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Crisp, Edward Maxwell

How to cite

CRISP, Edward Maxwell. The Translation of Verbatim Records of Multilingual Meetings. Master, 2011.

This publication URL: <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:17291>

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**UNIVERSITÉ
DE GENÈVE**

**ÉCOLE DE TRADUCTION
ET D'INTERPRÉTATION**

The Translation of Verbatim Records of Multilingual Meetings

Mémoire réalisé en vue de l'obtention de la

Maîtrise (Ma) universitaire en traduction

par

CRISP, Edward Maxwell

Directeur du mémoire

MACKENZIE, Ian

Juré

DEARDEN, Jonathon

Niveau de diffusion dans l'archive

Public

Résumé

This mémoire discusses on the use of translation and interpreting to reproduce and archive multilingual meetings. The discussion centres on the democratic principle of parliamentary transparency and the ability of translation and/or interpreting to fulfill it in the case of verbatim recordings and audiovisual broadcasts/recordings. The approach takes in the history of verbatim recording, the principal theories of translation studies and interpreting studies and the variables introduced by technology and changing attitudes.

KEYWORDS: verbatim reports, parliamentary debates, rules of procedure, democratic transparency, linguistic disenfranchisement, translation, interpretation, multilingual organisations

Genève, 31 Août 2011, Signature :

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Acronyms used in the text:

SI – simultaneous interpreting

VR – verbatim reporting/recording

AV – audio-visual

ST – source text

TT – target text

IS – interpreting studies

VRS – voice recognition software

Part 1 Introduction

This mémoire sets out to discuss current and future practices in the multilingual presentation of verbatim records. While the future promises yet more new technology, we have already made the transition to a multimedia environment, one that has started to change the way we view and archive political debates. Throughout history, many technology-related changes have proven to be beneficial, such as the printing press and broadcasting technology. Furthermore, since Johannes Gutenberg, the written word has yet to lose its appeal as the preferred method for archiving and research. Yet in some multilingual organisations, discussions have begun on whether we still need to keep full verbatim texts of political debates in the light of progress in archiving and access technology.

Much of this debate centres on the cost of translating verbatim transcriptions into an organisation's official languages, as is often required by their founding documents. Other solutions have been tried and tested, such as using transcripts of interpretation services provided during parliamentary assemblies, although little has come of this due to fears of insufficient accuracy.

It is no secret that there are issues relating to the quality of interpretation, nevertheless some organisations still see reason to broadcast and create public archives of their political processes using new technology. Some have even relied on interpretation output for drafting large parts of their records, although it is clear a variety of motivations are at work here. By using SI to draft records of parliamentary debates, we introduce a number of risks. This is substantiated by the careful placement of disclaimers. It appears, however, that an important driving factor is the use of new technology in national democracies. This use of audio-visual records may create a deficit in international and/or multilingual parliaments. It is the aim of

this mémoire to examine the nature of this deficit in light of translation and interpreting theories.

The main issue is the use of interpretation as a ‘reliable’ source for following and archiving debates. Simultaneous interpreting has always been seen as a real-time communication tool, which revolutionised communication across linguistic barriers in the same way the telephone first bridged geographical distances. It was never conceived, and many still refuse to see it, as being capable of constituting a ‘complete’ representation.

To tackle this problem, the current practice is to transcribe interventions in their original language and translate them into others, before compiling a single document. This method was favoured even long before the invention of simultaneous conference interpreting, and transcription still prevails in monolingual environments. The downside to this process is the ‘loss’ which occurs at the numerous stages. This loss comprises many different variables including the turnaround time for translation, orality and extra-linguistic information.

The future may bring with it new technology to overcome these obstacles, particularly voice recognition and machine translation. Nevertheless, before such technology is perfected, we must ensure that our democracies continue to operate in full and equal transparency. Translation and interpretation researchers must be involved in decisions made regarding the introduction and removal of language services to and from parliamentary assemblies. Failing this, those decisions may be made solely on economic and practical grounds. At worst, these decisions may be made on the as yet unfounded idea that interpreting *is* accurate enough.

To introduce this topic, I will review the historical and contemporary use of parliamentary verbatim records in the world’s democracies and international organisations. This review will focus on multilingual institutions and the practices regarding verbatim-record translation. This will highlight the importance of transparency in democratic societies, as well as the continuous pressure to reduce it for financial reasons.

I will then review the predominant theories in Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies. This will be done with a view to assessing the suitability of the two practices in the production of verbatim records. Looking specifically at each case, a discussion will draw on the salient points.

The discussion will look at the advantages and disadvantages of both translation and interpretation. Despite its monopoly in this specific area, there is a possibility that translation is less suitable than its oral counterpart, for reasons that will be discussed. Likewise there are also complicating factors, such as the editing process common to verbatim reporting across all language environments. The written word used to be the only reliable means for reproduction and storage of information, and so we will discuss the relevance of new technology and the possibility that the written word will lose its dominant position as the archive of choice for the spoken word.

Part 2 Democracy, Multilingualism and Transparency

1.1 Parliamentary records and the history of democracy

Parliamentary records have been kept for almost as long as there have been parliaments. The UK Parliament for example, began keeping official records in the 15th century. Naturally, legislation must be recorded if those subject to it are expected to be bound by it, but the idea that there was also an advantage to recording the debates took longer to surface. There have even been periods during which parliaments, in the UK and elsewhere, were held behind closed doors and during which Members of Parliament strove to keep this activity secret (Coleman, 1999).

Coniez (2008) gives an extensive review of parliamentary records and the history behind them, starting in ancient times, long before the birth of what he calls the principle of publishing debates. Of course, it is literally thanks to the recording of information on debates that we have any detail of these assemblies. According to Coniez, in ancient Babylon and Egypt, the records published were undoubtedly just the results of the debate, rather than a description thereof. Added to this, these results would not have been accessible to all governed nor on any regular basis, and as we will see later, one of the keys to verbatim records is continuity.

In Ancient Greece, politics began to take the form that we recognize today. One notable change and key element to the process was the vastly increased public access to the debates. Acts of the Athenian institutions were posted across the city, and there was even a ban on all ‘non-written’ law. These acts and decrees were recorded on abundant stone materials; if any minutes were taken on papyrus, they are unlikely to have survived to bear witness. For those

who are interested in the material of the debate, however, there are many volumes by such figures of the time as Herodotus and Thucydides.

Whilst democracy had fallen by the time of the Roman Empire, there was an increase in the recording of debates in the Roman Senate, despite their having returned to *huis clos*. The records of Senate debates were drawn up after the meeting from memory, outlining the train of thought that led to the decisions made during they day's sitting/s. In some cases these were copied and made available through local courts. Senators were naturally allowed to take their own notes and occasionally published their speeches.

The functioning of the Roman system eventually ground to a halt, and amongst the measures taken to revive it was an attempt at an official record. It was designed to be read at the beginning of the following sitting and otherwise never saw the light of day. According to Coniez's account, Cicero was one of the first to take full advantage of the possibility to employ teams of scribes, and of these people it was Marcus Tullius Tiro to whom we owe the creation of stenography (and to a greater or lesser extent knowledge of Cicero). Tiro systematically created and used a shorthand system, Tironian notes (*notae Tironianae*). It started out as some four or five thousand symbols and went on to become more through its use in monasteries during the Medieval period. Interestingly, Cicero spoke often in Greek, as did most educated people of the time, and so it appears that at least some of Cicero's speeches are, in fact, translations into Latin from a shorthand system, based on Latin. Shorthand actually predates Tiro with Xenophon's use of it for Socrates' memoirs, but it was Tironian notes that would enter widely into use, including by Titus and Caesar, and later the Carolingians. We also owe many of today's abbreviations to this system, including "e.g.," "i.e.," "idem," "a.m./p.m.," "n.b.," and "&".

Caesar brought teams of scribes, who were under the specific supervision of a Senator, into the Roman senate to record the notes *inter loquendum*. The documents produced, crucially, followed the ideas leading to votes and were stored in the *Aerarium Saturni*, where they could be consulted and copied.

As democracy returned following the Middle Ages, parliamentary debates returned behind closed doors. The British and French assemblies were the first to open up to the public. In the

18th and 19th centuries and following the French Revolution, democracies began to flourish, most notably in France, Britain and the United States of America.

1.2 Hansard

At this time and despite having existed for many years The British parliament was held behind closed doors. According to the Parliament's own account, the first mention of an official journal was an attempt in 1628 to suppress any such communications (UK Parliament, n.d.). This continued until a legal battle was won by John Wilkes, a journalist and radical Member of Parliament, in 1771. By the turn of the next century, William Cobbett started publishing 'Cobbett's Weekly Political Register.' This quickly changed name and eventually went bankrupt. The business was then taken over by Thomas Curson Hansard, the son of Luke Hansard, the Government's printer, in 1812. In Hansard's hands and with his name on the front page, the publishing enterprise went on to receive funding from the Chancellor of the United Kingdom to increase coverage. It is vital to note, however, that neither Cobbett nor Hansard, at least in his early days, recorded the events as they unfolded in the chambers. They actually pieced their reports together using techniques more fitting of journalists. By 1909, Parliament took over the report, employing shorthand writers to provide material for what briefly became the 'Official Report,' before returning to the name by which it was most often called, Hansard, in 1943. Today the Hansard - or Official Report - is defined as the:

...reports of the proceedings of the main Chamber of the House of Commons, of Westminster Hall and of Standing Committees [...It] is an edited verbatim report of proceedings, in which Members' words are reported in accordance with terms of reference drawn up by a Select Committee in 1907 and reproduced in "Erskine May", the authoritative source on parliamentary procedure. They state that Hansard is: "a full report, in the first person, of all speakers alike, a full report being defined as one 'which, though not strictly verbatim, is substantially the verbatim report, with repetitions and redundancies omitted and with obvious mistakes corrected, but which on the other hand leaves out nothing that adds to the meaning of the speech or illustrates the argument. (UK Parliament, n.d., n.p.)

During the period leading up to the 20th century, a number of controversies put Hansard into disrepute in the UK, but none of such magnitude to stop British Colonial governments from

taking on the same name for their own official records. France, Germany and the USA had all also created their own departments, “having dispensed in some cases with private contractors” (UK Parliament, n.d.).

The French, in true revolutionary style, established the principle of publishing debates in the 1791 Constitution: *Les délibérations du Corps législatif seront publiques, et les procès-verbaux de ses séances seront imprimés* (French Constitution, 1791, § 2, art. 1). Publicity was therefore becoming an index of democratic progress at the beginning of the 19th century, but that did not stop the Bourbon Restoration or Napoleon III from restricting this in France. In practical terms, the history of the French ‘*Journal officiel*’ also records a number of false starts; nevertheless, it was always the role of the government to produce it. Since the implementation of stenography in the 1840s, France recorded its debates this way until the turn of the 21st century, when digital recordings took over.

The USA also enshrined the principle into its Constitution: “Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings” (US Constitution, 1787, art. 1, § 5). This report does not have to be verbatim, although some have voiced a need for such a report (Springer, 1986). It should be noted here that in fact the majority of parliamentary records are not truly verbatim. Most are only required to be substantially verbatim. This often means that repetitions, redundancies and false starts, etc. are removed. Nevertheless, they are considered to be accurate results, often requiring parliamentary members to write corrections after having made false statements in session.

Before moving on to discuss the practice of multilingual assemblies, it is important to note that whilst paper records have a steady history, information technology is causing as much, if not more, change in parliamentary transparency than the invention of the printing press. Also worth bearing in mind is that there was a certain amount of resistance to the introduction of radio microphones and, later, television cameras into chambers (Coleman, 1999), much in the same way there was resistance to publicity following the invention of the printing press.

1.3 Multilingual parliaments

As we have seen, the publication of laws and decisions affecting the general public is of little discussion, if lawmakers wish them to be respected. This is equally true when legislative bodies govern areas divided into different linguistic regions. We can explore these governmental systems to further our understanding, as they predate the creation of official records.

Historians in the field of translation studies often cite the first example of such a multilingual text as being the Rosetta Stone, which represents a decree to be observed by users of three different languages. They, however, are probably more interested in its ability to unlock hieroglyphs than to explain the process of documenting proceedings. Of interest to us here is how the information was recorded, in which language the laws were enacted and the translation process, particularly in light of the discrepancies between the three versions. One initial point of interest is that the text ends with instructions as to its diffusion: “the decree should be written on a stela of hard stone, in sacred writing, document writing, and Greek writing” (translation by Simpson, 1996). Greek was the official language of the courts and government of Egypt at the time, but ‘Egyptian’ was used in temples, as denoted by ‘sacred writing,’ and elsewhere. Unfortunately, as originally with the decipherment, there does not seem to be a clear answer to this process.

