

**Intertextuality and Ideology in Interpreter-mediated Communication:**

**The Case of the European Parliament**

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## **Abstract**

This doctoral thesis explores simultaneous interpreting (SI) as a social practice by investigating EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology in the institutional setting of the European Parliament (EP). Theoretical research is complemented by a corpus study of the interplay between these two forces in SI-mediated EP plenary debates. A multilayered understanding of discourse as a set of practices is developed before exploring the relationship between ideology and axiology manifest in discourse manifest in text. Bakhtin's term dialogised heteroglossia is used in this context to refer to the centripetal forces and centrifugal forces of language. The Gramscian theory of hegemony as shifting alliances is applied to EU institutional hegemony, before the concept of axiology is introduced to address subjective interpreter ethics and evaluation. Corpus analysis concentrates on intertextuality (manifest and latent intertextuality), lexical repetition of key institutional terms; and metaphor strings characteristic of EU institutional hegemony. Results suggest that EU institutional hegemony is strengthened by SI, and that interpreter mediation in the form of interpreter axiology occurs and is constrained by institutional hegemony. This 'socially orientated' approach therefore contradicts the conduit view of communication. In this study, the simultaneous interpreter is shown to be an additional subjective actor in heteroglot communication.

## **Dedication**

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to Matthias Thome. Thank you for believing in me.

Thank you to my parents, Muriel and Alasdair Beaton, for their untiring support and many long-distance phonecalls.

Thank you to my supervisors Professor Ian Mason and Professor Colin B. Grant for their enthusiasm, quiet guidance and belief in my research project.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Full term</b>
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CT debate	Combating Terrorism debate
D	German
E	English
EbS	Europe by Satellite
EE debate	Eastern Enlargement debate
ELDR	Liberal, Democratic and Reform Party
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
GUE / NGL	European United Left – Nordic Green Left
IR	Interpreting Research
IT	Interpreting Theory
ME debate	Middle East debate
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NI	Non-Attached Group
PPE-DE	European Peoples Party / European Democrats
PSE	Party of European Socialists
SI	Simultaneous Interpreting
ST	Source Text
TDI	Technical Groups of Independent Members
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target Text
UEN	Union for a Europe of Nations
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
Verts / ALE	Greens / European Free Alliance



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## Chapter 1 Introduction

Carrying out a research project on ideologies is a task that faces many challenges and thorough methodological consideration. The word itself is almost taboo. Have we not already witnessed the “end of ideology” (cf. Marx and Engels 1845, Aron 1968, Bell 1960), “the end of the end of ideology” (cf. Hodges 1967) and even the “new end of ideology” (cf. Rothbard 2004)? Why then now decide to investigate a concept which, for many, ever-tinged with a “strange red hue” (Lemke 1995: vii), saw its heyday and decline in the Marxist movement of the sixties? What role can ideologies possibly play in the politically overwhelmed society of modern Europe, not to mention in the ‘transparent’ institution of a European Union (EU) ‘of the citizens’?

This view is enforced by the gap between ideology theory and analysis of ideologies in language. This thesis aims to ‘bridge the gap’ between these two approaches in an interdisciplinary approach to the relationship between ideologies, discourse and text in the form of a comparative study of original German interventions and their English simultaneous interpretations in the European Parliament (EP). Such an interdisciplinary approach is of the essence in investigating ideologies, as any work on ideology demands a methodology that can “illuminate convergences between disciplines” (Kress & Hodge 1993: xi) rather than beginning with the rather futile exercise of setting a rigid and artificial framework within which to work. As Kress and Hodge state:

Disciplines exist for the sake of their subjects and not the other way round. If the boundary that has been drawn round the discipline proves a hindrance to the proper study of that subject matter, then it is the boundary that must change.

(Kress & Hodge 1993: xi)

Indeed in the second edition of *Language as Ideology*, they encourage a concept of transdisciplinary research on ideology by writing:

One way of understanding the contradictions inherent in this enterprise would be to say that this was a theory of grammar that should have connected more



strongly and productively with the work of such writers as Bernstein and Labov, Althusser and Habermas, Foucault and Pecheux, Marcuse and Lacan, Schutz and Bourdieu, Baudrillard and Williams, Kristeva and Tannen, Derrida and Said.

(Kress & Hodge 1993: xi)

It will be argued throughout this thesis that, first, ideology as a concept, and the plural ideologies that compete and merge in a hybrid manner in discourse and text, are central to an understanding of how discourses as temporarily stable, temporarily coherent knowledge systems function and interact with one another. Second, it will be argued that the manifestation of ideologies in discourses and hence in texts, themselves “material reality as a thing pronounced or written” (Foucault 1981: 52), can be investigated using the framework of a text analysis deeply rooted in interdisciplinarity. Third, it will be argued that textual signs in the form of reference and cohesion can be investigated as evidence of the textual manifestation of ideologies. The effect simultaneous interpreting (SI) has on these cohesive elements as well as the (ideological) coherence of interpretations themselves and the effect this has, in turn, on the manifestation of ideologies in multilingual EP debate, is the focus of the corpus-based case study.

The objectives of the PhD are fivefold.

The first objective is to establish a theoretical model of the relationship between the concepts of ideology, discourse and text, and dialogised heteroglossia. Alongside the terms ‘ideology’ in section 2.1, ‘discourse and text’ in section 2.2, ‘dialogised heteroglossia’ is discussed in more detail in section 2.3 of this thesis. In section 2.1, the investigation into the concept of ideology stresses the plurality and hybridity of the term ideology and introduces the concepts of hegemony and axiology. The term hegemony is used to broadly refer to a dominant ideology and is further refined in subsection 2.1.2. The term axiology is introduced to account for individual, subjective ethics and evaluation and is further investigated in subsection 2.1.3. Section 2.2 investigates the dynamic relationship between discourse and text and culminates in the presentation of a discourse model. In section 2.3, the link between ideologies and discourse and text is struck in an exploration of dialogised heteroglossia and discursal embeddedness. The former term is borrowed from Bakhtin and refers to the presence and interplay of

centripetal, unitary forces and centrifugal, heteroglossic forces manifest in discourse and text. The latter term refers to the way in which the individual text is anchored in a chain of reference to multiple discursive worlds. In this way, particular emphasis is placed on the importance of an analytical framework which takes into account the various conceptual layers of investigation.

The second objective of the thesis is to further specify textual manifestations of ideologies, hegemonies and axiologies in an investigation of textuality, intertextuality, cohesion and coherence. Section 2.4 is dedicated to an investigation of textuality and the specific textual characteristics of SI-mediated communication. Further subcategories of intertextuality are established in section 2.5 and cohesion and coherence discussed and refined in section 2.5. An understanding of cohesion as the surface links in a text and coherence as the interpretation of these links is reached. In contrast to some other linguistic approaches, the embeddedness of the text in (competing) discourses forms the basis of this approach, building on the concept of discursive embeddedness introduced in section 2.3. Lexical repetition and metaphor strings are then selected as categories of investigation in this section.

The third objective is to investigate textual manifestations of ideologies in a collated corpus of original German and English speeches and English mediated speeches. Translation / interpreting and the characteristics of SI-mediated communication are presented in section 2.7.

The methodology of data analysis is set out in chapter three and data analysis carried out in chapter four. The authenticity of the corpus data was of prime importance in this study as it would have proved impossible to carry out such an analysis on 'staged' material.

The fourth objective is to investigate dialogised heteroglossia in the form of constitutive, latent and manifest intertextuality and shifts in aspects of cohesion in the form of lexical repetition and metaphor strings in this form of institutional mediated communication and hence to establish the significance of these shifts in terms of the representation of ideologies in institutional discourse.



The fifth objective of the thesis is to draw conclusions based on the findings, reached in data analysis, about how ideologies are communicated in mediated institutional discourse. The significance of specific shifts for the communication of ideologies in institutional contexts is discussed and pointers given for further research such as the investigation of 'take-up' of prevalent metaphors by the interpreter as a means of structuring his / her interpretation.

## **Chapter 2 Establishing a Theoretical Framework**

The aim of the discussion in this chapter is to develop a theoretical model of the relationship between ideology, discourse and text, and the Bakhtinian concept of dialogised heteroglossia which can be made operational in the corpus-based analysis of SI-mediated communication in chapter four of this research study. In order to achieve this goal, it is first necessary to discuss the concepts of ideology, discourse, text, dialogised heteroglossia and discursal embeddedness, before proceeding to investigate the relationship between the five concepts. Given the interrelated nature of these concepts, constant reference will be made within the individual subsections to all concepts discussed.

Section 2.1 of the theoretical discussion will focus on ideology and the related concepts of hegemony and axiology, with the aim of reaching theoretically sound definitions of these terms which can be used in a multidisciplinary approach to discourse and text analysis as referenced in chapter one. Section 2.2 will present a conceptual model of discourse and text. In section 2.3, the concept of dialogised heteroglossia will be explored with the aim of linking the dynamic theory of ideology, hegemony and axiology presented in section 2.1 with the model of discourse and text established in section 2.2. The concept of discursal embeddedness will also be introduced and defined in section 2.3. Section 2.4 returns to text with a discussion of the particularities of textuality in SI-mediated institutional communication. The discourse-based model of ideology is then further refined and exemplified by a discussion and categorisation of the concepts of intertextuality in section 2.5 and cohesion and coherence in section 2.6, culminating in a framework for analysis which can be made operational in the data analysis in chapter four of this thesis. Section 2.7 will conclude the theoretical chapter with a discussion of the concepts of ideology, hegemony and axiology in terms of the process and product of translation / interpreting in general, and SI in particular.

## 2.1 Ideology, Hegemony and Axiology

In this section, the concept of ideology will be the subject of a multidisciplinary discussion. As in all multidisciplinary research, this brings with it the challenge of doing justice to research in more than one discipline, while accepting at the same time that an exhaustive account of each field would far exceed the confines of the particular study at hand. This is particularly true for the concept of ideology, the subject of vast volumes of research in numerous disciplines (cf. Mannheim 1960, Althusser 1984, Thompson 1984, Žižek 1989, Eagleton 1994, Hawkes 2003). It is questionable as to whether an exhaustive review of the literature on ideology would be conducive to achieving the aim set out at the beginning of this chapter: namely to establish an understanding of ideology that can be incorporated in a theoretical model of the relationship between ideology, discourse and text, which, in turn, can be made operational in data analysis of SI-mediated parliamentary debate. This approach is similar in nature to that of van Dijk (1998) who pursues a “new, multidisciplinary approach to ideology” (van Dijk 1998: vii) which desists from providing a lengthy and exhaustive chronological review of theories of ideology. Van Dijk’s approach focuses on the triangular relationship between Cognition, Society and Discourse; this author’s approach will emphasise certain social aspects of ideology which are directly relevant to discourse and hence text, in particular the role of power, dominance and dissent, and the subjective, in ideology relations. Once again it is stressed that an exhaustive review of even the above areas is impossible within the confines of this research study.

Ideology is discussed in subsection 2.1.1, the concept of hegemony in subsection 2.1.2, and axiology in subsection 2.1.3. Definitions of these three concepts which can be made operational in text-based discourse analysis will be presented in subsection 2.1.4.

### 2.1.1 *Ideology*

Ideology is of central importance in the study of sociology, philosophy, political theory and increasingly language, yet remains “one of the most ambiguous terms in the terminological arsenal of the social sciences” (Markiewicz in Abdul-Quadir 1997: 106).



The original definition of the term as “the study of ideas” (Eagleton 1994: 1)<sup>1</sup> belies the importance of the concept of ideology in modern thought.

Two trends seem to have dominated much research into the relationship between ideology and language in the past.

The first trend in the form of early Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies largely ignored the ambiguity of the concept of ideology and assumed a reified<sup>2</sup> view of ideology which, in turn, can be “revealed” and “clarified” by the researcher (cf. Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996: xi). In this approach, ideology is seen as something static and immovable; which allows only one possible interpretation on the part of the unassuming reader / listener, in which ideology is “reflected” in text (cf. Schäffner 2003: 29). Indeed, meaning is said to be “carried and expressed in the syntactic forms and processes, that is, that the analyst can ‘read off’ meaning from the syntax” (Fowler & Kress 1979: 197; cf. Grant 2004a: 13 for a critique of this view<sup>3</sup>). The lack of theoretical discussion of the term is then followed by in-depth linguistic analysis where the (undefined) term is made operational in the investigation of a specific text or text corpus.

Text selection and methods of analysis of such studies are also open to criticism regarding representativeness of data (cf. Stubbs 1997 and chapter three of this thesis) and the circularity of the approach, i.e. the researcher finding what he / she intends to find (cf. Stubbs 1997 for further details). The latter point is criticised sharply by Sharrock and Anderson (1981: 291).

However, more recent CDA studies do recognise the need for a more critical and reflective understanding of the interplay between the agency of the researcher, ideology, discourse and text (cf. Threadgold 2003, Wodak & Chilton 2005). See section 2.7 of this thesis for a discussion of studies directly related to translation / interpreting.

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1 The French aristocrat Destutt de Tracy is credited with coining this definition of ideology in the late 18th century.

2 Reification can be defined, according to Thompson (1990: 65-66), as “a mode of operation of ideology through which power relations which are transitory states are represented as if they were timeless, natural and permanent”.

3 “Ideology is not an alien body to be incorporated or held at bay. It is capillary – or, rather less deterministically, porous. The relationship between ideology and texts is richly imbricated” (Grant 2004a: 13)

The second trend takes the form of an in-depth theoretical discussion of the ambiguity of the concept of ideology with the detailed presentation of several differing approaches, without reaching a critical understanding of the term which can then be made operational in a study of ideology (cf. Thompson 1984). In contrast to the former approach, the latter often does not aim to make theoretical conclusions on ideology operational in any kind of language study.

This chapter aims to combine the strengths of both approaches in developing a sound theoretical understanding of ideology that can be made operational in a comparative corpus-based research study in chapter four of this thesis.

First, the concepts of 'truth' and 'distortion', found in the definition of ideology in the first trend, will be examined. Although held to be largely obsolete, it is the traditional Marxist definition of ideology that has contributed much to the negative understanding of ideology as something external, something 'out there' which is held to be to some degree opposed to 'reality' or 'truth', to some degree manipulation or distortion. This understanding of ideology is rooted in the traditional Marxist definition of ideology as "a form of cognitive distortion, a false or illusory representation of the real" (Gardiner 1992: 60), based on the science / ideology dichotomy, where science is understood as true consciousness. This approach has faced heavy criticism; both from within and outwith Marxism, mainly centring on the true / false dichotomy and the belief in the transcendental observer who can objectively differentiate between 'truth' and 'falsehood'; 'true consciousness' and 'ideology'. Foucault addresses this dichotomy in his criticism of the 'will to truth' as a form of exclusion in which 'true discourse' can be separated from 'false discourse' (Foucault 1981: 54-55).

This value-laden condemnation contained in the use of ideology to refer to the other explicitly excludes the author or speaker from being tarred with the same brush. In other words: "Ours is the Truth, Theirs is the Ideology" (van Dijk 1998: 2). This generally held view of ideology categorises fascism and anarchism, for example, as ideologies but seems to exempt liberal democracy from this classification (Hatim & Mason 1997: 144). Thus certain political moves or measures are determined to be "ideologically motivated", as if others were not (Hatim & Mason 1997: 144).



Rejecting the concept of ideology and the ideological as something false and distorted leads to an understanding of ideology as something which is manifest in all discourse and hence text; to the conclusion that all thought is ideological. Discourse Analysts and CDA researchers in particular often use the concept of ideology “in the neutral sense of a world view, a largely unconscious theory of the way the world works accepted as common-sense” (Fowler 1985: 65). In this definition, ideology = world view = common-sense. However the terms ‘world view’ and ‘common-sense’ are themselves at least equally as ambiguous as the concept of ideology. Analogous to the concept of ideology, these terms are often employed without further explanation. However what exactly is understood by the terms ‘world view’ and ‘common-sense’?

The concept of ‘world view’ is employed by many linguistic and discourse analytical research studies of ideology and related concepts yet remains an extremely fuzzy term. This understanding of world view is similar in status to the concept of shared knowledge or background knowledge (cf. Linell 1997: 55 for a critique of this term, embedded in a dialogic approach to dialogue interpreting), although the usage of the terms ‘world view’ and ‘shared knowledge’ or ‘background knowledge’ does differ according to context. While it can be assumed that “all use of language reflects a set of users’ assumptions which are closely bound up with attitudes, beliefs and value systems” (Hatim & Mason 1997: 144), the plurality of these value systems has to be stressed and the validity of the following statement questioned:

Most of our everyday speech and writing is anchored in or towards the real world as a frame of reference, as a result of which a large amount of shared or common knowledge can be presupposed.

(Fowler & Kress 1979: 111)

This definition is problematic for a number of reasons. First, the ‘real world’ is taken as a static, common point of reference, an approach which is irreconcilable with more dynamic theories of the social construction of reality (cf. Berger & Luckman 1967). For reasons of space and research focus, this concept cannot be discussed in great detail at this juncture. However it should be stressed that a social constructionist understanding of reality will be employed henceforth (cf. Berger & Luckman 1967, Schmitt 1994, Gergen & Gergen 2003). According to this approach, external, transcendental reality does not

exist, rather “what we take to be knowledge of the world and self finds its origins in communal interchange” (Gergen & Gergen 2003: 2). As a result, language “makes real” (Gergen & Gergen 2003:4) the objects or event within a community (or ‘group’ in the sense discussed later in this chapter). This obviously has repercussions for the understanding of the concepts of ‘Truth / truth’ and ‘objectivity’ (and the groups that claim them as their own) that shape this thesis. Thus, according to such an approach, the concept of the ‘real world’ is something which is problematic; perhaps the ‘socially constructed world’ would be a better term in this context.

Second, the use of the term ‘shared knowledge’ or ‘common knowledge’ is ambiguous and deserves further investigation. Relevance Theorists argue that “mutual knowledge is a philosopher’s construct with no close counterpart in reality” (Sperber & Wilson 1986: 38) and propose the concept of ‘mutual manifestness’ (cf. Sperber & Wilson 1986) instead, where to be manifest is to be perceptible or inferable (Sperber & Wilson 1986: 39). While the use of the term ‘reality’ in this statement is questionable, the critical intent is welcome. They propose that an assumption (used instead of the term ‘knowledge’ in this case) is “manifest to an individual at a given time if and only if he is capable at that time of representing it mentally and accepting its representation as true or probably true”, and further define a cognitive environment of an individual as “a set of facts that are manifest to him” (Sperber & Wilson 1986: 39). They also introduce differing degrees of manifestness, e.g. an assumption can be more or less manifest to a given individual in a given situation at a given time (cf. Sperber & Wilson 1986). This concept, in which participants create a certain amount of ‘shared assumptions’ unique to the particular interaction, seems a more valid concept than the concrete term shared knowledge. This radical pragmatics approach is closer to the understanding of knowledge that forms the theoretical approach to this study.

The second term, ‘common sense’, is explored by van Dijk who first introduces the ethnomethodological understanding of the term as “the implicit social knowledge that group members *take for granted* in their everyday social practices” (van Dijk 1998: 102). Given the discussion of the term knowledge above, the use of this term in the definition above could be replaced with the term assumptions. Van Dijk also rightly explores the implications of such common sense for the study of discourse, namely that such taken-for-granted assumptions tend to be presupposed and thus not explicitly stated (van Dijk



1998: 103). However, van Dijk also raises the issue as to whether these implicit social assumptions are in fact any different from a “set of social beliefs” (van Dijk 1998: 103) and makes the very valid point that common sense itself is often viewed as “biased by social prejudices and illusions, if not the result of manipulation” (van Dijk 1998: 104). Although van Dijk does not contrast these ‘social beliefs’ with ‘the truth’, we could, perhaps, be forgiven for assuming that we have merely come full circle, landing back at the Marxist definition of ideology.

Therefore, if the concept of ‘common sense’ is to be made operational, the first understanding of common sense would have to be employed. Ideology, in turn, would be understood as **implicit social assumptions that group members take for granted in their everyday social practices.**

It should be stressed that just as the term group mentioned above refers to one group of many groups, so, too, is the term ideology to be thought of in terms of multiple ideologies. In this theoretical reflection on ideology, reference will henceforth be made to ideologies in the plural rather than ideology in the singular.

Given the existence of multiple ideologies, what is of interest is the way in which these ideologies interact and compete with one another in discourse and hence text. As a result, the degree of stability of ideologies is particularly salient. As mentioned above, in this approach, ideologies are not viewed as monolithic entities which can be imposed via discourse and text. Far rather, they are present in language in the form of heteroglot semiotics (cf. Grant 2004a, drawing on Bakhtin) rather than fixed signs. The Marxist, reified definition of ideology denies the concepts of dynamism and fluidity and closes ideologies to the hybrid influence from other ideologies. The latter approach, in contrast, enables such hybrid influence. In political discourse, where utterances are “politically advantageous if they are easy for the speaker to deny or difficult for the addressee to reject” (Giora 1993: 104), it is exactly this ambiguity and fluidity which is of interest. In this study, therefore, a concept of ideologies will be made operational in which exactly this hybridity (cf. Grant 2000, 2003) of ideologies will be investigated.

Multiple ideologies are therefore understood as different forms of **implicit social assumptions that group members take for granted in their everyday social practices.**



However, as established above, these ideologies are, in addition, dynamic, rather than reified and the agents representing these ideologies constantly shifting. Thus a more precise definition of ideologies would be different forms of *temporarily stable implicit social assumptions that shifting group members take for granted in their everyday social practices*. In this research study, the term ideology, according to the latter definition, is used as an umbrella term for all multiple, shifting and hybrid ideologies. However, for reasons of space, data analysis is not able to focus on all such ideologies present in the corpus under investigation. For this reason, institutional ideology as a form of hegemony was selected for further investigation.

### 2.1.2 *Hegemony*

Ideology is defined in subsection 2.1.1 as *temporarily stable implicit social assumptions that shifting group members take for granted in their everyday social practices*. This understanding of ideology does not explicitly address the issue of power relations. However, in an investigation into the interplay of ideologies in institutions, such as this one, such relations are of paramount importance. As mentioned in subsection 2.1.1 above, ideology is not viewed merely as something that is exerted from above on the general unsuspecting public. Rather, the interplay between ideologies is viewed as much more dynamic and fluid.

According to this view, ideology is not exclusively a “set of discursive strategies for legitimising a dominant power”, as defined by Eagleton in his ‘dominant ideology thesis’ (Eagleton 1994: 8). However, forms of ideology which follow such a goal certainly do exist in institutions. Indeed, in some cases, forms of ideology can be tied directly to dominant power relations. According to Lemke, “discursive ideological modes of power are modern alternatives to the use of material force and physical violence” (Lemke 1995: vii). However, to subscribe to the ‘dominant ideology thesis’ wholesale implies a traditional Marxist understanding of the structure of society which is class driven, where the dominant class has a unified ideology which is able to control the (ideologies of the) dominated classes (cf. van Dijk 1998: 179). It is argued here as elsewhere (van Dijk 1998: 179) that relations of dominance do not necessarily have to be class driven in the Marxist sense of the word (bourgeoisie vs. proletariat) but can be examined in the context

of gender, race etc. For this reason, and analogous to the use of the term ‘group’ in subsection 2.1.1, the term dominant group, rather than dominant class is employed. As discussed previously, the dominant group should also be viewed as a temporarily stable entity that is being constantly redefined.

Furthermore, classifying all ideology as dominant ideology leads to the ideologies of subversion and dissent being largely ignored or even negated. It is certainly the case that the dominant power seeks to establish legitimation through language by, according to Bakhtin, attempting to “fix meaning and univocalise the sign, and hereby to effect a form of ideological closure or homophony” (Gardiner 1992: 90). However, according to Bakhtin, a centrifugal force also exists which counters the centripetal force above, namely dialogised heteroglossia: “alongside verbal-ideological centralization and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralisation and disunification go forward” (Bakhtin 1981: 272). The concept of dialogised heteroglossia and its relevance to research into competing ideologies will be investigated in more detail in section 2.3 of this thesis.

The theory of all ideology as dominant ideology also poses methodological problems in a corpus analysis of competing ideologies. In the case of this study, it can certainly be said that the EU institutional ideology, for example, serves to sustain the institution and thus effectively the relations of domination and can be classified as a dominant ideology in that sense. However, there are also approaches which often serve to subvert these dominant ideologies, such as pacifism or ecologism. Are these no longer to be defined as ideologies because they do not serve to stabilise the dominant power? Does this approach leave room for competing ideologies manifest in discourse and text (cf. sections 2.2 to 2.6 of this thesis); cannot legitimation on the one hand be accompanied by subversion on the other? It is argued that the dominant ideology thesis does not recognise the hybridity and fluidity of ideologies, that ideologies are merely temporarily stable, constantly subject to subversion.

In the case of this study, one issue that has to be raised is exactly who the actors involved in sustaining this dominant ideology are. Who constitutes the dominant group? Are they the Commissioners, the members of the European Council, the politicians sympathetic to stabilising the EU, even the interpreters? Do these subgroups not themselves also



develop their own, more specific ideologies, tailored to their own interests, position, goals and power (van Dijk 1998: 179), rendering the alliance a constantly shifting one? At best, the case can be made for certain ideology 'fragments' shared in a common, overarching dominant ideology (van Dijk 1998: 180).

The concept of a temporarily stable, dominant ideology of shifting alliances leads to the term 'hegemony' and research on this subject, primarily conducted by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci in *The Prison Notebooks* (cf. Gramsci 1971). Like ideology before it, hegemony is a difficult term to define. Indeed Gramsci himself seems to have posited two definitions of it, beginning with a narrow Leninist interpretation of the leadership of the proletariat over the peasantry and broadening this in later years to the practices of the ruling class in general (Mouffe 1979: 179). In this approach, an interesting dimension is introduced, "a class is dominant in two ways, that is to say it is dominant and ruling. It rules the allied classes and dominates the opposing classes" (Mouffe 1979: 179). Once again, in this study, the term group could replace the Marxist concept of class.

Drawing on Gramsci (1971), Brookfield (1995:15) defines hegemony as

the process whereby ideas, structures and actions come to be seen by the majority of the people as wholly natural, preordained and working for their own good when in fact they are constructed and transmitted by powerful minority interests to protect the status quo that serves those interests.

Therefore the concept of hegemony is broader than that of mere dominance, requiring the dominant group to discover shared interests with other groups while at the same time requiring these hegemonic groups to be subservient to the dominant power. In other words:

[...] the fact of hegemony presupposes that one takes into account the interests and tendencies of the groups over which hegemony will be exercised, and it also presupposes a certain equilibrium, that is to say that the hegemonic groups will make some sacrifices of a corporate nature.

(Mouffe 1979: 181)

However, in order to make this concept of hegemony operational in this study, the concept of power must be investigated in more detail. For the purposes of this thesis, the Foucauldian understanding of power, despite its inconsistencies, will be employed.

Power in terms of the political and institutional is of particular interest in this investigation, bearing in mind that the aim of this section is to reach a critical understanding of ideology that can be made instrumental in a comparative corpus-based study of plenary sessions of the EP. However, it is first necessary to define what is understood and associated with the term power in this investigation. Generally, power is understood as being dichotomically opposed to 'freedom', it is something that is exerted by A *over* B, exerted from above on those below. In most theories of power, power is understood as something emerging from one concentrated source, whether this is the sovereign or the government. These bodies tend to be invested in power and use this to further their own ends or the ends of the hegemonic alliance. Thus power is generally understood to be exerted and enforced on the masses by the source of power. Foucault modifies this theory and questions this one-dimensional understanding of the concept. For Foucault, power is not something which emerges from a single source but is viewed as a force which:

Traverses and produces things, induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative influence whose function is repression.

(Foucault 1980:119)

This capillary-like notion of power is of great importance in an understanding of ideology and the establishment and subversion of constantly shifting hegemonic alliances. In this approach, power can not be traced to a single source of ultimate authority, but pervades the very fabric of social relations.

This raises the question of agency in power relations. According to this theory, the exertion or use of power seems to be depersonalised, de-agentised and thus removed from personal conscience. According to Foucault, power is "intentionality without a subject, such that power relations are intentional and can be described without being attributed to



particular subjects as their conscious intentions” (Foucault, quoted in Couzens Hoy 1986: 128). Following Grant (2004a), this aspect of the Foucauldian understanding of power can be questioned, without discarding the entire theory. It can be argued that agencies, bodies, alliances exist which do indeed exert or practise power; they can perhaps even be referred to as the ‘source’ of power. These alliances are, however, merely temporarily stable and constantly shifting and thus extend capillary-like through the entire social fabric.

Foucault’s theory of power cannot, however, be discussed without reference to his understanding of exclusion (Foucault 1981: 52) and the discourse police (Foucault 1981: 61). In every society (and hence group or institution), the production of discourse is “at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality” (Foucault 1981: 52). This is what Foucault refers to as the “procedures of exclusion” (Foucault 1981: 52). This process of exclusion / inclusion is governed by the rules of a discourse ‘policing’ (Foucault 1981: 61) by means of prohibition (Foucault 1981: 52), the opposition reason / madness (Foucault 1981: 53) and the will to truth (Foucault 1981: 55). In this context, discourse is defined as a system of knowledge (episteme) and hence social practice (cf. Foucault 1997 and section 2.2 of this thesis) and can be viewed as “a conceptual terrain in which knowledge is formed and produced” (Young 1981: 48) (cf. social constructionism in subsection 2.1.1 of this thesis). See section 2.2 of this thesis on the relationship between discourse as social practice and the manifestation of discourse in language use.

For the purposes of this thesis, the first and third categories were deemed to yield potential for discussion. The first category is discussed in terms of institutional constraints in section 3.3 of this thesis; the third category was touched on in section 2.1.1 above and is significant in terms of classifying ideologies.

While these concepts are highly relevant to a study of ideology and discourse, caution would be recommended in uncritical use of the terms. The dichotomy inclusion / exclusion imposes a black-and-white structure on discourse structure and does not leave room for the stages or degrees of inclusion / exclusion afforded to a certain group / term / ideology at any given and temporarily stable moment. Rather, Foucault’s understanding



of the dichotomy is permanent and absolute – certain discourses / groups / ideologies are excluded by those in power, whereas others that strengthen and reinforce hegemony are included. This assumes a stability and finality of discourse and society that leaves little room for subversion and dissent and a change of power relations as they stand. Indeed Foucault's conception of subversion and dissent being effectively controlled by hegemony in *The Order of Discourse* is a pessimistic and conservative understanding of the notion of power that constricts his otherwise radical theory. This understanding has been massively influential in some linguistic studies of ideology (particularly early CDA). Later, however, Foucault shifts towards a more open understanding of discourses in *The History of Sexuality* when he writes: "Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault 1979: 100-101).

Exclusion and inclusion are certainly useful terms in this study in the investigation of hegemonies, whether these be institutional or group-related, and in investigating the relationship between power and ideology. However in this study reference will be made to *degrees* of exclusion and inclusion established through investigation of temporarily stable ideologies.

Therefore, although in the view of many, the term hegemony subsumes ideology (Eagleton 1994: 13), it will be argued in this thesis that the term hegemony, with a Foucauldian understanding of power at its base, can be used to refer to the concept of an overarching dominant ideology, made up of ideology 'fragments', discussed above. As such, the category of hegemony employed in this thesis, is actually a form or subcategory of the concept of ideology itself and is defined as a **(temporarily stable) overarching dominant ideology in the sense of overlapping ideology fragments.**

In this subsection the concept of dominant ideologies and power relations was examined and the concept of hegemonies introduced as a subcategory of the concept of ideology. In the particular case of the institution of the EP, it is posited that various agents form (temporary) hegemonic alliances, resulting in a form of institutional hegemony which stabilises the institution (this concept is explored in more detail in chapter four of this thesis). This institutional hegemony will be referred to henceforth as 'EU institutional hegemony'. In the following subsection the issue of axiology will be addressed.

### 2.1.3 *Axiology*

In response to van Dijk's statement that "there are no personal ideologies" (van Dijk 1998: 91), the question has to be raised as to what role the subjective plays in constituting the hybrid mix of ideologies that can be isolated in author-specific discourse and text (in this context, the terms speaker-specific and interpreter-specific are more appropriate). Are there really no other aspects of ideologies than the social? Is the subjective completely subsumed in the social or can the subjective be identified in the unique blend of ideologies that are manifest in the discourse and hence text of one single individual player? Can a related concept be found which does for the subjective aspects of beliefs and values what the concept of hegemony does for the issues of power and dominance? In terms of translation / interpreting, these are issues that are being raised in the discussion on translation and ethics (cf. Pym 2001) and translation norms (cf. Toury 1995). These issues are explored in more detail in section 2.7 of this thesis.

It is argued, following Grant (2004a: 21) that such a subjective system (again no more stable than the concepts of ideology and hegemony investigated above) does exist. The term axiology is introduced to account for this. Originally rooted in ethics as the study of goodness or "worthwhileness" (cf. Grant 2004a: 24)<sup>4</sup>, it is modified by Grant to depict a system of subjective ethics in the sense of individual values and beliefs. After Grant, the term axiology will be used to refer to the "autonomous evaluativeness of communicator actions" (and hence discourse and textual practices) (Grant 2004a: 23).

However, the existence of axiology (and, analogous to the term ideology above, axiologies) cannot be reduced to pure subjectivism. Rather, axiology is "socially constituted evaluation" (Grant 2004a: 27). Similar to ideology, axiology is not conceptualised as a "transcendent horizon against which newly constituted values are objectively judged", but rather as "autonomously dynamic and thus communicatively contingent relation in which values are constituted" (Grant 2004a: 28). Thus, like ideologies before them, axiologies are contingent and consistently renegotiated.

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<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed review of the concept of axiology and its roots in ethics cf. Scheler 1973; orig. 1916 and Nicolai Hartmann 1932, orig. 1926 as referenced in Grant (2004a: 23).



Grant distinguishes between axiology and ideology as follows: “mediation at the subjective level is axiology, or subjective valuation, whereas mediation at the social level is ideology, or the discursive valuation of a social system” (Grant 2004a: 34), where the concept of the social system is viewed as highly fictionalised, as a ‘social semantic’ in the sense of Luhmann (cf. Luhmann 1995). The attitudes of a given individual are thus shaped both by the social and collective, in the form of ideologies and by the subjective and individual, in the form of axiology. This is helpful in distinguishing between the two terms and illustrating the co-existence of ideologies, hegemonies and axiologies. For the purposes of this thesis, axiology is defined as **an individual (temporarily stable) system of subjective ethics and evaluation.**

In the particular case of SI-mediated institutional communication, the concept of axiology could be investigated in a number of ways. As in all non-mediated communication, the axiologies of the interlocutors (the original German language speakers in this particular case) could be investigated, and the interplay between axiologies, hegemonies and ideologies in the source texts (ST) highlighted and explored. In addition, the English interpretations, the target texts (TT), could be investigated in the same manner. One possible method of investigation would be a two-track investigation of axiologies, involving individual analysis of the ST and the TT, followed by a comparative analysis of how incidences of speaker axiology in the ST are simultaneously interpreted in the TT, and what aspects in the ST trigger interpreter axiology in the TT. This method would first require the isolation of particular instances of speaker axiology in the ST. Although these, undoubtedly, do occur, it would prove difficult to differentiate between ideology on the social, collective level and axiology on the subjective, individual level in the ST. Investigation of interpreter axiology in the TT would be easier, given the ‘trigger’ potential of the ST. Therefore, although such a two-track study would certainly be of interest, it would first be necessary to pursue further ethnomethodological research with the speakers to investigate their ideological and axiological background, before proceeding with analysis. This would certainly far exceed the confines of this thesis and must be reserved as a possible avenue of future research into institutional communication.

The purpose of the investigation is also not as much to clearly distinguish between the textual manifestations of ideology and axiology. Far rather, the study aims to illustrate



the fact that both ideologies and axiologies co-exist and interrelate. Given the focus of this study on interpreter-mediated communication, where the interpreter is an additional actor in heteroglot communication, in which one “heteroglot semiotic” is transformed into another “heteroglot semiotic” via a “heteroglot subject” (Grant 2004a: 12), the focus of this study will be the English TT. Indeed it is perhaps precisely in the ‘online’ act of simultaneous interpretation that traces of individual axiology, and the interpreter as agent, emerge. Reference will thus be made to interpreter axiology, defined as **an individual (temporarily stable) system of subjective ethics and evaluation of the individual interpreter.**

#### **2.1.4 Conclusions**

In order to investigate textual manifestations of the ideology in discourse, a detailed, multidisciplinary approach to the concept of ideology is required.

Navigating a path through the sheer number and depth of potential definitions of ideology in order to propose an understanding of the term is a difficult task. However, what has to be borne in mind is the purpose of the task, namely to formulate a practical, albeit sufficiently complex, definition of the term that can be incorporated in a theoretical model of the relationship between ideology, discourse and text. The resulting model, established in section 2.2, is to be made operational in data analysis of SI-mediated parliamentary debate in chapter four of this thesis.

In the discussion of the term ideology, the traditional Marxist understanding of ideology as false consciousness and the resulting common understanding of ideology as distortion of the ‘real’ is shown to unnecessarily limit, and itself distort, the scope of the term. The second understanding of ideology, that of the general world view, especially when dependent on such related notions as knowledge and real world, is shown to be too broad and vague when taken at face value and requires a number of modifications. In modifying the term shared knowledge implied by the definition of world view, to that of mutual manifestness, a more satisfactory understanding of the ideology is reached. The plurality of ideologies is emphasised and the issue of (in)stability and hybridity of ideologies introduced. Thus, ideology is defined as **the temporarily stable implicit**



**social assumptions that shifting group members take for granted in their everyday social practices.**

The concept of stability of ideologies led to a discussion of power, dominance and dissent and hence to a discussion of the term hegemony as a useful subcategory in addressing ideologies concerned with retaining and negotiating power, consistent with a Foucauldian understanding of power as capillary-like and thus dynamic. The dominant ideology thesis (Eagleton 1994: 8) was found to be particularly relevant in its inclusion of power relations but was criticised for its exclusive concern with power exercised from above, leaving no room for subversion from below. The Gramscian concept of hegemony, on the other hand, was found to address these concerns, emphasising the importance for the dominant group of the hegemonic groups and vice-versa. The Bakhtinian concept of dialogised heteroglossia was mentioned at this juncture as a useful avenue for exploring the concurrent processes of establishing dominance and dissent. In the context of the present study, EU institutional hegemony was selected for investigation and defined as **the (temporarily stable) overarching dominant ideology in the EP (in the sense of overlapping ideology ‘fragments’), representative of a hegemonic alliance.**

In subsection 2.1.3, the subcategory of axiology was introduced in an attempt to incorporate the subjective into a theory of ideology and redress the gap left by van Dijk’s statement that “there are no personal ideologies” (van Dijk 1998: 91). The concept of axiology as mediation on a subjective level (cf. Grant 2004a) was introduced as a means of describing and investigating the autonomous action of the individual, and, in the case of this study, the simultaneous interpreter as agent. For the purposes of this study, the term interpreter axiology was introduced and defined as **an individual (temporarily stable) system of subjective ethics and evaluation of the individual interpreter.**

In the following section, the relationship between ideology, hegemony and axiology; and discourse and text, will be explored in more detail, using a conceptual discourse model.

## **2.2 Modelling Discourse and Text**

In the previous section, the concepts of ideology, EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology were explored on a theoretical level. In the following section, a discourse model is developed with the aim of providing a sound theoretical framework for discursals<sup>5</sup> and textual analysis of manifestations of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology, discussed in terms of dialogised heteroglossia in section 2.3 of this thesis.

Given the multidisciplinary approach adopted, it was first necessary to explore the different understandings of the term discourse in the various disciplines that are drawn on in this study.

In the past, there seemed to be a division between ‘social’ and ‘linguistic’ approaches to discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992: 3). This categorisation seems reminiscent of the ‘linguistic’ and ‘sociological / philosophical’ approaches to the concept of ideology described in section 2.1 above; with the ‘linguistic’ approach tending to view discourse on a more concrete level as an entity which serves above all linguistic and therefore textual analysis, whereas the ‘sociological / philosophical’ approach viewed discourse as something more abstract which played a constitutive role in society. However, it is argued that these two approaches are not as distinct as they might first appear. Indeed, the epistemic approach of Foucault to ‘orders of discourse’ (cf. Foucault 1981 and subsection 2.1.2 of this thesis) clearly provides the theoretical basis for many ‘linguistic’ forms of analysis, whether his influence is explicitly cited or not.

In current research, a consensus seems to have been reached that discourse is either (i) a process or (ii) a set of practices. In the first approach, discourse is defined as “the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation” (Widdowson 2004: 8), whereas the second approach views discourse as the “way in which knowledge is organised, talked about and acted upon in different institutions” (O’Halloran 2003: 11-12). The general term discourse will be used in the latter sense in this thesis.

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<sup>5</sup> The adjective ‘discursals’ is used as the adjective of the term ‘discourse’ to refer to the levels of suborders of discourse and orders of discourse in the discourse model presented in section 2.2.1 of this section. In contrast, the use of the adjective ‘discursive’ is limited to the term ‘discursive practice’ in the Foucauldian sense, referring to language in use within suborders and orders of discourse.



Discourse thus differs from text in that text is a product, a concrete entity, whereas discourse is codified attudinal meaning. Thus, ideologies are manifest in discourse in that they influence how knowledge is “talked about and acted upon”, In turn, discourse is manifest in text in the form of “material reality as a thing pronounced or written” (Foucault 1981: 52).

In this subsection, an attempt will be made to model the different layers of discourse in an understanding of the concept of discourse that integrates textual and discorsal analysis of the interplay between ideologies, hegemonies and axiologies.

In the following discussion of the term discourse, a ‘top down’ approach will be pursued in an attempt to establish a conceptual discourse model. This approach should not be interpreted as an attempt to depict hierarchical levels of discourse in a reified manner. Rather, it is an attempt to explore an understanding of discourse which accounts for differing co-occurring conceptual layers of the term and makes explicit its relationship to text.

The first layer of discourse under investigation is referred to by Foucault in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France on the 2nd December 1970, entitled *The Order of Discourse*. In this lecture, Foucault sets out this theory of discourse as the organisation (of language etc) into systems (orders) of knowledge (epistemes) and hence social practice (cf. Foucault 1981). This is what is often referred to in abstract terms as rationality etc. In this sense, orders of discourse refer to “bodies of knowledge” (Grant 2004b). In addition to the ‘exterior’ aspects of exclusion, referred to in subsection 2.1.2 above, Foucault isolates another group of constraints which he calls ‘internal procedures’ (Foucault 1981: 56), in which discourses “exercise their own control; procedures which function rather as principles of classification, of ordering, of distribution” (Foucault 1981: 56).

The second layer of discourse employed in this thesis is a new category, developed by Grant (2004b). Drawing on the Foucauldian concept of orders of discourse, it is argued that these orders of discourse can be subdivided into suborders of discourse. These can be defined as discourses of particular groups. The discourse of Conservatism, pacifism,



ecologism and so on would be categorised as subcategories within these broader orders of discourse and are referred to henceforth as suborders of discourse.

Analogous to the terms 'orders of discourse' (in the sense of epistemes); and 'suborders of discourse' (in the sense of discourses of particular groups) , the term 'orders of text' (Grant 2004b) will be used to refer to types of text (e.g. the manifesto) on a third layer of the discourse model.

