The number of comments attributing meaning specification to the interpreting constraints is comparable in both directions, whereas the vast majority of references to the intention to improve the text, to avoid ambiguity, or to help the receiver concern into-A interpreting (77 compared to 13 in the retour). The following extracts from retrospective protocols illustrate this tendency. While Participants P49 and P30 strive to help the receivers, the other two (P21 and P72) explicitate with the aim of avoiding ambiguity and improving the text respectively:

(128)
RC9 (P49/T3/B–A): Przetłumaczyłam, iż ten obowiązek świadczenia pomocy innym pacjentom nie powinien być narzucany przez instytucje, ale jakoś tak czułam, że muszę dodać, że nie tylko przez instytucje, ale też przez zasady nie powinien być narzucany, bo wcześniej w tłumaczeniu było wspomniane o zasadach moralnych i innych, którymi powinien się kierować lekarz podczas wykonywania swojego zawodu. Stwierdziłam, że warto dodać też *zasady*, gdyż mówca podkreślał wcześniej, że nie tyle one, co osobiste podejście lekarza jest bardzo ważne. W ten sposób odbiorca nie będzie miał wątpliwości o co chodzi mówcy.
(129)
RC12 (P30/T1/B–A): *Zrodziły się w mojej głowie*. Nie ma tego fragmentu, ale myślę, że jest odpowiedni tutaj. To jest dodane w tym celu, przede wszystkim aby trochę jakby może sprawić żeby tekst był bardziej przystępny dla słuchacza. Parę razy udało mi się wtrącić bardziej kolokwialne wyrażenia, zwłaszcza, że mówca sam stwierdził, że rzadko zdarzało mu się wygłaszać jakiekolwiek przemowy. I w oryginale podejrzewam również nie brzmi zbyt górnolotnie, zwłaszcza, że słownictwo nie jest zbyt wysublimowane, dlatego też wydaje mi się, że takie dodanie wręcz polepszyło jakość tekstu i umożliwiło lepsze zrozumienie przez odbiorcę docelowego.
(130)
RC10 (P21/T1/B–A): Dodano, żeby nie było jakichkolwiek wątpliwości ze strony słuchaczy: *wtedy kiedy ja tam uczyłem* zamiast zwyczajnie powiedzieć *wtedy*.
(131)
RC2 (P72/T3/B–A): Tutaj dodałam coś od siebie, wyraziłam to co chciał powiedzieć mówca bardziej dosłownie. Mamy *I may skip through the slides a little more quickly*, z czego ja zrobiłam *nieco szybciej niż zwykle*. Wydawało mi się, że samo *nieco szybciej* wymaga w języku polskim jakiegoś dopełnienia tego, bo szybciej niż co? Zwykle *wolniej*, *szybciej* – z czymś się to porównuje, więc stwierdziłam, że jeśli dodam *szybciej niż zwykle*, to będzie to jednak lepiej brzmiało w języku polskim. I myślę, że dobrze zrobiłam, bo *nieco szybciej*, gdyby to było samo to jakoś miałam wrażenie, że by to jednak nie wystarczyło.

5.4 Correlation with the results of the survey on directionality

It is interesting to see how the frequencies of explicitating shifts correlate with the results of the questionnaire. As indicated in Chapter 3, presenting the methodology of this study (see Section 3.2.4), the survey comprises four multiple choice questions, three of which also include the option of additional comments. The first one concerns the preference for the direction of interpreting – the participants in the experiment were asked whether they had any preference and, if it was the case, which of them they found easier. Questions 2 and 3 are related to the difficulties experienced in the native and the retour, respectively, whereas the last question asks explicitly in which direction the interpreters tend to add words or phrases or make the target text more explicit.

The majority of the respondents declared that they found interpreting into Polish (language A in their working languages combination) easier (70 participants). By contrast, 37 interpreters considered the retour as less challenging than the native, and the remaining 13 declared they had no preference. There seems to be a direct correlation between the preference for a given direction of interpreting and the frequency of explicitating shifts. As can be inferred from the results presented in Figure 5.10 and Table 5.4, out of 70 participants who consider the retour as more difficult, 55 tend to explicitate more in this direction of interpreting, regardless of the declared prevalence of explicitation – an issue which we shall comment further in this section. By contrast, those few (five interpreters) with a clear prevalence of explicitating shifts in the native consider it as the more difficult direction. It is also worth stressing that those who score comparable frequencies of explicitating shifts in both directions tend to find the retour easier – 32 cases compared to 14 who prefer the native.

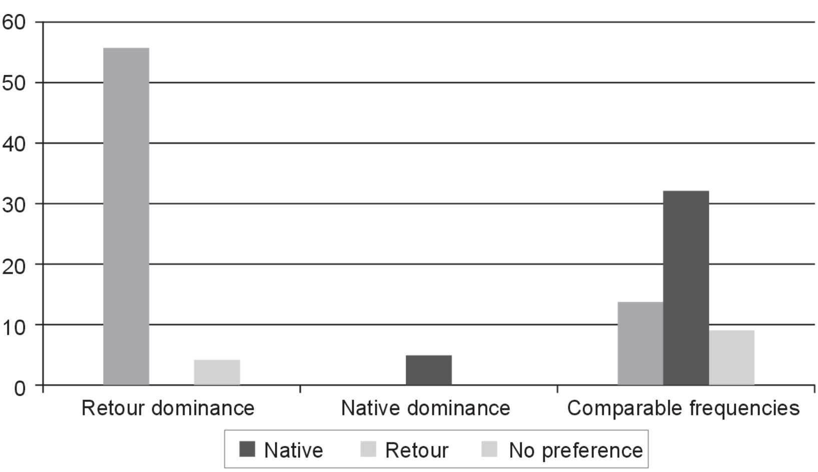

Figure 5.10. Correlation between the frequency of explicitating shifts and the preferred direction of interpreting

Table 5.4. Correlation between the frequency of explicitating shifts, the preferred direction of interpreting and declared prevalence of explicitation

Frequency of explicitating shifts	Retour dominance											
Preferred direction of interpreting	**Native**				**Retour**				**No preference**			
Declared prevalence of explicitation	N	R	DM	DS	N	R	DM	DS	N	R	DM	DS
Number of interpreters	43	8	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Frequency of explicitating shifts	**Native dominance**											
Preferred direction of interprting	**Native**				**Retour**				**No preference**			
Declared prevalence of explicitation	N	R	DM	DS	N	R	DM	DS	N	R	DM	DS
Number of interpreters	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Frequency of explicitating shifts	**Comparable frequencies**											
Preferred direction of interprting	**Native**				**Retour**				**No preference**			
Declared prevalence of explicitation	N	R	DM	DS	N	R	DM	DS	N	R	DM	DS
Number of interpreters	9	2	1	2	16	6	6	4	2	0	5	2

Thus, it appears that the higher frequency of explicitating shifts in the retour is related to the level of difficulty of this direction, at least in the case of interpreting trainees who are the participants of the experiment in the present study. These results might be interpreted as providing further evidence for the observation that explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is to a large extent due to the interpreting constraints and the related mode-specific difficulties. It also means that the difference between the retour and the native is even more marked if we take into account that the overall results for the whole corpus reflect two opposing preferences for a given direction of interpreting – preferences which counterbalance each other. Thus, for all those who find interpreting into the B language more difficult, the ratio between shifts performed in the native and those made in the retour is 39% to 61% (Figure 5.11 below) compared to 42% versus 58% for the whole corpus.

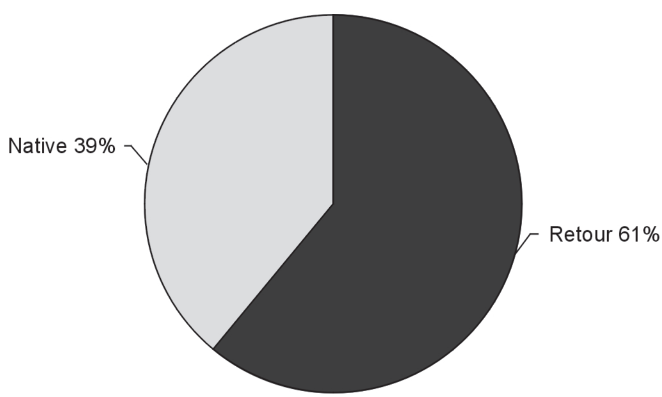

Figure 5.11. The difference in the frequency of explicitating shifts between the native and the retour for the participants who find the retour interpreting more difficult

The analysis of the answers to the final question of the survey reveals some more interesting correlations (see Table 5.4 above). When asked in which direction of interpreting they tended to make additions and make the text more explicit, more than half of the participants declared they did so more often when interpreting into Polish (61%), whereas only less than 15% pointed to English.

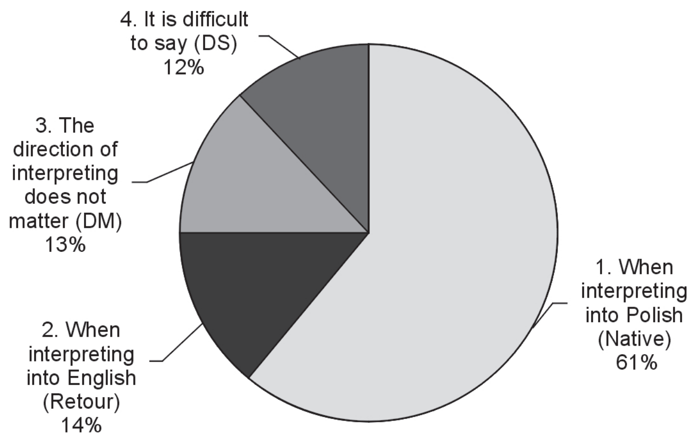

Figure 5.12. When do you feel you tend to add additional words or phrases or make the text more explicit?

The results do not correlate with the overall numbers of explicitating shifts in each direction of interpreting detected in the analysed corpus (see Table 5.4 above). The overall impression of the participants is that they explicitate much more frequently in into-A interpreting, whereas in many cases, the reverse is true. In Figure 5.13, we can see that the level of correlation between the declared prevalence of explicitation and the overall number of shifts is very low – it is only the case with 18 participants out of 90 who declared the prevalence in either direction of interpreting (the remaining 30 answered that the direction did not matter or that it was difficult to say). This finding might be seen as confirming the largely unconscious nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting given that the subjects refer in the questionnaire obviously only to consciously performed shifts. However, the correlation between the frequency of strategic explicitation and the declared prevalence of explicitation, albeit much higher, is also below 50%:

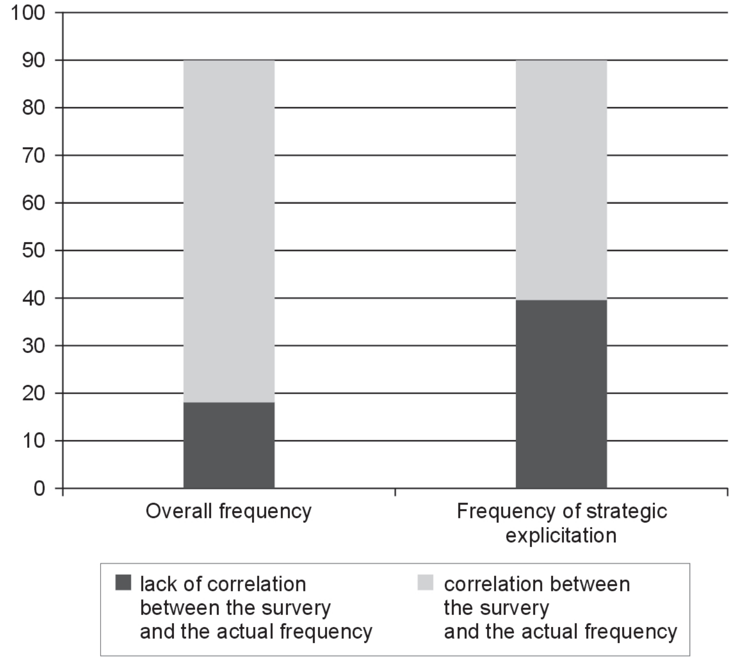

Figure 5.13. The correlation between the results of the survey and the actual frequencies of explicitating shifts

The relatively low correlation between the frequency of strategic explicitation and the declared prevalence of explicitation might, in turn, be interpreted as indicative of the fact that those participants who declared prevalence for the direction in which in reality they performed fewer shifts also referred to other types of additions (those leading to changes in the information content and subsequent lack of equivalence). After all, in order to account for all forms of explicitation, the first part of the question was formulated as follows: "When do you feel you tend to add additional words or phrases…," which might have induced them to include such unjustified shifts as well. Another possible interpretation is that some of the participants do not associate certain surface forms of explicitating shifts with explicitation as such and, as a result, might have omitted to declare prevalence in the survey for the direction in which they performed more reported shifts. As indicated in Section 4.3, relatively few participants use the term explicitation in their comments. Most subjects refer to it as addition or specification, or simply describe the shift. Given the nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting and its dependence on mode-specific constraints, it is also very likely that in some cases, the lack of correlation means that the frequency of performed shifts does not reflect the interpreters' usual explicitating behaviour, which is bound to change under the influence of the cognitive load of the SI task and the inherent difficulties (see Chapter 6). After all, the questions comprising the survey referred to explicitating tendencies in general of a given participant rather than the interpretations performed for the purpose of this experiment.

The additional comments provided by the participants report on various reasons for performing explicitating shifts, which tend to coincide with the causes voiced in retrospective protocols. One of the recurrent motivations reported by a considerable number of respondents are the constraints of the interpreting process. The following examples confirm that meaning specification is often used as a means of compensation for the omissions caused by mode-specific constraints. Such motivations are reported irrespective of the declared prevalence of explicitating shifts in one of the modes.

> (132)
> P33 (S): Usually when I'm behind with interpreting and did not hear what the speaker said.
> (133)
> P36 (S): It happens to me especially when I don't understand the source text fully and have to "make something up" to finish the sentence.
> (134)
> P80 (S): I do it to cover mistakes or when I am not sure about the text, though not only.

Interpreter P33, who declared in the survey a prevalence of explicitation in into-A interpreting, in reality exhibits only a slight prevalence of explicitation in this direction (41 versus 34 shifts in the retour). Also the difference between the number of conscious explicitations is marginal (1 in B–A and 2 in A–B). It is thus one of the cases showing lack of correlation between the survey and the actual explicitating behaviour. Likewise, the number of explicitating shifts performed by Interpreter P36 is comparable in both directions, which also fails to correlate with the declaration of explicitating more in the native. As already indicated in the course of this section, this might mean that in the two renditions, the interpreters did not display their usual explicitating style. The way they formulated the comment also suggests that they might have been referring to unjustified additions rather than explicitations, although in each case, the two outputs recorded for the purpose of the present study contain a comparable – and, in fact, rather low – number of additions that modify the information content. In turn, Participant P80 (Example 134 above) chooses the option "It is difficult to say" in the questionnaire, and the comment refers to both directions. Although she does exhibit a clear dominance of explicitations in the retour, the retrospective comments on explicitation are equally scarce in both directions, so her impression reflecting consciously performed shifts attests to the unconscious nature of explicitation in SI.

Interestingly, some respondents report mode-specific problems with lexical search only when referring to into-A interpreting, whereas the opposite tendency has been observed in the corpus (in both retrospective protocols and the target texts):

> (135)
> P06 (S): It happens very often when I understand a sense of a given text, but I can't find equivalents in Polish to try to convey the meaning in more or less exact words.

A considerable number of participants who declared the tendency to explicitate more when interpreting into their A language associate it directly with mother-tongue competence, although some of those quoted below do not display native dominance when it comes to explicitating (P09, P93, P113, P106). This might imply that the vast majority of recorded shifts were performed involuntarily. By contrast, the answers provided by the remaining two respondents coincide with their explicitating behaviour – both reported more explicitating shifts in the native.

> (136)
> P09 (S): It happens because it is easier to find more equivalents in Polish.
> (137)
> P93 (S): Obviously, I know Polish better than English and I often try to make an utterance in SL more explicit when it comes to this direction of interpreting.
> (138)
> P113 (S) I think when I translate into Polish I feel more 'comfortable' which can result in adding some information. When translating into English it's quite the opposite – I try to shorten and omit some information.
> (139)
> P106 (S): It is easier to provide in the mother tongue some additional information which may refer to some concept in a more, according to the interpreter, suitable way.
> (140)
> P11 (S): It is easier to add descriptions and longer phrases in mother tongue.
> (141)
> P04 (S): I'm proficient at Polish, that's why I feel an internal need to use only these words which fit for 100%. But the accumulation of vocabulary in Polish and slight differences in meanings of Polish words make it very hard to pick the best equivalents, especially while interpreting, when you don't have enough time to make a decision. This is the reason why I often add additional phrases – I often feel that I should add something to make the translation perfect.

There are also answers which apparently refer to obligatory explicitation excluded from the present study. It is interesting to note that the comment included in the survey does not coincide with the actual explicitating behaviour of this interpreter, which might suggest that only obligatory shifts are perceived as explicitation. Participant P66 exhibits a clear dominance of explicitation in the retour, both at the strategic level and the general one: she performed 36 shifts in the native and 62 in the retour, including 6 and 8 reported shifts respectively.

> (142)
> P66 (S): In my opinion, more complex phrases are typical for Polish (in comparison with English) and that is why it is sometimes necessary to add a word or extend a phrase to make the text more explicit. Additionally, I feel that I even tend to shorten various phrases while translating into English.