History is filled with newer and fresher examples of how the law is communicated to different linguistic populations living side-by-side. One need think no further than road signs and border markings. Whilst this is an interesting story in itself, particularly if we were to focus on semiotics, it does not concern us directly here. Forgoing a long historical discussion, we can return to national parliaments and those official languages used to publicise political debates.

As we saw previously, the modern official records of parliamentary debates in predominantly monolingual states began to emerge around the turn of the 19th century. This was equally true in those areas which shared languages, such as Belgium, Canada and Switzerland. There are of course dozens of multilingual nations, but we will focus on these countries given their exemplary progress in parliamentary procedure. In these parliaments, members are free to choose the language with which they address the house, so long as it is an official language.

It should be noted that in both Canada and Belgium, this issue has formed the basis for lengthy constitutional debates in recent years. Official documents are published in all languages and simultaneous interpretation is provided for the assembly.

We will now look in detail at two cases studies. Canada is a bilingual country whose citizens speak French and/or English. These languages are the nation's official languages and are therefore represented in parliament. Switzerland is exceptional in that it has four national languages (on a par with Singapore), yet only three are represented within the nation's parliamentary chambers.

Comment (2007) provides an overview of how the Swiss official record developed over the period starting in 1848. In his introduction he talks of the early difficulties in the establishment of public records. The main sticking points were the potential bias that could be introduced if records were to be created by the private sector and the low levels of fluency in all national languages and therefore the need for extensive translation. Whilst the motivation seemed to be present, there was no financing, neither for stenography nor translation. A summary bulletin eventually emerged in the form of regular publication. Stenographic records did begin to appear very sporadically between 1856 and 1859, around the same time the Swiss parliament moved into the Federal Council Palace. Whilst a proposal made in 1860 was rejected it was clear that there was a need for a translated document, particularly given the country's federal structure. Cantonal authorities had a clear need to access the matter of federal-level debates. The overwhelming arguments against this at the time were cost and the presence and role of the press in diffusing information across language barriers. After several failed attempts, negotiations for the Saint-Gothard railway and the constitutional review were recorded by stenographers on yet another trial basis. With the help of a petition, these were eventually published. This seemed to set the ball rolling, and although still in private hands, the summary records became more complete and even translated. By the end of the 19th century, the development of a referendum system in Switzerland called for extensive coverage of parliamentary debates to be made available to all citizens. So by the end of 1890, a full verbatim report was being annexed to the official bulletin, which continued to provide summary reports. By the time of the Second World War, the parliament's two chambers employed a large team of stenographers representing the three main languages, but the difficulty in finding capable recruits led to their eventual

replacement by tape recorders, starting with Italian department. During this time, and as technology moved towards data-processing solutions, simultaneous interpreting was implemented in the Federal Parliament, but not for Romansh. All of this technology, whilst allowing instantaneous or near instantaneous access to the debates, has not led to the translation of the official Bulletin. The result today is that the record of proceedings produce what is known as a rainbow document, i.e. each speech in the language in which it was given, ordered chronologically, with communications from the speaker and points of order being translated into 'one' official language in the *Conseil National* (Rules of Procedure of the National Council, 2003, RS 171.13, art. 37.1). No mention is made of translation in the rules for the *Conseil d'Etat*.

Switzerland, however, is a decentralised country, and whilst it is a multicultural state, it is composed of principally monolingual federal cantons, otherwise called a juxtaposed monolingualism. Laws are adapted to local legal systems, and citizens turn to local authorities in the majority of instances. Canada, therefore, provides a somewhat different example, because not only does it have a significantly centralised administration, but also it a much larger country. The Canadian authorities, therefore, have a greater task in applying bilingual regimes homogenously.

Canada's Constitution has similar provisions for language and records in Article 133:

Either the English or the French Language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses. (Canadian Constitution, 1867, art. 133).

As in many countries, Canada also struggled to establish publicly funded records, with politicians contesting the costs and need. In the 1860's full reports replaced sporadic and selective ones and Hansard was finally adopted in 1880 (1872 in Alberta), going on to set the standard internationally. In more recent times, the translation and alignment of transcripts has provided an ever-expanding corpus for research into machine translation. As with many assemblies, draft copies are printed allowing MPs to make corrections before an official copy is drafted. These preliminary drafts are known as 'blues,' suggesting they were once printed on blue paper, although today editing is done electronically.

1.4 New democracy, new technology

By the time magnetic tape recording was being introduced into national parliaments, international organisations were emerging. Of course, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the League of Nations date back to the interwar period, but it was the creation of the United Nations following the Allied victory that led to an explosion of new assemblies. The deliberative and decision making processes of new international organisations were modelled on the democratic principles contained in the constitutions of the founding Member States, in so far as their plenary assemblies drew extensively from rules of procedure of national parliaments.

If we take the policies of the European Union by way of example, we can see similarities with those we have already discussed in reference to Switzerland, namely legislation produced must first be brought into line with local laws. Nevertheless, as it was created long after the Swiss Confederation, the principle of transparency has been a much higher priority than it was at the time when Berne was still building its Palace. These pressures meant that institutions have had to promote their transparency, increasingly so in the case of the European Union, as it has become an increasingly political and democratic organisation. Other international and supranational organisations have much less legislative influence. Nevertheless, many, such as the ILO, see their recommendations and conventions adopted into national legislation around the world. For this reason it is difficult for them to work in secrecy and maintain credibility at the same time.

In short, the system generally resembles the juxtaposed Swiss cantons. Where international organisations do issue recommendations, directives etc., it is still the responsibility of national parliaments to debate the ratification of conventions and treaties, and to publish their deliberations. Be that as it may, such organisations embodied into their founding statutes the obligation to keep verbatim records. The ILO's Standing Orders lay out the official languages for the ILO Conference and the requirement that summaries are to be made into official languages for speeches given in other official languages by Secretariat interpreters. These new organisations chose to strike a note between the simpler rainbow document and the more time consuming parallel ones (with the exception of the 1925 Conference report, which contained both official languages - interpretation transcripts were offset in a smaller font and inserted directly after those of the original language of speeches). Using

interpretation output (at that time consecutive interpretation), monolingual ‘blue’ documents were produced quickly enough following a sitting for delegates to make any corrections before a Final Record of Proceedings was produced. This practice was used throughout the 20th century, although the Final Record was discontinued in 1977. Morning and afternoon records for each day of the conference each becoming the official record once corrections had been implemented. For the most part of the 20th century, the records featured a note describing the section of the document featuring the verbatim records. The last such example of this was in the record for the 53rd Session:

A verbatim report of the proceedings in plenary sitting, including stenographic reports of the original speeches in the case of speeches delivered in English, and translations based on the simultaneous telephonic interpretations into English given by the official interpreters to the Conference in the case of speeches delivered in other languages. (ILO, 1969)

Throughout the span of documents a number of different, inconsistent approaches have been used to indicate that the speech is reported as interpreted by staff interpreters. Another multilingual document appeared in 2007, in which speeches were reported either in official languages as delivered or in official languages as transposed from the non-official languages, but with no indication as to whether the translation was performed by interpreters or translators, just that the transcript language had been chosen by the country concerned for “official correspondence with the ILO.” As the ILO is bound to produce all official documents in all official languages, parallel texts are eventually published. The ILO, along with the UN, the EU Parliament and the Human Rights Council, now broadcasts video (live or recorded) over the internet. In most cases, where interpretation is provided alongside the original language, a disclaimer is presented. The ILO is no exception:

The original language recording of speeches is the authoritative text. Any simultaneous interpretations thereof, while delivered with best efforts at full accuracy, may contain inadvertent errors attributable to the conditions under which the recording was made. (ILO, 2010)

The United Nations General Assembly began life using Rules of Procedure which defined official and working languages separately. Working languages were restricted to French and English until further official languages were added. The Rules regarding verbatim reports ambiguously stated that such records would be ‘drawn up’ in all official languages. As more

official languages were added, each was given double status, official and working; until the 12th revision of the Rules following a resolution passed in 1973. The revision stated that all official languages would be working languages for the Assembly. The Rule concerning verbatim records was also changed to state records would be drawn up in the languages of the Assembly, i.e. dropping ‘working.’

Since the birth of the UN, many other organisations have been established, including the EU. To finish this introductory chapter, we will now take a brief overview of some of the more predominant bodies.

The European Union’s European Parliament publishes verbatim records in all its 23 official languages as an annex to the Official Journal of the European Union. This was unsuccessfully challenged in 2007, as we will discuss later, although this challenge did lead to on-demand broadcasting of debates in all official languages using audio recordings from interpretation booths.

The Council of Europe’s parliamentary assembly still distinguishes official and working languages. Rule 30.1 of its Rules of Procedure state:

An official report of the debates of each part-session shall be issued. A provisional report of each sitting shall be distributed as soon as possible. The verbatim records of speeches delivered in any of the working languages shall also be distributed.

A footnote to this explains that it is only the current practice for German and Italian and not the other working language, Russian. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) uses the same combination of languages. Its Rules of Procedure for the Decision-Making Bodies provides for ‘Working languages and official records’ but no verbatim records. Section II (B) continues to say:

Proceedings of the meetings of decision-making bodies shall be recorded in the journals of meetings, which shall constitute the only official OSCE records. These shall be issued both on paper and in electronic format in all the working languages, and shall be made public. (OSCE, 2006).

The Human Rights Council (HRC) was created via a UN General Assembly resolution and abides by the same Rules of Procedure. Other organisations that came into existence through different means have their own procedures, such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The Rules of Procedure for the WTO’s Ministerial Conference simply state: “Summary

records of the meetings of the Ministerial Conference shall be kept by the Secretariat” (WTO, 1994, Chp IX, Rule 31). As official documents, they are translated into the WTO’s three languages, English, Spanish and French. Likewise, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), also created as a UN Agency, has a very different approach (indeed, it is not a parliamentary body). The ICJ establishes in its statute that minutes are to be kept but under its Rules of Procedure there is no obligation for them to be translated.

With the law, as we have said many times already, it is in the legislators’ interests that those subject to it understand it. We have also seen, however, that legislators are not always so enthusiastic about discussing the process by which laws are created, and we will also see later how the principle of publishing records is subject to amendments by the speaker in practically all instances. The extent to which a population is cut off from the decision making process is an index of disenfranchisement. With linguistic groups, particularly minorities, this disenfranchisement can continue to be observed even in states which openly publish their parliamentary proceedings.

The phenomenon of linguistic disenfranchisement underlies the need for this *mémoire*. Disenfranchisement occurs when it is decided to deny minority languages official status. Linguistic disenfranchisement therefore describes the consequence of a multilingual society choosing a *select* number of its languages for the communication of laws and the decision making process (Ginsburgh, Ortuño-Ortín and Weber, 2005). Those citizens whose language goes unrepresented are less likely to recognise the legislator’s legitimacy (*idem.*). This is the case for Switzerland, where the third and fourth languages, Italian and Romansh, are less well represented than German and French. It must be noted that between the two lesser spoken languages, there is a huge difference in the number of users and in the degree of parliamentary integration, with Italian enjoying much wider use and Romansch being reduced to an official language only in communication with speakers of that language. Nevertheless, German and French account for the lion’s share, and German is used far more than French in the creation of legislation, the latter being used more extensively as a target language for translators than as a language of political debate and negotiation.

A *caveat*: this is not an attempt to equate the imperfections of translation and interpreting with linguistic disenfranchisement. These imperfections are an indirect form of

disenfranchisement resulting from a lack of transparency caused by the challenges of multilingual legislation. In other words, translation and interpreting practices can lead to loss and errors inherent to the process of multilingual publishing and legislation. The result is a deficit of democratic transparency in comparison with monolingual systems. This deficit is not the same as that imposed on linguistic groups who are unable to understand another language. After all, the purpose of translation and interpreting is to cover that deficit.