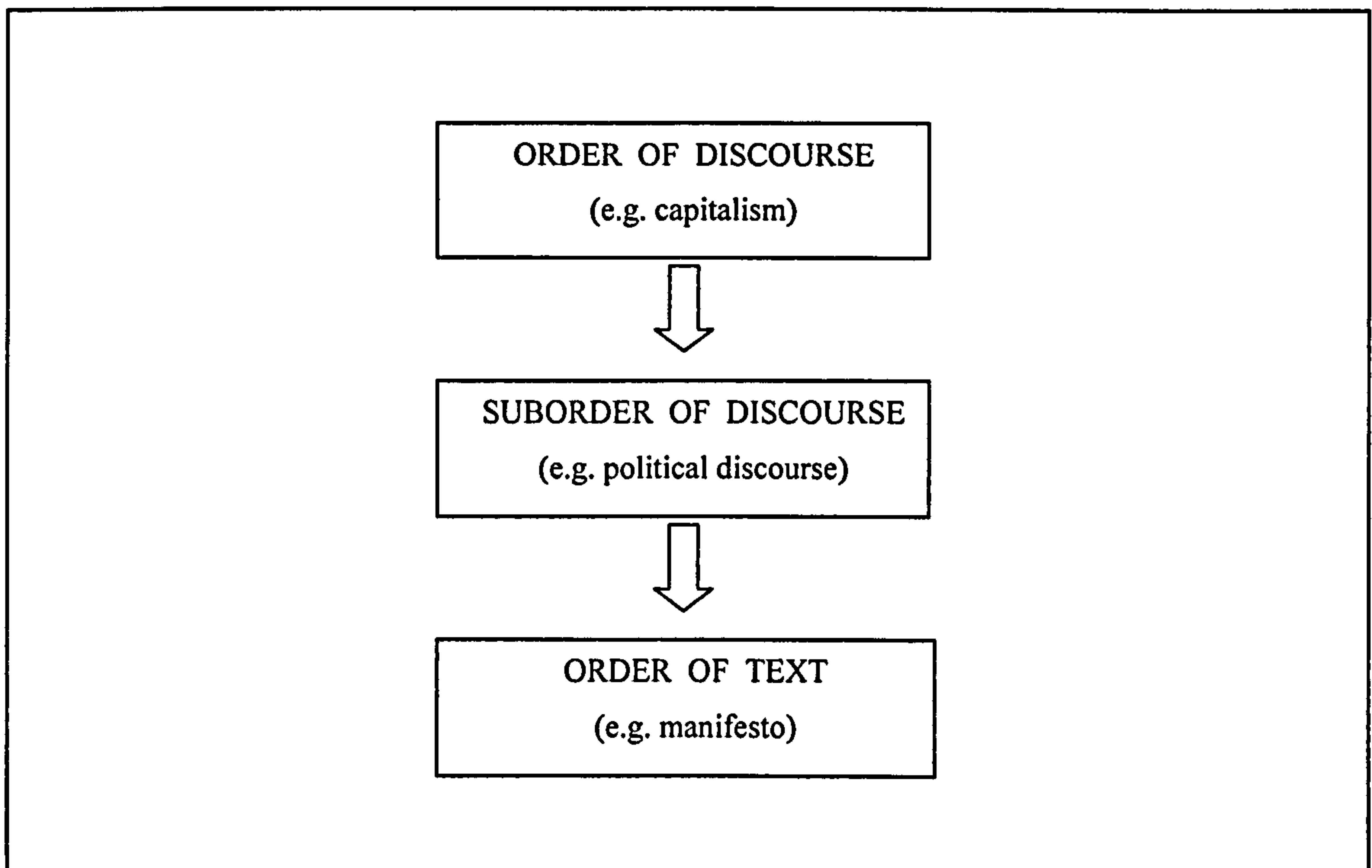
To avoid confusion, the term 'genre' should be discussed at this juncture. Defined as "conventionalised forms of texts" (Kress 1985: 19), genre is the name often given to norms (or conventions) which are internalised as part of the ability to communicate and are associated with particular social occasions (Hatim & Mason 1990: 69). According to this approach, ideologies are often conventionalised in genres, which in turn are strengthened and hence always potentially subverted via discourses and texts. For terminological consistency, the term genre will not be employed in this thesis. Rather, such "conventionalised forms of texts" are located on the third layer of the discourse model and are referred to as orders of text.

These three layers of discourse: orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of texts are all simultaneously manifest in 'text'. Viewed as "basic units for semiotic analysis" (Hatim & Mason 1990: 73), as "manifestations of discourses and the meanings of discourses, and the sites of attempts to resolve particular problems" (Kress 1985: 12), texts constitute a tangible object of investigation of ideologies, hegemonies and axiologies. Indeed, texts are signs, evidence of "a communicative event taking place within a social framework" (Hatim & Mason 1990: 2). In this study, the term 'text' is used to refer to extended samples of either spoken or written languages (Fairclough 1992: 3), Thus the discourse analytical term 'talk' (van Dijk 1988: 130) which refers to spoken language samples only, is viewed in this study as a subcategory of 'text'. Text, therefore, is defined as "any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 1).

It should be stressed at this juncture that text should not be opposed to the three layers of discourse presented above, rather the current approach supports the statement that "we should not seek to oppose text and discourse but [...] to reconcile them" (Beaugrande

1997: 60). Indeed without textual evidence in definite, tangible texts, it would seem difficult, if not impossible, to investigate discursive traces of ideology, hegemony and axiology.

For ease of reference and clarity, the discourse model presented above is summarised in Figure 2.1.



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual Discourse Model**

The model above is hierarchical in presentational terms only. Indeed the relationships between orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of texts are both dynamic and hybrid. First, the layers of discourse co-occur, rendering the relationship between orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of texts dynamic. Thus, ideology is simultaneously manifest in orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of texts. Second, the layers of discourse overlap with other orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of texts. In this way, orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of texts are not viewed as static and stable entities; rather they are hybrid and constantly shifting. This is particularly true in the case of hegemonies such as EU institutional hegemony investigated in this thesis.



Now that a theoretical model of discourse has been established, it is necessary to discuss a number of discourses investigated in the corpus and locate them at one of the layers in the model.

First, the term 'EU institutional discourse' will be used to depict the discourse of EU institutional hegemony, as defined in section 2.1.2. It is a suborder of discourse, a discourse of a particular group, and is located on layer two of the theoretical model.

Second, interpreter axiology, as defined in subsection 2.1.3, is manifest in a form of 'interpreter axiological discourse' which is also located on layer two of the discourse model and can be viewed as a subjective counterpart to EU institutional hegemony. Individual original language speakers in the EP corpus can, of course, also display speaker axiology in another form of axiological discourse, which interplays with EU institutional hegemony or other parallel ideologies (such as socialist discourse and ecological discourse). This axiological discourse is also located on layer two of the discourse model. However, it is beyond the scope of this research study to investigate such manifestations of speaker axiology in detail and therefore research will concentrate on interpreter axiology, as defined in the previous section, in this category.

This section on discourse and text was dedicated to developing a discourse model. This was based on Foucault's model of orders of discourse or epistemes, themselves located at layer one, in the model presented and defined as **bodies of knowledge**. The term suborders of discourse (Grant 2004b) was introduced and located at layer two of the model and defined as **discourses of groups**. This was followed by the concept of orders of text (Grant 2004b), defined as **conventionalised forms of texts**, on layer three. All layers of discourse are simultaneously manifest in individual and tangible texts, defined as **any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length that does form a unified whole** (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 1).

The precise form of the interplay of ideologies in the discourse model is investigated in the following section, section 2.3, by means of a discussion of the concept and forms of dialogised heteroglossia.



### **2.3 Dialogised Heteroglossia**

In section 2.1 of this thesis, the concepts of ideology and its subcategories of hegemony, relating to ideology and institutions; and axiology, relating to a system of subjective ethics, were explored on a theoretical level. In section 2.2, a three-layer model of discourse was developed. In this section, the interplay between, and hybridity of, ideologies – focussing in particular on EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology – will be investigated further.

Such interplay and hybridity can be approached using a number of different theories – indeed the researcher is confronted with a virtual barrage of terms for what people generally accept to be the same phenomenon (cf. Rößler 1998: 19 for further discussion).

For the purposes of this study, discussion will be limited to the concept of dialogised heteroglossia, which is taken to subsume intertextuality, under the premise that “all text appears in a social context as ideological action” (Lachmann 1984: 137).

Although the use of the term intertextuality, coined in the 1960s by Julia Kristeva (cf. Kristeva 1967), is widespread in numerous disciplines (e.g. psychoanalysis, literature criticism, text linguistics, art criticism), there is a general vagueness, above all in Kristeva’s writing itself, as to what exactly the term denotes. Further research in the field of text and discourse hybridity leads the researcher back to the writings of Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin in the 1920s. Indeed, his concept of dialogised heteroglossia is cited by Kristeva as the basis for her thinking on intertextuality.

Therefore, the Bakhtinian concept of dialogised heteroglossia will form the basis of the discussion in this section with the aim of illustrating the interplay between, and hybridity of, ideologies in discourse and text. A definition of the term which can be made operational in corpus analysis will conclude the section.

As mentioned above, in investigating the phenomenon predominantly referred to as intertextuality, research leads back to the work of M. M. Bakhtin on the philosophy of language and language in the novel. In the period between 1919 and 1929, Bakhtin concentrated on developing his philosophy of language and work on the communicative

aspect of speech (Clark & Holquist 1984: 197). However, as he was critical of orthodox Marxism, his writings were first published in Russian in the early 1960s (Pfister 1985: 1). It is in the works *Discourse in Life and Art, Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* and *Discourse in the Novel* that Bakhtin develops his theory of dialogism in language. He refers to this as a theory of “translinguistics” (Clark & Holquist 1984: 212) and it is in this context that connections with the concepts of text and discourse emerge.

In this subsection, the concept of dialogised heteroglossia will first be defined, before taking up the two issues briefly explored in the discussion of the discourse model in section 2.2; namely stability and hybridity of discourse and text.

Before moving on to a discussion of Bakhtin’s theory of dialogised heteroglossia, it is first necessary to describe some of the difficulties encountered in reading Bakhtin’s work and using his terminology. Bakhtin uses neologisms which puzzle Russian native speakers (Holquist 1981: xvi) and are virtually impossible to translate (Emerson 1983: 27), alongside various terms for similar if not identical phenomena in his work, ranging from ‘dialogism’ to ‘dialogised heteroglossia’, from ‘multivoicedness’ via ‘other-voicedness’ to ‘polyvalency’. The added factor of translation into other languages has also added to confusion regarding the exact terminology of the original (cf. Brandist & Shepherd 1998). This is particularly salient in the case of the English translations of his work which have been undertaken by more than ten translators<sup>6</sup>. The project ‘The Russian and European Contexts of the Works of Mikhail Bakhtin and the Bakhtin Circle’ at the Bakhtin Centre at Sheffield University<sup>7</sup>, is an attempt to make revised annotated translations of the original Russian works, and a comprehensive and definitive glossary of Bakhtin’s terms, available to researchers, whilst embedding them in the contexts of their production. This is a difficult task, made even more difficult by the fact that Bakhtin himself often did not cite his sources (Holquist 1981: xv ff.). Unfortunately, at the time of writing, no part of the electronic edition was yet available on-line due to ongoing negotiations with the University of Texas Press which holds the English-language rights to the Russian original works<sup>8</sup>.

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6 <http://www.shef.ac.uk/bakhtin/projects/contexts>

7 *ibid.*

8 <http://www.shef.ac.uk/bakhtin/projects/contexts/output/online.html>



For the sake of consistency and clarity, the Russian term 'разноречие' (raznorechie) will be rendered as 'heteroglossia' throughout. Again, for consistency, the standard anglicized version of names such as 'Bakhtin' and 'Volishinov' will be used, rather than the transliterated versions 'Baxtin' and 'Volišinov'.

Uncertainty also surrounds the issue of whether all works credited to Bakhtin are from his own pen, or whether his fellow researchers in the Bakhtin Circle (such as Medvedev and Volishinov) were responsible for some of the works. It would far exceed the confines of this study to discuss this issue in depth (cf. Clark & Holquist 1984: 146-170, Thompson 1983: 13). Again, for reasons of clarity and consistency, in this research study all works are credited to Bakhtin even though one reference work bears the name of Volishinov in the list of works referenced in this thesis.

According to the theory of dialogised heteroglossia, communication is a constant struggle between the centripetal forces of homogenisation and the centrifugal forces of heterogeneity. This is not limited to social forces but also applies to the expression of these social forces, namely language. Thus the centripetal, monologising force of unitary language is counteracted by the centrifugal, dialogising force of heteroglossia. Heteroglossia is not only to be viewed as something "vis-à-vis" unitary language but as something that is "consciously opposed" to it. Thus, it is viewed as "heteroglossia that has been dialogized" (Bakhtin 1981: 273). This process of opposition is referred to in this thesis as dialogised heteroglossia. Thus, for Bakhtin, dialogised heteroglossia is a struggle between centrifugal and centripetal forces, between "non-official and official ideologies" (Clark & Holquist 1984: 210), where style is "a struggle, a politics" (Clark & Holquist 1984: 210).

Although the theory of dialogised heteroglossia was originally developed by Bakhtin for the study of voices and the carnival in literary texts, this study aims to show that Bakhtin's theory of dialogised heteroglossia is not restricted to investigation of the literary text but is, above all, highly relevant to a study of competing ideologies in other non-literary texts. Although it is often claimed that the study of intertextuality has been limited to literary texts, investigations into networks of institutional texts, for example, are not new (cf. van Dijk 1990). Indeed, Bakhtin himself states clearly that:

The dialogic orientation of discourse is, of course, a property of any discourse. It is the natural orientation of any living discourse. On all its various routes towards the object, in all its directions, the word encounters an alien word and cannot help encountering it in a living, tension-filled interaction.

(Bakhtin 1981: 279)

As discussed in subsection 2.1.2, in the case of the study in hand, the dominant power (in this case the institution of the EU) seeks to establish legitimation through language by attempting to “fix meaning and univocalise the sign, and hereby to effect a form of ideological closure or homophony” (Gardiner 1992: 90). This is a form of unitary language, made up of “forces that serve to unify and centralize the verbal-ideological world” (Bakhtin 1981: 270). However, there is also a centrifugal force to counter the centripetal force above, namely heteroglossia: “alongside verbal-ideological centralisation and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralisation and disunification go forward” (Bakhtin 1981: 272).

Important in this context is Bakhtin’s view that unitary language is posited [задан] rather than given [дан] (Bakhtin 1981: 270). This is of particular relevance when regarding the stability of ideologies.

According to this view the sign is never permanently univocalised, meaning is never permanently fixed, rather there is a constant interplay, a constant struggle between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces. A temporal factor is also at play in terms of stability of ideologies. As Bakhtin writes:

Even languages of the day exist: one could say that today’s and yesterday’s socio-ideological and political ‘day’ do not, in a certain sense, share the same language; every day represents another socio-ideological semantic ‘state of affairs’, another vocabulary, another accentual system, with its own slogans, its own ways of assigning blame and praise.

(Bakhtin 1981: 291)

This can be seen in the EP corpus in the changing ideological salience (or ideological colonisation) of certain key terms such as *solidarity* in orders of texts, suborders of



discourse and orders of discourse (cf. section 4.2.4 of this thesis for further discussion of such keywords).

Thus, in employing Bakhtin's concept of dialogised heteroglossia, institutions and hence institutional hegemony, via suborders of discourse and orders of text, can be viewed as ways to control the "traffic in voices" (Clark & Holquist 1984: 234). In this context, EU institutional hegemony, would be classified as a centripetal, unifying force.

Alongside competing ideologies manifest in suborders of discourse, interpreter axiology as subjective encoding could be viewed as a potential centrifugal force. The interpreter as an institutional employee and individual subject, would therefore be caught up in this instability between the centripetal force of EU institutional hegemony and the potential centrifugal force of their own axiology.

Although interpreter axiology as a potential centrifugal force is opposed to the centripetal, unitary language of the institution in the form of EU institutional hegemony, it is posited that it is necessary for the existence of such a unitary language that such centrifugal forces exist. These forces, in the form of interpreter axiology, could indeed be viewed as necessary "noise" (cf. Stierle 1983: 13 for a discussion of intertextuality as "noise") which can be contained by unitary language. This concept will be touched on again in data analysis in chapter four of this thesis.

Bakhtin also refers to hybrid constructions, when "two ways of speaking, two styles, two "languages", two horizons of sense and evaluation meet in one utterance" (Bakhtin 1985: 195). This succinctly describes the interplay of EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology of interest in this research study. Thus, for Bakhtin, discourse is "heteroglot from top to bottom" (Bakhtin 1981: 291); languages of heteroglossia "do not exclude each other, but rather intersect with one another in many different ways" (Bakhtin 1981: 291). In addition, Bakhtin investigates what he terms "hidden dialogism" where the discussion partner is "invisibly present" and the word is directed at the "unspoken other word" (Bakhtin 1985: 124). This is relevant for a discussion of addressivity and audience design, touched on later in this thesis. Thus, for Bakhtin, discourse is active and productive; it is not "merely specular" (Clark & Holquist 1984: 204).



Above all, Bakhtin understands the utterance as a means of communication without simplifying and fixing the concept of meaning. For Bakhtin, the word is an “always changeable and adaptable sign” (Clark & Holquist 1984: 214). Indeed this is a theory in which the role of the participants in the communication situation is taken into account; a theory which enables the word to be viewed as a site of struggle to determine meaning, what Bakhtin calls “microdialogue” (Bakhtin 1985: 105). The word itself is “internally dialogised” (Bakhtin 1979: 213; 1981: 279, 282). This can take the form of “an encounter with the alien word within the object itself” (Bakhtin 1981: 282); i.e. with another occurrence of the word in another context, or an encounter with the “subjective belief system of the listener” (Bakhtin 1981: 282); i.e. with the axiology of the listener (in this case the interpreter). These two forms are inextricably interwoven.

Therefore, Bakhtin’s theory of dialogised heteroglossia should not only be viewed as a literary theory which Kristeva took as a basis for developing her literary theory of intertextuality, but rather as a general philosophy of language and language relations which is highly relevant to an investigation of hegemonies, ideologies and axiologies and their manifestation in orders and suborders of discourse, and hence in orders of text as well as manifestation of these layers of discourse in definite, tangible texts.

In this thesis, the term discursal embeddedness will be employed as the umbrella term for investigating this interplay between, and hybridity of, hegemony and axiology in discourse and text. This term was developed by Grant (2004b) and also owes its inspiration to the writings of Bakhtin. Alongside the term dialogised heteroglossia, this concept is central to Bakhtin’s thinking and succinctly describes the relationship between the word in the text and the more abstract discursal layers of orders of text, suborders and orders of discourse. In this way, each word or utterance is anchored or embedded in a chain of multilayered, multidirectional communication.

It was felt that in a study of ideologies such as this one, an umbrella category was needed which described in a comprehensive manner the relationship between the individual text and these multiple layers of discourse. The term discursal embeddedness was viewed as an appropriate term to capture and describe how the social, the collective (ideology) is manifest at the layer of orders of discourse, suborders of discourse, orders of text and, in turn, manifest in definite, tangible texts. In this sense, discursal embeddedness is



defined as **the way in which the individual text is anchored in a chain of reference to multiple layers of discourse.**

In this section, the work of Bakhtin on dialogised heteroglossia is first explored as a means of providing a sound theoretical basis for an investigation of competing ideologies using the discourse model presented in section 2.2 of this thesis. Dialogised heteroglossia is defined in this section as **a struggle between the centripetal forces of homogenisation and the centrifugal forces of heterogeneity.** The role of the two concepts of stability and hybridity were also discussed in the context of dialogised heteroglossia and were found to provide a rich theoretical framework for investigation of manifestations of competing ideologies on all three layers of the discourse model and in definite, tangible texts. The term discursal embeddedness was also introduced and defined as **the way in which the individual text is anchored in a chain of reference to multiple layers of discourse.**

## **2.4 Text and Textuality**

In the previous section, the interplay between, and hybridity of, ideologies in the discourse model, developed in subsection 2.2, was examined in the context of dialogised heteroglossia.

In this section, text will be investigated in more detail, for the purpose of isolating aspects of textuality that are particularly salient in analysis of textual manifestations of SI-mediated institutional communication. This section begins with an investigation of textuality in subsection 2.4.1, before exploring the particular textual characteristics of SI-mediated institutional communication in subsection 2.4.2. Conclusions are drawn in subsection 2.4.3.

### **2.4.1 Textuality**

This section will concentrate on the factors that constitute text and textuality with the aim of establishing features of text that could be investigated as textual manifestations of ideologies.

Halliday and Hasan define a property of all texts as forming a “unified whole” (Halliday & Hasan 1976:1). This thought is continued by Beaugrande and Dressler in their definition of text as a “communicative occurrence that meets seven standards of textuality” (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 3). These seven standards (cohesion, coherence, intentionality, informativity, intertextuality, situationality and acceptability) function as the constitutive principles which define and create communication.

In this approach, cohesion refers to “the ways in which the components of the surface text, i.e. the actual words we hear or see, are mutually connected within a sequence” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(4)]<sup>9</sup> and coherence to “the ways in which the components of the textual world, i.e., the configuration of concepts and relations which underlie the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(6)]. Intentionality concerns “the text producer’s attitude that the set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text instrumental in fulfilling the producer’s intentions, e.g. to distribute knowledge or to attain a goal specified in a plan” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(13)]; acceptability to “the text receiver’s attitude that the set of occurrences should constitute a cohesive and coherent text having some use or relevance for the receiver, e.g. to acquire knowledge or provide co-operation in a plan the how much is said compared to what is not said” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(14)]; informativity to “the extent to which the occurrences of the presented text are expected vs. unexpected or known vs. unknown/certain” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(17)]; situationality to “the factors which make a text relevant to a situation of occurrence” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(19)]; and intertextuality to “the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(21)].

The constitutive principles above are governed by the regulative principles that control textual communication. These three regulative principles are efficiency, effectiveness and appropriateness. Efficiency refers to processing ease, i.e. “the running of operations with a light load on resources of attention and access” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: III(9)]; effectiveness to processing depth, i.e. “intense use of resources of attention and

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<sup>9</sup> Reference is made here to the online version of Beaugrande & Dressler (1981), available under [http://www.beaugrande.com/introduction\\_to\\_text\\_linguistics.htm](http://www.beaugrande.com/introduction_to_text_linguistics.htm). Given the absence of page numbers, references include the chapter number and the section number. The current reference is to Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: chapter I, section 4.



access on materials removed from the explicit surface representation” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: III(9)]; and appropriateness determines “the correlations between the current occasion and the standards of textuality such that reliable estimates can be made regarding ease or depth of participants processing” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: III(9)] and thus mediates between efficiency and effectiveness.

The pragmatic turn of Beaugrande and Dressler’s procedural approach which they describe as the attempt to describe all levels of language “in terms of their utilization” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: III(1)] can be clearly seen in the seven constitutive principles and three regulative principles above. Beaugrande’s ‘real time processes’ (Beaugrande 1977: 62) is also comparable to the ‘on-line’ notion employed to refer to the activity of SI processing in section 2.7 of this thesis.

It has been argued that the seven standards can be divided into ‘text-centred’ notions, defined as “designating operations directed at the text materials” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(13)], consisting of cohesion and coherence; and user-centred’ notions which “are brought to bear on the activity of textual communication at large, both by producers and by receivers” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(13)] and encompass intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(13)].

Objections could be made to both the description of the two categories and the allocation of the respective standards. The category ‘text-centred’ suggests that the features can only be located at the layer of the text. In line with a less traditional and more dynamic approach, it could be suggested that cohesion and cohesive devices are not exclusively a textual feature, but rather are embedded in discourses in orders of texts, suborders and orders of discourse. This position will be expanded on in more depth later in section 2.6 of this thesis.

Coherence, inextricably linked to the concept of cohesion, is certainly not a purely textual feature. Rather, the concept is open to (axiological) interpretation and is again present in orders of texts, suborders of discourse and orders of discourse. However, textual clues (in the form of explicit and ellipted cohesive devices or textual traces of such discursal embeddedness) do guide the listener in establishing coherence and therefore it can be

claimed that coherence is also manifest in text. In fact, coherence could also be claimed to be user centred, i.e. each listener determines if and how the text correlates to their individual concept of what is coherent, not just in the text, but also in orders of texts, suborders of discourse and orders of discourse. Thus the significance of cohesion and coherence in both text and discourse, for the representation of ideologies, is of ultimate importance here.

By taking issue with this binary approach, it could be argued that each of the standards is neither purely textual nor purely discursal. This has been illustrated for cohesion and coherence, but what of the remaining five standards?

Intentionality occurs essentially in discourse. However, propositions are manifest in text, often indicated by cohesive devices. The same can be applied to informativity which can also be investigated at a textual level in the form of theme / rheme structure, i.e. old versus new information. Intertextuality can also be discussed at the level of the text by investigating structures normative for certain orders of texts in the discursal embeddedness of intertextual reference. Situationality is also manifest in text in the form of cohesive devices such as deixis and pronoun use and the employment or flouting of certain 'norms' similar to intertextuality above. Acceptability, closely linked to situationality, can also be investigated on a textual level, with textual manifestations of audience design (cf. Bell 1984) of interest in this context. Each of the standards is manifest in text in the form of some type of lexical device, predominantly cohesive devices and intertextual reference.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that cohesive devices play an important role in the textual manifestation of the standards of textuality, and thus in constituting text itself and as such could provide a fruitful avenue of research in the investigation of ideology. However, any analysis must bear in mind both the interplay between textual representation of orders of texts, suborders and orders of discourse, and the pragmatic and communicative function of textual features. In stating this however, it must be underlined that the coherence of textual cohesive devices is not static, predetermined and universal; rather it varies according to activation and / or subversion of ideological coherences.



The Beaugrande and Dressler approach to textuality needs to be subject to reservations, however. Although Beaugrande and Dressler do mention the concept of ‘tolerance’ exercised by text-users towards “products whose conditions of occurrence make it hard to uphold cohesion and coherence altogether” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(13)] they also state that “if any of these standards is not considered to have been satisfied, the text will not be communicative” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: I(3)]. Is a text lacking explicit surface cohesive devices but nonetheless coherent to its intended audience to be classified as non-communicative? Does the lack of explicit cohesion necessarily result in communication being disabled? In this thesis, the view that the seven standards define the norm is adopted. However, subversion of any of these standards is viewed not as non-communicative, but as significant. Pragmatic and communicative aspects should not be neglected in favour of purely textual analysis. Indeed Beaugrande and Dressler themselves state that “Our notions of ‘cohesion’ and ‘coherence’ can be helpful in studying a text only if they deal with how connections and relations are actually set up among communicative occurrences” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: III(1)].

In this subsection, the aspect of textuality in general was discussed according to the seven constitutive and three regulative principles of Beaugrande & Dressler (cf. Beaugrande & Dressler 1981). In the following subsection, the particular characteristics of textuality in SI-mediated communication are explored.

#### **2.4.2**      *SI and textuality*

SI could be defined as the quasi-simultaneous (Kirchhoff 2002: 112) transformation of oral text presented by a speaker in one language, the source text (ST), in oral text in another language, the target text (TT). As such there are a number of factors specific to SI which could influence aspects of textuality in terms of the reception of the ST and the production of the TT.

The rough distinction between written and spoken forms of text and the claim that oral texts tend to be “more tolerant of internal contradictions” (Hodge & Kress 1993: 12) than written texts is only of limited use in this investigation. It is certainly true that slips of the tongue and intonation patterns do provide an insight into “private meaning” (Hodge

& Kress 1993: 12) in SI, and indeed are examined in terms of interpreter axiology in chapter four of this thesis. Repair strategies in SI have also been investigated in this context (cf. Petite 2004, 2005).

However, analysis of mode (cf. Halliday 1978), of ST interventions in the EP corpus, under investigation in this research study, provides us with a wealth of variation which transcends the oral / written dichotomy. In some cases interventions bear the hallmarks of edited text written to be read, in which the “overt signs of contradiction and incoherence” (Hodge & Kress 1993: 12) have been edited out. Others possess a ‘semi-prepared’ quality and are delivered from notes (this constitutes the body of the interventions in the corpus), whereas others are genuinely spontaneous responses to the contributions of other members in the debate. Hybrid text modes made up of a mixture of the modes mentioned above are also present in the corpus, i.e. edited text written to be read with inserted or appended spontaneous reference to speaker and content. Each of these categories has its own characteristics and to treat them as a group of homogeneous texts would be misleading.

The work of the interpreter in interpreting the various text modes listed above also varies. The edited speech written to be read may well be made available to the interpreter beforehand. In a case such as this the processing of the interpreter can include aspects of ‘pure’ SI, on-sight translation and reading a (pre) translated text (written to be read). If it is not available beforehand, the interpreter performs ‘pure’ SI with the difficulties that interpreting an edited speech written to be read can entail (high speed, omission of redundancies more characteristic of spontaneous speech, often referred to as a ‘tighter’ structure). ‘Semi-prepared’ and spontaneous speeches are generally more redundant with a looser structure and are therefore less demanding on the processing ability of the interpreter. Once again hybrid forms of SI processing occur, e.g. ‘pure’ SI of a semi-prepared text interspersed with a quote from a document reference available to the interpreter. In this case processing switches to either on-sight translation, or to simply reading off a (pre-) prepared translation.

Compared to ST mode, the mode of TT production tends to be narrower in range. Unless the interpreter has access to the entire text well in advance he / she is never in the situation of being able to view and analyse the text structure as a whole. Access to the



text five minutes before interpreting tends to result in on-sight translation which can also be classified as an on-line activity or real time operation in Beaugrande and Dressler's terminology (cf. previous subsection). Given this fact, it could be argued that SI is a prime example of spoken language where "contradiction and conflict lie on the surface" (Hodge & Kress 1993: 13), given the speed of putting together text, listed as being typical of oral texts (cf. Harweg 1968).

In the investigation of SI-mediated EP discourse as an institutional 'order', there are a number of factors which radically influence the respective importance of the seven standards of textuality. The three domains of textuality: texture (including but not limited to cohesion and coherence), structure (specific compositional plans) and context (rhetorical purpose, attitudinal meanings and orders of texts) provide a useful construct in analysing these factors.

First, given the lack of holistic access to structure that SI necessarily entails, certain proposition-signifying cohesive devices (such as metaphor strings), as the textual manifestation of intentionality, take on greater importance as they are one of the few structural indicators available to the interpreter as to how the intervention is likely to develop in terms of speaker intention and evaluation. These "textual structures" which pattern the "attitudinal or ideological drift of a text" (Hatim & Mason 1990: 186) are certainly of interest.

Second, context, in the form of acceptability, situationality and intertextuality could be investigated in the sense of Sperber and Wilson's understanding of context as the set of 'assumptions' used in the interpretation of the utterance (Sperber & Wilson 1986: 38). This ties in with research done on the unfolding of context for the simultaneous interpreter during the progression of the conference, referred to by Pöchhacker as 'hypertext' (Pöchhacker 1994: 238). Intertextual reference could be isolated here as a means of studying context in terms of discoursal embeddedness in SI.

Third, it could be tentatively claimed after Hatim and Mason (Hatim & Mason 1997: 44), that the temporal nature of the activity of SI attaches more importance to texture, "context and structure being less readily usable than texture" (Hatim & Mason 1997: 44). Cohesive devices as "textural clues" (Hatim & Mason 1997: 47) regarding the coherence

of the text, or indeed as “contextualization clues” providing the interpreter with “information concerning how to integrate information into the ongoing discourse” (Tyler 1994: 244) could provide rich data for the investigation of ideologies.

### **2.4.3 Conclusions**

In this section, textuality in general and the interplay between SI and textuality in particular were investigated, with a view to isolating certain textual characteristics of SI-mediated institutional discourse that could give insights into textual manifestations of competing ideologies.

Textuality was the subject of subsection 2.4.1, with an exploration of Beaugrande and Dressler’s seven constitutive principles, and three regulative principles, of textuality. Contrary to Beaugrande and Dressler’s original approach, the position was taken that texts cannot be deemed uncommunicative merely as a result of one of the seven standards of textuality not being met. Categorisation of the seven standards into ‘text-centred’ and ‘user-centred’ was rejected and examples of textual manifestations of ideology in the form of lexical devices given.

Subsection 2.4.2 discussed the particular characteristics of textuality in SI-mediated communication. Investigation of ST and TT illustrated the hybridity of ST mode and the relevant weighting of the three domains of textuality – texture, structure and context – in SI-mediated institutional communication in the EP. Texture in the form of cohesive devices and context in the form of intertextual reference were selected for further investigation. In the following section, the concept of intertextuality as a manifestation of dialogised heteroglossia is introduced and further refined and subdivided into categories of discursal embeddedness suitable for investigation.



## **2.5 Intertextuality**

Dialogised heteroglossia was investigated in section 2.3 above. After establishing intertextuality as a possible avenue for investigation in the data analysis chapter of this thesis, the issue of types of dialogised heteroglossia should be investigated in more detail in order to develop a model that can be made operational in corpus analysis.

First, categories of dialogised heteroglossia need to be established, in which investigation on the individual text level is possible. However, it soon becomes clear that this categorisation is not an easy task.

Kristeva's original classification of intertextuality refers to two dimensions of intertextuality: the horizontal (reference to the way of writing and the addressees) and the vertical (reference to previous or current literature). This is also mirrored in other approaches which refer to a division between "typological intertextuality" and "referential intertextuality" (cf. Petöfi & Olivi 1988); "system reference" and "single text reference" (Broich & Pfister 1985: 53); intertextuality as a property of texts and intertextuality as a means of enabling the reader to isolate reference to specific texts (cf. Rößler 1998: 20); or constitutive intertextuality and manifest intertextuality (cf. Fairclough 1992: 185). Although there have been pleas to limit the term intertextuality to either the horizontal or vertical axis (Heinemann 1997: 35), the broader understanding of intertextuality reflects the discussion on dialogised heteroglossia above.

For the purposes of this thesis, a modified version of Fairclough's categorisation of intertextuality will be employed. Fairclough divides intertextuality into "constitutive intertextuality" and "manifest intertextuality" (cf. Fairclough 1992: 185). Constitutive intertextuality refers to "the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse"; manifest intertextuality to "the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts" (Fairclough 1992: 185).

These two categories will be maintained and extended by a third, namely the category of latent intertextuality. Building on the definition of manifest intertextuality, this category refers to "the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of non-specific other texts". This category was deemed necessary to account for textual occurrences of dialogised

heteroglossia which could not be accounted for in terms of reference to specific other texts, but could be accounted for in terms of a type of discursal embeddedness in the collective history of discourse of particular groups, in suborders of discourse. The concept of latent intertextuality is explored in more detail in subsection 2.5.2 below.

In the following subsections, 2.5.1 – 2.5.3 respectively, these three categories of dialogised heteroglossia will be investigated.

### **2.5.1      *Constitutive Intertextuality***

Constitutive intertextuality is defined as “the heterogeneous constitutions of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse” (cf. Fairclough 1992: 185). This categorisation has been criticised for risking confusing intertextuality with codes (Rößler 1998: 40) and norms. However, if intertextuality is examined in the light of Bakhtin’s theory of dialogised heteroglossia, it is exactly this normative aspect of unitary language that dialogised heteroglossia works against.

One such “type of convention” is often referred to as genre. However, as stated in section 2.2, the term genre is not employed in this thesis. Rather, these “conventions of text” can also be described as orders of text.

Different cultures seem to allow different combinations – the influence of aspects of the order of text of the evangelist sermon on American electoral and presidential speeches, for example, traditionally jars with norms in other cultures (for treatment of the difference between American and Egyptian cultural norms cf. Hatim & Mason 1990: 71). It could also be suggested that different ideologies allow different combinations, or indeed that the subversion of certain orders of text is of ideological import. However, just as the cultural acceptability of such combinations do change over time, resulting in hybridity of orders of text (cf. the influence of American political rhetoric on the speeches of Tony Blair), so too are discourses at all layers of the discourse model open to influence and hybridity.



Bakhtin addresses this type of dialogised heteroglossia in his discussion of speech genres. He first addresses the issue of speech genres by stating that utterances are always in some degree formulaic. In order to explore this concept further, it is first necessary to define what Bakhtin means by the term utterance. For Bakhtin the utterance stands for “the simultaneity of what is actually said and what is assumed but not spoken” (Clark & Holquist 1984: 207). Indeed:

Within the arena of....every utterance an intense conflict between one’s own and another’s word is being fought out..... . The utterance so conceived is a considerably more complex and dynamic organism than it appears when construed simply as a thing that articulates the intention of the person uttering it.

(Clark & Holquist 1984: 220)

This illustrates unitary aspects of language and the ability we have of pre-empting our dialogue partner’s utterance. As Bakhtin writes:

to learn to speak means to learn to construct utterances..... We learn to cast our speech in generic forms and, when we hear others’ speech, we deduce its genre from the first words; we anticipate in advance a certain volume (that is the approximate length of the speech whole) as well as a certain compositional structure. We foresee the end; that is, from the very beginning we have a sense of the speech whole.

(Bakhtin, cited in Clark & Holquist 1984: 65)

This has particular relevance to the study of SI where access to the entire utterance is not possible before the interpreter himself starts to speak. Thus, the assumptions the interpreter has about how the speech is likely to develop could be viewed as playing a larger role than in non SI-mediated communication.

In terms of an investigation into competing ideologies, the concept of orders of texts is of prime importance and links back to the discursal concept of degrees of inclusion / exclusion addressed in section 2.1.2, and the textual device of foregrounding / backgrounding (Fairclough 1992: 59, drawing on Halliday) explored in chapter four of

this thesis. The concepts of foregrounding and backgrounding are introduced to refer to the change of weighting of certain terms in the TT when compared to the ST. In this way, terms which are referenced more in the TT than in the ST are said to be foregrounded in the interpretation, whereas other terms are referenced less in the TT than in the ST and are hence backgrounded. This is an interesting aspect of ideological saliency within the institution of the EU.

Bakhtin speaks of 'generic stratification' (Bakhtin 1981: 289) in which specific "points of view, specific approaches, forms of thinking, nuances and accents" (Bakhtin 1981: 289) are characteristic of particular genres, or orders of texts in the terminology employed in this thesis. Indeed,

These assumed values go so deep that they are virtually the flesh of the utterance. They constitute an assumptive world whose contours represent the outside limit of reality for those within its sphere.

(Bakhtin, quoted in Holquist 1990: 65)

Bakhtin's concept of the utterance as the awareness of 'addressitivity', explicates this theory further.

Bakhtin investigates dialogised heteroglossia in this context in analysis of an extract from the novel 'Little Dorrit' from Dickens (Bakhtin 1981: 303) in which he examines the "parodic stylization" of the language of ceremonial speeches (Bakhtin 1981: 303). In flouting the norms of the order of text of the authorial narrative, in introducing the "speech of another" without formal markers into the story, Dickens creates a "double-accented, double styled hybrid construction" (Bakhtin 1981: 304).

These links between stability, hybridity and orders of text can also be investigated in non-literary texts, such as corpus analysis of the EP corpus in chapter four of this thesis. Indeed, the formal and linguistic patterns associated with certain orders of text is one of the categories of constraints investigated in chapter four of this thesis in terms of the political intervention in the EP.



### 2.5.2 *Latent Intertextuality*

The category of latent intertextuality, defined as the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of non-specific other texts, is introduced to account for textual occurrences of dialogised heteroglossia which cannot be accounted for in terms of reference to specific other texts, but can be accounted for in terms of a type of discursive embeddedness in the collective history of groups of texts in suborders of discourse. This category differs from Fairclough's category of constitutive intertextuality, defined as "the heterogeneous constitutions of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse" (Fairclough 1992: 185) because it does not refer merely to conventions governing orders of texts and text-type. Rather, latent intertextuality involves reference to a discourse on a particular topic. A prime example of such latent intertextuality would be textual reference to myth – in this case the "specific other text" cannot be isolated, although the reference is certainly to suborders of discourse in the sense of discourses of groups, words which "come with their own histories" (Clark & Holquist 1984: 217). In this sense, "a text cannot exist as a hermetic or self sufficient whole, and so does not function as a closed system" (Worton & Still 1990: 1) – all language use is filtered through knowledge of history, impressions, interests and so on.

Bakhtin addresses the issue of reference to non-specific other texts in his analysis of comic style. He refers to texts in which "someone else's speech is dominant" (Bakhtin 1981: 305) in the form of either specific persons or more often, "a collective voice" (Bakhtin 1981: 305).

However, it is Kristeva who takes up the concept in her later work on transposition and polylogue (cf. Kristeva 1978). She seeks new concepts to define a form of intertextuality in which texts absorb and transform other texts and in which all texts themselves become part of one all encompassing "texte général" or "universal text", also referred to as the "intertext" (cf. Kristeva 1978, Rößler 1998: 28). This seems to be a similar concept to that which Barthes takes up in his concept of the "chambre d'échos" (cf. Barthes 1974). For the purposes of this research study, the term "intertext" will be modified to refer to the "discourse of groups", which make up specific suborders of discourse, rather than to one all-encompassing "universal text". These individual "intertexts" thus can be viewed as layers of meaning which constitute the discursive history of certain utterances and

references. Thus discursal embeddedness in the form of reference to non-specific other texts can be investigated in terms of the relation of the particular text to such intertexts, by the investigation of latent intertextuality.

Latent intertextuality can be further subdivided into two subcategories. The first subcategory, historic intertextuality, involves reference to definitive historical events in layers of discourse, similar to what is sometimes referred to in the Durkheimian sense as the “consciousness collective” of certain groups or societies. In this context, historic intertextual reference to the Third Reich, for example, is central to the suborder of discourse of European political discourse.

The second subcategory, document intertextuality, depicts reference to the titles of documents and treaties. Reference here is not only to the text of the document itself but to the discourse of groups and hence suborder of discourse. In addition, there is also reference to orders of discourse, such as rationality, and to suborders of discourse such as democracy.

### 2.5.3 *Manifest Intertextuality*

The category ‘manifest intertextuality’ is defined as “the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts” (Fairclough 1992: 185) where these specific other texts do not have to occur in the same temporal or spatial environment. There is a wealth of approaches in terms of categorising what form such intertextual reference can take and it would far exceed the confines of this thesis to discuss them all here (cf. Lachmann 1982, Broich & Pfister 1985, Plett 1991, Stierle 1993, Helbig 1996, Rößler 1998, Daničić 2003)

Bakhtin investigates dialogised heteroglossia in this category through his study of reported speech (Volishinov 1973: 115-123). Defined as “speech within speech, utterance within utterance, and at the same time also *speech about speech, utterance about utterance*” (Volishinov 1973: 115), reported speech flavours the new text and influences with its own “autonomous theme” (Volishinov 1973: 115). According to Bakhtin, the analysis of reported speech can provide us with information about “steadfast social tendencies in an active reception of other’s speech” (Volishinov 1973: 117).



Indeed, he states that “the true object of inquiry ought to be precisely the dynamic interrelationship of these two factors, the speech being reported (the other person’s speech) and the speech doing the reporting (the author’s speech) (Volishinov 1973: 119). In this context, Bakhtin proposes two different methods of depicting reported speech: linear and pictorial. In the first category, the attempt is made to retain the integrity and authenticity of the reported speech by demarcating the reported speech as clearly as possible, to “screen it from penetration by the author’s intentions” (Volishinov 1973: 119). The second category is open to “authorial retort and commentary” (Volishinov 1973: 120), in which boundaries of reported speech are “obliterated” (Volishinov 1973: 120).

Although presented as a historical review of developments in European languages, the categorisation can be made operational in corpus analysis of textual manifestations of ideologies.

