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Problem triggers in simultaneous interpreting from English as a lingua franca: A corpus-based study of speeches by Polish MEPs

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List of Abbreviations

EFL	English as a lingua franca
EU	The European Union
EP	The European Parliament
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
ISIB	interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit
L1	first language
L2	second language
NNS	non-native speaker
NS	native speaker
SI	simultaneous interpreting
ST	source text
TT	target text
SL	source language
TL	target language
L	lexical items
P	pronunciation-related items
C	coherence-related items
S	syntactic items

1. Introduction

As a means of cross-lingual and cross-cultural communication, English has dominated at the expense of almost every other language. The global spread of English is a phenomenon without precedent in the history of mankind. This ubiquitous language is present in every domain of our lives, whether personal or professional. English has become a means of international communication used in business, politics, science, tourism, medicine, research and mass media, serving as a modern *lingua franca*. Unsurprisingly, the number of English users is growing rapidly, with non-native speakers already outnumbering native speakers, and hundreds of millions of people learning English every day as a foreign language. Moreover, non-native English speakers form an international community which significantly differs from the native language group in terms of culture, identity and most importantly, language itself. Many argue that *English as a lingua franca* (ELF), with its unique language features, is a distinct variety that deserves to be studied and described in its own right. This new research paradigm has its supporters and opponents.

The rise of *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) has drawn the attention of numerous scholars in applied linguistics and language teaching. Interpreting researchers, too, have taken note of the importance of ELF and studied the profession-related challenges resulting from the growing dominance of English. Indeed, as a result of English being used as a *lingua franca* during international conferences, the fields of ELF and Conference Interpreting appear to have a great deal in common. However, it was not until recently that the two areas of study noted above began to converge, as in Hewson (2009), Albl-Mikasa (2010), Reithofer (2010), Seidlhofer (2011), Baker (2011), and Mauranen (2012). Even though researchers have pointed to a strong relation between ELF and Conference Interpreting, some interpreters demonstrate poor awareness of how a non-native source text may affect the interpreting process. In particular, interpreter trainees often lack basic ELF knowledge and practice, which may lead to unintended, negative consequences in their performance.

Certainly, anyone involved in conference interpreting, regardless of their views on the ELF phenomenon – whether positive, as is the case for ELF researchers such as Seidlhofer (2011) and Mauranen (2012), or critical, as represented by professional interpreters such as Albl-Mikasa (2010) and Reithofer (2010) – must accept this fact and learn how to deal with a growing number of non-native users of English and the related implications. In fact, interpreters are on record as having noticed early signs of change in their work-related setting, not only at

the macro level, but also, in particular, at the micro level (see Albl-Mikasa 2015). Firstly, following the accurate prediction of one of the most renowned personalities in interpreting studies, the professional market has observed a decline in demand:

In future it can be expected that to a large degree interpreting will disappear from the international scene. With time the universal use of a single language in international conferences will make resorting to interpreters less necessary (Seleskovitch 1996: 306).

The omnipresent character of ELF has posed a certain threat to the interpreting profession, with many conferences being held without any – or with only partial – involvement of interpreters (see section 3.3). Many believe that “everybody speaks English nowadays” (Gentile & Albl-Mikasa 2017: 54); and as Pöchhacker (2004: 200) indicates, the need for interpreting decreases when communication in an auxiliary language becomes more prevalent. Conference organizers often claim that interpretation is no longer the most essential component, as experts are able to understand presentations made in English. The result of this is that the necessity of using interpreters during international conferences has been called into question.

The conference interpreter’s task is mainly simultaneous interpreting (SI), which is a highly complex cognitive task. An ELF source text may seem incoherent, imprecise and highly unorthodox, which adds an additional burden on an interpreter. In such an unconventional setting, the fundamental processes of SI turn out to be counterproductive (Albl-Mikasa: 2010). That being said, interpreters are continuously succeeding in developing new coping strategies in order to deal with challenges connected with the use of ELF (Chang & Wu 2014). This, however, requires a special kind of training oriented to ELF and/or previous experience with non-native speakers.

One of the places where *Conference Interpreting* and *English as a Lingua Franca* meet on a significant scale is the European Parliament (EP). In order not to exclude any of the elected members because of their foreign language abilities, the language policy of the EP supports multilingualism. Thus, all plenary sittings are provided with SI into and out of all 24 official languages, making the EP’s interpreting service *DG LINC* the largest provider of multilingual interpreting worldwide. In spite of this, a large number of speakers in the EP decide to give up their mother tongue in favour of ELF while delivering their speeches. In certain cases, their language competence in English is restricted, which results in the speaker’s message being unintentionally distorted. Fortunately for all the linguists interested in this phenomenon, the EP

Multimedia Centre stores all speeches delivered during plenary sittings in the form of video recordings in their digitalized database, which opens the way for interdisciplinary research. Such a corpus-based study could not only help to see Conference Interpreting and ELF as an intertwined entity, but also provide evidence-based research material for the study of less recognized aspects of conference interpreting.

It goes without saying that the challenges imposed on the interpreter by an ELF source text must be identified. This would allow further research in more detail. Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to study ELF-related problem triggers and their impact on interpreters' performance in the target language. While the existing literature mainly focuses on foreign accent as the main problem trigger impeding understanding of non-native speeches (e.g. Kurz & Basel 2009, Wu & Chang 2014), Pöchhacker (2004) notes that lexical, syntactic, prosodic and coherence-related factors may have a much greater influence. It is therefore of crucial importance to study those neglected ELF features and raise awareness among interpreting students and novice interpreters who are most vulnerable to these features.

This thesis is a plea for a better understanding of ELF-induced problem triggers and their impact on the quality of an interpreter's performance. The study conducted as a part of this thesis is designed as a corpus-based analysis of real ELF speeches delivered by Polish Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and their simultaneous interpretations into Polish and German. The aim is to show what difficulties may await interpreters when faced with a non-native source text, and find out whether professional interpreters are able to overcome the difficulties encountered. Secondly, the study investigates whether the ELF problem triggers disrupt SI into different target languages to the same extent. Specifically, the performances of interpreters who share the speaker's native language are compared with the performances of interpreters with a different first language.

The aforementioned objectives dictate the structure of the present work, moving from the general to the particular. After a brief description of the history of ELF, Chapter 2 describes why ELF should be considered a distinct language variety. It further provides information about the most common language characteristics of ELF. Chapter 3 moves into an introduction of the interpreting profession and SI process models. Chapter 3 also reveals the most common implications for the interpreting profession resulting from the widespread use of ELF: including, for example, changing trends in the job market, decreased job satisfaction and lower performance quality. The theoretical discussion presented in the first two chapters gives insight into the core of the issue and shows the close interaction between the two disciplines.

Chapter 4 is devoted to the impact of an ELF source text on the interpreter's cognitive processes and related difficulties. As ELF-induced problem triggers are the key topic of this thesis, the detailed definition and classification of problem triggers is essential. Given the fact that some ELF characteristics could severely obstruct the interpreter's task, potential coping strategies are described and discussed in the last part of the chapter. In Chapter 5 the focus is exclusively on the current state of knowledge as regards ELF interpreting. It introduces the most relevant research studies, together with their objectives and findings. The studies were chosen in such a way as to provide various empirical approaches employing both quantitative and qualitative methods. Special emphasis is put on the Interlanguage Speech Intelligibility Benefit (ISIB) (see Bent & Bradlow 2003), which investigates how native language background influences the comprehensibility of non-native speech. The presented research studies mostly bear great relevance to the objectives of this paper.

Chapter 6 describes the research questions and empirical methods by which this corpus-based study is approached. Chapter 7 presents the results of the analysis carried out. Qualitative data are presented in the form of excerpts from transcribed speeches. The research material consists of 18 ELF speeches and their simultaneous interpretation into German and Polish. Subsequently, in Chapter 8, the study's findings are summarized and discussed, and suggestions for future research and training are provided.

2. English as a Lingua Franca

English has undoubtedly become a global language, used in communication between people who are not themselves native speakers of that language. People across the world speak English while working in an international environment, traveling or communicating with people from different cultures. As Ariza & Navarro (2006:753) note:

English is the dominant voice in international politics, banking, the press, news agencies, broadcasting, the recording industry, motion pictures, travel, technology, knowledge management, and communications. It is the main language of the Internet, not to mention books, newspapers, airports and air traffic control, international business and academic conferences, sports, international competitions, pop music, and advertising. English has equally become the common language of international experts in a wide range of subjects, such as medicine, the natural sciences, and the social sciences.

Clearly, English might be described as a contemporary ‘link language’ for “persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication” (Firth 1996: 240). In other words, people with different mother tongues or, to be more precise, native or first acquired languages (L1), tend to use the English language as a ‘bridge language’ between each other. According to House (1999), such interactions should be described as “interactions between members of two or more different lingua cultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue” (1999: 74). These two definitions clearly define the reasons for which ELF might be used. Despite there being a theoretical possibility that English might be a first language (L1) for one of the parties in the ELF communication setting, the number of non-native speakers of English around the world far exceeds that of native English speakers (Crystal 2008). Approximately one out of every four users of English in the world is a native speaker of the language (Crystal 2003), which demonstrates the scale of the phenomenon. This will be discussed at greater length in the following sections.

First and foremost, the phenomenon of contact languages is by no means linked either to the modern era or to English. Throughout the course of history, people of different cultures and languages have had to search for a common means of communication not only for commercial, but also religious and diplomatic purposes. Historically, there were many languages

which has served the function of an auxiliary language, obviously contingent on the region and purpose (Briney 2020). During the time of the Hellenistic civilization and the Roman Empire Greek and Latin were used in order to communicate across the Empire. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Latin established its position as a language of the elite and the Church (Briney 2020). Another early ‘bridge language’ facilitating communication between people of various backgrounds was Arabic, uniting the Muslim community and the non-Muslim inhabitants of vast lands of the Islamic empire. During the 15th and 17th century Age of Exploration, languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, French, Russian and English spread to areas being newly discovered by European power, being used first as trade languages, and later as languages of colonial administration (Briney 2020). Furthermore, in the 17th century, French replaced Latin as the language of diplomacy and international relations, retaining this role until the mid-20th century. In some international institutions, the United Nations for instance, French still plays an important role as one of the official working languages.

The etymology of the phrase ‘lingua franca’ is not entirely clear. Albeit the first recorded references to it date back to the Middle Ages, when it was used to denote a jargon used around the south-eastern Mediterranean coast by traders and Crusaders (Kahane & Kahane 1976: 25-27). This auxiliary language, based mostly on Italian, is characterized by a unique combination of nouns, verbs or adjectives derived from languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, French and Turkish, and was later referred to as a ‘Mediterranean Lingua Franca’ (1976: 26). It was not a real language, but rather a simplified version of one or more existing languages, which is a definition of a **pidgin** offered by Crystal (2003:11). Trask and Stockwell (2007) concludes that a pidgin "is nobody's mother tongue, and it is not a real language at all: it has no elaborate grammar, it is very limited in what it can convey, and different people speak it differently. Still, for simple purposes, it does work, and often everybody in the area learns to handle it". It should however be pointed out that a pidgin might become, the L1 for a new generation of the speakers in some specific pidgin-speaking regions; in this case it is called a **creole** (Wardhaugh, 2006:73). According to the above definition, the aforementioned Mediterranean Lingua Franca was a pidgin language, as it was a reduced language and has never acquired any native speakers; it did however coin the term which has remained until the present and is still used in the field of applied linguistics.

Following this period of time, the name ‘lingua franca’ has become a functional term. In 1953, UNESCO defined lingua francas as languages which are “used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them”

(UNESCO 1968 [1953]). According to Sebba (1997) "where a language is widely used over a relatively large geographical area as a language of wider communication, it is known as a **lingua franca**—a common language but one which is native only to some of its speakers". Therefore, a lingua franca describes a vehicular language used in contact situations among speakers with different L1s, where the language in question is unlikely, however possible, to be any of the speakers' native language. It should be noted that henceforward the linguistic term of a 'lingua franca' will mostly refer to the function of enabling communication, rather than the origin of the language. The term 'lingua franca' might describe either existing languages like Arabic, Latin, Spanish and English or mixed languages and pidgins such as Bush Negro¹. Moreover, lingua francas do not necessarily need to be either natural languages (with Esperanto being the world's widest spoken artificial language), or living languages (with Latin considered to be a dead language with no native speakers, albeit commonly used in medical and legalistic terminology). Despite the fact that so many languages fall within the definition of a lingua franca (see Weber 1995), English is by any account the first one that has been used as a lingua franca on such a scale in the history of mankind. Indeed, English has come to be referred to as a global (Crystal 1997) or international (McArthur 1994) language.

The phenomenon of English being used as a lingua franca, also referred to as ELF, gained ground after WWII, as a consequence of a series of preceding developments (see section 2.1); however, the study of ELF sharply gained prominence years later in the 1990s (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 294; Jenkins 2009: 143) becoming one of the youngest and the most thriving disciplines in applied linguistics. Briefly, ELF is the use of the English language "as a global means of inter-community communication" (Seidlhofer 2016: 20) among speakers of different L1, for whom English is often the only option as a communicative medium (Seidlhofer 2011:7). Nevertheless, there are two different and widespread views of ELF: one that excludes native speakers (e.g. Firth 1996; House 1999) and another that accepts native speakers as part of the linguistic mix (e.g. Seidlhofer 2004, 2011; Jenkins 2007; Mauranten 2012). This may raise the question of why ELF scholars cannot reach an agreement about this issue. The answer to this question seems to be manifold and strictly connected with the pure nature of the language, which remains fluid.

Having said that, from the linguistic perspective, every language is the exclusive property of its native speakers, who shape and provide the 'golden standard' (see Widdowson 1994). However, the reality of English as it is used proves the opposite. Indeed, the sole

¹ The language is a creole, but also have a lingua franca status among the native Indians of Surinam.

ownership of the aforementioned ‘golden’ Standard English (SE) has been notably notably since the mid-eighties (Kachru 1985) and the early nineties (Widdowson 1994), who claimed that:

[Native speakers] have no say in the matter...[T]hey are irrelevant. The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it.
(1994:385)

This was the moment when different national varieties of ‘norm-developing’ English, such as Nigerian English, Indian English or Singapore English received more recognition and became subject to linguistic research as well as to codification, despite the fact that at first they had not been easily accepted by the ‘norm providing’ native speakers. On the other hand, ELF has spread beyond national boundaries and cannot be identified with any country or countries.

As a consequence of its international use, English is being formed at least as much by its non-native speakers (NNS) as by its native speakers (NS) (Mauranen 2006; Seidlhofer 2011). Finally, every language, not excepting the global language, is a social phenomenon, in which all the users (including both NNS and NS) decide on the form that it takes; a process which depends also on the context and situation. Typically, this leads to a continuum of coexisting regional, social, and functional varieties. In this case, the linguistic research community has been less successful in recognizing and codifying these varieties as a result of their enormous number and high variability.

2.1. Approach to ELF as a distinct language variety

Given the situation, the more compelling question that experts have to face at present is whether ELF should be described as a completely different language; a language variety; or a completely new concept, which does not follow any known linguistic definition and functions ‘in its own right’ (Seidlhofer 2011: 10). In the first place, I would like to focus on the first claim: that – ELF is a different language. Some scholars, mostly prescriptivists – or, more pejoratively, modern linguist purists – disregard ELF and underline apparent discrepancies between native English and ELF. Others point to a massive disintegration of English generally, with some varieties having already separated into ‘mutually incomprehensible languages’ (Quirk 1997:8); and it might be argued that ELF has followed the same path. Many native speakers complain about English being dismantled, a view which reflects a highly

conservative resistance to the acceptance of any nonstandard language forms and the feeling of ‘linguistic supremacy’ over those NNS using ‘their’ English (1997: 8). ELF is also referred to as a kind of simplified ‘foreigner talk’, or derogatively as ‘Bad Simple English’ (BSE). Moreover, Anglocentric corpus linguists tend to exclude ELF speakers from their research on the English language, as the nonstandard structures, unusual pronunciation or intonation of such speakers are not considered an indispensable part of English language. The non-native use of a language does not “constitute the linguistic reference norm” (Seidlhofer 2011: 7) and is not taken into account in the data collection process (Jenkins 2007: 3), even if the phenomenon is so widespread that it is difficult to justify its exclusion.

The exclusion of NNS from research into the English language shows how deeply rooted misunderstanding and prejudice against NNS is. However, the exclusion seems to be mutual with ELF researchers committing the same mistake. Indeed, the ‘pure’ form of ELF excludes altogether the NS from the description, focusing mainly on the NNS, who are “entitled to transform their linguistic world” (Jenkins 2006:45), regardless of whether they use normative forms or not. Likewise, ELF researchers tend to focus more on interactions between NNS, not seeing NS as a part of the mix. Seidlhofer (2005:163) shares this viewpoint on the native-‘irrelevance’ in the ELF context, but extends the critique to Standard English (SE), which, in her opinion, should no longer be associated with ‘nativeness’. She argues that neither the term ‘nativeness’ nor NS are applicable criteria for ELF, and are ‘irrelevant’ to the way ELF is shaped. Indeed, some emerging institutionalized varieties do not consider ‘native’ varieties a standard of acceptability. In fact, paradoxically, the NS will “have to follow the agenda set by ELF speakers” (Jenkins 2006) and use some of the unorthodox linguistic items which may have been ‘codified’ within the ELF community: native speakers, for example, will sometimes adjust their pronunciation, accent and vocabulary to be fully intelligible also for NNS.

On the other hand, this approach would seem to be rather inadequate; and the arguments claiming that ELF is a completely different language are a vast exaggeration. To a certain extent however, ELF might be thought of as – in comparison to a native English language – a pidgin language with a simplified lexicon, impaired grammar and with a main focus on communication with people of different origins. After all, data on ELF becoming a native language or L1 for children of ELF-speaking parents is still lacking, regardless of whether this phenomena might become more frequent in the future. In other words, native speakers of an alleged separate language of ELF are not recognized and no research is done in the field, as

they are considered “a marginal phenomenon” (Schneider 2011: 221f). This would mean that there are in fact no native speakers of ELF, or that they are not recognized as yet, as a result of speakers of ELF being members of an ‘international community’ who learned English as an L2 and use this language for a variety of differing purposes (academic, professional or private). Furthermore, ELF has never been officially considered a language by any scholar, even though many English language experts attempted to separate ELF and SE in order to save the purity of the English language. In brief, even if we want to describe ELF as a separate language, its resemblance to ‘native’ English or SE is ultimately unavoidable and overwhelming. NS will surely recognize that ELF speakers are using a form of English and vice versa; nevertheless, they may feel that the ELF speakers “sound odd” (MacKenzie 2014: 57, Reithofer 2011: 59). Indeed, both NSs and NNSs use mutually intelligible speech varieties with some rare exceptions of extremely divergent foreign accents which may not be immediately recognizable (Jenkins 2000: 1), but will become relatively understandable after relatively short amount of time (Clarke & Garrett 2004). Still, SE remains the optimal target among most of the learners. As Scheuer (2005) puts it:

...native speakers [of English] will always remain, if not the owners of the language itself, at least the keepers of the key to what is irritating and what is acceptable in interactional exchanges all-round the globe, whether they actively participate in them or not (2005: 127-128).

As ELF could not, as yet, be considered a separate language, it has been described as an English language variety, a phenomenon already known in the linguistic community as a result of Kachru’s work (1985). Language varieties are often associated with dialects – a view which is not mistaken². Crystal (2008: 509) defines a variety as a “system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables”, such as region, sex, age, occupation, situation and context. Early ELF scholars drew upon variationist studies that identified core features and characteristics of a particular language variety. Conclusively, the ELF phenomenon seems to follow the definition of a language variety to a greater extent than the definition of a language, as language is not only influenced by linguistic factors, such as mutual intelligibility, but also by non-linguistic factors such as culture, ethnic or national identity, and religion.

² The linguistic definition of a dialect states that it is a language variation (specifically a spoken one) that is characteristic for a particular area, community or group, often with relatively minor differences in vocabulary, style, spelling and pronunciation.

To put it differently, a language variety is a general term for any distinctive form of a language or linguistic expression. The criteria of a conventional notion of language variety assume:

- the appearance of regular patterns of language use which have become accepted in a particular speech community
- standardization of these patterns
- the existence of widely accepted norms
- codification of the variety and its use in writing

(see Kachru, 1985; McArthur, 1998; Melchers & Shaw, 2003 in Prodromou 2007).

Most empirical studies of ELF have been devoted to identifying typical features, an approach typified by the groundbreaking work of Jenkins (2000) —The Phonology of English as an International Language (2000), also referred to as a Lingua Franca Core (LFC), in which she investigated ELF phonology and successfully found recurring patterns. The data was gathered over several years – from speakers with different L1-backgrounds – using numerous methods, among which field observation, recordings, interviews and a study into the production and reception of nuclear (tonic) stress (Jenkins 2000). The project concentrated on detecting potential pronunciation ‘errors’ that would lead to misunderstandings between interlocutors. The LFC thus includes the following core areas (based on Seidlhofer 2004: 216):

- The consonant inventory with the exception of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, and of dark ‘l’ [ɫ], none of which caused any intelligibility problems in the lingua franca data.
- Additional phonetic requirements: aspiration of word-initial voiceless stops /p/, /t/, and /k/, which were otherwise frequently heard as their lenis counterparts /b/, /d/, and /g/; and shortening of vowel sounds before fortis consonants, and the maintenance of length before lenis consonants, e.g., the shorter /æ/ in the word *sat* as contrasted with the phonetically longer /æ/ in the word *sad*.
- Consonant clusters: no omission of sounds in word-initial clusters, e.g. in *proper* and *strap*; omission of sounds in word-medial and word-final clusters only permissible according to L1 English rules of syllable structure so that, for example, the word *friendship* can become /frenʃɪp/ but not /frendɪp/ or /fredʃɪp/.
- Vowel sounds: maintenance of the contrast between long and short vowels, such as the /ɪ/ and /i:/ in the words *live* and *leave*; L2 regional vowel qualities otherwise

intelligible provided they are used consistently, with the exception of the substitution of the sound /ɜ:/ especially with /ɑ:/.

- Production and placement of nuclear (tonic) stress, especially when used contrastively (e.g., He came by TRAIN vs. He CAME by train).

In addition, there are two major computer-readable corpora available: the Corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA 2008) and the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE 2009); both of which give more insight into the typical characteristics of ELF. Many projects conducted on VOICE (e.g., Hollander, 2002; Kordon, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2003) have brought to light certain regularities, which would be considered non-standard from the SE or the native perspective, even though they do not by any means affect communication success. The research also proved that in ELF communication following the normative forms or specific 'native' pronunciation or accent (Jenkins 2000), in other words full 'correctness', has never been the goal itself, whereas successful communication is.

Accordingly, VOICE is an enormous collection of spoken ELF created at the University of Vienna and supervised by Seidlhofer. The collection is based on a huge spectrum of naturally-occurring, non-scripted, face-to-face speech events (interviews, dialogues, public group discussions, casual conversations) over a variety of different settings (professional, informal, educational), and among speakers from different L1 backgrounds and levels of proficiency. By way of illustration, the list of 'codified' unnormative features found and described by Seidlhofer (2004:220) involves:

1. Dropping the third person singular ending – *He look very tired*
2. Confusing the relative pronouns who and which – *The guy which works here*
3. The rules of using articles – *Gift that he gave me*
4. Failing to use correct forms in tag questions – *They should finish soon, isn't it?*
5. Plural forms of uncountable nouns – *advices; informations*
6. Inserting redundant prepositions – *I want that we discuss about my plans.*

The aforementioned features, whether grammatical or phonological, are typical for many ELF interactions, and would demonstrate that ELF is indeed a distinct variety with a wide range of regular patterns that are accepted by the community which *a fortiori* do not harm intelligibility. Nevertheless, there are elements that do cause communication problems. It is clear that not knowing certain vocabulary items may cause potential misunderstandings. Seidlhofer (2001) coined the term 'unilateral idiomaticity' to describe a situation in which one

participant uses an expression which the other does not understand: for instance, metaphorical language use, idioms, phrasal verbs, and fixed expressions such as a kettle of fish, send to Coventry, donkey's years or the pot calling the kettle black. In practice, however, knowledge of 'native' English "idiomatic usage, slang, phrasal verbs, puns, proverbs, cultural allusions and the like" (Jenkins 2000:220) is irrelevant in most ELF interactions, especially if NS are excluded. A future research objective will be to find out what common salient features of ELF use emerge, irrespective of speakers' first languages and levels of L2 proficiency.

However, creating a single prescriptive model of ELF might be a far-reaching oversimplification. Seidlhofer says that ELF 'has taken on a life of its own' (Seidlhofer, 2004:212) and argues that ELF, is in the process of 'nativization'. Two years later in 2006, she points out that there is probably little sense in disputing whether ELF is a variation of English without first learning more about how it is spoken by various speakers: "it does not make much sense, therefore, to talk about a monolithic variety as such: a variety can be treated as if it were a monolith, but this is a convenient fiction, for the process of variation itself never stops". This 'fluidity' has raised doubts among many ELF scholars, who justifiably claim that the term 'variety' is too stable (Dewey 2009:61) to describe the rather inconsistent nature of ELF. Although there have been some deliberate attempts at codification (e.g., LFC, VOICE), ELF is a highly variable linguistic form; this being due to its dependence on thousands of possible situational variables in a given multilingual communicative interaction. These variables may rely upon L1-background, L2-language proficiency, culture, mentality, the cooperative attitude and flexibility (or otherwise) of the speaker, their linguistic repertoire or even level of concentration. It should also be noted that speakers' combinations involved in ELF setting will continuously change (Hülmbauer 2009:325). Meierkord (2002: 128) also emphasized the importance of context, considering other variables like interaction between speakers, purpose of conversation, language backgrounds and conversation setting. By way of illustration, an L1-German speaker would communicate with an L1-Spanish speaker in ELF, then a L1-Spanish speaker would speak with an L1-Arabic speaker, then the L1-Arabic speaker would do the same with an L1-Japanese speaker, with all these interaction having unique characteristics.

Therefore, ELF cannot be referred to as a 'fixed code' (House 2013:59), meaning that the codification process cannot be fully executed. On the other hand, being a fixed code is the fundamental prerequisite for becoming a language variety. According to Crystal (2008:83), codification is not only "the compilation of a systematic statement of the rules and conventions", but also involves the existence of consistent pronunciation guides, dictionaries and

grammars, which do not exist for ELF and their future creation seem highly demanding, bearing in mind infinite speakers' constellations. As Seidlhofer, Breiteneder, Pitzl (2006:21) claim, "uncoupling the language from its native speakers and probing the nature of ELF is a special methodological challenge". As a result many ELF scholars shifted away from the variationist approach. Seidlhofer (2004:230) even describes ELF as "a distinct manifestation of English". Instead, ELF researchers resort to the study of sociolinguistics, which is more concerned with how groups (or communities) use and influence language in relation to social factors. ELF speakers constitute a global speech community that does not follow the conventions of the sociolinguistic definition, as the aforementioned social factors vary to a greater extent than ethnicity, religion, status, gender or age. The ELF community does not seek recognition by means of the way they use the language, as is the case for jargons, dialects or sociolects. On the whole, ELF is an interactional phenomenon, which is determined by the achievement of communication success via the use of mutually intelligible linguistic systems, where the communication success ultimately depends on the cooperation, supportive behaviour and flexibility of their interlocutors (Hülmbauer 2009: 325). For this reason, ELF is closely associated with dialogue settings, rather than the monologue setting typical for lectures or conferences. The main coping strategies in the case of misunderstandings are accommodation, simplification, levelling and repetition, which according to Cogo (2009:260f) are also used "to show alignment and solidarity with the interlocutor, to invoke their approval and possibly to suggest affiliation and membership into the same community of multilingual speakers".

Finally, there has been no consensus about what ELF really is and how the phenomenon of ELF will further evolve. As we are dealing with a relatively new specialization, it would be acceptable to simply observe the ELF research and try to conceptualize new findings. For the purposes of my thesis I would rely on Dewey's definition:

ELF is then best understood as a dynamic, locally realized enactment of a global resource, best conceptualized not as a uniform set of norms or practices, but as a highly variable, creative expression of linguistic resources which warrants a distinct analytical framework (2009:62)

2.2. Historical and cultural context

Given the fact that an enormous part of literature has been devoted to the subject of explaining why English has achieved its importance as a language of global communication (Bailey& Gorlach: 1982, Brumfit: 1982, Greenbaum: 1985, Kachru:1986, Quirk& Widdowson: 1985, Smith: 1983, Crystal: 2003), this issue has to be addressed in this paper. It is difficult to convey the sheer complexity of the ELF phenomenon without looking at the historical, geographical and cultural context. The historical and cultural perspective would shed light on how and why English language has spread around the world and attained its status as a global language. Non-linguists often assert that the ubiquity of English lies in the alleged simplicity of the language (its directness, relative lack of inflections, the flexibility of syntax and openness of vocabulary), compared to other languages, such as Chinese, French or Hindi, which are also widely spoken around the world. However, according to Quirk (1997:3): “the choice of an international language or lingua franca, is never based on linguistic or aesthetic criteria but always on political, economic, and demographic ones”. To prove this claim, one may refer to the example of Esperanto, a constructed language that was intended to be a universal language of international communication. Although Esperanto’s vocabulary, semantics and syntax is relatively simple and highly regular, not to mention the fact that according to its creator, Polish ophthalmologist L.L. Zamenhof, the grammar of language can be learned in just an hour(providing the learner has a European languages background³). Even though the structure of the language – and its limited set of words - facilitates communication, it has never achieved the same global status as ELF. There are manyfold reasons for this, commencing with a lack of international recognition, which thus limits the amount of speakers, and results in a language with no strong cultural or historical foundations.

The reasons why English, and not some other language, has become the global lingua franca is twofold: geohistorical and sociocultural. In essence, until the end of the sixteenth century English stayed only within the British Isles, with the total number of NS not exceeding 7 million, all of whom were living in the islands of the North Atlantic. The first milestone in the history of the English language can be traced back to the pioneering voyages to the Americas, the Caribbeans, Asia and Australia in the early 17th century, and the creation of the first English settlements around the world. For instance, the first English settlements in

³ Esperanto, as an auxiliary language, derives predominantly from the already existing modern Indo-European languages, also referred to as Standard Average European (SAE), a term introduced by Benjamin Whorf in 1939, describing languages with number of common features and similarities in syntax, grammar or vocabulary.

America considerably expanded during this period, reaching the number of 25,000 English speaking immigrants by 1640. Although the new settlers were from English-speaking backgrounds, they all spoke different kinds of English with numerous dialect differences. English settlers came to new lands from all parts of England, Ireland and Scotland, which resulted in a highly heterogeneous and linguistically diverse mixture. People with different regional, occupational and social backgrounds found themselves living alongside each other in the completely new, unknown lands, which forced them to cooperate with each other. As a consequence, the distinctions between regional and national dialects became closely intertwined, and consequently distinct varieties of English language appeared around the globe spreading from the northern (Canada) to southern (Australia) hemisphere. Along with expansion and growth of the British Empire in the 18th century, the significance of the English language gradually grew and became a language of political power and dominance. The British Empire colonized many countries in Asia and Africa, where English colonizers imposed their administration, religion, cultural practices, and most of all language. Since then, countries of contemporary geopolitical significance (e.g. India, Egypt, South Africa) were forced to use English as an official language. In some cases, the impact of English was so profound that even after the restoration of independence, many former British colonies retained English as an official language (e.g. Ghana, South Africa, Pakistan, Singapore, Rwanda)⁴.

Another milestone came with the 20th century, mainly as a result of the strengthening military, political and economic power of the United States. The Second World War was also a crucial time for the spread of English language, as the two main English-speaking powers, the United States and the United Kingdom, formed a powerful alliance, which finally succeeded in winning the war. Another breakthrough in the spread of English of that time was a worldwide radio broadcast made by the BBC in English sharing information regarding current events on the front. The final step on the way of English becoming a global language as we know it today was the emergence of the United States as an economic superpower in the post-war era. At that point, the United States had not only established strong political domination in the world, but also a far-reaching ideological, cultural and social reach.

While the era of colonial imperialism has surely contributed to the spread of English around the world, the phenomenon has also a modern origin. Therefore, the sociocultural foundation cannot be left aside. As Crystal (2003:77) mentions: “in relation to so many of the

⁴ It is worth noting that the fact of having English as one of the official languages does not correspond with the number of English native speakers living in the country.

major socio-cultural developments of the past 200 years, it can be shown that the English language has repeatedly found itself in the right place at the right time”. After the end of the World War II, innovations in the media industry⁵ contributed to the development of a popular culture consumed massively by a worldwide community. Thus, English has appeared in other countries around the world which had neither a former colonial background nor any other English-language background. The emergence of a large number of English books, music, movies, videogames, TV channels, radio stations, newspapers and magazines has therefore strengthened the English language hegemony. Naturally, the hegemony of English has steadily grown with technological development, and the increase of international communication, which has become apparent with the emergence of the Internet, followed by the era of globalization. The globalized efforts of trade, commerce and new technologies have resulted in the United States becoming the world centre of the commercial industry and technological progress, which obliged other countries to adapt certain elements, either cultural or linguistic. Unsurprisingly, English has found application in various domains, such as politics and diplomacy, international news and entertainment, the Internet and computer technology, international business and trade, and science and research (see Kachru 1994; Seaton 1997; Master 1998).

Over the last 20 years, English has become a ‘vehicle’ for information access, technology transfer and economic development (Grabe 1988:63). For many people English has become the chance for better life conditions, with English enhancing the availability of career choices and life opportunities (Holmes 1992) and giving “access to the world outside” (see Wardhaugh 2006), particularly in developing countries, of which Pakistan is one (Rahman: 2002). Rahman (2002) also maintains that knowledge of English is a prerequisite for career success and a key indicator of high socioeconomic status, which manifests itself in a high level of education, prestige, scope of power, ‘American’ lifestyle and leisure activities. It can be said with great certainty that the same applies to many countries, such as Saudi Arabia, where knowledge of English is linked with social prestige and many privileges (Al-Haq and Smadi 1996: 311). Indeed, every language represents the values of the society in which it has evolved (Hyde 1994: 300). The aforementioned cultural products of American pop culture and mass media has not only promoted the language, but also the cultural value system of America. Many societies still associate English with progressiveness and wealth (see Rahman

⁵ Particularly in the United States due to its status of superpower after the WWI, economic prosperity and unimpeded neo-liberal market economy.

2002). English might also be referred to as a ‘language of mobility’, facilitating migration, tourism and study abroad.