The interpreters selecting the options "It is difficult to say" or "The direction of interpreting does not matter" tend to attribute explicitation to the factors associated with the very product of interpreting or the target audience:

> (143)
> P119 (S): I tend to stick too close to the source text but when I add anything it is usually because I feel that what I have just said was not precise enough (e.g. lexically).
> (144)
> P21 (S): The only criterion is my feeling that an expression lacks a specification and that the specification is required for the whole sense of the sentence to be clear.
> (145)
> P07 (S): In my case it is difficult to say where I added additional words because I was quite explicit in both translations. Sometimes I decided to add more words when I thought that it would not be understood by the audience and I was trying to make the translation for them as clear as it was possible.

Only one respondent relates explicitation to the slow delivery rate, a factor which obviously plays a vital role in simultaneous interpreting:

> (146)
> P15 (S): It takes place, when the original speaker "gives me" some additional time, when he or she speaks slowly and makes some breaks.

There is also one account perceiving explicitation as dependent on source-text features:

> (147)
> P110 (S): It depends solely on the particular text.

Another answer provided in the survey brings some interesting observations on the nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting, showing the respondent's deep awareness of the phenomenon of explicitation:

> (148)
> P24 (S): I think that the process of making the text more explicit begins when encountering either of the two groups of words. 1) The first group includes phrases that sound natural in English, while in Polish they seem too vague (for example *changes due to technology* would sound somehow "unfinished" in Polish without adding the adjective *nowy – zmiany wywołane nową technologią*). 2) The second group involves phrases that when interpreted directly into Polish sound very scientific (weird even). For example the phrase *stylistic zones* interpreted as *strefy stylistyczne* not only sounds awkward, but also is mostly associated with linguistics and literature (analiza stylistyczna, środki stylistyczne, błąd stylistyczny). This association would lead to a misunderstanding in this case, because the phrase was taken from a speech about music. Therefore it is better to translate the phrase as *różne kultury*, *różne style* or *różne dziedziny muzyki*. This makes the text more explicit, but also prevents misunderstandings. Group 1) is usually made more explicit by adding adjectives. Group 2) is usually made more explicit by changing the noun to a more explicit one.

The unconscious, involuntary character of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is evidenced by another answer provided in the survey. The interpreter perceives her interpreting style as minimalistic, whereas the product analysis reveals the total of 80 explicitating shifts in the two outputs:

> (149)
> P14 (S): I actually find my style of interpreting very minimalistic, I do not really tend to add many additional expressions, I rather focus on conveying as much information accurately as I can, even if in a smaller amount of words than in source text.

* * *

The analysis conducted in this chapter indicates that explicitating shifts are relatively more frequent in the retour than in the native, and the higher frequency of occurrence is highly dependent on the surface form, as only certain surface manifestations of explicitation exhibit the tendency to appear more often in into-B interpreting. This quantitative difference is interesting, but in fact, there is another disparity between the two modes which proves to be particularly relevant and revealing. There are considerably more comments attributing explicitation to constraints in the retour, whereas in the native, participants tend to be more concerned with the aspects of effective communication with the target audience and the quality of the target text. This tendency seems to confirm the observation that explicitation in the retour is apparently triggered by the interpreting constraints to a greater extent than in the native. Thus, very often, the intention is not to make the target text more readable for the benefit of the target audience, but to offset the constraints inherent in the cognitively demanding interpreting process.

CHAPTER 6

Explicitation and interpreting style

The present chapter reports on the part of the study devoted to idiosyncratic features in explicitating patterns. The aim of the analysis is to establish whether explicitation is interpreter-specific, and to what extent the explicitating patterns of individual interpreters differ from each other.

In the section opening this chapter, we shall delve into the topic adopting a wider perspective of the translator's or interpreter's style, outlining the current state of research in this area of Translation and Interpreting Studies, the existing methodologies, and linguistic features believed to reflect the style of a given translator or interpreter, distinguishing their performance from that of others. The discussion is concluded with the presentation of the studies specifically relating explicitation to style. Then I shall proceed to explain the main methodological considerations underlying this part of the present research, and finally, I shall present and discuss the results of the analysis of the interpreters' explicitating styles or profiles.

6.1 Translator and interpreter style

The investigation of the features distinguishing the renditions of different translators or interpreters is a relatively recent line of research in Translation and Interpreting Studies, which is mostly due to the prevailing perception that the translator should be "invisible." Such idiosyncratic features have been investigated in terms of translator or interpreter style (e.g., Baker 2000; Malmkjær 2003; Olohan 2004; Kamenická 2008a; Munday 2008; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008; Angermeyer 2009; Saldanha 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2014; Rybicki 2012; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012, 2013) and are perceived as personal attributes rather than textual attributes – in contrast to the area of translation stylistics, which is concerned with the latter.

Definitions of the notion of translator's style or interpreter's style employed in the studies on translation are far from homogeneous. Baker (2000), who was the first to notice the potential of corpus linguistics in investigating translator's style, postulated in her seminal paper that research on style "must focus on the manner of expression, that is typical of a translator" and "attempt to capture the translator's use of language, his or her individual profile of linguistic habits, compared to other translators" (Baker 2000: 245). Although she does admit that one of the manifestations of style is consistent use of translation strategies, like glosses, footnotes, prefaces, and afterwords, she mostly focuses on subtle, unobtrusive, and predominantly subconscious linguistic habits, which is consistent with the premises of forensic linguistics and, in particular, authorship attribution studies, focusing on the unconscious element of style. Baker emphasises that style is above all "a matter of patterning" and that investigating it, we should aim at describing "preferred or recurrent patterns of linguistic behaviour" of a translator as compared to other translators (Baker 2000: 245).

Habitual linguistic choices are also a defining element of style in Munday's (2008) approach. His aim is to identify a translator's "linguistic fingerprint" that distinguishes the style adopted in the translations performed by a given translator from that of others, and also from the style of the source-text author. However, unlike Baker (2000), he is interested in intentional, meaningful choices that he relates to the macro-contexts of ideology rather than in non-deliberate linguistic habits.

Drawing partly on Baker's (2000) methodology and partly on Munday's (2008) view of translator's style, Saldanha (2011a, 2011b) proposes a revised definition of a translator's style. In her approach, the defining element of style is that of distinctiveness, which is reflected in the presence or absence of certain stylistic traits recurrent in the work of a given translator when compared to the works of other translators. Such traits should be discernible across the range of translations performed by the same translator, should form a consistent, recognisable pattern, and "cannot be explained purely with reference to the author or source text style, or as a result of linguistic constraint" (Saldanha 2011a: 31). They are expected to be motivated, that is, to appear in the target text with a discernible function. Thus, it seems that intentionality plays a more significant role in this view that in the case of Baker's research. In fact, in one of her studies, Saldanha (2011a) emphasises that a combined analysis of both deliberate rhetorical choices and non-deliberate habits is the optimal approach to adopt in research on translator's style.

Intentionality of the linguistic features identified as reflecting the translator's style is especially evident in Van Besien and Meuleman's (2008) research, where style is not perceived in terms of subtle and predominantly subconscious linguistic habits, like in Baker (2000), but in terms of the strategic behaviour of simultaneous interpreters:

> The term 'style' is not used here in the sense of variation in text formulation, but to refer to an interpreter's preferred and habitual approach to interpreting as evident in his or her selection of problem solving strategies. (Van Besien & Meuleman 2008: 135)

By contrast, the issue of intentionality is purposely disregarded in Kajzer-Wietrzny's (2012, 2013) research on interpreting style; the author admits that taking into account the adopted research design (product-oriented corpus-based study with no reference to source texts), it is not feasible to distinguish between motivated and subconscious choices. In line with Baker's (2000) and Saldanha's (2011a) methodologies and the stylometric approach, Kajzer-Wietrzny (2013: 40) views interpreting style as "a way of interpreting manifested by a consistent prominence of one or many linguistic features in interpretations from different source languages."

Intentionality of stylistic traits is not the only factor distinguishing individual approaches. Whereas the majority of the above-mentioned studies favour the view that a translator's style should be examined across a range of target texts performed by the same translator, some researches (Bosseaux 2001; Winters 2007, 2009) test it in multiple translations of the same source text performed by different translators. Kajzer-Wietrzny (2012, 2013) adopts yet another approach, examining interpreter's style against their speaking style by comparing simultaneous interpreting outputs to interviews with the same interpreters.

Most of the studies mentioned above use corpus linguistics tools to examine translator's style, which obviously influences their choice of analysed features. Saldanha (2011a: 33) points out that the selection of traits expected to reflect a translator's style depends to a large extent on the methodology adopted. Given that corpus-based studies often rely only on the target texts (e.g., Baker 2000; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012, 2013) and that even if a reference to the source text is made (Munday 2008; Saldanha 2011a, 2011b), the size of the sample does not allow for a meticulous manual analysis, the examined indicators of style have to be easily identifiable in the surface structure of target texts. The limitation of corpus-based approaches means that they cannot analyse more abstract features, like, for instance, figurative language.

Features commonly examined within such target-oriented perspectives are, for example, optional use of the complementiser *that* after reporting verbs *say* and *tell* (Baker 2000; Saldanha 2011a; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012). Thanks to software tools they use, corpus-based studies usually also investigate the type-to-token ratio, considering it as one of the principal indicators of translator's or interpreter's style (e.g., Baker 2000; Van Besien & Meuleman 2008). Baker (2000) also analyses the average sentence length and the level of repetition, whereas Munday (2008) focuses on syntactic calquing, syntactic amplification, compound pre-modifers, and creative or idiomatic collocations. Apart from the above-mentioned use and omission of the connective *that* after reporting verbs, Saldanha (2011a) analyses the use of emphatic italics and source culture borrowings (foreign words). The use of foreign words as a style marker also appears in Olohan's (2004) research based on keyword analysis. Kajzer-Wietrzny's (2013) parameters include the tendency to repetitiveness, informativeness, and lexical sophistication and selected features representing three postulated translation universals: simplification, normalisation, and explicitation, the latter operationalised in the use of *that* after reporting verbs (Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012). In turn, Van Besien and Meuleman (2008) focus on features whose choice is conditioned by the examined modality (simultaneous interpreting) and the adopted methodology, aiming at the strategic aspect of style. Their markers of style fall into two major groups of additions and omissions. The authors complement their analysis examining also the features of presentation, such as the length of EVS, diversity of vocabulary, intonation patterns, and non-verbal behaviour.

6.2 Relating explicitation to translator and interpreter style

Some of the features examined in the studies on translator or interpreter style are recognised as forms of explicitation. It is the case, for instance, with the optional use of the connective *that* after reporting verbs, Baker's (2000) level of repetition, some instances of Munday's (2008) syntactic amplification, and lexical repetitiveness in Kajzer-Wietrzny's (2013) approach, the last-mentioned feature coinciding with lexical reiteration. Also the shifts analysed by Van Besien and Meuleman (2008) within their category of additions are clearly surface manifestations of explicitation although at no point do they mention the term explicitation. From the exemplification provided, it can be inferred that their broad category of the addition of cohesive ties encompasses both the insertion of additional connectors and substitution. Adding cultural information corresponds to explanatory remarks in the present study, whereas appropriateness repairs are apparently cases of reiteration resulting from auto-correction.[1] In turn, clarifications in the form of extended backtracking bear close resemblance to the category of meaning specification. Thus, explicitation appears to play a vital role in distinguishing between different translating or interpreting styles.

[1] Relying on Levelt's (1983) taxonomy of self-repairs in speech production, Van Besien and Meuleman (2008) do distinguish between different types of repairs. Out of error repairs, different repairs, and appropriateness repairs, they consider only the last-mentioned as indicative of style. It is worth noting that this category corresponds to explicitating reiterations in the present study, as it is not a case of correcting an error. Both items produced by the interpreter on such occasions express the idea of the source-text message, but the interpreter decides that "his or her output is contextually inappropriate or is insufficiently informative and adds additional information" (Van Besien & Meuleman 2008: 136).

It is interesting to note that these are not only studies on style which explore the potential of explicitation in establishing the idiosyncratic differences between translators or interpreters. From a different angle, also some studies on explicitation recognise that this phenomenon is an important factor distinguishing the translation behaviour of individuals. Pápai (2004: 150) and Konšalová (2007: 27) talk about the translator's idiolect and an important part of Hopkinson's (2008) research is related to explicitation as translator-specific behaviour.

There are also studies specifically relating explicitation to translator's (Kamenická 2008a) or interpreter's style (Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012), whose main aim is to discover to what extent translators or interpreters differ in their explicitating behaviour. Kamenická's corpus-based research aims at investigating how explicitation contributes to translator's style in literary prose. She uses the term "explicitation profile" of a translator and operationalises it in a "plicitation quotient," which she defines as a ratio of explicitations to implicitations in a given text segment. In terms of the Hallidayan metafunctions of language (see Section 1.2.6), her results reveal that the two translators in her parallel corpus exhibited clearly opposing tendencies in their use of experiential and interpersonal explicitation and implicitation. Their plicitation quotient differed substantially, as one used implicitation much more frequently than the other (Kamenická 2008a: 128).

Kajzer-Wietrzny's (2012) corpus-based research exploring the relationship between interpreting universals and interpreting style aims at establishing the extent of idiosyncratic differences between individual interpreters in their tendency towards explicitation and two other postulated translation universals: simplification and normalisation. Although in her macro-analysis of the universal character of explicitation she takes into account three surface forms (the use of *that* after reporting verbs, frequency of linking adverbials, and apposition markers), as far as the micro-analysis of the interpreting style is concerned, she operationalises it only as the increased frequency of the optional complementiser *that* after reporting verbs due to the limited size of the corpus. Her preliminary hypothesis assuming the existence of such differences is tested in the corpus of interpreting outputs from different source languages by two professional interpreters. The novelty of Kazjer-Wietrzny's research design is the comparison of interpreting performance to non-interpreted discourse of the same subjects, aiming to determine the impact of the mode of delivery on the level of explicitness. Her results reveal that the two interpreters differ in their explicitation patterns and that in the case of one of them, the level of explicitness is higher in interpreted texts than in spoken discourse (Kajzer-Wietrzny 2012).

6.3 Analysing interpreter explicitating style – methodological considerations

Most existing studies aim at investigating style in literature. To the best of my knowledge, there are only three studies exploring the issue of individual style beyond literature, and the examined modality happens to be simultaneous interpreting. Studies on interpreter's style are those of Van Besien and Meuleman (2008) and Kajzer-Wietrzny (2012, 2013), and, as indicated in the previous section, all three consider some forms of explicitation as an important indicator of interpreting style.

Interpreting appears to be a modality which is particularly suitable for analysing style, as unlike in written translation, there is neither editorial intervention, nor source-text author's intervention.[2] Thus, the interpreted text is free from external influences and is purely a product of interpreter's decisions and preferences; therefore, simultaneous interpreting output is more indicative of interpreter's style than its written counterpart or any other modality in which the target text undergoes revision and editorial processes.

Explicitation may be considered as an ideal indicator of a translator's or interpreter's style because it is a feature which is optional and which by its nature is absent from the source text. This allows to filter the source-text variable and the influence of systemic differences, which are two inherent difficulties reported in most studies on translator's style.

The present study does not aim at examining interpreter's style as such but rather explicitating style or explicitation profile, to use Kamenická's term. The aim of the analysis is to establish whether explicitation is interpreter-specific, and to what extent the explicitating patterns of individual interpreters differ from each other. There will also be an attempt to determine whether any idiosyncratic differences could be revealed by studying individual explicitating behaviours.

The methodology chosen differs substantially from those adopted in previous studies. First of all, it does not rely on corpus linguistic tools, although the corpus-based approach appears to be an established trend in examining translator or interpreter style, as the vast majority of existing studies have adopted this perspective. The present study relies on manual analysis, which is mostly due to the selected surface forms of explicitation, some of them being impossible or difficult to analyse with corpus linguistic tools. Manual analysis also insures in-depth comparison with the source text, an aspect absent from Kajzer-Wietrzny's (2012, 2013) research, in which she makes no comparison with the original speeches.

[2] By source-text author's intervention I mean the process of negotiation between authors and translators, which is common in literary translation, and the resulting decisions taken by translators after having consulted the author.

Another difference in methodology in comparison to the existing studies on interpreting style is the size of the corpus. Whereas two of the previous studies on interpreting are essentially case studies (Van Besien & Meuleman 2008; Kajzer-Wietrzny 2013), as each of them compares the renditions of 2 interpreters, the corpus of the present study encompasses outputs of 120 interpreters. The difference is partly due to the research design. While Van Besien and Meuleman (2008) and Kajzer-Wietrzny (2013) analyse authentic interpretations of experienced professionals recorded in a natural conference setting, the present study relies on trainee interpreters' outputs recorded during experimental sessions.

The experimental setting made it also possible to control a number of important variables. The fact that each of the six source texts was interpreted by 40 participants allowed me to rule out the differences stemming from the textual features of different source texts and trace the explicitating behaviour under exactly the same conditions.

Almost all existing studies are purely product-oriented, with the exception of Saldanha (2011a, 2011b), whose approach is partly process-oriented, as she triangulates her research tools by complementing target-text analysis with interviews with the translators. The present study is both product- and process-oriented, as the analysis also relies on retrospective comments. These are also expected to reveal general attitudes to interpreting.

The analysis of explicitating style includes both strategic and non-strategic shifts. In line with Baker's proposal to deal with "subtle, unobtrusive linguistic habits which are largely beyond the conscious control of the writer and which we, as receivers, register mostly subliminally" (Baker 2000: 246), it seems legitimate to include in the analysis the non-strategic, involuntary use of explicitating shifts. These might actually provide more evidence of the linguistic fingerprint and attest to the interpreter's style reflected in his or her linguistic habits. Strategic choices, on the other hand, are expected to measure the extent of responsiveness to the target audience, an aspect which is impossible to infer from the product analysis.[3]

The analysis of interpreters' explicitating style has been conducted at two levels. First of all, in line with the premises of research into translator's or interpreter's style, I looked for regularities reflecting both strategic, reported choices and non-strategic shifts within each target text, comparing it with the rendition in the other direction of interpreting. Given the specificity of the analysed mode of interpreting and its inherent constraints, the second level of analysis concerned differences in overall patterns across multiple renditions of the same source texts. Due to the constraints, it is expected that explicitation might be to a certain extent circumstantial, that is, not always directly attributable to a given

[3] Unlike constraints, whose impact may be to a certain extent inferred from the product analysis.

interpreter's preferences – or, to use Van Besien and Meuleman's (2008) term, interpreter's default settings – but is also triggered by extraordinary circumstances, like, for instance, failure sequences. This level of analysis is hoped to provide further evidence to what extent constraints influence the phenomenon of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. On the other hand, the way of dealing with a particular difficulty may also be expected to show some regularities and preference for certain emergency coping tactics.