Two categories of manifest intertextuality are of particular interest in terms of an investigation into ideology and axiology. The first subcategory, co-textuality refers to specific other texts which occur in direct relation to that text (such as individual interventions in a parliamentary debate or successive presentations at a conference). The second category, the quotation, is the most explicit form of manifest intertextuality and refers to verbatim quotes from one text in another text, whether explicitly indicated using the “quote....unquote” method, or in the form of indirect speech. Choices of what is (and what is not) quoted are not made in an arbitrary manner, rather they are motivated choices on the part of the speaker (and interpreter). Once again, issues of the gatekeeping of information and the Foucauldian dichotomy of exclusion / inclusion are particularly salient in this context. The term ‘pretext’ will be employed in both categories to refer to the specific other text that is present in the text under investigation.

#### **2.5.4 Conclusions**

Once the abstract theoretical construct had been established, it was necessary to define categories of intertextuality which could be made operational in a corpus-based study of SI-mediated institutional communication. Fairclough’s categories of constitutive and

manifest intertextuality were adopted and extended by a third category of latent intertextuality. In this way, three categories of dialogised heteroglossia could be investigated to investigate reference to **the heterogeneous constitutions of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse (constitutive intertextuality); the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts (manifest intertextuality); and the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of non-specific other texts (latent intertextuality).**

By the introduction of the latter category, a term was found to describe intertextual reference for which no specific pretext could be isolated, but where there was a type of discursal embeddedness of utterances in the collective history of groups of texts in suborders of discourse (such as myth). The term pretext is employed to refer to the specific other text that is present in the text under investigation.

Each of the categories was discussed individually in subsections 2.5.1 to 2.5.3 respectively. In addition to drawing on Bakhtin, reference was made in subsection 2.5.2 to Kristeva's theory of the intertext. This concept was found to be useful in the discussion of latent intertextuality. However, reference to one universal intertext was found to be too vague; rather a case was made for the reference to intertexts in the plural to refer to the groups of texts in the sense of suborders of discourse. In subsection 2.5.3, reported speech was isolated as an avenue of research into manifest intertextuality (cf. subsection 4.1.2 of this thesis).

## **2.6 Cohesion and Coherence**

In section 2.4 above, cohesion and coherence were isolated as salient textual features of ideologies manifest in discourse manifest in text. In this section, the terms cohesion and coherence are investigated in more detail before suggesting two categories of investigation in the following subsections. Lexical repetition is explored in subsection 2.6.1, and metaphor strings in subsection 2.6.2. Conclusions are drawn in subsection 2.6.3.



M. A. K. Halliday is credited with coining the term cohesion and expanding on this concept together with Ruqaiya Hasan in their seminal work *Cohesion in English* (Halliday & Hasan 1976). Cohesion is first introduced as a non-structural concept. In this way, cohesive relations are defined as existing “between two or more elements in a text that are independent of the structure” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: vii). What is important in this regard is that Halliday and Hasan’s work is one of the first linguistic studies to go beyond the sentence boundary. According to their understanding of the term, cohesion is a semantic relation which,

may be set up either within a sentence or between sentences; with the consequence that, when it crosses a sentence boundary, it has the effect of making the two sentences cohere with one another.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976: vii)

Therefore, cohesion is viewed predominantly as an inter-sentential relation. This, in turn, means that the text, not the sentence, is the object under investigation. Text is defined, as in section 2.2, as “any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length, that does form a unified whole” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 1). Once again, the emphasis is not on categorising text as a grammatical unit, rather text is viewed as “a unit of language in use” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 1) and not “some sort of super sentence” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 1). In turn, a text does not consist of sentences, it is rather “realized by, or encoded in, sentences” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 2). Halliday and Hasan view cohesion as referring to

relations of meaning that exist within the text and define it as a text. Cohesion occurs when the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976: 4)

Halliday and Hasan proceed by introducing the concept of the ‘cohesive tie’, defined as “one occurrence of a pair of cohesively related items” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 3) and specify cohesive ties as consisting of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 4).

They go on to state that “cohesion is expressed partly through the grammar and partly through the vocabulary” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 5) and write that “we can refer therefore to grammatical and lexical cohesion” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 6). These two categories are further subdivided.

Grammatical cohesion consists of reference, substitution and ellipsis. Intonation is also isolated as a cohesive device and subsumed in this category, since “certain types of grammatical cohesion are in their turn expressed through the intonation system, in spoken English” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 6).

The category of lexical cohesion covers reiteration and collocation, with conjunction on the borderline between the two categories, having both grammatical and lexical cohesive properties.

It would far exceed the scope of this study to fully investigate both grammatical and lexical cohesion. There have been a handful of investigations into grammatical cohesion in the in the field of SI-mediated communication (cf. Shlesinger 1995). The subcategory of intonation, in particular, has attracted the interest of some researchers (cf. Ahrens 2004, 2005), and would provide a fascinating avenue of inquiry in terms of ST prosodic interference in TT interpretations. However, for reasons of scope, the focus of analysis in this thesis will be limited to the category of lexical cohesion as the subcategories of reiteration and collocation were judged to yield more comprehensive data in the particular corpus-based study at hand.

However, before lexical cohesion in the form of reiteration and collocation is examined in finer-grained categories, criticisms of the approach of Halliday and Hasan to cohesion have to be discussed. This discussion culminates by extending the concept of cohesion by that of coherence, an approach which is widespread in current linguistic approaches (cf. Hoey 2001:11ff.) and is made operational in corpus analysis in chapter four of this thesis.

Although Halliday and Hasan do have a category of exophoric reference, defined as “reference to things outside the text”, they disregard the role that such reference plays in creating meaning in the text itself (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 18).



However, it is argued here that surface text elements do not only refer to the text world, but also to the worlds external to the text, whether this be in terms of the 'real' world (taking into account the reservations regarding the use of this term in section 2.1.1) or discursal worlds (in the sense of discursal embeddedness).

Although this concept of discursal embeddedness does extend the traditional concept of cohesion, all categories of cohesion under investigation have both definite manifestations in text and links to the discursal world. Indeed Halliday and Hasan's concept of "cohesive chains" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 15), referring to chains of reference, proves extremely useful in all categories of analysis.

If cohesion is defined as "the set of possibilities that exist in the language for making text hang together: the potential that the speaker or writer has at his disposal" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 19), then surely such exophoric chains of reference must be somehow related to cohesion? Indeed, in their discussion on the "context of situation" (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1976: 20-21 for a detailed account of this term), Halliday and Hasan admit that the "internal and external aspects of texture are not wholly separable, and the reader, or listener, does not separate them when responding unconsciously to a passage of speech or writing" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 20-21). In doing so, they explicitly recognise the intertwined nature of text and context, that "the relations between the language and the relevant features of the speaker's and hearer's (or writer's and reader's) material, social and ideological environment" also fall within the domain of linguistics (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 20-21).

Interestingly, in their discussion of collocation, Halliday and Hasan also touch on the importance of what they term the "textual history" and the "collocational environment" of each lexical item in a text which provides the "context" for that item (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 289). Although Halliday and Hasan do not go beyond the text in their discussion of this phenomenon, their concept of collocation shares the same underlying principle that informs the concepts of discursal embeddedness of lexical items and their collocations employed in this thesis.

The second criticism that can be voiced regarding Halliday and Hasan's approach is that no distinction is made between the concepts of cohesion and coherence, the distinction

having first been introduced with the emergence of text linguistics. Beaugrande and Dressler cleanly delineate the two terms, with cohesion defined as “the ways in which the components of the surface text (the actual words we hear or see) are mutually connected within a sequence” and coherence as “the ways in which the components of the textual world, i.e. the configuration of concepts and relations which underlie the surface text, are mutually accessible and relevant”, where a concept is defined as “a configuration of knowledge (cognitive content) which can be recovered or activated with more or less unity and consistency in the mind” (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 4). Therefore in Beaugrande and Dressler’s terms, the interpretation of surface text elements is an investigation of cohesion, whereas the interpretation of those links is a matter of coherence.

For the purposes of the study, analysis will examine surface text elements (cohesion) with reference to the Beaugrande and Dressler concept of the coherence of the text, as well as to the discursal embeddedness of the text at the order of texts, suborder and order of discourse layers. The term coherence will also be employed in terms of ideological coherence in the sense of consistency and logical progression of mutually acceptable concepts at a given time.

### **2.6.1      *Lexical Repetition***

According to Halliday and Hasan, one of the subcategories of lexical cohesion is that of reiteration. Reiteration is defined as:

a form of lexical cohesion which involves the repetition of a lexical item, at one end of the scale; the use of a general word to refer back to a lexical item, at the other end of the scale; and a number of things in between – the use of a synonym, near synonym, or superordinate.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976: 278).

Halliday and Hasan then specify four categories of reiteration: (a) the same word, (b) a synonym or near-synonym, (c) a superordinate or (d) a general word (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 279), whereby a superordinate is defined as “any item that dominates the earlier



one in the lexical taxonomy” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 280). Important in this context is that Halliday and Hasan do not claim that all occurrences of cohesion have to have the same referent. On the contrary, they state that:

A lexical item, therefore, coheres with a preceding occurrence of the same item whether or not the two have the same referent, or indeed whether or not there is any referential relationship between them. The second occurrence may be, as far as reference is concerned, (a) identical, (b) inclusive, (c) exclusive or (d) simply unrelated.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976: 283)

Recurrence of lexical and structural characteristics in discourse, in the sense of orders of texts, suborders of discourse and orders of discourse, is also classified by Beaugrande and Dressler as a cohesive device. According to their approach, recurrence consists of four subcategories, namely lexical repetition; ideational repetition and emphasis; parallelism and rhetorical repetition. Their term lexical repetition seems equivalent to Halliday and Hasan’s term reiteration and will be the term employed in this study. Analysis therefore will concentrate on the investigation of lexical repetition with the aim of illustrating the ideological coherence of this recurrence.

Lexical repetition as a form of lexical cohesion is of interest in an investigation of ideology because high-frequency reiteration of a concept or part-concept can serve to reify that concept and move towards semantic stabilisation. It is widely accepted that repetition of the word itself “is generally assumed to produce a different effect from that created by pronominal reference” (Shlesinger 1995: 2000) and that “the exact repetition of a word or a string of words is a motivated, deliberate choice on the part of the speaker” (Hatim & Mason 1990: 124). Partial recurrence in the form of variants and lexical replacements is also viewed as cohesive and ideologically salient.

### **2.6.2 *Metaphor Strings***

Metaphor is an integral part of texts and hence layers of discourse. In political discourse in particular, certain metaphors are of particular interest and occur with particular

frequency. Certain political concepts could perhaps not even be expressed without metaphor and metaphorical concepts – the term the ‘new world order’ is a case in point (Henle 1958: 256).

In order to avoid misunderstandings, the term metaphor strings, employed in this thesis, should also be defined at this juncture. In this study, the term metaphor string refers to the repeated occurrence of a metaphor (i) in an individual text and (ii) the shared recurrence of the metaphor in that text and its co-texts. This can either ensue from repetition of the metaphor or by highlighting different qualities of the metaphorical concept. This is consistent with the view that metaphors can be expanded by using another aspect of the analogy as proposed by Henle (1958: 245).

In Hallidayian terms, metaphor strings are a form of collocation or collocational cohesion, defined as “cohesion that is achieved through the association of lexical items that regularly co-occur” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 284). Halliday and Hasan admit that collocation is probably the most problematic part of lexical cohesion to categorise and suggest that “there is cohesion between any pair of lexical items that stand to each other in some recognizable lexicosemantic (word meaning) relation” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 285). In addition, they list a number of such lexicosemantic relations; such as synonyms, near synonyms, superordinates, complementaries antonyms, converses, pairs of words drawn from the same ordered series (e.g. dollar / cent), and pairs drawn from unordered lexical sets (part / whole, part / part, co-hyponyms of the same superordinate term). They also state that there is:

a very marked cohesive effect deriving from the occurrence in proximity with each other of pairs such as the following, whose meaning relation is not easy to classify in systematic semantic terms: laugh...joke, blade...sharp, garden...dig, ill....doctor,...try...succeed, bee...honey, door.....window, king....crown, boat...row, sunshine...cloud.

(Halliday & Hasan 1976: 285)

What is important in this context is that, for Halliday and Hasan, collocation is not limited to a pair of words (or one cohesive tie). On the contrary, they state that “it is very



common for long cohesive chains to be built up out of lexical relations of this kind” (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 286).

Given that the political speech as such is characterised by argument, it seems particularly salient to study metaphor strings in the sense that metaphors are axiological and ideological markers. In this way,

What may at first appear to be random, isolated metaphorical expressions [...] turn out to be not random at all. Rather they are part of whole metaphorical systems that together serve the complex purpose of characterising the concept of its argument in all of its aspects as we conceive them. Though such metaphors do not provide us with a single consistent concrete image, they are nonetheless coherent and do fit together when there are overlapping entailments, though not otherwise. The metaphors come out of our clearly delineated and concrete experiences and allow us to construct highly abstract and elaborate concepts, like that of argument.

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 105)

Thus, textual manifestations of metaphor strings have a cohesive function and the metaphor string as such is a form of coherence. Not only do they help to structure argument and text, they also indicate the valuational stance of the speaker and interpreter and thus provide an insight into the tension between interpreter axiology and EU institutional hegemony, as discussed in section 2.2 of this thesis.

By concentrating on analysis of metaphor strings, the global cohesive function of recurring metaphor is emphasised. Theses serve a cohesive function by making the text (speech) ‘hang together’, itself evidence of the coherence of the discourse (whether on the suborder or order layer) and the ideology under investigation.

The investigation of metaphor strings is of key importance in a study of ideologies for two main reasons. First, the cohesion established in individual texts by means of repetition of metaphor is evidence of the existence of (temporarily coherent) value systems (and thus ideologies / hegemonies / axiologies) manifest in text. Second, the frequency of the same metaphor string occurring in the surrounding co-texts in the

interpretation, is evidence of the degree of stability of those ideologies in the particular suborders of discourse under investigation (EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology). In turn, the repeated occurrence of particular metaphors in the suborders of discourse also involves reference to the upper layer of the discourse model, namely to orders of discourse (e.g. rationality, democracy).

The categorisation of approaches in exploring the concept of metaphor is a highly debated issue in metaphor research and it would far exceed the confines of this thesis to discuss these issues in detail at this juncture (for a general overview cf. Kövecses 2002). However, researchers are generally agreed that theories of metaphor can be broadly categorised into substitutive and comparative theories, interaction theories and cognitive or conceptual theories.

The traditional focus of studies of metaphor was on substitutive and comparative theories, long the domain of philosophy, literary studies and stylistics. Research was often limited to the study of creative and literary metaphor. This was the approach pursued in early Translation Studies, where metaphor was defined as an “individual flash of imaginative insight” (Dagut 1976: 22). Each occurrence of metaphor was seen as “an entirely new and unique creation” (Dagut 1976:22). In this way, metaphors that were viewed as part of the semantic stock of the language, and as such, categorised as ‘dead’, as having shifted from ‘performance’ to ‘competence’ (van den Broeck 1981:75), were largely ignored. With the advent of the conceptual approach to metaphor, it was exactly these ‘lexicalised’ metaphors (van den Broeck 1981:75) that were isolated as of interest in the investigation of cognitive and conceptual schemata that determine a group’s understanding of the way the world works (cf. the discussion of ‘mental models’ in chapter one of this thesis).

Although not the first researchers to approach metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon (cf. Baldauf 1997: 286), Lakoff and Johnson (1980) pioneered conceptual metaphor theory, according to which metaphors are viewed not just a matter of language but of thought.



According to this theory:

[...] metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3)

By this statement Lakoff and Johnson are moving the concept of metaphor away from the purely textual level towards the cognitive and discursive level and it is in this context that the issue of metaphor for the study of ideologies becomes critical. Lakoff and Johnson present models of conceptualising the world, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY and IDEAS ARE MONEY. These recurring metaphors are therefore part of what is taken to be 'mutually manifest' (cf. subsection 2.1.1 of this thesis for a more detailed discussion of this concept) by the members of a certain group and are hence key concepts in establishing ideologies. Through analysis of textual manifestations of such conceptual metaphor in discourse and hence in suborders and orders of discourse, the researcher can establish the temporary stability of such concepts and thus the textual presence of elements of ideologies / hegemonies / axiologies. Are such conceptual metaphors manifest in text in a cohesive manner? If so, does their manifestation in text actually help structure that text in a coherent manner? What happens to conceptual metaphor in the ST during the process of SI? Are metaphoric expressions omitted, 'demetaphorised' (cf. Newmark 1981), retained or even strengthened or explicated in the TT? Do they serve the same function in the TT as in the ST? These are the open questions that prompt further investigation of conceptual metaphor as a possible avenue of fruitful research in the study of ideologies.

In addition, it is usually not the case that all facets of the conceptual metaphor are explored and expanded to the same extent. Certain elements of the conceptual metaphor are highlighted and emphasised whereas other facets are neglected. The choice of focus in the use of the conceptual metaphor is ideologically salient and will be referred to in this section as foregrounding and backgrounding certain elements of the conceptual metaphor in translation.

Before making the approach of Lakoff and Johnson operational in section 4.3, criticism of their conceptual metaphor theory has to be explored. The main criticism of their theory pertains to the claimed universality of the approach. Lakoff and Johnson concentrate exclusively on conceptual metaphors used in English. These findings have then been extrapolated to other languages and cultures. This has resulted in criticism of their approach being Anglophone and Anglo-centric. However, Lakoff & Johnson themselves admit that conceptual metaphors are culture bound and state in relation to the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY and the concept of time being linear in Western cultures: "This isn't a necessary way for human beings to conceptualize time; it is tied to our culture. There are cultures where time is none of these things" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 9).

Although their approach does concentrate exclusively on English, it has been applied successfully to a non-comparative study of German discourse (cf. Baldauf 1997). This would suggest that the approach can be made operational in the comparative study of German and English in this thesis and would raise the question of whether Lakoff and Johnson's approach is not more Eurocentric than Anglo-centric. Given that the languages under investigation are German and English and the conceptual metaphor strings under investigation have been found in both the German ST and the English TT, this objection to the universality of the approach of Lakoff and Johnson, though not completely rejected, is disregarded in this section.

### **2.6.3 Conclusions**

In this section, the terms cohesion and coherence were investigated. The linguistic approach of Halliday and Hasan to, and the text linguistic theory of Beaugrande and Dressler on, the concepts of cohesion and coherence were discussed. Cohesion was established as a term referring to surface relations between text elements and defined as **the ways in which the components of the surface text (the actual words we hear or see) are mutually connected within a sequence**. Coherence, in turn, was established as the interpretation of these cohesive links and defined as **a configuration of knowledge (cognitive content) which can be recovered or activated with more or less unity and consistency in the mind**. In this way, reference to, and links between, the layer of text,



orders of texts, suborders of discourse and orders of discourse was also found to be of paramount importance in a study of coherence of ideologies. The interrelated nature of ideologies and the three layers of the discourse model presented in section 2.2 (orders of discourse, suborders of discourse and orders of text) was also underlined.

For reasons of scope, Halliday and Hasan's category of lexical cohesion, as opposed to grammatical cohesion, was selected for the second stage of the investigation. Lexical repetition and metaphor strings were then selected for discussion in subsections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2 respectively.

Lexical repetition, as a form of reiteration or recurrence, including partial recurrence, was selected for the ideological significance of lexicalisation of concepts (is the same term always used, are many lexical replacements / variants permitted in the text under investigation, does over lexicalisation of a certain concept occur?).

The category of metaphor strings, as a form of collocational cohesive chains, was selected for the ideological interest of certain metaphoric concepts [do they underline the cohesion of certain ideologies, are certain metaphoric concepts prevalent in certain suborders and orders of discourse, is there conflict between certain metaphoric concepts (and if so, are certain metaphoric concepts excluded from that discourse)?].

Although the focus of investigation is that of text, all layers in the discourse model will be referred to in the data analysis in chapter four of this thesis. In the following section, studies of ideology in text in Translation Studies, and Interpreting Studies in particular, will be presented and discussed.

## **2.7 Translation and Interpreting Studies**

In subsection 2.7.1 of this section, the case will first be made for understanding Translation and Interpreting Studies as a single discipline. In subsection 2.7.2, the particular characteristics of research into simultaneous interpreting (SI), will be investigated and discussed. Third, the author's research will be situated within Translation and Interpreting Studies, focussing on research into the interplay between

interpreting / translation and ideology and the role of interpreting / translation in institutional communication, in subsections 2.7.3 and 2.7.4 respectively. Conclusions will be drawn in subsection 2.7.5.

### **2.7.1      *Translation and Interpreting Studies: Unity in Diversity?***

Despite various interdisciplinary conferences with the goal of reaching a consensus on the most appropriate research paradigm (Gerver & Sinaiko 1978, Gran & Dodds 1989), calls for empirically based Interpreting Research (IR) (Gile 1995) and the founding of the journal 'Interpreting', the issue is still unresolved as to whether Interpreting Studies should be regarded as a discipline per se (Gran in Gambier et al 1997) or whether it belongs within the broader fold of Translation Studies (Pöchhacker 1992).

It is not the aim of this subsection to explore in detail the arguments for and against such a distinction, as this has been covered in detail elsewhere (Gambier et al. 1997, Lambert & Moser-Mercer 1994, Gile 1995). Suffice to say, this study is inspired and informed by the ethos of interdisciplinarity, leading the author to believe that much can be drawn from disciplines as (traditionally) diverse as linguistics, sociology, political science and certain branches of Translation Studies, in the study of the interplay between interpreting and ideology.

Nevertheless, there are certain temporal, linguistic and psychological differences between translation and interpreting which will be explored in subsection 2.6.2. Despite these differences, there are a number of studies and methodologies that have been developed in the field of Translation Studies that are relevant to, and can be made operational in, the study of interpreting. Indeed certain research data may be enriched by the comparison of translation and interpreting. Just as TS approaches can inform research into interpreting, so too can the study of SI as an on-line process shed light on the role of the subject in acts of mediation between languages.

The discussion will concentrate on the branch of TS most commonly known as Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), as described in detail by Gideon Toury (1995). Based on one branch of Holmes' Map of the Discipline (Holmes 1972, reprinted in



Venuti 2004: 180 – 192), DTS concentrates on describing translation as a phenomenon, on observing rather than judging, and in doing so moves away from the rather prescriptive research carried out in the area of translator training and early quality analysis. The same can be said of the ‘descriptive turn’ in the study of interpreting as a reaction against the rather anecdotal and prescriptive character of research into interpreting in the early years, such as error analysis (Barik 1972). The question is raised as to whether such prescriptive research provides useful insights into the activity of SI or merely classifies as mistakes shifts which are part and parcel of the very nature of the activity. Rather DTS looks at the TT as a text in its own right and is hence more target-bound (Toury 1995: 24) than other branches of the discipline which concentrate on concepts of fidelity or loyalty to the ST. According to Toury (1995: 28), translation is always part of a target system, although that target system is not always to be viewed in the traditional manner of nation-bound majority languages. This concept of the target system, often referred to as the target ‘culture’ is discussed in more detail in subsection 2.7.4 below.

In research into interpreting, the ‘descriptive turn’ tended to focus on modelling the process of simultaneous interpreting or investigating neurolinguistic and cognitive processing (Gerver 1976, Kirchhoff 1975, Gile 1995, Moser 1978, Setton 1999). In contrast to DTS which tended to place the subject at the heart of its research, research into interpreting seemed to have lost sight of the role of the interpreter as an agent in its search for an all encompassing objective theory. However, the ‘cultural turn’ (Snell-Hornby 1990, Lefevere 1990) in which translation is analysed “in its cultural, political and ideological content” (Hatim & Munday 2004: 102) in TS was not to leave studies into interpreting unaffected. This movement in TS is also referred to as the ‘power turn’ (Tymoczko & Gentzler 2002: xiii) and there have even been proposals that the term ‘ideological turn’ should be used to refer to “a new / renewed focus on the ideological significance of the act of translation; more specifically [...] a changed perspective of seeing translation as a means of ideological resistance” (Leung 2006: 130).

Calls for research into ideology and interpreting (Cronin 2002: 387) encouraged researchers to situate interpreting in the social, to investigate the role of agency, power and ‘culture’ in mediated communication. This has also taken the form of meta-discursive research into the image of the interpreter and the interpreting profession, in an

attempt to make the interpreter more 'visible' and highlight the gap between the image (at times also self-image) and day-to-day work of the interpreter (Diriker 2004). In terms of interpreting research, this change of focus had much to do with the rise of interest in community interpreting, much of the interest in this field originating in the social sciences in subjects such as anthropology, sociology and cultural studies.

It is such an understanding of research, anchored in the broad discipline of Translation and Interpreting Studies, and interest in the interplay between the institution, hegemony, axiology and interpreter agency that informs this thesis.

### **2.7.2 *Interpreting***

Having established the possibility of viewing Translation and Interpreting Studies as a single discipline, the activity of SI must now be distinguished from that of written translation.

In any investigation of SI-mediated text, temporal and cognitive restraints and the oral nature of the activity must be underlined. In this way SI can be distinguished from the traditional object of investigation of Translation Studies: namely written texts translated in an undefined time frame<sup>10</sup>.

Early research into SI concentrated on temporal factors such as the time lag between speaker and interpreter output, known as Ear-Voice Span (EVS), and speech rate. Consensus was soon reached on the existence of an EVS of 2 to 10 seconds (Oléron and Nanpon 1964) and optimal speech rate of 95 - 120 words a minute (Seleskovitch 1965; Gerver 1969). Later experiments (Dillinger 1989) have been severely criticised for exceeding the upper speech rate limit when this was not one of the factors under investigation.

Another important topic of early research was the significance of pauses in the speaker's output for the interpreter. Goldman-Eisler's theory that the interpreter uses these pauses to process 'chunks' of information is an interesting one, supported in theory by other

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<sup>10</sup> The activity of on-sight translation which shares many characteristics with that of interpreting, albeit consecutive interpreting rather than SI, is excluded.



researchers (Gerver 1976). However, the notion of significant processing occurring only during pauses in speaker output, as Goldman-Eisler claims (Goldman-Eisler 1972), must be viewed with some caution, given that the length of pauses are on average one second or less and simultaneous listening and speaking occurs at least 75% of the time (Gerver 1976: 182-3).

It must be stated at this juncture that it is difficult to compare much of the work done by earlier researchers as a result of the lack of consistency in methodology. Experiments are conducted on natural bilinguals as if they were trained interpreters (Lawson 1967) and both simultaneous listening and speaking in the same language and shadowing are taken as equivalent to SI (Goldman-Eisler and Cohen 1974). Even Gerver disregards the fundamental difference between the spoken and written form in one of his studies (Gerver 1974), when transcripts of SI are evaluated as translations, thus denying the orality of SI, mentioned above.

Seleskovitch, Lederer and colleagues at the ESIT (Ecole Supérieure d'Interprètes et de Traducteurs de l'Université de Paris III) in Paris were the first researchers to develop a theory of SI as a reaction against the "commonly held view of the act of interpreting as a mere transcoding process"<sup>11</sup> (Seleskovitch 1984: 37). Their 'théorie du sens' has since been referred to as the interpreting theory (IT) approach (Setton 1999). According to IT, SI is a two-stage process in which the source language utterance is first dissociated from its lexical, syntactic and grammatical structure. The resulting language-independent units of meaning (*unité de sens*), which are not grammatically defined, then take on the lexical and syntactical conventions of the target language, before being produced as natural speech as the interpreter's output. This process is referred to as the 'deverbalisation' of the utterance. According to the IT theorists, these units of meaning are a combination of "language sounds" and a cognitive addition (*complément cognitif*), stemming from the knowledge aroused by the speech (Seleskovitch 1978: 334). In the words of Seleskovitch:

Sense can be defined as a cognitive construction made by the addressee on the basis of the sounds he received from the addresser's mouth; he adds to them such cognitive remembrance as fits the sounds, and such additional

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<sup>11</sup> My translation

researchers (Gerver 1976). However, the notion of significant processing occurring only during pauses in speaker output, as Goldman-Eisler claims (Goldman-Eisler 1972), must be viewed with some caution, given that the length of pauses are on average one second or less and simultaneous listening and speaking occurs at least 75% of the time (Gerver 1976: 182-3).

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<sup>11</sup> My translation



knowledge, whether from his long or medium term memory, that fits the whole of a clause or sentence.

(Seleskovitch 1978: 335)

The deverbalisation theory of the Paris School has been much criticised but has survived mainly because it is virtually impossible to falsify. Isham's study on deverbalisation (Isham 1994) attempts to test the hypothesis but cannot satisfactorily state one way or another whether the theory stands up to experimental testing. However, the refusal of IT theorists to entertain failure or the possibility of the SI process breaking down points to an idealistic theory which cannot satisfactorily explain in full the phenomenon of SI. It is also easy to isolate instances of interference from the ST in the TT, suggesting, at least, that deverbalisation does not always occur.

This resulted in the development of the information processing (IP) approach to SI, traditionally presented as a unified approach which completely contradicts the views of the IT community. In order to understand this commonly held view, it is first necessary to investigate the different IP models and establish the main threads of the IP argument. In this context, research based on Massaro's cognitive flow model (Massaro 1978) and Gile's modular Effort Models (Gile 1995) will be presented.

Massaro's information processing model formed the basis for much research into SI in the seventies. Massaro himself attempts to apply his model to SI, although he does concede that his model is conceived on the basis of monolingual communication and therefore would need to be adapted to the SI task which involves "time-sharing between processes and simultaneity of these processes" (Massaro 1978: 299). However, he stresses that the IP approach has relevance to SI as in information processing terms "this skill (SI) would seem to reduce to one that even the unilingual has" (ibid.). Both Gerver (1976) and Moser (1978) use his model as a basis for their modelling of the SI process.

Massaro's categorises 'structural' and 'functional' components of speech, what Gerver respectively refers to as 'permanent structural' and 'control' features. The 'structural' component represents the information available at a particular stage of processing, the 'functional', the procedures and processes that operate on the information held in the

corresponding structural component (Massaro 1978: 300). For a comprehensive step-by-step description of the model, see Massaro (1978), Gerver (1976) and Moser (1978).

IP theorists maintain that the interesting stage for the researcher of SI is the rehearsal and recoding stage in General Abstract Memory (GAM). It is here that the crux of the IP approach to SI theory is encountered – the limited capacity of this ‘working memory’. Information is continuously ‘chunked’– i.e. units are combined to provide ‘meaning’. This is referred to as being 5 plus or minus 2 chunks of information (Massaro 1978) or 7 plus or minus 2 chunks of information (Miller 1956).

Kirchhoff also pursues an IP approach and emphasises the sequentiality of the four processing steps of decoding, transcoding, target language production, monitoring of output (including self-correction when necessary)<sup>12</sup> (Kirchhoff 1975: 59), that make up her model of the SI process.

In his Effort Models (Gile 1995), Gile breaks down the SI process into three main components, namely Listening and Analysis, Speech Production and Short Term Memory, with an additional ‘Effort’ of co-ordination also envisaged. He stresses the limited capacity of working memory and introduces the concept of ‘saturation’ of memory, when the collective effort of these modular efforts exceeds the total capacity of working memory. This model is useful in that it provides a framework for his approach to the study of interpreters’ ‘processing failures’ (cf. Gile 1994), for example, which he views more as something that is a fact of life in SI. Indeed, his contribution is valuable in that he has at least attempted to enforce a more disciplined methodology on the field of IR in the form of empirical studies of particular phenomena. However, in his dismissal of speaker intentionality as secondary, he disregards one of the central concerns of modern interpreting theory.

There are a number of contentious issues to emerge from this traditional IT / IP debate which have great relevance to the way the process of SI is understood. The linguistically and semantically grounded notions of context and anticipation were selected for discussion below.

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<sup>12</sup> My translation



For both political and language related reasons, the work of Russian psycholinguists on SI, based on the theory of verbal behaviour of L.S. Vygotsky, A.R. Luria and A.N. Leontyev (cf. Rieber 1997), has traditionally gone largely unnoticed by the more western orientated research community.

In my view, it is Chernov's definition of SI that succinctly sums up what both the IT and IP protagonists have long neglected, namely that SI is:

A complex type of bilingual, meaning-orientated communicative verbal activity, performed under time constraints and with a strictly limited amount of information processed at an externally controlled pace.

(Chernov 1994: 140)

As a result, only messages with an adequate degree of redundancy can be interpreted simultaneously. Two types of redundancy are dealt with - first, objective redundancy, after Miller (1963), namely the iteration of message components and their interdependence and second, subjective redundancy based on inference making.

Chernov uses the notion of theme and rheme to illustrate his theory of redundancy. The interpreter can effectively compress the utterance so that he concentrates on the rheme or new information. As the meaning and sense structure of the message develop, the scale of prediction for forthcoming semantic - at times purely linguistic - features of the communication narrows down at times to certainty (probability equalling 1). The message is divided into tiers, from the syllable to the situational context and theoretical results are mapped onto a conceptual chart. This model also allows for 'transcodage'. An interesting experiment by Chernov in 'garden pathing' (Chernov 1973) illustrates what happens when predictions are confounded. In these experiments, the interpreters are given sentences to interpret in which the second half, or rheme of the sentence, is deliberately altered from a predictable to a surprising ending. The result of being 'led up the garden path', in terms of anticipation, was that most of the interpreters used an anticipation strategy and completed the sentence in the predictable manner, and hence wrongly.

Contextually relevant meaning is said to be of utmost importance in the IT approach. However, the assumption made by IT theorists that “there is never any polysemy or ambiguity in speech, as there often is with words or phrases in isolation” (Seleskovitch 1978: 199) appears unsubstantiated or even counter-factual, especially when one is dealing with ‘on-line’ information such as in SI, when the micro-context of the speech itself does not yet exist in its entirety. Yet the computational nature of the IP approach, although making fleeting reference to extratextual knowledge stored in long term memory, does not grant the issue of context the attention it deserves.

It has to be stressed at this juncture that the uniqueness of SI as an action of communication is completely lost in much research to date (for exceptions see subsections 2.6.3 - 2.6.5 below). Setton (1999) offers a good illustration of this:

The theoretical sources must be adapted to the model of study: we cannot ignore existing theories of language, but we must embed them in a theory of communication; we cannot ignore current models of cognitive architecture, but we must allow that it may be configured in a task-specific way for SI.

(Setton 1999: 65)

The discourse processing theory of van Dijk & Kintsch (Kintsch and van Dijk 1978) has been applied with some success to SI (Mackintosh 1995, Niska 1999) and there have been attempts to undertake studies based on text linguistic principles (Niska 1999, Shlesinger 1995). Setton (1999) first develops his own cognitive processing model then investigates the pragmatics of SI - an area long neglected by traditional modelling.

Another approach emerging in IR is to apply discourse analysis and processing techniques in order to establish the influence of context on SI. Projects such as that carried out by Pöchhacker (1994) situate the study of SI within the context of the Allgemeine Translationstheorie (ATT), as a combination of Skopos Theory (Reiss & Vermeer 1984) and translatorisches Handeln (Holz-Mänttari 1984). However, the axiological aspect of context and interpretation is something which is not addressed in this approach.



Setton investigates context by drawing on Relevance Theory and stressing the importance of intentionality (Searle 1983). The concept of intentionality in an SI situation is particularly intriguing as the role of the interpreter as a subjective listener and speaker cannot be ignored. In order to model SI effectively, it is essential to integrate “knowledge, contextualisation and the apprehension of Speaker intentionality into meaning assembly” (Setton 1999: 166).

Despite the importance given to context in the IT approach, the issue of intentionality is dismissed by Seleskovitch as being none of the interpreter’s concern, despite being of primary importance in the pragmatics of the interpreted discourse. The concept of shared assumptions is also an issue which remains unaddressed by the IT theorists. Although Seleskovitch states that “the minds are not programmed like a computer” (Seleskovitch 1979: 335), she does not address the problem the interpreter faces in the interpreting situation in being required not only to draw on his own concept of what constitutes shared assumptions but also to predict what assumptions the speaker draws on and whether the audience shares these assumptions or not. As Setton puts it:

In short, the concept of *sens* is underspecified and unassailable in that it tacitly conflates utterance meaning and hearer-meaning (i.e. Interpreter meaning), implying full determinacy and perfect symmetry between brain states – there is no account of how relevant contexts are chosen

(Setton 1999: 48)

Chernov (Chernov 1994) recognises the concept of intentionality, through his view of presupposition and linguistic implicature. He does this by modifying the common form  $A \Leftarrow B$  [if A (explicit) then B (explicit)] to  $(A) \Leftarrow B \Leftarrow (C)$  [if A(implicit), then B (explicit); if B (explicit) then C (implicit)].

In including presupposition (A) and implicature (C) in this view of language exchange, he is recognising the complexity of communication and the much neglected fact that A does not always equal C.

This theory could be taken even further with the addition of the interpreter to read  $(AS) \Leftarrow BS \Leftarrow (AI) \Leftarrow BI \Leftarrow (CA)$  [if AS (implicit presupposition of speaker), then BS

(explicit utterance of speaker); if BS, then AI (implicit inference of interpreter); if AI, then BI (explicit utterance of interpreter); if BI, then CA (implicit inference of audience member)]. In the case of the simultaneous interpreter, the sequence (AI)  $\Leftarrow$  BI would not occur in an isolated and sequential manner, rather he would be decoding and encoding and speaking simultaneously, alongside the inferencing processes of SI.

Although SI research is a relatively young field, more and more research is coming to light which is replacing the older, less scientifically grounded and methodologically sound research of the early practitioners. The time has passed when practitioners sought to explain the 'magic' of SI by putting forward a theory as the 'definitive' truth. Yet the 'cultural turn' in interpreting studies is not sufficiently accounted for in the theories discussed above. What is needed is an approach to Translation and Interpreting Studies that embeds the activity of SI in the social world of communication. Relevant research in this field will be discussed in the two sections below.

### **2.7.3 *Ideology and Translation and Interpreting***

The concept of ideology, whether explicitly named as such, is the subject of investigation of much DTS. Lefevre (1992) explicitly entitles his chapter on the translation of Anne Frank's diary 'Translation: ideology' (Lefevre 1992). Hermans' (1985) account of the manipulation of literature and Venuti's (1995: 307ff.) call for more 'visibility' of both the translator and the translation also clearly show the growing importance of the translator as (social) subject and agent in the communication situation, often by means of historically based studies of translations (cf. Venuti 1992: 1).

This movement clearly shows the increase of self-reflectiveness taking place in TS, a growing awareness of the influence of "institutional conditions and disciplinary demands" (Dingwaney 1995: 9) on translation both as process and product. Such institutions contribute to what Venuti refers to as the 'veil of transparency' of translation, referring to the "discursive strategies and institutional structures which determine the production, circulation, and reception of translated texts" (Venuti 1992: 6). Loss and gain are seen as being inevitable in the translation process (Venuti 1992: 7-8), rather than damned as 'errors' to be classified. The inherent polesemy and intertextuality (referred to



in this thesis as multivoicedness and dialogised heteroglossia) of text are however constrained by the “social institutions in which it is produced and consumed” (Venuti 1992: 9). The interplay between ideology, institutional discourse and text can therefore be clearly seen at the language interface of mediated institutional communication.

There is, however, a tendency within some Translation Studies research on this subject, similar to that in some CDA circles, to view ideology in the reified sense this thesis attempts to avoid. The scholar attempts to “tackle the *problem* of ideology, change and power in literature and society” (my italics) [Bassnett & Lefevere in the General Editors’ Preface to Lefevere (1992)], whereas translations are “*tainted* by power, time and the vagaries of different cultural needs” (Dingwaney 1995: 6). This is mirrored in the use of the terms such as ‘manipulation’, echoing the ‘distortion’ of the Marxist definition of ideology discussed in section 2.1. In addition, translation strategies are recommended in a rather prescriptive manner, advocating the ‘foreignizing’ of the ST (Venuti 1992: 5) and at times even ‘abusive fidelity’ in ‘resistant translations’ (ibid.: 12). In this context, ‘womanhandling’<sup>13</sup> the text is approved of (cf. Vidal Claramonte 2003: 83-84), whereas historical translations that have been ‘manhandled’ are categorised as manipulation (cf. Vidal Claramonte 2003: 83 for criticism of this approach).

Hatim & Mason (1997: 143-164) propose a discourse analytical approach to translating ideology instead. Textual devices such as cohesion; transitivity; over-lexicalisation and style-shifting (Hatim & Mason 1997: 150) are investigated and a three-tier model of minimal, partial and maximal mediation strategies of the translator presented. Mediation is defined as “the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into processing the text” (Hatim & Mason 1997: 147). This is similar to the concept of interpreter axiology discussed in this thesis.

Hatim and Munday (Hatim & Munday 2004: 102-111, 206-212, 313-320) also address the issue of ideology and translation with particular focus on gender and postcolonialism.

Hatim (1997) also examines the notion of intertextuality in his work on ideology and translation. He draws on Bakhtin in terms of horizontal intertextual relations (relations

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<sup>13</sup> ‘Womanhandling’ the text is defined by Godard as a process whereby “the feminist translator immodestly flaunts her signature in italics, in footnotes – even in a preface” (Godard 1990: 93-94).



between the text and texts which precede and follow it in the chain of texts), and vertical intertextual relations (less explicit relations such as conventions of writing). The parallels with Faiclough's categorisation of manifest and constitutive intertextuality, arrived at independently in section 2.2 of this thesis, are also drawn by Hatim (1997: 30). In addition, his inclusion of the broad definition of intertextuality as also referring to discoursal structure (Hatim 1997: 36) is relevant to the notion of discoursal embeddedness presented in the previous section of this thesis. The 'hijacking' of discourse (Hatim 1997: 36; 40) is, in turn, similar to the notion of 'colonialisation' of discourse conventions referred to in section 4.1 of this thesis and is indicative of competing, hybrid discourses and, as will be argued later, ideologies.

In recent work, researchers such as Calzada Pérez (2003) promote a definition of ideology similar to that proposed in this thesis (Calzada Pérez 2003: 5). In *Apropos of Ideology* (Calzada Pérez 2003), Translation Studies is viewed as interdisciplinary in its very nature. Harvey's approach (cf. Harvey 2003) in this volume is of particular interest. In his study of book bindings of gay literature, he pursues an approach to majorities and minorities not as clearly delineated categories with set identities, but as shifting, hybrid groups. This is consistent with the approach pursued in this thesis.

The interdisciplinarity of the volume is also reflected in the diversity of approaches and the objects of study of the articles. As the subtitle of the volume *Translation Studies on Ideology – Ideologies in Translation Studies* suggests, the articles can be divided into translation-based articles on ideology, and articles on ideologies in Translation Studies. Although the latter category is of interest in terms of the role of the translator as agent, it would far exceed the confines of this thesis to address this issue satisfactorily. Therefore, this review will focus on the former category. As a result, the contributions of Arrojo (cf. Arrojo 2003) and Tymoczko (cf. Tymoczko 2003), which focus more on (the ideologies of) discourse on translation and the discipline of Translation Studies, will not be discussed.

Three issues raised in this volume are discussed below. First, the move away from the traditional ST / TT comparison; second, the issue of authorship of the ST, and hence issues of intertextuality (or dialogised heteroglossia to use Bakhtin's term); and third, the role of the institution in interaction of ideologies.



First, the traditional ST / TT comparison in Translation Studies is challenged by some of the approaches in the volume. The object of study ranges from book bindings of gay literature (cf. Harvey 2003), conceptual art (cf. Vidal Claramonte 2003) and discourse on translation (cf. Tahir-Gürçağlar 2003). Thus, “sites of ideological engagement” such as “gender, sexual identity, religion, secularity, technology and translation studies criticism” (Calzada Pérez 2003: 9) are explored alongside the more common political texts. Schöffner’s article (cf. Schöffner 2003) on the joint manifesto produced by the British Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party investigates the phenomenon of co-writing in which parallel work and actual translation merge. There is no longer a distinct ST that can be identified. Nord also examines ‘co-translating’ in this volume, in the context of Bible translation, where an individual translator also cannot be isolated (cf. Nord 2003). Harvey (cf. Harvey 2003) examines paratexts, or ‘peripherals’ (Harvey 2003: 50), in the form of book bindings of translations of gay literature, rather than ST and TT.