Finally, there are two main reasons to explain why English has become a global language. Firstly, the historical one, which encompasses the success of the British Empire and its imperialistic aspirations. Secondly, the most recent one, the era of globalization and the ‘superpower’ status of the United States, which enables further expansion, in particular with respect to culture and language. Undoubtedly, the disappearance of cultural diversity will continue to be one of the biggest challenges in the era of globalization. The further spread of ELF and its overwhelming significance will definitely make a major contribution to the loss of language diversity.

2.3. World Englishes and their distinctive features

Numerous attempts have been made to define and classify the ways English is employed and spoken in various countries (Gorlach, 1990; Strevens, 1992; McArthur, 1998). Nevertheless, it was Kachru (1985) who has provided the most prominent and comprehensive model of the worldwide spread of English. Kachru (1985) formally coined the term ‘World Englishes’⁶ in order to both distinguish between various national English varieties and to manifest their plurality. The Kachru World Englishes model describes “the type of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (1985:12).

Kachru divides the varieties into three concentric circles: the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (see Fig.1.). The inner circle consists of countries such as the UK, the USA, New Zealand and Canada, where English is spoken as a native language for the vast majority of citizens and is used in all domains of public life. Moreover, the inner circle ‘Englishes’ are considered norm-providing in terms of appropriateness and correctness among countries from different circles. Moreover, the forms known from the English varieties in the inner circle play a crucial part in foreign language education and language planning. Secondly, the outer circle involves ‘post-colonial’ countries, such as Pakistan, Singapore, India or Malaysia, where English is spoken as a second language and has become a significant part of administrative procedures in these countries’ chief institutions. It must be remarked that the outer circle ‘Englishes’ are ‘norm-developing’ (Jenkins 2009), as they are currently

⁶ Kachru refers to the plural form of ‘Englishes’ in order to underline the fact that there are several English varieties which vary greatly in terms of accent, pronunciation, spelling, lexis and sometimes even grammar.

establishing their own set of standards. However, the credibility of outer circle ‘Englishes’ norms remains highly debatable, since the use of English as a second language almost inevitably evokes connotations that ‘second’ means ‘less worthy’ (Kachru, Braj & Nelson 1996).

Finally, the expanding circle comprises countries where English is taught as a foreign language, as a means of international communication, business and tourism. This includes countries with no colonial background, such as Germany, Poland, Greece, Spain or Saudi Arabia. Mackenzie (2010:3) concludes that “given the prevalence of English language use throughout the world in the twenty-first century, the expanding circle presumably comprises every nation not included in the inner circle or the outer circle”. The expanding circle English varieties are referred to as ‘norm-dependent’ or exonormative (Kachru 1985), which means that they fully rely on linguistic norms produced by the native speakers from the inner circle.

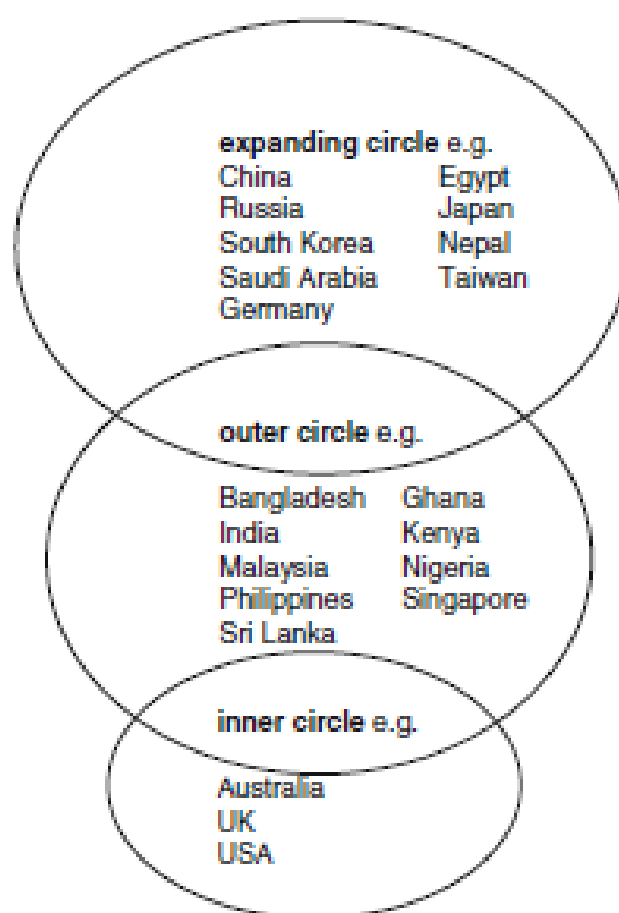


Figure 1. Kachru’s concentric circles of English (adapted from 1996: 2)

Even though Kachru aims to represent English linguistic reality in an accurate manner, there are some clear limitations of his model. In fact, Kachru (1985) himself admitted that the concentric model may be oversimplified and grey areas exist⁷. Furthermore, the concentric model of World Englishes promotes a fundamental division between NS and NNS based only on geography and genetic inheritance. Jenkins (2009) emphasizes that it is highly controversial and offensive “to label as non-native those who have learnt English and achieved bilingual status as fluent, proficient (but probably not ambilingual) users”, especially considering the increasing rates of bi- and multilingualism among global society. (2009:88). Therefore, Crystal (1997) suggests not defining the boundaries of Kachru’s concentric circles to the fullest extent.

Some scholars have since then tried to overcome this criticism with different models and descriptions. For instance, in contrast to the Kachru’s traditional model, Modiano (1999:26) posed his own representation, one which does not rely on historical, geographical or political categories. In Modiano’s centripetal circles of International English, language abilities are determined by speakers’ categories rather than place of birth. The centre is made up of proficient English speakers (both NS and NNS) and those whose communicative abilities are enough to “function well in cross-cultural communication where English is the lingua franca” (Jenkins 2003:20). Another criterion is a lack of strong regional accent or dialect considered ineffective in international communication. The outer circle is constituted of learners who do not have sufficient language competence which would enable them to participate fully in international communication; whereas the final circle, located outside the previously mentioned circles, consists of people without any knowledge of English (see Fig. 2):

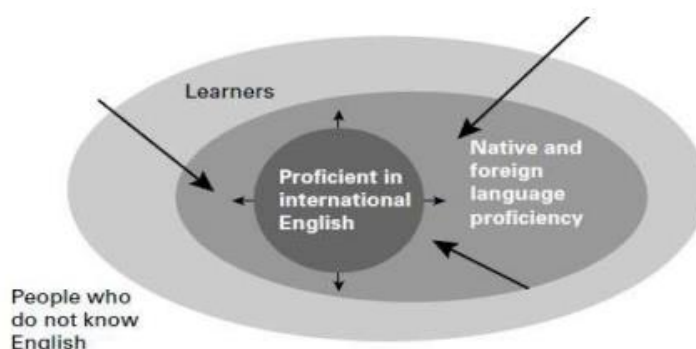


Figure 2. Modiano's centripetal circles of International English Model (Modiano 1999:25)

⁷ Jamaica can serve as an example of a country which is hard to classify.

Although the model gives a good insight into a modern definition of English users, it is also fraught with categorization difficulties. In particular, when it comes to vague notions of regional accent and communicating well in a multicultural environment, and the fact that there are no strict definitions that would draw boundaries between these circles. However, it emphasizes the core of ELF communication: mutual understanding and intelligibility beyond any national boundaries. Furthermore, it underlines the dynamic nature of the phenomenon, as English speakers may easily move between categories - for instance, from the second to the third category - the moment they achieve more fluency.

Finally, despite many attempts to conceptualize the global spread of English, its fickle nature makes it impossible to capture every possible case which occurs in the world. There are numerous English speakers who have various backgrounds and proficiency levels. That is why the categories remain fuzzy at the edges. Despite being welcomed only by some and deplored by others, the aforementioned models constitute a useful tool in understanding this unprecedented situation. These challenges only confirm the fact that World Englishes constitutes a thriving discipline worth further research.

2.4. ENL, ESL, EFL, EIL or ELF?

Wherever language experts discuss English as the preferred method of international communication, there is the potential to use various terms and acronyms. ELF, ESL, EFL or EIL start with a letter E which stands for English, and thus seemingly refer to the same categorisation, which might appear misleading. To better understand what is hidden behind the acronyms it is necessary to explain each of them.

Jenkins (2003:15) distinguishes between 3 distinct groups of English users, whereas her classification is based largely on the Kachru model (see Fig. 1):

1. English as a Native Language (ENL) – speakers from the Inner Circle, which “refers to the traditional bases of English – the regions where it is a primary language”; in other words a mother tongue for the majority of citizens, such as the UK or the USA (Kachru 1985: 12).
2. English as a Second Language (ESL) – speakers from the Outer Circle, which refers to “institutionalization in non-native contexts” (Kachru 1985: 12), and countries with a colonial background where English is used not only for international (diplomacy or trade) but also for intranational reasons (education and legal system).

3. English as a Foreign Language (EFL) – speakers from the Expanding Circle, which refers to the countries without any colonial history where people learn English as part of English Language Teaching (ELT), the industry of teaching English to NNS.

In this juxtaposition, the one and only ‘norm-providing’ variety is ENL, with other varieties seeking to fully adopt its linguacultural norms, grammar and pronunciation. The traditional ELT goal is to achieve language abilities that are as close to ENL as possible. Nevertheless, due to the growing number of English interactions, especially between NNSs, there has been a discernible shift in ELT towards no longer aiming at accurate imitation of ENL ‘gold standards’. A new communicative approach to language teaching (Jenkins 1996: 119) has gained ground, one which accepts a high variability of World Englishes and allows the retention of some L1 characteristics, such as accent or pronunciation, as long as mutual intelligibility is achieved.

The term English as an International Language (EIL) has been used to describe this paradigm shift and manifest ‘the liberation linguistics’ (Kachru 1985) and the retreat from traditional EFL language teaching methods or ideals⁸. As Jenkins indicates, “we need to distinguish between EFL errors and ELF variants” (2007: 26). In her view, speakers of EIL have a right to deviate from the standard norms without being judged, in the same way as ‘norm-developing’ speakers of ESL (2007: 239).

This being said, EIL is part of the more general phenomenon of ‘World Englishes’ (for a detailed overview see Jenkins 2003; McArthur 1998; Melchers & Shaw 2003); a phenomenon which is comprised of uses of English within and across Kachru’s ‘Circles (see Chapter 2.2.). Indeed, the word ‘international’ directly indicates the global nature of English language. Terms such as ‘English as a global language’ (e.g., Crystal 2003; Gnutzmann 1999), ‘English as a world language’ (e.g., Mair 2003), ‘English as a lingua franca’ (e.g. Seidlhofer 2006; Jenkins 2003), and ‘World English’ (e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002) are notions with corresponding meaning, which are commonly employed to describe the communication situations in which all English speakers might be involved. As regards ELF and EIL, some researchers claim that they are one and the same thing, while others allude to a noticeable difference between them: EIL is characterized by NNS-NNS interactions, whereas ELF represents NNS-NS-NNS interactions. Seemingly the term ELF is used more frequently in the literature, thus I will adhere to the use of this acronym in my thesis.

⁸ These traditional ELF methods consider all deviations, such as foreign accent and linguistic interferences as language mistakes.

3. Conference Interpreting and ELF

Interpreting is regarded as a multilingual communication event which consists of three parties: a *speaker* producing a message, a *listener* representing the intended audience of the message, and an *interpreter* who facilitates communication between the other parties. A speaker produces a message – a source text (ST), in a source language (SL), which the target audience do not understand. For this reason, communication between parties needs to be mediated by an interpreter, who transmits the message into a target text (TT) using a target language (TL), making it understandable for the intended listeners. Therefore, interpreting can be defined as an oral form of translation in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of an utterance (Pöchhacker 2004: 11). Interpreting can be categorized according to different criteria, such as the setting in which it takes place, language modality, the working mode, and the situational constellation of interaction (Pöchhacker 2004: 16). The prototypical representation of interpreting suggested by R. Bruce W. Anderson (1976/2002) assumes that interpreting is a bilateral mediation between two (monolingual) clients, also known as *liaison interpreting* (Pöchhacker 2004: 16). Contrastingly, there is a multilateral constellation of interpreting, in which numerous parties, institutions and individuals are involved, hence *conference interpreting* (Pöchhacker 2004: 16). In addition to that, conference interpreting is distinguished not only by its situational complexity, but also by its interlinguistic and intercultural character. This will be discussed thoroughly in later sections of this paper.

The origin of interpreting activities dates back as far as Ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. Some historians consider interpreting as one of the oldest professions in the world. Even though interpreting has been performed as a professional activity since the fifteenth century, it was not until the twentieth century that the profession became fully recognized (Pöchhacker 2004: 157). Researchers studying the process of professionalization indicate three major milestones in the emergence of the interpreting profession. The first widely recognized presence of professional interpreters took place at the Paris Peace Conference after World War I (Pöchhacker 2004: 158). This conference put an end to the monopoly of French as the language of diplomacy and started a new era of multilingual meetings being simultaneously interpreted. The first idea for a system of simultaneous interpreting was put in practice during the Nuremberg Trials, which were conducted simultaneously in various languages. Certainly, such a venture required a unique system and logistics including microphones, amplifiers and

headphones for each interpretation channel. The system consisted of a complex electrical transmission divided into three teams of 12 interpreters, and supervised by a monitor (Bai-gorri-Jalón 2014: 134), which was considered a “true wonder” (Gaiba 1998: 61). In reality, the interpreting profession benefited enormously from the technological development in broadcasting technology, which took place during World War 2.

The next cornerstone in the process of professionalization was the creation of the International Association of Conference Interpreters (AIIC) in 1953, with the aim of gathering professional conference interpreters worldwide. The initial goal of this professional organization was to enforce a code of professional ethics and regulate professional standards (Pöch-hacker 2004: 30). Consequently, it provided the legal basis for regulating interpreters’ working conditions, even though some regulations remain subject to national legislation and institutions rules (Pöchhacker 2004: 30). Nowadays, AIIC has retained its role in ensuring the high profile of the profession on an international scale (Pöchhacker 2004:30). Apart from the AIIC’s crucial role in the process of professionalization, the last breakthrough was related to the availability of higher-level training, especially at an academic level.

Academization of the interpreting profession started in the early 1960s, after the establishment of the Conference of University-level Translator and Interpreter Schools (CIUTI), a group of recognized schools offering university-level training for future interpreters. The first universities participating in CIUTI were Geneva, Heidelberg, Paris, Trieste and Vienna (Pöchhacker 2004: 32). The next stage, and a natural consequence of the following, was the appearance of the first interpreting textbooks (Herbert 1952; Rozan 1956; van Hoof 1962; Selskovitch 1968), which could be used by students practicing conference interpreting (Pöchhacker 2004: 32). However, the most fundamental element of the academization of interpreting was the recognition of a “dual identity of interpreter (and translator) education as being both oriented towards professional practice and guided by academic research” (Pöchhacker 2004: 32). With more interpreter schools being set up, more academics became interested in the field of interpreting research and theoretical analysis. The increasing number of PhDs in this field led to its further development, which culminated in the emergence of an autonomous research field – *interpreting studies*.

The previously described actions have ultimately turned interpreting from an occupation into the profession and scientific discipline it is known as today. As a result of global integration and the growing interdependence of the world’s economies, cultures and populations, interpreting services have become an essential part of the modern world, involving as it

does daily coordination and exchange across linguistic boundaries. Indeed, interpreting for international conferences and organizations is, in many ways, the most prominent manifestation of interpreting in our time (Pöchhacker 2004: 16). Conference interpreting takes place in a particular format of interaction ('conference') and is often set in a multilingual environment (Pöchhacker 2004: 16). Diriker (2015) defines it as "the rendering of speeches delivered in one language into another at formal and informal conferences and in conference-like settings" (2015: 78). In such an international setting, an interpreter serves as an interlingual and intercultural mediator. Multilingual conferences have started to be organized on a massive scale around the world: Pöchhacker stated as early as 1994 that 67 of 96 English speeches during international events were held by non-native speakers (Pöchhacker 1994:154), and this is an increasing trend. Basel (2002) demonstrated in her study that 19 out of 28 English speakers in conference settings were non-native speakers. Another conference study, based on a survey among AIIC interpreters (AIIC 2002), showed that approximately 80% of English contributions to conferences were made by non-native speakers. According to numerous conference organizers, multilingualism - and thus employment of interpreters of different languages - increases the prestige of an event, and these events are then favoured by many aspiring institutions striving to obtain international recognition. Other institutions promote interpreting services in order not to exclude any members, or in order not to exclude potential candidates from joining as a result of their weak foreign language skills. The European Union (EU), for instance, introduced the policy of linguistic equality⁹. The main aim of the European language policy was to enable all citizens to address the EU institutions and read all the official legislation documents in their native language, thereby ensuring EU transparency. Moreover, every European citizen has the right to stand for election to the European Parliament (EP) regardless of the language they speak. As a result, all formal sittings of the European Council and the plenary sittings are provided with simultaneous interpretation into and out of all 24 official languages, making the EP's interpreting service – the Directorate-General for Logistics and Interpretation for Conferences (DG LINC) the largest provider of multilingual interpretation worldwide.

Although globalization could be assumed to have boosted the importance of the interpreting profession, the reality has turned out to be entirely different. With countless transactions in business, politics, arts, and science being conducted on a worldwide scale,

⁹ According to the Regulation No. 1, all EU member states' official languages are to enjoy the equal status. For this reason, all member states' languages are official and working languages of all European Union institutions, which constitutes 24 different languages.

international interpreting services can no longer fulfil their role efficiently. The principle of multilingualism is often questioned and certainly not always applied (see Gazzola & Grin 2013, Reithofer 2014, Seidlhofer et al. 2006). This happens mainly due to financial, logistical and organizational reasons (Reithofer 2018:110). Even the European Union, initially considered to be the last refuge of multilingualism, does not guarantee full language regime at all institutional levels (Tosi 2015 in Reithofer 2018: 110). In fact, interpretation into and out of all official languages is restricted to only a few events, such as the plenary sitting of the EP and formal sittings of the Council (He 2006: 27). ELF has helped to achieve a considerable degree of ‘linguistic unity’ between people of different backgrounds, minimizing the potential need for interpreting services. Contrary to apparently logical assumptions, globalization has led to the inevitable reduction of multilingual international conferences in favour of bilingual or monolingual events.

To conclude, the ELF phenomenon has altered conference interpreting to the same extent as did technological development after WWII. This time, however, the change did not contribute to the evolution of the profession, but rather to its gradual decline. The truth is that the influence of ELF on the interpreting profession has not been widely recognized by the interpreting community, with only a few researchers pointing to the ELF-related implications (Albl-Mikasa 2013, Reithofer 2010, Cheung 2013). Given the above, this issue will be analyzed further in the following sections.

3.1 Simultaneous Interpreting

Before the emergence of conference interpreting, the distinction between interpreting modes was not necessary. Until this moment, the only known working mode was *consecutive interpreting*, which relies on output language rendition after source-language utterance (Pöchhacker 2004: 19). In other words, the interpreter conveys the speaker’s message only after the speaker has either completed his/her speech or has paused after a few minutes (Kalina 1998: 23). Since there is no set rule on the duration of any particular utterance before the pause, consecutive interpreters have to resort to their good memory skills and/or note taking techniques¹⁰. However, after the technical advances in the 1920s, the first transmission equipment such as soundproof booths, microphones or headsets appeared, which enabled interpreters to work simultaneously (Pöchhacker 2004: 18). It became meaningful to differentiate between

¹⁰ The consecutive interpreting of longer speeches (from 5 to 10 minutes of uninterrupted discourse) usually involves note-taking, in contrast to short consecutive without notes, which indicates a bidirectional mode in a dialogue interpreting constellation (cf Pöchhacker 2004: 19).

two major working modes: **consecutive interpreting** (CI) and **simultaneous interpreting** (SI). These two modes fall under the more explicit term *spoken-language interpreting*, in contrast to *sign language interpreting* ¹¹(2004: 19). Lately, interpreting researchers started to distinguish a hybrid form of simultaneous consecutive (SimConsec), which involves a “consecutive rendering by playing back and simultaneously interpreting a digital recording of the source speech” with a use of a headset (2004: 19).

SI can be performed during numerous communicative events. Among those, international conferences are the most common, mostly due to financial and organizational reasons. As a consequence, SI is often used interchangeably with the term ‘conference interpreting’. For the sake of conciseness and consistency, I will only use the term “simultaneous interpreting,” or “SI” when referring to the conference interpreting throughout this thesis, and will focus exclusively on the simultaneous mode. As the name indicates, the SI rendition takes place at exactly the same time as the source text is being presented (2004: 18). In order to avoid an acoustic source-target overlap, special audio transmission equipment must be used: a fact which suggests that SI is intricately linked with technology. Moreover, fully functioning technical devices are a prerequisite for a good quality performance (2004: 19). To ensure that everyone hears the speaker and the interpreter well, microphones are required. Secondly, interpreting booths and headsets ensure that the interpreter can hear the speaker as effectively as possible without being distracted by background noises. Additionally, listeners may also need to use headphones to clearly hear the interpretation, and not the speaker. On the other hand, it must be underlined that the use of technical equipment does not constitute a condition for certain types of SI, such as whispered interpreting, sight translation, and sign language interpreting (see Baigorri-Jalón et al. 2021). For instance, whispered interpreting ¹², which is done by speaking in a low voice directly into the ear of the listener, can be applied when the electro-acoustic transmission equipment is not available. Sight translation, more precisely sight interpreting, is based on the real-time oral rendition of a previously written source text. This type of simultaneity is connected with the interpreter’s target text production and the visual reception of the source text. Finally, sign language interpreting is a real-time transition from the spoken-language-based system into sign system, a type of interpreting for deaf and hearing-impaired people (Pöchhacker 2004: 18). That notwithstanding, in the course of this thesis I will focus fully on the SI in a traditional sense. This means that whenever I refer to SI, I mean

¹¹ Sign language interpreting, also referred to as ‘interpreting for the deaf’, is made with the help of ‘signing’ and it constitutes a separate language modality on the spectrum of interpreting (Pöchhacker 2004: 18).

¹² It is also known by the French term *chuchotage*.

“spoken-language interpreting with the use of simultaneous interpreting equipment in a sound-proof booth” (Pöchhacker 2004: 20).

Interestingly, there are several reasons why SI eventually replaced CI in the ‘interpreter-mediated’ conference setting. Primarily, CI requires extra time, as the interpretation takes between 2/3 and 3/4 of the time taken by the original speech (Jones 1998: 40). Considering the fact that conferences usually involve a large number of participants, CI would almost double the time of the meeting, and that just for one target language (Bartłomiejczyk 2021:19). Contrastingly, SI allows several target language renditions to be delivered from separate interpreting booths concurrently, without prolonging the meeting (2021: 19). From this point of view, SI has a considerable advantage over CI, especially when people of different language backgrounds are participating in the event. Therefore, the simultaneous mode has become the dominant form of conference interpreting, to such an extent that the majority of conference interpreters state that they hardly ever perform consecutively¹³. At present, simultaneous interpreters are associated with “higher professional status, higher levels of pay, and opportunities to travel and to be part of high-profile events” (Setton & Dawrant 2016: 244). On the other hand, it is worth noting that in many cases the performance of simultaneous interpreters is reduced to the “sound from the booth”, while the interpreters’ faces are hidden behind the tinted glass of the booth, and their presence therefore remains minimal¹⁴. Moreover, simultaneous interpreters are not able to interact with the speaker or the audience while interpreting, hence, SI is claimed to be unidirectional (Kadrić et al. 2007: 66), additionally complicating the process. This means that simultaneous interpreters are not able to ask for repetition or clarification in any point of the performance, which is a normal practice in other interpreting modes (see Anderson 1994).

SI is believed to be a complex cognitive task, requiring several abilities, such as good general knowledge, excellent comprehension and production of at least two languages, and the ability to coordinate listening and speaking at the same time (Russo 2010: 333). These skills can be developed and mastered during special SI-dedicated training. Anderson’s (1994) explanation of SI serves to illustrate the complexity of SI:

¹³ In Neff 2014, freelance conference interpreters claimed that 85% of their assignments were in the simultaneous mode, whereas contracted interpreters reported 94% of SI assignments in their daily work.

¹⁴ In contrast to CI, in which the interpreter stands next to the speaker, next to the dais and his/her presence is clearly noticeable. For the audience, the interpreter and his/her performance is an component part of the event.

Sequestered in his soundproof booth, he [the interpreter] must analyze and comprehend a continuous stream of speech, shape, coax and contort the message as he perceives it into the mold of his output language, then speak it. At the same time, he is analyzing the oncoming stream of new data bits into intelligible information and monitoring his own speech to ensure that it is properly paced, intelligible to his listeners, and conveys the original meaning as he understood it (1994: 101).

This description clearly shows that interpreters have to multitask in order to perform SI, as it comprises multiple concurrent cognitive activities, such as perceiving, transforming, and transmitting speakers' messages (see Lederer 1981; Pöchhacker 2004; Russo 2010). Simultaneous interpreters have to hear, comprehend and formulate in the target language the segment of new information while the next one is being delivered. The main difficulty arises from the fact that SI is predominantly a 'meaning-based activity' (Russo 2010: 333), which means that the interpreter does not search for one-to-one equivalents between the two language codes¹⁵, in contrast to translation, which is clearly word-based (Pöchhacker 2004: 10)¹⁶. According to the Interpretive Theory of Translation (IT), represented by Seleskovitch and her successor Lederer, interpreting is based on 'processing' operations transforming an input into an output (2004: 57); or to put it differently, a knowledge-based **process** of 'making sense', rather than an operation on and between languages, such as 'transcoding' (Pöchhacker 2004: 36).

Seleskovitch (1978), as well as Herbert (1952), believes that the interpreter combines perceptual input with prior knowledge (situational, historical or subject-based) in order to re-express the speaker's intended meaning. With the aim of explaining the 'mechanism' of simultaneous interpreting, Seleskovitch created a triangular model of interpretation, based on 3 interdependent mental procedures: (1) listening and understanding the source message, (2) conveying the meaning of the message in the target language, (3) delivery of the target message (Herbert 1952: 9). She illustrates the process in the form of a triangle to highlight those three fundamental phases. The principal focus is on the construct of 'sense' (Pöchhacker 2004: 89). According to Seleskovitch (1978: 336), 'sense' is conscious: however 'deverbalized' an utterance, meaning is dissociated from any linguistic form in cognitive memory (Pöchhacker 2004: 89). That is to say, 'sense' indicates the cognitive representation of the meaning aroused by speech sounds (Seleskovitch 1978: 336).

¹⁵ It is a so-called *transcodage* from the source language to the target language, which refers to a direct conversion of one element into the corresponding one in a different format.

¹⁶ The Latin term *interpretes* denotes someone 'explaining the meaning,' 'making sense of' (Pöchhacker 2004:10)

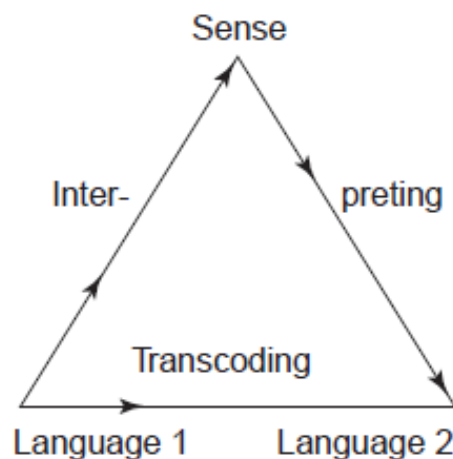


Figure 3. Seleskovitch's triangular model (Seleskovitch and Lederer 1984: 185)

However abstract it might sound, the triangular model of Interpreting created by Seleskovitch initiated further theoretical research and elaboration. Lederer created a more detailed version including eight mental operations, with two or more occurring concurrently during the act of simultaneous interpreting. It reveals the high complexity of SI processing, which lies in the simultaneity of several cognitive processes at any given moment. In comparison to Seleskovitch, Lederer adds an additional phase, namely self-monitoring, also called quality assessment. After completing an interpretation, the interpreters listen to their own output and evaluate their performance, giving themselves the opportunity to correct potential mistakes and/or misunderstandings resulting from cultural or language differences. In fact, the interpreter must adapt the message to the audience's "cultural frames of reference" (Seleskovitch 1978: 100) in order to make sure that the target text will fulfil its function. The same applies to a defective source text, when the interpreter is compelled to remedy the deficiencies, in order for the message to be understood. As a consequence, interpreters need to allocate more attention in the language comprehension and retrieval phase, thereby restricting the available cognitive capacity of the interpreter, especially when the interpreter cannot conceptualize the 'sense' of the message. Finally, the interpreter is responsible for the comprehension and understanding of the target text among the audience. This might become an issue in the case of a deficient ELF source text: that is, one consisting of many distortions in terms of structure.

Another more 'functionalist' approach – the Skopos Theory of Translation¹⁷ proposed by Vermeer (see Vermer 1989/2000) - focuses on the function of the ST delivered by the

¹⁷ Skopos is a Greek word for 'purpose'. According to the Skopos Theorie of Translation, the basic principle which determines the process of translation is the purpose (skopos) of the translational action (Nord 1997:27).

interpreter. The main objective is the achievement of the communicative effect desired by the speaker (Pöchhacker 2004: 60). This is further explained by Nord:

Each text is produced for a given purpose and should serve this purpose. The skopos rule thus reads as follows: translate/interpret/speak/write in a way that enables your text/translation to function in the situation it is used and with the people who want to use it and precisely in the way they want it to function (1997: 29).

This view underlines the role of interpreter as a creator of the target text. In this sense, the interpreter, whose main aim is to dethrone the source text and give priority to the skopos of producing TT, may well have to paraphrase, explain or simplify the TT, so as to convey the communicative function of the source message. Even though the functionalist school of thought stresses the interactional, situational and textual features of SI, its influence remains limited to German-speaking scholars of interpreting (Pöchhacker 2004: 42), whereas it has been widely criticized elsewhere (see Koller 1995, Nord 1997, Vermeer 1989/2000) for giving the interpreter too much freedom in the process of text production, infringing on loyalty to the client.

In short, the SI is a multiple-task performance which is based on many situational, interactional and textual factors. The main precondition for effective SI is a conceptual understanding of meaning, i.e. the ‘sense’ of the source text, and the efficient allocation of mental capacity with the aim of conveying the speaker’s purpose. During the interpreting process, the interpreter is subject to higher cognitive effort, which requires training, practice and thematic preparation, as the perception of the ST is heavily influenced by background knowledge. Therefore, in order to maintain high standards in the interpreting occupation, the simultaneous interpreting should be limited only to qualified and experienced professionals. Not finding the balance in allocating mental energy between the processing tasks may result in processing difficulties, linguistic infelicities, distortions and finally loss of information (Pöchhacker 2004: 91). The topic of processing difficulties is explained in detail in the next subchapter.

3.2 Effort model

The alternative conceptualization of simultaneous interpreting, described above, might differ in terms of its origins and theoretical foundations; nevertheless, it shares with other conceptualizations the key notion of interpreting being a ‘process’. Therefore, the term of ‘process’ or

‘processing’ might be considered, in the context of interpreting studies, a ‘supermeme’¹⁸: a highly influential and dominant scheme which forms a basis for further research and analysis. Two of the supermemes – ‘process(ing)’ and ‘communicative activity’ - have shaped understanding of the interpreting procedure. In this respect, interpreting has been confined to the cognitive processing operations which transform a source text (an input) into a target text (an output) in a particular communicative situation (Pöchhacker 2004: 57). This notion of the process, and the reflection of a much more comprehensive understanding of an input, can be explained in relation to various process models of interpreting. For the purpose of this thesis, the process model presented in this subchapter will focus on the psycholinguistic aspects of processing, with an emphasis on such notions as “cognitive load” and “processing capacities” resulting from the psychological processing constraints of the interpreter.

The development of the process model relies on two general conceptions about interpreting (based on Gile 2009: 159):

- Interpreting demands some sort of ‘mental energy’ that is only available in limited supply,
- Interpreting consumes almost all of this mental energy, and in particular cases requires more than is available.

The distinction derived from cognitive psychology divides the mental operations involved in the process of interpreting into non-automatic (requiring attention) and automatic (very fast and mechanical in nature). These non-automatic components, also referred to as ‘Efforts’ (see Gile 1992,1995,1999), call for “deliberate action which requires decisions and resources” (Gile 2009: 60). Gile distinguishes between the three core Efforts, namely the “Listening and Analysis Effort” (L), the “Speech production Effort” (P), and the “Short-term memory Effort” (M), plus the “Coordination Effort (C) which indicates the resources responsible for coordination of the remaining Efforts:

$$(1) SI = L + M + P + C^{19}$$

Gile regards all of the operations which constitute simultaneous interpreting – listening and analysing, producing the target text, and storing a particular quantity of information in the memory – as non-automatic; nonetheless, gradual automation of the following cognitive

¹⁸ The notion of ‘memes’ is used here with reference to Chesterman’s (1997) outlook of the Memes of Translation.

¹⁹ In this formula, the equal sign should be understood as meaning ‘consists of’, not as an equality in the mathematical sense.

operations is the key objective in interpreting training. The Listening and Analysis Effort contains all comprehension-related operations, from the analysis of incoming sound waves, through the identification of words, to the final decisions about the ‘meaning’ of the utterance (Gile 2009: 160). The Production Effort concentrates on the ‘output’ component, namely speech planning and speech delivery; as well as, when necessary, self-monitoring and self-correction (2009: 163). Finally, the Memory Effort describes short-term memory operations, which are associated with “the lag between the moment speech sounds are heard and the moment they are interpreted” (2009: 166); which means that the interpreter needs to store certain chunks of information during the time it takes to select appropriate words and syntactic structures in the target language. Gile complements this equation with the Coordination Effort, which involves the control and coordination of other Efforts, also consuming mental energy. In this sense, SI can be considered a “process which involves a set of operations on successive speech segments” (2009: 168), during which all the segments must be heard and analysed (L), then maintained in memory (M), and finally rephrased in the target language (P).

With his Effort Model, Gile seeks to express the fundamental principle that there is only restricted amount of processing capacity available for each effort, which means that the sum of the four efforts cannot exceed the interpreter’s total processing capacity:

$$(2) L + P + M + C \leq TAPC$$

At any given time during the SI process, one, two or even three of the Efforts remain active. What is more, some interpreting researchers (see Gerver 1975; Cenkova 1988) provided ample evidence that all three Efforts are simultaneously operating, as interpreters do listen, memorize and speak at the same time (Gile 2009: 169). This calls for the identification of operational processing capacity requirements during SI:

$$(3) TR = LR + MR + PR + CR^{20}$$

TR Total processing capacity requirements

LR processing capacity requirements for L

MR processing capacity requirements for M

PR processing capacity requirements for P

CR processing capacity requirements for C

²⁰ The equality sign could be understood in its mathematical sense; however, the plus signs should be seen as addition in a wider perspective.