Thus, the initial hypothesis holds that explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is expected to display some regularities distinctive of a given interpreter demonstrating a specific explicitating style, but under constraints, the pattern is bound to be broken. In other words, explicitation as a stylistic trait is expected to be both preference-governed, that is, reflecting interpreter's linguistic habits and preferred strategies, and circumstantial, that is, reflecting the current interpreting circumstances – processing of a given text under the interpreting constraints, influenced, for instance, to a large extent by the way in which the previous segments have been processed.

The present study sets out to categorise explicitating styles at different levels. First of all, in the analysis of frequency of explicitating shifts, I adapted Van Besien and Meuleman's (2008) proposal for an interpreting style typology comprising lean and abundant interpreting styles, and decided to name the three emerging explicitating profiles as lean, medium, and abundant explicitating styles – reflecting, respectively, scarcity, moderation and frequent use of explicitating shifts. The frequency part of the analysis also includes the count of strategic (reported) and non-strategic shifts, aiming to measure the extent of conscious explicitation for each of the participants. These are called deliberate and involuntary explicitating styles, as the name strategic is reserved for another subdivision of interpreter explicitating profile.

As far as the parameter of consistency is concerned, the explicitating profiles have been divided into strategic and circumstantial, the former one reflecting a clear, consistent pattern of explicitating shifts, while the latter, the lack of such pattern. It is important to stress that the strategic explicitating profile is supposed not only to demonstrate a clear pattern of deliberate, reported strategic explicitation, but also to reflect recurrent and consistent use of shifts that were not reported but possibly are an indication of automated strategic behaviour. The strategic explicitating style subsumes two variants: product-oriented style and process-oriented style. The product-oriented style, as indicated in Chapter 4, dealing with the strategic aspect of explicitation, is related to the use of strategies facilitating communication with the target audience and improving the target text, whereas process-oriented style reflects the strategic use of explicitating shifts with the aim of facilitating the interpreting task itself and offsetting the interpreting constraints. The analysed styles are summarised in Table 6.1:

Table 6.1. Explicitating styles in simultaneous interpreting

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">Frequency</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Lean explicitating style</td><td colspan="2">Medium explicitating style</td><td colspan="2">Abundant explicitating style</td></tr>
<tr><td>Deliberate explicitating style</td><td>Involuntary explicitating style</td><td>Deliberate explicitating style</td><td>Involuntary explicitating style</td><td>Deliberate explicitating style</td><td>Involuntary explicitating style</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="6">Consistency</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Strategic explicitating style</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="2">Circumstantial explicitating style</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Product-oriented explicitating style</td><td>Process-oriented explicitating style</td></tr>
</table>

The last criterion in identifying explicitating styles is distinctiveness. The analysis entails comparing patterns of identified shifts of individual interpreters and measuring the level of coincidence of the same explicitating shifts performed in the same segment of a text by different interpreters.

6.4 Analysis

The presentation of the results of the analysis and the discussion is divided into three parts, following the three parameters taken into account in examining interpreter's explicitating style: frequency, consistency, and distinctiveness.

6.4.1 Frequency

As far as the frequency criterion is concerned, the identified styles are those of lean, medium, and abundant explicitating styles, which are further subdivided into deliberate and involuntary explicitating styles, taking into account the extent of reported shifts.

The idea of distinguishing between lean and abundant styles has been adapted from Van Besien and Meuleman (2008) by adding the intermediate category of medium explicitating style with a view to account for the diversity in the frequencies of shifts. The spectrum is extremely wide, ranging from 9 to 74 per output. For an extensive corpus used in this study, it also seemed legitimate to quantify Van Besien and Meuleman's (2008) approach, establishing brackets for each category in terms of number of shifts per output. I established different threshold for each of the three sets of parallel texts due to their different length. The numbers of shifts corresponding to each of the three explicitating styles are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2. The number of explicitating shifts corresponding to each explicitating style

Target texts	Lean explicitating style	Medium explicitating style	Abundant explicitating style
T1 + T2	up to 25	26–35	over 36
T3 + T4	up to 22	23–31	over 32
T5 + T6	up to 17	18–24	over 25

The results of the frequency analysis confirm the existence of three distinct explicitating styles, as there is a statistically significant number of outputs falling into each of the categories. Bearing in mind the impact of directionality on explicitation behaviour in terms of frequency (the results presented in Chapter 5 revealed explicitation is more frequent in the retour; see also Gumul 2017), it was expected that a given interpreter might not display the same explicitating style in both directions of interpreting. Indeed, looking at the retour outputs, we can see that they exhibit a stronger tendency towards abundant style (Table 6.3), whereas in the native, the distribution is comparable.

Table 6.3. The results concerning the frequency styles

Direction of interpreting	Lean explicitating style	Medium explicitating style	Abundant explicitating style
Native (T1, T3, T5)	49	32	39
Retour (T2, T4, T6)	18	22	80
Maintained style in native and retour	19	4	37

The coincidence rate in both directions is 50%, which means that 60 out of 120 interpreters maintain the same explicitating style in both the retour and the native. However, one has to bear in mind that quantifying this type of data always involves the risk of overgeneralisation. Therefore, I also examined the extent of the differences between the retour and the native for each of the 120 participants. The results reveal that we might as well take into account further nine cases in which the difference between the two modes was negligible, but which fell into different frequency ranges due to quantifying the data. Thus, it may be concluded that 57.5% of the participants display a consistent pattern of explicitating style in terms of the frequency of performed shifts. It is interesting to note that whereas 45 interpreters explicitate substantially more in the retour and three considerably less, most of them exhibit contiguous styles (lean and medium or medium and abundant). There are, however, 17 participants who display inverse explicitating behaviour depending on the direction of interpreting, all of them exhibiting lean style in the native and abundant in the retour. Closer examination of the outputs of these trainee interpreters reveals that the patterns are not consistent.

In some cases, greater abundance of explicitating shifts in into-B interpreting does not necessarily reflect interpreter's "default settings," that is, a consistent pattern visible in the other direction of interpreting. In 10 cases, such a difference in explicitating behaviour appears to be triggered by local problems due to the constraints and the mismanagement of the processing capacity. Thus, whereas these 10 subjects display a fairly consistent explicitating style in into-A interpreting, the pattern is broken in the retour. This aspect will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section dealing with pattern consistency.

Quantification of the data was also adopted to distinguish between deliberate and involuntary explicitating styles. As indicated above, this distinction is based on the count of strategic, reported shifts versus non-strategic shifts, which is meant to measure the extent of conscious explicitation for each of the participants. I took into account both the frequency of reported and unreported shifts as well as the proportion between them. The threshold number for deliberate explicitating style was four reports. All interpreters reporting fewer than four shifts were classified as exhibiting involuntary explicitating style. Thus the number of four shifts served as the first preliminary criterion in distinguishing a deliberate explicitating style. Another distinguishing factor was the ratio between reported and unreported explicitations. Given that explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is predominantly unconscious and involuntary, and that less than 9% of all explicitating shifts are fully conscious decisions (see Chapter 4 and Gumul 2006a, 2017),[4] the rate of reported shifts to identify a deliberate explicitating style was set at only 15%, that is, roughly a double of the average proportion of conscious shifts per output. Outputs which scored three and less reports on explicitation qualified as displaying a clearly involuntary explicitating style. Thus, the results presented in Table 6.4 below do not include those renditions which included over three retrospective remarks reporting explicitation, but in which conscious shifts constituted less than 15% of the total amount of performed explicitations. The results reveal that 80 out of 120 interpreters maintain the same explicitating style, 11 of which opt for a deliberate explicitating style, while 69 demonstrate a tendency to involuntary explicitation.

Table 6.4. The results concerning the frequency styles

Direction of interpreting	Deliberate explicitating style	Involuntary explicitating style
Native (T1, T3, T5)	29	81
Retour (T2, T4, T6)	16	90
Maintained style in native and retour	11	69

[4] A proportion of 6.8% in Gumul 2006a and 8.4% in the present study.

There is a considerable disparity between the native and the retour when it comes to deliberate explicitation. This tendency appears to be substantially more frequent in into-A interpreting. It is consistent with the observations on the nature of explicitation in the retour expressed above (see also Chapter 5), which attribute explicitation in this direction to the interpreting constraints.

6.4.2 Consistency

The parameter of consistency is operationalised by means of two additional explicitating styles: strategic and circumstantial. The outputs of interpreters identified as having a strategic explicitating style are characterised by a consistent pattern of recurrent shifts, both in terms of type (i.e., the surface form) and cause (e.g., reiterations due to the strategy of repair). A recurrent pattern might also entail different, albeit related, surface forms but used with the same objective (e.g., explanatory remarks, lexical specification, and meaning specification performed to facilitate communication with target-language audience).

As indicated in Section 6.4, what is referred to as strategic explicitating style not only reflects a clear pattern of deliberate, reported strategic explicitation, but is also supposed to account for recurrent and consistent use of shifts that were not reported, as such explicitating behaviour may possibly be an indication of automated strategic behaviour.

The analysis of both process and product data reveal that 46 out of 120 interpreters display a recurrent, consistent pattern of explicitating shifts in both directions of interpreting. It appears, then, that explicitation is part of their interpreting repertoire, a default setting that characterises their way of interpreting.

Table 6.5. The results concerning the consistency styles

Direction of interpreting	Strategic explicitating style	Circumstantial explicitating style
Native (T1, T3, T5)	67	27
Retour (T2, T4, T6)	49	35
Maintained style in native and retour	46	25

It is interesting to note that the strategic style coincides with either lean or abundant explicitating style. There are no cases of coincidence with medium explicitating style. A total of 14 out of 19 interpreters displaying lean explicitating style and 27 out of 37 interpreters exhibiting abundant style in both directions of interpreting performed explicitating shifts in a way that can be described as consistent (strategic explicitating style).

By contrast, in 25 cases, there is no identifiable pattern in either the retour or the native, which may indicate that explicitation is used by these interpreters in a purely circumstantial manner.[5] Both retrospective protocols accompanying these renditions and the product data indicate that explicitating shifts in such cases are largely performed in order to offset constraints and remedy local problems with text processing.

It is also interesting to note that these two explicitating styles, that is, strategic and circumstantial, are maintained in both directions of interpreting to the largest extent compared to the frequency explicitating styles.

The subdivision of the strategic explicitating style into product-oriented style and process-oriented style reveals an uneven distribution of motivations. There are substantially more cases of discernible process-oriented explicitating style aimed to facilitate the interpreting task and counteract the inherent constraints (29 interpreters maintained this tendency in both A–B and B–A) than target-text or/and audience-oriented behaviour (six cases). As evidenced in Chapter 5, explicitation in the native is oriented towards the product of interpreting to a far greater extent than in the retour, and the comparison of individual outputs provides further evidence to support this finding.

Table 6.6. The results concerning the consistency styles

Direction of interpreting	Product-oriented explicitating style	Process-oriented explicitating style
Native (T1, T3, T5)	23	31
Retour (T2, T4, T6)	9	39
Maintained style in native and retour	6	29

The analysis of the data reveals a consistent pattern of the following features:
- adding connectives to improve text cohesion;
- adding connectives to compensate omissions;
- reiteration due to the interpreting constraints;
- reiteration and meaning specification used as compensation;
- reiteration resulting from the strategy of segmentation;
- reiteration resulting from the strategy of repair;
- filling out elliptical constructions resulting from the strategy of segmentation;
- disambiguating lexical metaphors when unable to find an equivalent in TL;
- explanatory remarks, lexicalisation of pro-forms, lexical specification, and meaning specification to facilitate communication with target-language audience; and
- lexical specification, meaning specification, reiteration, lexicalisation of pro-forms, and filling out elliptical constructions to improve the text.

[5] The circumstantial explicitating style does not include the outputs which exhibit a pattern which is broken locally, but only those in which it was impossible to identify any kind of regularity of pattern.

Some subjects show clear preference for a determinate surface form of explicitation (usually reiteration or adding connectives), which is the dominant solution in their renditions. There is also marked consistency in adopting a variety of forms for a common reason.

Example 150 shows a consistent pattern of both reported and unreported reiterations performed by the same interpreter for various reasons. The first reiteration of the three resulting from the strategy of repair is possibly due to transfer resistance (see Section 4.3.4), as *period* is a direct, albeit in this case a legitimate, equivalent of the Polish item *okres*. It is followed by another instance, this time deliberate. Product data indicates that it is due to the strategy of segmentation, which, according to the retrospective protocol of the subject, is not performed because of the linearity constraint but with the intention to improve the text:

(150)
ST (T2): **okres** studiów to być może jedyny czas w waszym życiu kiedy możecie zadawać każde pytanie / **stawiajcie je** śmiało
TT (P26): **the period this time** of studies is perhaps the only time in your entire life when you can ask every question / **pose your questions ask them** with / courage
ST (T2): no może wszyscy byli trochę nienormalni / bo przecież każdy mógł z nich robić to co robili inni / powtarzać to co się innym już podobało / czyli nie wymagało podejmowania żadnego ryzyka / umiejętność **podjęcia ryzyka** / tworzenia i organizowania eksperymentów
TT (P26): maybe all of them were a bit / abnormal because all of them could have do what the others were doing and repeat that what the others have liked which would didn't require any risk r risk / the ability **to undertake risk take risks** to create and to organize experiments
ST (T2): wy artyści tak jak lekarze inżynierowie czy biolodzy uczestniczycie w procesie ulepszania i upiększania świata w którym wszyscy żyjemy
TT (P26): you artists just like doctors engineers or biologists take part in the process of improving and making **the world** more beautiful **the world / the world*** in which we all of us live in live
RC1: Dwa razy *world* – uważałem, że tak będzie zgrabniej.

The same participant uses the strategy of reiteration in a consistent manner later in the text; two such cases are reported and attributed to the interpreting constraints (RC7 and RC9):

ST (T2): powstaje pytanie / jaka ma być rola artysty i sztuki w tym tak szybko **przeobrażającym się** świecie? / wyznam wam szczerze że nie mam właściwie jasnej odpowiedzi na to pytanie / sztuka będzie tym co wy stworzycie / ale uważajcie żeby nie była to sztuka której jedynym miejscem będzie muzeum czy galeria / jedno jest **pewne** / aby sztuka mogła być wszechobecna musi być

zsynchronizowana z tym co się dzieje w obecnym świecie / aby sztuka była Sztuką przez wielkie S musi się stać częścią rozwoju naukowego i technologicznego / albo nawet ten rozwój wyprzedzać / tak jak było w renesansie / włoscy artyści byli wtedy jedynymi naukowcami / dlaczego nie może tak być dzisiaj? / to tylko zależy od świadomości i postawy artystów / macie łatwy dostęp do każdej **dziedziny wiedzy** i codziennie około szesnastu wolnych godzin / to co bym sugerował wyda się Wam może niezbyt ponętne / jak to się mówi obecnie niezbyt sexy / ale muszę powtórzyć to co mówię od lat / głównym narzędziem które jest **dostępne obecnie dla każdego** / i które najpełniej reprezentuje rewolucyjne przeobrażenie świata jest komputer
TT (P26): the question remains what should the role of the artist and the art be in this so fast **developing changing** world I can in all honesty I can say tell you that I do not have the the answer to that question / the art is what you create it but watch out so that it is not the art whose only who have only place in the museum or the art gallery / one thing is su **sure certain** for artists for art to be omnipresent it have to be synchronised with everything that happens in the present world the art to the art to be with great / with the capital A it has to be a part of the technological and scientific development or even precede this development as it was in the renaissance / Italian scien artists were at the time the only at the time the only scientists / why cannot be like that / why can't it be like that today / it only depends on the awareness and the attitudes of the scientists / you have the easy access to the **all kinds of knowledge areas of knowledge*** and everyday around sixteen hours **of free time of spare time** what I tell can seem not very attractive not very sexy as it is said today but I will repeat what I have been saying for years / the main tool that is **at disposal of everyone today available to everyone** which represents the revolutionary changes in the world to the fullest is the computer
RC7: Użyłem słów *kinds* i *areas*, ponieważ nie potrafiłem przypomnieć sobie najtrafniejszego określenia *fields*.
ST (T2): macie dostęp do całego świata i Waszą publicznością jest **cała ludzkość** / **nie miejcie żadnych kompleksów** / twórzcie to czego jeszcze nikt nie widział i nie słyszał
TT (P26): you have the access to the public of **the whole world whole humanity** is your audience / **do not feel worse do not have any inferiority complexes*** create what no one has ever seen or heard
RC9: Dodałem tutaj *do not feel worse*, bo nie byłem pewny poprawności sformułowania *inferiority complexes*.

Recurrent use of reiteration in the above example shows that this interpreter uses this form of explicitation consistently with various aims. Although not all shifts are reported and explained, the dominant reason appears to be that of constraints.

This interpreter also uses reiteration in a very similar manner in the other direction of interpreting, although to a far lesser extent (only five reiterations in the native compared to 14 in the retour). His interpreting style has been identified as abundant in both directions of interpreting, but the tendency to a deliberate explicitation is only clear in into-B interpreting. In terms of consistency, his explicitating style is strategic and markedly process-oriented.