1.5 The transcription process: practice, practice, practice

As we have seen in the overview of parliamentary transcription above, there are a number of different factors to be considered. First there are systems in which there is a statutory requirement for transcription and publication of records of proceedings. This can be performed by an internal or external service provider. Such a service provider can be described in terms of its size and inner composition/organisation. This includes the various methods by which transcription is taken, stenographically, recording/typing, electronically. We can also categorise different situations in terms of the time scales within which these services must be provided. A final main category may be the cost of such services.

Naturally, within the scope of this paper, we should also look at the situation concerning different languages. The first distinction to be made in situations where more than one language is used in debate is the language in which records are transcribed. This could be consistently in the original language of the speaker, consistently in a working/official language(s), or consistently in one language. Secondly, we can distinguish situations in relation to the type of documents published. On the one hand we have monolingual documents, translated or not, and on the other, multilingual, or rainbow, documents.

The process of transcription merits discussion. As we saw earlier, transcription in parliamentary contexts refers to a substantial record of the arguments and ideas expressed by members of an assembly with a view to making decisions. It is overtly a linguistic exercise and so falls very much into that category. However, unlike the linguistic study of language, parliamentary transcription does not involve minute recording of every sound and expression. It is a streamlined and reduced version of what was said and, in this sense, exhibits a number of symbolic expressions which really cover a multitude of different situations. It also ignores

all but the most salient extralinguistic features of the debate. In other words, transcription professionals are just that, professionals who are not employed to conduct discourse analysis but to make a comprehensible and analytical record of the discussions held in a parliamentary sitting, yet as we will see later, they favour a discourse-oriented approach to their work over one centred on the utterance. Indeed, the content of record is very much in the hands of the transcriber.

Spoken language does not usually take the same form as written language (even when the speaker is reading a speech) and so the transcribers must make decisions on how to represent speech. As Diriker (2004) points out, this is a transformative process. These two issues have been discussed in the literature (Green, Franquiz and Dixon, 1997; Bucholtz, 2000), distinguishing interpretive decisions and representational decisions. Whilst we are not concerned here with the debate on the rights and wrongs of transcription, we must undertake a review of the variations if we are to approach the translation thereof. It becomes even more critical when the transcriptions are being made by non-native speakers and/or via interpretation booths.

In all of the cases considered so far, the transcriptions produced fall in to the category known as naturalised transcriptions (as opposed to denaturalised). These are records which are edited so as to conform to the conventions of written discourse. It is important for us to bear in mind that this is a form of translation and one which depends on the method used for transcription, i.e., shorthand, electronic shorthand/stenography, audio-typing transcription, over-speaking.

On a theoretical scale, these two extremes (interpretation and representation) represent hypercontextuality and virtual-reality, as discussed by Duranti (2006). As Duranti explains, a transcription is a representation of an event, not the event itself, much in the same way that a translation is. Of course, language interpretation also forms part of this group. Whilst Duranti, and the work of many others focus on transcription as a process of linguistic discovery, there is an important point to be taken from the comparison with Plato's story about prisoners interpreting shadows of life going on outside the cave in which they are trapped. Once a prisoner is released, he or she will find it difficult to understand similar events through direct observation and be even harder pressed to explain to those still chained

that what is really happening is not what they are seeing in the form of shadows. Unfortunately, the majority of the work done in this area since the publication of Ochs (1979) is highly introspective, gravitating around the linguistic theory and transcription for the purposes of linguistics (e.g. Vigouroux, 2007) and the politics of transcription (Roberts, 1997).

None of this is to say that real world (professional) use of transcription has been ignored. The work of Mary Bucholtz stands out (Bucholtz, 2000; Park and Bucholtz, 2009). Park and Bucholtz discuss the transcript as a political tool, using the following definition based on the work of James Scott:

a public transcript is the official version of events, a particular representation of discourse that is sanctioned and legitimized as authoritative by institutions of power, upheld and projected as the model of interaction that should be followed as ordinary citizens engage in their everyday discursive lives [...] one that confers authority upon institutions through the entextualization of the speech of “private” citizens (and, often crucially, noncitizens) and one that purports to speak to or on behalf of a consenting public (Bucholtz and Park, 2009, p488-9).

However, the topic of discussion here, and that of the articles collected in this special issue, focuses more on non-political speech reported in political, media and academic documents. Jacquemet (2009) may be of some interest, however, as it examines the transcriptions of asylum seekers’ interviews, often done through interpreters.

As we move away from linguistics we find work on official record systems, such as Slembrouck (1992). Nevertheless, there is still a visible gap between the ideas of those contributing to the literature and practitioners. Much in the same way that interpreters and interpreting researchers for long periods went their own ways (Gile, 1994; Pöchhacker, 1995) or remain in deadlock (Setton, 2006), it seems too that Hansard transcribers and linguists need to come together to create what Gile calls ‘practisearchers,’ although as we will see there is evidence of some work by academics. Yet the writing of practitioners leaves a lot to be desired (for example, Garrison, 2007). The Hansard Association of Canada produces its own Style Guide. The British-Irish Parliamentary Reporting Association endeavours to hold conferences annually, while the Commonwealth Hansard Editors’ Association holds a triennial conference. The Commonwealth Hansard Reporters’ Forum has compiled an interesting document that describes the reporting procedures of Hansard editors around the

world (or at least the Commonwealth) (2004). This document reports the different practices in a number of assemblies in the Commonwealth, showing that there is still a mixture of stenography, shorthand and transcription practices in use. Interestingly it states that Hansard reporters in the Canadian Senate ‘report bilingually,’ and do so using stenography. A member of the reporting department at the German parliament confirmed that despite the technical equipment installed there, reporters often still use written shorthand. Anecdotal evidence has it that the Canadian Parliament did examine the idea of transcribing interpretation booth output only to find the process (including editing) was more time consuming than translation (Harris, 1990). Diriker (2004) gives a very good discussion of transcription of interpretations, including criteria and problems arising from their selection.

This is an interesting point, should it prove to have any substance, as the transcription process is required to have a quick turnaround. In most cases, speakers are entitled to correct provisional versions of the transcript. In some departments this means copies are circulated to members the same day for morning and afternoon sittings and the next morning for late sittings. However the changes made at the European Parliament clearly show that Members are not required to be so expeditious. Hansard departments, like many in the civil service, do have to measure their performance. The Parliament of Victoria, for example, measures quality and timeliness in its Chambers. In other words, quality is measured by comparing the number of speeches produced against the number of complaints from Members (Parliament of Victoria, 2003). Timeliness is a percentage measure of the number of reports produced to the guidelines. By way of indication, the UK Hansard is published on-line by 12.30pm the day following the sitting to which it refers (Coleman, 1999).

Away from the parliaments themselves, practitioners can also take part in competitions. Intersteno, the International Federation for Information Processing, holds contests at its conferences, including a multilingual shorthand competition, whereby competitors take shorthand from at least two foreign languages (or their mother tongue plus one other). Article 8 of the Rules for shorthand competitions lays out the criteria for evaluating the submitted transcripts.

1.5.1 Stenography

Stenography and shorthand are often used interchangeably. As we discussed earlier, shorthand has been in development ever since note takers were permitted in parliamentary settings. It has also obviously developed simultaneously in other environments, as Gardey (2008) explains in her book, such as religious settings, courts and academia, and during periods when there was little parliamentary transparency. Yet the term stenography invokes the use of a machine, as opposed to a hand written system, and it is machines that have played a huge role in the development of verbatim recording. Naturally the printing press allowed wide diffusion, but other machines, e.g. typewriters, have also played a key role.

The term stenography developed thanks to the increased popularity of short-hand systems which were finding new applications across Europe during the Industrial Revolution. A system developed in Britain by Samuel Taylor became popular at the turn of the 19th century, and was adapted to a number of other languages, including French by Théodore-Pierre Bertin. Some 50 years later, a method created by Isaac Pitman had become popular, marking a move towards phonetic systems of note taking. Of course, by this time, parliaments had opened their doors to those who mastered these techniques.

At the same time, which was marked by spelling reforms in the British Isles, stenography was also being promoted as a learning tool. Supporters, such as Emile Duployé, were convinced that longhand was an obstacle to learning, particularly amongst the masses (Gardey, 2008). The fact that systems were being openly promoted meant that their benefits were becoming known across a number of fields, particularly journalism. So when typewriters came into popular use towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was a lot of potential for these systems to become mechanised, or for the stenographers of the time to switch to using the newly standardised machines. Added to this, there was a general trend in which companies, governments and other bodies increasingly kept paper records, leading to a boom of schools such as Pitman's as employees flocked to learn the new skills needed in the workplace.

Whilst the Remington typewriter became *de rigueur*, a number of machines had already been developed, designed specifically on the basis of shorthand systems. Yet there was no concerted effort, just a handful of inventors working in their own languages. Typewriters

users, however, were obsessed with speed, and no other machine would be of interest to professionals unless it enabled them to take notes more rapidly. As both typewriters and early shorthand machines were based on a character-at-a-time system, the *status quo* would not change until a new idea surfaced.

The idea that would eventually break through was to create a machine in which the various letters of a word were typed simultaneously and which had multiple striking zones. In other words each letter had its own strike zone, and keys no longer blocked. Yet it was not until the keyboard was considerably reduced in size that machines became practicable. Such a machine was successfully patented by Ward Stone Ireland, an American inventor, eventually resulting in an industry that would employ reporters, trainers and repairers.

Since then stenography has always been most at home in courts, although that has not stopped it being extensively employed in parliaments around the world. This is mainly because of numbers: there are more courts than there are parliaments. More recently the invention of ‘closed-caption’ subtitles has opened up yet another market for stenographers, who write real time subtitles for television broadcasts, such as sport, interviews and soap operas.

Machines available to buy have evolved slowly over the years, most notably in response to advances in technology, but they remain more or less the same among the various uses. Those advances have mainly focussed on decreasing the time it takes to convert the shorthand printouts into transcript form. The relatively small market led companies researching conversion, such as IBM, to give up their attempts, leaving court reporters’ associations to take over the role.

The result today is a computer aided system, allowing stenographers to deploy their own personal dictionaries, read their notes as ‘translated’ into standard language on screens, make corrections, print, etc.

1.6 Publication costs

As the publication of records constitutes part of the democratic process, multilingual societies, in most cases, are obliged to produce them in as many languages as possible. To publish copies of speeches given in one language in other languages requires translation.

Even Canada's Senate stenographers, who transcribe into French or English, cannot transcribe what they hear in French into English, nor vice versa (so much for Cicero). To date, away from the international organisations, this role has been fulfilled by translators of the written word, who take the finalised transcripts and translate them into the required languages. For example, this is an excerpt from a presentation by the Head of the Translation Bureau at the Canadian Parliament, speaking at the Eighth CHEA Conference on the work of that Bureau:

The translations are delivered every night, five hours after the final version of the documents is received. For translators in this unit, a normal working day begins at 5:30 or 6 p.m. and ends at about 1:30 or 2 a.m. The revisers work a slightly later shift. They start work an hour or two later and finish one or two hours after the translation team. That is their normal day. During the last few weeks of the last parliamentary session, our days were quite full since the House sat until midnight every night, meaning that our people had to work into the wee hours of the morning for those two or three weeks (2005, p31).

It is clear that in Canada, neither time nor money is spared for the translation of these records. Yet in the smaller, less centralised Switzerland, the cost of fully translating transcripts has been seen as too great for a relatively small state (Comment, 2007). The European Parliament (EP) is also under pressure to keep the multilingualism related costs within budgetary limits and of course gives priority to legislative texts (European Parliament, 2008). This same document also lays down deadlines, 'lead times' and maximum lengths for documents to be translated. During the implementation of the EP's 2007 budget, questions were raised on the cost of translating the verbatim reports. At the beginning of 2006, the Bureau of the European Parliament agreed that verbatim reports should only be produced in the multilingual version, as new audiovisual recordings/broadcasts allow users to select the audio channel corresponding to the interpreting booth language they require. They allowed for extracts to be translated upon request. This would have meant changing the EP's Rules of Procedure and so it was handed to the Committee on Constitutional affairs. The *rapporteur* Corbett said that the savings to be made were justified and put forward a proposal for amending Rule 173 (Corbett, 2007). The Parliament refused to go along with the suggestion, however, instead amending Rule 173 to allow for translation and short-notice, on-demand translation and adding a Rule 173a, providing for the audiovisual multilingual recordings to be published on the internet. They also extended the time allowed for corrections from one

day to one week. These changes survived the revision to the RoP following the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty and are currently embodied in Rule 181: Verbatim reports and Rule 182: Audiovisual record of proceedings (European Parliament, 2011). Naturally, for those interested, the debate is available in translated records from the European Parliament sitting of 22 October 2007, agenda item 15. Corbett's report highlights two considerations: cost and cost-benefit, citing the absolute cost of translation (in the region of ten million euros per year) and the relatively small readership, respectively. Members of the EP present for the debate cited a number of arguments against, including the principle of transparency and simplicity of research. We shall explore these issues later.