The competition hypothesis postulates the competitive allocation of processing capacity requirements between the three core processes. In mathematical terms, Gile represents this competition hypothesis with the five following inequalities (2009: 170):

$$(4) \quad TR \leq TA$$

TA being the processing capacity available

$$(5) \quad LR \leq LA$$

LA being the processing capacity available for L

$$(6) \quad MR \leq MA$$

MA being the processing capacity available for M

$$(7) \quad PR \leq PA$$

PA being the processing capacity available for P

$$(8) \quad CR \leq CA$$

CA being the processing capacity available for C

The author states that “processing capacity available for each Effort should be sufficient to complete the task it is engaged in” (2009: 170). In order to deliver a successful interpretation, the aforementioned conditions need to be met at any time (2009: 170). However, should the conditions not be fulfilled, the interpreter may experience mental saturation, which directly results in the decreasing quality of the performance. Gile identifies several reasons for SI processing failure (2009: 192). Firstly, he names the inappropriate allocation of available processing capacity between the Efforts. As an illustration, the interpreter pays too much attention to speech production, so as to reformulate a previously heard segment in the most elegant way; and consequently fails to listen to and analyse an incoming segment of the source text (2009: 170). Ineffective management of processing capacity is determined by the cognitive potential of an individual, but also by insufficient experience as an interpreter or lack of the necessary cognitive skills, also known as procedural knowledge²¹. Secondly, occasional reasons for cognitive saturation (2009: 192) may be linked to the particular communication environment at hand, such as high stress, background noise or lack of specific prior knowledge. Thirdly, the author names language-specific differences between the source and target

²¹ Procedural knowledge may refer to language skills, conscious shifts in allocation of processing capacity and implementation of interpreting strategies (coping strategies).

language in terms of grammar, syntax or lexis, which poses higher cognitive pressure, and thus requires more effort. Additionally, Gile identifies cultural factors (the way information is expressed in each language) and the speaker's individual speaking style (e.g., fastpace of speech). Finally, he uses the term 'problem triggers' – referring to such factors as proper names, numbers, long enumerations and compound technical terms - which may result in increased processing capacity requirements (Pöchhacker 2004: 92). These triggers make the interpreter more vulnerable to a momentary lapse of attention (Gile 2009: 171), which may require special "coping tactics" (see Gile 1999; 2008; 2009). Not implementing the right strategy may result in deterioration of the target language speech (errors, omissions, etc.) and/or of its delivery (linguistic output, voice, intonation, etc.) (Gile 2009: 171). Chapter 4 of this thesis is fully devoted to the issue of problem triggers and their impact on the interpreter's cognition, as well as to potential coping tactics which could be of assistance in problematic situations.

Given the main interest of this thesis, it is worth mentioning that an ELF source text may also influence processing capacity requirements and therefore reduce available capacity. Gile (2009: 173) notes that a strong foreign accent and unusual pronunciation "forces the interpreter to devote much processing capacity to the Listening and Analysis Effort, and therefore slows down production" (2009: 173). This indicates that listening to a non-native accent requires extra cognitive effort, a fact already noted by many practicing interpreters and researchers (see Reithofer 2010; Albl-Mikasa 2010, 2013, 2014; Bork 2012; Cheung 2013). In addition, an ELF-induced speech may be characterized by poor speech logic resulting from a lack of language competences. An ELF speech might contain unorthodox elements – lexical, grammatical, syntactical, etc., as well as typical language mistakes, which places an added strain on the interpreter. If one combines non-native language use with other typical cognitive constraints accompanying simultaneous interpreting, then from the viewpoint of the Effort Model, SI of an ELF speech is not only strenuous, but also cognitively exhausting. This thought will be developed in the following sections of this work.

3.3 Implications of ELF for the interpreting profession

Following the above discussion on the nature of SI, this section raises the issue of ELF-induced implications for the interpreting profession. It goes without saying that non-native use of a language has a far-reaching impact on an interpreter, especially considering the cognitive aspects of interpreting processes. As stated above, non-native speeches may obstruct the usual

flow of cognitive processes, which results in restricted capacity. Moreover, non-native speeches may hamper prediction strategies of interpreting, such as anticipation. In order to deliver a successful rendition of a non-native speech - which also possesses typical non-native features such as strong accent, unorthodox pronunciation, unusual syntax and lexis - an interpreter needs to allocate cognitive effort accurately. This requires not only a sufficient amount of procedural knowledge, but also enough practice and experience.

From the perspective of an interpreter, the aforementioned implications are happening on the micro-level. Despite them, there are also others which affect the profession on the macro-level. This means that the increased use of ELF in the conference setting affects the working environment and professional perception of conference interpreters, as nothing else has done since the development of SI technology after World War II. However, there is still very little research-based support for the interpreters in this matter (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 810). Interestingly, most professionally active interpreters have already observed profound changes resulting from the global spread of English. According to Albl-Mikasa's survey among 32 professional interpreters, 81% of respondents declared that the spread of ELF influenced their work (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 129). They report that the challenges they face affect not only the micro-level of processing, but also the macro-level of their profession regarding the job market and working conditions (see Albl-Mikasa 2010). In fact, professional interpreters have a largely negative approach towards ELF. In this context, they often use pejorative terms, such as 'Bad Simple English' (BSE), Globish or Desesperanto (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 811). Reithofer (2010) notes that non-native speakers have made it to the top of the list of complaints in the interpreting profession. Phonological, lexical and syntactical deviations alike cause frustration among interpreters, making their work more strenuous (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 142). Moreover, the majority of studies on the effect of non-native speech on the interpreter's task (e.g., McAlister 2000, Cheung 2003, Kurz 2008, Reithofer 2010, Chang & Wu 2014) confirm the supremacy of interpreting over ELF communication in the conference setting.²² Others consider ELF as a potential threat to the future of interpreting and a reason for the deterioration of quality standards. For instance, Kurz (2008) notes a markedly higher loss of information in the interpretations of the non-native speaker. The rationale behind this is that higher processing capacity is required for comprehension, so that capacities required for speech processing and speech production are mostly insufficient (Kurz 2008: 190). It is worth adding

²² In contrast to directional, dialogic ELF communication between the speakers of different language backgrounds, which allows the co-constructive, interactional strategies of meaning negotiation and the cooperative clarification of unintelligible parts (see Seidlhofer 2011).

that these difficulties result from pronunciation-related components, as well as – perhaps to an even greater extent - lexical, syntactic, prosodic and fluency-related aspects (Pöschhacker 2004: 129). For this reason, interpreters tend to prefer native speakers for source text production (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 130). Native output is believed not only to spare the interpreter additional work strain connected with unravelling unusual word combinations and interferences from the speaker's mother tongue, but even support processing mechanisms²³. The following subchapters will place emphasis on ELF-induced challenges on the macro-level; whereas the difficulties on the micro-level will be discussed separately in the Chapter 4. This is mainly due to the fact that cognitive processing load and restricted capacity resulting from an ELF source text is a very broad subject that warrants particular attention.

3.4. Impact on the labour market and the changing role of an interpreter

One of the most visible challenges arising from the global spread of ELF is a shift in the professional role of interpreters, and self-perceptions among interpreters as professional communicators. In the most recent past, simultaneous interpreters were admired for their language skills as well as cognitive abilities. Their services were highly appreciated and in high demand at the most prominent conferences, international summits and top-secret talks. Interpreters were thought to participate in discussions at the highest levels of international politics or business. Unfortunately, there is a continuing decline in the status of the profession (Albl-Mikasa 2010). Interpreters need to accept a certain degradation of the previous prestige connected with their services, which are now believed to be easily replaced by ELF. More and more event organizers consider interpreting as an additional, and sometimes even unnecessary, expense (Gentile & Albl-Mikasa 2017). As a result, interpreters have to “give customers good reasons for offering interpreting services rather than have their events managed in bad simple English” (Albl-Mikasa 2010:139) Interpreters have now to justify their very existence and preserve their reputation as language professionals.

Therefore, the bar for interpreters has been raised higher, which includes re-branding of interpreters' and adding new languages to interpreters' language repertoire, as having 2 working languages may prove to be insufficient to get interpreting assignments. According to Albl-Mikasa (2014: 815): “interpreters may be well advised to broaden their understanding of

²³ In the case of native ST, anticipation and prediction strategies work perfectly.

multilingual communication requirements and super-diversity in times of ELF and globalization in order to provide their customers with consultancy as to the communication modes appropriate in specific settings”. This generates additional pressure on interpreters to uphold a previously strong position on the job market. Gentile and Albl-Mikasa notes that “dropping demand, ignorant or nonappreciative client attitudes, cost-cutting priorities as well as ill-conceived beliefs about communication and language skills are clearly felt to undermine a once highly prestigious profession” (2017: 64). Moreover, language professionals are now facing a reality in which many people learn various foreign languages from a very early stage and are confident enough to express themselves in those languages, this being a direct outcome of promoting multilingualism among the society. This is certainly the case for English, which has been promoted to an unprecedented level (see Chapter 2). In these circumstances most people would rather communicate directly in ‘bad’ English than be dependent on others (Gentile & Albl-Mikasa 2017: 58). This negatively influences the general perception of an interpreter’s work and leads to false impressions among people, who often overestimate their language competences and disregard other aspects of interpretation²⁴. As a result, misunderstanding of the interpreter’s role and “the predominance of English in conferences and of course in the world at large is probably the single most significant issue for interpreting today” (Donovan 2011: 7). This is without even considering newly emerging technologies and ICT systems for automatic translation, which could in future potentially replace humans in the function of interpreting. Distant web-based, remote interpreting and machine translation are expected to further downgrade a once much-admired profession (Pöchhacker 2011: 322).

Consequently, the interpreting labour market has observed an irreversible shift and gradual decline in the demand it receives from the private and institutional market alike. According to Albl-Mikasa’s survey (2010), there is an overall impression (72% of the respondents) that the number of interpreting booths per event has decreased. In the private sector there is a growing reliance on only one booth per event, namely an English booth with local language, including ‘retour’; whereas on the institutional level, the English booth is increasingly done away with as most speeches are in any case given in English; and thus only interpretation into other languages is required. In fact, due to radical expenditure cuts in international organizations and businesses, lecturers are, given the lack of interpreters on site, being forced to communicate in English. In other words, previously preferred multilingualism in the

²⁴ For example cultural differences in the way of expressing certain things, which a professional interpreter is fully aware of, thus he/she can act accordingly.

conference setting is being shifted to bilingualism or even monolingualism (ELF). The truth is that many international organizations and companies prefer English, as opposed to several working languages, as their only working language. Even in the EU, which offers large-scale translation and interpreting services, influence of ELF has not gone unnoticed (see Reithofer 2010). Tosi (2005) indicates that the EU principle of multilingualism does not apply at all times. Indeed, the EU's policy has - for both practical and financial reasons - changed from "complete multilingualism" to "cost-effective multilingualism". In reality, a full language regime is ensured exclusively for meetings with a high symbolic value (He 2006:26). At other times, an *interpreting upon request* scheme has been introduced, meaning that only delegations that request interpreting will be provided with the service (Gazzola 2006: 394).

This implies that interpreting has become a luxury service, so that when people – regardless of the cost - employ interpreters they expect complete perfection (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 140). Since then, maintaining or even uplifting quality standards has become a necessity. As Albl-Mikasa stated: “only high qualified interpreters will subsist”, and “mediocrity will not suffice” (2010: 140). According to Albl-Mikasa (2010), most professionally active interpreters do not perceive themselves as an ‘endangered species’. As a matter of fact, there is still demand for top interpreters for highly technical and complex events, for which ELF would not be sufficient. However, the sector of ‘easy and pleasant assignments’, which were usually covered by novice interpreters, appears to have been fully taken over by ELF. This certainly restricts the labour market to only difficult and highly specific assignments.

3.5. Impact on job satisfaction and quality

These unprecedented developments have not failed to provoke negative reactions among interpreters, who, more often than not, strongly criticize the global spread of ELF. Young interpreters and graduates in particular seem to have pessimistic views about the future of the profession, with many of them believing that the interpreting profession is going to vanish completely in the not too distant future. Less interpreting assignments means also fiercer competition on the market (Albl-Mikasa 2010). The current situation makes it extremely difficult to enter and remain active in the interpreting labour market. It should be pointed out that many interpreters are forced to back down on working conditions in order to get any job assignment, which adversely affects the market, abusing the skills and qualifications gained over the years of studying by passionate and ambitious language professionals.

Translators and interpreters may be highly trained and qualified, but a major challenge for them is how to find work, to market their skills and maintain good working conditions on these changing markets within what is now an industry – said to be amongst the fastest growing in the world. Most colleagues complete academic training with no idea of marketing or business skills, although the law will call them, individually, ‘a small business’ [...] (Linda Fitchett, President of AIIC from 2012 to 2015, In: Albl-Mikasa 2014: 814).

Clearly this additional pressure affects morale among members of the interpreting community. The obligation to constantly uphold or even uplift quality standards (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 139) causes frustration and stress, which results in physiological exhaustion and earlier professional burnout. This may also influence the quality of the performance. Furthermore, many professional interpreters report loss of motivation and lack of job satisfaction due to the global spread of ELF. Indeed, being contracted to interpret the poor English of a German native speaker into German does not make much sense language-wise and is highly dissatisfactory (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 141). In addition, non-native speakers often overestimate their linguistic skills, which may obstruct comprehension, thus making the interpreter’s task more strenuous and tiring (2010: 143). The comprehension difficulty and resultant cognitive overload arising from this is addressed in Chapter 4.

By the same token, interpreters have to face the disrespectful attitude and “deplorable custom of listeners who now tend to constantly monitor the performance of the interpreters” in the search for potential flaws and mistakes (Gentile & Albl-Mikasa 2017: 58). Furthermore, due to market saturation and decreasing number of booths, interpreters have to frequently deal with non-native listeners. This calls for accommodation in the target text production, as interpreters are there to fulfil communicative goals and facilitate information exchange, rather than boast about their language skills. As a matter of clarification, accommodation is essentially based on linguistic simplification of the speaker’s input, if required, so that non-native listeners have no difficulties understanding it. This includes the use of shorter sentences and less complex syntactical structures, as well as cutting down on style and register (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 138). In some cases, it is necessary to renounce sophisticated phrases, lexical items or idioms. Interpreters often feel compelled to reduce language, and thus interpreting standards, so as to produce an output text which will also be understood by less advanced language users. For many professional language experts, it may appear as a down-

grading and self-denigrating practice (2010: 138). Additionally, in such a situation interpreters may experience an inner-conflict, where they have to choose between adjusting the output to suit non-native speaker addressees and maintaining high standards of the profession. Certainly, it has an adverse effect on the interpreter's self-identification as an expert (2010: 138), not to mention dealing with contradictory expectations on the side of both an employer and potential non-native listeners (2010: 139).

Finally, even though the pressure arising from the ELF-related changes may not manifest itself in the interpreters' performance, it surely reveals itself in the interpreters' self-perception and well-being. The gradual shift and decline of the interpreting labour market provokes fear and anxiety among both professional and novice interpreters. Everyone feels more than concerned with deteriorating working conditions and job satisfaction levels (2010: 143). As the situation is in constant flux, it is hard to predict how it will change in the following years.

4. Cognitive load in SI of ELF speeches

Cognitive load in SI has been a focus of interest for researchers, yet very limited empirical effort has been devoted to analyses that concentrate mainly on non-native speeches and their influence on the cognitive processes. Nonetheless, it is accurate to say that non-native ST might possibly pose more challenges than native contributions, and thereby the cognitive load in the SI of ELF speeches might rapidly increase. As a result, the interpreter's performance is strongly affected and additional techniques are required to provide a satisfactory interpretation. In this chapter, I will explain what difficulties await interpreters when they are confronted with a non-native source text. Additionally, I want to explore how an ELF input could potentially increase the cognitive load.

Before delving into this subject, it is worth stating what the cognitive load is. The cognitive load, also referred to as 'input load' or 'processing capacity', is strictly connected to cognitive processes. The process models in SI (see section 3.2.) unambiguously confirm that SI is a 'multiple-task performance', which poses many psycholinguistic processing difficulties (Pöchhacker 2004: 91). With the help of the presented SI process models, it is easy to understand situations in which SI processes are hampered and cause less than satisfactory results, such as language infelicities, distortions, and information loss. Kirchhoff concludes that "a multiple-task performance becomes a problem if task completion requires cognitive decisions which, in sum, reach or even exceed the individual's processing capacity limit" (1976/2002: 118).

It comes as no surprise that interpreters, especially in the simultaneous mode, usually work at the limit of their processing capacity. Gile (1999:159) has coined the term "tightrope hypothesis" in order to describe the high cognitive overload to which an interpreter is exposed. To provide a successful interpretation, the interpreter has to coordinate all efforts, almost in the same way as tightrope walkers need to fully control their bodies. This figurative metaphor simply illustrates the fragility and vulnerability of SI cognitive processes and also how easily the interpreter may lose balance. Moreover, Gile (1995) shows possible reasons for the interpreter's imbalance, which occur only under certain conditions: for instance, complexity of the source text, unknown names, numbers or long enumerations. Gile (1995) calls these potentially problematic elements 'problem triggers'. These triggers are the main subject of the following section.

4.1. Explaining ‘problem triggers’

This section provides an explanation of the term ‘problem triggers’ in the interpreting process. As the name implies, a ‘problem trigger’ refers to a particular difficulty which may arise when an interpreter is faced with a demanding source text.

Undoubtedly, simultaneous interpreting is a highly complex communication event, which presents a huge number of challenges. These challenges were referred to as ‘problem triggers’ by Gile (1995:172), who defined them as: “anything that increases the processing capacity requirements of an interpreter, which means that more effort needs to be put into listening or understanding, short-term memory or target language production” (Gile 1995:171). In other words, any aspect of the source text, or even its delivery, can be referred to as a ‘problem trigger’. This broad definition covers a large spectrum of factors which may affect interpreters’ cognition, impede rendering, and thus result in “failure sequences” (Pöchhacker 2004: 92).

The list of the potential challenges imposed on an interpreter is certainly extensive. Indeed, the aforementioned challenges can be associated with internal factors which have to do with linguistic, semantic and physical features of the source text such as: unknown names, acronyms, specialist terminology, technical terms, abbreviations, humour, strong accents, high density of content information or high rate of delivery; as well as external factors resulting from the particular environment at hand, such as a noisy background, bad sound quality or restricted vision of the speaker (Pöchhacker 2004: 92). Additionally, there are also other subjective reasons, such as an interpreter’s momentary lapse in attention, high level of stress, lack of specific background knowledge or preparation, and errors in processing capacity management (Gile 1995:192). All these potential risk factors, together or apart, have a considerable influence on the interpreter’s cognition and, consequently, interpreting performance. Hence, they require special “coping tactics” if the TT is not to be seriously disrupted.

Setton (1999) classified the challenges imposed on the interpreter into 3 groups. Even though there was no direct reference to problem triggers²⁵, his classification could also apply here. He distinguished three main categories of variables: speech input (“language-in-text”, including style, presentation, and delivery); the subject (interpreter: his/her competence, intelligence, preparedness and motivation) and the environment (size and character of the audience, feedback, comfort and technical conditions) (Setton 1999: 99).

²⁵ Setton (1999) uses the term ‘variables’.

Besides this, Mankauskienė (2016) offered a very detailed classification of problem triggers according to their source:

- I. Sender-related problem triggers – a foreign accent; non-native use of language; unorthodox structures; fast speech delivery; monotonous intonation;
- II. Message-related problem triggers
 - (a) lexical – proper names; numbers; specialist terminology; abbreviations,
 - (b) syntactic – enumeration; long sentences; collocations; syntactical differences between languages,
 - (c) semiological – sarcasm; humour; metaphors;
- III. Interpreter-related problem triggers – background knowledge; experience; preparation; motivation; weariness; level of stress;
- IV. Channel-related problem triggers – deterioration of the sound quality; background noises; failures of interpreting equipment.

The term ‘problem triggers’ is widely associated with linguistic features of the source text such as unknown names, numbers, compound technical terms, etc.; whereas other ‘problem triggers’ remain disregarded. Some of the studies, together with their main research subjects, have been presented below: numbers (Mazza, 2001; Liu & Xiao, 2010); idiomatic expressions (Cattaneo, 2004); names (Meyer, 2008); accent (McAllister, 2000; Kurz, 2008); high speech rate (Gerver, 1969/2002; Gile, 1995; Shlesinger, 2003); and humour (Pöchhacker, 1993; Pavlicek & Pöchhacker 2002). As seen above, researchers usually choose to lay focus on just one kind of problem trigger, rather than an agglomeration of them.

The truth is that the notion of ‘problem triggers’ is widely recognized among professionally active interpreters. However, the issue has not still gained full recognition, especially in interpreting training. There is still not enough practice, which results in a lack of preparation for the possible challenges among young interpreters. This claim is supported by many studies which compare performances of interpreting trainees and experienced interpreters, especially studies which address challenging conditions. More often than not, interpreting trainees deliver interpretations of much lower quality, as they are unable to implement appropriate strategies in troublesome moments. Korpál & Stachowiak-Szymczak (2020) tested professional interpreters’ and interpreting trainees’ coping skills when dealing with a high speech rate and a source text containing a lot of numbers. Unsurprisingly, professional interpreters provided more accurate interpretations. Other researchers, such as Deo Feo 1993; Li et al. 2004; and Setton & Motta 2007, have also found that experience leads to improved accuracy.

It indicates the possible necessity of more thorough training among interpreting students, particularly in dealing with different types of problem triggers.

Undoubtedly, interpreting trainees are already disadvantaged and outperformed by professional interpreters. There is yet another emerging problem trigger which might pose a real challenge, not only to the inexperienced, but also experienced interpreters – the non-native use of the language.

4.2. Classification of the ELF-related problem triggers

The non-native use of a language might constitute the most widely-spread problem trigger at the present time. The vast majority of interpreters will almost certainly stumble across ELF speakers in their working environment, which indicates the immediate need to learn more about the phenomenon and its implications for the interpreting process. It is worth noting that no matter how good the speaker's level of English is, ELF has its specific features which always distinguish ELF from native English use. These vast differences may potentially impact the comprehension of the source text, and hence the rendition. Indeed, in her survey Albl-Mikasa observed the following characteristics which were considered troublesome during the SI process (2010: 134).:

- I. foreign accent and incorrect intonation (problems associated with non-standard rhythm, stress and prosody)
- II. elliptical structures (incorrectly linked or unnatural for native speakers)
- III. unusual ways of putting things (in terms of syntax, lexis, grammar and semantics)
- IV. unorthodox grammatical-syntactic structures (usually connected with mistakes or L1 interferences)
- V. imprecision (unclear wording and phrases resulting from lack of 'pragmatic fluency' of a speaker)
- VI. generally reduced language.

This brief summary prepared by Albl-Mikasa (2010) clearly shows which ELF characteristics may inherently become ELF problem triggers. Clearly, the presented ELF features have a wide range of effects on the source text comprehension. Not only the content (unorthodox structures, imprecision, incorrect wording), but also the delivery of the source text (accent, intonation) seem to pose a challenge. It should also be highlighted that the aforementioned difficulties do not only concern inexperienced interpreters, but also professionals.

In reality, as far as ELF problem triggers are concerned, the non-standard accent is one of the most recognizable. The existing literature and research mainly focus on foreign accent as the main ELF challenge. The non-native speaker's accent has already been referred to as a problem trigger and studied by certain researchers, among them Kurz & Basel (2009) and Wu & Chang (2014). Many believe that non-standard phonology or pronunciation are the main challenges faced within the ELF source text. Indeed, they appear to hinder comprehension to a great extent; there are, however, other contributory factors. The study conducted by AIIC has shown that 62% of professional interpreters who took part in the survey regarded the non-standard accent as a 'major stress factor'. Interestingly, while interpreters seem to loosely refer to 'foreign' accent, what they actually mean is a non-native use of a language and all the other deviations it entails.

The truth is that a non-native accent goes far beyond phonemic irregularities. Other ELF challenges are strictly connected with syntactic, lexical and fluency-related features which are the aftermath of a lack of competence in this particular language. Researchers often refer to the term 'lack of pragmatic fluency' to describe inability to perform language functions appropriately, meaning that speakers make unintentional mistakes and create misunderstandings that are beyond their control. Albl-Mikasa (2017) uses the term 'restricted power of expression' in regard to the incoherent input typical for ELF speakers. The "speakers' constrained pragmatic fluency and restricted ability to express their key point in precise terms" distort the logical structure of the text, and thus "interpreters find it hard to (quickly) grasp the argumentative logic behind the phrases and expressions" (Albl-Mikasa 2017: 232). Pöckhacker (2004) states that lexical, syntactic and fluency-related factors have a much greater impact on understanding, and consequently on the interpreter's rendering in the target language, than a foreign accent itself. Sabatini (2000) has already called for the recognition of other problematic ELF features and the additional effort involved in recovering non-standard accent, syntax, or lexicon.

At the same time, it must be emphasized that while ELF problem triggers rarely appear separately, they do occur collectively. The less advanced a speaker of a language is, the more problematic it is to comprehend his/her speech. In the worst case scenario, in order to comprehend, render and interpret the message, the interpreter will be forced to simultaneously grasp foreign accents, recover unfamiliar expressions, resolve unorthodox syntactic structures and compensate for the speaker's lack of pragmatic fluency (see Gile 1995/2009). This clearly indicates how important it is to recognize those lexical, pragmatic and syntactic features as

separate ELF problem triggers. The full recognition is essential for both further investigation and the widespread introduction of ELF pedagogy in interpreting training. With this paper, I would like to encourage further research into ELF problem triggers and their effect on the interpreter's source text comprehension, and consequent rendering in the target language.

4.3. ELF-related problem triggers and comprehension difficulty

Several interpretations of the term 'comprehensibility' have been present in the field of linguistics. The notion of comprehensibility somewhat corresponds to the mere understanding of the source text: not however on the phonetic, but rather on the communicative level. The most appropriate definition of the notion 'comprehensibility', at least for the purposes of this paper, was presented by Larry Smith (1992). He identifies a threefold distinction between degrees of understanding:

- I. intelligibility – responsible for acoustic recognition of a word/utterance;
- II. comprehensibility – responsible for understanding the meaning of a word/utterance, linked to locutionary force;
- III. interpretability – responsible for recognizing the meaning behind a word/utterance, linked to illocutionary force (Smith 1992 :76).

Smith also notes that the complexity of the above degrees of understanding is not equal, as they do require different competences, such as phonological for I, lexical for II and pragmatic for III. For the purposes of my study, I will refer to 'comprehensibility' or 'comprehension' as an umbrella term to include all of the levels of understanding.

Unsurprisingly, comprehension constitutes a key factor in the interpreting process, since there is no interpretation without a good prior understanding of the source text. This would suggest that the source text must be both comprehensible and intelligible in order to be interpretable (Reithofer 2020: 174). The main question of how comprehension might be influenced by ELF remains. It is a well-known fact that non-native speakers have lower linguistic competence than native speakers, so reason dictates that the comprehension of their speech is to some extent impeded. In fact, this was proved by many studies in the field of ELF (see Bent & Bradlow 2003; Munro 1998; von Wijngaarden 2001; Albl-Mikasa 2017). Shiri Lev-Ari (2015) claims that most people have to adjust their natural comprehension mechanisms while processing non-native speakers. For instance, if a non-native speaker uses an unorthodox lexical item or structure, a listener may either misunderstand, or may eventually realize the mistake and recover the incorrectly used form. However, it does not come naturally or

without any consequences. This calls for special attention and concentration from potential listeners. In such cases, interpreters are forced to apply corresponding coping methods.

Lev-Ari (2015) compares recovering inaccurate terms or incorrect structures resulting from a non-native usage of a language to disruptive background noise²⁶. Depending on the degree and number of distortions, a non-native text becomes incomprehensible for potential listeners. Nevertheless, a non-native speech does not necessarily mean an fully incomprehensible utterance. Indeed, the level of comprehensibility depends on many variables. Under certain conditions, the distorted fragment might be recovered. As Warren (1970) puts it, when a listener hears a familiar phrase or word which has been distorted, for example by background noise, the missing part can still be restored. This means that a distorted piece, sound or phoneme can be encoded using top-down processes. These involve the whole range of existing knowledge, such as prior linguistic, situational or contextual knowledge. Knowing the context or the intention of a speaker also facilitates comprehension. Moreover, Seidlhofer (2011) and Mauraenen (2012) proved that ELF is fully comprehensible in certain communicative events. Accordingly, interlocutors are able to achieve sufficient comprehension, even though the utterances consist of many grammatical, lexical or syntactical deviations which are considered legitimate, as long as they are intelligible to the interlocutors. In this specific kind of communication event, also referred as ‘monolingual ELF communication’ (Seidlhofer 2011), communicators tend to have a cooperative attitude that often facilitates mutual understanding (Seidlhofer 2011). Furthermore, they resort to the ‘let-it-pass’ strategy (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 137). It is expected that the meaning of an unclear structure or other anomalies will either become clearer or will be anticipated at a later point in time.

Therefore, it can be concluded that ELF serves its purpose in a dialogue or conversational setting between people of different language backgrounds. Certainly, one might concur that the same conclusions could be drawn for SI process, in which comprehension-oriented operations are just one out of many processes taking place at the same time (Gile 1995). That notwithstanding, comparing SI to ‘monolingual ELF communication’ is not only unfavourable, but also unfair, and there are several arguments which demonstrate this. Firstly, these two communication events show vast differences in how they appear and what purpose they serve. For the purposes of SI, the aforementioned ‘sufficient comprehension’ may not be enough, as only thorough comprehension allows successful rendering in the target language. In

²⁶ Distracting background noise is considered to be a problem trigger, which impedes speech perception, thus understanding of an utterance.

monolingual ELF communication, full attention can be directed to understanding the utterance. The same does not apply to SI. The more comprehension of the source text is obstructed by unusual structures, the less attention can be paid to other efforts of interpretation, as the main focus lies in understanding and recovering the aforementioned forms (see section 3.2). Secondly, the cooperative attitude, as well as the ‘let-it-pass’ strategy, which are largely accepted in the non-native English-speaking community, are incompatible with the interpreter’s task. This strategic option would cause time lag, and interpreters cannot leave excessively long gaps in their delivery in order to ascertain the real intention of the speaker. Neither can they communicate with the speaker during the interpreting process. However, it does not mean that the ‘let-it-pass’ strategy does not occur in the world of interpreting: it does. Nevertheless, it is not desirable, and more often than not occurs involuntarily due to a lack of comprehensibility. Having said that, the comparison of monolingual ELF communication and SI is entirely unjustified, as the effectiveness of unmediated ELF communication does not necessarily reflect the same effectiveness when it comes to comprehension processes related to interpreting. It remains undisputed that interpreting of a non-native speaker is not only more capacity consuming, but also more strenuous (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 143).

In response to the above, Albl- Mikasa (2010) identified a list of capacity-related operations resulting from the restricted comprehension in the interpreting process of a non-native ST:

- I. higher level of concentration;
- II. additional listening efforts;
- III. disambiguation of unintelligible parts;
- IV. insertion of corrective measures source;
- V. recovering unorthodox structures;
- VI. compensation for incomplete structures;
- VII. reformulation of non-standard expressions into intended version.

These additional operations are carried out at the expense of other operations involved in the SI processes. It is also worth noting that some structures might not be fully recovered, even though the special coping measures were taken. This raises a crucial question as to whether and to what extent an interpreter should interfere with and improve the deficient source text. In fact, Kalina (2006: 253) claimed that an interpreter’s performance can, in fact, hardly be better than the given source text. Taking this into consideration, it might be worth investigating whether successful interpretation of highly unusual ELF is still possible and at what cost.

4.4 ELF-related problem triggers and SI strategies

Like any other kind of problem triggers, ELF-related problem triggers require coping tactics, which are an integral part of every SI process. Coping tactics or strategies can be defined as the interpreter's strategic response to the temporal or cognitive constraints of SI (Pöchhacker 2004: 127). According to Pöchhacker (2004), there is a need to draw a distinction between “process-oriented strategies for coping with high-load-inducing input and product-oriented strategies for communicating effectively with the target language audience” (2004: 137). Therefore, the strategic behaviour of an interpreter is guided by different motives, such as “maximizing the communication impact of the speech” or “self-protection” (2004: 137).

It has been observed that non-native speaker-induced pronunciation, foreign accent, unusual structures, and expression-based problems impede the underlying SI strategies (see Reithofer 2010; Albl-Mikasa 2010). Among them are anticipation and inference, which are the general strategies attributed to simultaneous interpretation. These coping strategies, which would normally facilitate the process, turn out to be counterproductive when confronted with a non-native source text.

Firstly, there is an inference strategy, thoroughly described by Chernov (2004), who claims that the successful rendering of a message depends not only on an explicit, but also an implicit analysis of the content (Chernov 2004). In other words, interpreters derive sense from discourse and make an inference from the part of the message already heard. He distinguished between four types of inference (2004: 60):

- I. linguistic inference (related to semantic components and their configurations);
- II. cognitive inference (related to elements from long-term memory or world knowledge);
- III. deictic and situational inference (related to situational context);
- IV. pragmatic inference (related to the social role of the speaker).

Under normal circumstances, all types of inference help to successfully convey the speaker's intention in the shortest period of time. However, when the speaker is not an NS, a strategy based on linguistic inference will be significantly impeded. Indeed, the choice of words, semantic configurations or grammatical structures of non-native speakers are not as reliable as those of native speakers, so depending on them may constitute a higher risk of incoherence or of replicating mistakes.

Secondly, another basic strategy which, according to Chernov (2004: 91), makes SI possible is the probabilistic anticipation of the development of the message. This mechanism is based on the Markov chain²⁷ and demonstrates that it is possible to anticipate probable future events given past experience and the current situation. This analogy has ceased to be controversial, as human speech cannot be boiled down to a simple linear sequence or mathematical probability; however, it is true to say that human speech includes not only interdependent sequences of sounds or phonemes, but also semantic units which force or exclude certain components. In reference to SI, this strategy is based on:

subconscious subjective estimates of the range of probabilities within which the given verbal or semantic situation can further develop. In subsequent processes the interpreter either confirms or rejects her hypotheses by checking against critical points of the ongoing discourse (Chernov 2004:93).

This strategy is also closely connected with redundancy and can be impeded as a result of non-native source text production. If the probability of a unit does not depend upon the preceding units, the strategy of anticipation is not working as it supposed to, because interdependence among the successive units is broken. Moreover, native speakers tend to use more differentiated argumentation, which makes their speeches more redundant. According to Chernov (2004:90), this redundancy of the message is necessary for successful perception, comprehension and other psycholinguistic or cognitive operations included in the interpreting process. Discourse redundancy makes it possible to perform effectively in extreme SI conditions.