Another interpreter demonstrates a prominently product-oriented explicitating style and maintains this tendency consistently in both directions of interpreting. She performs different forms of explicitating shifts (meaning specifications, lexicalisation of pro-forms, filling out ellipsis, adding a hedge and an explanatory remark, and reiteration) with the aim of either improving the text or helping the receiver. In her retrospective protocols, 10 out of 14 comments reporting explicitation refer to product- and audience-oriented strategic use. This interpreter adopts abundant explicitating style in the native and the retour, and in both directions of interpreting her style is deliberate.

(151)
P66/T3/B–A
RC1: Dodałam tutaj formułę: *Dziękuję, że zaprosili mnie Państwo* myśląc po pierwsze, że jest to bardziej uprzejme w języku polskim – takie osobowe zwrócenie się do słuchaczy. Poza tym pomyślałam, że zazwyczaj w taki sposób przemawiający wita się.
RC4: Rozwinęłam *Nie zgadzamy się z tym prawem* po pierwsze nawiązując do poprzedniego zdania, do poprzedniej wypowiedzi, a po drugie uważałam, że dzięki temu będzie to lepiej wyjaśnione tutaj.
RC9: *Będzie to stanowiło zagrożenie dla ich zdrowia* – tutaj być może przetłumaczyłam to zbyt dokładnie. W tekście oryginalnym nie jest to aż tak sprecyzowane. Chodzi tutaj ogólnie o zagrożenie, ryzyko. Dodałam tutaj *dla zdrowia*, ponieważ wydało mi się to bardzo naturalne, łączyło się to ze słowem zagrożenie. Wydawało mi się to także logiczne, stanowiło logiczny związek z poprzednią częścią zdania.
RC11: Tutaj troszkę zbyt dokładnie przetłumaczyłam *gave us no consistent tradition*. Rozwinęłam to trochę, gdyż użyłam słowa *sposób*. Dalej postanowiłam trochę rozwinąć, by było to bardziej zrozumiałe dla odbiorcy. Chciałam to lepiej wyjaśnić. Już użyłam tego słowa dlatego musiałam odpowiednio dobrać całą resztę.
RC28: Dodane słowo *państwu* – w tym kontekście wydaje się być bardziej naturalne w języku polskim.
P66/T4/A–B
RC2: Dodałam słowa *I must say* po *coś fantastycznego* dlatego, że chciałam podkreślić, że jest to osobista uwaga autora. Może też dlatego, że słowo *fantastic* wydało mi się zbyt kolokwialne, nie do końca pasujące. Chciałam jakoś podkreślić, że jest to jakieś wrażenie, które odniósł autor.
RC7: Dodałam słowo *examples*, gdyż takie zdanie brzmiało naturalnie w tym kontekście.
RC8: Rozwinęłam tutaj troszkę zdanie, przedstawiłam je bardziej opisowo. Myślę, że zdanie w taki sposób mi się ułożyło i inne wyjście nie byłoby

gramatyczne, ani nie pasowało mi jeśli chodzi o dobór słownictwa, dlatego zdecydowałam się na rozszerzenie tego zdania.
RC11: *W czasie protestów lekarskich* – użyłam tutaj *protests and demonstrations*, ponieważ słowo *demonstrations* moim zdaniem dość dobrze oddaje, czy też przypomina strajki, dlatego zdecydowałam się zastosować także i to, żeby lepiej przybliżyć znaczenie.
RC18: Tutaj dodałam *patient who needed help*. W zasadzie jest to troszkę oczywiste, jednak użyłam tego tutaj, by było to bardziej klarowne, by wyjaśnić zdanie.

The above exemplification shows that this interpreter uses explicitation, at least those shifts performed consciously, as a tool for making the text more readable and to cooperate with the receivers, a reason commonly associated with explicitation, especially in studies on written translation (e.g., Pym 2005; Hopkinson 2008), which is free from constraints and in which the text undergoes post-editing. Previous research on simultaneous interpreting (Gumul 2008), however, shows that deliberate, strategic explicitation in this mode is less likely to be used as a relevance-enhancing strategy and is more often triggered by constraints. The present study yields similar results (see Section 4.3). This is also clearly visible at the level of individual renditions, as only six out of 120 subjects exhibited consistently product-oriented explicitating style in both directions of interpreting.

The example below illustrates the more frequent tendency, especially in the retour, to perform conscious explicitation due to the interpreting constraints. The interpreter reports on a consistent use of reiteration to counteract the time constraint and the (un)shared knowledge constraint. For this interpreter, it is both a preventive tactic and a repair strategy. She explicitates both to avoid gaps in the target text and to introduce a correction of a previously uttered item.

(152)
P15/T1/B–A
RC1: Gdy mam czas, powtarzam ostatnią frazę innymi słowami, używam ekwiwalentów, by nie stworzyć dłuższej przerwy w mówieniu. Dodaję nowe frazy, by rozbudować wcześniejsze wyrażenie.
RC2: Gdy pierwsze określenie, które wybrałam, nie jest najdokładniejszym, poprawiam je innym, podobnym, ale bardziej trafnym określeniem – jeśli mam na to czas i przyjdzie mi lepsze określenie do głowy.
RC5: Kiedy znajduję lepsze wyrażenie niż takie, którego właśnie użyłam, a mam jeszcze możliwość zgrabnie wpleść je w tekst, staram się to zrobić, by poprawić jakość tekstu.
RC11: Nie mogąc znaleźć znaczeniowego równoważnika słowa użytego przez mówcę, przybliżyłam je trzema polskimi słowami – *radosne, zabawa, przyjemność*.

P15/T1/A–B
RC7: Tłumaczę frazę najpierw podobnie od oryginału, a potem poprawiam się, uzupełniam, dookreślam znaczenie.
RC12: Aby zapełnić ciszę, jaką wyprodukował sam mówca, powtarzam ostatnie zdanie innymi słowami.

Although they refer to specific text segments, the first three comments reveal the participant's general attitude, which means that she might have performed other reiterations with the same objective. There are four shifts in the native and eight in the retour, four and two of which are reported, respectively. It is interesting to note that none of the 29 retrospective remarks verbalised by this participant, reporting different decisions, refers to product- or audience-oriented strategies. All conscious decisions are taken having the interpreting process in mind. In the case of this interpreter, deliberate process-oriented style coincides with abundant explicitating style in both directions of interpreting.

Another interpreter, whose outputs exhibit a regular pattern of explicitating shifts, opts for a consistent use of lexicalisation of pro-forms with the aim of facilitating the task of the target-language audience, irrespective of the direction of interpreting. Unlike the majority of the other surface forms of explicitation presented so far in this section, lexicalisation of pro-forms is a shift which is relatively rarely reported in the retrospective protocols. There are only 19 reports on this solution, four of which are verbalised by this participant:

(153)
ST (T3): but if you asked individual physicians / do they feel there is a duty to treat patients / they would all agree and would believe that patients do get care somewhere even though they may not be providing **it**
TT (P46): i jeżeli zapyta się indywidualnego lekarza czy czuje że jest obowiązek yy leczenia pacjentów wszyscy by się zgodzili że i wiedzą w to że pacjenci dostają yyy zawsze gdzieś pomocy nawet jeżeli oni sami nie dostarczają im **tej o tej pomocy***
RC3: Zaimek *it* zastąpiłam bardziej eksplicytnym zwrotem pasującym do kontekstu dla większej jasności dla odbiorcy.
ST (T3): but even as late as two thousand and three when physicians again were faced with the SARS epidemic / they couldn't come to consensus that there was an obligation for any physician to treat any patient / if that put **them** at risk
TT (P46): ale nawet tak późno jak w dwutysięcznym trzecim roku kiedy ee lekarze e mieli styczność z epidemią SARS nie mogli się zgodzić że był obowiązek dla jakiegokolwiek lekarza ee leczyć kogokolwiek jeżeli to ss stwarzało jakieś zagrożenie dla **lekarzy***
RC7: Tutaj natomiast wyraziłam się bardziej eksplicytnie, ponieważ *them* z tekstu wyjściowego zamieniłam na *lekarzy*, dla lepszego zrozumienia tekstu u odbiorcy.

> ST (T4): lekarz ma pełne prawo do tego żeby nie podejmować się leczenia takiego pacjenta / i to nie ze względu na to że jest to przykre i nieprzyjemne dla lekarza / a po prostu dlatego że jest mniej skuteczne / w takiej sytuacji oczywiście powinien zapewnić lekarz realną pomoc innego lekarza czy innego miejsca
> TT (P46): a doctor can refuse eee curing aaa patient not because it's something unnice for a for a doctor but it's not effective / in such situations doctor can ee give a patient to another eee doctor or another hospital
> RC11: Dodałam tutaj zamiast *innego miejsca inny szpital*. Wydawało mi się to oczywiste, że tym miejscem będzie właśnie szpital. Dzięki temu tekst jest bardziej zrozumiały dla odbiorców.

Unlike the interpreters whose outputs have been presented so far in this section, this one displays lean explicitating style in both the native and the retour. That means that the explicitations reported during retrospection constitute a substantial proportion of all performed explicitating shifts – 33% to be exact. This interpreter is quite conscious about her use of explicitation, although she uses it rather sparingly. Thus, it is not a typical profile in SI, in which conscious explicitations tend to be relatively few compared to those performed involuntarily. As indicated in Chapter 4, the ratio is approximately 6.8%–8.4% to 92%–93%, and as the results of the present study show, there is a significant number of outputs where the proportion is below 5% or where there are no reported explicitations.

6.4.3 Distinctiveness

The parameter of distinctiveness is meant to measure how individual renditions of the same source text differ from each other. The analysis involves comparing patterns of identified shifts of individual interpreters and measuring the level of coincidence of the same explicitating shifts performed in the same segment of a text by different interpreters.

The level of coincidence has been measured by comparing how the same explicitating potential, at the level of a micro-segment, has been realised by 40 subjects interpreting the same source text. Given the nature of explicitation in constrained forms of translation and, above all, its purely optional character, obviously I did not expect absolute coincidence. Although some studies reject the universality of explicitation on the grounds that the same solution was not adopted by all the translators under examination (Baumgarten et al. 2008; Becher 2010; see Section 1.5), I believe that it is unrealistic to expect all interpreters to perform unanimously a shift which is essentially optional. It has been assumed that there should be at least five interpreters coinciding on a given explicitating shift for it to contribute to the coincidence rate. All such cases have been underlined in the tables presenting explicitating patterns.

The analysis of the data reveals that the coincidence rate is extremely low. For all surface forms of explicitation, it is slightly above 20%, but there are considerable differences between different types of explicitating shifts. These differences are largely predictable, as they stem from the nature of different forms of explicitation. Disambiguation of lexical metaphors is most often performed in SI when the interpreter cannot find immediately a metaphorical equivalent in the target language and opts for rendering the meaning components literally. Such a scenario is very likely to occur in this mode of interpreting, so, unsurprisingly, the coincidence rate is fairly high. At the other end of the spectrum, there is the category of full expression for acronym or abbreviation, which is much less likely to be performed in SI due to the time pressure. In fact, the number of occurrences in the corpus of the present study is extremely low, so, quite predictably, the coincidence rate is 0%. The percentage values next to surface manifestations of explicitation in Table 6.7 refer to the coincidence rate within each category.

Table 6.7. Coincidence rate of explicitating shifts

No.	Surface manifestation of explicitation		Coincidence rate [%]
1.	adding connectives	ACon	32.4
2.	intensifying cohesive ties	ICT	2.6
3.	lexicalisations of pro-forms	LxPF	32.0
4.	reiterating lexical items	Reit	19.4
5.	filling out elliptical constructions	FEll	31.3
6.	adding modifiers and qualifiers	Md/Q	17.1
7.	inserting hedges	Hdg	1.2
8.	inserting discourse organising items	DOI	1.5
9.	shifts involving proper names	PrN	10.5
10.	full expression for acronym or abbreviation	FAA	0.0
11.	including additional explanatory remarks or providing descriptive equivalents	ExR	9.6
12.	replacing nominalisations with verb phrases	N-VP	5.3
13.	disambiguating lexical metaphors or replacing metaphors with similes	DLM	43.2
14.	lexical specification	LxSp	26.2
15.	meaning specification	MSp	4.2
General coincidence rate concerning all types of shifts		–	**21.3**

To exemplify the distinctiveness of explicitating patterns of different interpreters, I have chosen five random sets of 10 successive (in order of appearance in the corpus) target texts. In each case, these are renditions of half of the source text segments. The division into segments follows the logical macro-structure of each of the source texts, so the segments are not strictly equal in length and range from 64 to 143 words. Taking into account the differences in length, Texts 1 and 2 have been divided into 18 segments, Texts 3 and 4 into 16, while Texts 4 and 6 into 14 chunks each. The division into segments seems to be essential to show the disparities between the explicitating patterns of individual interpreters, as these are more visible at the micro-level rather than from the total count or the list of shifts per subject.

As indicated earlier in this section, a given shift is considered as exhibiting coincidence when it is performed by at least five out 40 interpreters. Tables 6.8–6.12 present the shifts made by selected subjects in order of occurrence in the target texts. Naturally, in many cases, not all five occurrences are visible in the exemplification below since it presents only selected renditions, a sample of the corpus, but the measurement of coincidence is based on the occurrences in the entire batch of 40 outputs.

Table 6.8. Explicitating shifts performed by 10 selected participants (P21–P30) in into-A interpreting

TSgm	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	P28	P29	P30
1	MSp MSp ACon MSp DLM Hdg	M/Q ACon DLM M/Q	M/Q ACon DLM ACon ACon	N-VP DLM ACon	ACon DLM	LxSp ACon DLM	ACon N-VP	MSp Reit MSp MSp	LxPF	MSp ACon ACon
2	LxPF ExR ACon ACon	LxPF ACon N-VP M/Q LxPF	ICT ICT LxPF	Hdg ICT Hdg Reit ACon	–	DOI MSp PrN ExR ACon	MSp	–	ACon	–
3	ExR ICT MSp N-VP ACon MSp	MSp ACon LxSp M/Q LxPF M/Q	FEll	ACon LxSp ACon M/Q Reit	ACon ACon	ACon LxSp PrN	M/Q	M/Q LxSp ICT M/Q MSp	ICT ACon MSp	M/Q ACon M/Q
4	LxPF LxPF	Hdg ACon MSp Reit	LxSp	ACon M/Q ACon M/Q	ACon ACon	M/Q LxPF Reit	ACon	ACon ACon ACon	–	ACon LxSp ACon LxSp Reit ACon
5	ACon	–	ACon	MSp	–	LxSp	MSp	ICT ACon ACon	ACon	LxSp

6	MSp Reit Reit	ACon ACon Reit ACon	Reit Reit LxSp M/Q	N-VP N-VP	N-VP ACon M/Q MSp	ACon ACon ACon	Reit MSp	ACon	Reit ACon	MSp ACon ACon FEll
7	ACon N-VP ACon	ACon LxSp	M/Q M/Q ACon	LxSp M/Q ACon LxPF	–	LxSp M/Q ICT	N-VP N-VP	N-VP ACon ACon LxPF	ACon	M/Q M/Q ACon Reit
8	DLM	Hdg DLM	ICT	ACon DLM ICT	–	LxSp FEll FEll	ACon	–	MSp	–
9	ACon M/Q ACon MSp LxSp ACon ACon	ACon M/Q M/Q	ACon LxSp	ACon ACon N-VP ACon M/Q M/Q	ACon M/Q	M/Q M/Q Reit ACon LSp	ExR	ACon ACon ICT	M/Q	ACon ACon M/Q M/Q

Table 6.9. Explicitating shifts performed by 10 selected participants (P31–P40) in into-A interpreting

TSgm	P31	P32	P33	P34	P35	P36	P37	P38	P39	P40
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
10	MSp ACon Reit FEll N-VP	M/Q ACon	ACon ACon ACon	ACon M/Q M/Q	M/Q ICT LSp M/Q FEll ACon	ACon ACon M/Q ACon Hdg ACon MSp FEll M/Q ACon	ACon	Reit M/Q	MSp	Reit
11	MSp	–	ACon ACon Reit N-VP MSp	M/Q	ACon MSp	MSp	ACon	–	M/Q	Hdg ACon
12	MSp	–	Reit	–	ACon	–	ACon Reit	ACon M/Q	–	Reit
13	M/Q MSp M/Q	MSp Reit	Reit M/Q	M/Q LxSp	LxSp M/Q	ACon M/Q FEll M/Q	DOI	MSp Reit	ACon	Reit

Table 6.9 continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
14	LxSp ACon	–	AC- onN- VP ACon	–	ACon	ACon ACon ACon	–	M/Q ACon M/Q	ACon MSp	Hdg ACon ACon
15	LxSp M/Q MSp	FEll M/Q	–	FEll ACon	DLM M/Q ExR DLM	FEll ACon M/Q M/Q	–	M/Q N-VP	FEll MSp	FEll Reit
16	–	–	ACon LxSp	MSp	ACon ACon	ACon ACon	–	LxPF	–	–
17	–	ACon LxSp M/Q	–	–	LxSp Reit	–	–	–	LxSp	–
18	PrN	–	PrN Hdg MSp	M/Q	PrN	M/Q	M/Q	LSp	–	ICT M/Q

Table 6.10. Explicitating shifts performed by 10 selected participants (P21–P30) in into-B interpreting

