

Les institutions et les médias

De l'analyse du discours à la traduction

Le istituzioni e i media

Dall'analisi del discorso alla traduzione

Édité par

Marie-Christine Jullion, Louis-Marie Clouet et Ilaria Cennamo

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Simultaneous Interpretation of Political Discourse: Coping Strategies vs Discourse Strategies A Case Study

Alicja M. Okoniewska

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ABSTRACT

While performing conference interpreting in simultaneous mode, the interpreters use various coping strategies (Pöchhacker 2015) in order to solve problems triggered by an overlap of multilingual language comprehension and language production (Seeber 2015) and thus to deal with cognitive load (Gile 1995; Seeber 2011, 2015). Interpreting multilingual discourse perceived as a social practice places the interpreter in the social process of communicative interaction (Monacelli 2009). The interpreter has to construct a mental representation of an input utterance in the processes of comprehension (van Dijk and Kintch 1983) and produce the equivalent representation encoded in the output interpretation. The interpreter deals with the challenge of an overlap while decoding and encoding the ideological discourse strategies grounded in the mental and situational models, and their representations in the political discourse (van Dijk 2006). This paper presents a short case study that aims to provide initial empirical examples of interpreter's coping strategies use (Pöchhacker 2016) while encoding categories of ideological discourse analysis (van Dijk 2006, 235) in simultaneous interpretation at the European Parliament.

Keywords: discourse analysis; discourse strategies; interpreter's coping strategies; interpreting; political discourse.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a short case study that aims to provide initial empirical examples of interpreter's coping strategies use (Pöschhacker 2016) while encoding categories of ideological discourse analysis (van Dijk 2006, 235) in a target language (TL) in simultaneous interpretation (SI) at the European Parliament (EP). The case study material is an extract from a parliamentary debate on gender pay gap, that took place at the EP Plenary Session on the 1 March 2017. The analysed extract consists of five interventions interpreted from English, Spanish, French and Italian into Polish. This parliamentary debate was not followed by any resolution. However, a Polish, right-wing, Euro-sceptic Member of the European Parliament (MEP), Janusz Korwin-Mikke, asked a *blue card question*¹ that generated a stir, first in the in-situ audience and then in the mass media. In consequence, this short debate on pay gap gained wide interest². It was mainly due to a controversial Korwin-Mikke's statement that women are smaller, weaker, less intelligent and therefore should gain less. The politician confronted a Spanish socialist MEP, Iratxe García Pérez during the debate and afterwards was suspended and fined by the President of the European Parliament, Antonio Tajani. A year later, this decision was repealed by the Court of Justice of the European Union ruling that Korwin-Mikke did neither disturbed the parliamentary debate, nor incited to hatred or violence.

Firstly, the ideological charge of the debate (van Dijk 2006) and secondly, a high level of communicative interaction in the interpreted discourse (Monacelli 2009) motivated the choice of the analysed material. The degree of interaction varies between the speakers. García Pérez and Korwin-Mikke reply to each other in the framework of a *blue card question* (see above). The other speakers, Dominique Martin and Pina Picerno, present their position on the subject, refer the situation in Europe from their ideological point of view, and make recommendations to the European Commission, represented by Věra Jourová, the Commissioner for Justice, Consumers and Gender Equality, and the Maltese Presidency, represented by Chris Agius, President-in-Office of the Council.

¹ An additional question in the plenary debate admitted by the President and the Member who has the floor. For further information see Rule 162.8 of the *Rules of Procedure of the European Parliament*.

² Press coverage included articles and videos in *The Independent*, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Le Monde*, *El País* and others published in March 2017.

The plenary debates are interpreted into 23 languages at the European Parliament. The MEPs that come from 28 Member States, have the possibility to speak in their mother tongue and are interpreted simultaneously by in-house and accredited freelance interpreters. In some cases, the MEPs remain in their monolingual and monocultural reality, being connected to the external world solely via interpreting (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2013). In interpreting, some contextual cultural, historical, social and political references do not exist in a target language and culture, but must be encoded in the output within the time-constraint of simultaneous interpreting. Moreover, some elements of the input seem more salient than others. Soring posits that “in the actual speech event, certain semantic features of a given utterance are focused on while others are obscured by the semiotic elements that surround them, i.e. by the influence of the co- and contextual environment” (Soring 1989, 98). Such highlighting or obscuration of certain semantic elements takes place already in a monolingual debate. Therefore, the situation is even more complex in interpreted discourse. Thus, the interpreters use a variety of coping strategies to adequately convey the message. They are at the crossroads of multilingual contextualizations.