Second, Vidal Claramonte (cf. Vidal Claramonte 2003) investigates the translation of forms of authorship and translatability of conceptual art in a broadly postmodern feminist framework. In this article, issues of intertextuality are addressed which could also be explained using the Bakhtinian concept of dialogised heteroglossia. Indeed, Vidal Claramonte uses the term ‘heteroglossia’ (Vidal Claramonte 2003: 79) to refer to the multiplicity of meanings in conceptual works of art that need to be considered in translation.

Third, a number of articles in the volume address the issue of the role of the institution in the interplay between ideologies. Tahir-Gürçağlar’s article on secularising forces in Turkey (cf. Tahir-Gürçağlar) illustrates the ideological influence of the work of the Translation Bureau from 1940 to 1966. The influence of this institution in Turkey is investigated by reference to three periods of ‘discourse’ about the institution itself, in the form of “various articles and books” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2003: 118). This is an example of the discursal embeddedness of translation.

Katan and Straniero-Sergio (cf. Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2003) investigate another institution, television broadcasting, in their study of ‘submerged ideologies’ in television

interpreting in Italy. In their view, dominant ideologies of 'consumer capitalism' and 'popular culture' lead to interpreter behaviour in the field of television interpreting that differs significantly from the norms of traditional conference interpreting (Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2003: 131). The concept of 'gatekeeping' (Katan and Straniero-Sergio 2003: 135) employed in the article is similar to the Foucauldian dichotomy exclusion / inclusion explored in subsection 2.1.2 of this thesis.

The film industry as an institution is the focus of the article on film translation by Fawcett in the same volume (cf. Fawcett 2003). In his article, Fawcett argues that film translation is not merely governed by constraints but also by norms of translation which are peculiar to the institutional practice of film translation itself (Fawcett 2003: 145). He discusses 'Americanisation' of cultural reference in this context (Fawcett 2003: 153). However, Fawcett also discusses the concept of 'randomness' (Fawcett 2003: 146) in translator choice, thus underlining the axiological action of the translator.

In raising these three issues, the contributors to the volume discuss concepts that are highly relevant for this investigation of competing ideologies in institutional discourse. Although a traditional ST / TT comparison is pursued in data analysis in chapter four of this thesis, this is always carried out in relation to the discursive embeddedness of these texts, complemented by an awareness of dialogised heteroglossia and the role that hegemonic norms play in any institution.

#### **2.7.4 *Institutional Translation and Interpreting***

Despite the increase in research interest in the field of ideology and interpreting / translation, there has been relatively little research conducted into the role of translation / conference interpreting in institutions in general, and multilingual international organisations in particular.

Mason (2003) calls for more research into translation in large institutions and places particular emphasis on the notion of a translational culture within these institutions (2003: 470). His text linguistic study of transitivity in institutional translation' (Mason 2003: 470-481) draws on the handful of researchers working in the field of translated and / or



interpreted institutional communication. This lack of research is lamented by Mossop (1998) in his research into French / English governmental translation in Canada, when he entitles his article on translating institutions “a missing factor in translation theory” (Mossop 1998). Vitale (1997: 170) also illustrates the particular institutional constraints on translation in Quebec using the example of bilingual legislation. There are parallels to the EU situation in Vitale’s work in his investigation of the influence of English style on French translations and French terminology on English translations (Vitale 1997: 171). Schäffner also mentions the creation of specific terms in OSCE discourse (Schäffner 1997: 137) in the same volume. There are parallels here to much-debated institutional terms such as ‘subsidiarity’ in the EU context. These political keywords could be viewed as indicative of what Schäffner terms “the emergence of supranational discourse in the EU” (ibid.)

In terms of research into interpreting in institutional settings, there are a few researchers working on areas ranging from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa (Wallmach 2002) to asylum hearings in the UK (Inghilleri 2003, 2006).

Wallmach (2002: 5) describes the reliance on the English relay interpretation in her article on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa – an issue which is highly ideological given the symbolism of providing interpretation in and out of all eleven national languages at the Commission. In addition, some of the tribal languages did not have the semantic (or conceptual) stock to describe the atrocities that had occurred under apartheid. These two institutional constraints clearly illustrate that, analogous to the EU context discussed below, the very fact that the institution was interpreted was perhaps of greater ideological significance than the actual interpretation itself. What is interesting in Wallmach’s account of the interpreters’ work and the narration of this work in the paratextual *Country of my Skull* by Antjie Krog, is the clear emergence and visibility of the interpreter.

Moira Inghilleri uses Toury’s model of norms to develop a model of social and ideological norms in interpreted political asylum interviews in the UK (Inghilleri 2003, 2005). She makes Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field operational in this particular context. It is a social model of interpreting that can be applied to institutional mediated

communication in general. Once again, the visibility and agency of the interpreter is stressed in this research.

Schäffner's (2003, 2004) research into German / English metaphor in translation in the EU context is also highly relevant. Drawing on Lakoff & Johnson, Schäffner (2003: 37) argues for the existence of global conceptual metaphor in EU discourse. It is therefore a logical consequence to view such conceptual metaphors as ideology manifest in discourse manifest in text. The investigation of metaphor(s) as thematic networks (Hatim 2001: 70) in which their function goes "beyond the cosmetic" (ibid.), is of prime interest in a study of the textual manifestation of ideologies.

However, Vuorikoski's research (2004) on norms and quality assessment, based on a large multilingual corpus of EP speeches and their interpretations, is the only research project specifically on SI and the EP that has come to the author's attention. There have, however, been studies of mediated communication within the EP and the European institutions such as Calzada Pérez (1997) on transitivity as a textual manifestation of ideology in verbatim transcripts of EP plenary sessions and their translations.

Koskinen's (2000) work on the role of, and constraints surrounding, translation at the European Commission, and particular her current ethnographically-based research on the concept of culture in the translators' workplace (cf. Koskinen 2007) is highly relevant to my work. Koskinen has focussed much of her research on the 'translational culture' of the EU Commission and the Finnish translation section of that institution. There is an interface between Koskinen's work on an EU culture and the concept of EU institutional hegemony presented in this thesis. Koskinen (2000: 57) makes a convincing case for the influence of EU discourses (and it could be argued, ideologies) on national discourses within the institution, calling into question the traditional definition of 'target culture' as nation-based in her account of 'intracultural translation' (Koskinen 2000: 57). The case for EU institutions forming a culture of their own with its "own history, shared knowledge, norms and aims" is made convincingly by Koskinen (2000: 58-59).

Work on hybrid texts within EU institutions (cf. Trosborg 1997) is also of relevance to this study and the understanding of the multivoicedness of discourse discussed in previous chapters. However, it is questionable whether this is a feature unique to



institutional communication. Rather each and every text can be described as hybrid, as open to, and consisting of, layers of meaning and interpretation both in terms of reception and production. Certainly the statement that “evidence of conscious and deliberate choices by the translator” (Trosborg 1997: 146-51) can be found in such hybrid texts is questionable. In general, an attempt is made in this thesis to avoid the terms (and the distinction between) ‘conscious’ and ‘unconscious’– something that even the most ‘objective’ researcher cannot define.

### **2.7.5 Conclusions**

In this section, Translation and Interpreting Studies was first established as a single discipline. The particularities of SI and research into SI were then addressed before situating the author’s research in the descriptive branch of Translation and Interpreting Studies. Selected findings in this area were first presented before some criticism regarding the reified view of ideology in certain translation-based studies was voiced. A number of studies into translation / interpreting and ideology and institutional translation / interpreting were then discussed. In the course of the literature review, it was established that there is very little descriptive research being carried out into the interplay between ideology and interpreting and into institutional interpreting, despite the calls for an investigation into the role of power in interpreting settings.

## **2.8 Conclusions on the Theoretical Framework**

In the course of chapter two, a theoretical framework was established that could be made operational in a corpus-based study of SI-mediated institutional communication.

In section 2.1, the concepts of ideology, hegemony and axiology were explored and defined. According to this approach, the umbrella term ideology is defined as **the temporarily stable implicit social assumptions that shifting group members take for granted in their everyday social practices.**

The first subcategory of ideology, hegemony, was defined as a **(temporarily stable) overarching dominant ideology (in the sense of overlapping ideology ‘fragments’)**. EP institutional hegemony as one particular form of hegemony was selected for further investigation and defined as **the (temporarily stable) overarching dominant ideology in the EP (in the sense of overlapping ideology ‘fragments’), representative of a hegemonic alliance.**

The second subcategory of ideology, axiology, was then defined as a **system of subjective ethics and evaluation**. Interpreter axiology as one particular form of axiology was selected for further analysis and defined as **an individual (temporarily stable) system of subjective ethics and evaluation.**

Ideologies, hegemonies and axiologies were established as being manifest in discourse. Therefore, once the three concepts were defined, it was necessary to develop a model to illustrate the presence and interplay between these concepts in discourse. A model of discourse and text was developed for this purpose in section 2.2.

Based on the Foucauldian model of orders of discourse, the discourse model presented in this study has three conceptual layers. The top layer, layer one, consists of orders of discourse or epistemes such as rationality. A new category, the layer of suborders of discourse, is located on layer two and constitutes discourses of groups. The third layer of the model, orders of texts, refers to definite forms of text such as the manifesto. The fourth layer is the level of individual texts, the textual layer.

The manifestations of EP institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology in the form of EP institutional discourse and interpreter axiological discourse were located on layer two of the discourse model. In turn, these are both manifest in orders of text and hence individual texts themselves. Before individual textual characteristics could be established for the investigation of these ideologies, it was first necessary to investigate the form such interplay takes. The Bakhtinian concept of dialogised heteroglossia was examined in section 2.3.

Dialogised heteroglossia is defined as a **struggle between the centripetal forces of homogenisation and the centrifugal forces of heterogeneity**. In this context, it refers



to the interplay between a unitary force such as EP institutional hegemony and the heteroglossia of autonomous action such as interpreter axiology.

Discoursal embeddedness was also introduced and defined as **the way in which the individual text is anchored in a chain of reference to multiple layers of discourse.**

After the interplay of discourses had been investigated in more detail, it was possible to return to the textual features. Textuality in general, and the interplay between SI and textuality in particular, was investigated in section 2.4, with a view to isolating certain textual characteristics of SI-mediated institutional discourse that could give insights into textual manifestations of competing ideologies.

Investigation of ST and TT in the SI situation illustrated the hybridity of ST mode and the relevant weighting of the three domains of textuality – texture, structure and context – in SI-mediated institutional communication in the EP. Given the importance of texture in SI-mediated communication, discoursal embeddedness in the form of intertextuality, coherence and cohesive devices was isolated as a fruitful avenue for research into ideologies.

Categories of intertextuality, which could be made operational in a corpus-based study of SI-mediated institutional communication, were discussed in section 2.5 of this chapter.

Fairclough's categories of constitutive intertextuality, defined as **the heterogeneous constitutions of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse and manifest intertextuality, defined as the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts** were adopted. This categorisation was then and extended by a third category: latent intertextuality. The latter category is defined as **the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of non-specific other texts.**

By the introduction of the category of latent intertextuality, a term was found to describe intertextual reference for which no specific pretext could be isolated, but where there was a type of discoursal embeddedness of utterances in the collective history of groups of texts in suborders of discourse (such as myth). The term pretext is employed to refer to the specific other text that is present in the text under investigation and the term

intertext(s) used to refer to the groups of non-specific texts on the layer of suborders of discourse.

The concepts of cohesion and coherence were investigated in more detail in section 2.6. For reasons of scope, Halliday and Hasan's category of lexical cohesion, as opposed to grammatical cohesion, was selected for investigation and extended by the concept of coherence from Beaugrande and Dressler. Two categories of lexical cohesion: lexical repetition and metaphor strings were then isolated as salient categories for the investigation into the interplay between ideologies, hegemonies and axiologies explored in section 2.3.

Lexical repetition, as a form of reiteration or recurrence, including partial recurrence, was selected for the ideological significance of lexicalisation of concepts. The category of metaphor strings, as a form of collocational cohesive chains, was selected for the ideological interest of certain metaphoric concepts.

The theoretical framework was then rounded off by situating the need for the current study in a review Translation and Interpreting Studies. It was established in section 2.7 that such descriptive research into the interplay between ideology and interpreting in an institutional setting is rare in this field. However there is a growing realisation that studies of mediated communication provide rich data for the investigation into the interaction between agency and power.

In chapter three, the research methodology for the corpus-based analysis of SI-mediated communication in the EP will be presented, followed by data analysis in chapter four.



### Chapter 3 Methodology

In undertaking a corpus study of original interventions (ST) and interpretations (TT) in Interpreting Research (IR), the researcher is faced with a number of methodological difficulties.

In Translation Studies, corpus-based research generally involves the use of a corpus linguistics-based methodology in collating and analysing translator output. Corpus linguistics, in turn, involves the “computerized and computer-assisted analysis of a database of electronic texts (a ‘corpus’)” (Munday 2002: 11). The case for the usefulness of such a corpus-based approach to translation has been made in recent years (Sinclair 1991, Baker 1993, Munday 2002), predominantly to test for “translation universals” such as greater explicitation (Baker 1993: 244-255).

However, the appropriateness of such an approach in IR is a much-debated issue (cf. Shlesinger 1998: online). This is predominantly related to the difficulty of capturing a complex oral phenomenon in recordings and written transcripts (cf. Shlesinger 1998: online and section 2.4.2 of this thesis on the complexity of ST mode in SI). Indeed, there is no standardised form of transcription in IR (cf. Kalina 1994, Berk-Seligson 1990: 50-51 and subsection 3.2.6 of this thesis). Therefore, at the moment, there are calls for the application of corpus linguistics to interpreting to “best be limited at this point in time to features which lend themselves to transcription” (Shlesinger 1998: online). There are also examples of sound samples from the recordings being linked to the transcription (cf. Vuorikoski 2004) which could solve some of these problems.

For these reasons, the corpus under investigation in this study constitutes a “smaller, carefully constructed sample corpus”, such as that suggested by Johansson (1992) for “texts which are not readily available in machine-readable form” (Shlesinger 1998: online). The recordings are also viewed as integral to the transcription. See subsections 3.2.5 and 3.2.6 for further discussion of these issues.

For the above reasons, in IR, major methodological problems can be encountered in collating a corpus and in selecting factors for data analysis. Key to the success of this methodology is establishing ‘ecological validity’ (Gile 1994: 39-56) of the corpus. The

issue of how representative the corpus can be claimed to be is an issue that has to be addressed in any corpus-based study of interpreting as a process or as a product.

In section 3.1, data collection and corpus design and delimitation in IR will be discussed. This evaluation will then be taken as a basis for the design of the corpus under investigation in this study, which will be described in section 3.2. Data Analysis Methodology is discussed and presented in section 3.3 and conclusions presented in section 3.4.

### **3.1 Data Collection and Corpus Delimitation**

In this section, corpus design and delimitation of the EP corpus will be presented. In subsection 3.1.1, the importance of constant variables will be established. The distinction between experimental and observational research in IR will be discussed, and the case for observational research for this research study presented in subsection 3.1.2. In subsection 3.1.3, a number of characteristics of representative observational corpora will be discussed and existing observational interpreting corpora evaluated according to these criteria.

#### **3.1.1 *Variables in IR***

It would be overly ambitious to speak of early IR research as 'corpus based' as the majority of early work done in the field was conducted on snatched five minute recordings of SI produced by a handful of trained or 'natural' language specialists. However, this research can still prove useful in developing a methodology for the creation and analysis of a corpus for IR, in that it opens avenues for research into certain variables on a larger and more 'ecologically valid' scale (Gile 1994: 39-56) while at the same time illustrating potential pitfalls.

It is rather difficult to compare much of the material used as a basis of investigation in early IR as a result of the lack of consistency in methodology, especially in earlier experimental research where only one particular variable ought to be under investigation



at the one time. Researchers seem to investigate more than one variable in the same experiment or include inconsistent variables at a whim. For example, in Barik (1972), two professional interpreters, two student interpreters who had recently completed a course of interpreting and two bilinguals, are treated as a homogeneous test group in an investigation into temporal characteristics of source language and interpreter speech. Experiments are conducted on natural bilinguals as if they were trained interpreters (Lawson 1967) and both simultaneous listening and speaking in the same language and shadowing are taken as equivalent to SI (Goldman-Eisler and Cohen 1974).

Even Gerver disregards the fundamental difference between the spoken and written form in one of his studies (cf. Gerver 1974), when transcripts of SI are evaluated as if they were written translations, thus denying the temporal nature of SI itself. These reservations regarding the ecological validity of such early research are also shared by Setton (1999: 46).

### 3.1.2 *Experimental vs. Observational Research*

In recent years, studies in IR have followed two paths. The terms 'experimental' and 'observational' have been borrowed from Gile (cf. Gile 1998) to describe these two approaches. The term experimental refers to the approach in which interpretation is recorded in a laboratory setting in which certain variables are adjusted. Observational research, on the other hand, refers to studies of interpreter output in which recordings are made in the authentic conference setting. The two approaches are, however, not mutually exclusive. Some corpora, although essentially observational in nature, have also included data from simulated experimental recreation of the original conference context (cf. Setton 1999, Kalina 1998).

The predominance of the experimental mode of investigation in conference interpreting research in recent years could be viewed as a response to rectify the inconsistencies of earlier research in the field such as that of the Paris School (cf. subsection 2.7.2 for further discussion of this approach). The experimental approach enables variables to be modified or kept constant according to the focus of the experiment. This tendency towards the "cognitive-neurolinguistic experiment" (Pöchhacker 1996: 292, quoted in

Meyer 1998: 66) has dominated studies of SI from Gerver onwards. However, Gerver himself voices concern about the experimental approach by stating:

It could be argued however that the conditions in which experiments are carried out are so artificial as to render meaningless any conclusions about 'what really goes on' in the interpreter's booth.

(Gerver 1976: 202)

Experimental research, therefore, could be viewed as rendering context artificial by removing certain variables.

Given the focus of this study on ideology in interpreter-mediated institutional communication, in other words a study of 'what really goes on', of discourse 'in action', it was felt that an observational study of authentic interpreter-mediated discourse could be the only possible way of proceeding. It is worth noting at this juncture that although Gile's criticism that in observational studies "measurements can be inaccurate because of observational inaccuracies or errors and because of the natural variability of the phenomena under study" (Gile 1998: 84) is valid, the type of investigation undertaken in this study is concerned with ideology as a discursal phenomenon. As such, it has to be investigated in longer stretches of text, which, in turn, speaks in favour of the observational approach. And although "the product of interpreting, composed of spoken discourse plus body language (a 'hypertext' – Pöchhacker 1994: 238) is evanescent" (Gile 1998: 86) and cannot be captured completely in transcription, the observational approach certainly comes closer to reflecting this complex interplay than experimental studies could. Indeed, the importance of the 'hypertext' (Pöchhacker 1994: 238), this time in the sense of a metatext of the parliamentary session (i.e. the collation of all individual texts in a particular setting where context and reference evolves as the conference proceeds), or indeed exophoric reference, cannot be underestimated. All of the above factors may be disregarded in the experimental approach.

The term 'authentic interpreter-mediated communication', employed in this thesis, is used as a modified version of Meyer's term 'authentic interpreted discourse', defined as "non-simulated verbal interaction between people who do not understand each other's language and need the support of a bilingual" (Meyer 1998: 65). The term 'interpreter-



mediated' is preferred to the term 'interpreted' as the former emphasises communication as a dynamic process rather than as a product which is implied by the term 'interpreted discourse'. The term 'communication' is used instead of the term 'discourse' to avoid confusion regarding the differing use of the latter term in this thesis.

Although originally designed for a dialogue interpreting situation, Meyer's concept is also appropriate to SI-mediated discourse. As he rightly points out, empirical studies based on such authentic interpreter-mediated communication are still rare (Meyer 1998: 65). It could also be argued that representative studies based on such data are rarer still and are the product of certain isolated corpus based studies in the recent past. The generosity and openness of these researchers in allowing further research to be conducted on (extracts) from their corpora by other researchers in the field (cf. Lamberger-Felber 1998 on the Pöchhacker corpus) should be noted at this juncture. This has enabled researchers to back up the representativeness claim.

Earlier, linguistic based research such as that carried out by Lederer does touch on the issue of authenticity, i.e. that any material chosen for investigation into SI should realistically reflect the nature of the task, i.e. whether communication was established (Lederer 1978: 324).

### **3.1.3 *Factors in Observational, Corpus-based IR Studies***

In order to collate and delimit a corpus for IR, a number of variables first needed to be taken into account. A list of variables was gathered from past research and the few truly representative observational studies that exist in IR. Because of the inconsistencies in data collection in certain earlier IR studies mentioned above, it was especially important to ensure that methodological rigour was maintained throughout this study. From a selection of factors investigated a number were disregarded such as the variable of interpreter preparation because they could simply not be investigated in sufficient depth within the confines of this study. Therefore although preparation is referred to occasionally in the data analysis section as being a factor which influences text mode, this is based on deductive reasoning only, and not on a controllable variable. The

following variables were therefore examined in IR studies to date to establish yardsticks for the collation of the corpus.

1. Size (or duration) of corpus
2. Number of interpreters
3. Type of interpreters (experience)
4. Languages and direction of interpretation
5. Recording Methodology
6. Transcription Methodology

Data analysis methodology will be addressed in section 3.3 of this thesis.

It must be stressed at this juncture that there is a difference between the authenticity and representativeness of a corpus. Authenticity is just one factor in evaluating the representativeness of a corpus to be used in the study of SI, the other aspects listed above are also of utmost importance in reaching conclusions about how representative the corpus under investigation can be judged to be.

Corpora of television interpreting included in the comparison, although significant, have been disregarded for the purposes of this study, given the complex setting, media and audience variables that differentiate television interpreting from Conference Interpreting (cf. Katan & Straniero-Sergio 2003).

It can be concluded from this analysis that the Vuorikoski (2004), Pöchhacker (1994), Niska (1999), Setton (1999) and Petite (2004, 2005) corpora, and the Würzburg corpus from Kalina (1998), are the most representative observational corpora for SI in a conference setting to be collated in the field of IR to date.

The corpora mentioned above all provide satisfactory data on all six factors. The duration of recorded material ranges from five hours to two days; the number of interpreters ranges from three to twenty interpreters; professional interpreters are used; interpreters' language combinations and native languages are recorded; recording methodology is sound, and transcription methodology suitable to the needs of the study. The studies do vary considerably in terms of the topic of investigation and the detail



required by transcription. Pöchhacker's large corpus for example has been used for statistical analysis and requires less detailed transcription than Setton's corpus which is meticulously annotated. The issue of transcription is discussed in more detail in section 3.2.6 below.

However, the corpora mentioned above can be viewed as the yardsticks for representative observational corpora in the field of IR. This is in stark contrast to a number of studies omitted from the final comparison which do not provide data on factors such as native language of the interpreters and the status (whether professional, student or even bilingual) of interpreters involved.

### **3.2 Design of EP Corpus**

The EP corpus under analysis in this study consists of a series of three plenary debates in the European Parliament, entitled the 'Middle East' (ME debate), 'Eastern Enlargement' (EE debate) and 'Combating Terrorism' (CT debate). Recording methodology is dealt with under section 3.2.5 below. Permission from the speakers and interpreters to analyse their interventions was not sought as the debates and their interpreted versions are in the public domain and use of material transmitted by EbS is permitted for educational purposes. Anonymity of all interpreters is guaranteed by this procedure.

For ease of reference, the corpus was transcribed. It must be noted at this juncture that for the sake of speed, the verbatim transcriptions of the original language interventions, provided on the EP web site, were used as the original language versions. All German and English originals in the corpus were, however, faithfully transcribed from the audiocassette recordings, using the verbatim transcriptions as a basis<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> Audiocassette recordings of the original language interventions are available on request for those researchers interested in investigating other language combinations.

### 3.2.1 *Size of Corpus*

The size of a corpus is decisive in claiming 'representativeness' and defending this claim. The size at which 'representativeness' is achieved is, however, difficult to define and varies according to what exactly the corpus is supposed to be 'representative' of.

In IR, in general, for example, this is significantly smaller than in a corpus based study of English usage. Certainly it would be wrong to claim that the 'representativeness' of the corpus can be validated by one single figure. However, in collating the corpus for this particular study, it was important to bear other IR corpora in mind.

As already stated, significant observational, corpus-based studies in IR have been limited to the research carried out by the researchers mentioned above. Given that this study is focussed on ideology which can only be established across long stretches of discourse and follows a text and discourse analytical rather than a cognitive-pragmatic approach, emphasis will be placed on the Vourikoski (2004), Pöchhacker (1994), Niska (1999), Petite (2004, 2005) and Kalina (Würzburg) corpus (1998), rather than on the Setton corpus (cf. Setton 1999) for the purpose of comparison in this section. It is important to note at this juncture that there are essentially two figures of interest in this respect. First the duration of the recorded material, and second, the duration of ST and TT material analysed.

Audio recordings were made of EP plenary debates in the original language and the English TT for the month of September 2001. Of these debates, three debates were chosen for inclusion in the final EP corpus. Selection was necessary to provide a compact and manageable corpus that could be transcribed and would provide representative data for analysis. Gile also refers to the preference for a "controlled", limited corpus in IR (Gile 1998: 86). Two factors were decisive in the final selection. First the three debates chosen (ME, EE and CT) dealt with topical political issues as opposed to technical or scientific legislation. These debates were felt to be more representative of communication within the EP in style and content, the problem of which is raised by Setton as besetting corpora creation (cf. Setton 1999). Second the selection of these three particular debates was based on the premise that controversial issues provoke more complicated and rhetorical argumentation strategies than dry, factual issues



and thus result in a richer and more diverse interplay of ideologies. The polemic nature of the ME debate was a reason for its inclusion. The tragic events of September 11<sup>th</sup> led to the inclusion of the CT debate of the 19<sup>th</sup> September. It was felt that a comparison of ideology between the ME debate and the CT debate would provide interesting conclusions. The EE debate was included because of the potential threat enlargement poses to the institution of the EU itself. Issues of self-referential and self-stabilising discourse and EU institutional hegemony are particularly salient.

The approximate length of the individual debates in the EP corpus and the length of the EP corpus as a whole are detailed in Table 3.1:

Name of debate	Duration of debate	Duration of TT / ST segments analysed
Middle East (ME)	Approx. 94 minutes	Approx. 5 minutes
Eastern Enlargement (EE)	Approx. 214 minutes	Approx. 54 minutes
Combating Terrorism (CT)	Approx. 146 minutes	Approx. 15 minutes
Corpus as a whole	Approx. 454 minutes = 7.5 hours	Approx. 74 minutes = 1 hour 14 minutes

**Table 3.1: Length of debates in the EP corpus**

The ratio between the total duration of German interventions and the total duration of the debate, ranging from approximately 1:19 in the ME debate to 1:4 in the EE debate, to 1:10 in the CT debate show the varying role the German language plays in the parliament. The long duration of German interventions in the EE debate reflects the long speech (approximately 15 minutes) presented by Commissioner Verheugen at the opening of the session. These figures are collated from a random cross-section of recordings from the EP and thus can be defended as representative of the role of the German language in that institution.

The figure for the overall size of the corpus (approximately 7.5 hours) is comparable to the Pöchhacker (1994) corpus which is approximately 7 hours long, and the Niska (1999) corpus which is 15 hours long, 5 hours of which have been transcribed and analysed. In addition, the choice of two days mirrors the original recordings in the non-simulated section of both Setton and Kalina's Würzburg corpora. The Petite (2004, 2005) corpus covers four international conferences, whereas Vourikoski (2004) analyses six days of EP plenary part-sessions.

### 3.2.2 Number of Interpreters

English TTs from a total number of seven interpreters, three female and four male, were recorded. The interpretation of one of the three female interpreters was discarded at the outset of analysis given the fact that she was a Finnish native and the only interpreter working into her B language. Given that this was not one of the variables under investigation, it seemed wise to reduce the number of inconstant variables in this way. A second interpreter did not seem to have German in his language combination and as a result does not feature in the ST / TT analysis. In ST / TT analysis, five different interpreters provide the material, two female and three male.

For reasons of anonymity, the interpreters in the corpus have been numbered. The debates each interpreter provided interpretation for are summarised in Table 3.2:

Interpreter No.	Sex	D – E	Middle East	Eastern Enlargement	Combating Terrorism
I1	M	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
I2	F	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
I3	F	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
I4	M	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
I5	M	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
I6	M	Yes	No	Yes	No
I7	F	No	No	Yes	No

**Table 3.2:** Interpreter distribution in the EP corpus

These seven interpreters provided English interpretation for four speakers in the ME debate, eleven speakers in the EE debate, and six speakers in the CT debate.

This figure of seven recorded interpreters and five analysed interpreters compares favourably to the other corpora mentioned. The interpretations provided by five different interpreters are the subject of investigation in Setton's (1999) corpus. Pöchhacker (1994) analyses the output of three interpreters and Niska (1999) of four in their respective corpora. Kalina (1998) and Setton (1999) investigate the interpretations of three interpreters respectively in their Würzburg corpora. Petite (2004, 2005) analyses the output of eight interpreters, whereas Vuorikoski's corpus, due to its size, includes recordings from approximately twenty interpreters (Vuorikoski 2004: 98).



### 3.2.3 *Professionals vs. Students vs. Bilinguals*

All seven interpreters are professional interpreters who work for the EP either on a permanent or a freelance basis. No subdivision of the numbers is possible, given the anonymity of the interpretations.

This factor is important not only regarding whether the corpus is representative of real as opposed to simulated conditions but also for reasons of quality. Much experimental research has been carried out on student interpreters and / or bilinguals as if they were professional conference interpreters. The results of such research are often taken to apply to interpreters in general. Although it would be interesting to look at the concept of the textual manifestation of ideology in the interpretations of student interpreters, it was decided for the purposes of this study that research would be limited to the seven professional conference interpreters mentioned above.

When this is compared to the other corpora mentioned, it is interesting to note that both Kalina (1998) and Setton (1999) use trainee interpreters' interpretations as part of their corpora. They both extend the Würzburg corpus to include simulated student data but always refer clearly to this fact. This is certainly of interest as it enables the researcher to compare several interpretations of the same section of the speech. However such a comparison was not felt to be relevant to this study. Pöchhacker (1994), Niska (1999), Vuorikoski (2004) and Petite (2004, 2005) exclusively use professional conference interpreters with several years of experience.

### 3.2.4 *Language Combination and Direction*

In the EP and across the EU institutions in general, interpreters for the majority languages operate according to the native language principle. This means that interpreters work from their foreign languages into the mother tongue. For the less widely spoken languages such as Finnish, retour interpreting is used. This means that the interpreter interprets both from the first foreign language into the mother tongue as well as from the mother tongue into the first foreign language. As mentioned in subsection 3.2.2 the two Finnish retour interpretations from the single Finnish woman interpreter in the original

corpus were discarded for the simple reason that although this reflects common practice in the EP regarding Finnish, it adds an unpredictable and uncontrollable variable to the constellation. For the same reason, recordings made of German interpretations of the English language original interventions were not included in the final corpus. It was felt that this also would add an additional dimension that was not of immediate interest to the current study.

This focus on interpretation into the native languages is not consistent in the major corpora under discussion. Petite (2004, 2005) studies interpreter output into the A language (both German and French) and Vuorikoski's study (2004) involves interpretation into the mother tongue except for the Finnish interpreters who also interpret into their B-language, German (Vuorikoski 2004: 91). Although the authentic part of Kalina's Würzburg corpus (Kalina 1998) is of interpretations into the mother tongue, the simulated part involves interpretation both in and out of English and German respectively. Pöchhacker's corpus (Pöchhacker 1994) reflects the freelance market in German speaking countries and involves German natives interpreting both ways between German and English. Setton's Taipei corpus (Setton 1999) involves Chinese natives interpreting into their first foreign language, English. It is not clear from Niska's corpus (Niska 1999) whether the interpreters are Swedish or Finnish native speakers. However, apart from Niska's corpus (1999), which involves interpretation from Swedish to Finnish and Setton's Taipei corpus (1999), all of the above corpora include German and English as the languages of investigation.

It can be stated that the language combinations and direction of interpretation in the above corpora reflect the differing needs of various markets. The native language principle is representative of major international organisations and applies to the European Union of which the EP is a part.

### **3.2.5 *Recording Methodology***

The English TT interpretations in the corpus were recorded live on single track audio cassettes via the Internet page of Europe by Satellite (EbS), the European Union's broadcasting arm. The ST speeches were recorded the same day after live broadcast of



the plenary sittings had ceased. Dual track video cassette recordings were also made as a back up and include both ST interventions and English TT interpretations.

In contrast to some of the other corpora under investigation, the issue of simultaneity was not felt to be a key factor in the investigation. However the dual track video cassettes can be used to check simultaneity and *décalage* should the need arise. For this reason, this has not been included in the transcription. Although Setton's Taipei corpus (Setton 1999) was recorded on multi-track tapes and then on to single track tapes. Vuorikoski's corpus (Vuorikoski 2004) was recorded on a separate beta cam tape per language, before being transferred to VHS and standard audio cassettes for analysis (Vuorikoski 2004: 90). Kalina (1998) and Setton's Würzburg corpora (Setton 1999) were recorded on single track audiocassettes, as was the Pöchhacker corpus (Pöchhacker 1994).

Given the constraints of the method of recording in this particular study, twin track tapes could not have been employed in this case.

### 3.2.6 *Transcription Methodology*

Transcription conventions in IR are a relatively new topic of debate. It has been felt from the very beginning that the oral nature of SI should be reflected in the transcription with a plea from Lederer that transcription not be analysed as if it were written translation (Lederer 1978: 326). Instead it should roughly try to reproduce what is heard simultaneously. To date, no norms for the transcription of IR corpora exist. As Pöchhacker very rightly points out, despite all attempts at consistency, transcripts are the result of the transcriber's perception of the acoustic signals they receive (Pöchhacker 1994: 157)<sup>15</sup> and remain but a reference for statements made about the corpus (Pöchhacker 1994: 158)<sup>16</sup>.

Certain IR scholars have adopted transcription conventions from conversation analysis (cf. Mason 1999b, Wadensjö 1998). Others have developed software programmes specifically designed for the transcription of interpreter-mediated discourse (cf.

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15 My translation

16 *ibid.*

SyncWRITER-software based on HIAT transcription conventions as presented by Meyer 1998: 65-83). This software has a musical score format which enables graphic representation of synchronicity while including translations of the original and the interpretation. See Meyer (1998: 81) for further conventions. Given that such fine-grained transcription was not deemed necessary for the purposes of this study, certain aspects of SI included in the transcripts of the other corpora under discussion will be mentioned in the following section, and the relevance to this study as well as the extent to which they have been integrated into the transcription described.

Layout of transcripts is one aspect of transcription which has attracted much attention. Although most researchers prefer the vertical three line approach (first line original, second line gloss, third line interpretation), others such as Niska (Niska 1999) have developed their own transcription layout. A parallel, roughly synchronised, horizontal layout is chosen as opposed to the more common vertical constellation. An example of this is shown in Figure 3.1<sup>17</sup>:

Swedish original	Translation of original	Finnish interpretation	Translation of interpretation
men de e så många frågor som dyker upp när ja skriver som ja inte har svar på //de e så mycket som händer /man borde ha tie liv // (T 20)	but there are so many questions popping up when I am writing and which I don't have answers for //there is so much happening /you should have ten lives /	mutta on niin paljon kysymyksiä jotka tulevat mieleeni kirjoittaessani enkä pysty vastaamaan niihin /on niin paljon mikä tapahtuu /pitäisi olla kymmenen elämää itsellä /	but there are so many questions that come into my mind when I am writing and I am not able to answer them /there is so much happening /you should have ten lives for yourself /

Figure 3.1: Example of Niska's (1999) transcription method

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.geocities.com/~tolk/lic/LIC990329.htm>



Although Niska's vertical presentation also has advantages such as the ability to compare larger extracts of the corpus at a glance, it was decided to follow the more conventional horizontal approach in this study.

Fonts and typeface also play an important role in the visualisation of the corpus. In the early days, transcription took the form of capitals for the original and the interpretation positioned underneath (Lederer 1978: 325-26). As can be seen from the above example from Niska's study (Niska 1999) only lower case letters have been used. Pöchhacker uses small capitals for transcription purposes (cf. Pöchhacker 1994) in order to distinguish them from normal written text. Formal punctuation is omitted by many researchers in the attempt to underline the orality of the flowing text, as can be seen in the above example from Niska (Niska 1999). Others have included some guidance such as full stops and commas. Transcription for this study has opted to omit formal punctuation in transcription of the interpretation and to opt for lower case letters. Repairs and hesitations are transcribed and are discussed in the section on time measurements below.

To my knowledge, transcription in IR has always ensued orthographically (Niska 1999, Setton 1999, Kalina 1999, Pöchhacker 1994) and not phonetically and therefore an orthographic transcription method is employed in the transcripts for this study.

Time measurements are extensively detailed in Setton's transcriptions (cf. Setton 1999) which are timed and synchronised to 0.5 seconds accuracy. His transcripts are also annotated with the cumulative time elapsed in seconds. Pöchhacker includes a 'conference log' (Pöchhacker 1994: 157) as part of his transcribed corpus, in which the sequence of speakers and approximate timings of speeches are noted. In addition, sampling also enabled Pöchhacker to determine factors such as speed of delivery. Niska (Niska 1999) does not include exact timings in his corpus but a code within parenthesis at the bottom of the first column of the samples shows the location of the extract in the transcribed corpus.

Timings are not explicitly recorded in the EP corpus although an overview of speakers and times has been drawn up as a supplementary document and guide. Synchronicity is not marked as this is not of interest to the study.

Pauses of various lengths are marked with a number of transcription devices in most of the corpora. Pöchhacker includes timed pauses for pauses longer than 0.5 seconds (cf. Pöchhacker 1994). False starts and mispronunciations are also recorded. In transcriptions of the EP corpus, pauses are marked with dots and hesitations and false starts have been transcribed acoustically. If a longer break occurs, this can be deduced from the length of the line of dots. Breaks in recording or transmission are timed and clearly marked as in extract 3.2.1.

the United States has always aligned itself with the ...em...expansionist policy of the state of Israel the Americans have tried ...(recording interrupted for 39 seconds).....or compensate by unofficial support to Islam organisations but the Arab world felt a great injustice from this

**Extract 3.2.1**

Setton's transcription conventions are extremely meticulous as he is interested in detailing all syntactic and prosodic factors as a key to understanding structural and pragmatic dimensions (Setton 1999). Partial symbolic representation of semantic and inferential assembly of meaning are also included in the transcriptions, which would not be the prime focus of this study.

Intonation is also marked in most of the corpora under investigation with rising, falling and 'modulating' intonation peaks, syllable lengthening, stress by articulatory force or loudness and indistinct phonation being marked in Setton's meticulously annotated corpus. Although the importance of intonation as a carrier of ideology is recognised (cf. van Dijk 1998: 202), intonation transcription was not attempted as the analysis of the cohesive device of intonation in simultaneous interpretation would go far beyond the confines of this study. Analysis of emphasis certainly would be a possibility of complementing textual analysis of lexical repetition in a future study.

Setton also includes other factors such as rustling noises indicating consultation of documents in the booth in his transcriptions (Setton 1999). He pursues an interlinear presentation, with the TT appearing in Times New Roman bold face in the original language and plain typeface used for glosses. Different fonts and styles are used throughout to distinguish individual interpreter versions.



In the EP corpus, transcription conventions have been kept to a minimum, attempting to depict faithfully hesitations, repetition, backtracking and false starts in transcripts of both ST and TT. Using Setton's transcription methodology as a basis the ST is in bold Times New Roman typeface in line one, the English gloss (literal translation) of the German originals enclosed in square brackets in Times New Roman in line two and the TT in normal Times New Roman in line three. This is illustrated in extract 3.2.2 from intervention I3\_CT\_19.09 Jarzembowski:

<p><b>Die Forderungen mancher Regierungen, die man heute in den</b> [<i>the demands of some governments that one today</i>] I3: some governments...em...today</p> <p><b>Zeitungen lesen konnte – Subventionen, Subventionen –, das kann</b> [<i>in the newspapers read could – subsidies subsidies That can</i>] in the newspapers were reported as asking for more subsidies well that can't</p> <p><b>nicht die Antwort sein meine Damen und Herren!</b> [<i>not the answer be Ladies and Gentlemen</i>] be in the case</p>
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**Extract 3.2.2**

Unlike Setton's transcription, the interpretation is always in normal typeface and the interpreter indicated by the insertion of the abbreviation I1-I6 at the beginning of the intervention for interpreter 1 to 6 respectively (see Table 3.2 in subsection 3.2.2)

It is hoped in this way that the debates are not deprived of their orality, while at the same time allowing for detailed discourse analysis. When excerpts are quoted and clauses or phrases omitted, this is indicated by a short line of dots in square brackets, [...] as in extract 3.2.3 from intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Brok.

<p><b>Frau Präsidentin, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir führen diese jährliche</b> [<i>Madam President, dear colleagues! We carry out this annual</i>] I3: Thank you very much Madame president colleagues we hold this annual</p> <p><b>Debatte durch, um [.....] auch den einen oder anderen zu mahnen, weil die</b> [<i>debate in order [.....] also one or the other to warn because</i>] debate in order [.....]and we also take this opportunity to issue warnings to</p>
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**Fortschritte in manchen Bereichen nicht so sind, wie wir sie wünschen.**  
*[progress in certain areas not so is as we would wish]*  
certain parties because not a lot of progress has been made in some areas

### Extract 3.2.3

Presentation of extracts in the data analysis section is coded by the interpreter number then the abbreviation of the relevant debate followed by the date of the debate and the surname of the original speaker. Thus an example from an interpretation of the MEP Mr Pöttering provided by interpreter 3 in the Eastern Enlargement debate on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September would be accompanied by the reference I3\_EE\_04.09 Pöttering. The Middle East debate is referred to by the abbreviation ME, the Combating Terrorism debate by the initials CT.

### 3.3 Data Analysis

Once the EP corpus had been designed, collated and delimited, data analysis tools had to be developed and analysis methodology developed. In order to establish categories of analysis that could yield salient findings, the corpus was first analysed to establish particular characteristics of EP discourse. These are first discussed, before the most salient categories are selected for analysis. Following this, the tools used for analysis and the methodology followed in the application of these tools is described

According to Calzada Pérez, the discourse community of the EP “epitomises ideological merging as well as hybridization” (Calzada Pérez 1997: 109). MEPs belong to a number of groups and hence ideologies, whether this be national, political party, gender or other affiliations. These competing discourses in the sense of orders and suborders of discourse are the manifestation of the competing ideologies under investigation in this thesis.

In addition, unlike other international, multilingual organisations which have a limited number of working languages, the EU has anchored the right of the EU citizen to “address the EU and to be addressed in their own national language” (Koskinen 2000:51). This means (at least on paper) the interpreters and the translators in the EU are



interpreting and / or translating for native speakers and readers of that language. This awards a different status to English, for example, in the EU. Unlike in other international, multilingual organisations where English is used as a kind of lingua franca, in the case of the EU, English is officially awarded the status of just another native language<sup>18</sup>. In practice, the status of English and German is rather different than that of Finnish which perhaps at times has more of a symbolic character, given that the likelihood of no-one listening to the interpretation is higher in Finnish than either of the two languages mentioned (cf. Koskinen 2000: 51 for her examination of the symbolism of multilingualism in the EU and the 'existential equivalence' of all language versions). However, despite this supposedly native target group for translations and interpretations, a number of researchers have established the existence of non-native variants, of 'Eurospeak' in English and German (Goffin 1994).