TSgm	P21	P22	P23	P24	P25	P26	P27	P28	P29	P30
10	ACon FEll	ACon Hdg	M/Q ACon MSp LxSp	MSp ACon MSp	ACon	ACon	ACon ACon FEll	N-VP LxSp MSp	–	ACon M/Q DLM MSp ACon LxSp
11	ACon LxSp	M/Q	Reit ACon	ACon DLM M/Q MSp	ACon	ACon	LxSp	ACon	ACon Reit	Reit ACon
12	PrN PrN PrN PrN M/Q LxPF FEll ACon M/Q	LxSp MSp FEll ACon LxSp LxSp	FEll	M/Q FEll MSp MSp FEll	LxSp ACon FEll	Reit Reit	FEll Reit M/Q M/Q ITC	LxSp FEll	–	MSp MSp
13	LxSp	ACon Reit MSp	LxSp	MSp Reit LxSp	–	LxSp ACon	MSp	LxSp	M/Q ACon ACon	N-VP LxSp M/Q

14	Reit Reit DLM Reit	LxSp FEll ICT ACon	Reit ACon	ACon Reit	LxSp ICT ACon	Hdg	M/Q LxSp	–	–	Reit ACon
15	Reit LxSp FEll	LxSp	ACon ExR	LxSp	ExR LxSp	ExR Reit MSp	–	–	FEll	Reit
16	N-VP N-VP ACon N-VP	ACon LxSp LxSp MSp	DOI N-VP	M/Q LxSp LxPF Reit MSp	Reit	Reit Reit Reit ACon ExR Hdg ACon ACon LxSp	M/Q	ACon ACon ACon	Reit ACon	ExR M/Q
17	Hdg FEll Reit LxSp FEll ACon	LxSp ExR ACon N-VP	ACon LxSp	LxSp PrN ExR M/Q	ACon ACon	ACon	ExR	–	ACon	Reit ACon ACon M/Q
18	Reit M/Q ACon DLM	ACon ACon M/Q DLM	ACon M/Q MSp DLM	ACon	Reit M/Q ACon	PrN ACon ACon Reit M/Q ACon FEll	ACon DLM	–	ACon	Reit Hdg

Table 6.11. Explicitating shifts performed by 10 selected participants (P61–P70) in into-B interpreting

TSgm	P61	P62	P63	P64	P65	P66	P67	P68	P69	P70
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	ACon DLM MSp LxSp	M/Q M/Q Reit	Reit ACon ACon	M/Q DLM M/Q	ACon DLM	ACon LxSp DLM Hdg Hdg	DLM LxSp	MSp ACon	ACon M/Q Reit	M/Q Reit ACon ICT M/Q LxPF ACon M/Q
2	DOI FEll	ACon	LxSp	FEll	FEll LxSp	Hdg ExR M/Q	FEll M/Q M/Q ACon	ACon LxSp DOI FEll	ACon FEll	ACon Reit MSp Reit ACon

Table 6.11 continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
3	ACon Reit ACon ACon	ExR ACon ACon	DOI ACon ICT	ExR LxSp	ACon ACon LxSp	ACon LxSp ACon MSp ACon ACon	M/Q ACon ACon	ACon Reit ACon ACon Reit	DOI ACon DOI ACon ACon ACon M/Q	Reit Reit ACon ACon DOI Reit
4	ACon M/Q MSp N-VP ACon Reit ACon	ACon M/Q ACon ACon ExR ACon	Reit N-VP Reit Reit ExR	ACon ICT DOI	FEll ACon MSp ACon	ACon LxPF MSp ACon ACon	ACon FEll FEll ACon	ACon DOI Reit ACon	ACon M/Q ACon ACon	ACon ACon Reit FEll LxSp ACon MSp ACon
5	ACon M/Q Reit M/Q	N-VP M/Q M/Q	ACon MSp ACon FEll MSp	ACon M/Q LXSp ExR	ACon MSp ACon DLM ACon Reit	M/Q ACon ACon ExR DLM Reit ACon LxPF	ACon DLM MSp ACon Reit	ACon ACon M/Q ACon ICT ACon LxSp LxSp	ACon MSp	FEll Reit ICT
6	LxSp ACon ACon	ACon M/Q ACon ACon	DLM LxSp Reit MSp Reit	ACon LxSp ACon DOI ACon	MSp LxPF MSp LxPF	Reit FEll	ACon M/Q	MSp ACon ACon M/Q	–	ACon Reit ACon N-VP N-VP Reit Reit
7	M/Q	Reit ACon M/Q	M/Q ACon N-Vp	–	LxSp N-Vp ACon N-VP	ACon MSp ACon DOI	ACon	ACon Reit	N-VP	Reit N-VP ACon N-VP N-VP
8	M/Q ExR	Reit LxSp ACon	ACon Reit Reit ExR M/Q	LxSp ACon	Reit ACon ExR M/Q M/Q LxSp MSp	M/Q LxPF	Reit Reit	Reit ACon	ExR LxSp	Reit ExR LxSp

Table 6.12. Explicitating shifts performed by 10 selected participants (P71–P80) in into-A interpreting

TSgm	P71	P72	P73	P74	P75	P76	P77	P78	P79	P80
9	LxPF M/Q	LxSp LxSp Reit LxPF	LxSp LxPF LxPF ACon	LxSp ACon DOI ACon	LxSp	MSp	ACon MSp LxSp	Reit M/Q	M/Q ACon	ACon MSp
10	LxSp ACon	DLM M/Q LxSp LxSp M/Q	DLM	Reit ACon M/Q	ACon	–	ACon MSp LxSp	LxSp N-VP ACon ACon	–	Reit
11	LxSp MSp	LxSp MSp	FEll Reit LxSp MSp	LxPF FEll M/Q	LxSp	LxPF	LxSp	–	Reit	–
12	ACon	LxSp MSp MSp	LxSp ACon FEll LxPF Reit	ExR Reit LxPF	–	ExR ExR Reit	ExR	ACon Reit	–	LxSp
13	Reit LxPF ACon Reit MSp	ITC M/Q MSp LxPF	M/Q DOI LxSp	LxPF ACon N-VP MSp ACon	LxSp ExR	MSp	ICT	ACon ACon Reit	MSp	–
14	MSp LxSp MSp ACon LxSp	ExR ACon LxPF ACon LxPF Reit	Reit ACon LxPF MSp ACon LxPF MSp FEll ACon MSp	LxPF LxPF ACon Reit	LxSp LxPF ACon MSp	Reit LxPF	ACon	ACon	LxSp Reit	Reit ACon
15	Reit ACon Reit	Reit ACon	MSp	ACon LxSp	ACon	FEll ACon ExR	ACon ACon	–	–	Reit M/Q
16	Hdg M/Q	M/Q MSp	MSp MSp	Reit M/Q M/Q	M/Q ACon	ExR LxSp	Reit	–	ACon M/Q	

All 5 samples of the corpus indicate that there are very significant differences in realising the same explicitating potential offered by the same source text.

The distinctiveness of explicitating patterns and styles is also visible when comparing solutions that coincide. It is the case of two interpreters who disambiguate a lexical metaphor: one opts for rendering the meaning components of the metaphor literally, while the other in doing so decides to provide a descriptive equivalent. In both cases, the shift is performed consciously, as it is reported in a similar manner in the retrospective protocols:

(154)
ST (T2): gdy wasze nazwisko stanie się już znane / cokolwiek byście nie zrobili / w stu procentach będzie wielbione przez pochlebców / szczególnie w waszej obecności i oczywiście **do czasu jak wam się noga nie powinie** / każdy autor powinien wiedzieć najlepiej że jego dzieło i praca są bardzo ułomne i pełne błędów
TT1 (P28): when your name will / is is known / yym all that you will do / will be praised by flatterers / yy but **until you make mistake*** / each author should know / that his work and yy is imperfect and full of mistakes
RC7: *Zanim noga się nie powinie* – celowo zmieniłam na *popełnić błąd*, ponieważ nie znam tego wyrażenia po angielsku, a moje tłumaczenie nie zmienia sensu.
TT2 (P38): if your name will become famous whatever you do in one hundred percent you will be adored by the by those who flatter but **by the time you will make a mistake and you will have a difficult time in your life*** / every author should know best that his creation and work or emmm ammm are rich in failures
RC9: Nie miałam pojęcia, jak powiedzieć, że komuś *powinęła się noga*, więc próbowałam jakoś opisowo to ująć.

Another example provides further evidence for differences between coinciding explicitating shifts. The same solution is adopted by five interpreters but with different motivations. Whereas Participants P61 and P67 admit not knowing the equivalent in the target-language, P43 and P47 report the strategy of the economy of expression. Both of them disambiguated the source-text metaphor to save time. The time constraint is also a vital factor for Participant P41, who did not even attempt to retrieve the item from the long term memory for fear of having to postpone the interpreting of further segments while directing the processing capacity to the analysis effort:

(155)
ST (T4): szanowni państwo / jestem przede wszystkim pod wrażeniem / na sali / na sesji etycznej jest ponad pięćset osób / tak mniej więcej to obliczyłem / jeszcze nie byłem w takim miejscu / zwykle takie sesje gromadzą trzydzieści do pięćdziesięciu osób maksimum / więc **naprawdę głęboki ukłon przed Państwem** bo jest to naprawdę coś fantastycznego
TT1 (P67): ladies and gentlemen / I'm really impressed // in this room / and on this ethical session there are over five hundred people / as I estimated it //

such sessions usually gather about thirty to fifty people so **it is really great*** / it's fantastic
RC2: Opuściłam *głęboki ukłon przed Państwem*, ponieważ nie wnosiło to wiele do znaczenia tekstu, a nie potrafiłam wymyślić na szybko tego sformułowania po angielsku.
TT2 (P61): ladies and gentlemen / first of all I'm impressed / in this room / during this ethical session there is over five hundred people / that's how that's what I estimated / I've never been in such a place before usually such sessions gather thirty to fifty people maximum so / I yy I'm **I really want to show my respect towards you*** / it's really a fantastic thing
RC1: Nie byłam pewna, jak przetłumaczyć *głęboki ukłon*, a jako iż to symbol szacunku, tak też to opisałam.
TT3 (P41): here yy there is about yy five hundred yy people as I assume / I have never been in aa such place / usually such ee sessions on such sessions there are thirty to maximum fifty people / so I'm **I appreciate it*** and because this is something fantastic
RC2: *Głęboki ukłon* użyty przez tego pana w przemówieniu, więc nie zastanawiałam się zbytnio jak to przetłumaczyć i powiedziałam, że *doceniam to*, bo zanim bym naprawdę wymyśliła jak jest głęboki ukłon sądzę, że by mi pół tekstu przeleciało.
TT4 (P43): ladies and gentlemen I am particularly impressed yyy that here in this hall there are over fi five hundred people more or less I've never been to such a place / usually such sessions there are forty around fifty people yyy so **it's really impressive*** because it's quite fantastic
RC3: *Głęboki ukłon przed Państwem* przetłumaczyłam jako *it's really impressive*, bo oddaje mniej więcej znaczenie, a jest o wiele krótszym sformułowaniem.
TT5 (P47): ladies and gentleman I'm first of all I'm very impressed in this room y we have more than five hundred people / I've never been in such a place like this / such conferences y are witnessed by y people fifty people / so **I'm really impressed*** because it's very fantastic thing
RC1: Zamieniłem *naprawdę głęboki ukłon przed państwem* na *I'm very impressed* żeby było krócej.

* * *

The great variety of explicitating patterns characterised by a very low coincidence rate proves that explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is a highly idiosyncratic behaviour. As we have seen in the course of this chapter, this is caused by both the "default setting" of each interpreter, that is, his or her individual explicitating style and, most probably, interpreting style on the one hand, and the unpredictability of the pattern in constrained conditions on the other – for instance, when faced with mismanagement or saturation of processing capacity or as a result of a failure sequence.

Conclusions

This part of the book concludes the study by reiterating the main findings that have emerged. It also discusses its relevance and limitations. At the most general level, the study offers some interesting conclusions on the nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting of trainee interpreters that may possibly offer some didactic implications for interpreter training and open up a number of potential avenues for future research.

First of all, it should be emphasised that the study has not attempted to provide an exhaustive account of every aspect of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting. Given the complexity of the phenomenon and the inherently interdisciplinary nature of Translation and Interpreting Studies, such an endeavour is clearly beyond the scope of a single study. Furthermore, we ought to remember that the findings of this study are only valid for a particular language combination and do not necessarily translate into universal tendencies.

The present study has attempted to contribute to the knowledge on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting by providing answers to the following three main research questions:

– Is explicitation a fully conscious, strategic choice of an interpreter or an involuntary, non-strategic behaviour that can possibly be seen as a by-product of language mediation?
– Is explicitation direction-dependent, and if so, to what extent?
– Is explicitation interpreter-specific, and if so, how do the explicitating patterns of various interpreters differ, and to what extent are interpreters consistent in their explicitating styles?

As far as the strategic dimension of explicitation is concerned, the results of the present study confirm the findings of the previous research (Gumul 2006a). Taking into account all surface manifestations of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting that can potentially occur in English–Polish language pair (in both directions of interpreting), it appears that explicitation in SI is mostly non-strategic and involuntary. Only slightly more that 8% of shifts are reported in the retrospective protocols, and there are numerous reports admitting *a posteriori* unconscious explicitating shifts. Such observations made by the participants on the basis of their outputs confirm the non-strategic nature of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting.

It should be emphasised that the strategic character of explicitating shifts is highly surface-form-dependent. The proportion of strategic, reported occurrences of explicitation ranges from the negligible frequency of below 1% for some categories (e.g., adding connectives), or even 0% in the case of intensifying cohesive ties, to 40% for disambiguating lexical metaphors. This disparity is quite predictable, as it reflects the function of such surface features in discourse and the level of automaticity in their production by language users in general.

Both the reported shifts and the product analysis of the transcripts and the recordings indicate that explicitation in SI is to a large extent caused by the specificity of the medium. The deciding factor is that of the inherent mode-specific constraints. In other words, trainee interpreters explicitate above all with a view to facilitate their task of text processing and counteract the constraints intrinsic to simultaneous interpreting. This particular finding might raise some doubts and be challenged on the grounds of the experimental setting of the study. After all, in experimental conditions, even if the audience is present, as in the case of this study, it is not a "real" one. However, the results of the analysis of directionality reveal that this tendency is not uniform in both directions and that despite the lack of real-life audience and authentic conditions, trainee interpreters do think about the target audience when interpreting into their native tongue to a greater extent than in the other direction of interpreting.

As far as the second research question is concerned, explicitating shifts have been found to be relatively more frequent in the retour than in the native. Closer analysis of specific surface forms of explicitation reveals that explicitating shifts prevail only in certain categories. When interpreting into their B language, the participants perform more explicitations in the form of adding connectives, reiteration, meaning specification, adding modifiers and qualifiers, and disambiguating metaphors. This finding may naturally raise some doubts as to its validity, taking into account the specificity of the Polish–English language pair. Polish surface form tends to be slightly longer than English, so the first conclusion that comes to one's mind is that such explicitating shifts are more frequent because interpreters have more time to accommodate additional items when interpreting into English. However, the data shows that this conclusion may be precipitate. First of all, none of the 120 participants verbalises such a reason either in their retrospective protocols or in the survey. Moreover, the product analysis indicates that if "there is more room" for explicitation, such conditions are created by unwanted, undesirable omissions or intentional economy of expression rather than inherently shorter surface form of English.

Leaving aside this quantitative difference in explicitating behaviour, the analysis into directionality offers another crucial difference which appears to be of much more relevance. It is interesting to note the disparity between the native and the retour in the distribution of retrospective reports. There are considerably more comments attributing explicitation to constraints in the retour, whereas, as indicated above, in the native, participants tend to report the reasons falling into the broad category of product- and audience-oriented strategies. This tendency seems to confirm the observation that explicitation in into-B interpreting is due to the interpreting constraints to a greater extent than in the other direction. Thus, as in the case of the majority of constraint-based explicitations oriented towards the process of interpreting, the interpreter's intention is not to make the text more explicit, but to adopt an adequate strategy to cope with the task of interpreting. In other words, the explicitating behaviour is more geared towards self-preservation than aimed at optimal relevance of the transmitted message.

When it comes to the relationship between interpreting style and explicitating behaviour of trainee interpreters, the great variety of explicitating patterns identified in the corpus and at the same time a very low coincidence rate between individual renditions of the same source text lead to the conclusion that explicitation in simultaneous interpreting appears to be a highly idiosyncratic behaviour. This may be partly due to the so-called default setting of each interpreter, that is, his or her individual explicitating style and, most probably, general interpreting style, and partly to the unpredictability of the pattern in constrained conditions.

The analysis of these three aspects of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting also offers some additional findings. With regard to the macro-textual effects of explicitation, there is an interesting correlation between the omission and failure rates and the frequency of explicitating shifts. Explicitation in SI often functions as a compensation for omitted segments. Thus, although the performed explicitating shifts lead to a denser texture, in many cases, they do not necessarily lead to a more explicit target text. We observe clear explicitation on the micro-level, which does not always lead to greater explicitness on the macro-level of the target text.

Figure 7.1 (on the following page) summarises the factors which have been found to influence explicitating behaviour of trainee simultaneous interpreters.

To conclude the findings of my research, I would like to emphasise that the results should not be treated as conclusive and ultimate. A single study, even if conducted on a relatively extensive corpus and employing numerous participants, can only be expected to provide one piece of a jigsaw and merely open up some paths for future research. Certainly, replication of the experiment described in the present study on different language pairs could possibly offer a wider and more comprehensive perspective on this phenomenon. It would also be interesting to see how explicitating shifts correlate with the other postulated interpreting universals.