2. CATEGORIES OF IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS INTERPRETED

Soring suggests further that “[...] the process of verbalizing thoughts and transmitting ideas involves the simultaneous signaling of purposes, aims and wishes along with the message itself” (1989, 95). These “purposes, aims and wishes” must be decoded from an input and encoded in the output in the interpreting process, in order to guarantee the continuity and coherence of the communication.

The interpreter must understand the situation models of the input, that is, all the knowledge that is left implicit or presupposed in the interpreted discourse (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983, 338). Van Dijk and Kintsch suggest that:

[...] if we are unable to imagine a situation in which certain individuals have the proprieties or relations indicated by the text, we fail to understand the text itself. If we do not understand the relations between the local facts and the global facts to which the text refers, we do not understand the text. (1983, 337)

Therefore, the discourse itself is not only defined in terms of structures but also in terms of contexts that encompass political knowledge, norms,

values, and ideologies (van Dijk 2006, 733). Gumperz (1982) claims that we are able to link ideologies to discourses. The interpreter must decode the other way around.

Van Dijk analyses strategic use of categories of ideological discourse analysis within Critical Discourse Analysis approach (van Dijk 2006). These discourse strategies allow the speaker to convey persuasive meanings in order to obtain their political goal. Such strategies include for example: *polarization* between contrasting elements, *victimization* of a party or element, *generalization*, *emotionality* and others (*ibid.*). They might include the elements of implicit or presupposed knowledge that are discursively conveyed. If the discourse strategies are not conveyed in output discourse, the communication between debate participants speaking different languages and listening to their interpretation can be either disrupted, or follow a different path from the one that they intended. We postulate that the discursive strategies are at the core of the interpreting process and might pose challenges in simultaneous interpreting because of their semantic, contextual and stylistic complexity.

3. INTERPRETER'S COPING STRATEGIES

In order to encode situation and mental models in the output discourse, the interpreter has to activate discourse strategies used by the speaker. If such strategies are not activated, the persuasive potential of the speaker's intervention is lost. Soring (1989, 98) emphasizes that "persuasion works best among people who speak the same language. People who share similar communicative biographies can achieve understanding and agreement within minimum of verbal activity" (*ibid.*). The interpreter's role is then to draw the communicative biographies of the speakers closer together and, thus, make possible the effective usage of discourse strategies.

Interpreting multilingual discourse perceived as a social practice places the interpreter in the social process of discursive interaction (Monacelli 2009). The interpreter has to construct a mental representation of an input utterance in the processes of comprehension (van Dijk and Kintch 1983) and produce the equivalent representation encoded in the output interpretation. That is, "[...] every incoming word of an utterance is integrated into a mental representation, keeping track of all participants, objects, locations and events described" (Zwaan in Seeber 2015, 81). Garrod adds that "this representation is constantly updated

with incoming information, related to available knowledge” (Seeber 2015). Therefore, the challenge of an overlap, or interference between comprehension and production is clear. The interpreter has to start encoding before the mental and situational model are complete (*ibid.*).

While performing conference interpreting in simultaneous mode, the interpreters use various coping strategies (Pöchhacker 2015) in order to solve problems triggered by an overlap of multilingual language comprehension and language production (Seeber 2015) and thus to deal with cognitive load (Gile 1995; Seeber 2011, 2015). Pöchhacker following Kalina (2015, 70) defines the notion of “strategy” in interpreting as *a goal-oriented operations under intentional control*. In the review of interpreting research, Pöchhacker posits that a variety of coping strategies has been identified include offline strategies (such as meeting preparation) and on-line coping strategies dealing with problem triggering input while interpreting (2015).

The coping strategies aim to reduce a cognitive load and neutralize problem triggers generated by multilingual language comprehension and language production overlap mentioned above. Problem triggers include, but are not limited to, speed and density of input, presence of numbers in the source speech, complex syntactic structures and speakers’ accents (Gile 1995). Too much speed might cause: omissions, substitutions, pronunciation errors and the decline in anticipation accuracy (Seeber 2015, 85). Seeber discusses Gile’s Effort Model (1995) and proposes Cognitive Load Model inspired by the former, in order to “capture an illustrate the cognitive demands inherent to SI” understood as a combination of a language comprehension and language production tasks that can overlap and produce interference (2011, 189).