The definition of multilingualism in the EU only includes the national languages of the member states. This is of ideological import because EU citizens with immigrant backgrounds and minority language speakers do not have the right to address the EU and be answered in their native language. There have recently been attempts to address this issue with respect to Irish, which will be included as an EU language in certain areas<sup>19</sup>. This compromise could, however, only be reached because Irish is categorised as a national language in Ireland, as opposed to Catalan or Galician in Spain which are categorised as regional languages.

Another difference is that because of the anchoring of multilingualism in the legislation and Treaties of the EU, the translation service, and analogously the interpretation service(s), has the task of ensuring equality of languages across the institution (Koskinen 2000: 51). In this way, reference is made to language versions (Koskinen 2000: 54) rather than translations, something that is also promoted in the interpreting services. On accessing live-streaming or recorded versions of debates, the original language version, or ST, is not labelled as such, rather one can access the English language version of the debate, rather as if one was listening to a monolingual debate in English. This also holds true for the verbatim proceedings of the plenary sessions in the EP as mentioned by

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18 As Koskinen (2000: 51) points out, although all languages are theoretically equal, it is of great advantage to know French or English in the EU (translational) context.

19 Presentation by Christina Hesse from the Field office of the Directorate General for Translation, Representation of the European Commission in Berlin at the European Academy, Berlin on 26 April 2006.



Mason (2003: 473), although the time lag in replacing the verbatim transcripts of the debates in the original language is of course longer for translation than interpretation<sup>20</sup>. Those present at the plenary session can always identify the ST in the mediated communication, something which is not always the case for translation in the EU institutions where it is often simply impossible to identify which text is the ST or even whether a single ST actually exists in the first place (cf. Schäffner 2003).

It is worth pointing out at this juncture that, unlike the Translation Service of the EU which centrally controls all the translation work in the EU, there are a number of interpreting services in the institution. The largest service, SCIC, has just recently been awarded Directorate status and covers all institutions except the European Parliament (EP) and the Court of Justice. The two latter institutions have their own interpreting services.

In this context, the EP corpus is viewed as a collection of multiple texts. For the purposes of this study, as stated in the previous chapter, the term 'text' is used to refer to an individual intervention within the three debates. These texts, in turn, are manifestations of the order of discourse of democracy and numerous competing suborders of discourse such as European institutional hegemony, conservatism, socialism, ecologism, and interpreter axiology. In the parliamentary setting, the various interventions fall broadly into the textlinguistic category of the argumentative text type, defined as "text promoting support or rejection of certain ideas" (Marzocchi 1997: 180).

Ideologies and hegemonic alliances within the EP are influenced by a number of institutional, discursal and textual factors, as well as issues of MEP identity and allegiance. In this context, EP discourse is characterised and governed by a number of extra-textual factors and constraints and is highly norm-driven. Although this statement could be applied to any institutional communication, there are a number of highly ritualised constraints that are particularly salient in the setting of the parliamentary part-session. These could be described as types of prohibition in the Foucauldian sense (Foucault 1981: 52). In this context, all three subcategories of prohibition are present: (i) the "taboo on the object of speech" (the institution sets the agenda regarding the topic of

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20 The verbatim transcript of the EP plenary session in the original language is published directly on the European Parliament (EP) website directly after the session. This is then replaced with the language version or translation as soon as this is ready.



the debate), (ii) the “ritual of the circumstances of speech” (temporal and formal constraints are highly ritualised in the EP as an institution), and (iii) the “privileged or exclusive right of the speaking subject” (the formal aspects regarding who speaks when are also highly norm-driven) (cf. Foucault 1981: 52 for further exploration of the notion of prohibition as a form of exclusion). Indeed, alongside sexuality, politics is mentioned by Foucault as the site where these three types of prohibition intersect the most and are most densely found (Foucault 1981: 52). Foucault associates political discourses with a ritual which “determines both the particular properties and the stipulated roles of the speaking subjects” (Foucault 1981: 62). These ‘speaking subjects’ are both the MEPs and the simultaneous interpreters in the case of the EP corpus.

Text type is normatively regulated, given that argumentation is the dominant mode of discourse in many interpreted situations and indeed in the case of the European Parliament actually “characterises some of the institutions that resort to the performance of interpreters” (Marzocchi 1997:182). According to Marzocchi, after Plantin, the parliamentary debate can be characterised in terms of “the overcoming of a (latent) conflict between different lines of action, between the “incompatible answers to the same (implicit) question” (Marzocchi 1997: 180). The concept of prior agreement, i.e. the knowledge and beliefs that the speaker assumes as shared by the direct audience (EU institutional hegemony) and the notion of universal audience, i.e. the ideal picture of an audience construed by the speaker, are also extremely useful in investigating the ideological significance of certain argument structures (and thus patterns of cohesion).

Of particular interest in this investigation are therefore (i) the institutional constraints that characterise the production of text in the EP corpus, (ii) the hybrid identity of MEPs, and (iii) the discoursal characteristics of the texts under investigation. Taking this as a starting point, this section will explore the nine most prevalent characteristics of EP discourse, based on evidence from the collated EP corpus. For ease of reference, these are divided into three categories. Institutional constraints are discussed in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, the hybrid identity of MEPs in section 3.3.3, and discoursal characteristics of the EP corpus in sections 3.3.4 to 3.3.7.

### 3.3.1 *Temporal constraints*

The first category of institutional constraints is that of temporal constraints. This term refers to ritual norms in the parliamentary part-session that govern how much speaking time is allocated to whom, and how certain actors in the communication situation allocate the right to speak, and hence govern and, at times, monopolise the distribution of power. In the parliamentary part-session, the President of the session, often but not exclusively the President of the Parliament himself, is the power bearer in allocating speaking time and controlling the exchange of views. In addition to this arbitrary power, there are certain formal rules governing the order of speakers and the respective time allocated to the speakers at the beginning of the debate. In the three debates in the corpus this follows a rigid pattern of Council statement, followed by Commission statement, followed by statements by the leaders of the parliamentary groups who are allocated speaking time in proportion to the group's size and representation in parliament (the larger the group, the longer the speaking time allocated). Speakers then request the floor and are allocated varying speaking times. The Council and Commission representatives are then given another slot to respond to issues raised in the debate.

The ideological force of these temporal constraints can be seen in Table 3.3 overleaf from the first debate in the EP corpus, the Middle East (ME) debate. The order of speakers is important in this context, as well as the overall percentage of speaking time allocated to each parliamentary group, and to the representatives of the Commission and the Council. For ease of reference, the very brief interventions by the President of the part-session in which the name of each speaker is mentioned and the MEP in question is asked to take the floor, have been omitted from this table.

Table 3.3 clearly shows that the Council and Commission, as representatives of the institution, are allocated the prime slots at the beginning and end of the debate. The attempted subversion of this schedule in the form of MEP Zimeray's final intervention in the debate is firmly cut short by the President as can be seen in extract 3.3.1 from the ME debate (see page 103 of this thesis).



Speaker number	Speaker name	Affiliation	Time allocated	Time Taken	% of speaking time
1	Neyts-Uytebroeck	Council	15 minutes	21 minutes 16 seconds	21.0%
2	Patten	Commission	-	11 minutes 6 seconds	11.0%
3	Galeote Quesedo	PPE-DE	4 minutes	4 minutes 11 seconds	4.1%
4	Baron Crespo	PSE	4 minutes	4 minutes 54 seconds	4.8%
5	Esteve	ELDR	3 minutes	3 minutes 51 seconds	3.8%
6	Legendijk	Verts/ALE	2.5 minutes	2 minutes 50 seconds	2.8%
7	Wurtz	GUE/NGL	2 minutes	2 minutes 23 seconds	2.4%
8	Collins	UEN	1.5 minutes	1 minute 37 seconds	1.6%
9	Dupuis	TDI	3 minutes	3 minutes 37 seconds	3.6%
10	Belder	EDD	3 minutes	2 minutes 42 seconds	2.7%
11	Sichrovsky	NI	1 minute	1 minute 1 second	1.0%
12	Salafanca	PPE-DE	-	2 minutes 13 seconds	2.2%
13	Menendez de Valle	PSE	-	2 minutes 9 seconds	2.1%
14	Gahrton	Verts/ALE	1.5 minutes	2 minutes 12 seconds	2.2%
15	Morgantini	GUE/NGL	2 minutes	3 minutes 1 second	3.0%
16	Muscardini	UEN	1.5 minutes	2 minutes 28 seconds	2.4%
17	Laschet	PPE-DE	2 minutes	2 minutes 53 seconds	2.9%
18	Zimeray	PSE	2 minutes	2 minutes 40 seconds	2.7%
19	Van Orden	PPE-DE	2 minutes	2 minutes 37 seconds	2.6%
20	Sakellariou	PSE	2 minutes	2 minutes 36 seconds	2.6%
21	Cushnahan	PPE-DE	2 minutes	1 minute 45 seconds	1.8%
22	Neyts-Uytebroeck	Council	-	3 minutes 36 seconds	3.6%
23	Poettering	PPE-DE	-	32 seconds	0.5%
24	Patten	Commission	-	12 minutes 2 seconds	11.9%
25	Neyts-Uytebroeck	Council	-	31 seconds	0.5%
26	Zimeray	PSE	-	39 seconds	0.6%

Table 3.3: Order and duration of speaking time slots in the EP corpus

**President (Catherine Lalumière)**

I3: Thank you very much Minister Now you have given us that small piece of information I can say that the debate on the situation in the Middle East is now concluded Mr Zimeray no I don't want to open up the debate we've had the debate

**Zimeray**

I3: Very briefly no I was mentioned in particular by Commissioner Chris Patten various members mentioned me as well I think I should have the right to reply I don't think it is right that the Commission should make allegations against members of parliament at the end of the debate and its not up to Parliament to judge how money should be spent by Javier Solana

I retain my comments about the education policy if the European Union doesn't directly subsidise the books it does subsidise education and teaching that instils martyrdom and hatr.....

**President (Catherine Lalumière)**

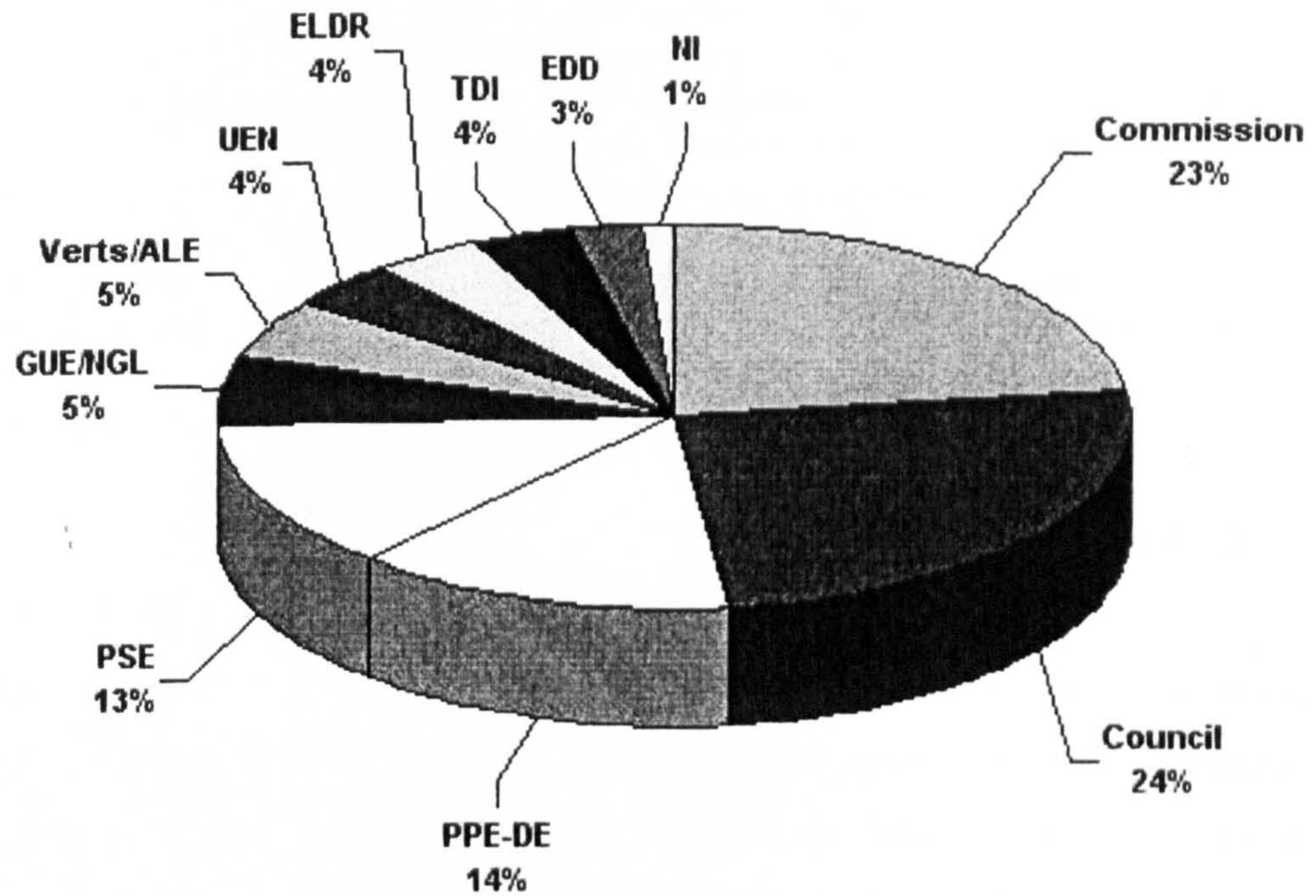
I3: The debate on the situation in the Middle East is now over

**Extract 3.3.1**

Intervention I3\_ME\_04.09 Zimeray is cut short by the President, when responding to criticism made by the Commissioner, on the grounds that the time allocated for the debate has already expired. In this way, the President of the parliamentary part-session, and hence the representative of the institution in this context, retains and reinforces power.

In addition, the percentage of speaking time allocated to each group is ideologically salient, with the Council (25.1%) and the Commission (22.9%) retaining the lion's share. The distribution of speaking time across all groups in the ME debate is illustrated in Figure 3.2.





**Figure 3.2:** Distribution of speaking time according to group in the EP corpus

### 3.3.2 Formal Structure of Interventions

The second institutional constraint is the formal, highly ritualised structure of individual interventions within the EP debate. Both German and English original interventions generally begin with a formal address, ranging from the English *Ladies and Gentlemen* to the German *dear colleagues*. The structure of these interventions is highly intertextual in nature in that it follows rhetorical norms of parliamentary discourse and speechmaking in general. Formal structures such as these are highly ritualised, stable constructs that leave less room for dialogised heteroglossia and enforce hegemonic norms. However, the EP corpus also displays clear signs of cultural (and hence ideological) hybridity. There is also evidence of the British parliamentary tradition (*as my honourable friend stated.....*) invading the European parliamentary space, both in the original English interventions and the English TT. In the case of Commissioner Patten, this British parliamentary norm is used to exploit the reputation of the British as masters of politeness, while all the while criticising his opponent. This can be clearly seen in extract 3.3.2 from intervention O\_ME\_04.09 Patten below.



Em I just want to comment on speeches made by three honourable members em and first of all I'd like to comment of the speeches made by the honourable gentleman Mr Zimeray and the honourable gentleman Mr Laschet and I will do so with all the diplomatic restraint for which I am famed, not least in Asia. I have had the great pleasure and privilege over the last two years to listen probably to hundreds of speeches in this Chamber, I think probably more than any other Commissioner. I am bound to say that I have not heard many speeches less well informed than the honourable gentleman Mr Zimeray. And I would wish that Mr Laschet's speech had been a little better informed as well.

### Extract 3.3.2

This is a clear case of British fair play, laced with a heavy dose of irony. At the same time, there is evidence of continental European parliamentary tradition colonising the English original interventions in the form of the address, resulting in a hybrid English 'Eurospeak'. The forms of deference to the preceding speaker, followed by criticism of their views are also typical of political debate as a whole and are reproduced in the EP corpus under investigation, across all languages.

These are examples of (hegemonic) norms that strengthen EP institutional hegemony. However their subversion is an indication of the breakdown of EP institutional hegemony. Van Dijk refers to such norms as "schematic structures" (van Dijk 1998: 207) and states that the absence of such conventions can also be considered an ideologically based insult (van Dijk 1998: 208).

### 3.3.3 *Hybrid Identity of MEPs*

In the EP corpus, a high level of hybridity of identity and allegiance and, in turn, high potential for ideological hybridity and competition was identified. National approaches are compared to the European Union approach in several interventions. This can be clearly seen in extract 3.3.3 from intervention I3\_ME\_04.09 Sichrovsky.

**Der deutsche**  
**[The German]**  
bring an end to the conflict the German



**Außenminister Fischer hat uns vielleicht hier vorgezeigt, wie europäische**  
[*Foreign Minister Fischer has us perhaps shown what European*]  
Foreign Minister has given an example of what an European

**Vermittlung aussehen könnte, im Gegensatz zu den peinlichen Vergleichen des**  
[*mediation look like could in contrast to the embarrassing comparisons of*]  
brokerage could actually look like unlike the painful....the painful comments from

**finnischen Außenministers zwischen den Verbrechen der Nationalsozialismus**  
[*the Finnish Foreign Minister between the crimes of National Socialism*]  
the Finnish Foreign Minister comparing what has been happening in Israel with is

**und Israel und den aggressiven Angriffen gegen Israel des belgischen**  
[*and of Israel and (to) the aggressive attacks against Israel of the Belgian*]  
what happening....what was happening during a period of Nazism and compared to

**Außenministers.**  
[*Foreign Minister*]  
the embarrassing and aggressive approach of the Belgian Foreign Minister

### Extract 3.3.3

In this example, Joschka Fischer is defined as German rather than European, although the brokerage he could possibly provide in the future is referred to as European. The Finnish and Belgian Foreign Ministers are viewed in a critical light, stressing the national allegiance of the MEP in question. This loyalty could be viewed as having its roots in the fact that the national party decides if and when a politician is nominated to stand for election to the European Parliament. On the other hand, although the transnational party federation or group is relatively weak as a result of the absence of a tight whipping system, they are still influential in setting the parliamentary agenda, choosing the rapporteurs and allocating the speaking time in the parliamentary part-sessions. Conformity to the ideology of the group could also be important in this context.

Hilary Footitt's concept of scripts of democratic representation is also of interest here (Footitt 2002: 45-50). According to this theory, each MEP has a number of different scripts. The national script, i.e. what is the accepted function and behaviour of representatives in each of the different countries of Europe could potentially conflict with the political script of the Socialists, Greens, Conservatives and so on. Indeed a hybrid of the two which pits the French Socialist against the German Christian Democrat is an example of the conflicting ideologies which are of interest in this investigation.

This hybridity can also be seen in extract 3.3.4 from intervention I3\_19.09\_CT Nassauer. This extract refers to the Union parties in Germany, i.e. CSU / CDU:

**Die Unionsparteien in**  
[*The Union parties in*]  
the united parties in

**Deutschland fühlen sich jedenfalls den Amerikanern auch bei der**  
[*Germany feel themselves in any case the American also in the*]  
Germany feel that it is their duty to stand together with the Americans in

**gemeinsamen Abwehr des Terrorismus verpflichtet.**  
[*common defence against terrorism indebted*]  
rejecting terrorism the Americans

#### Extract 3.3.4

Indeed, as Footitt claims, “politically systemic national differences place MEPs from different countries on very different points in the representative / represented relationship” (Footitt 2002: 45). The ideology of the local representative could potentially conflict with that of the national representative (strengthened perhaps by the dual mandate system which is still in force in some countries) which in turn could conflict with the European identity of representing both the European citizen and the European Union as an institution. In turn the MEP in question may be a member of an intergroup which deals with issues such as animal welfare or one in defence of activities such as hunting or indeed be a member of Friendship groups such as the Friends of Israel. These ideologies could in turn conflict with the aforementioned regional identities. Another potential ideological conflict could arise through membership of certain EP Committees. Representation on the international stage is also a factor given the media attention and live streaming of EP debates. However as Footitt rightly points out, the focus of such media attention generally focuses on the ‘spectacle’ of Strasbourg and rarely on the individual outside the first language press.

Examples of further ideologies present in the EP framework which add to its hybridity could be feminist ideology, anti-nuclear ideology, pacifist ideology, Zionist ideology, the ideology of globalisation or the ideology of internationalisation. The point of this enumeration and the examples cited above is to illustrate the hybridity, complexity and



dynamic nature of ideology and the fluid construction of identity (Footit 2002: 7) and indeed ideology in this particular political institution. This hybridity of identification is indicative of hybrid ideologies represented in hybrid discourses and hybrid texts. Therefore, this characteristic of the EP part-session is of particular interest to the investigation of ideologies in an institutional context.

### 3.3.4 *Institutional Self-Reference*

The first category of discursal constraints is institutional self-reference. Luhmann's concept of the institution as a self-governing and self-norming organism (cf. Luhmann 1995) has proved useful in this context. In this context, the EU is a social system which is located in a:

network of interconnected social subsystems...Each of them observes itself and its environment, but whatever they observe is marked by their unique perspective, by the selectivity of the particular distinctions they use for their observations. There is no longer an Archimedean point from which this network could be contained in an all embracing vision.

(Knodt in Foreward to Luhmann 1995: xii)

Although the institution is not a closed system (e.g. it is still liable to influence from outside, cf. the European Commission scandal of 1999<sup>21</sup>), the European Union, and the European Parliament in turn is to a great extent self-regulating. It can be viewed as a "society of discourse" in the Foucauldian sense (Foucault 1981: 62) which "preserves or produces discourses, but in order to make them circulate in a closed space, distributing them only according to strict rules" (Foucault 1981: 62-63).

This can be seen in the EP corpus where the speakers refer at length to internal decision making procedures and institutions, treaties and policies. In constantly referring to the institution of the European Union and by means of constant repetition of the various bodies and mechanisms belonging to that institution, the institution itself is stabilised and

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<sup>21</sup> Following a report of the Committee of Independent Experts accusing certain members of the EU Commission of fraud, corruption and nepotism, the entire EU Commission under Jacques Santer resigned on 15th March 1999.

functions as a self-referential, semi-closed system. This strengthens ideological stabilisation within that institution.

Institutional self-reference can also be clearly seen in the myriad of metaphors used to refer to the European Union and the process of European integration. By constantly thematising and referring to the institution, the debate stabilises the institution of the European Union and thus drives the institution forward. Thus, autopoiesis takes place, defined as “Self (re)productive operations of organisms that use their own output as input” (Knodt in Foreward to Luhmann 1995: xii).

Institutional self-reference and metaphor use is particularly prevalent in the interventions from the Council and the Commission, i.e. those bodies that represent and embody the institution of the EU in the face of criticism and critical debate from the European Parliament (EP).

### 3.3.5 *Intertextuality*

The second category of discursual characteristics of the EP corpus is intertextuality. This is particularly predominant in the EP corpus. In this subsection, all three types of intertextuality will be examined.

The first category of analysis, co-textuality, depicts reference to co-texts. The term ‘co-text’ refers here to other interventions (and hence ‘texts’) within the EP corpus. There is, therefore, a co-textual relationship between individual interventions in the same debate, and between individual interventions in one debate and individual interventions in another debate in the EP corpus. This strengthens the self-referentiality of the corpus and thus European institutional hegemony, as can be seen in extract 3.3.5 from intervention I6\_ME\_04.09 Martelli.

Commissioner Patten expressed how frustrated he felt when he wanted so much to contribute to the peace process or at least to stop the violence in Palestine and of course if you look at the events which have occurred only in the last few hours it shows how very difficult that is I don't think the core of the discussion is....lies in the



content of certain schoolbooks which colleagues have referred to but what we need to do is to take a genuine decision as to what Europe can do in the Middle East looking for example our radical colleagues have talked about having an association agreement binding Israel to the EU a decision which would definitely change the course of affairs could provide guarantees for Israel but would involve the whole region in a new type of security policy so focussing on these issues strengthening the Euro and providing further institutional backbone for a CFSP might well breathe new life into this policy which at the moment is lacking and which enlargement does require thank you President

### Extract 3.3.5

Here, co-textual reference is made not merely to the fact that the debate on the Middle East took place, but the above extract explicitly co-textually references the content of the debate and unites the individual goals of the two debates under one broad heading of ‘Where we want to be going’ / ‘what we want to achieve’. This is similar to direct quotation in the category of manifest intertextuality below, in that certain aspects or topics are included / linked to one another in the discourse, whereas others are excluded / disassociated from the topic at hand.

The second category, manifest intertextuality, depicts reference to texts external to the corpus. Manifest intertextuality is therefore defined, as in subsection 2.5.3, as **the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts** (Fairclough 1992: 185), where these “specific other texts” are texts external to the corpus.

The third category, latent intertextuality, was introduced in subsection 2.5.2. This category depicts reference to multiple, non-specific texts that form a type of ‘consciousness collective’ in the Durkheimian sense. Fairclough’s terminology was modified to account for this type of non-specific textual reference and latent intertextuality thus defined as **the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of multiple, non-specific other texts**. Latent intertextuality is broken down into two subcategories of document intertextuality and historic intertextuality.

### 3.3.6 Repetition

The third category of discursual characteristics of the EP corpus is that of repetition, both structural and lexical. This is often used to structure interventions and emphasise the need for action [e.g. the use of rhetorical repetition of the phrase *Reden wir darüber* (lit. let's talk about....) in intervention I1\_EE\_04.09 Hänsch]. In addition rhetorical repetition of certain keywords such as the term *solidarity* also serves to reinforce the importance of the term and the value allocated to it, in this case, repetition of the term *solidarity* in collocation with terms such as *European* and *multinational* slots into the basic cognitive model “solidarity = good” and hence “lack of solidarity = bad”. It will be argued later in this thesis that such basic cognitive models, used in particular in the construction, understanding and use of metaphor strings, is a key aspect in the study of ideologies.

Another form of repetition in the EP corpus is that of predominant and repeated use of certain collocations throughout the three political debates in the EP corpus, and indeed in Western political discourse in general. This includes collocations such as “the fight against terrorism” or “the attack in New York was not only an attack on America but on the entire civilised world”, or “we have to stand shoulder to shoulder with our American brothers”. These repeated collocations are particularly prevalent in the post 9 / 11 Combating Terrorism (CT) debate but the sentiment expressed by them is found, perhaps in a more diluted form, in the collocations referring to common values in the corpus as a whole. The key terms ‘democracy’, ‘peace’, ‘freedom’, ‘human rights’, ‘rule of law’ occur frequently as a list in the same sentence. As a result the ideological significance and effect achieved by the repetition of these key terms is strengthened even further by the cross-referencing effect of them being used en masse.

The recurrent use of metaphor strings is a form of repeated collocation. Prevalent use of recurring metaphor is particularly noticeable in the EP corpus. Alongside the metaphor strings referring to the political institution and its processes, highlighted above, there are a number of metaphors that refer to processes and situations and are highly interesting in terms of the balance of power and relations between institutions, political groups and individuals. In the Lakoff and Johnson (1980) approach, which views metaphors as



cognitive models, these particular metaphor strings are therefore of particular interest in the investigation of ideologies.

A further category of repetition in the EP corpus is repeated reference to common European values. In numerous interventions in the German original interventions, the term *Wertgemeinschaft* (lit. community of values) is used, often to appeal for unity and for the different participants to pull in the same direction, but also often to differentiate between 'them' and 'us'. This can be seen in extract 3.3.6 from intervention O\_EE\_04.09 Poettering.

**Niemand hätte doch vor zwanzig Jahren gedacht,**  
[no one would have twenty years ago thought]  
nobody..twenty years ago nobody would

**dass wir heute darüber reden können, dass die Länder Mitteleuropas in**  
[that we today about this talk can that the countries of Central Europe in our]  
have been able to..... believe that we could today be speaking about this generous

**unsere Wertegemeinschaft eintreten können.**  
[community of values enter can]  
historical development including the countries of Central and Eastern Europe

**Extract 3.3.6**

In this example, 'we', the current members of the EU, are juxtaposed with 'them', the accession states, and hence the dualism of exclusion and inclusion (cf. Foucault 1981) strengthened. However, pronouns such as 'we' are often used in a deliberately ambiguous manner, particularly in European political discourse, as can be seen in subsection 3.3.7 below.

**3.3.7 Ambiguous Pronominal Use**

The fourth category of discursual characteristics of the EP corpus is ambiguous pronoun use. Speakers in the EP part-session often use the ambiguous pronoun 'we' which does not necessarily indicate either inclusiveness or exclusiveness. This is a general tendency in political discourse in a broader sense as a whole because, alongside the rhetorical

effects attained by active rather than passive statements, it enables politicians to distance or include their own opinion in their statements at a later stage.

The ambiguity of the pronoun 'we' can be seen in extract 3.3.7.

**Die Zeit der Worte ist jetzt vorbei! Wir müssen als Europäer handeln.**  
[The time of words is now over      We must as Europeans act]  
now time for action rather than words we have to act

**Wir müssen zugleich aber auch konsequent handeln, und vor allen**  
[We must at the same time however consistently act      and above all]  
consistently and we have to act in a considered fashion and wherever we can

**Dingen müssen wir da, wo wir es können, Konflikte friedlich**  
[things must we there where we can (do it)      conflicts peacefully]  
we have to try and resolve conflicts peacefully

**bewältigen. Ein militärisches Vorgehen ist niemals Vergeltung,**  
[resolve      A military (course of) action is never retaliation]  
military action must never be for purposes of retaliation

**sondern muss immer zu mehr Sicherheit führen.**  
[rather must always to more security lead]  
but to create more security let us act

**Extract 3.3.7**

The first use of the term *we* is specified in the phrase *Wir müssen als Europäer handeln* (lit. we must act as Europeans).

However, the second occurrence of the term is more ambiguous. Is he still referring to 'we, the Europeans' in the phrase *Wir müssen zugleich aber auch konsequent handeln* (lit. we have to however also act consistently)? Or could he mean 'we, the international community'? Could the speaker be responding in a dialogical manner with an appeal to the USA in the sense of 'we, Europe and the USA'?

The third and fourth instances of the term *wir* in the phrase *vor allen Dingen, müssen wir da, wo wir es können, Konflikte friedlich bewältigen*" (lit. above all things we have to, where we can, resolve conflicts peacefully) is also ambiguous. Could this be the general,



inclusive 'we, mankind'? Or has he returned to the original starting point of 'we, the Europeans'?

### **3.3.8 *Data Analysis Tools***

Of the seven characteristics discussed above, the third category of discursal characteristics was found to be the most salient and hence interesting avenue of investigation for data analysis of competing ideologies. Within that category, three subcategories were found to be most prevalent in the corpus under investigation. These are (i) all three forms of dialogised heteroglossia, (ii) rhetorical repetition in the form of lexical repetition, and (iii) institutional self-reference in the form of metaphor strings.

It was then necessary to develop tools for data analysis. In terms of data analysis methodology, the same approach was pursued in all categories. First, the ST and the TT were analysed individually, then comparative analysis of the ST and TT was carried out in order to avoid an analysis which focussed exclusively on how features in the ST were conveyed in the TT. Hence TT features could be investigated which had no obvious trigger in the ST and would possibly otherwise be overlooked. First of all, the term 'text' as employed in this analysis must first be defined. 'Text' will be used to refer to each individual intervention in the corpus. These 'texts' are divided into three debates [the Middle East (ME) debate, the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate and the Combating Terrorism (CT) debate], which constitute the EP corpus.

The category of intertextuality was split into two subcategories: manifest intertextuality and latent intertextuality. Both manifest intertextuality and latent intertextuality were then further divided into two subcategories respectively: co-textuality and quotation as forms of manifest intertextuality, and document intertextuality and historic intertextuality as forms of latent intertextuality. The transcribed interventions throughout the EP corpus were analysed for textual evidence of intertextual reference in all subcategories individually. These occurrences were marked in dedicated annotated versions of the individual debates in the EP corpus using different colours of the highlighting tool in Microsoft Word. After the corpus had been investigated for all incidences of intertextual reference, these incidences were collated and salient examples chosen for discussion.

In the category of lexical repetition, the corpus was first analysed for frequent institutional terms and three such terms selected: the concepts of 'European Union', 'Candidate countries' and 'EU enlargement'. In addition four key terms: *solidarity*, *peace*, *democracy* and *freedom* which were deemed to be particular salient in the corpus were investigated in terms of context of repetition and repeated collocation. As above, these occurrences were also marked in dedicated annotated versions of the individual debates in the EP corpus using different colours of the highlighting tool in Microsoft Word. In the first three categories of lexical repetition, quantitative analysis was then undertaken, using the "Find / Replace" function in Microsoft Word. The values were then collated in tables and each individual occurrence examined in detail. In the keywords category, the four terms were isolated in each of the debates in the EP corpus, using the "Find / Replace" function in Microsoft Word. Following this, the collocates were established and collated. Where possible, an attempt was made to verify the stability of the collocation by comparing the findings in the EP corpus with those in online corpora of English such as the Collins Wordbanks Online English Corpus. This approach could be extended and refined in a further research study which could focus on (stability of collocation) of such keywords in ST and TT. In the case of written translation texts, it would be interesting to compare such stability of collocation in original English and translated English texts using the Translational English Corpus.

In the category of metaphor strings, a similar procedure as for the category of dialogised heteroglossia was followed. The six metaphor strings were selected in order of frequency of occurrence in the EP corpus and marked using the highlighting function of Microsoft Word.

### 3.4 Conclusions

Data Collection and corpus methodology were presented in the first section of this chapter. In section 3.1.1, the inconsistencies of early research were discussed. The experimental approach versus the observation paradigm was discussed and reasons for the selection of an observational study highlighted in section 3.1.2. Decisive factors in collating an authentic observational corpus were presented and observational, corpus based research in IR to date, evaluated according to these factors in section 3.1.3.



The design of the EP corpus was explored in section 3.2. Seven corpora judged to be the most representative of the observational corpora evaluated were chosen as yardsticks for design and evaluation of the final EP corpus. Six categories were selected for comparison (size of corpus, number of interpreters, professional vs. students vs. bilinguals, recording methodology and transcription methodology) and discussed in subsections 3.2.1 to 3.2.6 respectively.

Although most of the problems mentioned by Setton (cf. Setton 1998) as associated with the collation of data for representational observational SI corpora such as poor acoustic conditions and insufficient quality (the problem of student vs. professional data), did not affect the collation of the EP corpus, certain other factors did.

A prime example of this is the uncertainty surrounding the documents available to the interpreters and in some cases the knowledge that the speaker was following a supplied text (cf. Setton 1998). This unknown factor of preparation of both the speakers and the interpreters is something that could not be pinned down in this study, although certain suggestions regarding the nature of such preparation are made throughout the data analysis section.

Another variable that could not be controlled was the number of years of experience the interpreters in the corpus have and whether they were employed on an in-house or freelance basis, a factor that could be influential when examining the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. This could not be defined given the nature of recording and the anonymity of the interpreters.

However, the policy of the EP on interpreting can be briefly sketched in order to give an idea of the typical division between permanent staff interpreters and freelance interpreters. The EP has its own Interpreting Directorate which employs approximately 240 permanent staff interpreters. In addition it has more than 1000 auxiliary conference interpreters, of which between 200 and 500 are recruited each day. In 2002, permanent staff interpreters were used for  $\pm$  50% of 56000 interpreter days, the remainder being covered by auxiliary conference interpreters<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> For further details cf. [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/interp/public/interep/interep\\_en.htm](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/interp/public/interep/interep_en.htm)

Therefore the ratio of permanent staff interpreter : auxiliary conference interpreter is approximately 1:1. However, it is highly probable that the majority of interpreters with German in their combination are permanent staff interpreters, given the fact that German is a founding language of the EU.

These are, however, constraints that are also placed on the audience and are problems intrinsic to working with live data. As a result, the conclusion was reached that the EP corpus could be claimed to be representative because it was typical of interpreted texts in the EP.

In section 3.3, data analysis methodology was explored. In this section, the nine most prevalent characteristics of the EP corpus were explored, in order to describe the nature of the corpus. These nine characteristics were divided into three categories, namely (i) the institutional constraints that characterise the production of text in the EP corpus, (ii) the hybrid identity of MEPs, and (iii) the discoursal characteristics of the texts under investigation.

The first category, institutional constraints, comprised temporal constraints governing the allocation of speaking time, and the formal structure of interventions such as the address and argumentative structure. These two characteristics were found to be highly ideological in the allocation and governance of power and establishment of discoursal hierarchy.

In the treatment of the second category, the hybrid identity of MEPs, it was established that MEPs have an extremely hybrid identity and competing allegiances (in terms of national identity, party political allegiance, pressure groups etc). This was found to be of particular interest in a study of competing ideologies within EP discourse.

The third category, discoursal characteristics of the EP corpus, encompassed institutional self-reference, rhetorical repetition, repeated collocation, reference to European values and ambiguous pronoun use.



The concept of institutional self-reference (cf. Luhmann 1995) as a factor in ideological stabilisation was explored and identified in the corpus, in the form of repeated metaphor strings referring to the institution of the EU and processes within the institution.

Intertextuality was isolated as the second discursual characteristic of the EP corpus. Two categories of intertextuality, namely manifest intertextuality, and latent intertextuality, were isolated as characteristic of the corpus, and as highly salient in terms of ideology. Here an example was given of the simultaneous occurrence of more than one subcategory of manifest intertextuality, namely both direct quotation and historic intertextuality, which, it was argued, added to the ideological salience of such repeated textual manifestations of dialogised heteroglossia.

The third subcategory of rhetorical repetition, both lexical and structural, was also identified as a factor in ideological stabilisation of the institution of the EP and the EU as a whole, with lexical repetition of both the organs of the institution, and jargon and terminology particular to that institution (Eurospeak), found to be particularly prevalent. Repeated collocation was identified as further manifestation of repetition in the EP corpus and, in turn, also a factor in ideological stabilisation of both the institution of the EU itself (in terms of EU institutional hegemony), as well as of both orders of discourse (democracy) and suborders of discourse (European political discourse). The third form of repetition, repeated reference to European values by the use of a clear us / them; we / you dichotomy was investigated using the Foucauldian scheme of reference of inclusion / exclusion. This aspect was found to be highly salient in terms of ideologies, particularly in the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate.

The opposite of this definite 'we group' reference was investigated in the fourth category, ambiguous pronominal reference. Here, intentionally ambiguous personal pronoun use, predominantly of the personal pronouns 'we' and 'you', was isolated as a distancing or identifying mechanism, characteristic of political debate and highly salient in terms of the investigation of competing ideologies.

The third category of discursual characteristics was selected as the most interesting avenue of investigation for data analysis of EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. Three subcategories were chosen as the most prevalent in the corpus under

investigation. These are (i) intertextuality, (ii) rhetorical repetition in the form of lexical repetition, and (iii) institutional self-reference in the form of metaphor strings. Discourse analysis methodology was then presented and the limits of the approach highlighted.

In the following chapters, three forms of discursal embeddedness in the form of intertextuality, lexical repetition and metaphor strings are investigated.



## **Chapter 4 Data Analysis**

In this chapter, the theoretical framework developed in chapter two will be made operational using the methodology set out in chapter three. Discoursal embeddedness in the form of intertextuality, lexical repetition and metaphor strings will be investigated for textual evidence of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. The term discoursal embeddedness is used in a Bakhtinian sense to describe the way each individual utterance and text are anchored or embedded in multiple layers of discourse.

Section 4.1 will concentrate on intertextuality, section 4.2 on lexical repetition and section 4.3 on metaphor strings. Section 4.4 will conclude the section with a discussion of data analysis findings.

### **4.1 Intertextuality**

In the following section, the theoretical framework on dialogised heteroglossia, established in section 2.3 of this thesis, will be made operational in an investigation of intertextuality.

The concept of dialogised heteroglossia is closely linked to the traditional categories of reiteration and collocation in a study of cohesion and coherence. However, it goes beyond the individual text and thus extends the traditional understanding of these concepts. Using the concept of dialogised heteroglossia, the reference to, and links between, the individual text and layers of discourse, is made more salient. This is of key importance in a study of ideologies that focuses on textual analysis as a means of discovering the chains of reference which reinforce or challenge the stability and coherence of particular ideologies.

The role of dialogised heteroglossia in creating chains of coherent intertextual reference is investigated in this section, assuming that if the same intertextual topic reference recurs within an individual text or spans texts, it serves a coherent function by creating a

(temporarily) coherent or stable frame of reference. This repeated redundancy, in turn, serves to (temporarily) strengthen a particular evaluative stance, crucial to ideological coherence. As discussed in subsection 3.3.8, the German ST was first investigated for incidence of repeated intertextual reference. This analysis was repeated with the English TT before comparative analysis was carried out.

The concept of dialogised heteroglossia can be broken down into two conceptual domains: (i) manifest intertextuality and (ii) latent intertextuality which will be addressed in sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 respectively. In section 4.1.3, conclusions on the data analysis of dialogised heteroglossia in the EP corpus will be drawn.

#### **4.1.1      *Manifest Intertextuality***

The first category, manifest intertextuality, refers to a type of dialogised heteroglossia in which the utterance under investigation is embedded in multiple layers of discourse by means of reference to texts external to the corpus. Manifest intertextuality is defined, as in subsection 2.3.3, as **the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts** (Fairclough 1992: 185), where these “specific other texts” are texts external to the corpus.

The term ‘co-textuality’, refers to the links between co-texts. In this particular study, the term co-text is used to refer to all other texts in the EP corpus, with the term ‘text’ referring to each individual intervention. It is the repeated reference to specific co-texts that is of interest in this investigation into the coherence of ideologies. Multiple co-textual references construct a web of reference via reference to reference and therefore strengthen the cohesive and ideological role of that certain intervention in the EP corpus as a whole.

The first subcategory of co-textuality is that of repeated anaphoric and cataphoric reference to interventions by other speakers. This repeated co-textual reference serves to strengthen coherence in the EP corpus as a whole. In terms of ideology, it is significant to establish which speakers and utterances are referred to, i.e. what is included in, or



excluded from, co-textual reference (cf. Foucault on exclusion / inclusion as discussed in section 2.1 of this thesis).

In the German ST, repeated co-textual reference to the interventions by Commissioner Patten (ME), Verheugen (EE) and Viterino (CT) occur in the three debates respectively. It seems to be fairly consistent in all three debates for speakers to refer to the statement of the representatives of the Commission rather than the Council (if present). This could lead to further interpretation of the respective weighting of opinion and judgement of the respective power of each of these EU organs on the part of the EP. The concepts of foregrounding and backgrounding are introduced to account for this shift in weighting from ST to TT. As stated in subsection 2.5.1 of this thesis, terms which are referenced more in the TT than in the ST are said to be foregrounded in the interpretation, whereas other terms are referenced less in the TT than in the ST and are hence backgrounded. This is an interesting aspect of ideological saliency within the institution of the EU.

The chains of co-textual references to the Commissioners are generally also present in the English TT. Therefore the ideological force of such co-textual reference in the German ST to interventions by members of the Commission seems unchanged in the English TT.