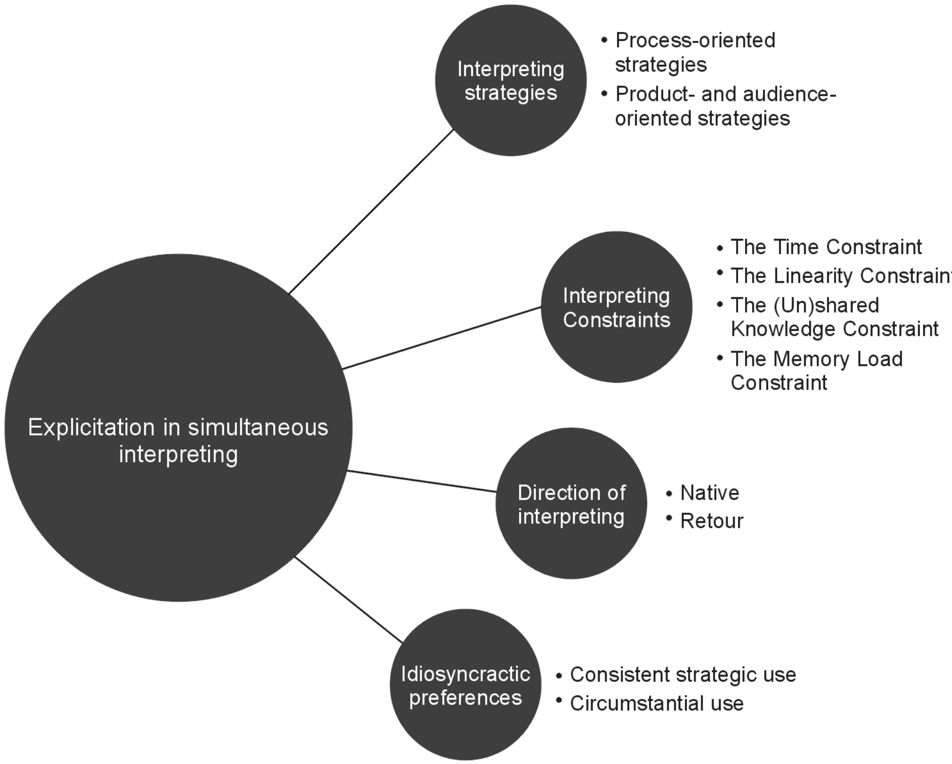

Figure 7.1. Factors influencing explicitation in simultaneous interpreting

One of the possible future lines of research into explicitation in simultaneous interpreting is certainly testing these hypotheses on the corpus of interpretations performed by professional interpreters, whose performance might differ significantly from that of interpreting trainees.

In terms of pedagogical usefulness, further research into explicitation in interpreting may prove especially valuable in terms of designing training paradigms. Heightened awareness of the potential consequences of certain explicitating shifts might contribute to improving the quality of the interpreting product – the target-language text.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The frequency of explicitating shifts for each of the 120 participants

Participants	Native (B–A)			Retour (A–B)		
	Total number of shifts	Strategic	Non-strategic	Total number of shifts	Strategic	Non-strategic
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P01	15	9	6	27	7	20
P02	20	1	19	19	2	17
P03	20	4	16	36	2	34
P04	31	4	27	50	1	49
P05	26	1	25	45	1	44
P06	40	3	37	48	2	46
P07	16	2	14	21	6	15
P08	22	3	19	41	4	37
P09	12	3	9	19	3	16
P10	30	2	28	33	2	31
P11	26	9	17	40	4	36
P12	19	4	15	10	3	7
P13	25	1	24	40	2	38
P14	32	4	28	48	5	43
P15	31	5	26	33	4	29
P16	23	1	22	30	2	28
P17	36	0	36	47	0	47
P18	28	3	25	37	1	36
P19	26	4	22	40	4	36
P20	31	1	30	42	2	40
P21	74	4	70	63	1	62
P22	55	5	50	47	9	38
P23	46	6	40	33	6	27
P24	58	8	50	58	11	47
P25	21	1	20	30	1	29
P26	51	3	48	44	6	38

Appendix 1 continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
P27	20	3	17	25	2	23
P28	38	6	32	19	4	15
P29	19	6	13	19	3	16
P30	47	9	38	46	11	35
P31	30	11	19	28	5	23
P32	22	11	11	25	3	22
P33	41	1	40	34	2	32
P34	17	0	17	21	3	18
P35	45	4	41	31	1	30
P36	45	1	44	51	1	50
P37	12	0	12	9	1	8
P38	23	2	21	25	2	23
P39	19	3	16	25	2	23
P40	17	5	12	16	4	12
P41	15	4	11	16	1	15
P42	29	1	28	35	2	33
P43	41	4	37	54	3	51
P44	31	2	29	42	3	39
P45	18	2	16	39	3	36
P46	15	5	10	12	4	8
P47	39	5	34	40	2	38
P48	17	3	14	35	4	31
P49	16	2	14	26	1	25
P50	19	0	19	30	0	30
P51	39	1	38	45	0	45
P52	36	4	32	60	0	60
P53	32	2	30	49	2	47
P54	41	2	39	60	1	59
P55	28	0	28	39	1	38
P56	30	2	28	40	2	38
P57	27	1	26	35	1	34
P58	30	3	27	38	3	35
P59	20	1	19	26	1	25
P60	12	1	11	23	1	22
P61	25	8	17	58	3	55
P62	22	0	22	52	0	52
P63	34	0	34	60	4	56
P64	20	1	19	40	6	34
P65	38	6	32	61	6	55
P66	36	6	30	62	8	54
P67	30	6	24	46	3	43
P68	19	0	19	59	3	56
P69	30	6	24	36	2	34
P70	34	3	31	60	2	58
P71	32	1	31	48	2	46
P72	40	10	30	62	7	55

P73	42	3	39	47	2	45
P74	33	4	29	59	1	58
P75	18	0	18	40	0	40
P76	15	4	11	31	2	29
P77	13	0	13	25	0	25
P78	15	2	13	27	1	26
P79	20	0	20	25	1	24
P80	14	1	13	23	0	23
P81	10	0	10	23	0	23
P82	25	5	20	33	2	31
P83	12	0	12	25	0	25
P84	9	0	9	15	0	15
P85	19	1	18	20	1	19
P86	22	0	22	31	1	30
P87	16	0	16	25	1	25
P88	10	1	9	17	0	17
P89	17	1	16	27	2	25
P90	19	1	18	30	1	29
P91	31	6	25	36	4	32
P92	20	3	17	30	6	24
P93	22	1	21	26	0	26
P94	16	1	15	29	2	27
P95	28	3	25	37	4	33
P96	18	3	15	26	1	25
P97	23	0	23	35	2	33
P98	29	3	26	33	4	29
P99	37	4	33	32	2	30
P100	15	1	14	19	0	19
P101	27	3	24	38	6	32
P102	29	1	28	31	0	29
P103	18	0	18	34	2	32
P104	34	6	28	29	4	25
P105	25	0	25	29	0	29
P106	31	4	27	27	3	24
P107	20	0	20	33	0	33
P108	37	3	34	48	3	45
P109	21	2	19	34	4	30
P110	36	6	30	47	5	42
P111	15	0	15	29	0	29
P112	23	2	21	26	1	25
P113	12	0	12	39	1	38
P114	12	0	12	28	1	27
P115	16	0	16	24	0	24
P116	26	1	25	37	1	36
P117	14	0	14	17	2	15
P118	29	4	25	46	3	43
P119	22	0	22	35	0	35
P120	12	1	11	29	0	29

Appendix 2: Surface forms of all shifts (reported and unreported)

Participants	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B
	ACon	ACon	ICT	ICT	LxPF	LxPF	Reit	Reit	FElli	FElli	Md/Q	Md/Q	Hdg	Hdg
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
P01	2	8	0	1	0	2	1	5	1	0	3	6	0	0
P02	9	4	0	1	1	0	5	2	0	1	1	6	0	0
P03	8	11	0	1	0	0	2	6	1	2	4	6	0	0
P04	11	17	1	0	0	1	2	6	4	2	8	11	1	1
P05	7	17	0	0	0	0	4	8	1	1	10	4	0	0
P06	12	13	0	2	2	1	5	5	1	1	12	5	1	1
P07	6	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	4	2	0	1
P08	6	11	0	0	0	2	2	9	1	2	3	7	0	1
P09	4	8	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	2	0	0
P10	6	9	1	1	1	1	5	7	1	0	3	7	0	1
P11	9	12	1	0	0	0	5	9	1	0	2	4	0	1
P12	8	2	0	0	0	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	0
P13	6	11	0	2	2	1	2	9	0	1	8	4	1	1
P14	4	11	1	0	1	1	5	14	0	1	3	5	1	1
P15	7	5	1	1	0	1	4	8	1	0	3	7	0	1
P16	5	9	0	2	1	1	2	2	0	1	8	6	1	0
P17	10	9	3	0	4	1	6	12	2	2	5	9	0	1
P18	6	11	3	0	1	0	8	5	2	1	3	3	1	0
P19	7	10	0	0	1	0	4	5	2	2	6	7	0	1
P20	5	16	1	0	0	1	4	6	2	0	4	7	2	1
P21	19	9	3	0	4	2	9	13	2	8	8	13	2	2
P22	12	11	0	2	4	1	5	5	1	1	13	5	3	1
P23	11	11	3	0	3	0	8	5	2	1	8	3	3	0
P24	17	20	3	0	3	1	4	7	2	2	13	8	2	2
P25	10	11	0	1	0	0	1	3	1	2	5	6	0	0
P26	14	11	1	0	1	1	5	14	2	1	10	5	1	2
P27	9	4	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	3	1	8	0	0
P28	16	7	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	5	2	0	0
P29	6	7	1	0	1	1	2	6	1	2	2	1	0	0
P30	16	16	0	0	0	0	4	8	3	1	10	4	0	2
P31	6	4	1	1	0	1	3	7	1	0	4	7	0	1
P32	6	3	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	2	3	7	0	1
P33	15	11	1	0	0	0	3	6	0	1	8	5	1	0
P34	5	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	6	3	0	1
P35	14	10	1	0	0	0	2	4	2	0	11	7	2	1
P36	19	17	2	0	0	1	2	6	4	2	10	11	1	3
P37	7	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	2	2	0	0
P38	4	8	0	2	2	1	2	2	0	1	8	6	1	0
P39	3	3	2	1	0	2	1	5	1	3	5	5	0	1

B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B
DOI	DOI	PrN	PrN	FAA	FAA	ExR	ExR	N-VP	N-VP	DLM	DLM	LxSp	LxSp	MSp	MSp
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	4
0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	2	6
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	2	0	8
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	2	2	1	7
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	2	2	7	2	9
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	5
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	2	2	2	4	4
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	1	2
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	8	3	3	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	7
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	5
1	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	6	3	6	8
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	4	2	8	5
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	3	5
0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	2	2	2	1	0	5
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	3	1	3	2	7
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	4	3	8
0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	2	1	5	4	2	4
0	1	0	4	0	0	2	1	7	3	2	2	5	5	11	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	2	6	8	7	8
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	3	5	4	2	2
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	5	0	2	4	3	5	3	7
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	3	2	1
1	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	6	4	6	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	2	0	2	3	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	2	3	6	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	3	1
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	4	6	2	7	6
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	5	3	8	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	2	2	2	6	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	2	1	1	4	7	3	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	6	2	2
0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	5	4	2	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	6	3	3
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	2	3	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	4	2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
P40	5	4	1	1	0	0	4	1	1	0	1	2	2	4
P41	4	4	0	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	0
P42	7	11	0	1	3	1	4	6	0	0	2	6	2	1
P43	5	16	1	1	2	3	6	10	1	0	4	9	1	0
P44	10	13	3	1	0	2	4	9	1	1	3	7	0	0
P45	6	14	0	0	3	2	1	8	0	0	1	6	0	0
P46	4	4	1	1	3	1	2	4	0	0	1	1	0	0
P47	8	11	0	2	5	2	4	9	3	0	2	9	1	0
P48	5	10	0	1	2	3	3	8	0	0	3	8	0	0
P49	8	13	0	2	0	0	3	6	0	0	2	1	0	0
P50	8	14	0	0	1	1	4	6	0	0	2	8	0	0
P51	8	15	1	0	1	2	7	11	1	0	3	4	1	0
P52	10	17	1	2	4	2	9	15	0	1	3	8	0	0
P53	6	14	1	2	3	4	7	12	0	0	3	5	1	1
P54	12	17	2	0	5	3	7	12	2	1	4	11	0	0
P55	7	12	1	0	0	2	4	9	0	1	4	7	0	0
P56	7	14	0	1	6	0	4	11	1	2	5	7	0	0
P57	9	10	0	2	1	2	3	7	0	2	4	4	0	0
P58	6	13	0	1	3	1	4	8	0	0	2	6	2	1
P59	7	11	0	0	1	0	3	8	0	0	6	6	1	0
P60	4	9	1	2	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	1	0	1
P61	7	18	0	2	1	2	3	12	0	2	4	10	0	0
P62	7	17	0	0	1	2	3	9	0	0	6	13	1	0
P63	10	19	1	2	4	1	7	15	0	1	3	8	0	0
P64	5	10	0	1	2	1	3	9	0	2	3	8	0	0
P65	7	18	1	2	1	0	7	13	1	2	3	6	1	2
P66	12	18	0	0	5	3	6	12	1	1	4	8	0	3
P67	8	14	3	1	0	2	4	8	1	3	3	8	0	0
P68	7	18	1	2	1	2	4	11	0	1	2	8	0	2
P69	7	12	1	0	0	0	4	6	0	1	4	7	0	0
P70	6	15	1	2	3	3	7	15	0	2	3	9	1	1
P71	6	15	0	1	3	1	4	12	0	0	2	6	2	2
P72	5	17	1	2	4	2	4	12	0	1	4	9	2	3
P73	7	12	0	2	5	2	4	13	3	0	2	9	1	2
P74	7	15	0	1	6	0	4	15	1	2	5	13	0	3
P75	6	15	0	0	3	1	1	7	0	1	1	7	0	0
P76	2	6	0	1	2	1	3	6	1	0	0	7	0	2
P77	4	9	1	2	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	1	0	1
P78	7	12	0	2	0	0	3	6	0	0	2	1	0	2
P79	7	15	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	2
P80	2	5	2	1	0	0	3	12	0	0	0	2	0	1
P81	3	8	0	0	0	1	2	6	1	0	2	4	0	0

Appendix 2 continued

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	2	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	4
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	3	3	3	6
0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	3	3	1	0	9	2	6	8
1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	1	4	5
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	4	4	2	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	5	0	7	5
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	3	4	9	7
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	5	8
0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	6	0	3	6
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	2	2	3	5	7
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	0	7	1	0	3
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	4
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	1	3	1	4	3
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	6	2	4	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	0
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	1	2	4	5	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	1	4	0	2
0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	5	4
1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	3	4	2	0
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	1	2	3	6	9	5
1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	2	2	5	4	4
1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	0	1	3	3	5	3
0	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	4	0	1	2	4	1	2
1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	0	0	7	3	2	1
1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	5	0	0	6	3	4	2
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	6	3	5	4
0	3	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	3	1	0	10	5	6	2
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	2	5	2	10	2
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	5	6	2	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	4	4	2	2
0	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	2	2
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	2	1	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	1	0
1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	0
0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
P82	9	14	0	1	1	2	4	9	1	0	1	0	1	0
P83	4	11	1	0	0	1	4	7	0	0	1	3	0	0
P84	2	3	0	1	0	0	4	3	0	0	1	3	0	0
P85	8	7	0	0	0	1	2	4	2	1	3	2	1	0
P86	7	14	1	0	0	0	5	9	1	0	4	2	0	0
P87	6	11	1	2	0	1	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	1
P88	2	5	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	2	0
P89	10	11	1	0	0	0	4	6	0	0	2	5	0	0
P90	7	13	0	2	0	1	6	8	0	0	2	2	0	0
P91	5	6	0	0	0	1	7	7	4	2	2	4	0	1
P92	8	12	0	0	0	1	4	7	1	0	4	4	1	0
P93	5	8	0	0	0	1	6	5	0	1	5	3	0	1
P94	2	5	1	2	0	1	3	8	0	0	4	1	2	1
P95	10	9	0	1	0	3	8	9	0	2	2	0	0	0
P96	4	7	0	0	1	2	3	8	0	0	3	3	1	0
P97	6	9	0	0	2	1	6	7	0	1	2	3	1	0
P98	12	9	0	1	3	2	6	9	1	0	1	4	0	1
P99	11	10	0	1	1	2	8	11	2	0	5	3	0	0
P100	6	8	0	0	0		6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
P101	12	13	0	0	1	2	4	9	1	0	4	3	0	1
P102	13	11	1	0	1	2	6	8	0	0	0	1	1	1
P103	8	19	0	1	0	0	7	6	0	1	0	0	0	1
P104	12	11	0	0	1	0	8	6	0	1	5	4	1	0
P105	5	6	2	0	2	2	2	5	1	2	3	4	0	0
P106	12	9	0	0	0	1	6	6	1	0	5	3	0	0
P107	3	9	1	2	2	2	7	8	0	1	3	3	0	0
P108	12	16	0	1	3	2	5	9	1	0	1	4	2	1
P109	4	8	0	1	0	1	4	8	0	1	3	4	0	1
P110	12	17	1	2	1	3	8	5	0	0	3	3	0	1
P111	3	10	1	0	1	0	3	5	0	0	2	3	1	0
P112	6	7	0	1	1	2	6	7	0	1	5	4	0	0
P113	3	10	0	1	0	3	3	5	1	0	3	3	0	0
P114	5	11	0	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
P115	4	10	0	0	2	2	2	1	0	0	3	0	1	0
P116	9	14	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	0
P117	2	6	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	0
P118	10	17	0	0	1	3	5	3	0	0	4	4	0	0
P119	6	14	1	0	2	3	4	6	2	0	2	2	1	0
P120	3	10	0	0	0	2	3	3	0	0	2	3	1	0