In the case study we will focus on the coping strategies of *chunking*, *stalling*, *waiting*, *anticipation* and *compression* (Gile 2009; Seeber 2011; Pöchhacker 2016) in conjunction with discourse strategies. *Waiting* is the strategy that consists on stopping TL production to wait for more source language (SL) input since “this allows the interpreters to alleviate cognitive load temporarily, as the interruption of simultaneous language comprehension and production effectively transforms the process into a simple comprehension and memorization task” (Seeber 2011, 193). Very similar to waiting, the strategy of *stalling* refers to the production of “neutral padding” or “fillers” (*ibid.*). In this case the interpreter speaks without adding any crucial, new information, nor significantly modifying the meaning of the output. In the same time, the interpreter can receive more input before the stage of integration and production (*ibid.*). *Chunking* refers to segmentation of an SL structure and rendering it

in separate output segments before the input terminates (Pöchhacker 2016, 127). *Compression* strategy is an opposite mechanism and permits to shorten the output structure without losing vital semantic elements. It alleviates the cognitive load of the interpreter (*ibid.*, 129). Finally, the *anticipation* postulates predicting “a part of the original discourse before it has been uttered by the speaker” (Seeber 2011). This strategy may lead to reducing the cognitive load while dealing with the inference between comprehension and production, reducing the possibility of such inference and finishing the encoding in the TL in the same time that the speaker terminates their discourse.

4. CASE STUDY – GENDER PAY GAP DEBATE AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

4.1. *The intervention of Iratxe García Pérez in Spanish, interpreted into Polish*

Iratxe García Pérez, from the Group of Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats, takes the floor in the initial part of the debate, to denounce, in the name of the Socialists, the current pay gap between women and men. She speaks after the Commissioner, Věra Jourová, and takes the floor as a political group coordinator of Socialists and Democrats. In the beginning of her intervention García Perez states that women earn less according to reports. She describes the situation making use of the discourse strategy of *illustration* (example nr. 1). The illustration of the situation that García Perez presents integrates the so-called *number game* strategy, that is, using numerical data to better explain a situation to those who did not read a given written source (examples nrr. 1, 3 and 4). *National reference* strategy is used by the speaker in order to draw the MEPs’ attention to her country, Spain. We can talk about a *victimisation* of the situation in Spain, since it is portrayed as presumably worse than in the rest of Europe. Such *victimisation* implies the need of more urgent measures to be taken (examples nrr. 1, 2 and 4):

- (1) Señora presidenta, señora comisaria, nadie puede presumir de vivir en una sociedad moderna cuando datos como los que hoy se han planteado aquí nos reflejan que las mujeres cobran una media europea de un 16% menos que los hombres por un mismo trabajo. Y hablamos de

media europea... porque hay países, como el mío, como España, donde según informes como los que han lanzado estas últimas semanas los sindicatos, estamos en una brecha del 23%.

- (2) Por lo tanto, estos datos nos tienen que hacer ver la necesidad de impulsar políticas reales y plantearnos objetivos para reducir esta brecha salarial.
- (3) Porque si seguimos a este ritmo, los datos nos dicen que nuestras nietas habrán conseguido el objetivo de la igualdad salarial, que tardaremos más de 70 años en conseguir la igualdad salarial.
- (4) Por lo tanto, seamos conscientes de la necesidad de poner objetivos claros. Planteemos la reducción del 2% en cada país, cada año, de brecha salarial. Planteemos una auditoría – la transparencia es fundamental para poner un espejo a aquellos que no están cumpliendo con la legalidad – y seamos capaces de dar también a los interlocutores sociales el papel que deben tener para prevenir esta situación. Una sociedad no se puede denominar como justa cuando las mujeres están en una situación de desigualdad como la que tenemos en estos momentos en la Unión Europea.

The implied necessity to solve the pay gap problem is formulated directly. This *explanation* through *repetition* aims to guarantee that the message is clear (example nr. 2). The necessity of collective action is reinforced again by the use of numbers (example nr. 3). The last piece of data given – 70 years needed to eliminate the gap – reinforces the initial message about the need to change the current, negative situation in order to live in a fair society (example nr. 3). Such an implied pursuit of social justice is in line with the ideology of the political group (Socialist and Democrats) represented by the politician.