It means that two of the key SI strategies (Pöchhacker 2004: 133) fail in dealing with a non-native output. Having said that, interpreters must resort to other coping strategies, in particular of the ‘reductive’ kind. Strategies such as compression and omission seem to be the most reasonable choice in the face of a highly unorthodox and incomprehensible non-native input. These techniques can be seen not only as a typical ‘rescue technique’, but also a deliberate action. Furthermore, there is also a strategy of ‘waiting’, which means waiting for further disambiguation of input before building a sentence in the target language. However, this method leads to inevitable consequences – it slows down the delivery and increases the use of ‘neutral padding expressions’ or ‘fillers’ (e.g. Glémet 1958: 121; Kirchhoff 1976/2002: 116 in Pöchhacker 2004:127), which are not favoured in professional interpretation. Further techniques such as segmentation or chunking, also known as “salami technique” (Jones 1998: 101

²⁷ Markov Chain is a model describing a sequence of possible events in the future. The concept of probabilistic anticipation according to Markov Chain can be applied to human or animal behaviour as well as human speech. As a result, it may be useful in considerations about SI strategies.

in Pöchhacker 2004:127), are also commonly applied in the ELF context. The so-called *salami* technique is particularly useful, as building shorter sentences facilitates understanding of the output, and the sentences built by non-native speakers might not always be logically connected, whereas common mental shortcuts further distort causal relationship within the utterance. Thus, an interpreter is, more often than not, forced to create his own logical connections between ideas. Finally, some interpreters believe that they can improve on a deficient non-native ST and remedy many of the shortcomings of the original with the help of “conscientious guesswork” (Kurz & Basel 2009: 193). This means that they are able to paraphrase an ELF-induced anomaly without prejudice to the quality of the performance. As Reithofer (2010) notes, this approach has yet to be thoroughly investigated (2010: 151).

Finally, interpreters do favour native source text production²⁸, because of reliable structures and smooth word flow, as opposed to that of non-native speakers. All in all, non-native speeches are less clear, less logical, less natural, and, last but not least, less accurate compared to native ones. Lagging strategies seem to be the last resort for the interpreters being faced with a highly disrupted non-native source text. The process of interpreting non-native speeches follows its own rules and definitely differs from the standard SI. It remains disputable whether interpreters, in particular inexperienced trainees, are adequately prepared for these new challenges. It is of crucial importance to familiarize them with non-standard speech forms and help them develop various coping techniques during their training.

²⁸ In the survey conducted by Albl-Mikasa in 2010, 69% of respondents preferred native speakers to provide a source text for their interpretation.

5. Studies related to interpreting in different ELF settings

Previous ELF research has focused largely on speaker-related components affecting comprehensibility. Especially in the field of ITELf (Interpreting, Translation and English as a lingua franca), the main emphasis is on speakers' foreign accent, which directly corresponds to non-standard phonology (Kurz & Basel 2009, Chang & Wu 2014) or prosody (Lin et al. 2013), and hence to intelligibility in a purely phonological sense. In contrast, Pöschhacker (2004) and Albl-Mikasa (2017) clearly stated that lexical, syntactic, prosodic and fluency-related factors may have a much greater impact on comprehensibility, and consequently on interpretability, in Smith's sense. Nevertheless, these components are disregarded in many ITELf research studies. The lack of interest in this topic motivated me to investigate it further in my corpus-based study.

The truth is that many ELF researchers seek to address the restricted intelligibility in their research. Many studies have emerged proving that generally native speakers are more intelligible than non-native speakers (Bent & Bradlow, 2003; Munro, 1998; Munro & Derwing, 1999; Smith, et al., 2003; van Wijngaarden, 2001). On the other hand, interpreting is a unique communicative event based on a mutual relationship between a speaker and an interpreter. For this reason, comprehension difficulty depends not only on a speaker, but also on an interpreter. Indeed, the listener-related variables, such as their language background, determine the level of comprehensibility to a greater extent than speaker-related factors. For instance, Nash's (1969) study proves that non-native speakers are more intelligible to other non-natives than to native speakers. This particularly applies to non-native speakers who share the same L1. These findings opened a way to a new research paradigm, which analyzes the comprehension benefit resulting from the same language background (see Smith 1992; Rafiqzad 1979; van Wijngaarden 2001; van Wijngaarden et al. 2002). Given my research objectives, I would like to focus on this claim and corresponding studies.

This comprehension advantage could be explained by the fact that people who share the same first language (L1) often share the same culture in terms of linguistic customs and the like. In other words, they share the same linguistic system, also called 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972: 216), which has a direct impact on how we speak languages. As a result, speakers of a newly acquired language tend to creatively apply phonological or grammar-related elements of their L1 when they attempt to achieve 'successful' target language production, in particular in the early stages of the learning process (Selinker 1972: 214). The

language learning process is said to be highly dynamic and instable until a learner reaches a competence identical to that of a native speaker, which is rarely the case. Certainly, most non-native speakers would probably never obtain ‘complete mastery’ of their target language. This is also the case for very advanced learners. In further stages of target language acquisition, fossilization is said to occur, which essentially means that repeated failures in achieving target language norms might become a new norm. This might happen to a single language user or a group of users; it would then eventually become a new dialect or a language variety (see section 2.1)

In reality, speakers from the same linguistic background are more likely to fall into the same pattern of failures. More interestingly, these deviations are not only phonological, but also lexical or grammatical. Thereby speakers, without even realising it, decrease the communicative effectiveness among other listeners who do not share the same linguistic code without. The use of non-standard structures, such as calques, false friends, L1-related mistakes, language transfers²⁹ and non-target-like pronunciation, are therefore referred to as a ‘deficit’ rather than a ‘difference’ (Jenkins 2003:85) or language ‘incompleteness’ (Schachter 1990: 99). For instance, there are characteristic features that constantly recur among Polish learners of English (i.e. mispronunciation of sounds /θ/ or /η/, omission of ‘the’ article, that-clause difficulties, semantic similarity errors, genitive and demonstrative articles, word coinage errors³⁰) and those which regularly repeat among the German learners of English (i.e. mispronunciation of sounds /ɜ:/ or /ɒ/, overuse of the Present Simple tense, misuse of some prepositions, verb valency-driven errors, reflexive verb errors³¹). Notwithstanding the fact that some components may overlap, the L1-induced features might be difficult to identify for a group of listeners with different L1s. In this sense, it can be reasonable to assume that interpreters who share an L1 with the non-native speaker have an additional advantage over interpreters with a different L1. This claim is subjected to further analysis with the use of the corpus-based study conducted within this paper.

²⁹ Language transfer is often called language or linguistic interference (see Gass and Selinker 1983: 11). This transfer can be defined as the effect of the speaker’s L1 on the production of the language they are speaking. The L1 influence can extend to any aspect of a language: grammar, vocabulary, spelling or accent. Linguists distinguish between two types of transfer: positive and negative. Positive transfer facilitates communication, whereas negative transfer reflects the difficulties encountered in the use of a foreign language (1983:11).

³⁰ More precise information on the nature of interlanguage of the Polish learners of English might be found in works by Zabor (2001), Gabrys (2001), Porzuczek (1999, 1996), M. Wysocka (1989) and Arabski (1979).

³¹ The common mistakes made by German-speaking learners of English were precisely described in *The Mistakes Clinic for German-speaking Learners of English* by Geoff Parkes (2001)

Each of the following sections in this chapter presents a different study, explaining the hypotheses, methods, findings, strengths and limitations of each. This represents an overview of the contemporary research findings in the subject. Although the presented studies differ from my premise, as their main research subjects are restricted to foreign accents - whereas other ELF features remain disregarded - my main aim is to enhance existing knowledge of ELF features and their impact on interpreters' rendering. Unlike the presented studies, my research alludes to a pioneering approach that places lexical, syntactic, prosodic and coherence-related features above phonological ones.

5.1. Bent & Bradlow 2003

Bent and Bradlow (Bent & Bradlow 2003:1600) coined the notion of the 'interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit' (ISIB), according to which "a native language match between a non-native talker and a non-native listener facilitates speech intelligibility" (2003:1606). Even though their study was not the first to reach this conclusion, they provided necessary terminology, which will also be adapted to the purposes of this thesis.

Their experimental study relied on the quantitative research method. The main idea of the study was to measure the intelligibility of English sentences produced by both non-native speakers and monolingual native speakers. The researchers considered a broad range of factors affecting intelligibility, such as gender (female), age (22-32 years old), background (white noise) and level of proficiency in English (low and high proficiency). Hence, the group of speakers was selected accordingly: one monolingual English speaker (E), one L1-Chinese 'high proficiency' speaker of English (CH), one L1-Chinese 'low proficiency' speaker of English (CL), one L1-Korean 'high proficiency' speaker of English (KH) and one L1-Korean 'low proficiency' speaker, with the proficiency level being evaluated by the production intelligibility scores obtained in the perceptual evaluation test. The talkers were asked to read sentences collected from the Bamford-Kowal-Bench Standard Sentence Test (BKB-R), which is widely used in audiology to determine hearing impairment among children. A total of 60 sentences were selected for the experiment, which were then divided into five groups of twelve sentences with 37 keywords each. It was ensured that the sentences were syntactically and lexically easy.

Bent & Bradlow investigated the issue of intelligibility as "the talker-listener match or mismatch with respect to language background and variation in second language proficiency" (2003:1606). Hence, the group of listeners was also chosen accurately. The listeners (n=65)

were adults with no hearing or speech impairments who came from four different language backgrounds: monolingual English (n=21), L1-Chinese speakers of English (n=21), L1-Korean speakers of English (n=10); and a mixed group of non-native speakers of English from various L1 backgrounds (Bulgarian, Dutch, French, Japanese, Serbian, Spanish, and Tamil), who were enrolled in the ESL program at North-western university. The subjects were seated in sound-attenuated booth and their task was to “listen to the sentence stimulus and to write down whatever she or he heard on specially prepared answer sheets” (2003: 1608). The sentence stimuli was first recorded, then played over headphones, which was controlled by special-purpose software.

Each subject heard all five talkers saying all five group of sentences in the controlled order which was dependent on the L1 background. The monolingual was always presented as the third. The L1-Chinese and monolingual English listeners heard the talkers in the following order: CH, KL, E, CL, KL. For the L1-Korean listeners, the order of the Chinese and Korean talkers was reversed. By contrast, half of the mixed L1 group heard the talkers in the order of L1-Chinese group, whereas the other half heard them in the order of L1-Korean group. The specific order of the recordings was necessary in order to identify potential L1 match or mismatch. Each recording was played only once and was supposed to be transcribed by the listeners. After the experiment, the researchers administrated a word-familiarity test with the randomized keywords used in the experiment, in which the listeners rated their word familiarity on a scale of 1 to 7. The test showed that the vast majority of the keywords were highly familiar to most of the non-native speakers.

It was observed that native English talkers were the most intelligible for native English listeners. However, when the listener was a non-native English user, the intelligibility of a high proficiency non-native talker from the same language background (CH or K) was equally good or even better than the intelligibility of the native talker. This phenomenon was referred to as the “matched” ISIB. Yet when the non-native talker and the non-native listener came from different language backgrounds, the intelligibility was greater or equal to the intelligibility of the native talker. This was called the “mismatched” ISIB.

Obviously, Bent & Bradlow’s study (2003) had its major limitations. The conclusions based on laboratory experiment under controlled environment can hardly be applied in a more natural setting. Firstly, the authors of the research used a dictation method with subjects writing down the auditory stimulus on a separate answer sheet. It is arguable as to whether results obtained in this way would indicate a proper understanding, or rather, in fact, the subjects’

copying skills. Moreover, the sentence stimuli consisted of simple, single sentences, which would never occur in natural conversation, let alone in a conference setting. Additionally, given the fact that “[the] subjects could take as long as they needed to record their responses” (Bent & Bradlow 2003: 1604), it remains questionable as to whether these results could apply in other, not controlled, situations. Considering the time constraints in the SI processes, these findings can only be seen as a theoretical concept. Secondly, both native languages under consideration (Korean and Chinese) show similarities in their sound structure. For instance, consonant structure makes Chinese-accented and Korean-accented English sound similar, which facilitates comprehension between Chinese and Korean listeners. This is just another confirmation of matched rather than mismatched ISIB. Other listeners who came from the mixed group also showed a mismatched ISIB, however it is more likely to be the result of certain tendencies in foreign English in comparison to native English. Finally, the influence of individual variables remains unknown, even though the subjects were rather homogeneous.

All in all, the findings from the Bent & Bradlow study are consistent with the earlier findings of van Wijngaarden (2001), which demonstrated a non-native speech intelligibility advantage for non-native listeners from the same language background. Some other studies (Munro et. al., 2006; Wang & Van Heuven 2015; Stibbard & Lee 2006;) simply confirmed the same conclusion. However, the Bent & Bradlow study did not present enough evidence of mismatched ISIB. The authors of the study repeatedly emphasized that more research is needed.

5.2. Mazzetti 1999

There are only a few studies in the field of ITELf which investigate the higher processing capacity required for comprehension of a speaker with a foreign accent. Among this small number of empirical studies, Mazzetti’s (1999) research took on a broader scope (Pöschhacker 2004:127) . Not only did she analyse prosodic aspects of the source text on interpreters’ comprehension, but also segmental ones. The main aim of this study was to evaluate whether, and to what, extent segmental and prosodic deviations can affect interpreters’ comprehension and the quality of their rendition in the target language.

Subjects of the study comprised final-year interpretation students (n=15), ten of whom were Italian native-speakers (I) and five of whom had German as their L1 (G). Their task was to interpret a German speech read by either native speakers or non-native speakers of German: to be precise, one German speaker from South Tirol (T) and one bilingual speaker

(French-Italian) from Switzerland (F). The text used in this research study was an original speech given by a German official at the opening ceremony of an exhibition hall. The speech was an emphatic and rhetorical monologue of “medium-high register showing average formality and idiomatic level, whereas content and rhetorical structures were rather simple” (Mazzetti 1999:131). In this type of epideictic text, prosody is the key component in understanding the speaker’s communicative intention (Mazzetti 1999:131). Thus, it can be presumed that any linguistic discrepancies in this regard may adversely affect interpreters’ comprehension. As had been previously assumed, text F was not always read in an appropriate manner, resulting in the possibility of it sounding unusual to native speakers. These mistakes included word accent mistakes, phoneme or word omission, substitution and insertions, incorrect usage or intonation of tonic words, and wrong placement of pauses. As a result, the rhetorical effect, as well as melodic-rhythmic level of the text, were significantly impeded. In summary, the texts adopted in this study differed from each other in the form of their presentation, which included both segmental and suprasegmental distortions. The same written speech was read out (T, F) and taped.

Following this, five native German and five native Italian participants were asked to interpret a distorted version of the speech presented by a non-native speaker (text F, creating following groups FI, FG), whereas the other five Italian students interpreted the control version (text T, creating group TI). The author concluded that groups FI and TI represented almost the same percentage of incorrect renditions, which is inconsistent with initial expectations as group TI was given a source text without any deviations. The reason for this may have been a higher speed of ST delivery in group TI (read by native speakers): a factor which also has a far-reaching effect on the interpreters (Mazzetti 1999:137). As far as the FI and FG groups are concerned, the German-speaking interpreters appeared to be less affected by the aforementioned deviations, and thus they rendered the message more accurately than the Italian-speaking group. After analysing the incorrect renditions, the percentage difference between the groups equalled 67.14% for group FG and 80.72% for group FI (Mazzetti 1999:137). This may be due to the fact that native speakers have increased linguistic sensitivity, which enables faster detection and retrieval of incorrect elements. Such far-reaching linguistic ‘reactivity’ does not apply to non-native speakers (1999: 144). Consequently, the degraded version impeded the overall performance of Italian participants to a greater extent, which corresponded to the author’s hypothesis.

Although the study has drawn attention to the importance of various deviations resulting from a foreign accent, it also revealed major limitations of most accent-related studies. Firstly, it remains uncertain whether the same findings might be applied to different language pairs. In fact, conducting a study which would cover more languages pairs appears to be extremely demanding. Moreover, the linguistic direction was different in groups FI and FG, which means that the German speaking group performed the task in their B language while the Italian group used their mother tongue. Gran & Dodds (1988: 157) deny that comprehension in the mother tongue is easier than in an acquired language, which should be taken into consideration when evaluating the results. Having the source text presented in one's mother tongue may facilitate interpreters' task, as effort can be concentrated on target text production (Mazzetti 1999:144). Finally, the subjects of the study were non-professional interpreters, and thus it could be expected that they would face considerable difficulties, especially in a more challenging environment, such as a degraded source text. As a result, it can be assumed that the vast difference in performance between the FI and GI groups was dependent on various factors. Nevertheless, the study clearly showed that "a speech delivered with a non-native accent may be less difficult to interpret if the speaker's native language (i.e. the source of interference) is among the interpreter's working languages" (Pöchhacker 2004: 127).

5.3. Kurz & Basel 2009

Many researchers have examined the impact of non-native accent on higher cognitive load. Undoubtedly, previous research seemed to approach the issue from different perspectives and to consider various factors. Studies have confirmed that unorthodox use of language constrains, or even impedes, interpreters' comprehension, and thus rendition in the target language. This has a considerable influence on the quality of the interpreting performance. It is worth noting that the concept of quality might be difficult to define, because it involves many internal and external variables, which vary according to the interpreting situation. However, the fact remains that the most important evaluation of simultaneous interpretation is made by the end-receiver, in this case the listener or the audience. Interestingly, in case of non-native input, there are a few disadvantages listeners have to reckon with. For instance, several studies have confirmed that discourse presented by a non-native speaker results in higher information loss in the interpretation, as compared to texts produced by native speakers. This issue was further explored by different researchers (see Taylor 1989; Proffitt 1997; Kodrnja 2001; Basel 2002; Kurz 2008; Kurz & Basel 2009; Reithofer 2010).

In her MA thesis, written under the Kurz's supervision, Kodrnja (2001) compared the performance of students (n=10) who were asked to interpret an identical English source text presented by a native (SN) and a non-native speaker (SNN) with a strong foreign accent. The non-native speaker's L1 was not provided, but his presentation was fraught with many mispronunciations as well as major prosodic flaws (Kurz 2008:185). The source text consisted of 591 words. The non-native speaker read the material in 4 minutes 43 seconds, while the native speaker took 4 minutes 46 seconds, which means that the delivery rate was almost parallel. The ten subjects were divided into two groups, the subgroup A (n=5) and the subgroup B (n=5), and each group was confronted with both recordings. The only difference was the order of the recordings. Group A was presented with the SN part first; and group B was shown the SN text second. This experimental design allowed for intra- as well as inter-group comparisons. The main hypothesis of the study was confirmed: due to higher processing requirements for analysis and comprehension of a non-native speaker, information loss was markedly higher when interpreting a speech read by the SNN rather than the SN. The information loss in the SNN segment was the following: in group B almost 70% and in group A approx. 60% of the information included in the source text was lost; compared to only 36% of information in the SN segment (Kurz 2008:187). These numbers showed that both groups performed significantly better when interpreting the SN (64.3% and 63.7% correct renditions respectively). As far as the intra-group observation is concerned, group A revealed a relatively lower information density than students in group B as a result of the order in which the segments were presented. The students who were shown the SNN speech first did not have opportunity to get familiar with the topic and the interpreting situation, which resulted in a worse performance. A questionnaire and follow-up interview also revealed that the subjects had the subjective impression that delivery speed was faster in the SNN section (Reithofer 2010:148).

The study conducted by Kodrnja (2001), which was accurately described by Kurz (2008), provided the first full insight into the impact of non-native English on interpreting performance. However, the study cannot be seen as fully representative, as the subject group was by no means negligible and consisted entirely of interpreting students (Reithofer 2010:148). On the other hand, Basel (2002) carried out a very similar case study as a part of her unpublished PhD thesis, again under Kurz's supervision, which engaged both experienced and inexperienced interpreters. The study was later rewritten and released within the collaboration between Kurz & Basel in 2009. Its main focus was on the question of whether interpreters who know, or even share, the same L1 with the non-native speaker may achieve

higher information density in comparison to interpreters who are not familiar with a speaker's mother tongue. This would confirm Bent and Bradlow's assumptions regarding matched or mismatched ISIB. In order to answer this question, 12 interpreting students and six professional interpreters were asked to carry out interpretation of an English source text presented by a Spanish or French speaker. Two texts, comprised of real contributions, were recorded during the 6th International Conference of the Basic Income European Network (BIEN), held in Vienna 1996. From over twenty different nationalities available, speakers from France and Spain were chosen because their phonetic, lexical and syntactic deviations were the most significant (Kurz & Basel 2009:192-193). The rather short duration of the speeches amounted to 156.4 seconds (circa 3 minutes) for the Spanish and 328.1 seconds (circa 5.5 minutes) for the French contribution, with speech delivery of 98 words per minute and 112 words per minute respectively. The experiment took place in a laboratory setting. From the total number of 12 students, six interpreted the French speaker, while the others were faced with the Spanish speaker. Professional interpreters were asked to interpret both speeches. All interpretations and source texts were recorded and entered into the Gold Wave sound program, where they were divided into phonetic units according to acoustic criteria (Kurz & Basel 2009:194). Next, the units were tested in terms of symmetry or asymmetry in order to analyse possible transformations or deviations from the source text. Symmetry was examined according to two of Moser-Mercer's quality criteria (Moser-Mercer 1996): completeness condition and accuracy condition (Kurz & Basel 2009:197). It is worth noting that absolute symmetry is practically impossible to achieve, which means that some information loss was expected to occur.

The results of this study indicate that the more language input deviates from the standard norm, the more difficult it is to deliver a complete interpretation which stays in line with other studies in the ELF setting. Firstly, since the speech made by the Spanish speaker seemed to be more unconventional, the information transfer was affected to a greater extent. Of the total number of 210 symmetry points for the Spanish speaker, the actual score for professionals amounted to 124, while for students it was only 56. Of the 420 symmetry points for the French speaker, professional interpreters acquired 282 points, whereas interpreting students scored 155 points. Having said that, the professionals transferred information more symmetrically than novices. Thus it can be said that non-native accents are particularly difficult to understand for young, inexperienced interpreters as compared to professionals, who are more efficient at coping with non-standard English (Reithofer 2010:148). Nevertheless, even experienced interpreters find it hard to deliver a coherent message from a linguistically impaired

source text. The reason for this would be the fact that the authors of the study used binary principle (yes/no-assessment) and no credits were given for partial transfers (2009:198). However, there is another factor which greatly facilitates the interpreter's task, mainly knowing the non-native speaker's mother tongue. Moreover, although the speaker's L1 does not have to correspond with the interpreter's mother tongue, it should one of which he has working knowledge (Pöchhacker 2016:124). It is assumed that being familiar with the L1 of a speaker helps recover unorthodox grammatic-syntactical structures or unorthodox vocabulary, especially if they are due to L1 interferences (see Taylor 1989; Basel 2002; Kurz & Basel 2009). Finally, Basel notes that the crucial factors in the context of non-native speakers of English are: "frequent exposure to non-native varieties, language proficiency, some knowledge of the speaker's native tongue and a clear judgement of what can be achieved in the target language" (2002: 24); factors which clearly demonstrates the growing need for further training.

As far as the study's strengths are concerned, the authors used authentic and impromptu speeches, which had to be interpreted without previous preparation (2009:193). Thus, these laboratory conditions were very close to a real-life setting. Another great strength of the study is the fact that professionals and novices could be examined via an inter-group comparison, enabling the reaching of new, holistic conclusions. Finally, efficiency when determining the correlations between the source and target language, depictions of sound waves and orthographical transcriptions were a great asset of the study. Conversely, one of the weaknesses of the study is that languages taken into account came from the Romance language family, meaning they possess similar characteristics. This aspect has already limited some of the studies in ELF research (Mazzetti 1999). Moreover, the speeches were not equal in duration, a factor that may have negatively affected some of the subjects' performances (Katikos 2015: 60). On the whole, the study presented an interesting point of view and a new perspective for further research (Katikos 2015). Furthermore, the studies described in this section focused on higher information loss when faced with a non-native source text, which makes them relevant to my own. Thus, they became a direct inspiration for my case study.

5.4. Chang & Wu 2014

The qualitative case study conducted by Chang & Wu (2014) responds to the limitations of the previous studies. This research was based on interviews with ten freelance conference interpreters in Taiwan, where the dominant language combination has long been Mandarin (L1) and English (L2). In contrast to other studies, the main focus was put on examining acquired

data in order to reach conclusions rather than testing a particular hypothesis. The subjects were conference interpreters, eight of whom were women and two men, working with Chinese A and English B, with professional experience ranging from two to 19 years. Moreover, the majority of participants (0n=8) were also interpreting lecturers. Their task was to participate in a semi-structured interview (questions number=12), lasting about an hour. The main objective of these questions was to examine the subjects' experience of and attitude towards interpreting ELF speakers. Before conducting the study, the interviewees were provided with over 25 conferences agendas featuring non-native presentations (some of them were common to more than one participant) including topics such as education, investment, as well as highly technical subjects like clinical testing or pharmaceuticals (Chang & Wu 2014:173). All the conferences took place between August 2010 and May 2011 (2014:173). They gathered a total number of 235 non-native English speakers from all three circles of English as defined by Kachru (2014:174). In addition to questions regarding their general experience, the subjects were asked to comment on these individual occasions from the above conferences, mentioning any difficulties or coping strategies they adopted. All interviews were conducted in subject's L1 (Mandarin), then recorded, transcribed and translated into English by the authors.

The first part of the interview regarding general experience revealed that accented English is a major problem in interpreting ELF speakers (2014:175). However, high speed of delivery, 'conceptual' difficulty, a highly technical topic or even combination of these variables may prove as strenuous as a foreign accent. For this reason, most of the participants claimed that interpreting ELF speakers does not, on the whole, pose serious problems for them (2014:180). It is considered to be a normal part of their interpreting job. Secondly, the interpreters favoured speakers from a similar linguistic background (Japan, Korean), whereas speakers from distant countries, especially from southern or eastern Europe (Italy, Spain, Poland) were seen as more challenging to comprehend. Nonetheless, the subjects agreed that the majority of ELF speakers do not have a high degree of accentedness; a factor that might be related to the speakers' high social status, post-secondary education or prior international experiences at multinational corporations or prestigious universities (2014:179). They also stated that non-native speeches are characterized by a relatively slow delivery rate in comparison to native speakers, which is viewed as a highly desirable feature. This clearly shows that ELF speeches should not always be seen as a constant source of frustration for interpreters³².

³² It does not correlate with the AIIC Workload study on interpreter stress and burnout, where foreign accents rank fourth in a list of eleven stress factors reported by the respondents (see Mackintosh 2002, Albl-Mikasa 2010).

Interestingly, the participants concluded that they even manage to “render forms of address in line with target-cultural conventions, even though their communicative strategies in SI were also influenced by cognitive constraints” (Pöchhacker 2016:130).

The second part of the interview focused on coping strategies implemented in an ELF setting. The subjects referred to the three most recent conferences involving at least one non-native speaker, a focus which was supposed to help them concentrate attention on the details (Chang & Wu 2014:173). The participants cited numerous coping tactics and strategies when faced with non-native speakers. Firstly, the interpreters mentioned that they are able to psychologically prepare themselves for more challenging assignments as a result of their prior experiences. In general, they are mainly concerned with studying the content of the speech, as well as the speaker’s background (2014:175). Two interpreters also confirmed that they usually examine the related conference material and speakers’ biographies in order to estimate speakers’ probable language proficiency. If the English used in conference materials, such as abstracts, papers or Power Point presentations, involves many grammatical mistakes and fluency-related errors, the interpreters tend to pay more attention to studying those materials and doing additional research about the topic at hand (2014:176). It confirms the Gass and Varonis’ findings (1984) which showed that familiarity with the topic is the most crucial factor in facilitating comprehension of a non-native speaker (2014:176).

Secondly, the majority of subjects claimed that becoming familiar with the speaker’s accent beforehand may prove exceptionally useful. This is usually done by looking for Youtube videos or other online materials involving the speaker, as well as talking to the speaker at the conference before the presentation. However, adapting to the speaker’s accent is not always possible; therefore, interpreters often resort to other interpreting strategies, such as lengthening the time lag or summarizing the speech’s content (2014:177). Some interpreters rely more on contextualization rather than focusing on single syllables; others depend more on their booth mates, who can focus exclusively on listening and offer immediate help in deciphering meaning. Shortened turn-taking during interpreting was also described as one of the coping tactics (2014:177). Finally, the interpreters do not consider these methods to be radically different from most others used before interpreting assignments; however, they also underlined the significance of constant self-training and frequent contact with various non-native speakers (2014:184).

The greatest strength of this study lies in its qualitative research design, which of course provided very detailed information relating purely to the ELF and interpreting.

Furthermore, the study presents the issue solely from the perspective of conference interpreters facing ELF speakers in their professional everyday life. The interviewees discussed not only personal experiences with non-native speakers, and hence proposed a great number of resourceful strategies, but also considered the broader implications for the whole interpreting profession (see section 3.3). For instance, the interpreters noticed that there are fewer jobs for interpreters working with other language combinations involving Chinese (Chinese-Japanese or Chinese-Korean), since many conference speakers decide to speak English instead. Even though the number of interpreting booths per event has decreased, as they have in the European markets (see Albl-Mikasa 2010), the participants of this study were opposed to the assumption that interpreters are an endangered species, as many members of the audience still rely on interpreting.

On the other hand, the greatest weakness of this study lies in its limited nature, which surprisingly also resulted from the qualitative research design. The outcome of the study may not represent all interpreters in the Taiwanese interpreting market, but is rather confined to one homogenous group of interviewees. Moreover, the answers cannot be used to generalize about different interpreting markets around the world. The authors underlined the necessity of conducting similar research on individual markets in order to create a “complete picture” so as to help less experienced interpreters adapt to a new world dominated by ELF (Chang & Wu 2014: 187).

5.5. Cheung 2013

Previous studies presented in this chapter mainly concentrated on a speaker’s non-native input and its impact on an interpreter’s output, and this cannot be seen as a fully holistic approach. Considering the fact that not every interpreter is a native speaker of all his/her working languages, the presence of ELF on international conferences may have a hidden agenda. It is therefore worth investigating whether an interpreter’s foreign accent may also affect listener’s comprehension. There are a few ELF studies which examined the effect of interpreters’ foreign accents on listeners’ perception (e.g., Hale, Bond & Sutton 2011; Rao 1995; Rubin 1992; Derwing & Munro 2009). The vast majority of these studies showed that non-native accents have an adverse effect on listeners’ comprehension in accordance with mismatched ISIB. Likewise, the experiments conducted by Andrew Cheung (2003, 2013) demonstrated that non-native use of a language may potentially impede the comprehensibility of an SI performance. In addition, listeners tend to rate an SI performance delivered by non-native speakers

lower in terms of quality assessment criteria such as clarity, pacing, completeness, interference, fluency and coherence (Pöschhacker 2016: 177).

Cheung's experiment (2013) involved 180 university students who were recruited from various non-language-related departments of a university in Hong Kong. All participants were native speakers of Cantonese and they had no previous experience in SI (Cheung 2013: 33). The students were told that the experiment was about listening comprehension in Cantonese, which made them fully unaware of the real aim of the conducted study (2013: 33). Their task was to watch a ten minute video presentation on Sino-US economic relations delivered in English by a female native North American English speaker, while listening to a Cantonese SI rendition of the video. The author deliberately chose the English-Cantonese language combination, as these languages are the most widely used in Hong Kong.

Deliberate efforts were made to simulate the authentic conditions of an international conference. The experiment was conducted in a university hall and the participants were given headsets (2013: 35). They were told that the interpreter was watching and interpreting live the same video from an adjacent room (2013: 35). Indeed, such an organizational structure, with interpreter booths being located in a room next door, has become completely normal. These arrangements placed the participants of this study in a similar situation to real conference attendees. Moreover, in order to motivate the participants to listen carefully to the SI, the students were told beforehand that there would be a five minute comprehension test after the presentation and that prizes would be awarded to those who answered the most questions correctly (2013: 32). Nevertheless, the results of this comprehension test were not taken into consideration by the author, who mainly concentrated on a quality survey about the interpretation handed out at the end of the experiment (2013: 32). The comprehension test was supposed to direct the subject's attention to the SI, bringing them closer to regular conference participants who must rely on SI to understand the speakers (2013: 32).

The participants were separated into a control group and two experimental groups. The control group heard the SI delivered by the native Cantonese professional conference interpreter; while the two experimental groups heard the performance given by either a Mandarin³³ native speaker or an English native speaker fluent in Cantonese. Three L1 Mandarin and three L1 English speakers reproduced the Cantonese interpretation through a shadowing procedure,

³³ Since there is no single version of Mandarin, the Mandarin speakers had to fulfill specific features in order to be chosen for the experiment, such as being a fluent Cantonese speaker and living in Hong Kong for at least two years. All the Mandarin speakers came from northern China, where the local pronunciation is considered to be the national standard (Cheung 2013: 34).

which was done instead of interpreting the English source text into Cantonese. They were instructed to repeat everything said in Cantonese, including errors, intonation, pauses, repetitions and fillers. As a result, the author gathered identical samples, differing only in accent. Their performances were then rated in terms of accentedness. Ten native Cantonese speakers were invited to choose the least-accented speeches from the Mandarin and English groups to be used in the experiment (2013: 34). The reason for choosing the mildest accents was that most interpreters have some form of a non-native accent when interpreting into their L2, but practically speaking it would not be considered a very strong accent. All performances were recorded and shown to the participants of the study.

Following the experiment, the subjects were handed both the comprehension test and the SI quality survey. The SI quality questionnaire consisted of ten statements, which were rated based on a five-point Likert scale (from “5: strongly agree” to “1: strongly disagree”), and one open-ended question, where the participants could share their general impressions of the SI (2013: 35). All answers were given in the subjects’ L1 and translated into English by the author. Ultimately, only 159 question surveys were valid and subjected to analysis. The quantitative results of the first section showed that the subjects gave consistently higher ratings to the L1 Cantonese presentation from the control group, while the SI delivered by the Mandarin speaker was rated considerably worse. The English-accented presentation was perceived least favourably. In summary, a non-native accent may adversely affect native Cantonese speakers’ evaluations of the overall SI quality (2013: 35), which confirms the author’s previous claim from 2003 (Cheung 2003). Correspondingly, the qualitative analysis of the comments section showed that the listeners from the control group rated the performance briefly and fully positively, including phrases like “good,” “professional” or “helpful ” (2013: 37). In contrast, the comments about the L2 Cantonese versions were all largely negative and included longer comments. The majority of negative answers discussed difficulties in comprehending the accent, apparent mispronunciations and lack of idiomaticity (Katikos 2015: 56). These conclusions are immensely interesting, considering the fact that the content of the presentation was precisely same. The participants also referred to the extra effort required to listen to SI delivered with a non-native accent (2013: 26). Having a non-native accent seems to be tantamount to having migrant status or being a part of a less prestigious group, which may provoke certain stereotypes or beliefs about interpreters not being members of the local community (2013: 28). Thus, some listeners might even become irritated by the interpreter’s

non-native accent. Consequently, the SI with a non-native accent was perceived to be less credible and professional.