1.7 New technology II

The ILO introduced live broadcasts and audiovisual archiving of its plenary sittings at the 2007 Conference, although there was no public discussion of removing the requirement for written provisional records. Nevertheless, there was pressure at this time to suspend these provisions, given the financial constraints of the time (ILO, 2008). Marzocchi (2007) indicates there was some discussion concerning this, although this information is only available to members of the professional association of conference interpreters (AIIC). As digital recording was introduced, the Governing Body of the ILO also aimed at "full or partial replacement of paper-based Conference verbatim reports." This also led to the introduction of a rainbow Provisional Record, called a "single trilingual document in English, Spanish and French" (ILO, 2007). The appendix to this document explains to delegates that their speeches will be published in the language used for a typewritten submission (which as we mentioned earlier must be in an official language chosen by that delegation for official correspondence). The notes also give guidelines for writing speeches with a view to the broadcast of:

the live address and its simultaneous interpretation into the other Conference languages which will be immediately accessible during the Conference and for two weeks thereafter. The audio recording of the address in the original language is the authoritative version of the speech. Any simultaneous interpretation thereof, while delivered with best efforts at full accuracy, may contain inadvertent errors attributable to the conditions under which the recording takes place. The failure to submit written texts 12 hours in advance, or the inclusion of excessive material in the delivery, may result in the omission of the web recording of the interpreted versions of the speech in question.

So it is clear from this change in stance that the ILO no longer supports the use of interpretation for its verbatim reports, to the extent that it will not even support a broadcast made by an interpreter who has not had time to read/prepare the speech before it is delivered. As the Provisional Record is usually published in three languages, we can see that they prefer to translate from official languages when their budget allows. The department responsible for keeping these records appears to be the Relations, Meetings and Documents Services, as it is responsible for “services to conferences and meetings, including translating, processing, printing and distributing documents” (ILO, 2006).

The UN, and therefore also the HRC, designates the types of record to be kept for each meeting in its Charter. Those considered to be important enough will benefit from verbatim records, i.e., the General Assembly, and the other principal bodies, as well as a number of selected Committees; others are recorded through a summary record (third person, condensed). No meetings have both. Where neither method is used, information about meetings is published through press releases. The UN is somewhat more forthcoming as to the operations of its Verbatim Reporting Service on a dedicated page on its website (United Nations, n.d.). This department falls under the remit of the Department for General Assembly and Conference Management. On the topic of records and translation it has the following to say:

A verbatim record serves as the edited transcript of the proceedings, and each language version contains the statements delivered in that language plus translations of speeches given in the other languages (United Nations, n.d.).

As we discussed earlier, the only apparent variations to this service were the additions of other languages and the change in status of official and working languages. Some other points worthy of note from this same source include the use of digital sound recordings in meetings. This allows transcription to be done from work-stations, rather than in the meeting room, and off-site work. Verbatim reporting is done “in accordance with prescribed models for parliamentary procedures, [employing] standardized formulas when dealing with procedural matters and the conduct of voting” (United Nations, n.d.); as Harris points out, “the UN works to Western norms” (1990, p.117)

The European Parliament does not clearly indicate which department is responsible for its verbatim records, upon enquiry; however, it was made clear that it falls under Plenary

Records Unit within the Directorate-General for the Presidency and the Directorate for the Plenary. Further enquiry revealed the following:

Concerning the verbatim report, the speeches are transcribed by assistants (transcribers, not stenographers) who all work in their native languages from their offices (they are not physically in the hemicycle) via the video and sound recordings in our internal verbatim report IT application. They do indeed have access to the entire sitting.

The final version is all translated into English first and then from there into the other 22 languages. To my knowledge the (external) translators working on the final version do only have access to the written version of the verbatim report and usually revert to us in case of doubt so we can double-check with the audio and video files.

Other information is given by Carlo Marzocchi, a freelance interpreter for the European Institutions. He gives a short description of the situation as seen from his position in the Italian interpreting booth (2007). According to him, the transcription unit comprises translators, yet the bulk of the translation work, at least until 2004, was contracted out to external translation agencies. He also confirms that translators were required to use the English text, 'relay' or original, as the ST, adding that translators did not always abide by this requirement. Unfortunately the impetus for this article was the 2007 debate on revising the EP's Rules of Procedure and so the author decided not to pursue the issue any further, instead taking his position on the use of AV records. It is interesting to note, however, that the author states that suggestions were made for replacing transcript translations with a transcript of simultaneous interpretations during this debate, including using voice recognition software.

1.8 Summary

In this part we have looked at the different systems in place in a number of the world's most prominent democratic societies and international organisations. The practice of keeping verbatim records is today an index of democratic transparency, although it is also seen as a net cost. Whilst budgetary constraints fluctuate, technology continues to advance, proving to be a driving factor in the way these parliaments render their debates public. Now we can move on to look at how these changes should be addressed from a theoretical and research based approach.

Part 2 Translate transcriptions or transcribe interpretations: what was said vs. what was heard

In Part 2, we have seen a variety of different approaches taken across this relatively small spectrum of multilingual assemblies. What we see in general is a struggle between the democratic principle and the cost of keeping extensive records. Over the last years, this has been confounded by changes in technology and skills available on the labour market (most notably stenography). Interestingly we have seen a pendulum motion, albeit asymmetrical, with regards the use of interpretation as a source for verbatim records (VRs). With the introduction of audiovisual (AV) technology and broadcast media, there has been a resurgence of using interpretation as a source for recording debates in parliamentary assemblies. This is also being driven by falling prices in related technology. Three of the most active institutions, the EU, the ILO and the UN, have taken to broadcasting their sittings, live and/or recorded, albeit with disclaimers as to the accuracy of interpretation, thereby ensuring the precedence of the original speech or translation thereof. There seems to have been little discussion of in-house versus off-site practices.

Beyond that debate, however, and given the rise of digital storage, the preference given to the written report has surely come into question. In both cases, the original is never lost. In fact, AV recordings are by definition better than transcripts. They can be checked and rechecked on demand as and when issues arise or as part of a quality-control undertaking.

We must also address other possible changes in the system. Some parliaments, such as the Japanese Diet, have already begun to implement voice recognition software (VRS) as part of

their efforts to record debates. Likewise, other assemblies have begun to implement related technology and practices, such as over-speaking combined with VRS, with limited success. It appears that this technology, whilst advancing, is still in its early years, as too is machine translation. Another example comes from the Canadian Parliament, which attempted to use VRS in a system which used over-speaking (a third person shadows the debate into a microphone under conditions that favour accurate recognition), but vocal repetitive strain problems were soon noticed, as over-speakers had to use a monotonous voice for extended periods (CHEA, 2005). So whilst cloud computing will offer voice recognition on centralised software in the future, for now the archive system remains based on recording a near-verbatim record of the speech in the chamber, in its original language and a translation thereof at some point after, conducted by professional translators.

In Part 3, we will take a less pragmatic approach to the topic. In so doing, the aim is to build a conceptual representation of the situation, making particular reference to theories of translation studies. To begin this we will look first at the actors involved and the different modes of communication used, i.e., the written word, the spoken word and AV reproduction thereof.

2.1 Users of parliamentary records

VRs serve not only as permanent historical records to be consulted in the case of questions or disputes but also as sources of information. As such they are used by historians, researchers, the press, the general public and, of course, by members of an assembly. In this section we will look at each of these stakeholders, analyzing their needs as regards records of multilingual documents. In this way, we can begin to explore in more detail the cost-benefit of the variety of different approaches taken by the organisations explored thus far.

Members of an assembly (MPs) have many reasons for referring to official records, as we discussed earlier, in the first instance to revise the transcripts of their own speeches. Those who report back to local, regional and national assemblies can use them to show that interests have been represented at the higher level. MPs are also prone to miss sittings or parts thereof and can therefore keep abreast of the debate via official records, although this use has been replaced over recent years with the introduction of television cameras and radio microphones into chambers. In the UK for example, there is a full broadcast system of debates around the

parliamentary campus, and anecdotally there are now 14 monitors in the Prime Ministers' office after Gordon Brown insisted on having two extra installed in the toilet and bathroom. In their relations with the press, politicians will no doubt want to ensure that they use the same words that appear in the official journal, indeed, this document is for the politician a *post-loquela* script upon which her or his lines are written.

Historians, academic researchers and lecturers will forever resort to such records to recreate, understand and analyse how decisions are made and the effects they have on the course of human history. They provide a link between sources that evidence public opinion, shifts in ideologies and so on, and the legislation which is enacted as a result. In a similar fashion they will be used by historians and biographers charting the lives of politicians and other figures of society.

The press will access such records as part of drafting their news stories. They use them to ensure the accuracy of their reports and to pick up on the details of certain issues as they emerge as important. In addition, as it is often the out-of-the-ordinary which makes the headlines, they will want to have insider's knowledge of unexpected or scandalous happenings.

As we saw at the beginning of this paper, it is the public's interest that underpins the need for such reports. Even if they are amongst the least likely group of readers, it is for them that the reports are produced. The mere keeping of these records sparks a mechanism inside the politician's thought process, reminding them that they can, at any moment in which they decide to address the assembly, be held accountable for their words.

2.2 Translators and interpreters

The practices of translation and interpreting have existed for thousands of years, but as academic disciplines they are still relatively young. In fact, the respective definitions of the two disciplines are still being debated. For most who are acquainted with the two activities, it is very clear what they are and how they differ, yet finding acceptable words is a different kettle of fish. This is usually as general definitions often conflict with the variety of general theories which attempt to explain the process. In essence they are people whose knowledge of multiple languages enables them to ensure communication between parties who would not otherwise be able to communicate. Translators work with writing, and interpreters with

speech. On the basis of this crude definition, we can move on, as we will explore different theories from the last forty years and how they have changed the way translators and interpreters are seen having moved from being instrumental cryptographers to being social actors.

2.3 *Oral speech and its characteristics*

Having looked summarily at the process of transcription, we got ahead of ourselves. Ross explores the nature of speeches given in the European Parliament (1998, usefully adapted to translation), outlining possible characteristics in light of the political context. Amongst other characteristics, she highlights the most salient as being persuasive, ritualised and embedded in an international context. She goes on to explore the possible variations. First, a speech can be thoroughly prepared, such as the presentation of a report, or more-or-less improvised, as in the case of a question and answer session. This alone is a mark of the possible extent to which a text may be ‘oralised.’ Indeed, Ross is supported in saying that presentation is less important than whether a speech was prepared orally or in writing. The highly ritualised nature of discourse is noticed in opening and closing remarks, just as it is in the use of globally accepted language (e.g., words which form cognates in several languages, international English, etc.). Formality is another salient element; oration has been developing continuously over the millennia to be both concise and to ‘buy time.’ Newmark (1991) and, for interpreting, Diriker (2004) take a detailed look at the oral political style and the relationship to translation. We will explore some of these features later, but as we shall see now, a translator working from an edited transcript is not dealing with political oration, but with parliamentary transcript. In other words, the transcript as it exists today is not designed to capture the flourishes of a politician, but the process of democracy and the ideas that emerge from within. This is a key concept when considering the suitability of simultaneous interpreting (SI) as an alternative to transcription.

One last element to be noted is that as the years have gone by, the trend in many assemblies has been to allocate increasingly smaller time slots for speakers (e.g., ILO). This has been applied almost across the board and the European Parliament even has sixty second slots. With this knowledge, MPs often attempt to cram in vast amounts of information using crafted speeches, delivered at speeds that defy even the most adept listener. Of course, they

know that regardless of whether they are understood by other MPs or even the interpreters, their words will be entered into the Official Journal via its verbatim record.

2.4 The Parliamentary transcript or Hansard style

In general, the transcript is presented in the form of a dramatic dialogue (Slembrouck, 1992), but as we have seen already, it is subject to context based variation. Nevertheless the salient features are 1) speaker identification followed by punctuation at the beginning of each uninterrupted segment of speech, 2) use of the first-person, and 3) speeches, or segments thereof, appear in chronological order.