The *agency* in the discourse varies from *no one* (*nadie* in Spanish) to the inclusive *we* (*nosotros* in Spanish). The negative pronoun *no one* indicates exclusion and *polarization* with the first-person plural personal pronoun *we*, which implies common efforts to change the current situation, to close the pay gap and to build a better society. The exclusive *no one* denounces the gender pay gap and the inclusive *we* engages all the parties into a debate and underlines a joint responsibility and commitment to take specific actions. Such a clear personal deixis involves an agent; labor unions that are the source of quoted data and traditionally a strong ally of the Spanish Socialist Party (example nr. 1). Such agency reveals the ideological leanings of the speaker. An ideological polarization is also denoted by the use of an unspecific *them* (in Spanish: *aquellos*) to indicate those who do not respect the legal requirement of pay

equity, as opposed to the specific us, committed to take measures to improve the situation.

The use of *emotionality* as a persuasive strategy is frequent in political discourse. Even in a short intervention, the speaker refers to her granddaughters in her pledge for quick action (example nr. 3). A reference to a close family member has an emotional charge and is used to help listeners identify with the speaker and become convinced more easily. The situation of future generations, since they are the only ones that might benefit from equal pay, is confronted with the current problem of a pay gap (example nr. 3). Such future forecasting contrasted with the current data is used to generate fear and convince the listeners about the urgent need for change.

In the interpretation into Polish, a similar agency contrast between *no one* and *us* is maintained while the interpreter uses *chunking* strategy (example nr. 5) to cope with *number game* and convey emotional *hyperbole* and discursive *polarization*. The interpreter anticipates the mode of the utterance in the beginning of encoding, in order to finetune it later and transmit the *implication* that nobody could imagine that such data is true for a modern society (example nr. 5). The discourse strategies that serve to imply a joint responsibility for the current, negative situation are therefore maintained. The interpreting strategies of *anticipation* and *chunking* allow to manage semantic elements and maintain discourse strategies in the output.

- (5) Nikt nie może zakładać, że we współczesnym społeczeństwie, z tymi informacjami, które tutaj mamy, nikt nie mógłby przypuszczać, że kobiety zarabiają za tą samą pracę 16% mniej od mężczyzn.

The strategy of *victimization* is also maintained, supported with data, and directly connected to the need of actions to be taken (example nr. 6). However, the interpreter *compresses* the category of *granddaughters* into *grandchildren*, mitigating the feminist tone of the speaker. Finally, an inclusive *we* is used in verbal forms (first-person plural verbs) throughout the intervention to preserve the common nature of actions (example nr. 7).

- (6) A jest tylko średnia europejska, bo w moim kraju, w Hiszpanii, według ostatnich wskaźników, z ostatnich tygodni mamy 23-procentową lukę. I to wskazuje na konieczność impulsu politycznych, realnych, celów realnych w zakresie likwidacji tej luki, bo z danych wynika, że nawet nasze wnuki mogą z trudnością dotrzeć do równości płacowej, że będziemy potrzebowali 70 lat, jeżeli będziemy prognozować na podstawie aktualnego tempa, dochodzenia do likwidacji luki.

- (7) Wprowadźmy zatem sztywne cele, kary dla tych, którzy łamia przepisy w tym zakresie. Bądźmy w stanie wypełniać rolę, jaka musza spełniać partnerzy społeczni w społeczeństwie żeby walczyć z taką sytuacją nierówności, jaka nam przychodzi mieć teraz w Unii Europejskiej.

4.2. *The intervention of Janusz Korwin-Mikke in English, interpreted into Polish*

After this intervention a Polish, conservative and Euro-sceptic, non-attached Member of the European Parliament, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, takes the floor to ask a *blue card question*. Although interpretation is provided, Korwin-Mikke opts to speak English. The stylistic incorrectness and semantic ambiguity of his speech are probably in part due to his imperfect command of a foreign language. The difficulty of such language use for an interpreter is definitely worth exploring further, but will not be studied in this paper. We will take this difficulty into consideration, but will focus on how the *agency*, *emotionality* and other discourse strategies are reproduced in interpreting.

The question posed by Korwin-Mikke turns out to be a rhetorical, or even sarcastic remark. The speaker answers himself in the second part of his intervention. He uses the *number game* strategy to ask about female scores in physics competitions and chess championships (example nr. 8). He also uses a discursive strategy of *evidentiality* that consists in presenting a given situation as an obvious truth so as to convince the listener to treat it as such. Korwin-Mikke comes to the conclusion that since women are not champions in the kinds of contests he mentions, they must be less intelligent than men and therefore should earn less (2).