However, when repeated co-textual reference to interventions from MEPs Brok and Poettering in the German ST is investigated, a slight trend towards omission of these repeated references in the English TT can be established. In intervention I1\_EE\_04.09 Hänsch, anaphoric reference to the statement by MEP Poettering in the ST is not attributed to the latter in the English TT, leading to a weakening of the chain of co-textual reference in the English TT. This omission of co-textual reference is also found in the intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, where co-textual reference to the statement by MEP Brok in the German ST is omitted in the English TT. All other references to this intervention in the German ST are found in the English TT.

This occurrence of omission is certainly slight, but of interest in an investigation of ideologies in which the issue of who is referenced by whom is particularly salient. The slight weakening of repeated co-textual reference in the English TT occurred when reference was made to less important figures in the EU institutional hierarchy and not when reference was made to the word of the Commissioners.

There is also evidence of anaphoric reference in the German ST being transformed into cataphoric reference in the English TT, leading to a slight weakening of coherence by means of co-textual reference.

The second form of repeated co-textual reference that is prominent in the debate is reference to the content of other interventions in the corpus without explicitly referring to the speaker. In intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder in the context of his Progress Report on the Czech Republic's suitability for accession to the EU, MEP Schroeder consciously uses the word *Vertreibung* (lit. expulsion) in the phrase *Das ist etwas, was bisher Kriege verhindert hat – und übrigens auch Vertreibung* (lit. that is something that up until now has prevented wars – and by the way, expulsion too). This is a co-textual reference to the intervention by Raschhofer in the same debate (I4\_EE\_04.09 Raschhofer) in which she argues that the Czech Republic should not be permitted to accede to the EU unless the Beneš Decrees are revoked, and is clearly a response to the accusations voiced in that intervention. The use of the ideologically loaded term *Vertreibung* in the German ST is not mirrored in the English TT which simply states *peace and freedom have been created to prevent the wars that we had in the past*. In this way, the repeated co-textual reference in the German ST is not reproduced in the English TT and hence the ideological force of such reference is weakened in the English TT. Thus there appears to be a very slight trend towards stabilising the institutional hierarchy and hence a move towards EU institutional hegemony. At the same time, other co-textual reference is omitted and hence dialogised heteroglossia reduced.

This particular intervention from Raschhofer has an additional layer of latent intertextuality and will be discussed further in subsection 4.1.2 of this chapter.

The second type of manifest intertextual reference most frequently encountered in the EP corpus is the quotation. This will be the focus of investigation in this subsection.

Quotation is one of the most explicit forms of intertextual reference and refers to the situation in which an extract from one text is referred to in another text, whether explicitly indicated using the “quote....unquote” method, or in the form of indirect speech. This serves a cohesive function by determining what other texts are (or are not) deemed to be valuationally coherent with the text under investigation. In this sense,



choices of what is (and what is not) quoted are not made in an arbitrary manner, rather they are motivated choices on the part of the speaker (and interpreter). In this way, the speakers in the corpus tap into particular discourses to underline particular attitudes and opinions. If a speaker intertextually refers to a particular discourse, e.g. anti-semitic discourse, this is not to say that he or she is a proponent of such attitudes, rather the speaker can just as well express attitudes in that discourse that he or she vehemently disagrees with.

In this study, both direct and indirect quotations were investigated. The analysis of the corpus isolated a number of direct and indirect quotations. Given that the subject of investigation is not isolated intertextual reference, but repeated reference which forms chains of intertextual reference, one significant chain of intertextual reference was established as being worthy of further investigation.

This particular chain of intertextual reference in the form of quotations could be broadly termed the Middle East conflict frame of intertextual reference. Within this discourse, anti-Israel / anti-Zionist statements are uttered which are not necessarily the opinion of the speaker but are used to underline criticism of anti-Israel / anti-Zionist statements made by others and hence the anti-Israel / anti-Zionist discourse that these statements are embedded in. The statements and extracts selected are part of discourse on the Middle East conflict and, as such, are interventions in dialogic communication within this discourse, responding to questions posed, attitudes expressed, and answers given, in other texts. They are, in turn, embedded in that particular discursal world.

The first occurrence of this discourse on the Middle East conflict can be found in extract 4.1.1 from intervention I3\_ME\_04.09 Sichrovsky.

**Der deutsche**  
*[The German]*  
The German

**Außenminister Fischer hat uns vielleicht hier vorgezeigt, wie europäische**  
*[Foreign Minister Fischer has us perhaps shown what European]*  
Foreign Minister has given an example of what emm European

**Vermittlung aussehen könnte, im Gegensatz zu den peinlichen Vergleichen des**  
[mediation look like could in contrast to the embarrassing comparisons of]  
brokerage could actually look like unlike the painful...the painful comments from the

**finnischen Außenministers zwischen den Verbrechen der Nationalsozialismus**  
[the Finnish Foreign Minister between the crimes of National Socialism]  
Finnish Foreign Minister comparing what has been happening in Israel with what is

**und Israel und den aggressiven Angriffen gegen Israel des belgischen**  
[and of Israel and (to) the aggressive attacks against Israel of the Belgian]  
happening...what was happening during a period of Nazism and compared to the  
embarrassing and aggressive approach of the

**Außenministers. Es war für mich auch ein Schock, in Brüssel Geschäfte zu**  
[Foreign Minister. It was for me too a shock in Brussels shops to]  
Belgian Foreign Minister

**sehen mit den Aufschriften „Wir führen keine Israelischen Waren“.**  
[see with the signs “We stock no Israeli goods”]  
.....

**Extract 4.1.1**

The German ST reference to the statements of the Finnish and Belgian Foreign Ministers initiates the chain of intertextual reference to the Middle East conflict in the corpus. In this case the Finnish Foreign Minister is said to have compared the crimes of the National Socialist regime with the policies of Israel and the Belgian Foreign Minister is said to have made aggressive attacks against Israel.

In this case, the speaker is referring to discourse critical of Israel, on the part of these two Foreign Ministers, in order to explicitly criticise such discourse. This can be seen in the phrases *peinliche Vergleiche* (lit.: embarrassing comparisons) and *aggressive Angriffe* (lit.: aggressive attacks). Although the reference to the Finnish Foreign Minister's statement(s) appears in the English TT, the reference to the Belgian Foreign Minister's statement(s) is less explicit in the TT by the omission of the explicit reference of the country that the Belgian Foreign Minister has aggressively attacked, namely Israel. Therefore, the English TT version seems to slightly weaken the initial reference to discourse critical of Israel in the German ST and thus lessen the extent to which the utterance is embedded in that particular discursive world. The comparison with the National Socialist regime that the speaker criticises in the German ST, also taps into



another aspect of discourse on the Middle East conflict, which is reproduced this time in the English TT.

The chain of intertextual reference to discourse on the Middle East conflict is continued in the next sentence in the same intervention, this time in the form of direct speech. The ST phrase *Wir führen keine israelischen Waren* (lit: we stock no Israeli goods) reproduces the wording of signs in shop windows in Brussels and is therefore an example of manifest intertextuality in the form of direct quotation. This will be referred to as the first aspect of intertextual reference in the ST. As can be clearly seen in extract 4.1.1, this direct quotation is omitted in the English TT. The effect of this omission on the English TT is that the second reference to discourse critical of Israel is missing in the English TT, after the first reference was already weakened in the TT. This omission further weakens the coherence and hence ideological force of this form of dialogised heteroglossia. Whether the interpreter intentionally omits this reference or not cannot be established in this study. However, the effect of this omission on the ideology of the TT is salient.

It could be argued that there is also a second layer of intertextual reference sparked by the use of this direct quotation, namely that by tapping into discourse critical of Israel, in which the fate of the Jews under the Third Reich is omnipresent, an implicit historic parallel between 'then' and 'now' is being drawn. This time it is the Belgians who are being attacked by the speaker via the implicit accusation that there are parallels between the open boycott of Israeli goods by Belgian shop-owners and the Anti-Jewish signs that appeared in German shop-windows during the Third Reich. Given that the quotation itself, referred to as the first layer of intertextual reference of this particular reference in the German ST, is omitted in the English TT, this second layer of historic intertextuality of this particular reference is also missing in the English TT.

By the omission of this second occurrence of discourse critical of Israel in the English TT, the extent to which this utterance is embedded in this specific discorsal world is weakened in the TT when compared to the ST.

The third occurrence of the anti-Israel chain of reference is found in the same debate in extract 4.1.2 from intervention I3\_ME\_04.09 Laschet.

**Ich darf Ihnen einmal aus einem Schulbuch vorlesen, das von UNRWA in**  
[*I am allowed you once from a school book to read out loud that from UNRWA in*]  
multilateral organisations where we are not really involved in how the money is spent  
because they come up with a they've come they've actually been promoting the the  
propagation of writs which talk about the Israelis carrying on with the policies of  
Hitler

**palästinensischen Flüchtlingslagern eingesetzt wird. Da heißt es: „Die**  
[*Palestinian refugee camps used is. It says "The]*

.....

**Vernichtung der Juden ist ein gerechtes und unvermeidliches Übel gewesen“.**  
[*extermination of the Jews was a just and unavoidable ill"*]

.....

**Da wird Adolf Hitler gelobt und die zersetzende Kraft der Juden in den**  
[*There Adolf Hitler is praised and the subversive power of the Jews in the]*

.....

**dreißiger Jahren beschrieben.**  
[*thirties described]*

.....

**Extract 4.1.2**

The intertextual reference in the German ST occurs in the form of the direct quotation *Die Vernichtung der Juden ist ein gerechtes und unvermeidliches Übel gewesen* (lit: the extermination of the Jews was a just and unavoidable ill). The source of the quotation is also mentioned, namely a UNRWA schoolbook used in Palestinian refugee camps. In this context, the speaker is using the direct quotation to indicate his outrage and his objection to the dissemination of school books which are so openly anti-semitic.

Reference to this particular text is viewed as the first layer of intertextual reference. This direct quotation in the German ST is omitted in the English TT. As a result, the first layer of intertextual reference to discourse critical of Israel, present in the German ST is lost in the English TT.

The second layer of intertextual reference in this direct quotation is the underlying comparison to the Third Reich in terms of anti-semitic propaganda and educational teaching materials. Given the fact that the first layer of intertextual reference was not produced in the English TT, this second layer of intertextual reference, present in the



German ST, is also absent from the English TT. Therefore the extent to which the English TT is embedded in discourse on the Middle East conflict, in comparison to the German ST, is significantly weakened.

The fourth instance in the chain of intertextual reference to discourse on the Middle East conflict is present in the final sentence of extract 4.1.2. The German ST sentence *Da wird Adolf Hitler gelobt und die zersetzende Kraft der Juden in den dreißiger Jahren beschrieben* (lit. There Adolf Hitler is praised and the subversive power of the Jews in the thirties described), makes explicit the implicit, second-layer reference discussed above.

The English TT uses reported speech in the statement: *writes which talk about the Israelis carrying on the policies of Hitler*. This strong (not to mention completely wrong) statement in the English TT distorts the German ST statement by making an explicit comparison between Israeli policy and the policies of Hitler. This comparison could be understood as contradictory, given that the policy of the state of Israel is hardly likely to involve the extermination of the Jews. On the other hand, it could also be understood to mean that Israel carries out policies that are ultimately intended to wipe out the Palestinian people. It is likely that the interpreter intended to indicate that radical statements were included in the schoolbooks and employed an emergency strategy in an attempt to reproduce the criticism of Israel that he / she presumed was present in the books in question. Whatever the case, this extract shows the strong ideological statements that can result from an interpreter employing emergency strategies during SI, culminating in the interpreter effectively claiming that the Palestinian text was claiming Israel was guilty of attempted extermination of a people itself, a claim that is not contained in the German ST.

Such instances could possibly be viewed as evidence for 'take up' on the part of the interpreter of ideas and arguments voiced previously in the debate (cf. extract 4.1.1). Although the interpretation did not reflect the content and intention of the ST at that particular juncture, the fact that the interpreter continued using the same kind of topic, wording and images shows that a particular discourse had been identified.

In conclusion, the English TT tends to weaken the dialogised heteroglossia of direct and indirect quotations in the particular discourse world under investigation, namely

discourse on the Middle East conflict. This occurred by means of omission of the quotation or reference in the English TT, thus omitting both first and second layer intertextual reference present in the German ST. In addition, one case was isolated in which the interpreter distorted the ST utterance by employing an emergency strategy.

Although the findings in this subsection consist of only the few examples present in the corpus and therefore cannot be claimed to be representative of EU discourse in general, it is of interest to observe this slight shift towards omission of manifest intertextual reference in the TT. It should be stressed once again at this juncture that it is not the aim of this analysis to state the motivation for such omissions or distortions on the part of the interpreter. Further ethnomethodological research would be required to investigate this. Far rather, it is the purpose of this study to observe what happens to intertextual reference in SI-mediated communication and the effect that this has on ideologies.

#### **4.1.2      *Latent intertextuality***

The second category of analysis, latent intertextuality, was developed to account for the relationship between utterances and the layers of discourse that are created by reference to multiple, non-specific texts that form a type of 'consciousness collective' in the Durkheimian sense. Fairclough's terminology was modified to account for this type of non-specific textual reference and latent intertextuality defined as **the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of multiple, non-specific other texts.**

Latent intertextuality in the EP corpus was divided into two subcategories of document intertextuality and historic intertextuality. Once again, as in the previous subsections, analysis concentrates on the cohesive function of repeated intertextual reference in the form of chains of intertextuality. These multiple individual references are not only latently intertextual, but also co-textual with one another, thus strengthening the dialogised heteroglossia of the individual text in a two-fold manner. As in previous subsections, analysis was carried out to isolate examples in the German ST and the English TT respectively, before comparative analysis was conducted.



The first subcategory of latent intertextuality, document intertextuality, refers to direct reference to the names of documents and treaties. The intertextual reference concerned is not necessarily to the text of the document itself as it is neither quoted nor the contents referred to. Unlike in the previous section, isolation of definite intertexts is not possible. Rather, reference is intertextual in a latent manner and hence to other non-specific texts that dealt with the document or treaty, in short to the evaluation of that document or treaty in the context of the broader intertext. Through document intertextuality, individual texts in the EP corpus are firmly embedded, not only in the context of their co-texts and intertexts and hence in a suborder of EU political discourse, but also in wider orders of discourse, such as that of rationality

The first type of document intertextuality is that of direct reference to documents and treaties that are embedded in multiple discourse worlds. Repeated references to the Treaties of Nice and Amsterdam; the Copenhagen, Maastricht and Stability Criteria; the Charter of Fundamental Rights; CAP; the Europol Convention and the Watson Report (report on terrorism, debated and adopted on September 5<sup>th</sup> 2001, a mere six days before the terrorist attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>) is a cohesive device in the EP corpus. Repeated reference to documents issued by international organisations such as the UN Security Council Resolution number 1368 and NATO Article 5 again function in a similar way. Here reference is not to the documents themselves but to the discourse and debate on those documents, i.e. the broader intertext. These document references are generally found to be present in both in the German ST and English TT. This is not surprising given that the operation involved is that of transcoding rather than interpretation. However, what would be worthy of investigation is the constitution of that broader intertext both in national and cultural groups. This investigation would, however, far exceed the confines of this thesis and will not be pursued further at this point.

The second category of latent document intertextuality in the EP corpus is reference to culturally and historically bound documents. In the first example, in the German ST, the Beneš-Dekrete (lit. Beneš Decrees) are referenced.

The Beneš Decrees are a series of laws issued by President Edvard Beneš and enacted by the Czechoslovak exile government during World War II in the absence of a Czech parliament. The Decrees were retroactively ratified without exception by the Provisional

National Assembly on March 5<sup>th</sup> 1946 by Constitutional Act No. 57 / 1946 56. They can be divided into three parts, (i) 1940 – 1944 relating mainly to the creation of the Czechoslovakian exile government, (ii) 1943 – 1945 relating mainly to the transition of control of the liberated area of Czechoslovakia from the Allied armies and the organisation of the post-war Czechoslovakian government, and (iii) 1945 relating to the nationalisation of heavy industry and the confiscation of traitors' property. It is the latter category of Decrees, created by the new post-war government in Košice consisting of parties united in the National Front under the strong influence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and particularly those pertaining to the confiscation of traitors' property, that are generally referred to by the umbrella term Beneš Decrees<sup>23</sup>. These also include the controversial Decree 115, known as the impunity Decree, in which impunity is granted to those carrying out "just reprisals" against ethnic Germans (Frowein 2002: 5)<sup>24</sup>.

However, although the term Beneš Decrees has come to symbolise ethnic cleansing and expulsion of ethnic Germans from areas of the former Czechoslovakia, particularly the Sudeten Germans, the Decrees themselves do not explicitly refer to such action. Rather, it was at the Potsdam Conference between the Allied powers in 1945 that the transfer of 11 million ethnic Germans from Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary was agreed upon (cf. The Potsdam Agreement XII on the Orderly Transfer of German Populations). This is a prime example of latent intertextuality in which the intertextual reference is not to the text of the Decrees itself, but to the common assumption of what those Decrees are deemed to contain and symbolise, indeed it is reference to the discursal history of reference to the texts, to the broader intertext.

Although Germany and the Czech Republic signed the Czech-German Declaration in 1957, in which both sides state that they would not "burden their relations with political and legal issues which stem from the past" (cf. Article IV of that Treaty), German organisations such as the Bund der Vertriebenen (lit. Federation of Expellees) and right-wing political parties placed pressure on the European Union to force the Czech Republic to revoke the Beneš Decrees before the Czech Republic's accession to the EU, without success. It is in this discursal history that extract 4.1.3 is embedded.

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23 [http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Bene%C5%A1\\_decrees&oldid=118731659](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Bene%C5%A1_decrees&oldid=118731659) (last accessed 3 April 2007)

24 The full text of Article 1 of Decree 115 reads: "Any Act committed between September 30, 1938 and October 28, 1945 the object of which was to aid the struggle for liberty of the Czechs and Slovaks or which represented just reprisals for actions of the occupation forces and their accomplices, is not illegal, even when such acts may otherwise be punishable by law".



**Im Kommissionsbericht**

[in the report of the commission]

because in the Commission report

**findet sich kein einziges Wort zu den Beneš-Dekrete. Die Kommission**

[there is not one single word about the Benes decrees the commission]

there is no mention of the factors involved the decree which has been passed in the

**übersieht, dass die Aufrechterhaltung der Beneš-Dekrete, die die Vertreibung**

[neglects to mention that the continuation of the benes decrees which the expulsion]

Czech Republic which justified or purported to justify the

**und Ermordung von zigtausenden Menschen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg**

[and murder of tens of thousands of people after the second world war]

expulsion and the slaughter of thousands of people after the second world war

**rechtfertigen**

[justify]

.....

**Extract 4.1.3**

In extract 4.1.3, the explanatory phrase in the German ST: *die, die Vertreibung und Ermordung von zigtausend Menschen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg rechtfertigen* (lit. that justify the expulsion and murder of tens of thousands of people after the Second World War), adds to the discursual embeddedness of the term *Beneš Decrees*. The term is loaded with intertextual reference to the discourse of persecution, displacement, ethnic cleansing and violation of human rights in German-speaking countries.

In this extract, the English TT omits the name Beneš and mentions only *the Decree*. This does not convey the discursual embeddedness in the broader intertext by means of intertextual reference. The English TT then uses the form *which has been passed* instead of the German form *die Aufrechterhaltung* (lit. the adherence to). In the English TT it sounds as if the Decrees have only recently been passed. Therefore the ideological force of the intertextual reference of the German ST is lost in the English TT.

It would seem that reference to the *Beneš Decrees* was, in this particular case, an intertextual reference which was more embedded in the original German ST than in the English TT. This would seem to indicate a weakening of ideological force through intertextual reference in terms of culturally bound document reference.

The second subcategory of latent intertextuality, historic intertextuality, refers to the parallels drawn between historical situations and current political events and thus the significance of definitive historical events in layers of discourse, similar to what is sometimes referred to as the 'consciousness collective' in the Durkheimian sense of certain groups or societies.

As in the previous category, isolation of definite intertexts is not possible, rather reference is made to the order(s) and suborder(s) of discourse that that particular reference is embedded in.

In this context, historical intertextual reference to the birth of the European Union, for example, is central to the order of discourse on democracy, and fundamental to the suborder of European political discourse. Its cohesive function lies in the recurrence of such reference throughout (i) an individual text, (ii) as a common reference between texts, and (iii) reference to layers of discourse on either the suborder of discourse or order of discourse level. As in the previous categories, instances of historic intertextuality will be investigated following a comparative approach between the German ST and the English TT.

In data analysis of historic intertextuality, two chains of intertextual reference were established. The first chain refers to the founding of the EU, and the second to the debt Germany owes to America for rebuilding its country after the Second World War. It is argued that these chains of reference are not only co-textual with one another, but are also intertextual with non-specific other texts in suborders and orders of discourse, in short, to a broader intertext on that subject.

The first chain of historic intertextuality under investigation consists of reference to the reasons for the EU's existence. On the first occasion, in extract 4.1.4 from intervention I3\_ME\_04.09 Laschet, parallels are drawn in the German ST between the factors in post-war Europe leading to the creation of the EU and the current situation in the Middle East.

**Das war doch auch unsere**  
*[That was of course also our]*  
that was what we've learnt from our own European .... Pr....



**europäische Erfahrung, Kohle und Stahl 1950 zu verbinden, damit das**  
[*European experience, coal and steel 1950 to combine, so that the*]  
history we changed the European Coal and Steel Community in order to bring to an

**tausendjährige Kriegführen zwischen Deutschen und Franzosen aufhört**  
[*thousand year old waging of war between the Germans and French stops*]  
end the thousands of years of conflict between the French and the Germans

**Kohle und Stahl ist heute im Nahen Osten Tourismus, Wasser, Energie.**  
[*Coal and steel is today in the Middle East tourism, water, energy*]  
and from that coal and steel policy we built all our other policies

**Extract 4.1.4**

The parallel between Europe and the Middle East, drawn in the statement *Kohle und Stahl ist heute im Nahen Osten Tourismus, Wasser, Energie* (lit. coal and steel is today in the Middle East tourism, water, energy), is lost in the English TT which simply reads *from that coal and steel policy we built all our other policies*. In this case, the explicit parallelism is lost, leading to a weakened ideological stance of the statement itself. In addition, there is a loss of the direct comparison of the situation in the Middle East with the beginnings of the European Union, present in the German ST, and hence a weakening of the discursal embeddedness of that statement in a chain of latent intertextual reference. Although this is only an individual interpreter error, the resulting loss of intertextual reference is of interest in this study.

The second historically intertextual reference to the reasons for the EU's existence consists of reference to the values of the founding fathers as can be seen extract 4.1.5 from intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder.

**nicht in Euro zu bewerten und zu erklären sind. Eines haben diese Kreise in**  
[*not in euro to express and explain are to be One thing have these circles in*]  
pence there are certain circles

**der Tschechischen Republik, die die EU schlecht machen, vergessen, nämlich**  
[*the czech republic that the eu run down forgotten namely*]  
that are trying to blacken the European Union in the Czech Republic but they've

**das Anliegen der Gründerväter – Frieden in Freiheit.**  
[*the concern of the founding fathers peace in freedom*]  
forgotten one thing and that is the desire of the founding fathers peace and freedom

**Extract 4.1.5**

This reference in the German ST is conveyed in the English TT. Thus this particular intertextual reference is also present in the interpretation.

The third reference in this chain occurs in the German ST of intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Karas with the statement: *Wir alle sind uns, was die Wiedervereinigung Europas betrifft, der historischen Dimension und Verantwortung politisch wie moralisch, bewußt* (lit. we all are aware, regarding the reunification of Europe, of the historical dimension and responsibility, political and moral). This is interpreted as *we've all heard mention of the huge political and moral responsibility which stems from the unification of Europe*. This statement, co-textual with the previous two references in the intertextual chain, is conveyed in the interpretation but significantly weakened in terms of argumentation with the strong identifying pronoun being replaced by the vaguer, less committal and identifying *we've all heard*. In this way, the personal agreement and identification of the speaker is diluted to hearsay in the English TT. This could be viewed as interpreter axiology, as a move on the part of the interpreter away from an identifying statement and institutional hegemony.

The second chain of historic intertextuality starts in intervention I3\_CT\_19.09 Nassauer. In this case, reference is made to American assistance in rebuilding Germany after World War II. This ST reference is interpreted in the English TT.

The second instance of this particular chain of historic intertextuality in extract 4.1.6 from intervention I3\_CT\_19.09 Brok, also picks up on the debt of Germans to the Americans.

**Ich meine, dass wir aus diesem Grunde heraus auch deutlich machen**  
[*I mean that we for this reason also clear make*]  
and here we have to make it clear

**müssen, dass es für uns keinen Grund gibt, dann aus unserer**  
[*must that for us no reason exists than as a result of our*]  
that there is no reason to try

**Verantwortung und Verpflichtung herauszugehen, nämlich nicht aus**  
[*responsibility and duty to act namely not for*]  
and evade our responsibilities



**Gründen der Dankbarkeit, nicht nur, um die Zukunft der**

*[reasons of gratitude not only to the future of]*

not for reasons of gratitude and not

**transatlantischen Beziehungen zu gewährleisten, sondern weil dies**

*[transatlantic relations to secure*

*but rather because this]*

because of the transatlantic relationship but because

**in unserem ureigensten Interesse ist!**

*[in our own fundamental interest is!]*

this is in our interest

#### Extract 4.1.6

There is a strong co-textual reference to the previous example in this extract. This reference is interpreted in the English TT with the phrase *and here we have to make it clear that there is no reason to try and evade our responsibilities not for reasons of gratitude and not because of the transatlantic relationship but because it is in our interest.*

Although the historical intertextual reference is interpreted, the argument is distorted, making it sound in the English TT as if we should not evade our responsibilities for reasons of gratitude. This presupposes a causal link that is not present in the German ST and hence distorts or shifts the argument. As a result, the historical intertextual reference is maintained in the interpretation, without the logical reason for that reference being reproduced. Therefore the significance of the intertextual reference in ST and TT differs.

In conclusion, two chains of historical intertextuality were investigated. The first chain, referring to the values of the EU was weakened in the English TT as compared to the German ST. The second chain, referring to the debt of the Germans to the Americans was retained but distorted in the English TT. These results show a weakening and distortion of intertextual reference on the level of latent intertextuality in the form of historic intertextuality in the corpus.

### 4.1.3 Conclusions

In this section, the category of dialogised heteroglossia was defined in a Bakhtinian sense and divided into conceptual levels of manifest intertextuality and latent intertextuality. These subcategories were then investigated in subsections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2. Manifest intertextuality was further subdivided into co-textuality and quotation and latent intertextuality was divided into two subcategories of document reference and historic intertextuality. Analysis was first carried out on the German ST and the English TT individually, before comparative analysis was then undertaken.

In the investigation of co-textual reference as a form of manifest intertextuality, analysis established a slight shift towards omission of co-textual reference to less important speakers in the EU hierarchy in the English TT. In contrast, all references to Commissioners' statements were reproduced in the TT. This was found to be ideologically salient in terms of foregrounding the official representatives of the EU. There was also evidence of a slight shift from anaphoric to cataphoric reference to less important speakers in the English TT, due no doubt in part to the temporal nature of SI. However, this weakens certain forms of co-textual reference in the TT. Co-textual reference to the content of other 'texts' in the corpus without explicitly mentioning the speaker was found to be weakened in the English TT, thus reducing dialogised heteroglossia and strengthening unitary language.

Manifest intertextuality in the form of quotation was then investigated. One chain of manifest intertextuality (reference to discourse on the Middle East conflict) was selected for investigation. This chain of reference was significantly weakened and partially distorted in the English TT, resulting in an ideologically significant shift towards reduction of dialogised heteroglossia. The emergency strategy employed by the interpreter which resulted in the distortion of one particular utterance could also be viewed as evidence of individual interpreter axiology or as interpreter 'take up' of discourse.

In analysis of document intertextuality as a form of latent intertextuality, two categories were established; (i) direct reference to documents and treaties, and (ii) reference to culturally and historically bound documents. In the former category, direct reference to



documents and treaties was found to be reproduced in the English TT on those occasions where it occurred in the German ST. Once again, this can be categorised as a form of transcodage. In the latter category, the example of intertextual reference to the Beneš Decrees was selected. This intertextual reference was significantly weakened in the English TT, thus reducing dialogised heteroglossia and weakening intertextuality.

Analysis of historic intertextuality established two chains of intertextual reference. The first chain of intertextual reference was found to be weakened in the English TT whereas the second chain was retained but the logical argument of the intertextual reference distorted. Thus slight evidence of the reduction of dialogised heteroglossia and interpreter axiology was established.

Therefore, in the category of dialogised heteroglossia as a whole, a trend towards a weakening of forms of manifest and latent intertextuality was established. Thus dialogised heteroglossia was found to be generally weakened and EU institutional hegemony strengthened by means of SI.

In the following section, section 4.2, lexical repetition in the EP corpus will be investigated.

## **4.2 Lexical Repetition**

This section will focus on data analysis of lexical repetition of the superordinate concepts 'European Union', 'Candidate countries' and 'EU enlargement' in the European Parliament (EP) corpus, based on the definition and discussion of lexical repetition in subsection 2.5.1 of this thesis. As stated in that subsection, lexical repetition refers to the recurrence of lexical characteristics in discourse (Beaugrande & Dressler 1981), which in turn is a form of reiteration (Halliday & Hasan 1976). Therefore in this study, repetition of (i) the same word, (ii) a synonym or near synonym, (iii) a superordinate, (iv) a general word (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 279) will be taken as an instance of lexical repetition. Following a more recent CDA approach, such as that proposed by Fairclough (1992), and taking into account the caveats discussed in chapter one, it will be argued that this lexical repetition is ideologically significant. Given lexical analysis does have the inherent risk

of turning into an atomised rather than holistic enterprise, an attempt will be made to locate the findings of this chapter in the broader analysis.

Data analysis will concentrate on the above forms of lexical repetition with the aim of illustrating its ideological salience.

It is argued in subsection 2.5.1 that constant repetition of superordinate institutional concepts is an indication of self-referential discourse which serves to stabilise semantics (cf. Luhmann 1995), and thus strengthen unitary language through the reduction of dialogised heteroglossia.

In all sections, quantitative analysis is first carried out to establish the frequency of the particular superordinate concept in ST and TT. Second, qualitative comparative analysis of the individual references is presented. This enables a more fine-grained and differentiated analysis to be carried out and is essential to avoid analysis which is based on a conduit understanding of mediated communication. Where appropriate, a comment referring to the strategy possibly employed by the interpreter in that particular case will be added.

In subsection 4.2.1, the frequency of the superordinate concept 'European Union', encompassing terms such as 'European Union', 'EU' and other lexical replacements, is investigated in the corpus. The data for the individual debates is first presented and discussed, before it is collated and presented for the corpus as a whole.

In section 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, further superordinate institutional concepts relating to an overarching EU institutional hegemony are investigated in more detail. Analysis is restricted to the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate and the superordinate concepts 'candidate countries' and 'EU enlargement'.

In subsection 4.2.4, lexical repetition of key terms, is analysed in the form of both reiteration and collocation. In turn, the ideological significance of such repetition of key terms lies in the semantic stabilisation of certain terms through reiteration and stability of collocation and context.



In subsection 4.2.5, conclusions are drawn from the results discussed. In addition, the viability of the hypothesis that the English TTs contain more lexical repetition of ideologically salient EU terms than the German STs, and hence effectively strengthen EU institutional hegemony, is discussed.

#### 4.2.1 *The Concept of 'European Union'*

In the following subsection, a quantitative data analysis of the superordinate concept 'European Union', was carried out to test the hypothesis that the English TTs contain more lexical repetition of ideologically salient EU terms than the German STs.

First, quantitative data analysis was carried out for the concept 'European Union' in the three individual debates in the corpus, and the corpus as a whole. This concept was chosen as an overarching term which covers all institutions of the EU from Commission, Council and Parliament, as well as the figures which stand for EU authority and institutional hegemony. In this way, the degree of self-reference (and hence self-stabilisation) of the institution EU and its institutional hegemony could be compared in crude data terms for ST and TT. This quantitative method of analysis is useful as a heuristic tool in establishing trends in the corpus as a whole. However, to examine the subtleties of the data, a more fine grained qualitative approach is also required. This follows the presentation and discussion of the statistical data.

The occurrence of the superordinate concept 'European Union' is investigated in the German original interventions (ST) and their English TTs (TT) in the corpus as a whole. Table 4.1 is derived from that analysis:

ST term	ST frequency	TT term	TT frequency
Europäische Union	33	European Union	43
EU	20	EU	22
Union	8	Union	9
Kommission	25	Commission	31
Rat	13	Council	14
Europäisches Parlament	12	European Parliament	7
Parlament	3	Parliament	1
Europol	7	Europol	6
Europäische Institutionen und Entscheidungsprozesse	1	European Institutions	1

Europäische Institutionen	1	European Institutions	2
Europäische Verantwortliche	1	---	
Kommissionspräsident Prodi	1	---	
Ratspräsident Louis Michel	1	---	
Europäische Gemeinschaft	3	---	
Total	129	Total	136

**Table 4.1:** Lexical repetition of 'European Union' in the EP corpus

It can be seen from the table that, in absolute terms, there is a higher number of references to the superordinate concept 'European Union' in the English TT than in the German STs, with an increase of seven references, from one hundred and twenty-nine references in the German STs, to one hundred and thirty-six references in the English TT. Seen in crude quantitative data terms, this result would seem to weakly bear out the hypothesis that there is more lexical repetition of the superordinate concept 'European Union' in the interpretation, compared to the original.

However, a more fine-grained quantitative analysis yields rather more. In the table above, fourteen ST terms in the German STs are referenced by ten TT terms in the English TT. This is a reduction in the number of variants used in the TT and will be referred to henceforth as lexical contraction.

Second, there is increased frequency and hence salience of the term *European Union* in the English TT, when compared to its German counterpart *Europäische Union*. An increase of approximately thirty percent can be observed, from thirty-three references in the original German version to forty-three references in the English TT. In the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate, there was an even more significant increase in the use of the term from twenty-five occurrences in the German ST, to forty occurrences in the English TT. This foregrounding of the term clearly shows a preference for the term in the English TT, at the expense of other terms such as the *European Community* (as the obvious equivalent to the German *Europäische Gemeinschaft*)

There is also a slight increase in the frequency and hence salience of the term *EU* (from twenty to twenty-two references) and the term *Union* (from eight to nine references) in the English TT, compared to the German STs.



In quantitative terms, the terms *Commission* (increase of twenty-five to thirty-one references) and *Council* (increase of thirteen to fourteen references) are foregrounded, and the terms *European Parliament* and *Parliament* backgrounded, with a statistically relevant decrease in the number of references from fifteen to eight.

The term *Europäische Gemeinschaft* (lit. European Community) is completely backgrounded, with none of the three references to the term in the German STs being interpreted by the literal term in English. However, if we look at this in qualitative terms, all three references are to be found in the one single intervention in the European Enlargement (EE) debate, intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schröder, and are interpreted once by the term *European Union*, once by the term *Community* (a form of partial repetition) and once not interpreted at all. This non-interpretation took place when the speaker stated *Wenn es in dieser Europäischen Gemeinschaft, die heute die Europäische Union ist, eine Konstante gibt* (lit. if in this European Community, that is today the European Union, there is one constant thing). In this case, the interpreter merely states *if there is one constant thing in the European Union*. This could be viewed as an attempt by the interpreter to pare down the phrase to the actual statement and thus could be categorised as a generalising or telescoping strategy.

This quantitative method of analysis is useful as a heuristic tool in establishing trends in the corpus as a whole and within the individual debates. Certainly the three trends established in the corpus as a whole are significant for an investigation of ideologies:

1. The general trend towards a slightly higher rate of reference to the superordinate concept 'European Union' in the English TT than in the German ST, could be viewed as one indication of the salience of EU institutional hegemony being strengthened in the interpretation. However, these results would have to be seen in the context of the findings in other categories of analysis and should not be viewed as absolute in isolation, given the atomised nature of such a lexical approach.
2. The trend towards lexical contraction in the corpus as a whole, could be viewed as a move towards unitary language and hence institutional

semantic and semiotic stabilisation of EU institutional hegemony. This could perhaps be classified as a strategy on the part of the interpreter in which lower lexical variation yields more interpreter control over the TT.

3. Shifts in saliency of certain terms could be viewed as a form of foregrounding or backgrounding those particular terms and hence bodies within the institution of the EU.

However, although these findings are ideologically salient in quantitative terms, what is of greater interest is to compare where these lexical choices occur, i.e. when a term is foregrounded, what term in the German ST does the foregrounded term in the English TT replace; and if a term is backgrounded, what term is used to replace the backgrounded term in the English TT? The issue of lexical choice was investigated in a qualitative manner and some examples from this analysis are discussed below.

First of all, the foregrounded term, *European Union* was investigated in order to establish what terms in the original German interventions were replaced by the foregrounded term. Three trends were established.

First, the adjective *europäisch* (lit. European) in the original German intervention, is often replaced by the English term *European Union*. For example, the German phrase *im europäischen Binnenmarkt* (lit. in the European Single market) is interpreted as *in the internal market of the European Union* and the term *europäische Institutionen* (lit. European institutions) as *European Union institutions*.

Second, the term *Europäische Gemeinschaft* (lit. European Community), the term *EU* and the term *Union* in the German ST are often replaced with the English term *European Union*.

The third trend encompasses instances of addition by the interpreters, when short statements in the German ST are expanded and hence explicitated by the addition of the phrase *European Union*. For example, the original German phrase *Zum zweiten: die Schwerfälligkeit* (lit. second, the cumbersome nature) is interpreted as *secondly, the*



*cumbersome nature of the European Union*, or the German phrase *das dritte Argument* (lit. the third argument) as *the third argument used against the European Union*. Again, in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, the term *European Union* is added in the TT where it does not occur in the German ST. In the same way, the term *Direkthilfe* (lit. direct aid) is interpreted as *direct aid in the European Union*. This could be categorised as a form of stylistic explication.

The trend of addition of the phrase *European Union*, mentioned above is also true for the foregrounded term *Union*. In intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, there is an instance of addition of the term *the Union* in the English TT, when the German phrase *Vertiefung und Erweiterung* (lit. deepening and widening) is interpreted as *deepening and widening the Union*.

Second, there is an instance of replacement of the term *Union* with the pronoun 'it'. The term *Union* in German is interpreted once as 'it' in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder, as in extract 4.2.1.

Schwerfällig ist sie also nicht, die Union. Auch nicht starr.  
[*Cumbersome it is therefore not the union also not rigid*]  
I don't think that it is cumbersome it's not rigid either

**Extract 4.2.1**

This particular incidence could be interpreted as a move by the interpreter, away from identification with the EU institution, or it could just be substitution of the noun by the pronoun in order to strengthen anaphoric reference. Obviously, this one example is not representative of a trend in the corpus and it would be necessary to investigate this issue in other studies to establish whether there is further evidence of distancing strategies on the part of the interpreter.

In contrast, in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Böge, the pronoun 'wir' (lit. we) is replaced in the interpretation by the term *European Union institutions*, as can be seen in extract 4.2.2.

**Hier gilt es, noch eine sehr viel**  
[*here it is necessary a very much*]  
there are an awful lot of requirements

**intensivere Diskussion herbeizuführen, damit wir in Zukunft handlungsfähig**  
[*more intensive discussion to instigate so that we in the future*]  
for debate a great need for debate so that the European institutions

**sein werden.**  
[*act can*]  
remain effective in the future

#### Extract 4.2.2

This could be interpreted as an example of a shift from the ambiguous to the definite, given that the original 'wir' could be interpreted as 'we, the parliament' or 'we, as Europeans', for example. Although the use of 'wir' in the original is also ideologically salient in terms of identification with the institution(s), the interpreter appears to reinforce, and strengthen, EU institutional hegemony in this particular case by making that identifying 'wir' explicit. This could also be interpreted as a strategy of axiological detachment, moving away from the inclusive, identifying 'wir', to an official and institutional body, similar to the use of the 'it' pronoun in extract 4.2.1. It could be suggested that what is happening in this case is a strengthening of the EU institutional hegemony (in the conflation of the terms 'we' and 'European Union institutions' by the interpreter), but a weakening of the speaker's identification with the subject (his axiological viewpoint). It could indeed be the case that the interpreter is so acutely aware of his subjectivity (or indeed the need to depress it) that he shifts away from the axiological to the institutional safety of ideology. However, once again, these are observations based on one example only and as such are not claimed to be representative of the corpus as a whole. However, it is of interest to this study to highlight possible sites of ideological and axiological struggle in the interpreter's language.

A number of interesting lexical choices are also made in the interpretation for the German term *Europäische Union*. First, in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder, two occurrences of the term are interpreted by the English term *European vessel*, thus tying in to the metaphor string of the EU institution as a ship which will be discussed in more depth in section 4.3 of this thesis.



Second, there appears to be a slight move towards deictic adaptation. In intervention I4\_EE\_04.09 Poettering, the term *Europäische Union* is interpreted on two occasions by the terms *here* and *existing member states* respectively. Whereas the use of the term *here* represents deictic situativeness, the phrase *existing member states* refers to the collocational and situational context of the utterance. The dichotomy existing / prospective member states is dominant in the definition of the European Union and we see a semantic struggle between the status quo and prospective change. This can also be seen in the interpretation, in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, of the term *EU* as *the present EU*. This contextualises the term in the debate itself, in the external context in which it is held and in terms of this status quo / change dichotomy.

There also appears to be a trend towards institutionalisation in the TT of individual phrases in the ST. In intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, the poetry (and intertextuality) of the *Idee des Europas* (lit. the idea of Europe) is lost in the interpretation, when the interpreter simply uses the term *EU*. In this way the EU becomes the realisation of the 'European idea', instead of remaining something to strive towards. This institutionalisation of terms is found again in the same intervention with the interpretation of the term *EU-Agrarpolitik* (lit: EU agricultural policy) with the EU acronym *CAP*, where the term *GAP* (*Gemeinsame Agrarpolitik*) would also have been an option in the original German intervention. In intervention I1\_EE\_04.09 Hänsch, the German term *EU-Recht* (lit: EU law), which occurs twice in the one sentence is interpreted as *Aquis communautaire* which effectively solves the problem of redundancy and again institutionalises the term. In intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Karas, the term *EU-Perspektive* [lit. prospect of EU (membership)] is transformed in the interpretation into the *accession process into the EU* which, in this case, institutionalises the speaker's utterance through the interpreter.

The foregrounded term *Commission* was also investigated to establish what German terms in the ST were replaced by this foregrounded term. In intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, the term *Commission* is added by the interpreter to specify the utterance. The German phrase *Aber wir werden auch bei diesen Anpassungen den in Berlin 1999 beschlossenen Plafond nicht überschreiten* (lit. but we will also not exceed the ceiling agreed on in Berlin in 1999, despite the adjustments) becomes *but its worth repeating that the budget effects of the Commission's proposal be in line with the spending ceilings*



*proposed in Berlin.* In this context, the interpreter could be opting for redundancy in order to re-contextualise.

In intervention I1\_EE\_04.09 Hänsch, the term Commission is repeated in the English TT instead of the term Parliament. The German phrase *Wenn jetzt jemand eine saftige Kontroverse zwischen Parlament und Kommission oder Parlament und Rat erwartet* (lit. if anyone expects a juicy controversy between the Parliament and the Commission or the Parliament and the Council) is interpreted as *I think that we now have a juicy form of controversy between the Commission and the Parliament or the Commission and the Council.* This error in the form of lexical repetition foregrounds the role of the Commission and backgrounds the role of the Parliament which in the original German version was also foregrounded by means of structural parallelism.