Appendix 2 continued

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	5	7
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	2
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	3
0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	5
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
1	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	2	3	0	1	2	3	4	6
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	5
0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	2	1	4
0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	2	5
0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	3
0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	2	3	2	6
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	3
0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	2
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4
0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	3	1	3
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	2	2	2	4
0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	1	1
0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	4	3
1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	3	2	1	5
0	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	1	1	1	4
1	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	2	3	0	1	2	2	4	7
1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	3	5
0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	3	4	4	8
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	6
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	2
0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	5	1	7
0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	3	1	6
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	6
0	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	1	1	5	4	8
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	2	1	5
1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	1	2	6	2	9
0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	3	0	5
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	5	0	5

Appendix 3: Surface forms of reported shifts

Participants	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B
	ACon	ACon	ICT	ICT	LxPF	LxPF	Reit	**Reit**	**FElli**	**FElli**	**Md/Q**	**Md/Q**	**Hdg**	**Hdg**
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**
P01							1	2			1	1		
P02								1						
P03		1					2							
P04							2				2			
P05														
P06														
P07								2						
P08							2	1						1
P09							1							
P10					1			1	1					
P11							1		1		2			1
P12						1	1	1						
P13														1
P14							2	1			1	1		
P15							4	2						
P16							1	1						
P17														
P18							1	1						
P19											1			
P20								1						
P21														
P22		1					1	2						
P23							4	3				1		
P24							2	3			1	1		
P25								1						
P26		1			1	1		3						
P27														
P28					1		2							
P29					1			1			1			
P30							3	1				1		
P31											1	1		
P32		1					2		1					
P33								1			1			
P34														1
P35											1			
P36											1			
P37								1						
P38					1									
P39								1						

	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B	B-A	A-B
	DOI	**DOI**	**PrN**	**PrN**	**FAA**	**FAA**	**ExR**	**ExR**	**N-VP**	**N-VP**	**DLM**	**DLM**	**LxSp**	**LxSp**	**MSp**	**MSp**
	16	**17**	**18**	**19**	**20**	**21**	**22**	**23**	**24**	**25**	**26**	**27**	**28**	**29**	**30**	**31**
													1		6	4
															1	1
													1		1	1
												1				
												1			1	
												2	1		2	
								2				2			2	
												1			1	1
								1				1	1		1	1
														1		
							2					2			3	1
								1	1						2	
															1	1
	1			1								1		1		
							1	1				1				
								1								
							1						1			
														2	3	2
															1	1
											1	1			3	
											2	1	1	4	1	1
												2	1		1	
											1	3	2	2	2	2
															1	
				1							1				1	
									1			2			2	
												3		1	3	
											1	1	1		2	1
				1					1	1		3	1	1	4	3
			1									2	2	1	7	1
									2			1			6	1
												1				
												1				1
											2			1	1	
																1
												2			1	
															3	1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
P40	1						3						1	
P41					1									
P42														
P43					1		1	1	1					
P44							2	3						
P45								1						
P46					3	1		2			1			
P47					1			1			1			
P48		1					1	1			1	1		
P49							1							
P50														
P51									1					
P52							1							
P53														
P54														
P55														
P56							1					1		
P57							1	1						
P58							2	2						
P59							1	1						
P60								1						
P61							3	1		1				
P62														
P63								4						
P64		1										1		
P65							3			2				1
P66					1		1	1	1					1
P67		1									1			
P68										1				
P69														
P70								1						
P71		1												
P72								2				1		
P73														1
P74							1	1						
P75														
P76							2	2						
P77														
P78								1						
P79														
P80														
P81														

Appendix 3 continued

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
										1		3				
												1			3	
														1	1	1
													1	1		1
													2			2
												1			1	
												1			3	
														1	1	
															1	1
															3	
															2	2
															2	1
																1
							1									1
															1	1
															1	
												1			5	
								1				1		2	1	
												1		1	3	1
								1				1		1	3	3
												1	2	1	3	
														2		
								1	1	1			3		2	
	1												1		1	1
															1	1
								2			1		5	2	4	
												1	2		1	
							1						1		1	
															2	
													1		1	
								1								
													1			

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
P82											1			
P83														
P84														
P85							1	1						
P86								1						
P87														
P88														
P89							1							
P90														
P91							1							
P92						1	1	3						
P93														
P94								2			1			
P95								1						
P96								1						
P97								1						
P98														
P99							1	2						
P100							1							
P101						1					2	1		
P102														
P103														
P104								1			1			
P105														
P106											1			
P107														
P108											1	1		
P109		1						1			1	1		
P110					1	1		1						
P111														
P112											1			
P113														
P114														
P115														
P116		1									1			
P117								1						
P118														
P119														
P120														

Appendix 3 continued

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
															4	2
												1				
															1	
												1		1		
							1									1
							1						1	1	3	3
			1	1										1	1	
															1	
							1	1				1	1		1	1
															3	
																1
								2					1		2	2
							1				1				1	
				1						1		1	1			1
			1													
												1		1		
			1	1								1			4	1
				1										2	3	
			1	1			1							1		
							1									1
			2	1									3	1		1
							1									1
												1				
								1								
												1				
							2					1		1	2	1
													1			

Appendix 4: The number of all retrospective comments verbalised by the participants

Types of retrospective comments	Coding symbol	Number of comments
Total number of retrospective comments	TC	5005
Relevant comments	RC	3933
Irrelevant comments	IrC	1072

Types of retrospective comments	Coding symbol	Number of comments
Comments reporting explicitation	CEx	618
Irrelevant comments related to explicitation	IrC Ex	113

Participants	Native					Retour				
	TC	RC	IrC	CEx	IrC Ex	TC	RC	IrC	CEx	IrC Ex
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	177
Total	**2445**	**1920**	**525**	**326**	**63**	**2560**	**2013**	**547**	**292**	**50**
P01	37	37	0	9	0	21	19	2	7	1
P02	30	20	16	1	1	7	7	0	2	1
P03	24	18	6	4	0	32	22	10	2	0
P04	17	13	4	4	1	30	24	6	1	1
P05	15	10	5	1	0	9	7	2	1	0
P06	30	21	9	3	1	30	19	11	2	1
P07	36	30	6	2	1	54	39	15	6	1
P08	25	25	0	3	0	50	46	4	4	0
P09	33	26	7	3	1	43	30	13	3	0
P10	18	12	6	2	0	27	19	8	2	0
P11	26	23	3	9	0	11	8	3	4	0
P12	20	16	4	4	0	16	10	6	3	0
P13	7	4	3	1	0	25	21	4	2	1
P14	34	29	5	4	2	30	30	0	5	1
P15	11	11	0	5	0	18	18	0	4	0
P16	30	23	7	1	0	22	22	0	2	0
P17	16	8	8	0	1	8	3	5	0	1
P18	15	11	4	3	0	12	10	2	1	0
P19	15	12	3	4	0	24	22	2	4	1
P20	56	32	24	1	1	48	29	19	2	2
P21	14	13	1	4	0	8	6	2	1	0
P22	38	38	0	5	1	28	28	0	9	0
P23	23	18	5	6	1	16	14	2	6	0
P24	16	16	0	8	0	25	25	0	11	0
P25	11	8	3	1	0	26	20	6	1	0
P26	6	6	0	3	0	11	11	0	6	0

P27	29	15	14	3	0	21	17	4	2	0
P28	25	16	9	6	4	25	15	10	4	3
P29	37	30	7	6	3	19	12	7	3	2
P30	29	29	0	9	0	25	25	0	11	0
P31	38	38	0	11	0	32	32	0	5	0
P32	36	30	6	11	1	30	22	9	3	1
P33	40	21	19	1	4	29	16	13	2	4
P34	17	7	10	0	0	13	8	5	3	0
P35	15	15	0	4	0	9	9	0	1	0
P36	23	20	3	1	0	26	21	5	1	0
P37	29	14	15	0	0	47	25	22	1	0
P38	29	29	0	2	0	27	25	2	2	0
P39	17	12	5	3	2	11	8	3	2	1
P40	68	36	32	5	1	82	43	39	4	2
P41	24	22	2	4	0	11	11	0	1	0
P42	12	11	1	1	1	9	9	0	2	0
P43	20	14	6	4	0	17	17	0	3	0
P44	7	7	0	2	0	25	14	11	3	1
P45	21	19	3	2	2	17	17	0	3	0
P46	20	17	3	5	1	25	20	5	4	0
P47	22	22	0	5	0	9	9	0	2	0
P48	5	5	0	3	0	9	7	2	4	0
P49	9	9	0	2	0	10	9	1	1	0
P50	14	10	4	0	2	19	9	10	0	0
P51	12	11	1	1	0	18	17	1	0	1
P52	8	8	0	4	0	10	6	4	0	0
P53	26	23	3	2	0	27	19	8	2	0
P54	23	10	13	2	2	34	10	14	1	2
P55	16	9	7	0	0	11	7	4	1	0
P56	18	16	2	2	1	12	8	4	2	0
P57	10	10	0	1	0	18	18	0	1	0
P58	25	25	0	3	0	20	20	0	3	0
P59	9	8	1	1	0	14	10	4	1	0
P60	15	14	1	1	0	18	15	3	1	1
P61	17	17	0	8	0	11	11	0	3	0
P62	36	22	14	0	0	43	30	13	0	1
P63	17	16	1	0	1	22	22	0	4	0
P64	20	20	0	1	0	19	19	0	6	0
P65	16	16	0	6	0	26	26	0	6	0
P66	28	27	1	6	0	25	23	2	8	1
P67	19	16	3	6	0	16	11	5	3	0
P68	7	6	1	0	0	6	6	0	3	0
P69	20	20	0	6	0	20	20	0	2	0
P70	14	8	6	3	0	11	7	4	2	1

Appendix 4 continued

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
P71	13	13	0	1	0	17	17	0	2	0
P72	27	27	0	10	0	19	19	0	7	0
P73	24	24	0	3	0	39	39	0	2	0
P74	42	35	7	4	0	27	20	7	1	1
P75	23	9	14	0	0	18	8	10	0	1
P76	30	28	2	4	1	31	26	5	2	1
P77	11	9	2	0	0	13	12	1	0	0
P78	14	14	0	2	0	25	25	0	1	0
P79	10	9	1	0	0	16	13	3	1	1
P80	33	28	5	1	1	38	28	10	0	1
P81	8	8	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0
P82	20	20	0	5	4	26	26	0	2	0
P83	30	0	30	0	0	22	0	22	0	0
P84	24	0	24	0	2	5	0	5	0	1
P85	14	9	5	1	0	12	8	4	1	1
P86	4	4	0	0	0	18	6	12	1	0
P87	13	8	5	0	0	8	3	5	1	0
P88	11	6	5	1	0	5	2	3	0	0
P89	19	15	3	1	1	13	11	2	2	0
P90	18	10	8	1	1	25	14	9	1	1
P91	11	11	0	6	0	14	13	1	4	0
P92	26	19	7	3	4	30	31	1	6	0
P93	16	15	1	1	0	20	20	0	0	0
P94	6	6	0	1	0	14	14	0	2	0
P95	6	6	0	3	0	11	11	0	4	0
P96	7	7	0	3	0	8	8	0	1	0
P97	14	12	2	0	0	17	13	4	2	0
P98	18	16	2	3	1	26	22	4	4	0
P99	30	28	2	4	0	24	23	1	2	0
P100	23	23	0	1	0	18	18	0	0	0
P101	14	13	1	3	1	26	24	2	6	1
P102	36	16	20	1	0	26	14	12	0	1
P103	13	9	4	0	0	17	12	5	2	1
P104	21	19	2	6	1	27	24	3	4	0
P105	19	19	0	0	0	17	15	2	0	0
P106	22	20	2	4	2	26	21	5	3	1
P107	8	4	4	0	3	23	20	3	0	0
P108	48	45	3	3	0	60	52	8	3	0
P109	17	16	1	2	0	19	17	2	4	0
P110	12	12	0	6	1	18	18	0	5	0
P111	24	0	24	0	1	20	2	18	0	1
P112	14	14	0	2	0	17	17	0	1	0

P113	6	6	0	0	0	20	20	0	1	0
P114	14	12	2	0	1	9	5	4	1	1
P115	3	1	2	0	2	6	2	4	0	2
P116	9	9	0	1	0	7	6	1	1	1
P117	32	22	10	0	0	38	20	18	2	1
P118	13	13	0	4	0	36	33	3	3	0
P119	24	15	9	0	0	19	6	13	0	0
P120	6	6	0	1	0	6	6	0	0	0

Appendix 5: Reasons for explicitation reported by the participants in retrospective protocols

No.	Coding symbol	Constraints			Improving the text			Helping the receiver			Avoiding ambiguity		
		T	B-A	A-B	T	B-A	A-B	T	B-A	A-B	T	B-A	A-B
1.	ACon	**3**	1	2	**8**		8						
2.	ITC												
3.	LxPF	**3**	3		**5**	3	2	**8**	6	2	**3**	1	2
4.	Reit	**104**	48	56	**13**	5	8	**8**	4	4	**11**	5	6
5.	FElli	**1**		1	**5**	3	2	**3**	3		**1**		1
6.	Md/Q	**18**	9	9	**12**	10	2	**9**	7	2	**1**	1	
7.	Hdg	**3**	1	2	**3**		3				**2**		2
8.	DOI	**1**	1		**1**	1							
9.	PrN	**6**	2	4	**1**	1		**5**	1	4	**4**	3	1
10.	FAA												
11.	ExR	**20**	7	13	**1**		1	**7**	6	1	**3**	2	1
12.	N-VP	**6**	2	4	**3**	3		**1**	1				
13.	DLM	**53**	3	50	**3**	2	1	**6**	1	5	**4**	4	
14.	LxSp	**34**	11	23	**21**	12	9	**14**	12	2	**6**	5	1
15.	MSp	**104**	59	45	**37**	33	4	**39**	30	9	**14**	14	
	Total	**356**	**147**	**209**	**113**	**73**	**40**	**100**	**71**	**29**	**49**	**35**	**14**

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Ewa Gumul

Eksplicytacja w tłumaczeniu symultanicznym
Analiza zachowań eksplicytacyjnych studentów tłumaczenia ustnego

Streszczenie

Do niedawna uważano, że eksplicytacja, jako zjawisko często przybierające formę amplifikacji tekstowej, występuje niezwykle rzadko w przekładzie symultanicznym, w którym ograniczenia czasowe nie pozwalają na tego typu operacje tekstowe. Badania między innymi Shlesinger (1995) dowiodły jednak, że eksplicytacja występuje w tłumaczeniu symultanicznym i choć uwarunkowana w dużej mierze ograniczeniami medium, nie jest bynajmniej zjawiskiem marginalnym.

Celem niniejszej monografii jest analiza zjawiska eksplicytacji w tłumaczeniu symultanicznym studentów tłumaczenia ustnego. Trzy aspekty, na których skupia się autorka, to strategiczność eksplicytacji, wpływ kierunku tłumaczenia na tego typu zmiany oraz zależność pomiędzy indywidualnym stylem tłumaczenia a zachowaniem eksplicytacyjnym. Badanie ma charakter eksperymentalny. Badany jest zarówno produkt przekładu (poprzez porównanie tekstów wyjściowych z docelowymi), jak i sam proces tłumaczenia symultanicznego (poprzez analizę protokołów retrospektywnych). Korpus pracy stanowią nagrania i transkrypcje 240 tekstów docelowych wykonanych przez 120 tłumaczy – łącznie około 75 godzin nagrań.

Część pierwsza (rozdziały od pierwszego do trzeciego) stanowi wprowadzenie do części empirycznej (drugiej). Rozdział pierwszy przedstawia aktualny stan badań nad eksplicytacją w przekładzie. Eksplicytacja to jedno z najczęściej omawianych zagadnień we współczesnej translatoryce. Jednak przyglądając się licznym opracowaniom i badaniom empirycznym, trudno oprzeć się wrażeniu, że już samo jednoznaczne zdefiniowanie tego zjawiska nastręcza niemałych trudności. Autorka omawia różne propozycje definicji eksplicytacji, zestawiając to pojęcie z pokrewnymi terminami, takimi jak dodanie, amplifikacja czy nadtłumaczenie, oraz charakteryzując pojęcia eksplicytności i implicytności leżące u podstaw eksplicytacji. Definicja przyjęta w niniejszej monografii, oparta w dużej mierze na pracach Murtisari (2013, 2016) i Séguinot (1988), zakłada, że eksplicytacja to transformacja polegająca na eksplicytnym wyrażeniu w tekście docelowym tego, co implicytne w tekście wyjściowym, lub na bardziej eksplicytnym wyrażeniu tego, co już eksplicytne w oryginale. Innymi słowy, eksplicytacja ma miejsce, jeśli treści implikowane czy też presuponowane w tekście wyjściowym zostały wyrażone wprost w tekście docelowym lub jeśli element tekstu wyjściowego został uwydatniony w tekście przekładu poprzez zastosowanie emfazy bądź dobór środków leksykalnych. Innym istotnym czynnikiem definiującym eksplicytację jest jej niezależność od różnic systemowych. Istnieje co prawda szereg prac, w których zmiany uwarunkowane różnicami systemowymi są uważane za tak zwaną eksplicytację obligatoryjną, większość współczesnych badaczy jest jednak zgodna, że za eksplicytację należy uznać jedynie te zmiany, które są całkowicie niezależne od różnic systemowych, a nawet preferencji stylistycznych danej pary języków. Zatem dowodem na istnienie eksplicytacji w tekście przekładu jest możliwość wypracowania jego poprawnej, lecz mniej eksplicytnej wersji.