- (8) Do you know which was the place in the Polish theoretical physics Olympiad, the first place of women, of girls? I can tell you: 800th. Do you know how many women are in the first 100 chess players? I can tell you: not one.
- (9) Of course women must earn less than men because they are weaker, they are smaller, they are less intelligent, and they must earn less. That is all.

The *agency* of the question is expressed in the first-person singular, which is proper to speakers with a dominant face (Ting-Toomey 1999) or ones who want to negotiate such dominance. The speaker is promoting his dominant face to such an extent that he does not even need an answer to his “question”.

Emotionality is generated by the speaker as a result of an ideological polarization between *myself* who knows and *yourself* who is ignorant, between a man asking a question and women unaware of the “obvious” reality. This presupposition of ignorance applies not only to the unintelligent chess playing women in his example, but also to the previous speaker herself. Such an attack is underlined by the passionate tone of voice Korwin-Mikke uses.

In the Polish interpretation, the rhetorical question and the use of *authority* as a strategy to maintain a dominant face is preserved (example nr. 10). The utterance is *anticipated*, *rearranged* and partly *compressed*. Probably due to these complex operations the tone of voice of the interpreter is more neutral than that of the speaker, thus the *emotionality* of the attack remains only at the semantic level. An indirect *ad hominem* attack, through an authoritarian evaluation of women on the basis of the *number game* strategy, is maintained even if some parts of the discourse judged as superfluous are *suppressed* by the interpreter (example nr. 10). For example, the first-person *agency* in “I can tell you” *repetitions* is *suppressed*. A *semantic mitigation* is introduced by the interpreter in the last sentence: “that is all” becomes “that’s life” (example nr. 11). This could be due to a cultural need to maintain a certain political correctness in publicly given speeches in Polish (Bartłomiejczyk 2016) or as a *hedging* strategy used by the interpreter to deal with surprising content, to “round out” the last sentence of an intervention.

(10) Czy wie pani jakie było miejsce, pierwsze miejsce zajmowały kobiety w olimpiadzie z fizyki teoretycznej? 800. Ile kobiet jest w pierwszej setce graczy szachowych? Żadnej. Oczywiście kobiety muszą zarabiać mniej niż mężczyźni, bo są słabsze, mniejsze, mniej inteligentne. No muszą zarabiać mniej.

(11) Takie jest życie.

4.3. *The reply of Iratxe García Pérez in Spanish, interpreted into Polish*

In her reply, García Pérez invokes a personal, and thus emotional, example of herself being a MEP and contrasts it against Korwin-Mikke’s assertion of a lack of intelligence on the part of women. She also uses the *polarization* of a singular *I* or verbs conjugated in first-person singular, and the third-person singular pronouns to show her personal involvement. The personal remark “I know it hurts you” is an argument *ad hominem*. It is reinforced through *repetition* and a passionate tone of

voice (1). A first-person plural declination of the verb *can* (in Spanish: *podemos*) is used as inclusive category encompassing all women's fight for equal treatment. It reinforces the ideological *polarization* between the politicians. A final singular *I* of the speaker marks her personal commitment to the political struggle for women's rights, in this case, to defend European women against men like Korwin-Mikke (2).

(12) Mire, Señor diputado, según Usted, según sus teorías, yo no tendría derecho a estar aquí como diputada, y sé que le duele. Sé que le duele y le preocupa que hoy las mujeres podamos estar representando a los ciudadanos en igualdad de condiciones con Usted.

(13) Yo aquí vengo a defender a las mujeres europeas de hombres como Usted.

In the interpretation the direct attack by García Pérez is *mitigated* by the interpreter after an initial *stalling* by the addition of a modal adverb *probably* in "it probably hurts you" (example nr. 14). The interpreter *anticipated* a different meaning at first, but later understood a direct attack, and decided to add "probably" to *mitigate the meaning*. The *polarization* between first and third-person singular pronouns is maintained through *chunking* strategy separating the speaker and the addressee into two different utterances followed by an addition of "European" to women which is probably a semantic shift of first-person plural "we can" that expresses García Perez representation that is European (example nr. 14).