Finally, the experiment confirmed the previous assumptions that a native accent is more convenient and comprehensible to the listeners. The biggest asset of Cheung's study remains the realistic conference setting and the thorough consideration of situational and interactional variables. Again, these results are limited to particular groups of speakers and listeners, as well as to the languages involved.

5.6. Reithofer 2010

In her research, Reithofer (2010) concentrates on how well listeners can follow an ELF speech, as compared to listening to the corresponding SI version (Chang & Wu 2014: 171). The main aim of her study is to prove whether interpreting can enhance the communicative effect among speakers of different language backgrounds. Reithofer (2010) compared listeners' comprehension of the NNS speech (English) and its interpretation into the audience's L1 (German). Reithofer's experiment (2010) included 58 native-German subjects, who claimed that their understanding in English was as good as that of their L1 (2010: 151). Their task was to listen to a short presentation and fill in a comprehension test afterwards. The presentation was held by an Italian business professor who often gives presentations in English, either at the university or at international sector conferences (2010: 151). The speaker's representativeness and appropriateness were also confirmed in a rating exercise conducted among 46 specialists in interpretation and ELF (2010: 151). The speaker held an unscripted presentation on an innovative marketing topic (2010:151). The topic of the presentation was not chosen at random, as the subjects' area of expertise was business studies, which made them subject-matter experts (2010:151). Half the subjects heard the original speech made by the non-native speaker in English (EN), while the other half listened to the simultaneous interpretation of that speech into German (DE) (2010: 151). The interpreter delivered an authentic interpretation, which means including typical interpretational features like pauses, hesitation and fillers. The interpreter was familiar with the topic of the speech; however, a translated script was not used during the SI. The interpreter's L1 remains unknown: the only information is that Italian is among his/her working languages (2010: 152). The interpretation was pre-recorded prior to the experiment (2010: 152).

The experiment was held in a lecture hall at the Centre for Translation Studies at the University of Vienna. The lecture room was equipped with interpreting booths and a video

wall, where participants could see the original speaker. The sound was transmitted through headphones (2010: 152). The subjects from the group EN heard the original speech, while the group DE listened to the pre-recorded SI. In order to convey an additional feeling of authenticity, an interpreter sat in one of the booths pretending to interpret the speech live (2010: 152). After the presentation, the subjects were handed a comprehension questionnaire about the content of the speech. The survey included 11 questions: eight multiple choice, and three half-open questions with clearly defined correct answers (2010: 152). All questions required the use of exact words or linguistic elements from the original speech or the interpretation. (2010:152). In addition, the questionnaire included distracting components in order to test participants' comprehension and recognition rather than their reasoning skills or background knowledge of the subject (2010: 152). The maximum number of points was 19 (2010: 152).

The quantitative data clearly demonstrated that even expert listeners can find an interpretation more readily comprehensible than the corresponding ELF source speech (Chang & Wu 2014:171). The comprehension score of SI users from Group DE was significantly higher than the listeners from Group EN. Group DE scored an average of 11.98 points, while the mean scale score of Group EN was only 8.07 points (2010: 152). The results were shown to be statistically significant by means of a t-test ($t=-4,006$, $df=56$, $p= 0,000$). This confirms the aforementioned hypothesis that SI may potentially increase the communicative effectiveness of a non-native speaker, and thus may also positively affect the listeners' comprehension. The rationale behind this is that many interpreters claim that they are able to improve a deficient non-native source text. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that only high quality interpreting is likely to be more effective than ELF (Reithofer 2010: 153). For this reason, interpreters must be educated and trained to cope with the deviations typical for a non-native source text in order to maintain a high level of quality (see Reithofer 2010, 2013; Kurz & Basel 2009; Albl-Mikasa 2010, 2014). Moreover, the degree of effectiveness differs depending on situational variables. ELF tends to fulfil its communicative purposes in dialogue or conversational settings (2010: 153), but in a case of monologic, unidirectional communication, interpreting seems to be more successful than the use of ELF, as was shown by the Reithofer's experimental studies (2010,2013). These results might be used in convincing potential SI clients that interpreting services have a certain degree of superiority over ELF communication (2010: 153-154).

The biggest limitation of the experiment is that the results are restricted to a particular group of listeners, and to one particular interpreter and language combination (English-

German). In other words, the same findings cannot be applied in different settings (2010:152-153). On the other hand, this study is relevant to my own research because it provides clear evidence for the increased communicative effectiveness which can be achieved with interpreting. My research also focuses on the fact that interpreters may remedy some of the ELF deviations or shortcomings in order to improve the interpreted version. Nevertheless, my assumption is that it can only be done with matched ISIB.

6. Corpus-based study

The use of corpora in interpreting research gained ground after Miriam Shlesinger (1998) first referred to ‘Corpus-based Interpreting Studies’ (CIS) as an offshoot of Corpus-based Translation Studies (CTS); CTS follows a considerably longer tradition compared to CIS (Pöchhacker 2004: 87). Early enthusiasts of CIS saw huge potential in this research methodology; some believed that this methodological approach might solve major problems connected with acquisition of research material in interpreting studies. The most essential component of this methodology is a “corpus”: a collection of pieces of language. These pieces of language are not chosen randomly; they are selected and “ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of the language” (Sinclair 1995:18). Corpora are “machine-readable, comprised of authentic samples, sampled purposefully and representative of a particular language variety [or language phenomenon]” (McEnery et al. 2006: 5). A corpus-based approach uses corpus data to “expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available” (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 65). This definition implies that a corpus-based approach makes an assumption as a starting point and the corpus inspection should either invalidate or verify the formulated pre-corpus theory (see McEnery 2006).

CIS has provided a solid basis for empirical descriptive research based on representative and authentic samples, showing real language performance and its real-time interpretations. For this reason, the corpus-based approach was strongly favoured by the Paris School (see Seleskovitch 1975, Lederer 1981, Donovan 1990), who claimed that theorizing about the interpreting process should be based on observations of professional interpreters in their natural settings (Setton 2011: 38). In fact, the greatest advantage of the corpus-based methodology is in the authenticity of the resources used, which was appreciated by many scholars (see Pöchhacker 1994a; Kalina 1998; Setton 1999; Besien & Meuleman 2004; Diriker 2004; Vuorikoski 2004; Petite 2005; Straniero Sergio 2007; Monacelli 2009; Falbo 2012). However, due to the low availability and accessibility of interpreting corpora, but also as a result of a lack of necessary tools for creating new ones, researchers of interpreting drew heavily upon experimental research, which focused mainly on the output of students and trainees rather than professional interpreters (Shlesinger 1998). However, the main problem in experimental interpreting studies is making observations on a limited number of outputs that, more often than

not, are sparse and anecdotal (Shlesinger 1998). Therefore, it might be advisable to resort to corpus-based research, which eliminates this problem.

Creating a manual corpus might involve the time-consuming process of audio transcription, as it is the only possible way to extract oral research data. However, the process of audio transcription is fraught with certain difficulties. Firstly, there is no established system of conventions for auditory data transcription able to be implemented in CIS, despite researchers having called for agreement on the methods and procedures of corpus description and presentation (Setton 2011). Moreover, there remains a lack of established conventions concerning the encoding of auditory data (Berk-Seligson 1990: 50-51; Kalina 1994). Secondly, while it is technically feasible to extract linguistic features from oral discourse, paralinguistic language dimensions - such as prosody, intonation, articulation, or tone - are difficult to represent in a “readable” format. Nevertheless, some conventions might be implemented in order to show pauses or fillers, which are of crucial importance for corpus-based studies. Given the above, the advantages of CIS outweigh the disadvantages, which could be easily resolved with good organization and increased workload. Corpora are still constantly used by researchers in interpreting studies (Straniero Sergio & Falbo 2012). For this reason, my study is also designed as a corpus-based analysis. Bearing in mind the possibilities and limitations of CIS, I consider this methodology the most appropriate for the purposes of my thesis.

The choice of corpus itself is of the utmost importance for my research purposes, but it might pose some problems, as the size or suitability of different corpora are not always applicable to certain research objectives. Finding sufficient resources for corpus-based research, especially in the field of conference interpreting, might also be impeded, as most interpreter-mediated events are not recorded or archived. However, digital transmission technology is advancing and certain new solutions, for example web streaming and live feeds, have emerged, making the broadcast procedure and archiving easier and more accessible. Accordingly, more international institutions are seeking to provide online broadcasts or streaming of their meetings or press conferences, providing a fertile ground for further development of this field of research. As far as the purposes of CIS are concerned, the rapid development of online streaming and its growing popularity may facilitate the creation of new, or the expansion of already existing, corpora. It is also worth mentioning that most online broadcasts or streams are accompanied by interpretation into different languages, and sometimes also transcription. Translation is usually provided in two ways: via subtitles or voice-over interpretation.

My corpus-based study depends on the multimedia collection provided by the EU. Not only does the EU offer livestreams on two of their satellite TV channels (EbS and EbS+), but it also provides an enormous archive of videos from all EU Institutions, including the European Council (EUCO) and the European Parliament (EP). It is worth mentioning that most of the live streams or archived videos are provided together with interpretation (the speaker's output and the interpreter's output in the chosen language) in accordance with the multilingualism principle favoured by the EU. In particular, the EP website provides an extensive collection of archival videos of its plenary sittings starting from April 2006, freely available and accessible from its Multimedia Centre. The video and audio recordings are gathered and managed by the EP Multimedia Centre. This constitutes a parallel, multilingual corpus, as the rich collection also includes simultaneous interpretations into most of the EU's official languages. This easily accessible database has already drawn the attention of several CIS researchers (see Bendazzoli 2010). On the basis of the EP collection of video and audio recordings of plenary sittings, the first simultaneous interpreting corpus of the European Parliament Interpreting Corpus (EPIC) was created. However, it is only available in three languages: Spanish, Italian and English, which means it cannot be utilized in research involving a different language pair (also in the case of my thesis). Therefore, the necessity arises of creating a manual corpus which would cover the desired language pair in the designed study, in this case English-Polish-German, based on the EP multimedia centre database, which provides all the necessary research materials.

6.1 Research questions and hypotheses

This section provides information on the research objectives, research questions and hypotheses of my thesis. Subsequently, in further sections, details about methods of data collection, data presentation and data analysis will be given. The conclusions from this corpus-based study will be described in Chapter 8.

The research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

1. Do typical ELF features distort the source text, causing serious comprehension and processing problems?
2. Do typical ELF features have an adverse effect on simultaneous interpretation into a target language, resulting in higher information loss?
3. Are these features less disruptive for interpreters who share an L1 with the speaker?

Hypothesis 1: As stated above, ELF might prove effective in certain communication events, such as dialogues or direct conversations between people of different language backgrounds (see Seidlhofer 2011; Mauranten 2012). In such circumstances, interlocutors are able to achieve sufficient comprehension, even though the text is highly deficient (see section 4.3). This is possible thanks to the ‘let-it-pass’ strategy, a cooperative attitude and with additional clarifications later on. It remains questionable as to whether a highly distorted ELF text would also serve its purpose as a source text for simultaneous interpretation. I would like to examine to what extent an ELF source text can be hampered by typical ELF features, and if comprehension of such a source text is severely hampered. Moreover, the study attempts to determine which of the typical ELF features are the most and the least detrimental.

Hypothesis 2: It has been demonstrated by a number of ELF researchers (Sabatini 2000; Basel 2002; Kurz & Basel 2009; Reithofer 2010; Albl-Mikasa 2013) that non-native use of a language has a ‘considerable’ effect on understanding and, consequently, on an interpreter’s rendering into the target language. As stated before, ELF has a strong impact on the cognitive processes involved in the process of interpretation (see Chapter 4). This results in a higher cognitive load, which might manifest itself in various verbal or non-verbal phenomena of speech production, such as longer pauses, filler words and hesitation markers. This would demonstrate the interpreter’s higher cognitive load, which may result in higher information loss. Moreover, several studies have also shown that ELF source texts seriously impede information transfer in the target language (Mazzetti 1999; Kurz & Basel 2009; Kodrnja 2001; Basel 2002). Therefore, I would like to examine whether an ELF source text might increase the number of hesitation markers and cause higher information loss. Hence, in order to do so, the aim of this study is to determine whether ELF has an overall ‘disruptive’ effect on output production, causing more omissions, hesitation markers, fillers, pauses or retardations due to the extra effort interpreters have to invest when interpreting non-native English speeches.

Hypothesis 3: Since Bent & Bradlow (2003) coined the term ‘interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit’, it has been argued that when the interpreter and the ELF speaker share the same L1, the ELF speech is more intelligible in comparison to an interpreter with a different L1. This has been supported by certain research studies (Taylor 1989; Basel & Kurz 2009; Chang & Wu 2014; Basel 2002). However, it should be pointed out that hitherto the main focus has been on the foreign accent rather than on lexical, syntactic or pragmatic irregularities. This study aims to investigate whether a shared L1 with the speaker helps the interpreter to recover unusual syntactic, lexical and coherence-related structures (mainly influenced by L1

interference) more quickly and efficiently than interpreters with a different L1. It could be assumed that interpreters with the same L1 would deliver a better performance than their colleagues who do not possess the aforementioned ‘intelligibility benefit’. This suggests that interpreters with a different L1 would have a more difficult task in recovering and deciphering the meaning of the distorted input message. This study then aims to prove or disprove the notion of ISIB coined by Bent & Bradlow, especially with regard to the lexical, syntactic and coherence-related anomalies resulting from the use of ELF. Moreover, various SI strategies implemented in the case of the typical ELF features are investigated and discussed.

As can be seen, there are three main research objectives in the study conducted for the purposes of this thesis. My research questions put the focus on, first, the comprehension difficulty imposed by ELF; second, the negative influence of ELF source texts on the interpreters’ rendering; and third, the impact of the ‘interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit’ on the interpreters’ output. The ELF source texts are characterized by many distinguishable features, such as unusual lexis, non-standard syntax, unorthodox pronunciation, lack of logical connections and more. That notwithstanding, central importance is placed on lexical, syntactic, pronunciation- and coherence-related ELF features and the interpreter’s ability to decipher meaning and structure without losing input information, thus affecting the quality of the performance.

6.2 Methodology

The creation of individually designed interpreting corpora follows the same development stages as those involved in the construction of any other spoken corpus. Thomson (2004) names four basic stages: data collection, transcription, mark-up and annotation, and access. However, the last two stages are usually involved in creating a computerized corpus with part-of-speech tagging, which will not be applied in the empirical study conducted for the purposes of my thesis. Therefore, the primary focus will be on the first two stages.

The material for analysis is retrieved from the EP Multimedia Centre website in the form of video recordings presenting speeches delivered during plenary sittings of the EP. The speeches chosen from the corpus are transcribed and then manually divided into segments. Subsequently, these segments are subjected to further analysis, which is based on indicating non-standard and potentially problematic linguistic items resulting from a non-native use of a language. If a segment contains one or more unusual elements, it is considered unusual. This study focuses on particular ELF features, such as lexical, syntactic, pronunciation- and

coherence-related deviations; thus these linguistic items remain the main focus of the examination. For the purpose of easier and quicker identification, the problematic elements are marked in bold next to the segment, and with the following abbreviations:

- L – a lexical item,
- S – a syntactic item,
- P – a pronunciation-related item,
- C – a coherence-related item.

This subdivision calls for further clarification and concrete examples. The examples provided are derived from the research material. Firstly, lexical defects can be understood as a wrong choice of words or distorted fixed phrases. By way of illustration, in the “the Constitution is **higher** than EU law”, the word “higher” may seem unusual and would normally be replaced by either ‘superior to’ or ‘more important’. In “**not to speak** about”, the fixed phrase differs from its original form – ‘not to mention’, as well as “when I am **looking** TV”, in which the verb watching was replaced with looking. In “my country is **independence**” a noun was used instead of an adjective, which is an obvious mistake. Secondly, syntactic deficiencies are mostly connected with incomplete or distorted sentence structure, or subject verb agreement errors, as well as improper use of conjunctions, prepositions or articles. For instance, “**there is no LGBT-free zones** in Poland”, in which an auxiliary verb “is” was used with a plural form; “one big conservative profile **television is harm rule of law**” or “a tyrant **is not bother you**”, in which there are two verbs. Thirdly, pronunciation-related items, which as the name suggest refer to non-standard pronunciation and accented speech, in the way that certain phonemes are realised differently, such as “**holehartedli**”, “**smir campaigns**”, “**mithods**”, “**perties**”, “**sinz**”. More examples, such as “majority don’t care for **princls**, for freedom”, or “the Russians would **lauv** if they did it” show that pronunciation flaws not only distort one phoneme, but may distort a whole segment. Finally, coherence-related anomalies are related to the distorted continuity and/or logic of the speech flow resulting from the so-called ‘lack of pragmatic fluency’ (see House 1996; 2013) or ‘restricted power of expression’ (Albl-Mikasa 2013a). This means that non-native speakers of English tend not to maintain smooth continuity in the course of their speech (House 2013: 67). Furthermore, ELF users creatively form their own discourse with the help of their previous linguistic knowledge, including L1-interferences. For instance, “**but work during childhood should be called what it should be:**

play, education and development”, “Historically, present Republic of Moldova is Bessarabia, it is half of Moldova, the other half of Moldova is one third of Romanian Republic” and “the other side (.) it is unlawful when we restart people influence of justice system”. These examples are characterized by disturbed coherence and logic, which makes it difficult to understand what the speaker is attempting to convey.

At this point, it is worth highlighting that the aforementioned typical ELF features do not all impede listeners’ comprehension to the same extent. Some unusual segments cause few or no comprehension problems, while others seriously hamper listeners’ comprehension. Therefore, potential ELF-induced problem triggers are divided into three comprehension categories. These are created according to the comprehension difficulty imposed on the listener. This classification is based on Albl-Mikasa’s case study findings (2013a: 7), albeit adjusted for the purposes of this thesis:

Table 1. Three levels of comprehensibility

<i>ELF-related source text difficulty</i>	<i>Main consequence for the SI</i>
Partially unusual but comprehensible input	Few or no imprecise elements, no major comprehension problems; a text is still coherent and fully interpretable; possible higher cognitive load due to small differences in style of expression.
Partially incomprehensible input	Minor comprehension problems due to several unorthodox structures and unusual way of putting things; extra energy and/or background knowledge are needed to deliver successful rendition.
Completely incomprehensible input	Serious comprehension and processing problems; extra capacity is needed to decode vague input and decipher what the speaker is trying to say.

All unusual segments are classified according to the aforementioned comprehensibility categories. For the purposes of easier identification, the comprehension categories have been assigned numbers from one to three, according to the difficulty they pose to the listener. **The first level of comprehensibility** does not pose comprehension difficulties: the text is still comprehensible regardless of the insignificant deficiencies. **The second level of comprehensibility** poses minor comprehension problems due to several unusual structures and forms. This means that ELF-induced problem triggers assigned to this category do hamper listeners’

comprehension, but the meaning can still be retrieved. Finally, **the third level of comprehensibility** includes segments with the most severe deficiencies. The structures and forms categorized in this group are hard to comprehend due to vague and highly imprecise forms of expression. The unusual segments retrieved from the research material are assigned corresponding numbers from one to three. It must be highlighted that the assignment of the comprehension difficulty categories is subjective and depends on my individual perception.

In the next stage, the SI of these unusual segments is investigated. Interpretations into German and Polish are transcribed and evaluated. The main objective is to ascertain how much information is lost due to ELF-induced source text deficiencies. In order to evaluate the degree of information loss, the following taxonomy of renditions by Cecilia Wadensjö (1998) is applied:

- I. **Close renditions**, in which input content can be found explicitly expressed in the way that a ST and a TT are approximately the same. No information loss can be detected,
- II. **Reduced renditions**, in which input content is expressed less explicitly with some information being lost,
- III. **Substituted renditions**, in which a TT does not correspond to an original utterance in that different or misleading content is delivered.
- IV. **Zero renditions**, in which some input content is left untranslated and no correspondences can be found in a TT in comparison to an ST (1998: 106-108).

The subdivision of renditions proposed by Wadensjö can be understood in pragmatic or functional terms (1998: 107). For the purposes of this paper, I would like to focus on the functionality of the TT. All Polish and German renditions are classified in accordance with the aforementioned groups and are subjected to further comparison. The most characteristic ELF traits are marked in bold, along with the corresponding moments in the Polish and German interpretation. If the corresponding moment is not marked, it means that this section was omitted by the interpreter (zero rendition). The examples of the particular types of renditions are shown below:

I. Close renditions

EN: Madam President. Colleagues, I **holehartedli** thank all of you [...]

DE: Sehr geehrten Kollegen. Ich danke **ganz herzlich** allen von ihnen [...]

EN: and say **they can only rule like you want** [...]

DE: und **Sie sagen sie müssen handeln wie sie es wünschen.** [...]

EN: when Poland was attacked from every side, **you mention about 80 centuries** today [...]

DE: **dass Polen angegriffen wurde von allen Seiten.** Das **achtzehnte Jahrhundert** wurde auch schon erwähnt [...]

II. Reduced renditions

EN: **so have=to have at least 40% of women on the list of best chess players.**

Thank you very much. What do you think about? [...]

DE: **der mindestens 40% auf die Liste der Schachspieler** (bitte) [...]

EN: **I voted for**, because **I like honey, but with a heavy heart** [...]

DE: **Ich unterstütze** den Vorschlag von eh Petr March [...]

EN: I cannot understand why European Union, whose **mouth is full of ‘diversity’**, tries to make every state a copy itself [...]

DE: Also diese Union **mit vie::len Meinungen** [...]

III. Substituted renditions

EN: The main suspect could be **theze man who is the polish prime Minister was Chief negotiator of accesion treatias** [...]

DE: **aber auch z.B. eh den Chefunterhändler bei den Verhandlungen** [...]

EN: For example, we **implementing random asidement of matters in court** [...]

DE: zum Beispiel **im Hinblick auf A::sylverfahren** [...]

EN: **A spoonful of tar, as the Polish proverb says, spoils a barrel of honey** [...]

DE: **ist ... ich habe der (??) Den Honig mag ich sehr...** [...]

IV. Zero renditions

EN: **we should always look behind us** [...]

DE: -

EN: from the ex-existing external **frenchay instruments** [...]

DE: -

Finally, Polish and German renditions are compared in order to illustrate whether interpreters with the same L1 as the speaker perform better and lose less input information in their interpretation. The aim is to prove or disprove the claim that the matched ISIB facilitates the interpreter's task in the ELF setting (see Bent & Bradlow 2003). Additionally, it has been assumed that it would be easier for the interpreters with the same L1 to recover the meaning and potentially problematic structures and forms. These steps aim to answer the formulated hypotheses and lead to final conclusions.

6.3 Subjects and material

The material under analysis is comprised of 18 speeches by Polish MPS, given during the plenary sittings of the EP between 2014 and 2021. The material is retrieved from the EP Multimedia Centre website in the form of video recordings. The length of the speeches varies, from the longest speech of 3 minutes 55 seconds to the shortest of 29 seconds. Each speech was delivered in English, with English being the speaker's L2. Therefore, the speeches are produced by non-native speakers. Each selected contribution is interpreted by only one interpreter, without turn-taking in the booth. For the purposes of this study, the input data from the video recordings has been manually extracted. Transcriptions of the original speeches are presented in Chapter 7, whereas German SI (DE) and Polish SI (PL) can be found in the appendix. The speakers deliberately chose to deliver a speech in their L2, even though they were aware that interpreting services from their L1 were provided. Their language competences in the L2 do not always allow them to freely express their thoughts.

The subjects under analysis comprise five different ELF speakers, along with professional interpreters. The exact number of interpreters is unclear, as their personal details are not provided. It therefore remains uncertain whether any interpreter is repeatedly present in the data under analysis. Considering the fact that the contributions come from various dates (days, months and years), the likelihood of reappearance of a particular interpreter decreases. Each speech is interpreted by one interpreter without turn-taking. The reason behind this is that the contributions are short. The interpreters are working from interpreting booths at the same moment the speeches are being delivered. The interpreters can see and hear the speaker

via headsets. This excludes other variables affecting comprehension, such as noisy environment or technical imperfections. Furthermore, there is no detailed information on the interpreters' experience or working languages. It is unknown what languages the interpreters have in their language repertoire. It was presumed that interpreters working in a German booth speak German as their L1; whereas interpreters working in a Polish booth have Polish as their L1. The reverse situation, in which an interpreter with Polish L1 is working in a German booth, is highly unlikely, though it remains possible. The possibility of bilingualism or multilingualism from an early age is not taken into consideration. Among the interpreters there are several men as well as women. The most important information is that the interpreters involved in the study are professional interpreters, as they all obtained a special EU-accreditation necessary to interpret during the plenary sessions of the EP. This accreditation demonstrates appropriate skills and qualifications, as well as several years of relevant working experience or training.

As far as the speakers under analysis are concerned, more detailed information can be given. All the speakers are public figures, politicians and MEPs. A total number of five speakers was chosen, two of which are women and three men. The speakers have a Polish cultural and linguistic background, while their second acquired language is English. There is no information as to how long the speakers have been learning English. Language competences vary enormously from speaker to speaker. To put it differently, the speakers represent rather low English proficiency. Full profiles of the speakers are presented in section 6.3.2.

6.3.1. Choosing speeches

The extracted material is designed to represent a particular language phenomenon, which is non-native use of English performed by Polish MEPs. This means that every speech of a Polish MEP made in English during plenary sessions of the EP from 2004 to 2021 is a part of the sampling frame, which makes indicating the true size of the corpus long and laborious. Given that the whole population cannot be exhaustively described, the necessity arises of sampling it in order to achieve representativeness. The aim of sampling theory described by Yates "is to secure a sample which, subject to limitations of size, will reproduce the characteristics of the population, especially those of immediate interest, as closely as possible" (1965: 9). The key to the representativeness of the sampling is to ensure various samples. Representative samples in this corpus-based research should not only come from different plenary sittings (over a time span of seven years), but also from different speakers and interpreters, in

order to exclude external or idiosyncratic variables, which could influence performance and the research outcome. The primary focus is on the inputs that are the most unusual in comparison to the Standard English norms identified by means of lexical, syntactic, or more general coherence-related factors. Such inputs pose a considerable quantity of potential problem triggers, and accordingly are of prime importance for my research questions.

The EP Multimedia Centre collection is categorized by date, place, time, agenda and speakers' surnames. All remaining information, such as a source language of the speech, has to be retrieved manually. With regard to the fact that the study focuses on the specific language combination – English as a source language and Polish as a L1 of the speaker - only speeches which correspond to these specifications are to be extracted from the corpus. For this purpose, speeches delivered by Polish-speaking MEPs are chosen by selecting Polish names and surnames. The main focus was placed on speeches made during the plenary sittings of the EP, rather than during parliamentary committees, EP press conferences or other events. The reason is that parliamentary work and discussions during the parliamentary committees or press conferences usually take place with a reduced language regime and without interpreting services; whereas during the EP plenary sittings, interpretation into and out of all 24 official EU languages is always provided.

Having analysed this substantial part of the corpus, three categories of Polish MEPs' contributions were identified. By far the largest group consisted of contributions made in the speakers' L1, in this case Polish, which could suggest that Polish MEPs depend, to a large extent, on the EU's interpreting services. The reasons for this could be manifold. On the one hand, it is highly likely that Polish MEPs' L2 competences may not be sufficient to present sophisticated speeches, which would be consistent with the rule of true democratic representativeness in the EP, in that representatives are elected not for their language skills, but for their political programs (Gazolla 2006). On the other hand, not overestimating one's L2 speaking abilities would confer an advantage (see Reithofer 2018), especially on the high-level political scene, where one should express one's key points in precise and balanced terms. In this respect, Polish delegates appear to be fully aware of the significance of interpreters. Finally, the considerable amount of Polish MEPs' contributions made in L1 clearly shows that the use of ELF is not a prevailing trend among Polish MEPs, especially when interpreting services are provided. The second largest group of contributions involved speeches in English that were delivered by Polish representatives whose L2 speaking skills were advanced enough to convey the message without glaring errors impeding the overall comprehension and rendering. In

other words, these were contributions which were clear, intelligible, comprehensive, and consequently fully interpretable. However, it is worth mentioning that the majority of these statements were pre-prepared and sometimes pre-written, and consequently read out aloud, which also increases the rapidity and density of speeches. Reithofer (2018:117) also notes that some delegates make conscious choices not to speak their L1, even though interpreting services from their L1 are provided. The underlying causes are various and include knowing the subject better in another language, or expecting that the message would get more attention in a widely spoken language like English. Some delegates fear that the interpretation would not be meticulous (Reithofer 2018:117). These motives could also apply to the speeches considered in my corpus-based study; however, it is not ultimately clear why the speakers decided to use English instead of their L1. More research could be conducted in order to understand reservations towards using interpreting services, resulting from the wide spread of ELF.

The third category of Polish MEPs' contributions were speeches made in unorthodox English, also known as 'Bad Simple English' (Reithofer 2010:144). These ELF speeches could be characterized by numerous lexical and syntactic anomalies as well as unusual structures and forms of expression. Even though these statements belong to a sizeable minority of all speeches by Polish MEPs, under the best of circumstances they should not be allowed to happen, especially when there is an alternative solution, such as interpreting services. Regrettably, such ELF speeches do occur even at the highest level, such as in international institutions like the EP. As described in section 3.3, it has a far-reaching impact on the interpreting profession. These kind of speeches might possibly create difficulties in comprehending and rendering, which may cause errors and omissions even among the most professional interpreters. Consequently, this group has become the main subject of my analysis.

6.3.2. Speakers profiles

The first speaker is a Polish Conservatist, Member of the European Parliament, Patryk Jaki. His political career started in the Polish Sejm in 2011 as a parliamentarian. In 2015 he was appointed Secretary of State in the Ministry of Justice (see European Parliament, Patryk Jaki 2022). He is a member of the Polish ruling party Law and Justice. His political discourse is centred on defending Catholic and traditional values, as well as rationalizing contentious legislation approved by the Polish government. In 2019 he was elected as MEP in the ninth term of the EP, which lasts until 2024 (see European Parliament, Patryk Jaki 2022). During his EP plenary sitting contributions, Jaki uses mostly his L1 – Polish; however, he also uses English,

his L2; nonetheless, his English speeches constitute a tiny minority of his total output. In case of spontaneous reaction or dialogue with other MEPs (blue-card questions), Jaki very rarely uses English, which may lead to an assumption that he does not feel at ease with his L2. Moreover, Jaki always uses written notes while speaking English, which indicates that these English contributions are likely to be pre-written. Nevertheless, his L2 usage possesses such characteristics as imprecision - also known as lack of 'pragmatic fluency' - mental shortcuts, L1 interferences, grammatical mistakes, unorthodox structures, unusual speaking speed and rhythm, incorrect intonation, and foreign accent. As a whole, his English contributions may seem fairly understandable, with the exception of some inconsistent wordings, which were subjected to analysis.

The second speaker whose contributions were included in the case study is a Polish Eurosceptic Member of the European Parliament elected in 2014, Janusz Korwin-Mikke (JKM). His political beginnings date back to 1989 and 1991 when he first won a parliamentary seat in the Polish Sejm (Bartłomiejczyk 2020: 238-240). He has led various political formations of the far-right wing, such as the Real Politics Union or KORWiN. In the international arena he is considered to be an outsider, unable to conform to any political group. On the other hand, he is a well-known politician, especially for his highly controversial speeches, in which he openly presents his radical and conservative ideas (2020: 238-240). During his career in the EP from 2014-2018, JKM openly proclaimed his Eurosceptic opinions and anti-conformist views. (2020: 238-240). JKM was repeatedly punished, sanctioned and even suspended from EP debates for his defamatory, sexist, racist or xenophobic remarks. His 'unique' style and political discourse have been the subject of many publications: Chwedczuk-Szulc & Zaremba (2015), Brack (2015), Bachrynowski (2015). Moreover, Bartłomiejczyk (2020) has already touched upon the subject of untranslatability of JKM's racist statements in the EP, and the possible difficulties for simultaneous interpreters related to this. During his speeches in the plenary, his main goal was always to attract as much publicity as possible; he even openly promised that he would cause so much havoc that no one would forget him for a long time. (Chwedczuk-Szulc & Zaremba 2015:131). Interestingly, he deliberately chooses to speak his L2 during his most controversial statements in the EP, most probably in order to avoid interpreters' mitigation (Bartłomiejczyk 2020). JKM is thought to be a challenging speaker not only because of his political incorrectness, but also because of the number of historical parallels and anecdotes he uses, not to mention his incomprehensible English.

The third speaker is Sylwia Spurek, a politician, lawyer, lecturer, former ombudsman and Polish MEP. Since 1999, Spurek has been focused on human rights activism. From 2002 to 2005 she was involved in creating the Polish Government's first bill countering domestic violence. She is also a strong advocate of equal treatment and animal rights. She represents the Greens-EFA political group in the EP, following her resignation from the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D) Group. She serves on various EP Committees, such as the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, the Committee on the Environment, Public Health and Food Safety and the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (see European Parliament, Sylwia Spurek 2022). In addition, Spurek is an active member of numerous EP Intergroups, such as the EP Intergroup on Disability, the EP Intergroup on LGBT Rights and the EP Intergroup on the Welfare and Conservation of Animals (see European Parliament, Sylwia Spurek 2022). Her committee and intergroup assignments confirm that Spurek is engaged in discussions with other MEPs from all political groups and Member States. Reithofer (2018) stated that during informal and committee meetings in the EP, the most widely spoken language among delegates is English, especially when interpreting services are not provided, so considering Spurek's enormous committee activity, she has undoubtedly attended several debates in English in the course of her political career in the EP. Her English speaking skills are therefore certain to be sufficient in the ELF environment and may pose few or no difficulties in overall understanding.

The fourth speaker is a Polish politician and the Secretary-General of the European Conservatives and Reformists Party, Anna Fotyga. Her professional career started in the Polish trade union Solidarity. She was appointed a Foreign Affairs adviser, and a few years later Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland (see European Parliament, Anna Fotyga 2022). During her time in office, she pursued a policy of national isolation - especially in regard to Russia and Germany, which she considered historical enemies - trying to create an image of a strong, independent Poland. During the same period, she adopted a stance of strong cooperation with the United States. Her political position came under criticism not only in the European Union, but also in Russia. She was elected an MEP in 2014, and was re-elected for a second term in 2019. (see European Parliament, Anna Fotyga 2022). In the EP her main focus is on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defence. In 2020, she was appointed a member of the EP Delegation for Relations with NATO (see European Parliament, Anna Fotyga 2022). As far as her English speaking skills are concerned, Fotyga speaks comprehensibly and freely without looking at pre-written notes, which would mean that she feels

comfortable speaking her L2. Even though unorthodox structures and errors remain rare, her foreign accent and intonation eventually prevail.