W rozdziale drugim zostały omówione mechanizmy językowe, które służą eksplikowaniu treści w tekście docelowym. Eksplicytacja może przyjmować formę amplifikacji tekstowej, a co za tym idzie, pociągać za sobą wprowadzenie do tekstu docelowego dodatkowych elementów leksykalnych lub syntaktycznych, lub formę konkretyzacji, która wiąże się nie z wprowadzeniem dodatkowych elementów, a jedynie z uwydatnieniem istniejących poprzez dobór bardziej eksplicytnych środków leksykalnych lub struktur syntaktycznych. Do pierwszej grupy należą: dodawanie konektorów, zastępowanie zaimków osobowych powtórzeniami danych jednostek leksykalnych, reiteracja, uzupełnianie konstrukcji eliptycznych, dodawanie przydawek i określników, dodawanie wyrażeń asekuracyjnych (*hedges*), dodawanie wyrażeń porządkujących tekst, dodawanie nazw własnych do nazw rodzajowych, dookreślanie znaczenia oraz rozwinięcie definicyjne; do drugiej: zastępowanie nominalizacji konstrukcjami czasownikowymi (demetaforyzacja gramatyczna), demetaforyzacja leksykalna lub zastępowanie metafor porównaniami, dookreślanie leksykalne, a także zamiana nazwy rodzajowej na nazwę własną. Niniejsza klasyfikacja eksplicytacji pod względem jej manifestacji w strukturze powierzchniowej tekstu została zastosowana w analizie przedstawionej w rozdziałach empirycznych.

Rozdział trzeci przedstawia metodologię wykorzystaną w pracy oraz główne hipotezy i pytania badawcze. Autorka opisuje także szczegółowo procedury zastosowane w badaniu eksperymentalnym oraz charakteryzuje samą metodę retrospekcji w szerszym kontekście badań nad procesem przekładu; podaje również informacje na temat uczestników eksperymentu oraz tekstów stanowiących korpus badawczy. Znaczna część rozdziału została poświęcona modelowi teoretycznemu, stanowiącemu podstawę analizy eksplicytacji w tłumaczeniu symultanicznym. Analiza została przeprowadzona z uwzględnieniem ograniczeń typowych dla tłumaczenia ustnego (*The Interpreting Constraints*), użytych po raz pierwszy w badaniach nad spójnością tekstu tłumaczonego symultanicznie przez Shlesinger (1995). Czynniki ograniczające proces tłumaczenia ustnego obejmują: ograniczenie czasowe (*The Time Constraint*), ograniczenie związane z wymogiem linearności wypowiedzi (*The Linearity Constraint*), ograniczenie wynikające z braku wspólnego kontekstu komunikacyjnego (*The (Un)shared Knowledge Constraint*) oraz ograniczenie ze względu na pojemność pamięci (*The Memory Load Constraint*). Model ograniczeń w przekładzie ustnym (*The Interpreting Constraints*) zaproponowany przez Shlesinger został rozbudowany w niniejszej monografii o założenia Teorii Przetwarzania Informacji, a w szczególności Modeli Wysiłkowych oraz Modelu Grawitacyjnego Gile'a (1995). W poszerzonym modelu ograniczeń w przekładzie ustnym uwzględniono także koncepcję domen tekstualności Hatima i Masona (1997).

Pierwszy z rozdziałów empirycznych (rozdział czwarty) prezentuje wyniki analizy dotyczącej strategiczności eksplicytacji w tłumaczeniu symultanicznym. Rezultaty badań świadczą o tym, że strategiczne zastosowanie tego typu modyfikacji tekstowych jest stosunkowo rzadkie w przekładzie symultanicznym, a co za tym idzie, niewielki odsetek przypadków eksplicytacji jest efektem świadomej decyzji tłumacza. Większość tego typu zmian w strukturze powierzchniowej tekstu nie została zwerbalizowana w protokołach retrospektywnych, a część tłumaczy przyznaje, że niektórych eksplicytacji dokonali odruchowo, w sposób automatyczny. Analiza protokołów retrospektywnych pokazuje również powody stosowania strategicznej, w pełni świadomej eksplicytacji. Jedną z motywacji jest aspekt komunikacyjny, podkreślany w pracach wielu badaczy przekładu. Zgodnie z tym założeniem, eksplicytacja bywa efektem troski tłumacza o odbiorców, którym chce on jak najlepiej przybliżyć treść komunikatu. Zastosowanie eksplicytacji wiąże się także ze zmniejszeniem wysiłku wkładanego w przetwarzanie informacji, przez co łatwiej odczytać komunikat. Wiele komentarzy retrospektywnych jednoznacznie wskazuje na świadome dążenie tłumacza do podniesienia walorów komunikacyjnych tekstu docelowego. Jednak przeważającą motywacją są same ograniczenia przekładu symultanicznego. Wydawać by się mogło, że ograniczenia te nie pozwalają tłumaczowi na eksplikowanie treści w tekście docelowym. Wyniki badań wskazują jednak, że w wielu przypadkach zastosowanie bardziej eksplicytnych form jest spowodowane właśnie ograniczeniami.

W rozdziale piątym przedstawiono wyniki analizy wpływu kierunkowości na zachowania eksplicytacyjne tłumaczy. Tłumaczenie na język B jest powszechnie uważane za trudniejsze i wiąże się z większym wysiłkiem kognitywnym. Z tego też powodu kierunek ten charakteryzuje się większą częstotliwością eksplicytacji. Tłumacze częściej uzasadniają tego typu zmiany ograniczeniami, a jako powód podają konieczność kompensacji pominiętych segmentów tekstu, wypełnienia pauz spowodowanych koniecznością wydłużenia EVS-u, problemy z doborem leksykalnym oraz inne tym podobne. Interesujące wyniki dało porównanie tekstów docelowych i protokołów retrospektywnych z ankietą. W wielu przypadkach widać wyraźny brak korelacji pomiędzy realnym zachowaniem eksplicytacyjnym danej osoby a deklarowanymi przez nią w ankiecie preferencjami. Dowodzi to, że większość przypadków eksplicytacji w tłumaczeniu symultanicznym nie wynika ze świadomej decyzji tłumacza.

Ostatni z rozdziałów analitycznych (rozdział szósty) dotyczy zależności pomiędzy indywidualnym stylem tłumaczenia a użyciem eksplicytacji. Autorka wyodrębnia dziewięć stylów eksplicytacyjnych, biorąc pod uwagę kryteria częstotliwości występowania oraz konsekwencji użycia tej transformacji tekstowej. Wiele tłumaczeń tego samego tekstu wyjściowego (każdy z 6 tekstów został przetłumaczony przez 40 tłumaczy) pozwoliło także na analizę zbieżności zachowań eksplicytacyjnych. Analiza wykazała bardzo niski poziom zbieżności, co świadczy o tym, że eksplicytacja jest zachowaniem bardzo indywidualnym, nie tylko zależnym od elementów stałych, takich jak ogólny styl tłumaczenia i preferowanie co do stosowania określonych strategii ratunkowych, lecz także uwarunkowanym sposobem przetworzenia poprzednich segmentów tekstu w danej sytuacji.

Ewa Gumul

La explicitación en interpretación simultánea
Un estudio sobre el comportamiento explicitativo en alumnos avanzados de interpretación

Resumen

Dado que la explicitación con frecuencia se realiza en forma de ampliación, hasta hace poco se pensaba que la explicitación apenas se daba en interpretación simultánea, debido a que la presión temporal impedía este tipo de intervención textual. No obstante, los trabajos empíricos, de Miriam Shlesinger (1995), entre otros, demuestran que la explicitación aparece también en interpretación simultánea y, aunque se produce condicionada por las restricciones de esta modalidad, de ningún modo se trata de un fenómeno marginal.

El objetivo de este libro consiste en analizar el fenómeno de la explicitación en interpretación simultánea en alumnos que se encuentran en una etapa avanzada de su formación. La autora se centra en tres diferentes aspectos: el comportamiento estratégico, el impacto de la direccionalidad lingüística y la relación entre el estilo de interpretación y el uso de la explicitación. Se trata de un estudio experimental que centra su atención tanto en el producto, es decir, en la comparación de los textos origen con los textos meta, como en el proceso, o sea, en el análisis de protocolos retrospectivos. El corpus de este trabajo se compone de 240 grabaciones y transcripciones de textos de llegada interpretados por 120 intérpretes, todo lo cual suma, aproximadamente, 75 horas de grabaciones.

La primera parte (capítulos 1, 2 y 3) constituye una discusión preliminar de cuestiones teóricas y metodológicas que sirve para abordar los temas analizados en la parte empírica. El primer capítulo introduce el estado de la cuestión, presentando la revisión de los trabajos existentes sobre la explicitación en traducción e interpretación. La explicitación es uno de los aspectos más frecuentemente abordados en los estudios traductológicos. Sin embargo, los enfoques actuales difieren en cuanto a la definición de la propia explicitación e incluso algunos trabajos sobre este tema adolecen de una concepción claramente definida. En esta parte de la obra, la autora comenta varias propuestas para definir dicho fenómeno, y lo contrasta con términos afines como adición, ampliación y sobretraducción, a la par que define los conceptos de explicitud e implicitud en los que se basa, en parte, el concepto de explicitación. La definición adoptada en el presente estudio se apoya, en buena medida, en las propuestas de Murtisari (2013, 2016) y Séguinot (1988), y presupone que la explicitación es una transformación que consiste en expresar explícitamente en el texto meta lo implícito en el texto origen, o en expresar más explícitamente en el texto de llegada lo que ya es explícito en el texto de partida. Dicho de otro modo, la explicitación se produce cuando lo implicado o presupuesto en el texto origen se expresa, explícitamente, en el texto traducido, o cuando un elemento del texto original se destaca en el texto traducido por medio de énfasis o de la elección del léxico. Otro factor determinante para delimitar el concepto de explicitación es su independencia de que el aumento del grado de explicitud sea atribuible a las diferencias

entre los dos sistemas lingüísticos y textuales implicados. Aunque existen trabajos en los que se denomina como explicitación obligatoria los cambios provocados por diferencias sistémicas, en la gran mayoría de estudios actuales se considera explicitación en sentido estricto, únicamente, cuando estos cambios se producen independientemente de las diferencias sistémicas o incluso de posibles preferencias estilísticas en una determinada combinación de lenguas. Por lo tanto, para poder clasificar un cambio como explicitación debe existir una posible traducción igualmente implícita que la del texto original y que, además, sea correcta y conforme a las preferencias estilisticas de la lengua meta.

El segundo capítulo presenta los mecanismos lingüísticos que sirven para explicitar el sentido en el proceso de traducción. La explicitación puede adoptar tanto la forma de ampliación, lo cual conlleva la inserción en el texto meta de elementos adicionales de léxico o de sintaxis, como la forma de especificación, que no supone la ampliación física del texto, sino que consiste en destacar los elementos ya presentes en el texto origen a través de unidades léxicas y formulaciones sintácticas más explícitas. El primer grupo incluye la incorporación de conectores, la lexicalización de pronombres, la reiteración, la acción de completar elipsis, la inserción de modificadores y calificadores, la adición de expresiones de atenuación retórica (*hedging*), de marcadores del discurso, de nombres propios a los genéricos y de comentarios explicativos. Mientras que al segundo grupo pertenecen la sustitución de estructuras nominales por estructuras verbales o demetaforización gramatical, la demetaforización léxica o reemplazar metáforas por símiles, la especificación léxica, la especificación del significado y, finalmente, la sustitución de un nombre genérico por un nombre propio. La clasificación mencionada de las formas de la explicitación que responde a sus manifestaciones en la estructura superficial del texto constituye la base del análisis empírico del presente estudio.

El tercer capítulo presenta la metodología adoptada en este estudio, así como la hipótesis y las preguntas de investigación. La autora describe, detalladamente, los procedimientos seguidos en el experimento y caracteriza el método de retrospección utilizado para investigar el proceso de traducción e interpretación. En una de las secciones de este capítulo se describe también la muestra de sujetos participantes en el experimento y los textos que forman el corpus del estudio. Una parte considerable del tercer capítulo se dedica al marco conceptual – el modelo de las restricciones en interpretación (*The Interpreting Constraints*) de Shlesinger (1995), que constituye la base del análisis de la explicitación en interpretación simultánea. Los factores que dificultan el proceso de interpretación simultánea son: las restricciones temporales (*The Time Constraint*), la de linealidad del texto (*The Linearity Constraint*), la de conocimiento no compartido (*The (Un)Shared Knowledge Constraint*), y la limitación de carga de la memoria (*The Memory Load Constraint*). El modelo de las restricciones en interpretación propuesto por Shlesinger ha sido desarrollado y ampliado en este libro siguiendo la teoría del procesamiento de la información y, en particular, el Modelo de los Esfuerzos y el Modelo Gravitacional de Gile (1995). La versión ampliada del modelo de limitaciones en interpretación propuesta en este estudio se apoya también en el modelo de los ámbitos de la textualidad (textura, estructura y contexto) en interpretación de Hatim y Mason (1997).

La primera parte del estudio empírico (el capítulo cuatro) presenta los resultados del análisis de la dimensión estratégica de la explicitación en interpretación simultánea. Los resultados obtenidos evidencian que la actuación estratégica a la hora de explicitar es relativamente poco frecuente en esta modalidad de interpretación, lo cual significa que solamente un escaso porcentaje de los casos de explicitación son el resultado de la decisión consciente de un intérprete. La gran mayoría de este tipo de cambios en la estructura superficial del texto no se verbaliza en los protocolos retrospectivos, además algunos intérpretes admiten haber explicitado involuntariamente, de manera automática. El análisis de los protocolos retrospectivos revela también los motivos subyacentes de la explicitación estratégica que es, por su parte, enteramente consciente. Uno de los motivos es el aspecto comunicativo abordado en varios trabajos sobre este tema, en los que se afirma que la explicitación resulta de la intención del intérprete de ayudar a sus receptores, acercándoles el significado del texto. Dado que el uso de la explicitación disminuye el esfuerzo del procesamiento de la información y facilita la comprensión del texto por parte del oyente, numerosos comentarios retrospectivos de los intérpretes participantes en este experimento confirman su intención de mejorar el aspecto comunicativo del texto meta. No obstante, la mayoría de los comentarios retrospectivos se hacen eco de las restricciones del proceso de la interpretación simultánea y, aunque al parecer las restricciones de esta modalidad podrían dificultar la explicitación, en realidad las limitaciones intrínsecas a la interpretación simultánea (IS) causan estos cambios traductivos.

El capítulo cinco presenta los resultados del análisis del impacto de la direccionalidad lingüística sobre el comportamiento de los intérpretes en cuanto a la explicitación. En términos generales, la interpretación inversa se considera más difícil. Dado que esta conlleva mayor carga cognitiva y, en consecuencia, está afectada en mayor medida por las restricciones del proceso de IS, las explicitaciones son más frecuentes en esta dirección. En los protocolos retrospectivos para la inversa aparecen, con más frecuencia, los motivos de las dificultades inherentes al proceso de la interpretación simultánea. Los intérpretes dan cuenta de la necesidad de compensación para los segmentos omitidos y de rellenar las pausas causadas por la exigencia de prolongar el desfase temporal entre el discurso original y la interpretación (*décalage*), o por problemas con la elección léxica, entre otros. La comparación de los resultados del análisis de los textos de llegada y sus correspondientes protocolos retrospectivos con los resultados de la encuesta ha aportado interesantes resultados. En muchos casos no hay correlación directa entre el comportamiento explicitativo de una determinada persona y sus preferencias declaradas en la encuesta. Este dato se puede interpretar como una prueba más de que la mayoría de los casos de explicitación en esta modalidad de interpretación no son estrategias que se aplican de forma consciente.

El último de los capítulos de la parte empírica (el capítulo seis) aborda el tema de la relación existente entre el estilo individual de interpretación y el uso de la explicitación. Aquí, la autora propone nueve estilos de explicitar, tomando en cuenta los criterios de frecuencia y de patrón de uso. Múltiples interpretaciones del mismo texto (cada uno de los seis textos ha sido traducido por 40 intérpretes) permitieron el análisis de la coincidencia de los comportamientos explicitativos. Los resultados demuestran que la explicitación es un comportamiento muy idiosincrático, que depende no solo de factores estables, como pueden ser el estilo general de interpretación o las preferencias por determinadas estrategias para mitigar las restricciones del proceso de IS, sino que también está condicionado por la manera de procesar los segmentos anteriores del texto en una determinada situación.

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EWA GUMUL

EXPLICITATION
IN SIMULTANEOUS INTERPRETING

The simplest and the most blunt definition of explicitation I can think of is that it is about adding. This imprecise and simplistic definition brings to my mind a certain interpreter who probably resorted to the most extensive additions I have ever heard of. It is Juan Ranz – one of the best-known interpreters, although he is only a fictional character in Javier Marías's novel *A Heart So White*. It is his brilliantly unfaithful translation, full of additions, that transforms meaningless and insipid small talk of a Spanish and an English politician into a passionate conversation about love and Shakespeare. Thanks to the interpreter's deliberate additions, the interlocutors become so involved that we come to think that perhaps he merely explicitates what in fact they meant and wanted to say. Obviously, explicitation is not about changing the course of conversation, as was the case of Juan Ranz, but the fictional interpreter in Marías's book is a perfect example, albeit somewhat extreme (the right of literature, one may say), of an interpreter's mediating role. In real life, interpreters do not add anything that could change the message, but they do add – usually to mediate the message. And such "additions," denominated explicitations, appear to be a universal feature of all translational activity irrespective of the mode, genre, and language pair.

Explicitation, manifesting itself in greater explicitness of target texts as compared to source texts – because in fact that is how we define it rather than say that "it is about adding" – has sparked unprecedented interest in the Translation Studies community in the last 60 years. Almost unanimously hailed as one of the translation universals, it has been investigated in relation to translational norms, strategic behaviour, translator's style, and many other aspects. However, the vast majority of these studies concern written translation, and the scale of empirical research on explicitation in interpreting appears to be incomparably smaller.

(from the Introduction)

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