(14) Panie pośle, według Pana, ja nie miałabym prawa tutaj być posłanką. Boli mnie to, że dzisiaj kobiety... boli Pana być może to, że europejskie kobiety mogą być reprezentowane tutaj w sposób godny przez inne kobiety, w sposób właściwy.

4.4. *The intervention of Dominique Martin in French, interpreted into Polish*

Dominique Martin, a MEP from the Europe of Nations and Freedom Group, participates in the debate at the later stage. We included his intervention in French in this case study in order to increase a linguistic variety of the sample. Here the subject is introduced via a *polarized classification* of the debate as essential and futile. The explanation of such a categorization is rooted in the *number game* discourse strategy. The data serve to prove that although the problem must be solved, the ongoing debate only touches upon the surface of the problem. The inequality of

pay between men and women is greater because many women work part-time. Martin uncovers a concealed reality and acts as a whistle-blower, the only one who knows what the situation really is. This is another example of a dominant face meant to convince the listeners about the speaker's authority and expertise in the subject matter (example nr. 15).

- (15) Madame la Présidente, débattre aujourd'hui sur les écarts de rémunération entre hommes et femmes est à la fois primordial et futile. Primordial, car il est intolérable que, pour le même emploi, l'écart de salaires entre hommes et femmes soit environ de 9%. Futile, car ce chiffre de 9% ne reflète qu'une partie de la triste réalité. En effet, l'écart salarial annuel net est de 25% si l'on prend en compte le temps partiel et la ségrégation professionnelle.
- (16) En mars 2015, je dénonçais déjà le scandale de ces femmes obligées de prendre un travail à temps partiel pour gagner 700 euros par mois, soit moins que le seuil de pauvreté. Aujourd'hui, c'est une femme sur trois qui travaille à temps partiel. La ségrégation professionnelle – le fait que les femmes et les hommes ne travaillent pas dans les mêmes secteurs, n'accèdent pas aux mêmes postes, aux mêmes responsabilités – influence aussi grandement cet écart de rémunération.
- (17) Dénonçons également l'exploitation de toutes ces femmes dans la grande distribution, dans les ...³

In the first part of the speech, agency is lacking in the description of a situation based on *number game* strategy (examples nr. 15 and 16). In the second part, the first-person singular is used (example nr. 15). Martin presents himself as a committed politician reacting to a sad reality previously described. He takes strategic measures that are aimed to increase his political credibility (example nr. 16). In the third part, all the parties are called upon to denounce the current situation and the *agency* is expressed in inclusive first-person plural verbal forms (example nr. 17). Such a construction *in crescendo* underscores a joint political responsibility. The discursive strategy of *emotionality* is present in the intervention but in a different form than seen in the preceding cases. It involves the use of multiple adjectives, such as *futile*, *primordial*, *intolérable*, *sad*, and the comparison of women's salaries to the poverty threshold.

In the interpretation into Polish, the *number game* discursive strategy is maintained even if the interpreter uses *compressing* coping strategy reducing significantly the second and third utterance (example nr. 18). The interpreter scrupulously pinpoints (and underlines with a clear pro-

³ The Chair interrupts the speaker.

nunciation) all the data. This *intonation based strategy* serves to make the speaker's argumentation credible despite the emotional adjectives that are also maintained in the interpretation thanks to *compressing* (example nr. 18). The subject as a political agent is retained in verbal forms denouncing the current pay gap situation (example nr. 18). The lack of personal *agency* in the description is maintained, but it is also reproduced in the impersonal verbal forms in the ending recommendations where the interpreter uses the *mitigation strategy* (example nr. 19).

- (18) Dzisiejsza debata na temat różnicy wynagrodzeń między mężczyznami i kobietami, to jest istotna sprawa, ale bezcelowa. Mianowicie 9% wskaźnik odzwierciedla tylko część smutnej rzeczywistości. Dlatego że netto to jest 25% rocznie, jeżeli uwzględnimy czas pracy w niepełnym wymiarze i inne czynniki. W 2015 roku już podnosiłem skandaliczną sytuację, kiedy kobiety zmuszono do pracy na część etatu za 700 euro, poniżej progu ubóstwa. Segregacja zawodowa, fakt że kobiety i mężczyźni pracujący w tym samym sektorze nie dochodzą do takich samych stanowisk, bardzo silnie się przekłada na te luki w wynagrodzeniach.