The fifth speaker is a Polish politician, former mayor of Słupsk and social activist, Robert Biedroń (Wprost 2020). His political career started in 2011 when he was elected to the Polish Sejm. In 2014 he won the mayoral elections in Słupsk. During his term in office, he focused mainly on pro-ecological and pro-social initiatives (Wprost 2020). Biedroń is the most famous LGBT activist in Poland: he has established the Polish Campaign Against Homophobia, a gay rights organization fighting for LGBT rights and equal treatment. Personally, he is a strong advocate of feminism, secularism, sexual education in schools, and free contraception. Biedroń established his own political party called Spring ‘Wiosna’ and ran for the EP elections in 2019. Since then, he has been an MEP for the S&D political group. He has remained active in his fight for women’s rights by serving on the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality.

6.4. Transcription

Transcription decisions and processes are a key step in qualitative research; however, there is a lack of standard conventions for annotating speech and interpreting features in the field of SI studies (Bendazolli et.al., 2005: 4). There are several points that must be considered during this crucial phase of research design, such as methods of transcription and their justifications. The methods adopted need to be explained thoroughly in the research description in order to avoid problems connected with sharing and exchanging data (2005: 4). Indeed, decisions concerning transcription methods are chosen individually, according to both one’s research objectives and which features of speech are to be focused on, as every method serves a different purpose. As the Latin proverb goes, “Verba volant, scripta manent”; transcription allows for readability and reproducibility of the research results obtained, which reveals the importance of the transcription planning stage.

In the research conducted for the purposes of this thesis, no machine tool is implemented, so the issues of computational tractability or mark-up, albeit crucial in other forms of corpus-based research, are omitted. Nonetheless, all procedures of data collection, transcription and data analysis in the research conducted are performed manually. At this moment it is worth emphasizing that, whether or not we use an analytic corpus tool, the conventions implemented must be ‘systematically discriminable’ (see Edwards 1993).

As far as transcription design is concerned, the transcript reflects a ‘verbatim’ depiction of speech. In order to depict the speech in the most faithful and comprehensive way, it includes all repetitions, filler words, false starts, grammatical errors, and other verbal cues. As stated in the previous section, it is not possible to convey all features of the speech (see Bendazolli et.al., 2005: 4); the main focus is put on the features which are important for the research. Orthographic transcription was implemented. Taking everything into account, especially the purposes of this research, this transcription method, which is fully based on spelling, seems to be the most accurate. The standard spelling system of each target language (English, Polish and German) is employed, except the words not being pronounced with sufficient accuracy. If comprehension can be hampered due to highly unorthodox pronunciation, this word is spelled as close to the actual pronunciation as possible (using the spelling system suited to each target language). More importantly, decisions need to be taken as to how to represent essential non-verbal data, such as hesitation markers, retardation (lengthening of syllables), restarts, word fillers, gaps in the transcript or pauses. The representation of these particular non-verbal data is of crucial importance, as without them it is impossible to answer the research question, and consequently to fulfil the aim and the purpose of the study. Concerning non-verbal data representation, a brief summary of transcription conventions is presented below: (based on the Jeffersonian Transcription System 2004):

(.)	a micro pause, a notable pause but of no significant length
(1.4)	exact pause time in tenths of seconds
...	an untimed pause
wo::rd	lengthening of preceding sound or letter, retardation
=	'latching', two utterances that follow one another without any perceptible pause
wo- word	a sharp cut off, restart, false start
(word)	the best guess of a stretch of talk which was difficult to hear
(? ?)	an uncertain or unclear stretch of talk
eh, hmm,	word fillers
mmm,uh	

7. Results

This chapter gives insight into the results of the corpus-based study. The analysis is based on identifying potential problem triggers resulting from non-native language usage, and the impact of these problems on simultaneous interpretations. The first part of the chapter is devoted to the quantitative analysis, which focuses on the identification of ELF problem triggers and evaluation of SI performances. The second part describes the qualitative analysis, which is based on a discussion of particular examples and implemented SI strategies.

7.1 Quantitative analysis

This section focuses on the quantitative analysis of the study material. This includes transcripts of the analysed speeches, as well as corresponding numerical data concerning problem triggers. The transcripts are preceded by the name of the speaker and the date of the speech.

1) Anna Fotyga on 15th December 2020

1	Madam President. Colleagues, I holehartedli thank all of you for adopting the September resolution on common remembrance, very balanced and factual one	1/ P
2	Sinz very beginning, both parties to Hitler Stalin Pact used liars, smir campaigns and cheating to discredit their opponents and victims	1/P
3	Well after advancing the holocaust , Hitler accused Jews of waging the World War.	1/L
4	Months after eh committing the war crime on more than 20 000 Polish members of elite in Katyn and elsewhere	
5	Stalin informed Polish Generals Sikorski and Anders that they were released and escaped to Manchuria	
6	Later, during the negotiations of ending the Second World War in Potsdam, it was yet another war crime perpetrated against Poles and Lithuanians: the so called Augustów roundup	
7	Unfortunately, in his smear campaign against Poland and other countries	
8	President Putin uses the same methods , exactly the same methods as both perties to Hitler Stalin Pact eh Treaty	1/P
9	An moreover, he is engaged in glorifying Stalin activity and using it-t contemporary policy	
10	We have to raise this issue. Thank you	

In Speech 1, out of ten segments, four are indicated as unusual. This constitutes 40%. All of them are classified to the first level of comprehensibility. The majority of problem triggers are pronunciation deficiencies (3), with one example (1) of a lexical anomaly.

Table 2. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 1

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
40%	0%	0%	40%

2) Sylwia Spurek on 25th November 2020

1	Madam President, today, on behalf of the Greens/European Free Alliance, I would like to express the solidarity with women experiencing violence
2	Our duty is to stand up for women. Violence against women is a violation of fundamental human rights
3	It is the most drastic form of gender-based discrimination. Equality between women and men is one of the fundamental values of the European Union
4	We create smart cities, produce autonomous cars, we fly into space, but at the same time there are women in Europe who cannot feel safe in their own home
5	They live in fear, they fear for their health and life. Many women do not report violence to the police. They are ashamed. They do not trust the state
6	They hear that these are family matters. The time of COVID-19 is special. The scale of domestic violence has increased
7	There are still countries in the European Union that call the fight for women's rights an ideology. They use tradition, religion and protection of family as an excuse
8	There are countries in the European Union that have still not ratified the Convention. We have countries that want to denounce the Convention
9	A year ago, we gave the Commission a clear signal. We called on the Commission to include violence against women in the catalogue of EU-recognized crimes
10	A year ago, we called for the ratification of the Istanbul Convention but 12 months have passed and nothing has happened

In Speech 2, there are ten segments. Neither deficiencies nor potential ELF-problem triggers are detected. This speech might be considered an example of successful communication in monologic ELF interaction. This means that none of the segments are considered unusual.

Table 3. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 2

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
0%	0%	0%	0%

3) Robert Biedroń on 13th February 2020

1	Madam President, work in adulthood is called, well, work	1/ F
2	but work during childhood should be called what it should be: play, education and development	1/F
3	Therefore, the phrase 'child labor' is an oxymoron in itself	
4	Unfortunately, children as young as five make up more than half the number of miners in Madagascar	
5	This means that at least 11 000 children are extracting mica	
6	a mineral which is used for everything from make up to car paint	2/P
7	Do you know what this means? Those children are working for us Europeans as well	
8	In Madagascar people strongly depend on mining and the income it provides, but the exploitation of children must stop	
9	and we must start to stop it here , and stop our own hypocrisy	1/S
10	adopting legislation which will ban child exploitation worldwide	

In Speech 3, there are ten segments, four of which are labelled as unusual. In Speech 3, the identified problem triggers belong to the first and second category.

Table 4. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 3

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
30%	10%	0%	40%

4) Patryk Jaki on 6th October 2021

1	Thank you Madam President, the EU is blocking funds for Poland because it believes that	1/S
2	the Constitution is higher than EU law	2/L
3	Meanwhile, many EU countries have done exactly the same, including Germany, which has, of course, already received the funds	
4	In addition, you say that the Poland will only receive the funds if the Constitutional Tribunal rules as you wish in this matter	1/L
5	In other words, for years, you have been accusing Poland for alleged lack of independence in the justice system and now what are you doing?↓Yo-You are putting the gun to the judges head	
6	and say they can only rule like you want . This is the new European standard of independence	1/F
7	When Schuman watches what you are doing with his project, he turns in his grave because he wanted to build solidarity between States	
8	and you are building ee walls. Commissioner, you said that the most important	
9	(.) thing for you is who spends money honestly honestly. Really? Did you compare in your data Czechia and Poland?	
10	And this is the fundamental question: who do you really block the funds?	2/S

In Speech 4, there are ten segments, half of which are considered unusual. The ELF problem triggers detected in Speech 4 are classified in the first and second category. No problem triggers which could possibly cause serious comprehension difficulty (level 3) are found.

Table 5. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 4

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
30%	20%	0%	50%

5) Anna Fotyga on 16th January 2020

1	Thank you Mr High Rep eh Vice-President, let me start from another point.	
2	Defreezing of funds , a result of JCPOA, did not improve lives of ordinary people	2/P
3	Kleptocracy and military build-up prevail	
4	Mass demonstrations and brutal crack-down of=of protesting Iranians	

5	There were also matters of concern , meddling in the region	1/F
6	financing of terrorism and support of terrorist organisations, and the development of ballistic missiles programme	
7	not to speak ehh about recent testing of this in terms of=of middle-range missiles sho=sho on an anti-Daesh basis and downing of the Ukrainian airplane	1/L
8	. Despite all of this, I also, like yourself, hope for de-escalation	
9	and I think that triggering of the mechanism is the least you can do, and we can do, the least of=of all things	1/F
10	I hope that we have our other tools as well	

In Speech 5, out of ten segments, four are indicated as unusual. This constitutes 40%. Three of them are assigned to the first level of comprehensibility. The remaining segments are assigned to the second level. In Speech 5, pronunciation (1), lexical (1) and coherence-related (2) problem triggers are found.

Table 6. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 5

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
30%	10%	0%	40%

6) Sylwia Spurek on 15th December 2020

1	Mr President, according to the European Environment Agency's report published in 2018	
2	agriculture is the main cause of groundwater's failure to achieve a good chemical status in the EU	
3	as it leads to diffuse pollution from nitrates and pesticides	
4	Additionally, the European Nitrogen Assessment states that the total cost of nitrogen pollution in Europe, the majority of which can be linked to animal farming	
5	ranges between 70 million and 320 million euros annually	3/P
6	yet so far there are no concrete plans how to tackle an issued of water pollution linked to the agriculture's sector and in particular to animal farming	
7	I would like to ask a question to the Commission	
8	How is the Commission planning to address the problem of nitrogen emissions linked to animal farming	
9	both in the future CAP and related national strategic plans	
10	and in the implementation of the strategy From Farm to Fork	

In Speech 6, out of ten segments, only one is considered unusual. The pronunciation problem trigger found in this segment might potentially cause serious comprehension problems, which might have resulted in comprehending the number wrongly.

Table 7. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 6

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
0%	0%	10%	10%

7) Patryk Jaki on 19th October 2021

1	Mr President, Prime Minister, Madam Commissioner, upholding rule of law is important (.) but more important is equality.	
2	And look, German rulings 2010, 2019, 2020: the constitution is higher than EU law	1/L
3	Frens 2021 constitution higher than EU law	1/L
4	Spain 2020 constitution higher than EU law. Even Romania 2021 constitution higher than EU law	1/L
5	And now in Poland is exactly the same	1/S
6	but only Poland cannot. Because you don't like this government,	2/S
7	you want to have back those puppets who agree to everything you said.	
8	But my country is independence , and only Poles can decide who rules. Jean-Jacques Rousseau said	1/L
9	when Poland was attacked from every side, you mention about 80 centuries today. He said to the Polish people	1/S
10	do not follow Europe blindly because in the end of this path is only money. Love freedom you have always defended	

In Speech 7, out of ten segments, seven are indicated as unusual. This constitutes 70%. The majority of the problem triggers from the Speech 7 belong to the first level of comprehensibility. The remaining segments are assigned to the second level. Both lexical and syntactical deficiencies are recognized.

Table 8. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 7

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
60%	10%	0%	70%

8) Janusz Korwin Mikke on the 13th of November the 2014

1	Thank you, we shall vote for the resolution but I don't understand whow Romania don't simply incorporate Moldova	1/P
2	saving us the problem of negotiations	
3	Eh Historically, present Republic of Moldova is Bessarabia, it is half of Moldova, the other half of Moldova is one third of Romanian Republic	3/F
4	and this would just be joining=joining the Moldovan reunification	3/F
5	Of course, the free people of Moldova can vote for unification in the referendum	
6	just as the free people of Crim-Crimea voted to join the Russian Federation	
7	Moreover, I think the European Union should be destroyed	

In Speech 8, there are seven segments, three of which are indicated as unusual. Two of them might lead to serious comprehension problems, and thus are assigned to the third level of comprehensibility. The remaining speech is assigned to the first category. The types of problem triggers found in Speech 8 are: coherence-related (2) and pronunciation (1) distortions.

Table 9. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 8

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
14%	0%	28%	42%

9) Robert Biedroń on 12th February 2020

1	Yes, since we are men and for hundreds of years we have been promoted	3/L
2	we should always look behind us	2/F
3	So many women every day are left behind, and we as politicians have a responsibility for that	1/S
4	So we as politicians, male politicians, have extra power	
5	which we can use to liberate women, to help them become equal	
6	Nothing more, nothing less , just equal. This is our obligation	1/ S

In Speech 9, there are six segments, four of which are indicated as unusual. One may notice problem triggers belonging to all three levels of comprehensibility. In Speech 9, there are two syntactical, one lexical, and one coherence-related flaw.

Table 10. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 9

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
34%	17%	17%	68%

10) Janusz Korwin Mikke on 8th June 2015

1	uhh We accept and understand that women and men have equal=equal skills and talents	
2	Unfortunately, when I am looking TV there is a programme Extreme Sports, and there are no women	1/L
3	In all the extreme sports there are no women.	
4	I think you should demand that there will be at least 40% of women jumping on the motorcycles a-and so on	
5	And moreover, there is a lis of '100 best chess players' . We should demand that at least 40% of the best chess players should be women	1/S
6	and, of course, if necessary, we should change the rules of chess because [could you please ask the question	
7	so have=to have at least 40% of women on the list of best chess players . Thank you very much. What do you think about?	2/S

In Speech 10, there are seven segments, three of which are indicated as unusual. Two of them led to minor or no comprehension problems, and are thus assigned to the first level category. The remaining segment is assigned to the second category. The types of problem triggers found in Speech 8 are: syntactic (2) and lexical (1) distortions.

Table 11. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 10

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
28%	14%	0%	42%

11) Patryk Jaki on 21th October 2019

1	Thank you. You are talking about the criminalization of the sexual education, but none of you have even read this law	
2	but you are disseminating some fake information	
3	I'm reading this bill now	
4	Article one whoever publicly promotes or approves pedophiles behavior shall be subject to a fine:the penalty of restriction of liberty	2/S
5	or the penalty of deprivation of liberty for up to two years	2/L
6	That is not the criminalization of education, but the ban of promoting pedophilia, which is present in most penalty codes in member states	1/S
7	It would be better for members of Europe and Parliament to read the text of the bill	1/L
8	be- before accusing someone. Thank you very much	

In Speech 11, there are eight segments, half of which are categorized as unusual. This constitutes 50% of unusual segments. The unusual segments are classified under the first or second comprehensibility level. The recognized problem triggers comprise syntactic and lexical anomalies.

Table 12. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 11

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
25%	25%	0%	50%

12) Patryk Jaki on 14th September 2020

1	Thank you President, but above all (.) I need to underline that there is no LGBT-free zones in Poland. There is only a left-wing activist	1/S
2	who creates displays and illegal hang and sends you a picture and you believe it	1/S
3	So once again I call you to maintain seriousness or=of your office	
4	But go to the point, thank you very much for providing us, at last, definition of rule of law. In your interpretation, rule of law in Poland is violated by, first, adoption of the anti-terrorist law	
5	even that you know there is similar in the other Member States.	1/S
6	Secondly, appointment of the judges – the same way like in Spain.	
7	Do you know, that we appointed the council ehh the judicial council by the parliament, like in Spain, by the same majority like in Spain	
8	and you say what. In Spain everything is good but in Poland you harm the rule of law	
9	This is equal... treatment? Then, in your definition, even existing of one one big conservative profile television is harm rule of law	1/S
10	Then, only debate, only debate over abortion itself – no approving anything, a ...only debate harm the rule of law, in your definition	

11	Then adoption of solution in civil=in=civil law to defend the good name of Poland, being a fundamental right of every citizens or every=or..ehh every country	3/F
12	you say that this still harming rule of law. Then prohibition of the political activities of the judges, which is fundamental thing for independence of judges	1/S
13	you say we have this in the Constitution, by the way and in your opinion is againz rule of law.	1/P
14	Then not providing the leftist organisation with more money of public funds. Then, finally, adoption of Regional Family Rights Law. Yes, it's true: in your interpretation(.) defending family law is harming the rule of law	
15	And=and then we go to the conclusion (.) everything which is not leftist is harming rule of law in your interpretation. Thatz why I need you ask you something. Did you even understand what is rule of law?	1/S
16	More↑ What democracy is? Do you know that the fundamental thing of democracy od=on European values is freedom of, freedom of speech, freedom of express	2/L
17	and right to create political group, Christian political group, Conservative political group, right=like Robert Schuman (.) did	
18	And and I need to tell you something: we in Poland know this kind of ideology. In past, the Communist used the language I tell you	
19	The Communist call censorship(.) eh by the (.) call principles of freedom, the restriction of religious practice, freedom of consistence	2/L
20	And today you call the left-wing bandit beating a man child arrested for his beliefs, and supporting the traditional family you call attack on tolerance. And and I tell you something	2/ S
21	and I want to underline something and I am not surprised that the new monument in Germany	
22	Lenin, a murderer, a tyrant is not bother you	2/ S
23	But the maintain (.) of family values in Poland dos. Shame on you, shame on you!	1/S

Speech 12 has the highest number of segments (23). Out of all 23 segments, 13 segments are labelled as unusual. This means that 56% of all segments contain potential problem triggers. In Speech 12, there are examples of all types of problem triggers, namely pronunciation, lexical, syntactic and coherence-related anomalies, which might cause various comprehension difficulties.

Table 13. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 12

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
35%	17%	4%	56%

13) Janusz Korwin Mikke on 10th June 2015

1	Thank you. Thank you Mr Chairman, I voted against ehh from different reasons	1/ S
2	but the main one its self-contradictory	2/ F
3	I am reading(.) Point 14: Parliament 'is deeply concerned with Russia support for	
4	and financing of radical and extremist parties in the EU Member States	
5	hwile in the point in the point ehh one moment eh 20 we are doing	1/L
6	calls on the Commission to programme more ambitions financial assistance to Russian civil society	

7	from the ex-existing external frenchay instruments	3/ L
8	Exactly what is forbidden to Russia, its called from eh European Union.(.)	
9	P-point 19: strongly condemns the governments – certain governments, continued crackdown on dissent by targeting independent NGOs	3/ L
10	through the so-called “foreign agents laws”. Point 21 calls on the Commission	
11	to propose legislations forbidding financing of political parties in the EU by political and or economic (statehold) outside the EU	
12	So, what is forbidden to Russia is allowed for us	
13	The Russians would lauv if they did it, of course	2/ P

In Speech 13, out of 13 segments, six are indicated as unusual. This constitutes 45 % of all segments. This speech includes all types of potential problem triggers, which at the same time may potentially cause various comprehension difficulties – levels from 1 to 3.

Table 14. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 13

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
15%	15%	15%	45%

14) Janusz Korwin-Mikke on 15th February 2017

1	A spoonful of tar, as the Polish proverb says, spoils a barrel of honey.	3/ F
2	There are several spoonfuls of tar in this barrel of honey.	3/ F
3	I voted for, because I like honey, but with a heavy heart.	2/ L
4	dissolve the European Union, dissolve the Dominion of Canada,	
5	and let the Canadian provinces and European countries live happily under CETA.	

Speech 14 has the lowest number of segments (5). Out of all segments, three segments are labelled as unusual. This means that 60% of all segments contain potential problem triggers. The majority of detected problem triggers from Speech 14 might cause major comprehension problems, as they were assigned to the third level of comprehensibility.

Table 15. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 14

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
0%	20%	40%	60%

15) Patryk Jaki on 16th July 2019

1	Thank you President. Madam Minister. European Union has launched the humiliating procedure under article 7 towards Poland.	
2	Someone has decided (.) that is lawful when	1/S
3	for instance judges accept the robbing of properties for 115 years old people	3/F
4	and the other side (.) it is unlawful when we restart people influence of justice system.	3/F
5	For example, we implementing random asidement of matters in court	3/F

6	every time when I'm been asking show me at least one example	1/S
7	One. No eight, no ten , one example of the solution that we implement in Poland	1/S
8	and which is not exist in another EU country.	1/S
9	There is always the same answer silence (.) silence (.)	
10	Madame Minister. That why I am asking. Are you going to end this ridiculous political action with article 7?	1/S

Speech 15 is divided into 10 segments, eight of which are considered unusual. In Speech 15, 80% of the segments contain linguistic abnormalities, which could possibly cause comprehension problems. The detected ELF-problem triggers are classified under either the first or third level of comprehensibility. In terms of the number of anomalies, Speech 15 is the most deficient of all the collected speeches.

Table 16. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 15

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
50%	0%	30%	80%

16) Janusz Korwin-Mikke on 15th December 2014

1	The gang of socialist, I mean right honorary members of this Parliament	2/ L
2	seems not to understand (eh), a very simpl think ,	1/ P
3	to fight unemployment, they need monej, to have monej they impose the taxes.	2/F
4	With the monej they create twu jobs, because of the taxes the thri jobs are being lost.	2/F
5	It is as simpl as that (.)	1/P
6	If a company avoid taxes, it can produced cheaper (...) it produce cheaper, it can sell more, it sells more.	2/F
7	It creates job, (...) jobs.	2/ F
8	Thanks to mister Juncker, but to mister Juncker as the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	
9	and not to mister Juncker as the chairman of the European Council.	
10	Moreover I think the European Union must be destroyed.	

In Speech 16, out of ten segments, seven are considered unusual. The indicated unusual segments may cause few or no comprehension problems. More than a half of them are connected with coherence-related distortions. No syntactic anomalies are detected.

Table 17. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 16

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
20%	50%	0%	70%

17) Janusz Korwin-Mikke on 16th January 2018

1	I cannot understand why European Union, whose mouth is full of ‘diversity’ , tries to make every state a copy itself.	2/L
2	Now Iran was supporting Syria, save it from the hands of Sunni extremists, and European Union is not supporting Iran, is supporting its enemies.	2/S
3	Why? Only yesterday, Islamabad declared that only the possession of nuclear weapons saves Pakistan from India’s aggression.	
4	Why do you try to prevent Iran from possessing the same weapons that-that are in the possession of its very neighbour?	
5	Why Iran is treated in different way than, say, Spain in Catalonia.	
6	Why Iran is condemned for not recognising Israel, while Spain is not condemned for not recognising states Kosovo or Abkhazia.	
7	Moreover, I think the European Union must be destroyed.	

In Speech 17, there are seven segments, two of which were considered unusual. The detected segments are classified under the second category, which means that their comprehension is likely to be partly impeded. One lexical and one syntactic problem triggers are found in Speech 17.

Table 18. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 17

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
0%	28%	0%	28%

18) Janusz Korwin-Mikke on 17th December 2015

1	(??) are pretty wrong. Democracy is tyranny of majority	
2	and majority don't care for princpls , for freedom, for human rights.	2/P
3	majority wants safety and to acheve it. it will agree to torture	
4	to kill, to almost everything (.) I move European Parliament to create an investigation committee	1/L
5	at least of the Polish case, the most characteristic case in=of CIA prison in Europe	
6	Europe because in Polish government was denying everything and we be denying what you can deny	3/F
7	and men stubbornly dening the existence of torture in Poland	3/F
8	are now of the prominent positions in present parliament.	3/F
9	The main suspect could be these man who is the polish prime Minister was Chief negotiator of accesion treatias	3/F
10	in exactly the same time, when he was negotiating with CIA.	3/F
11	The dog is burried much more deeper , but I have no time to explin it now.	3/L
12	Yet I advise to create an investigation committee. Mister Etereach surely agrees with me.	

In Speech 18 there are 12 segments, eight of which are considered unusual. Six out of eight unusual segments could possibly cause serious comprehension difficulty, and thus are allocated to the third category. These segments are related to the lack of coherence. Furthermore, one pronunciation and two lexical anomalies are classified to both first and second category.

Table 19. Percentage of unusual segments in Speech 18

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
8%	8%	50%	66%

This quantitative data can be summarized in a table which covers all the speeches and the percentage numbers of unusual segments therein:

Table 20. Incidence of unusual segments per speech (in percent)

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total
Speech 1	40	0	0	40
Speech 2	0	0	0	0
Speech 3	30	10	0	40
Speech 4	30	20	0	50
Speech 5	30	10	0	40
Speech 6	0	0	10	10
Speech 7	60	10	0	70
Speech 8	14	0	28	42
Speech 9	34	17	17	68
Speech 10	28	14	0	42
Speech 11	25	25	0	50
Speech 12	35	17	4	56
Speech 13	15	15	15	45
Speech 14	0	20	40	60
Speech 15	50	0	30	80
Speech 16	20	50	0	70

Speech 17	0	28	0	28
Speech 18	8	8	50	66

In the analysed material, 178 segments are identified, 86 of which contain unusual items, and thus could potentially cause comprehension and processing difficulty. This number constitutes 48% of the total segments. The results demonstrate that the median percentage of segments with unusual items per speech amounts to 47.5 %. For this reason, it might be expected that approximately half of a potential ELF speech would be to some extent unusual. This number is higher than expected, and it can be concluded that an average ELF speech is significantly distorted by unusual linguistic items. The numerical division of the unusual items can be designated according to the type of language anomaly. This study investigates lexical, syntactic, coherence- and pronunciation-related distortions. Thus, Figure 4 shows the percentage of particular types of language anomalies out of all unusual segments:

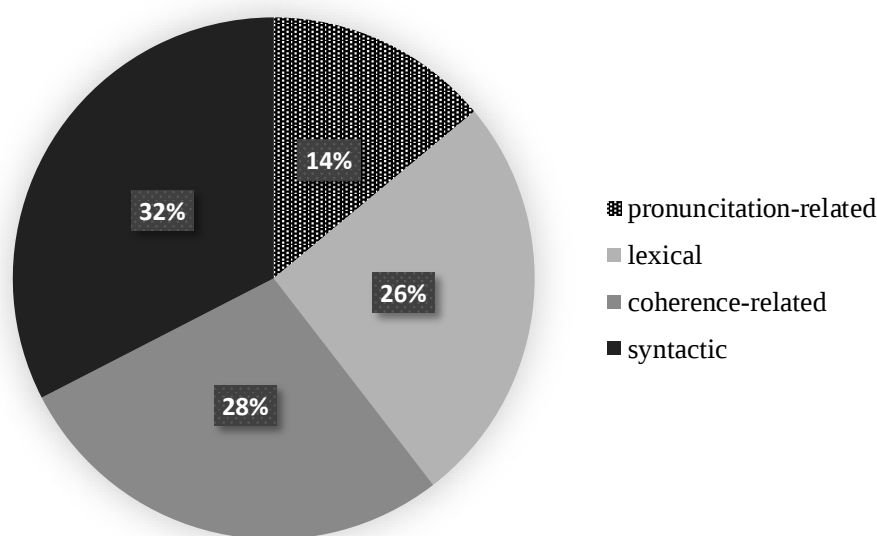


Figure 4. Percentage of different types of ELF problem triggers

As seen in Figure 4, coherence-related and syntactical deviations constitute the majority of detected ELF-induced problem triggers. These deficiencies are mostly connected with distorted logic and/or structure of a sentence. At the same time, syntactic deviations seem to be the most numerous, constituting 33%. Coherence-related anomalies amount to 28%. Taken together, syntactic and coherence-related items amount to 61% of all anomalies under analysis. Second, 26 % of all ELF-induced problem triggers result from lexical defects. This comprises the third biggest group of ELF-induced problem triggers in my study. Thirdly,

pronunciation-related difficulties constitute 14% of all detected anomalies. This means that pronunciation-related problem triggers are the least common.

At this point, the comprehension difficulty of the unusual segments is taken into consideration. The results are shown in Figure 5:

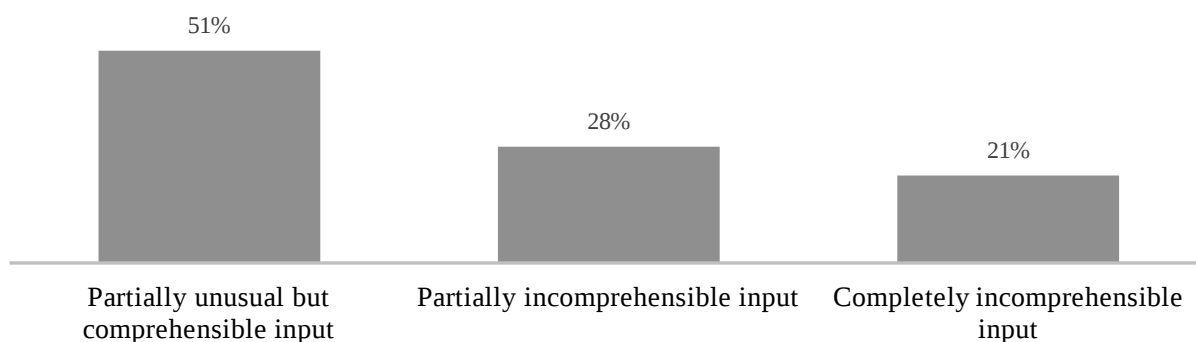


Figure 5. Comprehension difficulty of the ELF problem triggers

According to Figure 5, more than half of ELF-induced problem triggers (51%) pose no comprehension problems. This means that the majority of unusual segments may seem non-standard, but the listener may still be able to retrieve the meaning without making greater efforts. Next, 28% of the analysed problem triggers pose minor comprehension problems, which means that some effort has to be made in order to clarify input information. Finally, 21% of all unorthodox segments are labelled as completely incomprehensible; that is to say, the grasping of the ‘intended meaning’ of the input is particularly troublesome. This shows that an ELF source text may be unusual, but in most cases still comprehensible. Examples of severe ELF problem triggers occur least often in the gathered speeches.