Between the process of transcription and the finished transcript, the text undergoes an editing process. This is usually conducted by reporters and if not, by editors/translators who work in the same department. So the text undergoes a second transformation. Having already gone from speech to some form of short-hand and/or dictated-typed, it then undergoes a 'translation' to a formal, standard style. This editing process removes all traces of 'noise,' such as false starts, mutters, repetitions, redundancies etc. (for an in depth look at this see Slembrouck, 1992). In more complex institutions, this editing will also involve terminological harmonisation and in some cases thorough review by legal linguists. From this a paradox begins to grow between the need for transparency and the often opaque nature of institutional discourse, i.e., overcoming what Rollason describes as the problem of quality of communication (2003).

2.5 Multilingual transcription and linguistic disenfranchisement

Unlike bilingual meetings, where bilinguals can be employed, the most striking aspect to verbatim recording in a multilingual environment is that, if everything is to be done by native speakers in the chamber, there is an enormous logistical challenge. The UN has solved this in its summary recording with the introduction of translator-précis-writers, who cover at least half of the official languages and can rely on interpretation for the other three. The case of verbatim is different, and it makes perfect sense that the work be done out of the chamber, allowing each transcriber to work continuously through all of the segments relevant to them. The use of translators could be seen as a stop-gap solution to cover a number of languages, but this raises pedagogical issues, as whilst translators command their passive languages, they are not trained as listeners, but as readers. However, for this to be efficient, they would

also have to work on recorded material, so as to avoid having them sit idle during the long periods in which languages from their combination are not used. Yet as we will see later on, this distance between the ‘action’ and the recording of the action may have major theoretical implications for their ability to understand the debate and to record it in a way that is efficient for both them and the downstream reader. A noteworthy anecdote comes from a reporter working in the South African Parliament. This assembly has numerous issues arising from the multilingual environment, added to which an MP communicating in sign language. This reporter questioned whether the whispered words of an interpreter constituted an official report (CHEA, 2008).

Multilingualism is at the heart of many of the institutions described, and despite the debate over its place (e.g. EU); it seems it is here to stay. With the mass of accumulated languages, multilingualism has its cost, and as we have seen, this is often fuel for debate alone. A network of researchers have begun to examine the economics of this (Ginsburgh and Weber, 2003, 2005; Fidrmuc, Ginsburgh and Weber, 2006, 2009; Ginsburgh, Ortuño-Ortín and Weber 2005). Their work has aimed bridging the divide between those holding the purse strings and those who fear a communication breakdown of biblical proportions should multilingualism ever be scrapped, again focusing on the Babel-esque EU. It aims to find an acceptable number of official languages so as to avoid any section of the citizenship falling out of favour with the institution. This is what they call ‘linguistic disenfranchisement.’

As we are not challenging the number of languages, we can afford to overlook a detailed examination of their work. Their notion of linguistic disenfranchisement, on the other hand, is very useful. As we mentioned earlier, we are not looking at the kind of annexation that accompanies a ‘foreign’ language, but we must examine the chance of citizens being in some way disenfranchised were they to have only access to AV recordings and not written VRs, if we go with the generally accepted position that interpreting is not as accurate as translation. Whilst Ginsburgh and colleagues are able to expound on this mathematically, it is harder to do so from our point of view. They offer participants a selection of responses to their linguistic skills in languages other than their native language, and not so mathematically, describe the degree by which language A is easier to understand for users of language B than it is for those of language C. Here, as accuracy is perhaps the priority, we would have to measure the reliability of certain departments in representing debates in their records. So for

the time being, we must accept any form of disenfranchisement/lack of transparency as a qualitative notion when discussing the difference in accuracy between SI and current transcription-translation regimes. After all, it is unlikely that simultaneous interpretation is so inaccurate that it appears to a member of the public as if it were a foreign language. There is little doubt then that it does not have an impact comparable to those discussed by Ginsburgh *et al.* Nevertheless, there is a strong tie to the idea, especially when we consider the issues related to language combinations, such as inherent translation difficulties, scarcity of professionals and the use of relay languages.

Research has begun to examine accuracy in interpreting, thanks in part to the creation of interpreting corpora, such as EPIC, the European Parliament Interpreting Corpus. Corpora such as EPIC obviously require large amounts of work. Researchers must transcribe interpretations and original languages (for the purpose of such research, official record serves no purpose). In their paper presenting EPIC, Monti, Bendazzoli, Sandrelli and Russo make some interesting observations that pertain not only to the paucity in corpus research in SI, but also to conference organisers' and interpreters' reluctance to have their work recorded (2005). Indeed, AIIC interpreters are warned about recordings and particularly their use for written records in a memorandum (2004). Things then become complicated when using these corpora for comparative studies of translation and interpreting. There would be a multiplication of sources. In an extreme case, there would be as many as different texts, an original written speech, a transcript of the reading, the interpretation based transcript, a written translation, and perhaps even two relay transcripts. This is without including any revisions made by editors.

In practice, as the AIIC point out in a memorandum, an interpreted transcript would need thorough revision (2004). It is still to be established how different this would be from monolingual VR revision, but needless to say, it would be a grand coincidence if interpreters' natural styles were similar to that of a parliamentary report.

In any case, without hard facts and statistics it is difficult to influence decisions made within the institutions in question. Nevertheless, there seems to be room for using actual data for empirical studies.

2.6 Translation theory

After a brief overview of the prevailing theories in translation, we will look at how attempts have been made to adapt them to interpreting. Interpreting Studies has its own theories, but as translation has been the focus of study for a much longer period, it is natural that ideas about translation have either influenced Interpreting Studies or in some cases been borrowed wholesale. Added to this, Translation Studies has easy access to corpora, allowing more robust research methodologies. The aim here will be to identify the conceptual possibilities for successful translation and/or interpretation of parliamentary proceedings for the purpose of records. We will use the standard abbreviations for source and target texts: ST and TT.

For a long time, translation was studied as a field of linguistics. As it became a branch in itself during the second half of the 20th century, it moved away from what was principally a bottom-up approach, leaving behind the idea of a simple decoding-encoding process. This parallels the way discourse analysis was seen as a step away from sentence-based analysis. Today, there are a number of different schools of thought, most of which exist side-by-side.

2.6.1 Holmes' 'Map'

Holmes (1972) devised a schema in the hope of directing, or at least classifying the new field of translation studies. He challenged the unclear manner in which translation had traditionally been approached with a hierarchical outline, opposing applied and pure, theoretical and descriptive translation and so on. The schema in its 'map' form is given below as taken from Toury (1991).

Research and papers on verbatim record translation such as this one fall clearly into a text-type restricted category. Nevertheless, as it appears that little, if any, work has been done in this area, we will start our analysis using available general theories in the hope of gaining further insight as to its conceptual basis. Following a general review of the main theories, we can look at their application to this restrictive text-type mode of translation, using the criteria we have defined thus far.

2.6.2 Descriptive Translation Studies

Gideon Toury and Theo Hermans have been the main voices behind the idea of translation norms, although there are arguments both for and against these norms (Schäffner, 1998). The translation-norms theory relies on the idea that translators are bound by societal obligations. Toury is credited with having first written about norms at the end of the 1970s, the decade in which translation studies took form. His work stemmed from that of his colleague Itamar Evan-Zohar, known as the Polysystem Approach, which had stood out for having shifted the research focus from the relationship between the STs and TTs to the relationship between STs and incorporating the idea that translation existed as part of a larger system of human activity. This branch of translation studies has become known as Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and concerns not only translations but also the literature on translation.

Toury's (1978) norms are divided into three categories: initial norms, preliminary norms and operational norms. Initial norms describe how translators prioritise in relation to source and target cultures. In other words, is the translated text adequate in relation to the ST (source culture); is the translated text acceptable as a text (target culture). Preliminary norms describe the presence of translation policy. This focuses more specifically on what is usually done when it comes to translating. In other words, what is an acceptable practice, as opposed to what is an acceptable text. Operational norms describe decisions made in respect to the layout of the text (matricial norms) and translations of specific items therein (textual-linguistic). Hermans (1991) expanded on Toury's two sources of norms (source-target-comparison and extra-textual), identifying three sources for norms: the ST, customary translation practices, and related norms in the target culture.

The two key elements to emerge from DTS are that the translator plays a social role and that his or her work is the result of a decision-making process. Recent additions to this theory have been made by Andrew Chesterman (1993), who further categorised norms. Chesterman proposed professional and expectancy norms, in other words, the translator operates according to customary behaviour in two separate spheres (as well as across two language-culture spheres). Professional norms are those respected within the language industry and expectancy norms those associated with texts in general in the target-language culture. Naturally, these norms vary across time and space. Mona Baker (1993) also contributed to DTS by suggesting the existence of translation universals, i.e., linguistic features that appear

in translated texts. This theory extended the corpus-based activity in translation studies, again analysing translated texts without respect to any specific language pairs but in relation to non-translated texts in the target language. Baker (1996) introduced a list of norms for translation and it was this work that gave momentum to other academics working with corpora (Chesterman, 2010). Importantly it has opened the way to empirical studies on translation, i.e., testing hypotheses concerning the existence of universals. In 2004, Chesterman distinguished between S-universals and T-universals, concerning the source-target and translation-nontranslation relationships respectively (2004).

2.6.3 Skopos Theory

An alternative, yet compatible theory has been promoted by Holz-Mänttäri, Reiss, Vermeer and Nord. This line of work introduces the functionalist approach to translation, known as the *skopos* theory, as introduced by Vermeer in 1978. As with DTS, *skopos* also marked a break from traditional linguistic theories. Decisively, it was also a theory that was removed from the translation of literature as an art form, focusing instead on pragmatic applications, such as scientific papers, instruction manuals, tourist guides etc. Like DTS, *skopos* is also biased toward the target audience, as it suggests a translated text should fulfil a function in the target culture, according to that culture's criteria. In other words, the translated text must fulfil a purpose, hence the term from Greek, *skopos*, and this should be at the forefront of the translator's mind as she or he works. In reality, it is often the commissioner, or initiator, of the translation who sets this function.

Skopos theory has two extra rules: coherence and fidelity. These two terms are similar to those governing adequacy and acceptability respectively, the principle difference being that an order of priority is given: firstly to the *skopos*, followed by coherence and only then fidelity.

Reiss and Vermeer (1984) extended work in this domain, integrating Reiss' specific translation theory and text typing (1989). Their ideas were based around the ST being the supply of information (between parties) and the translators' work being to open up that supply to third parties, who would otherwise not have access. This is seen within the overall *skopos* framework, i.e., the initiator's requirements concerning the new audience's needs and expectations. This work elaborates on the concept of translation as a transfer of value

between cultures. ('Transfer' is the metaphor usually used under this heading, but even its critics fail to mention its unsuitability given there is no change of ownership nor movement of the artefact.) Text-typing was integrated to back up their function-based approach to translation. Every text can be said to be informative, expressive or operative. A fourth category is audio-visual, although this was intended to describe translation and dubbing, not the type of media files we have been discussing here. The translator, then, is guided by the function of a text, i.e., to convey information, express thought or emotion, or to pass on a call to action.

In this way, the ST is placed into context, no longer being the only element with which the translator works. Instead, he or she has to identify the text within its cultural origins. As the ST is just one component it is important, from Vermeer's point of view, that the commission contain a statement of the ST's *skopos*. *Skopos* can be criticised on the basis that allowing 'function' to take priority over 'fidelity' gives the translator too much freedom. The gathering momentum of conceptual studies has also led some to criticise this field for its dependency on metaphors (Martín de León, 2008).

2.6.4 Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory is not a translation theory *per se*. Sperber and Wilson introduced it as a method for explaining the nature of human communication, particularly in relation to the individual's psyche and personal context. In essence, this theory states that individuals interpret meaning from utterances (speech or text) in a manner that relies heavily on context.

In addition to context, there are a number of other key concepts to Relevance Theory. First, the distinction between descriptive and interpretive use of language (i.e., descriptive refers to the real world and interpretive refers to perception of the world). Although they rely heavily on the term 'utterance,' covering both speech and text, it also includes the idea of stimuli, therefore allowing for non-verbal communication and information.