In another intervention, intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, there is evidence of interpreter addition in the address. The German phrase *Den Rat kann ich noch nicht begrüßen, obwohl ich einiges zu sagen habe. Herr Kommissar, werte Kolleginnen, werte Kollegen!* (lit. I cannot welcome the Council although I have something to say. Mr Commissioner, dear colleagues) is interpreted as *well I can't welcome the Council, unfortunately, but I can welcome the Commission. I would have some things to say to the Council. Commissioner, dear colleagues.* The interpreter adds the phrase *but I can welcome the Commission* from the situational context and it has the effect of the interpreter almost defending the Commission, that it should be put on record that perhaps the Council is not present, but the Commission certainly is. This is ideologically salient and shifts the focus from the Council to the Commission, thus foregrounding the latter term.

Third, the backgrounded terms *Rat* (lit. Council) and *Europäisches Parlament / Parlament* (lit. European Parliament / Parliament) were investigated to establish what alternatives were used to replace such terms in the English TT. In respect of the term *Europäisches Parlament* (lit. European Parliament), there is occurrence of deictic adaptation on the part of the interpreter in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, who interprets only twice the term *Europäisches Parlament* literally as *European Parliament.* The other five occurrences in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen are interpreted merely as *Parliament.* In these cases, the interpreter's acquaintance with both the



institution and the target audience allow this ellipsis to take place without endangering the communication situation.

However, there is a move away from deictic confirmation in the same intervention, when the interpreter de-personifies the address *Sie alle* (lit. you all) on one occasion by interpreting this as *parliament* as can be seen in extract 4.2.3 from intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen.

**Zunächst möchte ich dem Europäischen Parlament, allen seinen Fraktionen**

*[First of all want I the European Parliament, all of its groups]*

I5: before doing that though let me thank the parliament and all its groups

**und allen seinen Ausschüssen für ihr starkes Engagement im Prozess der EU-**

*[and all of its committees for strong commitment in the process of EU]*

and committees for their emphatic commitment to the EU

**Erweiterung sehr herzlich danken. Sie alle haben sehr viel dazu beigetragen,**

*[enlargement very warmly thank. You all have very much (to it) contributed,]*

enlargement process parliament has made a significant contribution

### Extract 4.2.3

In employing this anaphoric reference, the interpreter strengthens the internal cohesion of his interpretation and sacrifices the direct address, thus distancing himself / herself from the role of the active agent. On other occasions, the terms *Europäisches Parlament / Parlament* were simply not interpreted when they occurred, i.e. they were not replaced by any other terms. This could be categorised as a form of generalisation or a telescoping strategy on the part of the interpreter.

In the following subsections, the superordinate concepts, 'candidate countries' and 'enlargement' are investigated in the European Enlargement (EE) debate.

#### 4.2.2 *The Concept of 'Candidate countries'*

In the following subsection, quantitative data analysis is carried out for the superordinate concept 'candidate countries' in the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate. This

superordinate concept was chosen as an overarching term which covers all reference to the prospective new members of the EU. In this case, the number of variants and the frequency of occurrence of those variants were of particular interest. Again, the degree of self-reference (and hence self-stabilisation) of the institution EU and its institutional hegemony could be compared in crude data terms for ST and TT. A more fine grained qualitative approach was also followed. This follows the presentation and discussion of the statistical data.

The results of quantitative analysis were collated and are presented in Table 4.2.

ST term	ST frequency	TT term	TT frequency
Beitrittskandidaten	13	---	
Beitrittsländer	14	---	
		Accession states	3
Bewerberländer	1	Applicant countries	17
		Applicant states	5
Bewerber	3	---	
Kandidaten	7	---	
Kandidatenländer	1	Candidate countries	18
Total	39	Total	43

**Table 4.2:** Lexical repetition of 'candidate countries' in the EP corpus

The above table clearly shows two trends. First, in crude data terms, the frequency of the superordinate concept *candidate country* is slightly higher in the interpretation than in the original, with an increase of four occurrences from thirty-nine in the ST to forty-three in the TT. This indicates a very marginally higher degree of lexicalisation of EU institutional terms in the interpretation than in the original interventions. In quantitative terms this is fairly insignificant.

Second, lexical contraction can be observed with a reduction of the number of variants for the superordinate concept, from six in the ST, to four in the TT. This, in turn, points towards more semantic stabilisation of the superordinate concept 'candidate countries' in the interpretation, compared to the original. In addition, there is an increase in saliency and therefore distinct foregrounding of the two terms *applicant countries* (seventeen references) and *candidate countries* (sixteen references) in the interpretation, compared to their equivalents of *Bewerberländer* (one reference) and *Kandidatenländer* (one reference) in the German STs. Distinct backgrounding of the terms *accession countries*



and *accession candidates* (or *candidates for accession*) as equivalents of the ST terms *Beitrittsländer* (fourteen) and *Beitrittskandidaten* (thirteen), is also observed.

The foregrounded terms, *applicant countries* and *candidate countries* were examined in more detail and compared to the German original terms they replace.

In the analysis of the foregrounded term *applicant countries*, three trends were established.

First, the term *applicant countries* was used thirteen times as a lexical replacement for the ST terms *Beitrittskandidaten* (six occurrences), *Beitrittsländer* (three occurrences), *Bewerberstaaten* (two occurrences), *Bewerberländer* (one occurrence) and *Kandidatenländer* (one occurrence).

Second, two of the references to *applicant countries* were used as lexical replacements for the German term *einzelne Länder* (lit. individual countries) and one reference replaced the German term *alle Länder* (lit. all countries). These three references specify the type of country mentioned and hence reinforce the distinction existing / prospective member states and the semantic struggle between the status quo and prospective change that was mentioned in the previous subsection.

Third, the final reference to the term *applicant countries* was an addition on the interpreter's part in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, when the interpreter explicates an ellipted utterance. The German phrase *Der Umwelt- und Sozialstandard der EU kann aber nur durchgesetzt werden, wenn es eine reale Mitgliedschaft gibt* (lit. The environmental and social standard of the EU can only be implemented if there is real membership) is interpreted in the English TT as *the environmental standards had to be of the European Union had to be protected and the environmental standards in the other countries in the applicant countries are only protected if they come into the EU*. This is again an instance of explication which strengthens the saliency of EU institutional hegemony by increasing the frequency of lexical repetition of certain superordinate concepts.

The second foregrounded term, *candidate countries* was also investigated in the same manner. Two trends were established.

First, the term *candidate countries* was used as a lexical replacement on sixteen occasions for the ST terms *Kandidaten* (four occurrences), *Kandidatenländer* (three occurrences), *Bewerber* (three occurrences), *Beitrittsländer* (three occurrences), *Bewerberstaaten* (two occurrences) and *Beitrittskandidaten* (one occurrence).

Second, the term *candidate countries* was also added on two occasions by the interpreter. On one occasion, the interpreter produces two interpretations of the German term *Beitrittsländer* with the English version *in the applicant countries the candidate countries too*. This latter example could be viewed as evidence of interpreter repair, where the interpreter corrects himself / herself by introducing the more institutional term. Thus the interpreter ‘institutionalises’ their own language and hence strengthens EU institutional hegemony. This extract from intervention I4\_EE\_04.09 Poettering is also interesting for the us / them dichotomy that the interpretation strengthens, as can be seen in extract 4.2.4.

**die Freizügigkeit fordern, weil wir nationale Wahlen haben. Auch die**  
[*free movement demand because we national elections have also the*]  
regarding freedom of movement because we have elections,

**Beitrittsländer haben eine Würde und eine innenpolitische Situation, und das**  
[*accession countries have dignity and a domestic situation and that*]  
we have citizens but they too have their internal political issues and their citizens

**sollten unsere nationalen Regierungschefs auch erkennen.**  
[*should our national heads of government also recognise*]  
in the applicant countries the candidate countries too

#### Extract 4.2.4

The extract in the interpretation, *we have citizens but they too have their internal political issues in the applicant countries, the candidate countries too*, shows an increase in interpreter identification with the current member states and an exclusion of the *applicant countries*, of ‘them’. This once again is relevant to the status quo / change dichotomy



countries) or *alle Länder* (lit. all countries). This increases the ideological salience of the existing members / prospective member states dichotomy, strengthened by the one occurrence of interpreter specification of the us / them dichotomy.

Interpreter addition of the terms *applicant countries* and *candidate countries* was isolated. In this case the interpreter added the term in the English TT where no term appeared in the German original. A number of cases of addition proved to be mere specification and, as such, are relevant to lexical repetition only in the sense that they increase the overall frequency of the term in the English TT. However, other instances of explication of ellipted utterances by the addition of the term *applicant country* could be categorised as increasing the ideological force of the existing / prospective member state dichotomy.

#### 4.2.3 The Concept of 'EU enlargement'

In the following subsection, quantitative data analysis is carried out for the superordinate concept 'enlargement' in the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate. This analysis was carried out in order to establish to what extent the concept 'enlargement' was retained across mediation, and hence to establish the ideological salience of lexical repetition of that concept. More fine-grained qualitative analysis was also carried out and is presented after the discussion of the quantitative statistics. The results of quantitative analysis of the superordinate concept 'enlargement' are collated in Table 4.3.

ST term	ST frequency	TT term	TT frequency
Erweiterung (noun)	36	Enlargement (noun)	34
Erweiterungs- (adj)	3	Enlargement (adj)	7
Erweiterungsprozeß	4	Enlargement process	6
Vertiefung und Erweiterung	1	Deepening and Widening	1
Osterweiterung	3	Eastward enlargement	2
		Eastern enlargement	1
EU Erweiterung	1	EU enlargement	1
		European enlargement	1
Beitritt (noun)	15	Accession (noun)	9
Beitritts- (adj)	17	Accession (adj)	7
Beitrittsprozess	8	Accession process	2
Total	89	Total	71

Table 4.3: Lexical repetition of 'enlargement' in the EP corpus

As can be seen from the table above, in crude data terms, there is a significantly higher frequency of lexical repetition of the superordinate concept 'enlargement' in the German STs (eighty-nine times) than in the English TT (seventy-one times).

Second, there is evidence of lexical expansion, with a very slight increase in the number of variants for the one superordinate concept from seven to nine (the findings for the two terms *enlargement* and *Erweiterung* are split for ease of reference only into noun and adjective use). Both these findings would seem to indicate a very slight weakening of the ideological force of the concept in the interpretation.

If the results in the table are examined in a more differentiated manner, a number of conclusions can be drawn.

First, the frequency of the term *Beitritt* (lit. accession), both as a noun and as an adjective, is significantly higher in the German original (forty occurrences in total) than in the English TT (eighteen occurrences in total). This certainly lowers the ideological force of the term in the English TT and deserves further examination.

Second, the frequency of occurrence of the noun *enlargement* is very slightly lower in the English TT (with thirty-four references) than in the German original (with thirty-six references), and the frequency of the adjective *enlargement* (seven references) and the term *enlargement process* (four references) slightly higher in the interpretation than the original terms *Erweiterungs-* (three references) and *Erweiterungsprozess* (four references). Therefore, in general terms, the frequency of the term *enlargement* is higher in the English TT than in the German original. However, this increase in frequency is very low and of little importance for the ideological force of the term.

Third, if examined more closely, the increase in the number of variants in the English TT is due to the two additional terms *eastern enlargement* and *European enlargement*, which are both referenced on one occasion only. If the occurrence of the term *eastern enlargement* is investigated in the corpus, it can be seen that it is a form of repair by the interpreter. Extract 4.2.5 from intervention I4\_EE\_04.09 Brie clearly illustrates this self-correction:



**Zweitens: Die Chance der Osterweiterung für die Überwindung der Nizza-Krise**  
[*Second the opportunity of eastern enlargement for overcoming the Nice crisis*]  
secondly eastern enlargement will eastward enlargement enable us to overcome the crisis of Nice

#### Extract 4.2.5

Therefore, the increased ideological force as a result of these additional variants could be claimed to be negligible.

If the strongly backgrounded term *Beitritt* is examined in more detail, the following trends can be observed.

First, the noun *Beitritt* occurs on fifteen occasions in the German original intervention and is interpreted only on seven occasions as *accession*. Other variants include *membership* (three references), the verb *to join* (two references) *EU membership* (one reference), the erroneous *accession states* (one reference) and one non-interpretation. This could be a case of the English term *accession* being less stable and institutionalised than the German term *Beitritt*.

Second, the adjective *Beitritts-* is used in composite nouns such as *Beitrittsverträge* (four references), *Beitrittspartnerschaft* (two references), *Beitrittskriterien* (two references), *Beitrittsverhandlungen* (two references), *Beitrittsgruppen* (two references), *Beitrittsszenario* (one reference), *Beitrittverhandlungsprozess* (one reference), *Beitrittshindernisse* (one reference), *Beitrittsperspektive* (one reference) and *Beitrittserwartungen* (one reference), alongside the term *Beitrittsprozess* (eight references). There is a high frequency of non-interpretation of these composite nouns. There is also evidence of the composite noun being reduced to the second half of the noun, with the term *Beitrittsverhandlungen* (lit. accession negotiations) being interpreted simply as ‘negotiations’.

Third, modifiers are introduced to replace the first part of the composite noun, with the term *Beitrittsgruppe* (lit. accession groups) being interpreted as *the initial group*, or the term *Beitrittsprozess* (lit. accession process) being interpreted as *this process*.

These three factors (non interpretation, reduction of composite noun to 'new' information, and replacement of the adjectival part of the composite noun by a modifier) clarify to some extent the divergence between the frequency of the German and English use of the adjective *accession*. In addition, as was found for the noun, *Beitritt*, the adjective *Beitritts-* is also interpreted by the adjective *enlargement* and the term *membership*, adding to the discrepancy between the two languages' use of the term and the extent to which it is institutionalised and hence ideologically salient.

If the term *enlargement* is examined in more detail, in a qualitative manner, a number of interesting examples can be isolated. First, there is again evidence of the interpretation neutralising and institutionalising rhetorical use of language, as was mentioned in subsection 4.2.1. In intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, the ideologically salient German phrase *das Projekt zur Überwindung des geteilten Europas* (lit. the project to overcome a Europe divided) is interpreted simply as *enlargement* as can be seen in extract 4.2.6.

**Bei dem Hickhack um die Direkthilfe in der Landwirtschaft oder die künftige**  
[during the squabbling about direct aid for agriculture or the future]  
when it comes to access to direct aid in the European Union and CAP when it comes

**Verteilung der Strukturfonds geht manchmal unter, dass das Projekt zur**  
[distribution of structural funds gets lost sometimes that the project on]  
to the sharing out of the structural funds well sometimes the were surprised because

**Überwindung des geteilten Europa von historischer Bedeutung ist und eine**  
[overcoming the divided Europe of historical importance is and an]  
the enlargement has huge historical significance and

**Bedeutung hat, an der Europa in der Welt auch gemessen wird. Weitere**  
[importance has according top which Europe in the world judged will be further]  
if Europe is to face up to the challenge its going to have to be watched carefully by  
the rest of the world

**Extract 4.2.6**

Partial lexical repetition of this phrase later on in this intervention, by the use of the term *das Projekt*, is also interpreted merely as *enlargement process* in the English TT. This results in the ideological salience of the German term being lost in the English interpretation.



Second, on one occasion in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, the German term *Erweiterung* is interpreted as *enlargement burden*. This increases the ideological force of the term, as can be seen in extract 4.2.7.

**Es liegt im**

[*It is in the*]

Commissions task is to defend the interests of the entire union

**Interesse der gesamten Union, dass bei der Erweiterung kein Mitgliedstaat**

[*interest of the whole Union that during enlargement no member state*]

that no member state should

**über seine tatsächlichen Möglichkeiten hinaus in Anspruch genommen wird.**

[*beyond its actual capacity*

*will be counted on*]

bear more of the enlargement burden than it can

**Extract 4.2.7**

The context of the utterance has prompted the interpreter to coin the negative collocation *enlargement burden*, thus adding a value judgement and evidence of interpreter axiology to the interpretation.

Third, there is evidence of addition of the term *enlargement*, such as that established in section 5.1. In intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Böge, the interpreter specifies and expands the term *Haushaltsvorplanung* (lit. budgetary pre-planning), with the English phrase *budget plan for the enlargement*.

Fourth, there are also omissions of the superordinate concept *enlargement* in the interpretation where it occurs very frequently in a single intervention, compensated by the use of terms such as 'it' and 'this'. This suggests a structuring strategy by the interpreter.

In conclusion, the superordinate concept 'enlargement' occurs more frequently in the German original intervention than in the English TT. This difference is important in terms of ideological force. There is a slight increase in lexical variation from the German original interventions to the English TT but this is negligible, given that the two

additional variants are referenced once only, and one additional variant can be traced back to interpreter self-correction.

The two terms *accession* and *enlargement* were then examined in more detail. A decrease of over fifty percent in the reference to the term *accession* from the German original to the English TT was established, which is judged to be significant in terms of ideological force of the term. This reduction can be traced back to two factors.

First, the noun *Beitritt* in German has a large number of variants in the English TT which suggests that the term *accession* is not as stable and institutionalised (and thus ideologically salient) as the term *Beitritt* in German.

Second, the adjective *Beitritts-* occurs as part of composite nouns in German. These are either not interpreted, reduced to the second half of the composite noun [i.e. *Beitrittsverhandlungen* (lit. accession negotiations) is interpreted simply as 'negotiations'], or the adjectival part of the composite noun is replaced by a modifier such as 'these'. This, in turn, significantly weakens the ideological salience of the adjective *accession* in the English TT.

There is a slight decrease of the frequency of the noun *enlargement* in the English TT, compared to the German original interventions. However, there is a slight increase in frequency of the adjective *enlargement*, compared to the German interventions. This difference is, however, negligible, in terms of ideological force.

In the qualitative analysis of the term *enlargement*, four issues were isolated in which significant overlap with tendencies in subsections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2 was established.

1. Rhetorical expression in the German ST is neutralised and institutionalised in the English TT.
2. Interpreter axiology in the form of a value judgement stated in the interpretation can be occasionally detected.
3. An expansion strategy using the institutional term *enlargement* is used



4. Omission and replacement of the term *enlargement* with 'it' and 'this' is established, indicating a structuring strategy on the part of the interpreter.

#### 4.2.4 *Lexical Repetition of Key Terms*

The fourth subcategory of lexical repetition, repetition of key terms, refers to the semiotic character of certain terms which occur throughout the corpus which have a layered discursal history. Four such keywords (*solidarity, peace, democracy and freedom*), deemed to be particularly salient in the corpus, were selected and the cohesive function of lexical repetition of such key terms analysed in the form of both reiteration and collocation. The ideological significance of such repetition of key terms is shown to lie in the semantic stabilisation of certain terms through reiteration and stability of collocation and context.

The first term *Solidarität* (lit. solidarity) occurs twice in the German ST in the EE debate and is found three times in the English TT. The interpreter reproduces the German ST term on both occasions in the English TT.

On the first occasion when the term *Solidarität* appears once in the German ST, the interpreter repeats the term *solidarity* in the English TT in a form of self-correction when he says *we've got to show solidarity we've got to have solidarity from those countries that do not have external borders*. This is a repair strategy on the part of the interpreter who corrects the first (anticipated) statement once they have heard the statement unfolding in an unexpected manner. In anticipating wrongly, the interpreter could be said to be displaying an axiological identification with Great Britain as a country with external borders which tends to be the richer country expected to show rather than expect, or have, solidarity from other member states. This glimpse of national identification or ideology is an example of subgroup ideologies within the EP as discussed in chapter 3.3 of this thesis. It is not claimed that this is a conscious decision on the part of the interpreter, but such repetition in the form of interpreter self-correction does serve to stabilise the term semantically.

In the CT debate there are seven occurrences of the term *Solidarität* in the German ST and eight incidences of that term in the English TT. On six of the seven occasions the term and its collocates are reproduced in the TT.

On one occasion there is evidence of the term being strengthened in the English TT by use of the phrase *full solidarity* for the German ST term *Solidarität*. There is also one instance of addition of the term *solidarity* in the English TT where it does not appear in the German ST. The German ST reads *das Funktionieren der demokratischen Länder untereinander* (lit. the functioning of the democratic countries amongst themselves). The English TT inserts the term *solidarity* in the interpretation *the (sigh) solidarity of democratic countries is very important when fighting terrorism*. The sigh before the use of the term *solidarity* could indicate a number of things on the part of the interpreter, among which emotional identification, tiredness and searching for an appropriate term are all possibilities. The fact that the interpreter comes up with the TT term *solidarity* under such conditions indicates that the term has become so embedded in terrorist / political discourse within the context of the EP that it is used even when it does not occur in the original ST version.

In this context, we see a possible shift of the semantic environment of the term *solidarity*. Whereas in the past it tended to be used in the discourse of the oppressed (Trade Union discourse, prisoner discourse) and was distinctly left-wing during the Cold War, it has been claimed in this case by the political right to justify *counter attacks against terrorism*. This can be seen clearly in the collocates of the term *solidarity* used in the EP corpus. In this corpus, the term *solidarity* collocates with political proposal such as *a joint European border control system, American friends, counter-attack against terrorism, fighting terrorism*. By the use of the term *solidarity* with such collocates as *American friends* and *democratic countries*, the term lends itself to group building and the dichotomy of exclusion and inclusion discussed earlier in this thesis and indeed becomes an 'irrefutable' argument for action.

In conclusion, there is one instance of addition of the term *solidarity* in the English TT where it is not present on the German ST. This would tentatively suggest a slightly higher degree of stability of the term and hence ideological salience in the English TT.



However, the collocates of the term *solidarity* remain constant in both ST and TT, displaying stability of semantic context of the term in EP discourse.

The second keyword to be investigated is the term *Frieden* (lit. peace). It occurs twice in the German ST of the ME debate and is interpreted once in the English TT. It is not interpreted in the English TT on the first of these two occasions when the German phrase *Friedensprozeß von Oslo* (lit. Oslo Peace Process) is interpreted as *the Oslo Accords*. In this particular case the interpreter uses the official name of the agreement reached by means of that process and hence institutionalises the reference.

In the EE debate, the term *Frieden / peace* occurs three times in both the German ST and the English TT. Of the three occurrences in the German ST, two are interpreted in the English TT; the third occurrence of the term *Frieden* in the TT is a result of repetition of the phrase *peace and freedom*. This could be viewed as a form of rhetorical repetition on the part of the interpreter, or merely as a stalling device in an attempt to win time. The effect of this, in any case, is to strengthen the term in the English TT. The third occurrence in the ST is not reproduced in the TT as *peace*.

In the CT debate, the ST term *Frieden* occurs on three occasions. This is interpreted on all three occasions in the TT. In the English TT, there is also one instance of the TT term *peace* where no equivalent exists in the German ST. In this context, the interpreter interprets the ST phrase *wenn wir auf Dauer Stabilität auf diesem Kontinent haben wollen* (lit. if we want permanent stability on our continent) as *if we want durable stability and peace on our continent*. The Collins Wordbanks Online English Corpus shows that *stability* is a relatively strong collocate of 'peace' (51<sup>st</sup> most frequent), occurring 42 out of 832 times together in the corpus (significance of 6.331221). Therefore, this addition on the part of the interpreter seems to be based on a common collocation that occurs in the English language. It does, however, strengthen the ideological force of the term *peace* in the English TT when compared to the German ST and shows that the collocation *peace and stability* is so semantically stable in English that the interpreter automatically adds it to the statement.

In conclusion, the term *peace* seems, analogous to the term *solidarity*, to be more salient in the English TT than the German ST. There is evidence of additional repetition on the

part of the interpreter which could either be deliberately rhetorical or merely used as a stalling device. The instances of addition of the term *peace* display a strong collocation of the two terms *peace and stability* in this particular discourse.

The third term to be investigated is the German ST term *Demokratie* (lit. democracy). It occurs once in the ME debate in the German ST and is interpreted as *democratic rules and the rule of law* which displays an instance of the interpreter explicating the German source text utterance *Israel als Demokratie anerkennen* (lit. recognising Israel as a democracy). This shows an extension of the explicitation trend observed above in which the interpreter adds a strong collocate to the keyword investigated and hence strengthens the stability of that collocation in the discourse.

In the EE debate there are three occurrences of the term. The first instance is interpreted without any variation whereas the second and third instances in the phrase *denn die Demokratie und die Auseinandersetzung auf demokratischer Grundlage sind ein hoher Wert* (lit. for democracy and the discussion on a democratic basis are of high value) are interpreted by the phrase *we believe in democracy and the rule of law*. Once again we see the collocation *democracy and rule of law*. The term *demokratische Grundlage* (lit. democratic basis) is viewed as equivalent to the phrase *rule of law* on the part of the interpreter. Once again, the collocation is being strengthened where no such collocation occurs in the German ST. In the CT debate, there is one occurrence of the term *Demokratie* (lit. democracy) which appears both in the German ST and the English TT in the strong collocation *democracy, human rights and peace*.

In conclusion, the term *democracy* is explicating on two occasions in the English TT by the phrase *rule of law*, where no such collocation occurs in the German ST. In this context, there is see evidence of addition of a collocate that strengthens the stability and hence ideological salience of this particular collocation in this EP discourse. Therefore, this collocation seems to have a higher degree of discursal embeddedness in this particular discourse in the English TT than in the German ST.

The fourth term, *Freiheit* (lit. freedom), appears in the German ST in its 'pure' form only once in the ME debate where it is interpreted as *peace and security*. Again, the addition of the terms *security* and *peace* are strong collocates of the term *freedom*. Perhaps the



confusion of the two German terms *Frieden* (lit. peace) and *Freiheit* (lit. freedom) on the part of the interpreter lies in the similar phonetic beginnings of those two terms in German. In any case, the replacement and explicitation of the term shows the strong collocation that these terms have with one another. They are so semantically stable in English that they have almost become interchangeable as symbols of positive values.

In the EE debate, the term *Freiheit* is used as part of the composite noun, *Handlungsfreiheit* (lit. freedom of action) in the German ST. This is not retained in the English TT where the interpreter uses the phrase *room for manoeuvre* which is more idiomatically acceptable in English. On the second occasion, the phrase *Frieden in Freiheit* is interpreted in the English TT as *peace and freedom peace and freedom have been created*. This is an instance of (rhetorical) repetition discussed above. There is also one instance of the term *freedom* in the English TT where it does not exist in the German ST.

In terms of the use of the keyword *freedom*, we see a similar pattern to that encountered in investigating the term *peace*. There is a slight trend towards addition in the form of (rhetorical) repetition and evidence of set terms with set equivalents in the EU context. Here we are dealing with transcoding rather than interpretation where the term has an accepted equivalent in the other language and becomes almost semantically empty in its interpretation.

In conclusion, when investigating the four keywords, a number of trends were established. First, there is evidence of addition of the terms in the English TT compared to the German ST. This seems to take three forms; (i) addition of the term as a form of explicitation of a strong collocate (i.e. *peace and freedom; democracy and the rule of law*), (ii) addition of the term as a form of repetition, either for rhetorical effect or as a stalling device, and (iii) addition of the term in the TT after interpreter hesitation. Second, the collocates of all four terms are retained in the transformation of ST to TT. These results could be interpreted as evidence that the terms have become so semantically empty that they are deemed interchangeable as symbols of positive values.

#### 4.2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, quantitative and qualitative data analysis of the European Parliament (EP) corpus was carried out, with the aim of establishing tendencies in terms of lexical repetition and ideological force and to test the tentative hypothesis that there is more lexical repetition of ideological salient institutional terms in the English ST than in the German TT.

Quantitative analysis can be summarised in three points:

First, there was a slightly higher frequency of the superordinate terms 'European Union' and 'candidate countries' in the TT compared to the ST. In contrast, there was a slightly lower frequency of the superordinate term 'EU enlargement' in the TT compared to the ST. In quantitative terms therefore, the variation was minimal and any claims of a strengthening of EU institutional hegemony on this basis would be rather exaggerated.

Second, there was a slight general tendency towards lexical contraction in the number of variants for the superordinate concepts in the TT when compared to the ST. This slight increase, however, was deemed insignificant in statistical terms.

Third, there were a number of shifts in the form of lexical variant used. The most salient examples were strong foregrounding of the lexical variant *European Union* in the TT (an increase of twenty-five to forty occurrences compared to the ST), and strong backgrounding of the lexical variant *accession* (a decrease of forty to eighteen occurrences compared to the ST). Shifts in saliency of certain terms could be viewed as a form of foregrounding or backgrounding those particular terms, of import in a study of ideologies. However, it was necessary to investigate the actual occurrences of these terms in the corpus, before the significance of such foregrounding / backgrounding could be established.

The findings of quantitative analysis were then taken as starting point for qualitative analysis which investigated the foregrounded and backgrounded terms in more detail. This qualitative analysis highlighted four tendencies of interpreter behaviour in particular.



First, a strategy of expanding phrases using ideologically salient terms, was identified. For example, the original German term *Direkthilfe* (lit. direct aid) is interpreted as *direct aid in the European Union*. This could be categorised as a form of stylistic explicitation which adds to the frequency of lexical repetition of such terms and hence to the stabilisation of EU institutional hegemony.

Second, there was evidence of deictic adaptation on the part of the interpreter. Thus terms such as *Das europäische Parlament* (lit. the European Parliament) were interpreted as 'here'. However, there was also evidence of interpreter distancing strategies when identifying 'we' is interpreted as *the Parliament*. This indicates a positioning of the interpreter which is not always consistent.

Third, institutionalisation of rhetorical phrases took place with phrases such as *Die Idee des Europas* (lit. the idea of Europe) being interpreted simply as *European Union*, thus converting a process into a finished institutional product. This tendency strengthens EU institutional hegemony.

Fourth, evidence of interpreter axiology could be isolated in the form of evaluative statements such as the interpretation of the term *Erweiterung* (lit. enlargement) with the interpretation *enlargement burden*. There was also evidence of suppression of such interpreter axiology by 'overcompensation' in the form of strengthening EU institutional hegemony.

Although these instances are not strong enough to be categorised as trends, they are evidence of dialogised heteroglossia and struggle between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology in the corpus.

The final subsection, lexical repetition of key terms, refers to the semiotic character of certain terms with a discursal history layered with self-reference; in this case solidarity, peace, freedom, democracy and freedom.

First, there is evidence of addition of the terms in the English TT compared to the German ST. This seems to take three forms; (i) addition of the term as a form of explicitation of a strong collocate (i.e. 'peace and freedom'; 'democracy and the rule of

law'), (ii) addition of the term as a form of repetition, either for rhetorical effect or as a stalling device, and (iii) addition of the term in the TT after interpreter hesitation.

Second, the collocates of all five terms are retained in the transformation of ST to TT. These results could be interpreted as evidence that interpretation of these terms is a form of transcodage rather than cognitive interpretation as they have become so semantically empty that they are deemed interchangeable. Indeed they could all be subsumed under the macro-argument of positive values. This is evidence of a move towards unitary language located at the layer of orders of discourse. By the use of SI, the semantic stability of these concepts increases and they are embedded even more firmly in orders of texts, suborders of discourse and orders of discourse.

### 4.3 Metaphor Strings

This section will examine the category of conceptual metaphor in the form of recurring metaphor strings in the European Parliament (EP) corpus for the insight it affords into the ideological force and degree of stability of cognitive schemata. For reasons of clarity, further terms employed in the following analysis will first be briefly defined.

Following Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 6), the term metaphor will be used to refer to a metaphorical concept such as ARGUMENT IS WAR which influence and shape our thinking as part of a group, and hence are of interest in a study of ideologies. The term metaphoric expression (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:6) is thus reserved for individual linguistic evidence of metaphor. The term metaphor string refers to the repeated occurrence of such metaphoric expressions in (i) an individual text and (ii) between an individual text and its co-texts. In Hallidayian terms, metaphor strings are a form of collocation or collocational cohesion, defined as "cohesion that is achieved through the association of lexical items that regularly co-occur" (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 284). In addition, they strengthen ideologies by providing a coherent frame of reference.

In this particular context, the term metaphor strings refers to a succession of repeated metaphorical expressions that can be mapped to the same conceptual metaphor, whether these are isolated in an individual debate, or across the three debates in the corpus. This



can either ensue from repetition of the particular metaphoric expression or by different facets of the metaphor being highlighted, and hence certain facets of the metaphor being foregrounded or backgrounded.

The investigation of such metaphor strings is of key importance in this study for three main reasons.

First, the cohesion established in individual texts by means of repetition of metaphor is evidence of the existence of temporarily coherent value systems (and thus ideologies / hegemonies / axiologies) manifest in text.

Second, the frequency of the same metaphor string occurring in the surrounding co-texts is evidence of the degree of stability of those ideologies in the particular suborders of discourse under investigation (i.e. European institutional discourse, ecological discourse). In turn, the repeated occurrence of particular metaphors in the suborders of discourse also involves reference to orders of discourse (i.e. political discourse). In this way, metaphor strings are evidence of the discursal embeddedness of the text in multiple layers of discourse.

Third, partial structuring of concepts through foregrounding and backgrounding certain facets of that metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 13) is of ideological salience in the predominance (and absence) of facets of certain metaphors in orders and suborders of discourse.

In subsections 4.3.1 to 4.3.6, metaphor strings present in the corpus which can be viewed as indicative of EU institutional hegemony will be presented and discussed. These span all three debates in the EP corpus. For each metaphor string, individual analysis of the German ST and the English TT was first carried out, before comparative analysis was conducted. This methodology has the advantage of isolating metaphoric expressions in the English TT that occur when there is no metaphoric expression in the German ST to trigger the use of such an expression. In this way, Toury's (1995) TT-orientated approach could be integrated. Using this approach, the two categories of metaphor addition in the TT where there is (i) a non-metaphoric expression in the ST, or (ii) there is no expression in the ST, could be investigated. For ease of reference and for reasons of

space and focus, only those metaphor strings which occur most frequently in the corpus are discussed.

Analysis of metaphor strings in the EP corpus resulted in eight categories in the German ST and ten categories in the English TT. In order of frequency of occurrence in the German ST, these were:

- (1) THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY
- (2) ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE
- (3) THE EU IS A SHIP
- (4) THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING
- (5) ATTITUDES ARE NATURAL ENTITIES
- (6) ARGUMENT IS WAR
- (7) POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE WAR
- (8) TIME IS MONEY.

The additional metaphor strings in the English TT were

- (9) POLICIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS and
- (10) POLITICS IS A GAME.

Two further categories were also established, pertaining to (1) common sayings and proverbs in both the ST and TT, such as 'every cloud has a silver lining' and (2) mixed metaphor and omitted metaphor in the TT.

The first four metaphor strings and the ninth metaphor string, prevalent only in the English TT (POLICIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS), were then selected for detailed analysis. The ninth metaphor string was chosen as an extension of the conceptual metaphor string THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING and because it was one of the two metaphors strings that occurred in the English TT only.

These five metaphor strings were then further allocated to the broader categories of movement metaphor and personification metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 33).



The first three conceptual metaphors (THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY, ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE and THE EU IS A SHIP) belong to the category of movement metaphors, whereas the conceptual metaphors THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING and POLICIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS belong to the category of personification (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:33) or popularising metaphor (Hoinle 1999: 90). These two broad categories of metaphor occur with differing frequency in the EP corpus. In the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate, movement metaphors are predominant, whereas in the Combating Terrorism (CT) debate, personification or popularisation metaphors are more frequent. This is the case across the language pair under investigation. This suggests that in EU institutional discourse, as represented in this particular corpus, the enlargement process tends to be conceptualised in terms of movement metaphors, whereas combating terrorism tends to be conceptualised in terms of personification or popularisation metaphors. This would seem to indicate that in the immediate wake of the 9 / 11 terrorist attacks there was a shift towards 'politics with a human face', where policies were packaged in a very personal and human manner. This would support Hoinle's (1999: 90) findings that movement metaphors tend to be used to describe value and goal orientation as well as the way public affairs are dealt with; whereas popularising metaphors aim to present political events in a persuasive manner and to construct communities of shared values within and between various public groupings (Hoinle 1999: 90).

In subsections 4.3.1 to 4.3.3 respectively, the movement metaphors THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY, THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A RACE and THE EU IS A SHIP will be discussed in detail. This will be followed by presentation of the personification metaphors THE EU IS A PERSON and POLICIES ARE PEOPLE in subsections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5 respectively. In subsection 4.3.6, evidence of mixed metaphor and literal translation of metaphor will be discussed. Conclusions will be drawn in subsection 4.3.7.

### 4.3.1 *The Metaphor String THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY*

In this subsection, the conceptual metaphor string THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY will be presented and discussed according to the methodology set out in at the beginning of this section.

Metaphoric expressions relating to the conceptual metaphor string THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY occur sixteen times in each the German ST and the English TT, predominantly in the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate. These occurrences do not always have a one-to-one correspondence, i.e. a metaphoric expression occurs in the ST and is not interpreted with a corresponding metaphoric expression in the TT, or the metaphoric expression occurs in the TT without a corresponding metaphoric expression in the ST which initiated the use of that metaphoric expression. This metaphor string is predominantly present in the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate; however it also occurs in the Combating Terrorism (CT) debate. It is not present in the Middle East (ME) debate in the interventions under investigation.

Two instances of ST metaphoric expression, in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Karas, referring to *eine wichtige Etappe* (lit. an important stage) and *wir schauen dem Ziel mit Optimismus entgegen* (lit. we face the goal with optimism) have been excluded from the qualitative analysis. The English TT of this section was not available because the interpreter's microphone had been switched off.

First the German ST metaphoric expressions of the conceptual metaphor THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY, which were interpreted in a similar way in the ST, will be briefly discussed. Of the sixteen metaphoric expressions in the ST, six were reproduced in the English TT. The first of these is the first expression of the metaphor, in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen. The German phrase *Der Point of no return liegt definitive hinter uns. Das Projekt ist jetzt unumkehrbar* (lit. The point of no return is without doubt behind us. The project is now irreversible) is interpreted as *we've passed the point of no return and the process has become irreversible* in the English TT. The second metaphoric expression in the same intervention refers to an *Erweiterungsfahrplan* (lit. enlargement timetable), interpreted as *enlargement timetable* (the seventh expression of the metaphor in the German ST). The third to sixth incidences



of reproduced metaphoric expressions twice refers to being *auf einem sehr guten Weg* in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder (the eighth and tenth occurrence of the metaphor), interpreted as *on the right track* and *on the right road* respectively; once to Malta being *auf einem guten Weg* in intervention I2\_EE\_04.09 Stenzel, interpreted once again as *on the right track* (the twelfth occurrence of this metaphor); and once to *Schritt auf diesem Weg* (lit. step along this path) in intervention I3\_CT\_04.09 Nassauer, interpreted as *step along that path* (the sixteenth incidence of this metaphor in the TT). Therefore, the metaphoric images of travelling along a path in a certain direction seem to be stable and easily accessible in both languages.

The following analysis will concentrate on the further eight instances of metaphoric expression in the ST that were interpreted with conceptual metaphoric shifts in the TT.

In extract 4.3.1 from intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, four metaphorical expressions occur in close proximity to one another. There is a slight shift of conceptual metaphor string employed in the German ST and the English TT.

**Nizza hat die Weichen gestellt für die von den Kandidaten dringend**  
[Nice did the points set for the from the candidates urgently]  
the Treaty of Nice has set I think the course for the candidate countries

**gewünschte Orientierung der Verhandlungen hin auf die eigentlichen**  
[requested direction of the negotiations towards the actual]  
desire to see the negotiations geared to

**Substanzfragen. Die von der Kommission vorgelegte und von den Staats- und**  
[substantial issues the from the Commission presented and by the heads of state and]  
substantive issues the road map tabled by the Commission and approved by heads

**Regierungschefs gebilligte Wegskizze ist mehr als ein Verhandlungsfahrplan.**  
[government approved sketched map is more than a negotiation timetable]  
of state and government is more than just a negotiation timetable

#### Extract 4.3.1

The German ST introduces a train metaphor in the phrase *Nizza hat die Weichen gestellt* (lit. Nice set the points), which literally means setting the points but is commonly used in political speeches in the sense of finding direction, of knowing where one is going. It is interpreted in the English TT with the seafaring metaphor *setting the course* which is

categorised as a metaphoric expression of the conceptual metaphor string, THE EU IS A SHIP, which will be discussed in subsection 4.3.3. of this thesis.

The next metaphoric expression in the German ST, the term *Orientierung* (lit: orientation) implies direction and purpose and is strengthened in the English TT by the collocation *geared towards*. This direction and travel metaphor is continued in the next sentence with reference to a *Wegskizze* in the German original (lit. sketched map) and *Verhandlungsfahrplan* (lit. negotiation timetable). Interestingly the term *Wegskizze* is interpreted as road map which has itself become an EU institutional term in another context (the roadmap for peace in the Middle East). This term has become so associated with the EU that it is even used in its English form in German STs. The literal interpretation of the term *Verhandlungsfahrplan* could be classified as an attempt by the interpreter to retain the image of the original speaker, at the expense of idiomatic imagery in their own language and hence could be classified as reproducing the same image (cf. Newmark 1981), in this case at the expense of idiomatic language in the TT.

There is further evidence of repetition of the metaphoric expression *Weichenstellung* in the German ST in extract 4.3.2. In this case, the sub-metaphor ENLARGEMENT IS A TRAIN is continued in the same intervention, I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen. The concept of train tracks and direction is reintroduced and is again replaced in the English original by the sailing *metaphor to set the course*.

**Ich bin sehr froh, dass es uns gelungen ist, diese vom Europäischen Parlament**  
[I am very happy that it has been possible for us the from the European Parliament]  
I'm very happy that we have indeed managed to push through this course

**vorgenommene Weichenstellung über die Räte in Nizza und Göteborg**  
[suggested point-setting via the Council in Nice and Gothenburg]  
set by the parliament

**tatsächlich durchzusetzen.**  
[really to push through]

#### Extract 4.3.2

Thus, the ENLARGEMENT IS A TRAIN metaphor string is again omitted in the English TT and the EU IS A SHIP metaphor string once again strengthened. This could



potentially be indicative of a cultural or ideological difference in conceptual metaphors between a continental European and an island nation<sup>25</sup>.

There is a further incidence of the *Weichenstellung* metaphoric expression in extract 4.3.3 from intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Stenzel. In this case the ST metaphor is not reproduced with the same metaphoric force with use of the weaker *moving towards* in the TT rendition.

**Was die innere Sicherheit betrifft, hat Malta nun die**  
[regarding internal security has Malta now the]  
now Malta has moved towards fighting

**Weichen für eine wirksame Politik zur Bekämpfung der Korruption und der**  
[points for a productive policy to fight corruption and]  
corruption and

**Geldwäsche gestellt**  
[money laundering set]  
fighting money laundering

### Extract 4.3.3

In this case, the policy of turning a metaphor into sense (cf. Newmark 1981) or paraphrase (cf. van den Broeck 1981) is employed, probably due to the interpreter's lack of satisfaction with the previous solutions. However, the fact that those solutions were attempted previously would seem to indicate that these conceptual metaphors are not as 'dead' as some researchers would have us believe and that they do indeed trigger conceptual schemata in the interpreter.

There are further incidences of the conceptual metaphor string THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY in the EP corpus. In extract 4.3.4, the facet of direction or orientation is picked up again, by the use of the German term *desorientieren* (lit. disorientate).

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25 cf. Musolff (2000) for a detailed examination of maritime metaphors in British and German public discourse.

**und man sollte**  
[one should]  
and we shouldn't

**denen nicht glauben, die im Land die Bevölkerung desorientieren.**  
[them not believe who in the country the population disorientate]  
believe those we shouldn't lend an ear to those who within the Czech Republic are actually trying to lead the population astray on this head

#### Extract 4.3.4

This collates strongly with the occurrence of the previous term *Orientierung* (lit. orientation, direction) and thus strengthens anaphoric reference. In the English TT, this is interpreted by the much stronger, explicit journey metaphor *to lead the population astray*. This strengthens the metaphorical force of the statement in the TT as compared to the ST, but does not have the same cohesive function as the term *desorientieren* in the German ST.