From the categories concerning comprehensibility listed above, it is possible to distinguish between different types of ELF-induced problem triggers. Such a distinction would be of help in obtaining information concerning which problem triggers are the least and the most problematic. In order to do so, each comprehensibility category is viewed separately. Firstly, in the partially unusual but comprehensible category (Level 1), a total number of 44 segments is indicated. This group is the most numerous. The majority, namely 48%, of the ELF-problem triggers in the first category are related to syntax. Another 25% include lexical items, while 16% of the deviations are pronunciation-related. In contrast, the lowest percentage is found among coherence-related anomalies (11%). Figure 6 presents this division:

Partially unusual but comprehensible input

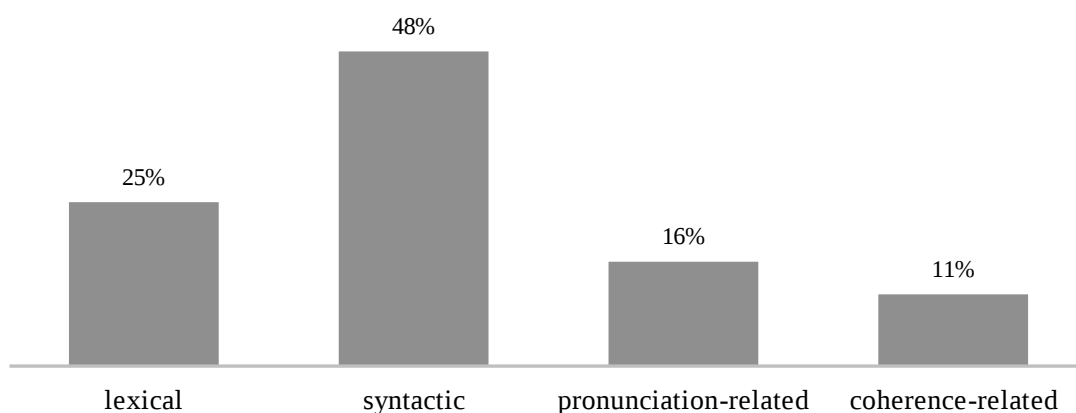


Figure 6. Percentage of partially unusual but comprehensible ELF problem triggers

Secondly, in the partially incomprehensible category (Level 2), 24 segments are listed. The percentages of the given types of problem triggers remain comparable and range from 29% to 21% percent. This suggests that ELF-induced problem triggers of all types may be partially incomprehensible. It leads to the conclusion that a slight comprehension difficulty may be caused by lexical, syntactical, coherence and pronunciation-related problem triggers alike. The percentages of partially incomprehensible ELF problem triggers can be seen in Figure 7:

Partially incomprehensible input

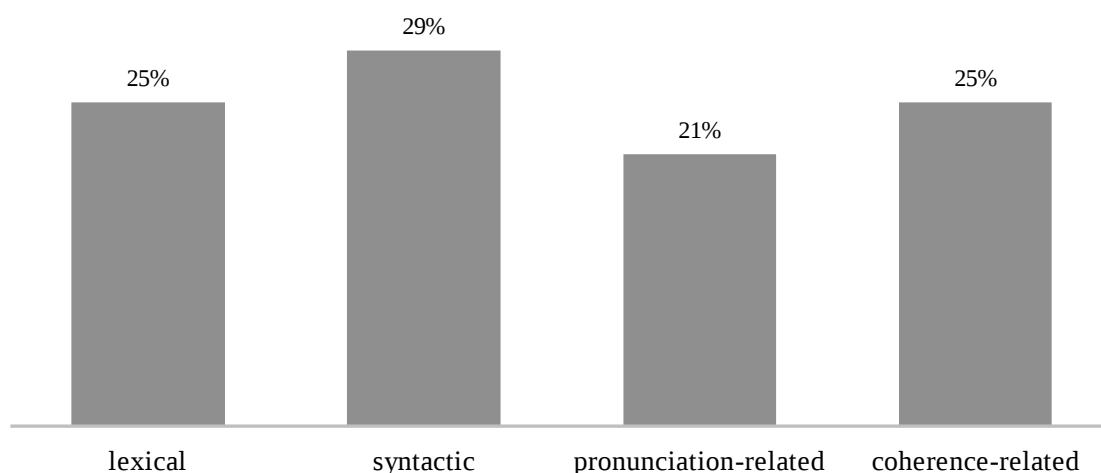


Figure 7. Percentage of partially incomprehensible ELF problem triggers

Finally, the completely incomprehensible category (Level 3) contains 18 segments in total. It means that the third group is the smallest. The majority of the completely incomprehensible ELF problem triggers is comprised of coherence-related problem triggers. They amount to 72%. In second place, one may find lexical items, which constitute 22%. It is a significantly lower percentage compared to coherence-related anomalies. In third place, there are pronunciation-related deviations, which stand at only 6%. Another interesting finding is that syntactic deviations are not listed in this category. Not one syntactic anomaly is categorized as completely incomprehensible. This means that even though syntactic anomalies are particularly numerous, they do not severely impede comprehension. The results confirm that coherence-related deviations pose the most severe comprehension difficulties. Specifically, due to coherence-related intricacies the input information may seem completely incomprehensible to the listener. The exact percentages of completely incomprehensible problem triggers are presented in Figure 8:

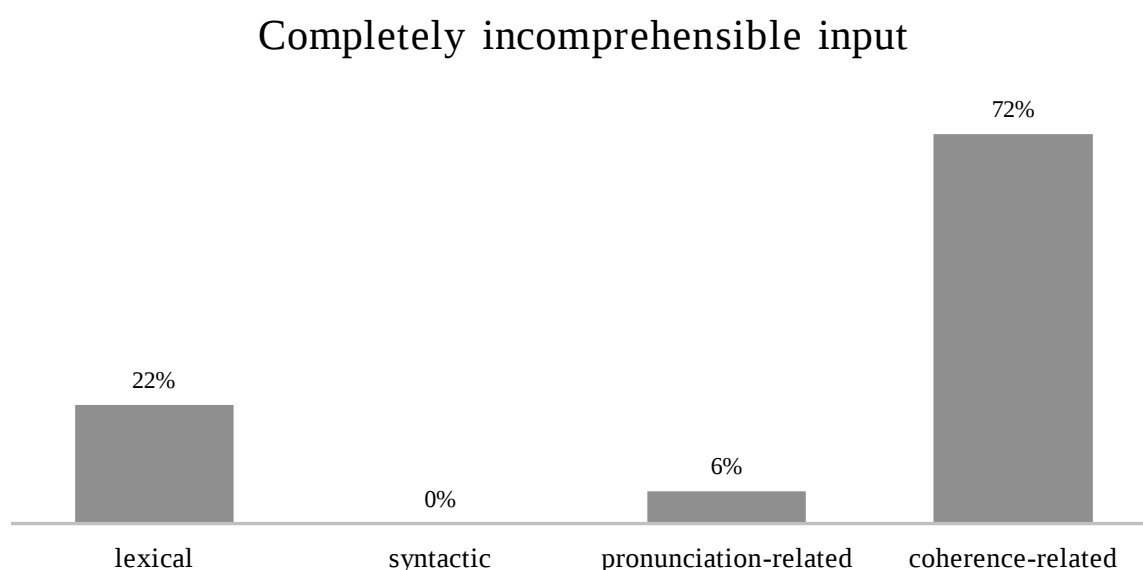


Figure 8. Percentage of completely incomprehensible ELF problem triggers

In summary, taking average of the number of segments with unusual items, approximately half of a potential ELF speech may contain ELF-related anomalies, most probably syntactic ones. In this study, 48% of all segments are categorized as non-standard. These unusual segments may contain potential ELF problem triggers which restrict comprehension and processing. This has a direct impact on an interpreter's rendition. Another fact worth noting is that coherence-related and syntactic deviations are the most numerous of all problem-triggers. The second biggest group includes coherence-related anomalies. Interestingly, coherence-

related anomalies might pose the greatest comprehension difficulty, whereas syntactic deviations may possibly cause few or no comprehension problems. Potentially, all types of problem triggers may result in minor comprehension difficulties. Therefore, it is possible to address the first hypothesis stated within this paper. The typical ELF features do occur frequently; however, they do not necessarily cause serious comprehension problems. It can be concluded that an ELF speech has the potential to be effective and serve its role as a source text. Nevertheless, the interpretation of such an unusual ST may not be fully efficient, as it is expected that ELF causes higher information loss. This matter is subject to further analysis in the following section.

7.2. Consequences for the SI performance

The increased number of unusual items in an ST may result in the rendition being hampered. This section presents evaluation of the SI performances according to Wadensjö (1998). A total number of 172 renditions is analysed. 86 renditions belong to the Polish interpreters, who share the same L1 as the speaker. Accordingly, 86 renditions belong to the German interpreters, who possess a different L1. The German SI is evaluated first and the results are shown in Figure 9:

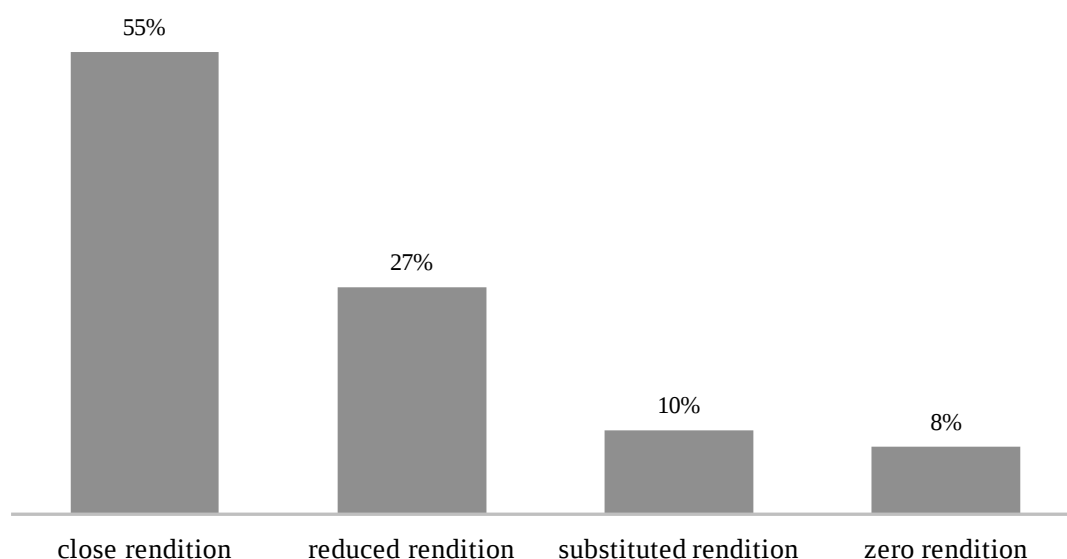


Figure 9. Evaluation of the German interpreters' renditions

Evaluation of the German interpreters' rendition showed that out of 86 unusual segments, 47 were fully rendered³⁴. This number constitutes 55 % of the renditions. It means that the other

³⁴ In Figure 9 named as close rendition (Wadensjö 1998).

45% of renditions were not closely rendered. The remaining segments were either reduced (27%), substituted (10%) or omitted (8%). That notwithstanding, the German interpreters successfully comprehended and interpreted more than half of the unusual segments. Considering only the completely incomprehensible segments (third level of comprehensibility) , the numbers are as follows:

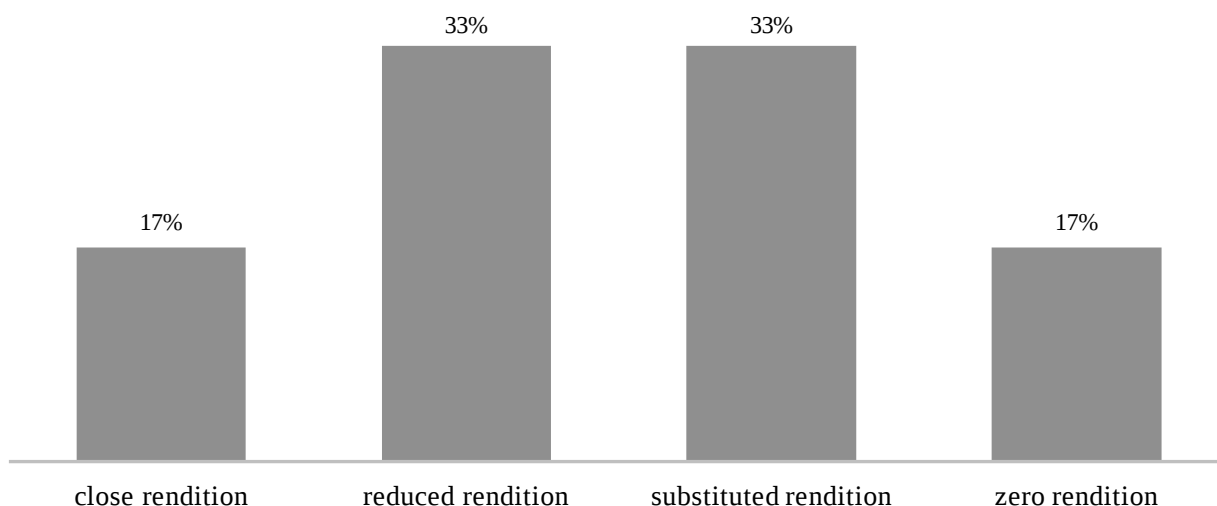


Figure 10. German interpreters' renditions of incomprehensible ELF problem triggers

In Figure 10, the renditions of 18 segments from the third level of comprehensibility are considered. As depicted in Figure 10, the German interpreters tend to either reduce the input information in the interpretation (33% of cases) or try to decipher the 'intended meaning' of the input. However, as can be seen from Figure 10, this is with rather unfortunate results, as the interpreters do not provide corresponding renditions and the input information is often changed. In other words, due to impeded comprehension of an utterance, the interpreters unintentionally change or reshape the message. In 17% of the cases, the input information is omitted. Finally, only 17% of interpretations are considered close renditions. In total, 83% of renditions contain lower quality and higher information loss.

The renditions made by the Polish interpreters are assessed following the same steps. The working hypothesis predicts that interpreters who share the same L1 as the speaker would perform better, and thus would provide more faithful renditions than interpreters with a different L1. The results appear to support this hypothesis, which can be seen in Figure 11:

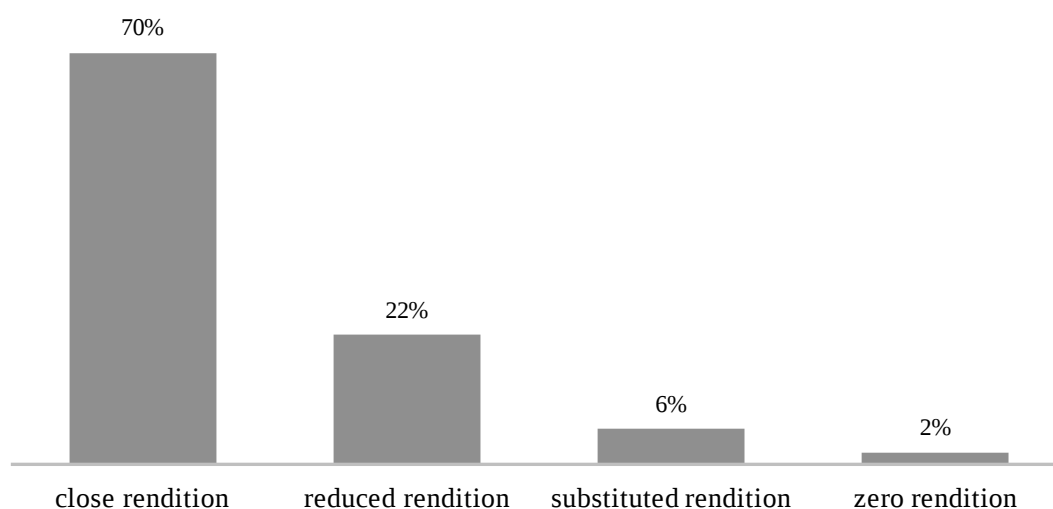


Figure 11. Evaluation of the Polish interpreters' renditions

As expected, out of 86 defected segments, 70% are rendered accurately and faithfully to the original. Strong evidence was found that interpreters who share the same L1 as the speaker have a clear advantage, and in the majority of cases can successfully carry out their interpreting task. 22% of renditions are classified as reduced, which means that there is some loss of information; 6% of the segments are rendered in a changed form; and only 2% are omitted. Compared to the performance of the German interpreters, the results are significantly better. In total, more renditions are successful, and there are less renditions of poorer quality and higher information loss.

As far as Polish renditions of the segments representing the third level of comprehensibility, only 44% of them seem to be fully successful. 33% of the incomprehensible segments were rendered in a reduced form, while in 17% of cases the output information markedly differed from the presented input. Omissions accounted for only 6%. This demonstrates that the Polish interpreters, even under demanding conditions, are able to disentangle ELF-related anomalies and perform accurate interpretations. However, the total number of inaccurate renditions exceeds the number of close renditions. The aforementioned results can be seen in Figure 12.

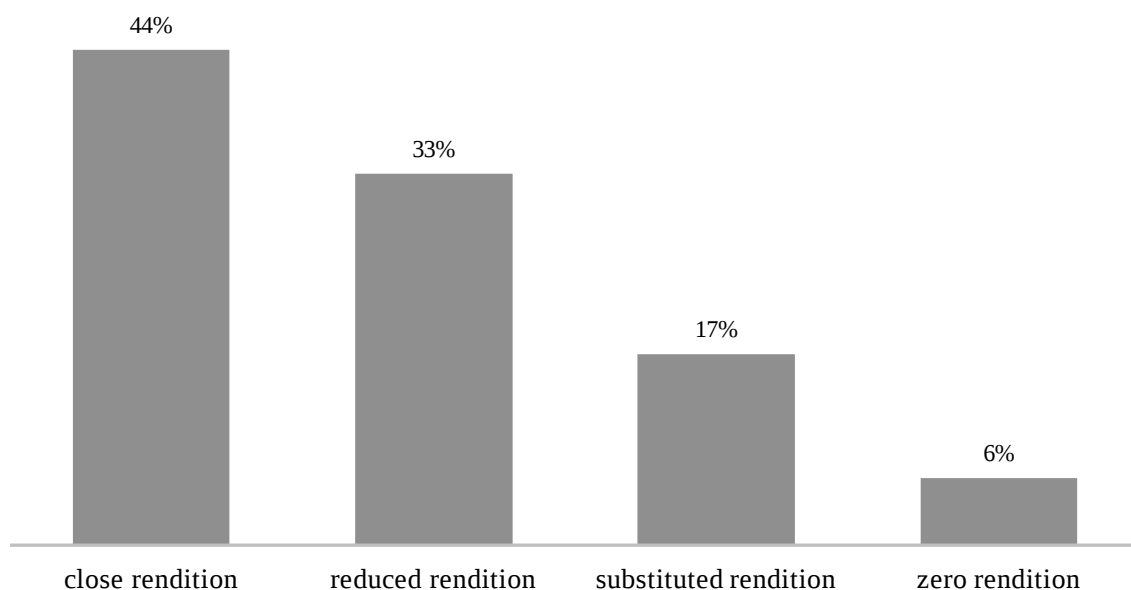


Figure 12. Polish interpreters' renditions of incomprehensible ELF problem triggers

Having analysed the PL and DE separately, the next section focuses on comparison in order to identify discrepancies between performances. For this purpose, the respective data was brought together in a separate chart. It allows testing the hypothesis that sharing the same L1 with the speaker might facilitate the interpreting process. Again, 172 renditions are investigated, with 86 renditions belonging to both PL and DE respectively.

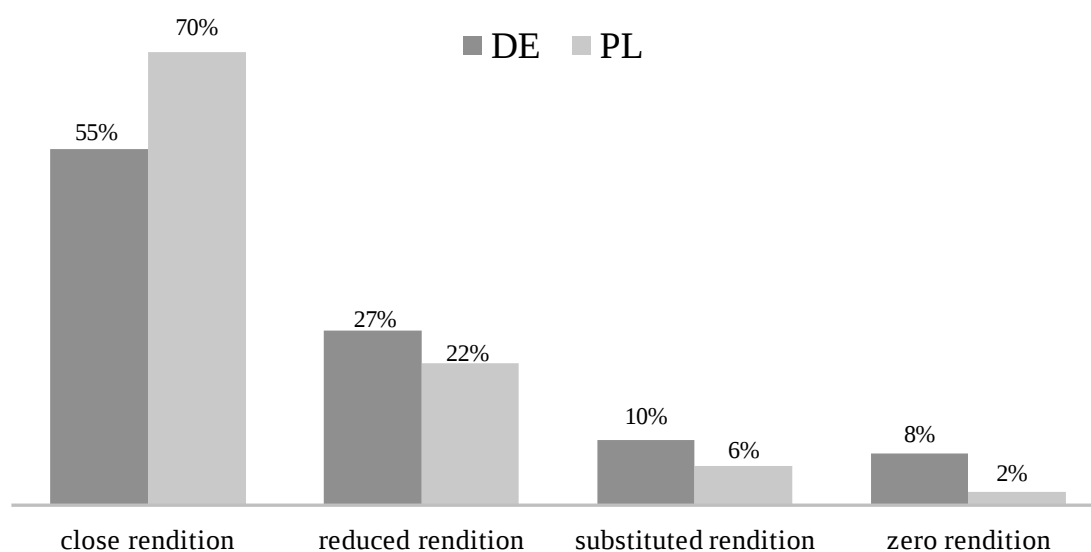


Figure 13. General comparison of interpreters' SI performance

As presented in Figure 13, there was a difference in the performances of interpreters with same and different L1s as the speaker. Polish interpreters succeeded in rendering 70% of the unusual segments accurately, whereas the German interpreters rendered only 55% of these segments. Therefore, the difference amounts to only 15%. The reduced rendition percentages were 22% and 27% respectively. In the case of substituted renditions, the difference was even less evident – 10% to 6%. In the Polish interpretations, 2% of the unusual segments are omitted, while by the German SI, the omissions account for 8%. Even though the difference between performances is noticeable, it is not higher than 6%.

Considering the third category of comprehensibility, the disparity between the DE and PL performances is more apparent. For interpreters with the same L1 as the speaker, the percentage of successful renditions is significantly higher, reaching 44, in comparison with interpreters with a different L1, which amounts to only 17%. Both DE and PL tend to omit some pieces of information in their interpretations of the completely incomprehensible segments, and this occurs to the same extent in the Polish and German interpretations – in 33% of cases. The percentages of substituted renditions and zero renditions are significantly lower in PL when compared to DE, 17% to 6% respectively. The quantitative data described above is depicted in Figure 14.

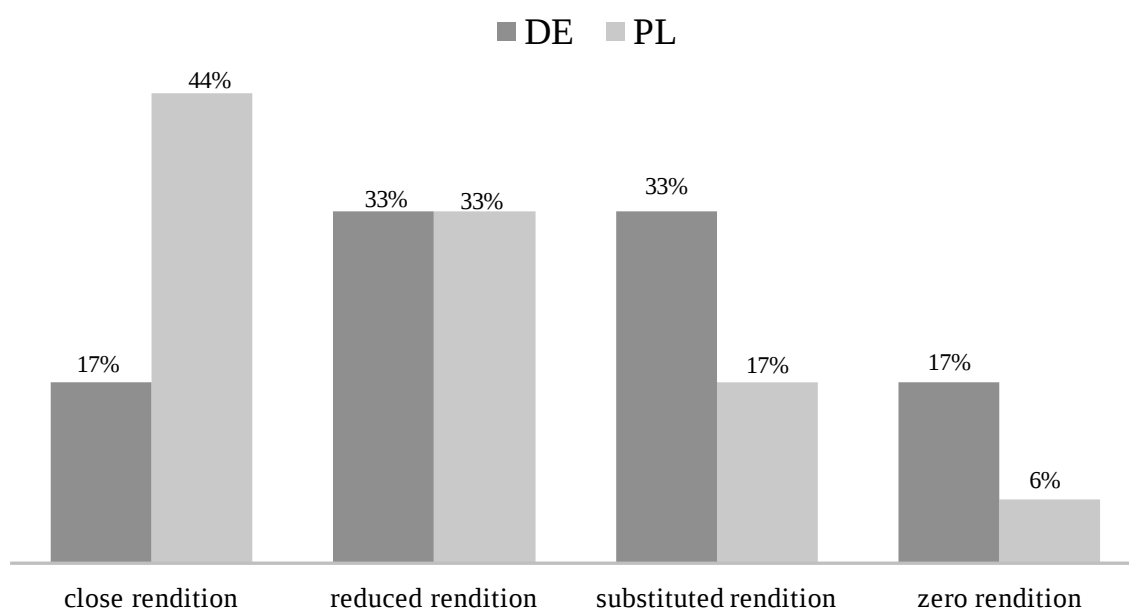


Figure 14. Comparison of the interpreters' SI performance in the third comprehensibility category

Taken together, these results suggest that interpreters with the same L1 as the speaker have an added advantage over interpreters who do not share an L1 with the speaker. Therefore, the positive influence of matched ISIB on SI rendition is confirmed. The conducted analysis shows that the ELF-speeches tend to pose more difficulties to the interpreters with a different L1. The most problematic ELF features are coherence-related anomalies, which distort the ‘sense’ and the ‘intended meaning’ of the input. In contrast, the least damaging ELF feature are syntactic deviations.

7.3 Qualitative analysis

This section places emphasis on the qualitative data gathered in the corpus-based study. There are several examples worth further consideration. Firstly, having the same L1 with the speaker does not always guarantee success in the SI of an ELF source text. In fact, interpreters who share the same L1 with the speaker do not always outperform others. In some cases, interpreters with a different L1 may even perform better in deciphering unorthodox structures. This phenomenon is also observed in my research study. The rationale behind this that better concentration may be connected with psychological preparation for more challenging conditions (Chang & Wu 2014) or more experience in ELF interpreting. For instance, in Speech 3, segment 6: “a mineral which is used for everything from make up **to car paint**”, unorthodox pronunciation of the phrase “car paint” resulted in a deceptive rendition. Surprisingly, this only happened to the Polish interpreter: EN-“**car paint**”, DE-“**Autolack**” [ang. car paint], PL-“**dywanów**” [eng. carpets]. As a result, this element of the source text was changed in the PL and became utterly false, as mica is never used to produce carpets. In PL, this interpretation is considered a substituted rendition, as the TT do not correspond with the ST; whereas in DE the interpretation is classified as close rendition. Another example of the German interpreter performing better than the Polish one is shown in Speech 4, segment 1:

Segment 4.1: “**Thank you Madam President, the EU is blocking funds for Poland because it believes that**”.

DE: “**Danke Frau Präsidentin. Sie blockieren die Mittel an Polen, weil man meint, dass**”

PL: “**Blokowane są fundusze (.) dla Polski (??)**” [funds are blocked for Poland]

In this case, the German rendition is classified as a close rendition, whereas the Polish rendition is labelled as a reduced rendition. There is an obvious loss of information in PL, which

did not happen in DE. Another example found in the Speech 8, segments 4 also shows that the German interpreter rendered the message more accurately than the Polish interpreter.

Segment 8.4: “**and this would just be joining=joining the Moldovan reunification**”

DE: “**Und (.) so würde man das Land einfach nur vereinen**”

PL: “**więc mogłaby po prostu przystąpić eh Moldowia. (.)**” [so Moldova could just join]

This example presents a coherence-related anomaly, which resulted in restricted comprehension of this segment. Both Polish and German interpreters tried to recover the ‘intended meaning’ of the input. While the German interpreter seemed to compress the information, the German interpreter also referred to the reunification [vereinen]; whereas the Polish interpreter did not mention this and provided a reduced output.

In Speech 9, segment 3, there is a distinction between the performances of the German and Polish interpreters. This time, in favour of the German interpreter, who fully rendered the message by paraphrasing and adding more information to facilitate understanding, whereas the Polish interpreter decided on a reduced output.

Segment 9.3: “So many women every day are left behind, **and we as politicians have a responsibility for that**”

DE: “**Dafür sind wir mitverantwortlich.** . Wir als Politiker haben Macht , die wir nutzen können, um Frauen zu unterstützen und sie zu stärken, damit sie gleichberechtigt werden”

PL: “Jako politycy na nas **cięży szczególna odpowiedzialność**” [we, politicians bear a special responsibility]

Even though such instances are rare, they do occur. This leads to the conclusion that it is not always the matched ISIB that facilitates the SI process of a non-native source text, but also the implementation of accurate coping tactics, sufficient experience and greater concentration. This leads to the second conclusion, which focuses on coping methods used by professional conference interpreters when faced with typical ELF features. The strategies adopted in the analysed material consisted of:

- I. ‘Let it pass’ strategy – extending the time lag, allowing larger chunks to pass for a misunderstanding to be cleared up in the course of the speech,
- II. Compression – shortening of the longer thought,

- III. Chunking – slicing up longer sentences into shorter ones,
- IV. Omission – deliberate omission of certain information and condensation of the speech forced by external difficulties such as imprecision, incorrect grammar and lexical usage,
- V. Paraphrase – an attempt to correct anomalies and paraphrase the unconventional chunks in order to avoid longer breaks in the target text.

As far as Techniques number I, II and III are concerned, these are common coping strategies that interpreters use in troublesome situations such as “high rate of delivery”, “high density of the information content”, as well as “strong accents” and “incorrect grammar and lexical usage” (Gile 1995: 173). The ‘let it pass’ strategy, also called the strategy of waiting, is also observed in the case of an ELF source text. Though it results in more pauses and fillers in the interpreter’s speech, it helps to avoid ambiguous or unclear fragments resulting from the speakers’ restricted power of expression (Albl-Mikasa 2013). The examples of Strategy I are shown below:

EN: **Someone has decided (.) that is lawful when**

DE: Jemand hat die Entscheidung getroffen,(8) **dass(4)es angemessen i::st, wenn**

EN: **Madam President, work in adulthood is called, well, work,**

DE: Vielen Dank. **(4.1) Arbeit für (.) Erwachsene ist eben Arbeit,**

EN: Yes, **since we are men and for hundreds of years we have been promoted**

DE: (2.56) Wir sollten uns der Tatsache vergegenwärtigen, dass jeden Tag wieder Frauen außen vor oder zurückgelassen werden

Strategy of compression or abstracting (II) is also commonly implemented by interpreters faced with non-native speech. This means that interpreters tend to condense the input information in linguistic and/or psycholinguistic terms without damaging the communicative task. Indeed, it is not always necessary to ‘convey all of the sense’ (Pöchhacker 2004: 129), especially when the source text is redundant. Strategy II is illustrated in the following examples:

EN: Thank you Madam President, the EU is blocking funds for Poland because **it believes** that

PL: Blokowane są fundusze (.) dla Polski (??) [funds are blocked for Poland]

EN: **If a company avoid taxes, it can produced cheaper (...) it produce cheaper, it can sell more, it sells more.**

PL: **Jeśli firma może uniknąć podatków, może taniej produkować, może więcej sprzedać**
[if a company can avoid taxes, it can produce cheaper, it can sell more]

EN: **Frens 2021 constitution higher than EU law.**

DE: Frankreich 2021, das gleiche.

EN: **There were also matters of concern**, meddling in the region,

PL: **W tym regionie są też inne problemy** [in this region there are also other problems]

Chunking, also referred to as ‘salami technique’ (Jones 1998), is based on similar principles. It relies on separating the longer pieces of information into smaller groups or chunks, which facilitates the output production. Strategy III may also be beneficial in the ELF setting, as presented below:

EN: **This is equal↑... treatment?** Then, in your definition, even existing of one ↑one big **conservative profile television is harm rule of law.**

DE: Ist das Gleichbehandlung? Nach ihrer Definition heißt es **da::ss, e::s e::ine große konservative Fernsehanstalt gibt. Das ist der Bruch gegen der Rechtstaatlichkeit.**

EN: That is not the criminalization of education, **but the ban of promoting pedophilia, which is present in most penalty codes in member states.**

DE: Das ist keine Kriminalisierung des Sexualkundeunterrichts. **Es geht darum, die Pädophilie zu verhindern und zu verbieten. Und das ist etwas, dass in den Strafrecht der meisten Mitgliedstaaten verankert ist.**

Omission, categorized here as Technique IV, is also a common coping strategy, used as a last resort and only if the other methods fail; specifically in the case of a highly incomprehensible input. Therefore, it can be seen as a deliberate coping action, as well as a direct consequence of an incomprehensible source text. Examples are provided below:

EN: **The dog is burried much more deeper**, but I have no time to **explin** it now.

DE: **Also ich habe da also nicht die Zeit, das näher zu erklären.**

EN: I voted for, because I like honey, **but with a heavy heart.**

DE: Ich unterstütze den Vorschlag von eh Petr March

EN: Lenin a murderer, **a tyrant is not bother you.**

DE: -

Finally, Technique V is a solution based on recovering unorthodox structures on the basis of guessing what the speaker may intend to say, and paraphrasing this. It relies on the assumption that interpreters are able to remedy a distorted source text by way of reformulation and paraphrase, so that the ‘intended meaning’ is transferred in the most comprehensible way.

EN: and majority don't care **for princpls**, for freedom, for human rights.

DE: und eh die Mehrheit ist ein wenig dadran gelegen, das alles mit rechten Dingen abläuft.

EN: **but work during childhood should be called what it should be: play, education and development.**

PL: **ale praca dzieci po=powinna wyglądać inaczej ch-chodzi tu o eh zabawę i rozwój** [but children's work should look different, it's about fun and development]

EN: **and we must start to stop it here**, and stop our own hypocrisy,

PL: **Musimy przyczynić się do tego tu** w Parlamencie Europejskim. Musimy zrezygnować z hipokrycji-hipokryzji [we must contribute to this here in the European Parliament. we must give up the hypocrisy]

However, effective as this may seem, the coping method appears to be controversial, with some attempts being successful, but others being distorted, providing a meaning which was not intended, namely substituted renditions (Wadensjö 1998). Some examples of such misinterpretations are presented below:

Segment 15.5: **“For example, we implementing random asidement of matters in court”**

DE: **“zum Beispiel im Hinblick auf A::sylverfahren”**

Segment 15.4: **“and the other side (.) it is unlawful when we restart people influence of justice system”**

DE: **“aber dann(3) ist es in Ordnung, wenn eeee der Westen das Justizsystem beeinflussen”**

Segment 4.1: And this is the fundamental question: **who do you really block the funds?**

DE: Eine entscheidende Frage. eh **warum blockieren Sie also die Mittel?**

Segment 14.1: A spoonful of tar, as the Polish proverb says, spoils a barrel of honey.

DE: ist ... ich habe der (??) Den Honig mag ich sehr...

These substituted renditions show how easy is to change the input meaning when the ST is to some extent unusual. Not wanting to leave a long gap in their SI, interpreters often decide to recover the distorted meaning. However, these attempts may prove detrimental and cause serious misinterpretations. It remains uncertain as to who is to blame for such situations – a speaker who does not provide a comprehensible and fully understandable source text; or an interpreter who tried to recover the utterance, but failed. It is also interesting to discuss whether such modifications are in line with the professional code of ethics, especially if these modifications are inaccurate. This thought is worth further consideration.

Paraphrasing and recovering of unusual ELF structures is often practiced among interpreters. The question remains as to how this coping method could be enhanced in order to avoid misinterpretations, which are exemplified above. It must be underlined that sufficient experience and prior background knowledge are of crucial importance. This background knowledge may include the topic of the speech, names and events mentioned, as well as the familiarity with the speaker: his/her profile, views and intentions.

8. Discussion and conclusions

The wide spread of English as a lingua franca has resulted in a growing number of non-native speakers. Consequently, interpreters are increasingly confronted with non-native speech in their professional work. In this context, the main objective of this research is to examine the challenges faced by interpreters when interpreting non-native speech. A non-native source text is known to be unusual in many linguistic ways, in contrast to a corresponding native text. These language deficiencies may impede comprehension, and thus rendition into the target language. In fact, the difficulty of interpreting a non-native source text does not necessarily lie in incomprehensible accent, as suggested in the literature, but rather in a set of coexisting characteristics common to non-native speakers. For this reason, this study aims to determine whether typical ELF features - such as unusual lexical, syntactic, pronunciation and coherence-related items - have an adverse effect on comprehension and processing processes. Furthermore, various definitions of problem triggers are given in order to clarify the issue of restricted processing capacity. I therefore expected to show that typical ELF features could be considered problem triggers in Gile's sense.

The second aim of this study is to investigate whether these features are less disruptive for interpreters who share an L1 with the speaker. The reason for this is that sharing the same L1 with the speaker helps the interpreter to recover unusual syntactic and lexical structures more quickly and efficiently. Based on these considerations, the conducted study is designed as a corpus-based analysis of different ELF speeches and their SI into German and Polish. The rationale behind this method is access to authentic data and real occurrences of non-native language usage as they are uttered. Every analysed speech was interpreted into these two languages, which gives an opportunity to compare the degree of information loss. Moreover, this method shows certain patterns of ELF anomalies and corresponding coping tactics, which can be used to broaden the scope of future research as well as improve pedagogical materials.

The conclusion that can be drawn is that an average non-native speech is clearly distorted in terms of lexis, syntax and pronunciation. It has been shown that roughly half of indicated segments in a non-native speech are deficient, a fact which could potentially pose processing and comprehension difficulties. The number of unusual segments is higher than initially assumed, which means that a typical ELF speech might contain several ELF-related problem triggers restricting interpreters' processing capacity. However, the data also indicates that even though most of the ELF features are linguistically unusual, they are still

comprehensible. This means that interpreters are able to provide full renditions of distorted parts, especially when these deviations are related to unusual syntax or pronunciation. It refutes the initial assumption that non-native speech is bound to pose difficulties in the interpreting process. Surprisingly, most of the interpreters proved capable of retrieving and recovering potentially problematic linguistic items, regardless of their L1. This applies to more than half of unusual segments in the analysed material. The most significant finding to emerge from this study is that typical ELF features do not necessarily have to influence the quality of the interpreting performance; however, they do require corresponding coping tactics.

The corpus-based analysis reveals a relatively small difference in the performances of interpreters with the same and different L1 as the speaker. However, this difference was expected to be more significant, especially considering the fact that most of the anomalies stemmed from L1 interferences. Interpreters with a different L1 represent a slightly higher level of omissions, reductions and misinterpretations in their renditions in comparison with the interpreters with the same L1 as the speaker. Accordingly, with the increase of incomprehensibility, the discrepancy between the two groups of interpreters becomes larger. This shows that in the most linguistically distorted segments having the same L1 as the speaker might become beneficial, helping to disentangle the most severe ELF-related intricacies.