Context is used in a very broad sense, i.e., covering everything from general knowledge, dreams and aspirations, down to specific words and phrases used in and around the utterance in question. Relevance theory can then explain misunderstandings and communication breakdowns in terms of an inappropriate choice of contextual assumptions (between the speaker-intended and the interpreter-assumed contexts). The process through which an

utterance is considered relevant relies on contextual effect (i.e., sufficient contextual information) and processing effort (i.e., cost of achieving the contextual effect). The relation between these two components is one of optimal relevance or ‘effort-worthiness,’ in other words, striking the balance between effort applied and effect received in return. The communicator construes two models: one interpretative and one informative. On the basis of these two models, and a mental effort aimed at making them as similar as possible, a third version is created for the purpose of communicating with the audience, leading to a final effort, assessing the effort-worthiness of that communication for the audience.

The application of Relevance Theory to translation therefore represents yet another step taken by researchers in giving the translator an active role in the translation process, further emphasising the translator’s status as an intermediary. It was Gutt (1991) who first made the transposition. His tenet is that translation as an activity is entirely interpretive and so the principle of relevance guides the translator, who must take decisions as to how the interpretive ST resembles the interpretive TT. Thus the translation should be ‘designed’ to achieve optimal relevance for the intended audience. Gutt sees Relevance Theory as underpinning the act of translation. Its cause-and-effect nature therefore illuminates the translator’s perception of the potential effect of a text on its audience. The relation between ST and TT is then one of ‘interpretative resemblance.’ Furthermore, the intended audience takes a more prominent place, as the likelihood of the ST resembling the TT becomes dependent on the audience’s ‘context.’

A final note worth adding is that the use of text typing is seen as useful indicator to communicators, allowing them to make first attempts to define the context of the utterance.

2.6.5 Interpretative Theory

The Paris or Sense or Interpretative Theory, as proposed by Seleskovitch and Lederer, is much more direct than the two we have seen so far, in that it addresses the mental processes of the translator. In so doing, it is more streamlined, as it puts to one side all external constraints in favour of a step-by-step approach. It has been saved for last as it was originally developed as a conference interpreting theory, an area which we will move on to examine. In any case, it marks another important step away from linguistic theories, developing instead what it calls the unit of meaning. The unit of meaning usually refers to a cluster of words,

although no definition appears to exist. The unit of meaning for Seleskovitch and Lederer is the functional entity of the translation process (1983).

The theory is based on a three-step process: comprehension, deverbalisation and reformulation. It posits that discourse has *a-priori* 'meaning,' i.e. meaning beyond linguistic interpretations. Seleskovitch and Lederer (1983) based this partially on the ability to understand linguistic ambiguity, i.e. distinguishing implicit and explicit sense. Whilst the theory puts external factors to one side, it does not entirely eliminate them. The ability of the translator to get through steps one and two is based on two other factors, cognitive baggage and cognitive context. Unlike the broad use of 'context' in Relevance Theory, the Interpretative Theory bears two concepts: cognitive baggage, describing the knowledge built up by the translator over their lives; and cognitive context, the knowledge built up by the translator over the period in question (i.e., reading the text and paratext). With these tools, the translator can appropriate the meaning of a text, not relying solely on the words and their linguistic attachments, and choose how to reformulate that same meaning or 'sense'.

As we mentioned, the theory was developed from interpreting situations, where linguistic forms quickly disappear from the interpreter's memory (in a matter of a few seconds). Yet some trace of meaning remains, allowing the interpreter to recall elements made earlier during the speech, but not the exact words. The same is of course true for general or specific knowledge (so-called cognitive baggage), highlighting the fact that much of the meaning is non-verbal. For translators this is much the same; they only have one advantage in that they have the luxury of being able to re-examine preceding and/or subsequent words and ideas, as well as to read right to the end (in most circumstances). Necessary changes were brought to adapt the theory to translation by Delisle (1980, 1988), including an additional step: verification.

Since then, research based on this process of moving from linguistic to contextual meaning has progressed through the use of think-aloud protocols (also known as TAPs). This work was pioneered by Dechert (1987) and continued by Dancette (1994) and colleagues. These experiments recorded translators working on texts and verbalizing their thought processes. For example, as they read the first sentence, they say 'reading the first sentence,' coming across a word they have doubts about: 'looking up X in the dictionary,' and so on. They were also asked to complete questionnaires upon finishing the translation, which were used to verify whether they

had truly understood some of the concepts in the texts. Using the data produced, researchers have been able to explore the cognitive processes involved during the translation act, allowing them to refine their ideas, describe more accurately what translators do when faced with certain obstacles and comprehend the process of understanding meaning in general. TAPs have marked the move away from retrospective approaches (interviews etc.) toward introspective approaches to translation studies.

2.7 Verbatim Reports in the light of Translation Theories

2.7.1 VR Translation in the light of DTS

An examination of a corpus would be needed to investigate translators' behaviours when translating VRs under the DTS approach. At first glance, we can make a few general comments. Translation practices may be influenced by norms existing in monolingual environments, i.e. the norms regarding an acceptable parliamentary record (expectancy). Standards exist in matters of style, format and so on. For example, as we have seen, there seems to be a standard style in a large part of the English speaking world, conforming to what is known as the Hansard style.

As we have also seen, this area of translation is heavily subject to preliminary norms, including the use of relay languages. With regard to initial norms, translated VRs have to hold up to the adequacy test, as they will often be recycled either in session, in the media or in the history books, a process that could lead to repercussions. Translators follow matricial operational norms as the record is based on a chronological order (they have little choice) and likewise textual-linguistical norms, as they endeavour to stick to standardised terminology. The nature of VRs, however, differs from other conference texts. Once we have discounted the transcription and editing, the text remains wholly different from the other texts tackled by an institutional translator, even more so when this type of work is outsourced to professionals who work freelance.

Perhaps the most crucial element to be noted here with regard to DTS is that the introduction of 'norms' reminds us that translation is variable over time and that translation situations must be continuously reviewed so as to shed light on trends and changes. We must also take away that Toury's preliminary norms do go a long way to explaining why VRs are translated, but unfortunately not as to why they come in the form of the written word.

2.7.2 VR Translation in the light of *skopos*

Multilingual assemblies and multilingual publication requirements introduce a new element to *skopos* theory. Principally, this is because ‘the original’ no longer refers to a textual communication between two parties. It is now merely a term-of-art used to identify translation directions. A speaker in a multilingual assembly addresses speakers of all languages under the assumption her or his words will be transmitted via a number of different channels. It remains a supply of information, but the initiation begins before the original text is brought into existence, as there is a requirement, indeed an assumption, that the ‘value’ created in one language is supplied to other cultures immediately and not subject to different needs and expectations (except plausibly the time it takes to interpret/translate).

Of course, there is still a *skopos* applicable to translating VRs, as we have seen on numerous occasions, each language version of the records of proceedings fulfils a purpose, i.e. to stand as an official position on what was said and by whom. This means that the criteria are set in part by those setting the criteria of original language transcriptions. Reiss and Vermeer describe this as functional constancy, i.e., no change of function and ideally pure fidelity between ST and TT.

Thus, VR translation fits in quite snugly with *skopos*, as the ST comes with a clearly defined statement of purpose and one which allows the translator little room to diverge on the micro-level. In other words, the *skopos* is fidelity. In addition to this, multilingual parliamentary settings are often home to standardised terminology and phraseology.

The translator is aware of the vast nature of the target audience (even if readership has been reported to be low). At worst, this can be found out through logical deductions, for example, in a multilingual environment such as the EU, the readership of a translation into Italian of a speech in Spanish by a Spanish delegate would essentially be Italian-speaking EU citizens, and would not include the speaker, her or his constituents or the speakers of other EU languages into which the document was translated.

Under the *skopos* theory, the target audience will almost necessarily have experience in national politics. For example, delegates will likely have to report back to national parliaments and will therefore have experience with their records; journalists too will have no

doubt covered local and national stories before moving up the ladder to cover international affairs.

2.7.3 VR Translation in the light of Relevance Theory

As VRs have such a wide audience, the translator appears to face a strict, albeit vast, set of criteria under Relevance Theory, because the ‘context’ of each different group, stretching from the member of the assembly who was present at the debate, past the constituent in a remote region and as far as a historian yet to be born. To that extent, the norms and policies set out in such an institutionalised practice may well rule out any possibility of the translator fulfilling the communicative role under this theory. Interestingly, the process of editing VRs does involve the addition of indicators of speaker, language, region, political party etc., and so it appears that Gutt was right in that Relevance Theory applies to ‘more’ fundamental communication than translation. A worst case scenario would be a process involving transcribers working from recordings, whose work is then translated by freelance translators.

2.7.4 VR Translation in the light of Interpretative Theory

Once more we see translation theories focusing on the process of translation, at the expense of the role translation plays in the wider context. Unlike some of the early translation-studies’ theories which incorporate the translator’s social role, the Interpretive Theory has done little to explore this theme. It does however lend to the idea that the processes used by translators and interpreters are similar, except for the obvious luxury of time in the case of the former.

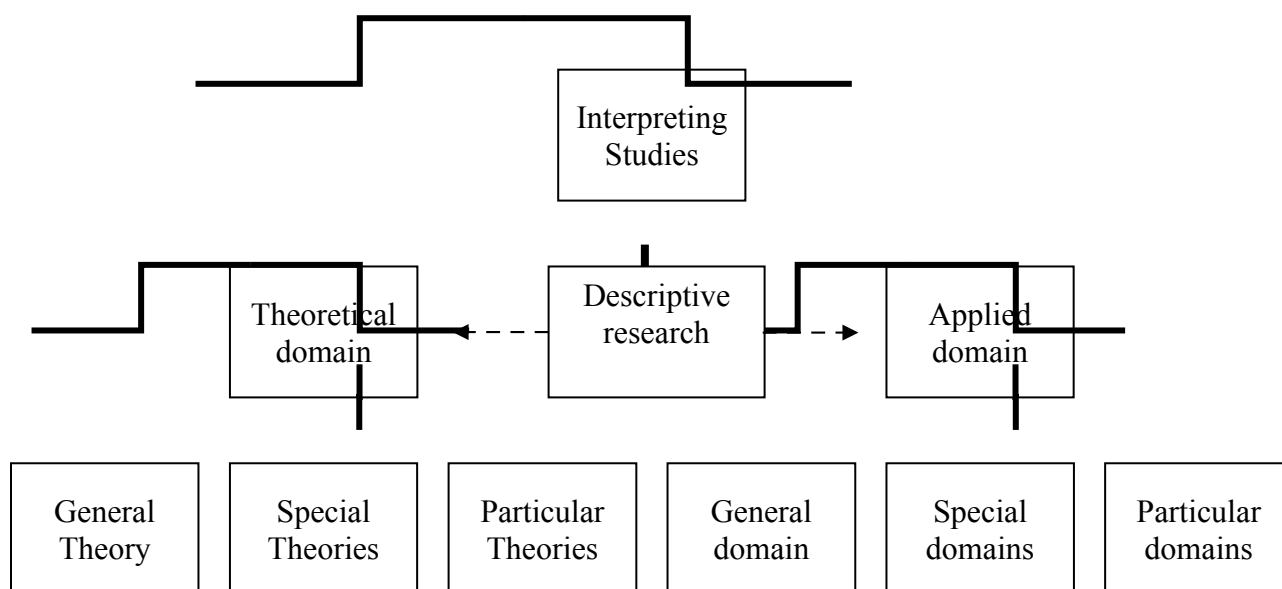
One interesting element that has escaped our attention until now is ‘turn time.’ Conference interpreters work in teams, each taking turns at interpreting for usually no longer than thirty minutes at a time. Whilst professional interpreters are encouraged to stay at their desks whilst not working, there is no requirement for them to follow the debate with the same attention they would whilst at work; in fact they are supposed to be resting. This would suggest that the interpreter’s ‘cognitive context’ may contain gaps. This is equally true for the translator working on the afternoon sitting, not having personally translated the morning sitting, stenographers who usually work in teams and transcribers working on sections of a sitting. We shall look at this more when we move onto interpreting studies’ theories.

Interpretive Theory does, however, lend itself to the idea that VRs should contain the ideas of a debate, what the Hansard world calls ‘substantially verbatim.’ In fact, much of the interpretative nature could be said to apply also to the first-stage editing process. Likewise, there could be significant results taken from future studies into that process, particularly think-aloud protocol studies.