- (19) Należy podkreślić również wykorzystywanie kobiet wskutek globalizacji na przykład w sieciach dystrybucji i w...⁴

The *emotionality* of Martin's speech, reflected in the *tone of voice* of the interpreter, is further strengthened by the discourse strategy of *victimization* of women receiving unequal pay, preserved in the interpretation thanks to the usage of *compressing* coping strategy. The situations in which women are victims are enumerated quickly and such a cognitive load might cause the interpreter to suppress *agency* (and a joint political commitment) in the last sentence (example nr. 19). The interpreter applies a semantically more neutral, *mitigating* structure "it should be underlined" instead of "we should denounce". The persuasion built by the speaker through *agency* gradation is less reflected in the interpretation and the discourse is taken over by the *emotionality*.

4.5. *The intervention of Pinera Picerno in Italian, interpreted into Polish*

The last example of this case study is the intervention of Pinera Picerno, from the Group of Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats, speaking Italian. It starts with a narrative with a surprising twist. The

⁴ The Chair interrupts the speaker.

MEP considers the pay gap and posits that women effectively started earning only in March this year (example nr. 20). The persuasive effect of surprise (Soring 1989), is used here to attract attention and to *polarize* the speaker from others who have spoken on the same subject. Additionally, despite a *generalization*, quoting of sources is used to reinforce the speaker's *authority*.

The long initial description, with the only *agency* given to women who work but do not earn a salary, stands in contrast with the inclusive possessive pronoun *our*, which serves to indicate what Europe should be like: *rich prosperous Europe* (example nr. 21). *Polarization* underscores the contrast between a positive and negative description. There is a rich Europe and a Europe with a pay gap, emotionally described as *unacceptable* (example nr. 21). *Emotionality* is also reflected in the speaker's tone of voice. There is hardly any political agency in Picerno's intervention which could be linked to a stagnant salary situation and criticism of the slow pace of change.

- (20) Signora Presidente, onorevoli colleghi, oggi è il 1° marzo, ed è in realtà, se ci pensiamo, il primo giorno di lavoro retribuito del 2017 per molte donne, ma non perché siano state in ferie da Capodanno ad oggi, non è questa la ragione, ma perché – se si tiene conto, naturalmente, della parità di mansioni rispetto ai colleghi uomini – hanno lavorato gratis per i primi due mesi. Questo ci dicono tutti gli studi che ricostruiscono la situazione rispetto al divario retributivo.
- (21) Perché, sì, nella nostra prospera, ricca Europa esistono ancora queste differenze enormi e sono differenze – colleghe – assolutamente inaccettabili, come avete detto. È inaccettabile anche che questa differenza diminuisca con questa velocità irrilevante, perché di questo passo arriveremo ad una parità di retribuzioni tra ottant'anni; probabilmente potranno raggiungere questo obiettivo le nostre nipoti e, concludo Presidente, quindi ci aspettiamo che la Commissione e gli Stati membri mettano ...⁵

The speaker's intervention is interrupted by the Chair, therefore there is no time to explain the commitment of the Member States and the Commission. It may have reflected a contrast between no-action and action and contributed to the persuasion in the speech.

In the interpretation into Polish, the surprising twist is *semantically mitigated* by a *generalization* (example nr. 22). The interpreter is probably still decoding the speaker's real intention. When it is understood,

⁵ The Chair interrupts the speaker.

and the risk of *contresens* is excluded, the interpreter uses *compressing* coping strategy to sum up the idea (example nr. 22). The persuasive effect of surprise is weakened. Additionally, the impersonal emphasis “it should be underlined”, a filler, is added by the interpreter who is using *stalling* while decoding the exact idea behind the speaker’s surprising opening. Therefore, the interpreter dilutes the *agency* used by the speaker (example nr. 22).

(22) Dziękuję, Pani Przewodnicząca, dzisiaj pierwszy marca, drogie koleżanki, drodzy koledzy. W tym roku niektóre kobiety dopiero zaczynają zarabiać. Nie dlatego mówimy o tym dzisiaj. Jeżeli uwzględnimy równość, czy element równości, o których mówili koledzy, to przede wszystkim należy zwrócić uwagę na to, że przez pierwsze dwa miesiące kobiety pracowały gratis. Różne badania o tym wspominają.

(23) Dlaczego w naszej bogatej Europie, ciągle istnieją takie wielkie różnice? Drodzy koledzy, drogie koleżanki, jest to nie do zaakceptowania, ponieważ ta różnica zanika w tak niewielkim tempie. Potrzeba by 80 lat, gdyby zanikała w tym tempie. Nasi wnukowie mogliby dopiero skorzystać z tej równości. Pani przewodnicząca, już skończyłam.