Nevertheless, all interpreters, regardless of their L1, have to apply various coping mechanisms when faced with an ELF speech. It has been shown that failure to apply adequate strategies leads to omissions, hesitation fillers, and consequently interpreting mistakes. In certain cases, interpreters have to paraphrase the input information in order to deliver the message more precisely, or to improve a deficient non-native source text to make it better understandable for the listeners of the target text. This demonstrates that interpreters need to put additional effort into their speech production, which makes the interpreting process more strenuous. Overall, this study has identified that even if an ELF source text does not affect the quality of the SI performance as much as assumed, it definitely has a major impact on the processes of SI, as well as on the wellbeing of interpreters.

Finally, my general impression is that both PL and DE performed satisfactorily, especially considering a supposedly harder ELF-setting. Therefore, the successful rendition of an ELF source text is perfectly possible. The conclusion is that the ELF source text may not necessarily mean an erroneous interpretation or an interpretation of a low quality with a high number of omissions, misinterpretations, hesitation markers, fillers, pauses or retardation; but that it requires special attention, concentration and experience. When faced with an ELF

source text, interpreters need to apply various coping tactics; in certain cases they need to paraphrase or compress input information in order to deliver the message more precisely. More often than not, interpreters have to improve a deficient non-native source text in order to make it more understandable for the listeners of the target text. Under ELF conditions, interpreters must exert additional effort in order to maintain the high standards of the profession. It indicates that even if an ELF source text does not affect the quality of the SI performance as much as assumed, it definitely has a major impact on the processes of SI as well as the wellbeing of interpreters. The consequences imposed on an interpreter include: increased fatigue, lack of job satisfaction, as well as irritation and/or frustration due to differences in structure or unusual way of expressing certain thoughts.

One of the weaknesses of this study is related to the fact that the comprehension difficulty of particularly unusual segments was assessed according to my subjective interpretation. Nevertheless, throughout my analysis I tried to adhere to the definition of comprehension by Smith (1996) as much as possible. The same applies to the evaluation of the renditions, which was based on Wadensjö (1998), though in an adapted form. As a consequence, were the study conducted by another researcher, the results could have been different. Unfortunately, there is no alternative to subjective methods in studies of comprehensibility. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to see how interpreters themselves rate the comprehension difficulty of typical ELF features, and to learn if their views are consistent with my findings. Another area worth investigating, which was not considered in my study, would be the speakers' motives in speaking ELF rather than their L1, knowing that interpreting services are provided. It would be interesting to see whether ELF further damages the image of an interpreter in the eyes of potential clients. Moreover, I am also aware that the size of my corpus-based study might seem too small to draw final conclusions. Corpus-based studies are typically based on a large amount of data. Given the fact that I carried out the study without any corpus-linguistic tool, I remain satisfied with the amount of material gathered and analysed. Undoubtedly, it would be beneficial for the research to examine more samples. However, a higher amount of data would probably require the use of a computerized method.

Conversely, the biggest asset of this study lies in the fact that it analyses real ELF speeches, which were held in a conference setting. The study population constitutes active conference interpreters, which is quite rare and highly advantageous for the research. Not only does it give theoretical insight into how professionals deal with deficient source texts, but it also shows their practical methods and outcomes. Therefore, the study results may be

considered practical, as they could be applied in ELF training or future working experience. This empirical knowledge should be transmitted to the interpreter novices and students, in order to avoid possible mistakes and stress resulting from a non-native source text.

Furthermore, it was shown that in some cases even professional interpreters find it hard to cope with some ELF features. This emphasizes the urgent need for a higher awareness of the ELF phenomenon and its implications for the interpreting profession. In particular, the question must be addressed as to who should take the blame for ELF-related misinterpretations, as well as to what extent an interpreter is obliged to improve a deficient source text. It is worth considering whether it is an interpreter's responsibility, or an act of goodwill as a communication facilitator. Recovering ELF-induced imprecisions restricts the total capacity and could potentially cause cognitive overload, which many interpreters are not prepared for. This may lead to frustration, stress and irritation, which may lead to a performance of lower quality.

Given my personal interest in the wide spread of English around the world, I sincerely believe that this thesis will prove eye-opening not only for young interpreters and students, but also for those ELF speakers who deliberately speak a foreign language without thinking about potential consequences; and, most importantly, about the potential audience.. This paper suggests that the interpreter's role has been redefined rather than undermined. The question of whether ELF could ever fully replace multilingual interpretation remains unanswered. The most important message is that future interpreters have to be made aware of the possible constraints resulting from ELF. The lack of ELF pedagogy in most interpreting schools is alarming and this gap should be filled as soon as possible. The truth is that the ELF phenomenon will prevail and will continue to affect the interpreting job market. Young professionals have to develop adequate coping tactics and prepare themselves for the changing realities of the profession.

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Appendix B – Evaluation of SI into German and Polish

Speech segment	ELF source text	SI into German	SI into Polish
1.1	Madam President. Colleagues, I holehartedli thank all of you for adopting the September resolution on common remembrance, very balanced and factual one.	Sehr geehrten Kollegen. Ich danke ganz herzlich allen von ihnen(.) die die Entschließung in September verabschiedet haben. Zum gemeinsamen Gedenken. Das war sehr ausgewogen und Fakten basiert.	Koleżanki i koledzy. Serdecznie dziękuję wszystkim z Państwa, któ:rzy przyjęli rezolucje we wrześniu, rezolucję dotyczącą wspólnej pamięci. To była rezolucja oparta na faktach i bardzo dobrze wywarzona.
1.2	Sinz very beginning, both parties to Hitler—Stalin Pact used liars, smir campaigns and cheating to discredit their opponents and victims.	Von Beginn an haben beide Parteien des Hitler-Stalin Paktes (.) lügen u::nd ehh tricks u::nd Schmierkampagnen verwandt, um ihre Opfer zu diskreditieren	Od samego początku obie strony ehh paktu Ribbentrop-Mołotow posługiwali się kłamstwami, oszustwami, kampaniami oszczerczymi by zdyskredytować swoich oponentów i swoje ofiary. (.)
1.3	Well after advancing the holocaust , Hitler accused Jews of waging the World War.	Und auch nach dem Beginn des Holocaust hat Hitler die Juden bezichtigt den Weltkrieg zu führen. (.)	Przeprowadzając Holocaust je-jednocześnie Hitler oskarżył Żydów o to, że to oni wywołali drugą wojnę światową.
1.8	President Putin uses the same mithods , excatly the same mithods as both perties to Hitler—Stalin Pact ehh Treaty .	Leider (.) ist es so das in dieser Kampagne gegen Polen und andere Länder Präsident Putin den gleichen Methoden verwendet. Genau die gleichen Methoden (.) wie beide Parteien im Hitler-Stalin Pakt (4.1).	Prezydent Putin posługuje się dokładnie tymi samymi metodami , dokładnie tymi samymi metodami , które były stosowane przez ehh zarówno Hitlera jak ehh przez ehh partnerów ehh podpisujących traktat Hitler-Stalin.
3.1	Madam President, work in adulthood is called, well, work,	Vielen Dank. (4.1) Arbeit für (.) Erwachsene ist eben Arbeit,	Dziękuję Pani Przewodnicząca. Praca dorosłych to (.) praca

3.2	but work during childhood should be called what it should be: play, education and development.	aber bei Kindern (.) kann es eigentlich gar keine Arbeit geben. Kinder sollen spielen, lernen, sich entfalten.	ale praca dzieci po=powinna wyglądać inaczej ch-chodzi tu o eh zabawę i rozwój
3.6	a mineral which is used for everything from make up to car paint.	Glimmer wurde in allen möglichen Produkten verwendet von Makeup bis ehh Autolack.	minerał, który jest wykorzystywany do wszystkiego, od kosmetyki, po produkcję dywanów.
3.9	and we must start to stop it here, and stop our own hypocrisy	und wir müssen hier damit anfangen. (.)	Musimy przyczynić się do tego tu w Parlamencie Europejskim. Musi zrezygnować z hipokryzji hipokryzji
4.1	Thank you Madam President, the EU is blocking funds for Poland because it believes that	Danke Frau Präsidentin. Sie blockieren die Mittel an Polen, weil man meint, dass	Blokowane są fundusze (.) dla Polski (??)
4.2	the Constitution is higher than EU law.	dass die Verfassung wichtig=höher ist=gestellt ist als EU Recht.	bo konstytucja jest ważniejsza niż prawa unijne.
4.4	In addition, you say that the Poland will only receive the funds if the Constiunal Tribunal rules as you wish in this matter.	Darüber hinaus sagen Sie, Polen wird nur diese Mittel bekommen, wenn das Verfassungsgericht so urteilt wie es wünschen in dieser Angelegenheit.	Do tego mówi się, że Polska otrzyma:: te środki tylko wtedy, je::żeli Trybunał Konstytucyjny orzeknie tak jak wy sobie tego życzyście w tej sprawie.
4.6	and say they can only rule like you want. This is the new European standard of independence.	und Sie sagen sie müssen handeln wie sie es wünschen. (.)	sędziego i każecie im orzekać tak jak wy chcecie.
4.10	And this is the fundamental question: who do you really block the funds?	Eine entscheidende Frage. ehh warum blockieren Sie also die Mittel?	To jest fundamentalne pytanie. (2.9) Dla kogo tak naprawdę blokujecie te środki.
5.2	Defreezing of funds, a result of JCPOA, did not improve lives of ordinary people.	Wir haben durch den Atomaustiegs prallen nicht das Leben der einfachen Bevölkerung verbessert.	Zamrożenie ehh funduszy zamrożenie środków dla Iranu nie↑ pomaga zwykłym ludziom.
5.5	There were also matters of concern, meddling in the region,	(.) Und dann gab's eben doch Einmischung in die Region	W tym regionie są też inne problemy
5.7	not to speak ehh about recent testing of this in terms of=of middle-range missiles sho=sho on an anti-Daesh basis and downing of the Ukrainian airplane↓.	ganz zu schweigen von jüngsten Raketen-Tests, was Mittelstreckenraketen angeht (.)Wie abgefeuert wurden eh Stützpunkt der Streikräfte die gegenden	nie mówiąc już o:: niedawnego niedawnym przetestowaniu rakiety średniego zasięgu (.) wyrzuczonej na ba::zy

		Islamischen Staat vorgehen und dann auch ein ukrainisches Flugzeug getroffen haben.	Daeshu (.) eh która trafiła w samolot ukraiński.
5.9	and I think that triggering of the mechanism is the least you can do, and we can do, the least of=of all things.	Das jetzt dieser Mechanismus zur Streitbeilegung ausgelöst wird ist ein mindest Maß.	myślę, że eh rozpoczęcie tego procesu jest minimum, które musimy zrobić.
6.5	ranges between sewenti-i (.) million and thri handert twenti. million euros annually,	liegt zwischen siebzehn Millionen Euro und dreihundertzwanzig Millionen Euro jährlich.	to siedemdziesiąt tysięcy eh euro a trzy e=a=e tysiące trzy miliony euro rocznie.
7.2	And look, German ↑ rulings 2010, 2019, 2020: the constitution is higher than EU law.	Deutsche Entscheidungen 2010,2019,2020. Da wurde gesagt, die Verfassung steht bei EU Recht.	A spójrzmy, wyrok niemiecki 2010,2019,2020. Konstytucja jest nad-rzędna wobec prawa unijnego.
7.3	Frens 2021 constitution higher than EU law.	Frankreich 2021, das gleiche.	. Francja 2021, to samo.
7.4	Spain 2020 constitution ↑ higher than EU law. Even Romania 2021 constitution higher than EU law.	. Spanien 2020, Verfassung höher als EU Recht. Sogar Rumänien 2021, Verfassung über EU Recht.	Hiszpania 2020. Konstytucja nad prawem unijnym . Nawet Rumunia 2021. Ta sama decyzja.
7.5	And now in Poland is exactly the same	Und jetzt bei Polen (.) geht es um genau das gleiche.	A teraz w Polsce? Dokładnie to samo.
7.6	but only Poland cannot. Because you don't like this government,	Aber nur Polen darf das nicht, weil sie die Region nicht mögen	↑Ale tylko w Polska nie może tak zrobić, bo nie podoba wam się ten rząd.
7.8	But my country is independence, and only Poles can decide who rules. Jean-Jacques Rousseau said	Aber (.) Polen ist unabhängig, Polen ist unabhängig und nur die Polen können entscheiden, wer regiert. Jean-Jacques Rousseau sagte	Ale mój kraj jest niezależny . I tylko Polacy mogą zdecydować kto będzie rządził. (.) Jean-Jacques Rousseau powiedział↓
7.9	when Poland was attacked from every side, you mention about eighti centuries today.	dass Polen angegriffen wurde von allen Seiten. Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert wurde auch schon erwähnt.	gdy Polska została zaatakowana z każdej strony. Mówili Państwo już o osiemnastym wieku.
8.1	Thank you, we shall vote for the resolution but I don't understand whow Romania don't simply incorporate Moldova	Danke schön. Wir sollten für die EntschlieÙung zustimmen. Ich verstehe wirklich nicht wieso Rumanien nicht Moldawien einfach übernimmt	Powinniemy glosować na tak przy tej rezolucji, ale nie rozumiem dlaczego rumunia (.) nie wzięła w swoje granice Mołdawi

8.3	Eh Historically, present Republic of Moldova is Bessarabia, it is half of Moldova, the other half of Moldova is one third of Romanian Republic,	. Historisch gesehen eh ist die Republik Moldawien ehh ein Teil Rumaniens. (.)	Przecież historycznie obecna Republika Mołdawii (.) to jest połowa tej Mołdawii historycznej, druga połowa to jest 1/3 Rumunii obecnej,
8.4	and this would just be joining=joining the Moldovan reunification.	Und (.) so würde man das Land einfach nur vereinen.	więc mogłaby po prostu przystąpić eh Mołdowia. (.)
9.1	Yes, since we are men and for hundreds of years we have been promoted,	(2.56) Wir sollten uns der Tatsache vergewärtigen, dass jeden Tag wieder Frauen außen vor oder zurückgelassen werden	Ponieważ jesteśmy mężczyznami przez setki lat byliśmy promowani to powinniśmy pamiętać że kobiety są pozostawione z tyłu
9.2	we should always look behind us.		
9.3	So many women every day are left behind, and we as politicians have a responsibility for that.	Dafür sind wir mitverantwortlich. . Wir als Politiker haben Macht , die wir nutzen können, um Frauen zu unterstützen und sie zu stärken, damit sie gleichberechtigt werden	Jako politycy na nas ciąży szczególna odpowiedzialność
9.6	Nothing more, nothing less, just equal.This is our obligation.	nicht mehr und nicht weniger einfach nur gleichberechtigt	ni mniej ni więcej, tylko równymi.
10.2	Unfortunately, when I am looking TV there is a programme Extreme Sports, and there are no women.	leider wenn ich mir den Fernseher anschau e,mit Extrem Sport=dann=gibt's keine Frauen.	na przykład w telewizji jest program Sporty Ekstremalne, nie ma tam kobiet
10.5	And moreover, there is a list of '100 best chess players' . We should demand that at least 40% of the best chess players should be women	Und dann gibt's auch eine Liste der hundert besten Spieler. Sie sollten doch fordern, dass mindestens 40% der besten Schachspieler auch Frauen seien sollten	To również dotyczy tych najlepszych graczy. powinniśmy żądać, że ehh 40 % najlepszych szachistów to powinny być kobiety
10.7	so have=to have at least 40% of women on the list of best chess players. Thank you very much. What do you think about?	der mindestens 40% auf die Liste der Schachspieler (bitte).	Powinniśmy mieć cztero-czterdzieści procent co najmniej najlepszych szachistów to powinny być kobiety. Co Pani sądzi na ten temat?

11.4	Article one whoever publicly promotes or approves pedophiles behavior shall be subject to a fine:the penalty of restriction of liberty	Artikel Eins wer öffentlich dafür eintritt, dass Pädophilesverfahren gefördert werden,soll bestraft werden, die wird eeh.. mit.....ehm Freiheitsstrafen bestraft	odczytam artykuł 1 kto publicznie promuje zachowania pedofilskie jest może podlegać karze grzywny
11.5	or the penalty of deprivation of liberty for up to two years.	oder aber er wird bis mit zu zwei Jahre Gefängnis bestraft.	lub też pozbawienia wolności do dwóch lat. (3.1)
11.6	That is not the criminalization of education, but the ban of promoting pedophilia, which is present in most penalty codes in member states.	Das ist keine Kriminalisierung des Sexualkundeunterrichts. Es geht darum, die Pädophilie zu verhindern und zu verbieten. Und das ist etwas, dass in den Strafrecht der meisten Mitgliedstaaten verankert ist.	To nie jest kryminalizacja edukacji. Jest to zakaz y promowania pedofilii która jest tak naprawdę te zakazy są obecne w większości ustawodawstw państw członkowskich.
11.7	It would be better for members of Europe and Parliament to read the text of the bill	Es wäre besser, wenn die Abgeordneten des Europäischen Parlamentes sich den Text des Gesetzes anschauen	Lepiej byłoby dla ... posłów i posłanek do parlamentu europejskiego przeczytać tekst projektu polskiej ustawy
12.1	Thank you President, but above all (.) I need to underline that there is no LGBT-free zones in Poland. There is only a left-wing activist	Danke schön herr Präsident In erster Linie möchte ich folgendes betonen(,), da gibt es keine LGBT frei Zo::nen in Polen, nur linke Aktivisten	Dziękuję bardzo Panie Przewodniczący. Po pierwsze pozwolę sobie podkreślić, że nie ma s::tref anty LGBT w Polsce. Lewicowi a::ktywiści ehh
12.2	who creates displays and illegal hang and sends you a picture and you believe it.	die das sagen und die Ihnen dann ein Bild schicken und sie glauben was dann da Ihnen geschickt wird. (.)	po prostu taki żart poczynili, zrobili zdjęcia, wysłali Państwu te zdjęcia i Państwo uwierzyli. (.)
12.5	even that you know there is similar in the other Member States.	auch, wenn sie wissen dass es ähnliche Gesetze in anderen Mitgliedstaaten gibt.	mimo że wiecie ,że są podobne ustawy w innych Państwach członkowskich.
12.9	This is equal↑... treatment? Then, in your definition, even existing of one ↑one big conservative profile television is harm rule of law.	Ist das Gleichbehandlung? Nach ihrer Definition heißt es da::ss, e::s e::ine große konservative Fernsehanstalt gibt. Das ist der Bruch gegen der Rechtstaatlichkeit.	. To jest równość ↑ ? Nie↓ I w Państwa definicji nawet i::stnienie (.) jednej stacji telewizyjnej konserwatywnej to naruszenie praworządności (1.8)

12.11	Then adoption of solution in civil=in=civil law to defend the good name of Poland, being ↑a fundamental right of every citizens or every=or..ehh every country	Dann im Zivilrecht dass der gute Name Polens verteidigt wird. Das ist ein Grundrecht eines jeden Bürgers (.) oder eines jeden Landes	Przyjęcie środków w prawie cywilnym celem obrony dobrego imienia Polski. To jest fundament, fundamentalne prawo każdego kraju i każdego obywatela tego kraju.
12.12	you say that this still harming rule of law. Then prohibition of the political activities of the judges, which is fundamental thing for independence of judges	Sie sagen, dass das nach wie vor der Rechtstaatlichkeit schadet , dann Verbo::te der politischen Aktivität von Richtern, das ist ja grundlegend für die Unabhängigkeit der Richter.	Państwo twierdzą, że to jest naruszenie praworządności. Zakaz działalności politycznej sędziów. Jest to rzecz fundamentalna dla niezależności sądów
12.13	you say we have this in the Constitution, by the way↓ and in your opinion is againz rule of law.	. Sie sa::gen, dass wir dies steht mittlerweile in der Verfassung,ihrer Meinung nach widerspricht das der Rechtsstaatlichkeit.	i Państwo twierdzą my to mamy zapisane w konstytucji, i Państwa zdaniem jest to niezgodne z wymogiem praworządności
12.15	And=and then we go to the conclusion (.) everything which is not leftist is harming rule of law in your interpretation. Thats why I need you ask you something. Did you even understand what is rule of law?	und dann kommen wir zur Schlussfolgerung all das was nicht links ist, schade der Rechtsstaatlichkeit gemäß ihrer Auslegung und deshalb muss ich folgende Frage an Sie richten. Haben sie denn überhaupt verstanden, was Rechtstaatlichkeit bedeutet?	I potem dochodzimy do wniosków. Cokolwiek co nie jest lewicowe jest naruszeniem praworządności w waszej interpretacji. Zadajcie sobie pytanie czy wy w ogóle rozumiecie na czym polega praworządność.
12.16	More↑ What democracy is? Do you know that the fundamental thing of democracy od=on European values is freedom of, freedom of speech, freedom of express,	Noch besser was denn man unter Demokratie zu verstehen hat. Wissen Sie denn, dass das Grundlegende an der Demokratie (.) und bei der Europäischen Werten (.) die freie Meinungsäußerung ist. Die Redefreiheit	Czy wiecie na czym polega demokracja. czy wiecie, że rzeczą fundamentalną w demokracji (1.5) wartością fundamentalną w Europie jest swoboda słowa, swoboda wypowiedzi
12.19	The Communist call censorship(.) eh by the (.) call principles of freedom, the restriction of religious practice, freedom of consitence.	Zensur nannten die Kommunisten (.) und zwar die Grundsätze der Freiheit Einschränkung der religiösen Praktiken,	(.) Komuniści nazywali cenzure:: eh takim sformułowaniem zasady wolności.
12.20	And today↑ you call the left-wing bandit beating a man child arrested for his beliefs, and supporting the traditional family you call attack on tolerance. And and I tell you something↑	heute nennen sie die Linken Banditen wo jemand für seine ehh Überzeugungen verhaftet wird und das ist dann ein	Dzisiaj na:::zywacie bandytów lewackich którzy biją ludzi, którzy biją człowieka w obronie swojej rodziny i to wy

		Angriff auf die Toleranz, ich möchte folgendes betonen	nazywacie atakiem na tolerencję. i chcę coś ważnego podkreślić.
12.22	Lenin a murderer, a tyrant is not bother you.		Lenina tyrana, mordercy, wam nie przeszkadza
12.23	But the maintain (.) of family values in Poland dos. Shame on you, shame on you!	sie gar nicht stört, aber die Beibehaltung von Familienwerten in Polen, schande über sie. Ich danke Ihnen.	ale to że my bronimy wartości rodzinnych w Polsce. To Wam przeszkadza. Hańba. Wstyd. Dziękuję bardzo.
13.1	Thank you. Thank you Mr Chairman, I voted against ehh from different reasons	Vielen Dank, Herr Präsident. Ich habe aus verschieden Gründen dagegen gestimmt	Głosowałem przeciwko z innych. z różnych powodów,
13.2	but the main one its self-contradictory.	aber hauptsächlich weil es widersprüchlich ist	ale główne są sprzeczne ze sobą.
13.5	, hwile in the point in the point ehh one moment eh 20 we are doing	Moment jetzt suche ich den nächsten Punkt. 20.	. A natomiast w punkcie (.) chwileczkę, 20, czytamy
13.7	from the ex-existing external frenchay instruments		
13.9	P-point 19: ‘strongly condemns the governments’ – certain governments’ – ‘ continued crackdown on dissent by targeting independent NGOs	(.) Das also Dissidenten und unabhängige NGOs mundtot gemacht werden sollen.	Punkt 19 ostro potępia rząd rosyjski ukierunkowany na niezależne organizacje pozarządowe.
13.13	The Russians would lauv if they did it, of course.	Russen die dor=da lachen die Russen doch.	. Eh Rosjanie by się z tego śmiali.
14.1	A spoonful of tar, as the Polish proverb says, spoils a barrel of honey.	ist ... ich habe der (??) Den Honig mag ich sehr...	Mówi się, że łyżka dziegciu beczkę miodu może zepsuć.
14.2	There are several spoonfuls of tar in this barrel of honey.		Więc tu jest tych łyżek dziegciu wiele
14.3	I voted for, because I like honey, but with a heavy heart.	Ich unterstütze den Vorschlag von ehh Petr March	ja bardzo lubię miód, więc głosowałem na tak, ale z ciężkim sercem.
15.2	Someone has decided (.) that is lawful when	jemand hat die Entscheidung getroffen,(8) dass(4)es angemessen i::st, wenn	Ktoś zdecydował, że .. jest to legalne gdy
15.3	for instance judges accept the robbing of properties for 115 years old people	uh Juristen den Diebstahl von Eigentum von über hunderdjährigen absegnen	Na przykład. sędziowie akceptują...eh.. okradanie ludzi z ich majątków,

15.4	and the other side (.) it is unlawful when we restart people influence of justice system.	aber dann(3) ist es in Ordnung, wenn eeee der Westen das Justizsystem beeinflussen,	a z drugiej strony, to jest jednak nielegalne kiedy zwracamy ludziom wpływ na wymiar sprawiedliwości
15.5	For example, we implementing random asidement of matters in court	zum Beispiel im Hinblick auf A::sylvverfahren.	na przykład postanowiliśmy wprowadzić pewne nowe rozwiązania w procedurach sądowych . chociażby takie losowe próbki i kontrole w procedurach sądowych
15.6	every time when I'm been asking show me at least one example	Jedesmal wenn ich die Frage gestellt habe, zeig mir doch noch mindestensmal ein Beispiel,	. Więc ja proszę, żebyście mi państwo podali o jeden przykład rozwiązania,
15.7	One. no eight, no ten , one example of the solution that we implement in Poland	nicht acht, nicht zehn,sondern ein Beispiel für eine Lösung, die wir in Polen umsetzen sollen(6)	które wdrożyliśmy w Polsce
15.8	and which is not exist in another EU country.	und die nicht in einen anderen Land existieren	które nie istnieje w jakimś innym państwie członkowskim.
15.10	Madame Minister. that why I am asking. Are you going to end this ridiculous political action with article 7?	Und darum stelle ich Ihnen die Frage Frau Ministerin. Werden Sie die:ses lächerliche:: politisierte Artikel 7 Verfahren einstellen.	Pani Minister dlatego zapytuje czy zamierza Pani zakończyć te zenujące polityczne działania wobec Polski z artykułu 7.
16.1	The gang of socialist, I mean right honorary members of this Parliament		Gang socjalistów, to znaczy dostojni Europosłowie,
16.2	seems not to understand (eh), a very simpl think ,	Es scheint einzeln nicht verstanden worden zu sein.	nie rozumieją prostej sprawy
16.3	to fight unemployment, they need monej, to have monej they impose the taxes.	Arbeitslosigkeit wird zu bekämpfen, das heißt man muss Geld (eh) haben. Um Geld zu bekommen, muss man Steuern auch verlegen. (eh)	żeby walczyć z bezrobociem potrzebują pieniędzy, (eh) a żeby (eh) dostać te pieniądze, nakładają podatki,
16.4	With the monej they create twu jobs, because of the taxes the thri jobs are being lost.	Aber wegen der Steuer das werden (eh) Arbeitsplätze verloren gehen	a potem tworzą miejsca pracy. Ale i (...) ze względu na(...) (eh) na te podatki to traci się miejsca pracy.

16.5	It is as simpl as that (.)	So einfach ist es.	To jest taki prosty mechanizm
16.6	If a company avoid taxes, it can produced cheaper (...) it produce cheaper, it can sell more, it sells more.	Wenn einer daneben (eh) Steuer umgehte, dann kann es billiger produzieren, kann mehr verkaufen	Jeśli firma może uniknąć podatków, może taniej produkować, może więcej sprzedać
16.7	It creates job, (...) jobs.	Wenn es mehr verkaufte, dann schafft es Arbeitsplätze.	i tworzyć miejsca pracy w ten sposób.
17.1	I cannot understand why European Union, whose mouth is full of 'diversity' , tries to make every state a copy itself.	Also diese Union mit vie::len Meinungen (??)	Ja nie rozumiem, dlaczego Unia Europejska , która ciągle mówi o wiele sloganów stara się aby wszyst=każde kraje był jego własną kopie
17.2	Now Iran was supporting Syria, save it from the hands of Sunni extremists, and European Union is not supporting Iran, is supporting its enemies.	Alle Unterstützen Syrien versucht man von den Extremisten zu retten. Europäische Union unterstützt aber nicht den Iran, sondern die Feinde des Irans .	Najpierw Syria, staraliśmy się ją uratować z rąk Sunnitów. Teraz nie wspieramy Iranu tylko jego wrogów.
18.2	and majority don't care for princls , for freedom, for human rights.	und eh die Mehrheit ist ein wenig dadranglegen, das alles mit rechten Dingen abläuft.	und eh die Mehrheit ist ein wenig dadranglegen, das alles mit rechten Dingen abläuft.
18.4	to kill, to almost everything (.) I move European Parliament to create an investigation committee		na tortury, na zabijanie, na wszystko tak naprawdę. Apeluję do Parlamentu Europejskiego by stworzyć komisję śledczą
18.6	In Europe because in Polish government was denying everything and we be denying what you can deny	Die polnische Regierung hat doch immer alles abge::stritten. U::nd eh da ist also massive (abgeschnittenen) worden, dass es solche Fälle gegeben hat	w Europie, ponieważ rząd polski(.) eh (2.3) przemilczał to wszystko i zaprzecza.
18.7	and men stubbornly dening the existence of torture in Poland		Cały czas zaprzecza istnienie tortur w Polsce.
18.8	are now of the prominent positions in present parliament.	Das=sind aber Leute, die mittlerweile in prominenter Position im polnischen Parlament Vertreter sind	są teraz bardzo ważnymi osobistościami w parlamencie europejskim

18.9	The main suspect could be the man who is the polish prime Minister was Chief negotiator of accession treaties	aber auch z.B. eh den Chefunterhändler bei den Verhandlungen (??)	Mieliśmy polskiego premiera, który był także negocjatorem traktatu akcesyjnego
18.10	in exactly the same time, when he was negotiating with CIA.	gleichzeitig mit der EU verhandelt und mit der CIA yym	dokładnie wtedy kiedy negocjował także z CIA
18.11	The dog is buried much more deeper , but I have no time to explain it now.	Also ich habe da also nicht die Zeit, das näher zu erklären	Tu leży pies pogrzebany, ale to jest znacznie tak naprawdę głębsza sprawa, nie mam teraz na to czasu

Abstract (English)

The wide spread of English as a lingua franca (ELF) has had a profound impact on the world of interpreting. Conference interpreters are faced with numerous varieties of Global Englishes (Galloway & Rose 2015), which may pose certain problems in the process of simultaneous interpreting (SI). Moreover, ELF influences almost every domain of an interpreter's job, from changing trends in the job market and decreasing job satisfaction, to lower quality of performance; as well as having a strong impact on cognitive processes, making interpreting even more strenuous (Albl-Mikasa 2010). Speeches produced by a non-native speaker may differ significantly from ones in which the same type of content is expressed by a native speaker, and may be more difficult to understand. Whereas the existing literature mainly focuses on foreign accent as the main problem trigger, one which impedes understanding of speeches by non-native users of English (e.g. Kurz & Basel 2009, Wu & Chang 2014), Pöchhacker (2004) notes that lexical, syntactic, prosodic and fluency-related factors may have a much greater impact on understanding, and consequently on an interpreter's rendering in the target language. Accordingly, these factors are the main focus of this thesis.

The study is designed as a corpus-based analysis of different ELF speeches made by Polish Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and their SI into Polish and German. The aim is to show whether an ELF source text has a negative impact on the quality of the interpreter's performance. And if so, which ELF features are the most detrimental? In addition, the study investigates whether ELF features disrupt SI into different target languages to the same extent. Specifically, the performances of interpreters who share the speaker's L1 will be compared with the performances of interpreters with a different L1; a comparison which would prove, or disprove, the motion of the Interlanguage Speech Intelligibility Benefit (ISIB) coined by Bent & Bradlow (2003).

Abstract (German)

Die weltweite Verbreitung des Englischen als lingua franca (ELF) hat weitreichende Auswirkungen auf die Dolmetschwelt. Konferenzdolmetscher sind mit zahlreichen Varianten des globalen Englisch konfrontiert (Galloway & Rose 2015), was beim Simultandolmetschen (SI) gewisse Probleme erzeugen kann. Darüber hinaus beeinflusst ELF fast alle Bereiche der Dolmetscharbeit, von wechselnden Trends auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und abnehmender Arbeitszufriedenheit bis hin zu einer geringeren Qualität der Dolmetschleistungen. ELF übt einen maßgeblichen Einfluss auf kognitive Prozesse aus, was das Simultandolmetschen noch anstrengender macht (Albl-Mikasa 2010). Eine Rede, die von einem Nicht-Muttersprachler gehalten wird, kann sich erheblich von einer Rede unterscheiden, die von einem Muttersprachler vorgetragen wird, auch wenn der gleiche Inhalt übermittelt wird. Infolgedessen können die nicht-muttersprachlichen Reden schwieriger zu verstehen sein, weil sie von den anerkannten Sprachnormen abweichen. Während sich die bestehende Literatur hauptsächlich auf den ausländischen Akzent als Hauptproblemauslöser konzentriert, der das Verstehen von nicht-muttersprachlichen Reden beeinträchtigt (z. B. Kurz & Basel 2009, Wu & Chang 2014), stellt Pöchhacker (2004) fest, dass lexikalische, syntaktische und prosodische Faktoren, die sich aus unzureichender Sprachkenntnis ergeben, einen viel größeren Einfluss auf das Verständnis und folglich auf die Wiedergabe in der Zielsprache haben können. Dementsprechend werden diese Faktoren im Mittelpunkt dieser Arbeit stehen.

Die Studie ist als korpusbasierte Analyse verschiedener ELF-Reden polnischer Abgeordneter des Europäischen Parlaments (MEP) und deren SI ins Polnische und Deutsche konzipiert. Das Hauptziel dieser Masterarbeit ist, zu zeigen, ob ein nicht-muttersprachlicher Ausgangstext einen negativen Einfluss auf die Dolmetschleistung hat. Wenn ja, welche dieser Faktoren richten den meisten Schaden an? Zusätzlich soll untersucht werden, ob eine ELF-Rede die Verdolmetschung in verschiedene Zielsprachen in gleichem Maße erschwert. Hierzu werden die Leistungen von Dolmetschern, die dieselbe Muttersprache wie der Redner haben, mit den Leistungen von jenen mit einer anderen Muttersprache verglichen. Die Ergebnisse der Studie würden den von Bent & Bradlow (2003) geprägten Begriff des Interlanguage Speech Intelligibility Benefit (ISIB) beweisen oder widerlegen.