2.8 Interpreting Studies

In recent years, researchers have tried to create a field of interpreting studies, breaking out from the clumping together with translation studies, although disassociating the two has been somewhat sticky and has not been propelled by any ground-breaking research. The field began in the form of conferences, building slowly from the Interpreter’s Newsletter, set up after a conference in Trieste in 1986. This publication eventually became a recognised journal and led to others, such as *Interpreting: International Journal of Research and Practice in Interpreting*.

Salevsky (1993) attempted to write a paper similar to that of Holmes, laying out the theoretical bases for a new field albeit based on a definition of translation (translation being a hyponym of translating and interpreting). Having put definitions in place, she leans on Holmes’s classification and presents a possible map for Interpreting Studies



Pöchhacker (1995) points out that from the beginning the combined translation and interpreting studies field was subject to messy research methodology, i.e., attempts at

conceptualisation were based on putting interpreting source and target into written text for the purpose of analysis. This is perhaps why the Interpretative Theory of Seleskovitch enjoyed a relatively warm reception. The work of Seleskovitch and later Lederer prevailed as the leading and only conceptual theory of interpreting, bar those borrowed from Translation Studies as discussed above. Other models have been presented (as discussed by Moser-Mercer, 1997), although none feature the same streamlined approach as the Interpretive Theory model. Moser-Mercer agrees with the advantages of a simple model, although she says it is holding back research and the addition of variety to research methodologies.

Research across the board tends to be of a deconstructionist nature. As mentioned earlier there is a wide rift in the field between empirical and conceptual research (Setton, 2006). There is a good deal of work centred on the issue of quality, albeit seen from a variety of view points (Pöchhacker, 2005). Even students today are asked to write on the subject during their training, although this is an exception to the general rule which focuses on the pragmatic approach to interpreting, at least at the University of Geneva's Interpreting Unit. That is not to say there is not a broad spectrum of work, as the tome produced by Pöchhacker and Shlesinger in 2002 shows. Other branches of research are interested in the cognitive, physiological and neuro-physiological science aspects of interpreting. Yet it could be argued that much of this more germane to those fields than to interpreting studies and the lack of solid consensus-backed theories does nothing to repair this fractured state of affairs. Besides this, interpreting and translating *are* different in the same way writing and talking are, and no amount of research would prove otherwise, so there will always be aspects of each that require exclusive research questions and methods. There are still, however, advocates of linguistic approaches to SI, e.g., Garzone (1998) and Hatim and Mason (1997).

There are also a number of areas that seem to have been overlooked, given the general rise in social approaches. One example would be the exposure aspect, whereby an interpreter is much more visible to his or her audience than the translator, as the two will often mingle during coffee breaks and pass each other in corridors, and the extent to which that would change the perception of their role. Two related areas that are also overlooked are sight translation and SI with text. Sight translation is a curious combination of translation and interpreting which removes the aural input and all the interference and attention sharing with which it comes, yet maintains the linearity that is specific to SI. SI with text, another

curiosity, allows the interpreter to scan parts of the speech in just-ahead-of-real-time, thus removing some of the volatility and unpredictability. In light of the ILO's guidelines to delegates (2007), research in this area would be of use in setting policy regarding VRs.

2.9 Translation Studies approach to interpreting

As the purpose of this paper is to explore the idea that the translation of VRs might be replaced by SI, and given the close ties between translation and interpreting, this section will briefly review the literature on applying translation theories to SI.

2.9.1 Norms

Shlesinger (1989) introduced the idea of extending translational norms into the field of SI, although she immediately noted that even if they existed, tracking them down would be a formidable task, given the nature of the profession. Since 1989, a good number of studies have been written on the topic, and this, *inter alia*, has led to a better understanding of the practice (Pöchhacker, 1995; Diriker, 2004; Marzocchi, 2005). Harris (1990) was the first to respond to this call, although his paper is purely anecdotal. He puts forward a handful of norms to which “anybody well-acquainted with the activity could point” (p.115). These include speaking in the first person (as if s/he was the orator), working in 20-30-minute turns, working into an A language (as taught in Western European schools) and acceptability of target language production.

Even without entering into the realm of corpus-research, Toury's preliminary and operational norms can be examined with respect to the profession and professional standards as recommended by the AIIC in its code of practice and other related documents. Harris (1990) clearly points out that professionals are aware of a number of norms governing themselves and colleagues. Before discussing a corpus study, Sholdager (1995) suggests that when it comes to interpreting norms therefore have the same sources as translation, i.e. those in Hermans (1991). Sholdager notes some points where they may differ in their influence, such as the practice of interpreters working in teams.

Unfortunately much of this research revolves around the issue of whether translation and interpreting are the same task, once stripped of the circumstantial constraints and extraneous processes, such as memory. If we go by Sholdager's proposed norms, we can see that they

clearly are not, e.g., “an interpreter is allowed to say something which is apparently unrelated to the source-text item in question [...], provided that s/he can say something which is contextually plausible.” She goes on to say that the “existence of such a norm is probably peculiar to simultaneous interpreting.”

Sholdager’s response to the quality issue seems to apply more to Relevance Theory than to norms, as she suggests the lower quality of transcribed interpretations is the result of removing an utterance from its original environment. In other words, transcriptions tend to be judged by written standards, so a performance given by an interpreter that was perfectly understandable in the setting in which it was given becomes less so once put on paper only to be read at some later stage. This could be similar to translations being culture- and period-bound. Sholdager suggests that interpreters and translators could be judged as being equally successful in their work but only when judged under corresponding quality criteria. In any case, the study has been challenged (Marzocchi, 2005).

One clear element to emerge from the discussions mentioned above is that interpreters working in different domains deserve separate studies for conference, court and community interpreters. The differences that exist between these modes are clearly greater than those that exist between translations of different text types, including the levels of professionalisation amongst practitioners (Marzocchi, 2005). We can also conclude from these discussions that, despite the consensus on the existence of norms, their identification is problematic. It is true that corpus studies can perform source-target comparison, but they reveal little on extra-textual norms. TAPs are clearly not an option, although that does not limit retrospective techniques being employed, e.g. a running commentary recorded immediately after interpreting. Given the relatively small number of higher education institutions providing training for interpreters it is likely that a number of norms which are instilled therein become prominent in governing the behaviour of at least large sections of the profession. Even more open to study are the guidelines published by the AIIC, which, as the profession’s most widely recognised authority, openly encourages practitioners to adopt firm stances on working conditions. It also appears that a norms-based research approach to interpreting would allow for variability in interpreting in the same way it does for translation. This variability could possibly represent an indicator for the suitability of interpreting for a given purpose. Despite accepting this idea, Marzocchi rejects the utility of a “blunt conceptual tool

without much ‘added value,’ i.e. additional explanatory power, compared to less abstract and more process-oriented notions such as *techniques* and *strategies*” (2005, p.105).

2.9.2 Functionalist approach

Pöchhacker (1995) has also examined the applicability of *skopos* theory to interpreting. The first point he makes is the distinction between translation and interpreting commissions. The translator is assigned a text, and the interpreter a conference. A conference, according to Pöchhacker, is more similar to a ‘hypertext.’ He admits that there is a clear distinction between different SI assignments, a fact that does not seem to be disputed, therefore providing a clear parallel between translation and interpreting. The two principal reservations put forward in this paper focus on ‘intratextual coherence’ and ‘target culture.’ In discussing intratextual coherence, he states that interpreters do aim to create an equivalence of effect, in other words, make the audience forget they are listening to an interpreter. The reservation, however, is not based on this, but on the need for interpreter output to be not only functional but also conventional and therefore requiring adaptation. In discussing target culture, he states that the reduction of target-culture text-type conventions is an oversimplification, as it fails to take into account the scope of users who recognise them. In other words, this is a criticism of Translation Studies’ broad categorisation based on nation status, in light of the reality of the conference room, where delegates often listen to speeches in languages that are not their own delivered by speakers who are not using their native language either. Unfortunately this work has not triggered any debate, and only researchers in Trieste have picked up on it at all (Marzocchi, 2005).

Another inconsistency, however, is that in a translation setting, the text usually exists at the point of commissioning a translator; for conference interpreting this is never the case. Otherwise it is an exercise in dubbing, or a training exercise, perhaps indicating a use for *skopos* in teaching interpreters.

Interpreters, it seems, have the upper hand under *skopos* theory, as they usually have a much better defined target audience. Were interpretation booth output to be used for VRs then that target audience would change, and according to the *skopos* theory, interpreters would have to rethink their *modus operandi*. Nevertheless, any discussion on this topic must take into account a number of important variables, namely the asymmetry of the use of relay both in

and between parliaments. This is because *pivots* (interpreters who provide a relay language for other interpreters) must factor in their colleagues' needs alongside those of the principal audience. The resulting output is markedly different. It also means yet another confounding variable. For example, it is never used in a bilingual chamber, and in an institution such as the EU Parliament, it is only ever used where absolutely necessary, i.e., for languages/language combinations which are either 'exotic' or for which interpreters are in short supply (such as is currently the case for English native-speaker interpreters). It would seem then that for there to be some consistency a no-relay regime would be needed, although we have seen this is not necessarily the case for translation. A basic understanding of interpreting, however, shows there are clear norms in place both for interpreters working from relay and those who are *pivots*.

The core problem of drawing comparisons between the two activities is commonly said to be time, more specifically not just the time constraint, but the linearity of the task. This is mitigated when the interpreter has a written copy of the speech to hand, and particularly if they have had time to prepare it beforehand. Indeed, the conference interpreter usually knows well ahead of time what the subject of a conference will be and will have prepared accordingly, (unless he or she refused the assignment). Interpreters are taught to analyse the speaker in a number of different ways, including an evaluation of their subjective and/or political position on the topics to be discussed.

2.9.3 Relevance Theory

Setton (2005) seems to be the only person to have taken up on the application of Relevance Theory to interpreting, although his stimulus was Gutt's application of Relevance Theory to translation, and he focuses particularly on a comparison of the relative applicability. He argues that the interpreter's direct access to the 'context' could give her or him enough of an advantage in comparison with the translator as to offset the restraint imposed by the linear-simultaneous nature of SI. It is perhaps perverse to argue that the interpreter's position is closer to the heart of the interaction than the translator's, given that the theory was not designed with translation in mind.

Following a dialogue with Gutt, Setton (2005, p378) looks at the idea of the interpreter "entertaining two bodies of thoughts," i.e. a construed intended interpretation and their own

informative intention, with a rapid assessment of similarity and relevance. The all-important element of Relevance Theory is that the interpreter does this on the basis of the direct and indirect environment, including the verbal messages being heard. Furthermore, they assess the relevance this has to the addressee in terms of optimal relevance, i.e., how much effort is it taking them to process the interpretative resemblance.

Setton also addresses the issue of shared and different cultures. As we have already seen, the interpreter has better 'access' to their audience; nevertheless, Setton argues that this knowledge would barely factor into an interpreter's *modus operandi*:

As a rule of thumb, simultaneous interpreters are not generally expected to take into account cognitive differences between individual addressees (an imponderable of all communication) or groups of addressees (such as cultural factors). SI is usually done in formalized international conferences with tacitly shared norms, whereby simultaneous conference interpreters are not expected to take the range of cultural backgrounds into account (2006, p379).

Setton concludes then that the practice of SI under Relevance Theory is possible, but that certain cognitive aspects are easier for interpreters given the simultaneity of their task, as the necessary resources are common and therefore shared between each aspect. This supports the ideas put forward by Sholdager regarding relative success in communication between translators and interpreters, as well as Harris' anecdote that interpreting output becomes less comprehensible for transcribers having been removed from its context. The concession, however, is that the constraints of the interpreter's situation mean that, despite better access to context, their ability to process and produce stimuli is hampered.

2.10 VRs in the light of IS Theories (native and imported)

2.10.1 Interpretive Theory

It is perverse to return to Interpretative Theory after having already considered it as a translation theory. Nevertheless, as applied to interpreting the theory is more flexible and allows for wider reading. The simple way in which it breaks down the process has no doubt spawned a wealth of research into the various components related to understanding, memory, resource management, cognitive psychology, etc. In this sense, and in the absence of any competition, it could still be called the prevailing theory. In fact, it seems what has really

captured researchers' attention is the overarching aspect of multi-tasking. It is unclear whether this suggests a consensus on language-related explanations ('what is happening'), but research is definitely aiming at a psychological, neurological and cognitive explanation ('how it is happening').