The narrative description of an unchanging situation emotionally highlighted as *unacceptable* is maintained thanks to *compressing* strategy used by the interpreter (example nr. 23). It is reinforced by a *mitigating* hypothetical mood, introduced in the interpretation already while talking about pay equality being reached in 80 years’ time, although in Italian a simple future tense is used there (example nr. 23). The interpreter is probably under the influence of the following hypothetical reference to grandchildren, which was already used in previous interventions. Emphatic conditionality may also result from a prudential interpreting strategy, if the interpreter is still decoding the message to be conveyed.

5. CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded that the discourse strategies of *illustration*, *number game*, *polarization*, *national reference*, *hyperbole*, *repetition*, *implication*, *generalization*, *authority*, *attack ad hominem*, *evidentiality*, *emotionality* and *victimization* used by the speakers are maintained in interpreting. The interpreter uses various coping strategies to be able to convey decoded strategies. We saw that interpreter’s coping strategies allow to tackle semantic and structural problems and the persuasive elements

present in the debate do not seem problematic to interpret. On the other hand, the variety of the coping strategies used in the analyzed materials exceeds the set that we identified in the introduction. Apart from *chunking*, *stalling*, *waiting*, *compressing* and *anticipation* the interpreter uses *modulated intonation*, *suppression* of semantic elements, *mitigation* in form of *hedging* (adding attenuating elements), *semantic mitigation* of interpreted elements (prudential selection of words and expressions in TL), *explicitation*, and *rearranging* the semantic elements of utterances. *Modulated intonation* is used to underline certain semantic elements, to add emotionality, if it cannot be conveyed through text because of the lack of time, for example, increase the credibility of the interpretation or transfer the responsibility for surprising elements in the discourse to the speaker. Apart from *compressing* which consist of maintaining the same meaning in a shorter form, the interpreter often completely eliminates certain semantic elements that are considered superfluous, what is done without prejudice to discourse strategies being conveyed. *Mitigation* in the form of *hedging* refers to adding elements of discourse in order to implement “positive politeness strategy” (Magnifico and Defrancq 2017, 27). For example, a modal adverb *probably* was added to mitigate a direct attack *ad hominem*. *Semantic mitigation* used in the analyzed interpreting postulates generalization, for example, using semantic structures with weaker emotional charge to convey *emotionality*. An emotional tone of voice may be neutralized and the political incorrectness of an intervention may be suppressed by a generalization at the end of the speech or when dealing with surprising content. A cautious interpreter may also use a hypothetical mood to mitigate startling content. *Explicitation* was detected in the cases of semantic shifts when the interpreter might have considered the interpretation not precise enough and decided to add, in encoding, the adjectives absent in the input in order to clarify the message. Finally, the *rearranging* of the semantic elements in utterances might be an effect of stylistic difference between interpreted languages, but also of an “ordering” of the information encoded in order to better manage all semantic elements of the output. The coping strategies were also often used in conjunction (*compressing* with *modulated intonation*, *chunking* and *rearranging*, for example).

On the other hand, the *agency* seems to be less frequently encoded in the output, especially when it varies throughout the discourse, or it is encoded using a single means. For example the pronoun *we* is used and maintained in all verbal forms throughout whole interpreted discourse. The dominant and polarizing *I* as an agency marker is occasionally suppressed and mitigating impersonal structures are used. Agency

suppression or lack of its variety might be a mechanism that helps the interpreter to reduce his cognitive load in order to encode discourse strategies expressed, for example, through adjectives (*emotionality*) or quick enumerations (*number game*).

In conclusion, the above-mentioned examples demonstrate that the categories of ideological discourse analysis were encoded in the target language reasonably successfully from all the source languages analyzed, albeit often at the cost of agency – especially when the persuasive strategies cumulate and the cognitive strain rises. The interpreter uses coping mechanisms or introduce precautionary strategies when ideological discourse strategies take on a more complex structure. We might advance the hypothesis that a greater discursive challenge could lie in adapting to different persuasive styles, than in switching between interpreted languages. However, such a hypothesis could be confirmed only in further study on the interpretability of ideological discourse. We hope to have shown that those answers are worth pursuing, given that “there is no such thing as a ‘pure’ unbiased statement” (Soring 1989, 95).

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