Evidence of the THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor string can also be seen in extract 4.3.5.

**Es sollte sich niemand bange**  
[No-one should be]  
no-one should be

**machen lassen, Temelin ist kein Hinderungsgrund auf dem Weg in die**  
[worried Temelin is no barrier on the path to the]  
frightened Temelin is no obstacle no reason to no stumbling block on the road to the

**Europäische Union.**  
[European Union]  
European Union

#### Extract 4.3.5

In this example, the interpreter initially chooses the metaphoric expression *no obstacle* to interpret the German term *Hinderungsgrund* (lit. obstacle). This would relate to the use of the term *obstacle* in the sense of 'hurdle' that is used as a repeated cohesive element in the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor string, discussed in detail in section 6.4 of



this thesis. However, the interpreter then corrects himself / herself to make the image used more conceptually fitting to the THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY metaphor employed in the ST. Although merely a slight shift (both metaphor strings belong to the overarching category of movement metaphors), this instance of interpreter self-correction could be viewed as an indication of the awareness on the interpreter's part of such institutional metaphor strings and the importance role they play in establishing consistency and coherence of utterances as textual manifestations of suborders and orders of discourse.

The occurrences of metaphoric expressions relating to the metaphor string THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY in the English TT that were not initiated by equivalent metaphoric expressions in the German ST, will now be examined. These occurrences easily get overlooked if a purely comparative approach is pursued, where the ST is taken as a starting point.

Two occurrences of addition of metaphoric expressions relating to THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY in the German ST could be isolated in the corpus. In the first incidence, in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Böge, the interpreter interprets the neutral *ausgehend von diesen Fakten* (lit. starting with these facts) with the metaphoric expression *taking this as our point of departure*. In this example, a neutral expression is 'metaphorised' and the conceptual metaphor THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY strengthened in the TT. In this way, the interpreter is subject to EU institutional hegemony and acts as a centripetal force on the utterance.

The second incidence of metaphoric expression in the TT where there is no incidence in the ST, is in intervention I3\_CT\_04.09 Nassauer when the German phrase *daß wir unsere Datenschutzbestimmungen zum Maßstab aller Dinge gemacht haben* (lit. that we have made our data protection regulations the measure of everything) as *our government's protection provisions have been made the yardsticks of everything*. The notion of the journey is introduced in the English TT where it does not exist in the German ST. The English term *yardstick* also has overtones and overlap with the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor string investigated in subsection 4.3.2.

In this section, incidences of ST metaphoric expression that were interpreted similarly in the TT were isolated. These constituted six out of sixteen metaphoric expressions. Second, analysis of the eight incidences of metaphoric shift from ST to TT was carried out. A shift from the sub-metaphor string ENLARGEMENT IS A TRAIN to the metaphor string THE EU IS A SHIP was established in two of the three incidences. There was also evidence of non-idiomatic English images in the TT, such as *negotiation timetable*, indicating a foreignising strategy at the expense of retaining the image. In addition, one example of interpreter self-correction was isolated, in which the interpreter initially used an image mapped to a different conceptual metaphor string (in this case the movement metaphor ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE), before adjusting the image to ‘fit’ the conceptual metaphor string used in the ST. In general there is a strengthening of the conceptual metaphor string THE ENLARGEMENT PROCESS IS A JOURNEY in the TT, reinforced by the two additional occurrences of the metaphor string in the TT when it did not occur in the ST.

#### 4.3.2 *The Metaphor String ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE*

The second metaphor string to be investigated in the corpus was ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE. In this subsection, metaphoric expressions as textual manifestations of this conceptual metaphor will be presented and discussed. The metaphor string ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE occurs exclusively in the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate in the EP corpus and was isolated fifteen occasions in the German ST and on twenty occasions in the English TT. Presentation and discussion of the analysis will take the same format as the previous section.

In this category, there are two types of metaphoric expressions in the German ST that are interpreted in a similar way in the English TT. First, the metaphoric expression relating to the basic principles of the enlargement process (and hence the race), is mentioned on two occasions. On the first occasion, *individuelle Verdienste, Differenzierung und die Chance zum Aufholen* (lit. individual achievement, differentiation and the chance to catch up) in intervention 15\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, is interpreted in the TT as *individual merit, differentiation and the chance to catch up* (the tenth metaphoric expression in the ST). On the second occasion, the German source term *Verdienstprinzip* (lit. principle of merit)



is interpreted as *principle of merit* in the same intervention (the twelfth incidence of this conceptual metaphor in the corpus). Second, the term *Beitrittshindernisse* (lit. accession obstacles) in intervention 15\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, is interpreted as *obstacles to accession* (the eleventh metaphoric expression in the ST).

In extract 4.3.6, metaphoric expressions relating to the metaphor string ENLARGMENT IS A RACE occur frequently in close proximity to one another. As such they have a local and global cohesive function.

**für die einzelnen Länder festgestellt hat, am Ende des Tages auch ein weiterer**  
[for the individual countries laid down, at the end of the day also a further]  
has to be achieved by each country and as Mr Cushnahan has made clear this is a

**wichtiger Überprüfungspunkt ist. Wir nennen aus unserer Sicht bewusst keine**  
[important test is. We name from our point of view consciously no]  
further hurdle that some of these countries have to jump now

**Favoriten für den Beitritt zur Europäischen Union, weil wir aus Erfahrung**  
[favourites for accession to the European Union, because we from experience]  
we quite expressly didn't want to choose favourites for accession to the European Union because we know

**wissen, dass ein Land, das heute vielleicht ziemlich vorn liegt, aufgrund**  
[know that a country which today perhaps fairly far in front lies, as a result of]  
from experience that a country which might be lagging behind because of

**innenpolitischer Fehlentscheidungen und Fehlentwicklungen im nächsten**  
[negative domestic decisions and developments in the coming]  
domestic mistakes because of domestic policy mistakes might make progress and

**Jahre, wenn es so weit sein könnte, möglicherweise nicht in der Lage ist. Aus**  
[year when it so far be could possibly not in the position is. For]  
move forward in the group or the other way round and so

**diesem Grunde ist dies ein echtes Regattaprinzip, wo jeder die gleichen**  
[this reason is this a real regatta principle, where everyone the same]  
we we stick to our regatta principle everyone has an

**Chancen hat und am Ende des Tages gemessen wird, wer zu welchem**  
[chances have and at the end of the day measured will be who at what]  
equal equal chance and can cross the finishing line when

**Zeitpunkt in der Lage ist, beizutreten.**  
[point in time in the position is, to accede]  
they are ready all have the chance of crossing the finishing line first



It is interesting to note that the hurdle facet of the global metaphor string is introduced first in the English TT, before it occurs in the German ST. Therefore it would seem that this metaphoric expression is fairly stable and accessible in TT discourse on EU enlargement, and is initiated without any apparent trigger in the ST. In this case, the English TT 'metaphorises' the neutral German term *Überprüfungspunkt* (lit. test) by the introduction of the hurdle image. The race metaphor string is not introduced in the German ST until the term *Favoriten* (lit. favourites). This is reflected in the English TT. The facet of winners and losers introduced in the German ST is then interpreted in the English TT with the phrase *a country which might be lagging behind*. This phrase reflects the negative facet of the German phrase and is then explicated in the English TT where it is not in the German ST, by the addition of the phrases *might make progress and move forward in the group or the other way round*. In this context, the metaphoric expression present in the German ST is explicated to include the positive characteristics. This is followed by the explicit introduction of the regatta image in the German ST which is interpreted in the English TT rather literally as *regatta principle*. The collocation of *Regattaprinzip* is certainly more common in German than its equivalent in English; however the image of the metaphor is retained, however non-idiomatically, in the English TT. This concept is then explained with a further two metaphoric expressions [*die gleichen Chancen* (lit. the same chances) and past tense of the verb to measure, *gemessen*]. The first instance is interpreted in the English TT as *equal chance* which conveys the metaphoric facet of the equality of chances across the board, integral to the metaphor string ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE. It is however in the English interpretation of the second metaphoric expression, the term *gemessen* that another facet of the metaphor is introduced. The concept of the *finishing line*, introduced at this point in the English TT has not yet been mentioned in the German ST. The repetition and further explication of the finishing line concept in the next line in the English TT where only the neutral German source term *beitreten* (lit. to accede) is used in the German ST, further strengthens this trend. This particular facet of the conceptual metaphor functions as both a strong local and global cohesive device in the English TT where it does not in the German ST. It is only possible to speculate on the reasons for this facet of the metaphor string occurring in the TT before it occurs in the ST. One reason could be that the metaphor string is so embedded in EU / political discourse that the interpreter automatically activates particular facets of that metaphor string without a particular



trigger occurring in the ST. Another possibility is that the interpreter draws on the discourse surrounding EU enlargement from other debates on the subject where this particular metaphor string played a structuring role.

The finishing line concept is later introduced in the German ST in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen. In this case, the interpreter interprets the German phrase *die Ziellinie benennen* (lit. naming the finishing line) with the idiomatic English phrase *to mark the finishing line*. This repetition of the *finishing line* concept creates a cohesive link in the English TT that does not exist in the German ST and as a result the *finishing line* facet of the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor is stronger at this stage in the debate in the English TT than in the German ST.

The finishing line concept occurs once more towards the end of the same intervention. In this case, the concept is reintroduced in the English TT as an interpretation of the neutral German source text phrase *das Ende des Projekts* (lit. the end of the project). The rich imagery of the English phrase *and I think that the finish line would disappear over the horizon* once again strengthens the finishing line concept in the English TT and thus contributes to creating a metaphoric string of reference throughout the English TT in which the individual metaphoric expressions take on a cohesive function.

The sixth metaphoric expression relating to the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE conceptual metaphor introduces the hurdle facet in the German ST. This can be seen in extract 4.3.7.

**Wir dürfen nicht zusätzliche neue**

[*We are not allowed to additional new*]

be asked to achieve and fulfil the conditions that we ourselves have fulfilled and

**Hürden aufbauen.**

[*hurdles create*]

achieved and we don't want to create new burdens, create more hurdles for them to

**Herr Kommissar**

[*Commissioner*]

leap and we should make it clear Commissioner

**Extract 4.3.7**

The initial introduction of the hurdle image in the German ST is reproduced in the English TT. This not only conveys the hurdle imagery in the English TT, it also strengthens this particular facet of the metaphor, introduced earlier to the English TT. Although the collocation of *leaping hurdles* is rather unusual in idiomatic English, it underlines the effort involved in overcoming the difficulties represented by the hurdle imagery. At this point too, interestingly, the interpreter originally uses an image of burdens to be borne, which can be mapped to the conceptual metaphor of COUNTRIES ARE HUMANS. Once again, self-correction takes place, with the interpreter successfully navigating the concept back into the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE conceptual metaphor. This could be viewed as the interpreter negotiating and defining the metaphorical concepts used to structure the intervention.

The hurdle image is also reintroduced later in the German ST and can thus be said to serve a cohesive function both in the German ST and the English TT. In this case, the German phrase *daß der Vertrag schon die erste Hürde.....nicht genommen hat* (lit. that the Treaty didn't make the first hurdle) in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, is interpreted by the interpreter as *the Treaty has failed to clear its first hurdle*. The choice of the more common collocation of *clearing a hurdle* shows the interpreter's growing familiarity of the importance of the hurdle image in this particular metaphor.

Another instance of the metaphor string ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE occurs in the English TT when the neutral German phrase *gleichgestellt* (lit. made equal) is replaced by the metaphoric expression *on an equal footing* in the English TT. This can be seen in extract 4.3.8.

**Wir sollten deutlich machen, dass alle Beitrittskandidaten gleichgestellt**  
[We should clear make, that all accession candidates equal]  
we should make clear that all applicant countries should be put on an equal

**werden**  
[are]  
footing

**Extract 4.3.8**



In this example, the English TT introduces facets of the global metaphor string that are suggested, but not explicitly stated, in the German ST.

In extract 4.3.9 from intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Stenzel, the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE conceptual metaphor is reinforced by the introduction of the German phrase *an der Spitze liegen* (lit. to be at the top / the peak).

**Mit 17 Kapiteln liegt Malta an der Spitze der**  
[with 17 chapters Malta lies at the top of]  
17 chapters have been dealt with and this puts Malta in the vanguard of  
**Kandidaten, die erst im Jahr 2000 mit den Verhandlungen beginnen konnten.**  
[the candidates that only in 2000 with the negotiations begin could]  
the countries which were able to launch negotiations in 2000

**Extract 4.3.9**

This is not interpreted using the same conceptual metaphor in the English TT, rather the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE WAR is introduced with the English phrase *this puts Malta in the vanguard*. At this point, a conceptual metaphor shift is taking place from the German ST to the English TT.

Extract 4.3.10 from the same intervention follows on seamlessly from extract 4.3.9 and shows the strengthening of the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE conceptual metaphor string in the German ST.

**Damit zeigt sich, dass Malta die verlorene Zeit der Verhandlungsunterbrechung**  
[Thus it is shown that Malta the lost time of the break in negotiations]  
and it means that Malta has made up for lost time because there was a 22 month  
**von 22 Monaten wettgemacht hat und sich daher in einer guten Position**  
[of 22 months has made up and that it is thus in a good position]  
hiatus in which negotiations were not pursued and it is now in a good position  
**befindet, zur ersten Runde der neu beitretenden Staaten zu zählen.**  
[is the first round of the new accession countries to count itself among]  
when it comes to belonging to the ranks of the first countries to come in to the EU

**Extract 4.3.10**

The German verb *wettmachen* shares the same root as the German *Wettbewerb* (lit. competition) and in sporting contexts would be translated as *to catch up*, *to make up*, or even *to do away with*. This extension of the race imagery is not interpreted in the English TT which merely states *there was a 22 month hiatus in which negotiations were not pursued*. As a result, the competitive aspect of the race metaphor is lost in the interpretation. The second metaphoric expression is in the form of the German phrase *erste Runde der neu beitretenden Staaten* (lit. the first round of the new accession countries). This is interpreted in the English TT as *the ranks of the first countries to come into the EU*. Although this facet clearly conveys the winner aspect of the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE conceptual metaphor, it also has overtones of the POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE WAR metaphor string mentioned above. As a result, this metaphor string is also strengthened in the English TT, and once again, there is evidence of metaphoric conceptual shift.

In investigating this metaphor it was established that certain metaphoric elements are introduced into the English TT before they occur in the German ST. They also occur more frequently in the English TT than in the German ST, thus strengthening the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor in the English TT and hence its cohesive and ideological function. There was also evidence of conceptual metaphoric shift. This could be seen in the shift from the conceptual metaphor ENLARGEMENT IS A JOURNEY to the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL PROCESSES ARE WAR in two cases discussed above. There was also evidence of interpreter self-correction where the interpreter replaced an initially voiced metaphoric expression with another one that fitted or 'mapped on to' the conceptual metaphor being used as a metaphor string in that particular context. This supports the findings of the previous section.

### 4.3.3 *The Metaphor String THE EU IS A SHIP*

In this subsection, the metaphor string THE EU IS A SHIP was examined. This ship metaphor string runs throughout the Eastern Enlargement (EE) debate in the German ST and English TT. Thirteen metaphoric expressions are mapped to this conceptual metaphor in the German ST and English TT respectively. The expressions do not necessarily correlate on a one-to-one basis.



In this subsection analysis is carried out as in the preceding subsections. First the instances of the metaphor where a conceptual shift does not take place will be presented and briefly summarised. Second the metaphoric expressions in the German ST that are conveyed differently in the English TT will be examined. Third and finally the metaphoric expressions in the English TT that do not result from similar expressions in the German ST will be presented and discussed. Brief conclusions are drawn at the end of the subsection.

One metaphoric expression in the German ST is interpreted without any conceptual shift in the English TT, namely the notion of the shipwreck or the ship foundering. This occurs in the first occurrence of the metaphor string, in intervention I5\_EE\_04.09 Verheugen, where the German phrase *Schiffbruch erleiden* (lit. to suffer a shipwreck) is interpreted in the English TT as *the ship will soon founder*.

The metaphor THE EU IS A SHIP is especially prominent in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder which will be examined in detail below.

In analysing intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder, it can be clearly seen that the ship metaphor is a central cohesive element which serves as a means of establishing both local and global coherence.

The metaphor is hinted at early on in the interpretation as can be seen in extract 4.3.11.

**Das ist zu vergleichen mit einem großen Schiff,**  
[it can be compared with a large ship]  
it is like a large ship

**das über einen großen Ozean fährt. Es ist manövrierfähig, und dennoch**  
[that on a large ocean sails                      it can be manoeuvred but it is still]  
which is sailing across a broad ocean the ship is big but nonetheless

**ist es groß, wie auch die Europäische Union.**  
[large like the European Union]  
it can be steered

**Extract 4.3.1**

In this example, repetition of the phrase *the ship* in the English TT instead of the pronoun *it* serves to strengthen the cohesion of the section in the English TT and strengthens the ideological importance of the metaphor string in the interpretation. Other facets of the ship are attributed to the European Union and thus foregrounded whereas other elements (such as its capacity to sink or run aground) are backgrounded. This is further strengthened in extract 4.3.12 from the same intervention.

**Ich habe früher zu sozialistischen**  
[*I have in the past in socialist times*]  
and during socialist

**Zeiten mit den Tschechen im selben Boot gesessen, ich möchte das auch**  
[*with the czechs in the same boat sat I want that also in*]  
times I was in the same boat as the Czechs I want to be in the same boat as the

**in Zukunft wieder tun, aber in einem anderen Boot, in einem Boot, in dem**  
[*the future once again do but in another boat in a boat in which the*]  
Czechs this time as well but in a different boat where the

**die Tschechen mitsteuern dürfen. Allerdings darf niemand in der**  
[*Czechs help steer are allowed to however no-one is allowed in the Czech*]  
Czechs are allowed to steer and no-one should think that the Czechs

**Tschechischen Republik denken, dass die Tschechen es allein sind, die**  
[*republic to think that the czechs alone it is who decide where*]  
are going to be alone in the future in deciding where

**entscheiden, wohin das Boot fährt, denn nicht die Europäische Union will**  
[*the boat is sailing for not the European Union wants to the Czech*]  
the European union goes because it's not the Czechs on their own who are

**der Tschechischen Republik beitreten, sondern die Tschechen wollen in die**  
[*republic accede rather the Czech republic wants into the EU but the*]  
coming into the EU

**EU. Aber die Tschechen werden garantiert mit dabei sein, um den Kurs der**  
[*Czechs will without doubt be there too in order to the course of the European*]  
of course the Czechs will be there the Czechs will the Czechs will help along with

**Europäischen Union in Zukunft mitzusteuern.**  
[*Union in the future to steer*]  
the other member states to decide a course of the future European vessel.

Extract 4.3.12



It can be seen from the above extract that substitution and explicitation is taking place in the interpretation where the interpreter replaces the term *das Boot* with the term *the European Union*. The rhetorical emphasis of the repetition of the phrase *in einem Boot* in the first part of the extract in the German original is lost in the interpretation where the interpreter merely states *in a boat* once. The nuance of the German verb *mitsteuern* (lit. to co-steer, in this context, to help steer) is lost in the first instance in the interpretation where the interpreter interprets it as *the Czechs are allowed to steer* but is compensated by explicitation in the second instance where the interpreter really makes much more out of the German phrase *den Kurs mitsteuern* (to help determine the course) by using the phrase *the Czechs will help along with the other member states to decide a course of the future European vessel*. There is also addition of the term *future European vessel* in the interpretation which does not appear in the original German version.

In addition there is the occurrence in the English TT of the metaphoric expression *to set the course*, where the train metaphor string is present in the German ST (cf. subsection 4.3.1 of this thesis). This involves a strengthening of the THE EU IS A SHIP metaphor string in the English TT as compared to the German ST.

Hence in conclusion, the metaphor string THE EU IS A SHIP has a strong cohesive function in this intervention, and is strengthened in the interpretation. Thus the metaphor string as a textual manifestation of EU institutional hegemony is stronger in the English TT than in the German original.

#### **4.3.4 The Metaphor String THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING**

In this subsection, the personification metaphor string, THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING will be investigated and discussed. This metaphor occurs predominantly in the Combating Terrorism (CT) debate in the EP corpus. A total of four metaphoric expressions in the German ST and nine metaphoric expressions in the English TT were isolated. Analysis of the metaphor string THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING will take the same form as in the previous subsections.

There were a number of incidences of THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING metaphor string in the German ST that were interpreted in the same way in the English TT. The first of these is the metaphoric expression *an der Seite unserer amerikanischen Freunden* (lit. at the side of our American friends) that is interpreted as *standing shoulder to shoulder with our American friends* in intervention I3\_CT\_04.09 Poettering. Second, the expression *die Last der Bekämpfung des Terrorismus tragen* (lit. to carry the burden of fighting terrorism) is interpreted in the English TT as *stand together with them bearing the burden of fighting terrorism* in intervention I3\_CT\_04.09 Nassauer. Third, the metaphoric expression *die Europäische Union ist bis zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt auf alle Fälle verwundbarer als die USA* in intervention I3\_CT\_04.09 Pirker is interpreted by the English phrase *the European Union until now has been more vulnerable than the United States* and fourth, the two incidences of Europol being described as *zahnlos* (lit. without teeth) in the German ST is interpreted both times by *has no teeth* in the English TT. These examples clearly show that the conceptualisation of the EU as a human being is unsurprisingly present in both German and English.

An incidence of the THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING metaphor occurring in the English TT where it is not present in the German ST is in intervention I3\_CT\_04.09 Poettering. In this case, the interpreter conveys the German phrase *das frei gewählte Parlament der Europäer in der Europäischen Union* (lit. the freely elected parliament of the Europeans) as *the mouthpiece of the people of the European Union*. This addition of the THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING metaphor string where it is not present in the German ST, strengthens the conceptual metaphor in the English TT. It also displays a conceptualisation of the EU where different institutions are represented by different parts of the body. However, this again only extends to cover certain parts of the body such as the head or the mouth. In this way, we can see partial conceptualisation in the Lakoffian sense taking place.

In conclusion, the conceptual metaphor string THE EU IS A HUMAN BEING runs throughout the corpus and thus serves a cohesive and ideological function in personifying an institution that is seen by many as being rather unapproachable. There appears to be a slight shift towards a higher intensity of personification in the English TT.



#### 4.3.5 The Metaphor String **POLICIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS**

There are three incidences of metaphoric expressions relating to the metaphor string **POLICIES ARE HUMAN BEINGS** present in the English TT. These do not have their origin in a similar expression in the German ST.

Two of these incidences occur in close proximity to one another in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroedter, and do not reflect an equivalent metaphoric expression in the German ST. This can be seen in extract 4.3.13.

**Letland als vorwiegend ländlich geprägtes Land ist ganz besonders betroffen**  
[*Latvia as a predominately rural country is particularly affected*]  
As a highly rural country it is particularly hard hit by the

**von dem Schwachsinn, dass die verfehlte EU-Agrarpolitik jetzt in die**  
[*by the nonsense that the failed EU agricultural policy now in the*]  
crazy approach of our wrongheaded CAP and our wrongheaded CAP is just being

**Beitrittsländer exportiert wird.**  
[*accession countries exported will be*]  
exported as it is without any changes to the applicant countries

#### Extract 4.3.13

The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) is attributed human features in the English TT, in an attempt to reflect the German ST term *verfehlt* (lit. failed). The repetition of the term *wrongheaded* in this extract creates local coherence. The occurrence of the same term in the collocation *wrongheaded concepts* in intervention I3\_EE\_04.09 Schroeder later in the debate, in an attempt to relay the German phrase *fälschlich verwendete Begriffe* (lit. wrongly used terms), creates global coherence using the term repetition of the term *wrongheaded* as a cohesive device. It is certainly true that the three occurrences of the term *wrongheaded* come from the same interpreter (I3) and may be a personal preference. Nonetheless the repetition of this term results in coherence at both a local and a global level being established. Therefore, the activity of SI seems to strengthen coherence in the form of increased repetition of explicit cohesive devices, compared to the ST. It would be interesting to pursue this investigation further, perhaps building on

the work on explicitation in SI and testing Blum-Kulka's (1986) explicitation hypothesis in corpus analysis of SI output.

#### 4.3.6 Further Metaphoric Elements

In analysis of the corpus as a whole, three additional metaphoric elements were established that have been grouped under the heading of metaphor, namely (i) mixed metaphor, (ii) literal translation of metaphor and (iii) attempts by the interpreter to convey the conceptual metaphor encountered in the ST which results in a non-idiomatic metaphoric collocation in the TT.

First, one example of mixed metaphor in the corpus will be discussed. The type of mixed metaphor that will be examined on in this subsection is mixed metaphor in the English TT where there is no mixed metaphor present in the original intervention. One example of this is *we are in the trough of this vicious cycle* in intervention I3\_ME\_04.09 Wurtz where the two images of the vicious circle and the sin curve (perhaps also an implicit reference to economics and hence financial metaphor?) are 'mixed' or compete with one another. This could perhaps be an indication of the non-deliberate associations which occur in the SI process where an equivalent metaphor has to be found on the spot, or could be interpreted as evidence of two competing conceptual metaphors that are encountered by the interpreter at that point.

Second, there is one incidence in the corpus of literal translation of a metaphoric expression. In extract 4.3.14, the adaptation of the German *alle Hebel in Bewegung setzen* (to pull out all the stops) is interpreted literally in the TT.

**Der Hebel, um dieses Problem zu**  
[*the lever in order to this problem*]  
emmm the lever that we can use to try and resolve these problems

**lösen, liegt in Brüssel.**  
[*solve is located in Brussels*]  
lies in Brussels

Extract 4.3.14



However, the hesitation particle *emmm* before the literal translation indicates that the interpreter has recognised the metaphoric expression as being such and is unhappy with the literal solution proffered. This would lead to the conclusion that interpreters are very much aware of metaphoric language and seek to reproduce it as best they can.

This phenomenon could be viewed as an indication that interpreters are aware of the cohesive role conceptual metaphor strings play in structuring text and argument and employ such strategies as an attempt to reproduce and strengthen this cohesion and coherence in their interpretation. Indeed there are very few incidences in the corpus of 'demetaphorisation' (Newmark 1981), where metaphoric expressions in the ST are omitted, paraphrased or described in the TT.

#### 4.3.7 *Conclusions*

In this section, conceptual metaphor strings in the corpus were investigated. First conceptual metaphor strings were defined and discussed. Lakoff and Johnson's approach to metaphor was adopted and Hoinle's categorisation of conceptual metaphor strings into movement metaphors and popularisation metaphors made operational.

In subsections 4.3.1 to 4.3.5 three movement metaphor-strings and two popularising metaphor strings were analysed. A number of conclusions can be drawn from this analysis.

First, in all four cases where the metaphor strings occurred in the German ST, certain occurrences of metaphoric expression in the German ST were interpreted in a similar way in the English TT. This suggests that there are common metaphoric concepts shared by these particular speakers in German and English, indicative of a general, overarching EU institutional hegemony.

Second, there was evidence in two of the three metaphor strings of metaphoric conceptual shift of certain metaphoric expressions. These consisted of a shift from the train to the seafaring metaphor string, and a shift from the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor

string to the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor string. These could be considered as ideological shifts.

Third, there is evidence of the use of non-idiomatic English language and literal translation of metaphoric concepts, in order to retain the image of the metaphoric expression. This indicates the interpreter's awareness of the importance of such conceptual metaphors.

Fourth, certain elements of the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor string occurred earlier in the English TT than in the German ST and were expanded considerably in the English TT where they did not occur in the German ST. Therefore it seems that in this case, the interpreters used repetition of certain facets of the metaphor string as a cohesive strategy, thus foregrounding these facets in the interpretation where they were not foregrounded in the original ST (cf. the *finishing line* concept).

Fifth, there are incidences of explicitation of metaphorical concepts in all metaphor strings which in turn further reinforces the ideological force of these concepts.

Sixth, interpreter self-correction could be isolated in two cases under investigation, indicating interpreter awareness of the conceptual (and hence ideological) role of metaphor and their ability to identify cognitive schemata.

Seventh, conceptual substitution of the ship concept with the term the *European Union* took place. This is an example of the conflation of the two concepts on the part of the interpreter. The conceptual metaphor is so stable in the TT that the two terms *ship* and *the EU* seem to be semantically equivalent.

In general, a strengthening of all three movement metaphor strings could be established in the English TT as compared to the German ST. This could be seen as an indication of the strengthening of EU institutional hegemony in the TT as increased repetition of these metaphor strings is evidence of the increased manifestation of the institutional metaphoric concepts in the TT.



#### **4.4 Data Analysis Discussion**

After the theoretical framework and the research methodology of this framework study was set out in chapters two and three of this thesis, results of the data analysis of the EP corpus were presented in chapter four. Section 4.1 investigated intertextuality in the form of manifest intertextuality and latent intertextuality; section 4.2 four categories of lexical repetition; and section 4.3 six metaphor strings and further metaphoric elements.

The aim of the analysis was to investigate the texts in the corpus for textual manifestations of discursial embeddedness in all three categories and thus discuss textual evidence of the effect of SI on EU institutional hegemony, as well as the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology during the activity of SI.

Data analysis yielded interesting, and sometimes counter-intuitive, findings in all three categories selected.

In section 4.1, the category of intertextuality was explored with the aim of illustrating the two types of intertextuality present in the German TT, and investigating how those occurrences (and layers) of intertextuality (as a form of dialogised heteroglossia) were conveyed in the English TT. Analysis was exemplary in this category and does not claim to be representative of EP discourse in general. However, this category of analysis was included for the insight it gave into the interplay between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the form of dialogised heteroglossia. The findings show a tendency towards omission of initial intertextual reference in all categories, resulting in reduction of the embeddedness of the text in discourse worlds and hence reduction of dialogised heteroglossia. Thus dialogised heteroglossia was found to be generally weakened and EU institutional hegemony strengthened by means of SI.

These findings can be further differentiated in terms of interpreter agency in the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. It was established that reference to high-level speakers' interventions was maintained in the TT (Commissioners, representatives of Council), whereas reference to co-texts that were referenced without explicit reference to the name of the speaker tended to be omitted in the TT. This indicates a strengthening of EU institutional hegemony through SI in the

form of what is referenced and what is not. This could possibly be traced back to a strategy on the interpreter's part in which the information which is deemed to be the most important is selected for interpretation. In addition, the chain of intertextual reference to the Middle East conflict was significantly weakened and partially distorted in the English TT, resulting in an ideologically significant shift towards reduction of dialogised heteroglossia. The emergency strategy employed by the interpreter which resulted in the distortion of one particular utterance could also be viewed as evidence of individual interpreter axiology. In the category of intertextual reference to culturally and historically bound documents, intertextual reference was significantly weakened in the English TT, thus weakening intertextuality and reducing dialogised heteroglossia.

Although quantitative findings in the category of lexical repetition, in section 4.2, were not as convincing as originally expected, qualitative results in that section provided interesting material for the investigation of interpreter agency through the interplay of EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. In this context, shifts in saliency of particular variants were investigated and four tendencies established. Two of these tendencies (stylistic explicitation using ideologically salient terms and institutionalisation of rhetorical phrases) led to the strengthening of EU institutional hegemony in the EP corpus. The remaining two tendencies showed the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology in the English TT. First, deictic adaptation in the TT demonstrated an inconsistent position on the part of the interpreter, with fluctuation between inclusive and distancing strategies towards the institution and hence conflict between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. Second, there was evidence of evaluative statements and hence interpreter axiology, in the form of interpreter addition, as well as suppression of such interpreter axiology by 'overcompensation' in the form of strengthening EU institutional hegemony.

In section 4.3, metaphor strings were analysed and discussed. This analysis provided rich data for investigation of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology.

A number of aspects of the analysis were isolated which are of interest in a discussion of the results of the data analysis as a whole. These bear out findings in the previous two categories and can be subdivided into three sections. First, evidence of the existence of



EU institutional metaphor strings in both German and English; second, evidence of a strengthening of EU institutional hegemony by means of SI; and third, evidence of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology.

In the first category, all metaphor strings in the German ST were produced to a certain extent in a similar way in the English TT, suggesting the existence of a general, overarching EU institutional hegemony. Conceptual substitution of the ship concept with the term the *European Union* also took place. This is an example of the conflation of the two concepts on the part of the interpreter. In this case, the conceptual metaphor is so stable in the TT that the two terms *ship* and *the EU* seem to be semantically equivalent. There was also evidence of the use of literal translation of metaphoric concepts, in order to retain the image of the metaphoric expression. This indicates the interpreter's awareness of the importance of such conceptual metaphors.

In the second category, these institutional conceptual metaphor strings were strengthened in the TT, providing evidence of a strengthening of EU institutional hegemony by means of SI. First, certain elements of the ENLARGEMENT IS A RACE metaphor string occurred earlier in the English TT than in the German ST and were expanded considerably in the English TT where they did not occur in the German ST. Therefore it seems that in this case, the interpreters used repetition of certain facets of the metaphor string as a cohesive strategy, thus foregrounding these facets in the interpretation where they were not foregrounded in the original ST (cf. the *finishing line* concept). Second, there are incidences of explicitation of metaphorical concepts in all metaphor strings which in turn further reinforces the ideological force in terms of EU institutional hegemony of these concepts.

In the third category, there is evidence of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology. Interpreter self-correction could be isolated in two cases under investigation, indicating interpreter awareness of the conceptual (and hence ideological) role of metaphor and his / her ability to identify cognitive schemata. This could be indicative that the interpreter is so aware of the need to suppress the axiological and retain the hegemonial that they tend towards a type of 'overcorrection'.

In general, a strengthening of all three movement metaphor strings could be established in the English TT as compared to the German ST. This could be seen as an indication of the strengthening of EU institutional hegemony in the TT as increased repetition of these metaphor strings is evidence of the increased manifestation of the institutional metaphoric concepts in the TT.

Therefore, in contrast to the findings on intertextuality and lexical repetition where only tendencies could be isolated, there seemed to be a definite trend in the category of metaphor strings towards strengthening of EU institutional hegemony in the TT. However, in all categories, evidence of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology could be identified.

The general overall trend towards EU institutional hegemony being strengthened in the English TT when compared to the German ST, particularly in the category of metaphor strings, is the first main finding of the study. This is relevant for research into language policy in institutions as it proves, like Wallmach's (2002) research on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa, that the very fact that institutional communication is interpreted is, in itself, ideologically significant.

In addition, it shows that conference interpreters, certainly in the simultaneous mode in the corpus study under investigation in this thesis, are not immune to ideological and hegemonic influence, thus lending additional weight to the body of interpreting research which sharply criticises the conduit approach to communication and the "machine type model" (Tate & Turner 1997) of the interpreter which pervades many Codes of Ethics for the conference interpreting profession.

The second contribution of the current study is the exploration of interpreter axiology. In demonstrating axiological behaviour on the part of the interpreter, and evidence of 'overcompensation' in which the interpreter actively suppresses that axiology, this study is a contribution to the growing body of research on the interpreter as agent and subject.



## Chapter 5 Conclusions

One of the aims of this thesis was to bridge the gap between theoretical accounts of ideology and text-focused studies of ideology in text. Whereas theoretical accounts tend to focus on discussing the concept in rather abstract manner with little or no application in text, text-heavy approaches tended to focus on analyses of ideology in text without any explanation of how it came to be there in the first place. This thesis therefore pursued an interdisciplinary approach in order to combine the strengths of both approaches in a corpus-based analysis of SI-mediated institutional communication.

To this end, a detailed theoretical model was first developed which illustrated clearly the interrelationship between multiple and hybrid ideologies in layers of discourse.

Although ideology is often understood in everyday usage as a static and immovable force, the interdisciplinary background of this study led to a definition of ideology as **the temporarily stable implicit social assumptions that shifting group members take for granted in their everyday social practices**. This led to an understanding of ideology as a hybrid and temporarily stable system.

One ideology had been discussed and defined as above, it was established as an umbrella category which encompassed various forms of ideology. One such form was introduced for investigation, namely hegemony.

Hegemony is defined as the **(temporarily stable) overarching dominant ideology (in the sense of overlapping ideology 'fragments')**. EP institutional hegemony as one particular form of hegemony was selected for further investigation and defined as a **(temporarily stable) overarching dominant ideology in the EP (in the sense of overlapping ideology 'fragments'), representative of a (temporary) hegemonic alliance**.

Axiology is defined, in turn, as an **individual (temporarily stable) system of subjective ethics and evaluation**. Interpreter axiology as one particular form of axiology was selected for further analysis and defined as a **system of subjective ethics and evaluation of the individual interpreter**.

After ideology, hegemony and axiology had been discussed and defined, it was then necessary to establish in what way these phenomena are manifest in discourse and text. It is argued that such phenomena are manifest in language, alongside other means of communication (such as art, music, gestures, dance). To this end a discourse model was developed which illustrated the different layers of discourse in which different, often competing, ideologies are manifest.

Based on the Foucauldian model of orders of discourse, the discourse model presented in this study has three conceptual layers which are all simultaneously present in text. The top layer, layer one, consists of orders of discourse or epistemes such as rationality. A new category, the layer of suborders of discourse, is located on layer two and constitutes discourses of groups which come together to form a discourse on a particular issue. The third layer of the model, orders of texts, refers to definite forms of text such as the manifesto.

The manifestations of EP institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology in the form of EP institutional discourse and interpreter axiological discourse were located on layer two of the discourse model. In turn, these are both manifest in orders of text and hence individual texts themselves.

The advantage of this approach was that it made the reified model of ideology that dominates linguistic-based studies more dynamic by introducing the concepts of (in)stability and hybridity, while providing a practical model for discourse and text-analysis.

As a result of the discussion of dialogised heteroglossia, it became possible to focus on text. In this way, the problem of the rigid understanding of ideology being 'enforced' on the reader / listener via text, that had faced many linguistic-based studies of ideology, could be avoided. On the other hand, focussing on the definite texts made it possible to make operational the understanding of ideology that had predominantly been limited to an abstract concept.

This focus on the text led to a discussion of textuality in general and SI and textuality in particular. Investigation of ST and TT in the SI situation illustrated the hybridity of ST



mode and the relevant weighting of the three domains of textuality – texture, structure and context – in SI-mediated institutional communication in the EP. Given the importance of texture in SI-mediated communication, cohesive devices were isolated as a fruitful avenue for research into ideologies.

Intertextuality as textual forms of dialogised heteroglossia were explored in the following section, concentrating on manifest intertextuality and latent intertextuality.

The concepts of cohesion and coherence were discussed and defined in section 2.6. Building on the discourse model, the traditional concept of cohesion from Halliday & Hasan (1976) was extended by the concept of coherence from Beaugrande & Dressler. Two categories of cohesion: lexical repetition and metaphor strings were selected for data analysis.

Once this framework had been established, it was necessary to situate the current study in the field of Translation and Interpreting Studies. Such descriptive research into the interplay between ideology and interpreting in an institutional setting is rare in this field. However there is a growing awareness of the importance of mediated communication in the investigation and analysis of issues such as agency and power.

Before such analysis could be carried out and the results discussed in chapter four, it was first necessary to define the methodology for the collation, transcription and analysis of the corpus under investigation, referred to throughout the study as the EP corpus.

The corpus data was collated from a month of recordings of German STs and English TTs from plenary part-sessions of the EP, via its broadcasting arm Europe by Satellite (EbS). Three debates on the Middle East (ME), Eastern Enlargement (EE) and Combating Terrorism (CT) were selected from the recorded material for transcription and analysis. In order to establish whether the data collected was representative, it was compared with the most representative corpora in the field of IR. For this comparison, six criteria were selected: size of corpus, number of interpreters, professional vs. students vs. bilinguals, recording methodology and transcription methodology. The EP corpus was found to compare favourably with the most representative corpora in the field and as such was deemed to be itself representative. However, reservations were stated at this

stage about the lack of information obtained about the interpreters and their background (i.e. whether they were permanent staff interpreters or auxiliary conference interpreters) which may have been relevant in such a study. Although general policy of the EP on interpreter staffing was explored, perhaps a further study would foresee questionnaires to accompany the recordings in order to take factors such as status and availability of preparation documents into account. As it stands, these issues had to be disregarded in this study. In addition, investigation of speaker (MEP) axiology was not pursued in this study as it would have exceeded to scope of this thesis. This certainly would provide an interesting avenue for further research and could be pursued using ethnomethodological research tools (cf. Koskinen 2007).

Once the corpus had been delimited and defined for the purposes of the study, mediated communication in the corpus was examined and nine prevalent characteristics of EP communication, in terms of ideological salience, established. Once the three categories of institutional constraints, hybrid identity of MEPs and discoursal characteristics had been discussed, it was decided to focus on the discoursal characteristics of intertextuality, lexical repetition (repetition) and metaphor strings (repeated collocation). It would have far exceeded the confines of this thesis to discuss all nine characteristics in detail in terms of ideological force – further studies could focus on aspects such the ideological significance of ambiguous pronoun use, which could, unfortunately, only be touched on in this thesis.

The theoretical model established in chapter two then had to be made operational in a corpus-based study of institutional mediated communication. As mentioned above, three forms of discoursal embeddedness: intertextuality and the two cohesive devices of lexical repetition and metaphor strings formed the focus of the text-based discourse analysis.

Analysis in the category of intertextuality showed that the embeddedness of individual texts in various discoursal layers and hence worlds was generally weakened in the English TT. Thus a general reduction of dialogised heteroglossia and a strengthening of EU institutional hegemony was observed. Further research could concentrate on discoursal embeddedness of texts in other contexts to establish whether this is a feature of institutional discourse or whether it is inherent in the process of SI that intertextual reference is reduced.



In the lexical repetition category, there is evidence that certain lexical variants are foregrounded or backgrounded in the TT when compared to the German ST. In this particular study, this led to a shift of emphasis in the English TT towards certain bodies in the EU which could be viewed as a form of exclusion / inclusion in the Foucauldian sense. Some of this emphasis resulted from errors and / or slips of the tongue which provide an insight into interpreter axiology. More fine-grained qualitative analysis would be needed in this area to determine further trends.

In terms of metaphor strings, one of the most significant findings in the analysis was that interpreters initiate metaphor strings in the English TT that have not yet been used in the German ST. They also use different facets of the conceptual metaphor, displaying the fact that certain metaphors are firmly embedded in the EU context. This shows that interpreters use conceptual metaphor as a structuring device in SI. A possible future avenue of research would be to investigate a chronological English TT of a multilingual debate (i.e. with multiple languages as STs) to see whether this 'take up' of the metaphor string is prevalent in all language combinations. Thus, research could focus on the English TT as a single text, irrespective of the language of the ST to see whether this structuring function of metaphor strings extends beyond the combination German-to-English.

The results of the data analysis in all three categories point towards a strengthening of EU institutional hegemony in the English TT when compared to the German ST. This would seem to suggest that the very activity of SI strengthens EU institutional hegemony in this particular institution. In addition, evidence of the interplay between EU institutional hegemony and interpreter axiology was isolated and explored. In this way, there is evidence both of emerging interpreter axiology and the conscious suppression of that axiology in a marked move on the part of the interpreter towards institutional hegemony. Thus interpreter axiology is also institutionally constrained. These insights into the role of the interpreter are hopefully a step along the path towards recognizing the interpreter as a subjective human being, involved directly in the constant "struggle over the sign" (Gardiner 1992:7).

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