There is little to add then on the topic of VRs, other than to reiterate the utility of adding a verification stage (cf. applied to translation) to the interpreter's role. Put otherwise, if we let interpretation output become official, the interpreters have to sign off their translation as 'accurate.' Otherwise, we are placing blind faith in their ability to carry out three simple tasks. This will not change until there is broader consensus on models composed of more readily quantifiable variables.

2.10.2 Skopos

Even with the idea of an interpretation hypertext, the only distinction between the *skopos* of a translator and that of an interpreter in the context of VRs is that of the written versus the spoken word. Translators, however, are assigned individual parts of a VR to translate corresponding to their language combinations, while interpreters must also ensure relay languages are covered. Only bilingual situations can be taken as exempt, and at a stretch, organisations such as the ILO, which uses three working languages restrictively for the production of VRs, or any organisation that strictly covers all working languages with interpreters. A more detailed analysis, which moves away from the simplified 'communication-of-ideas' *skopos*, may reveal a commission that included details about the size and nature of the relative audiences. Yet this does not stop interpreters' commissions from including the use of their output in VRs.

Under this theory we could say that, if an interpreter were assigned the task of producing a verbatim rendition, then that is the product that would be delivered, as is the case with court interpreters. The obvious problem arises when this output fails to meet an expected standard, but as we saw in Shodagers's work, interpreters may well already acknowledge this, as seen in the specific-to-SI norm of 'saying something plausible.' What we would be doing in this situation is giving the interpreter not one but two different target-functions (cf. expectancy norms). Further study would be needed to examine whether these goals conflict.

Pöchhacker's analysis also claims that the target cultures are more different than they are similar, yet in a multilingual parliament there is an overreaching institutional culture which may go a long way to negate any differences. Indeed, many institutions would have interpreters as the 'voice of the organisation' and delegates as conformers to that style.

2.10.3 Relevance

Relevance Theory presents us with a paradox. On the one hand it would suggest that translators do not have enough hold on the parliamentary context (utterances) to efficiently translate the VRs, given that they are not present for its sessions. On the other hand, it would suggest that whilst interpreters do have more privileged access to that context, they are too far removed from the potential audience of a VR produced from their SI output. There is clearly a lot less for the interpreter to do when they are providing communication only to MPs in chambers.

If we allow for post-session revision, then some of the extra processing effort can be shifted out of the interpretation booth. Furthermore, if it were interpreters who carried out this revision, in the same way stenographers do, then all the better. Such a division of the two roles would mean a better service for those using interpretation as well as for readers of the VR.

Relevance theory ties in with the idea of linguistic disenfranchisement. A VR that is too difficult to understand (i.e., requires too great a processing effort) cuts the reader out of the democratic process. Linguistic disenfranchisement could therefore be described in terms of processing effort. Anecdotally we have seen that an attempt to transcribe SI output met with failure as the processing effort was greater than in the existing system, although this was an in-house issue and therefore does not lead to disenfranchisement. Nevertheless it points to inefficiency, as considerable amounts of work would need to be done to bring SI output up to a comprehensible level. Yet there is no research that sheds light on this topic. We might find that giving stenographers' notes to transcribers would result in similar inefficiency, just as we might find out that once trained to transcribe SI output, the transcriber's interpretative ability increases to a satisfactory level.

Without any comparative possibilities, however, we cannot establish where in the different scenarios optimal relevance is to be found. Stenographers and interpreters *in situ* would

clearly have the advantage when it comes to access to utterances, but, with the many other downstream roles in place in the process, they would lose control of the final version and cannot therefore be considered to be fulfilling the entire relevance process. It is likely that stenographers work on the basis that their audience is the editing team, so it would follow that the interpreter would do the same. This might bring the mental effort under control. In any case, interpreters would be best placed to edit their own output, as stenographers do and as MPs correct themselves. The only caveat is, ironically, that interpreters are not trained in the written word, just as translators are not in the spoken word.

Part 3 Analysis

3.1 *Discussion*

3.1.1 General

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss whether the written or spoken word provides the best form for reproducing and storing the records of parliamentary debates. It does however go without saying that there are advantages to having both. Any resolution to the speech-text debate will undoubtedly define the future of multilingual publication practices. What cannot be avoided, however, is that the debates are currently held in the oral format, giving oral records the clear advantage of not having to undergo structural transformation. Whilst this is a challenge to the predominance of the written word, the average end-user will most likely find the written word much easier medium with which to work.

Today we have the possibility to use either medium (and means of disseminating information in either format are multiplying exponentially). It is the first time this has been possible, and so it is a natural point to review the situation. We have seen that since live broadcasting and particularly digital broadcasting and storage have become possible, there has been an accompanying increase in political transparency. This transparency comes in the ability to watch and listen to a political debate, which is evidently better than having to wait to read an edited transcript.

In multilingual parliaments, we can watch and listen, either to the original language or to interpretation, again thanks to progress in technology and language skills. The inherent constraints of SI require the viewer to make certain allowances when following a debate. They can reassure themselves that they will eventually be able to read a written transcript of what was said, made available in their language. This access comes at a significant cost,

measured in time, money and loss. In discussing the work of the German Bundestag, Mambrey, Neuman and Sieverdingbeck (1999) point out that the introduction of computer systems, *inter alia*, bolstered parliamentary transparency, making particular reference to the reduction in time dependency and the next-day availability of plenary debates. In the case where translations need to be provided, there is therefore a loss of transparency, unless editing teams work tirelessly around the clock as we see in the Canadian Parliament. Yet despite this, we are only beginning to see research look into the effect of AV technology on the democratic issues related to official VRs.

We may one day see monolingual parliaments scrap their verbatim recording departments in favour of multimedia records. Were this to happen, multilingual parliaments would be hard pressed to follow suit, the only alternative would then be to dub footage, an option that would nonetheless lead to delay in publication and increased costs. Continuing to provide an accurate record of debates only in written form will create a democratic deficit between multilingual and monolingual parliaments. We could go as far as to say this is already the case on the basis that SI output is deemed to be inaccurate.

As we turn our attention to translation and interpretation, this specific debate is further confounded as translation is dependant on transcription. In other words a translated transcript will only ever be as good as the transcript, unless of course translators take it upon themselves to shortcut the transcription process. We can easily pass judgement on the translation *per se*, but if we are to cast our nets wider, we must bear in mind that the conversion, editing and translation processes combined, produce a somewhat different result than the audio-video recording of a debate.

If we briefly put the idea of producing verbatim transcripts from SI output to one side, we can make the following claim: SI is a more realistic and representative method than transcription-translation, yet most likely one of lower 'quality'. It is nonetheless essential for multilingual meetings, a fact which eliminates the cost factor *a priori*.

Over the following pages, we will examine the possible scenarios from four principal angles. First we must consider the consequences of changes in technology, as we can easily foresee considerable development in the near future. With this in mind, both the spoken and the written word can be examined. The spoken word is obviously a more accurate representation,

yet can we reasonably expect SI to provide a transfer process that is both sufficiently accurate and respectful of democratic principles? With regards to the written word, we must consider the inverse, i.e., whether the overall process, including translation, is representative enough, and whether its days are numbered in the light of the technological advances. Finally, we will look at the possibilities that will be opened up by language-economics research.

3.1.2 Technology

AV technology is still advancing at a staggering pace. At the moment, we still lack the ability to manipulate multimedia in the same ways we are used to using text. This will soon change as it seems we have warmed to multimedia much in the same way our forefathers did to the printed word.

For the moment, we are limited, for example, when searching a text. This involves entering the word or phrase of concern and checking each occurrence as the software finds them. For the same to be possible in audio or audiovisual files, large amounts of metadata need to be added, such as indexes and tags, and even then the end result is neither as accurate nor as precise as text. Currently, this allows blunt navigation, say to the beginning of the debate on a specific agenda item, or the intervention of a given speaker. In addition, once technology has advanced to a point where it can transcribe with satisfactory accuracy and therefore automatically generate a transcription, it would still be far from producing an edited record fit for publication. It would, however, mean that records would be searchable in the same way texts are currently but using voice commands. Further advances could include effective methods for revising and editing AV sources.

We have looked at the changes that technology has brought to parliaments and democracy in general, through the printing press, television and global computer networks. In this light, it should be noted that when the practice of verbatim recording began, the written medium was the only available storage method for ideas discussed in a debate, bar human memory. It is therefore partially through tradition that this is maintained well into the 21st century and the ongoing information revolution, although, as Slembrouck (1992) quite rightly points out, the written record allows control of the public image of an assembly. Another aspect to bear in mind is the caution resulting from the intangible nature of digital recordings, but this is a red

herring, as data loss occurs equally when it comes to paper copies, yet this format has higher reproduction and storage costs. In addition one of the driving factors that have led so many documents to begin circulating purely in their electronic form recently has been concern for the environmental consequences of printing.

Most likely the future of archiving will be rich complex structured documents in electronic forms. Such documents would be structured to aid navigation and contain text, image and audio. It is also very likely that they will eventually be created automatically thanks to advances in transcription technology. There are many advantages to such documents, including their ability to contain yet more information, such as presentations, files and documents tied to the meeting (Lalanne, Mekhaldi and Ingold, n.d.). In monolingual environments, this will be facilitated by systems which automatically incorporate recordings of various media, including transcription, as this will facilitate the structuring of the documents (Chiu, Kapuskar, Reitmeier and Wilcox, 2000). Whether multilingual systems will be developed is unclear, but the small potential market is not a good omen. This may then cause a deficit for multilingual settings, particularly if the level of automation for single languages allows for including all three media. How will multilingual organisations react when they see other parliaments storing all their sessions in these rich formats which allow a level of transparency almost akin to being present in the chamber?

It will likely be a straight-forward procedure to adapt an archive format to include multiple languages, but not so when it comes to aligning translated texts which are added after the meeting. Furthermore, anyone who has studied even the basic elements of subtitling will know that the presentation of text alongside multimedia content involves a good number of constraints, although some of these apply also to the monolingual case. There would also be inevitable discrepancies between the translated and interpreted versions, until methods are developed to edit interpretation output. These factors would likely cause knock on effects with the alignment of those parts of the archive containing data for the other languages. Yet none of this is to say that these are not merely technical obstacles.

Coming back down to earth, it is likely that, in the interim, multilingual parliaments will want to maintain the transparency they share with their counterparts, i.e., continuing to publish translations and AV archives separately. A brief look at the kinds of practices already

in place, particularly standards and requirements on security, access and preservation (such as the UK Parliament's Digital Preservation Policy), shows that we have our work cut out. The European Parliament is already aware of this 'information and communication deficit,' but the number of variables and diverging opinions on their importance means progress is relatively slow. Furthermore, we are discussing one element of an over-arching archiving system, a constituent that must be coordinated within integrated systems and with other types of archive. The gravity of these issues led to the establishing of the Model Requirements for the Management of Electronic Records (MoReq), commissioned by the European Commission and used across the EU. This has since been updated to MoReq 2, which has been designed to account for national variations, i.e., languages, record keeping traditions and so on. Nevertheless, these policies focus on internal usage and do not stretch to the publication of archives. Meanwhile advances in technology are opening up ever broader possibilities, and without a theoretical debate we may find ourselves left very far behind.

3.1.3 The spoken word

There is a balance of arguments for and against the use of SI to replace translation either as a source for transcription or even as an official record of parliamentary proceedings. Some arguments relate to matters of language translation, others to the difference between spoken and written language.

The question we must ask first is how different are the two modes. At first glance the similarities stand out even using a linguistic approach. Yet the fundamental difference between speaking and writing is ever present. Some argue that AV records give a fuller representation of the communicative situation that takes place in a political debate (Marzocchi, 2007; Corbett, 2007), as they provide a record of what was seen and heard by other members of the parliament. Yet this proves the circularity of the issue at hand, as while this is most likely true for a monolingual parliament, we remain in the dark as to whether interpretation quality undermines what is gained from the use of AV records.

The aim of SI is to provide real-time assistance to communication as a transient tool (Marzocchi, 2007) To do this, interpreters aim to convey primary and secondary ideas (as opposed to the precise translation of meaning embedded in words). Given the constraints inherent in SI, it has very different translational criteria, the most salient of which is to ensure

the idea is put across in acceptable language. So, insofar as SI is accurate, which appears to be highly dependant on the conditions under which the interpreter is working, the output could be considered as a substitute for a translated transcript. Moser-Mercer (1998) suggests that interpreters' hesitancy to be 'recorded' is due to the sub-optimal performance that conditions may entail, yet she goes on to say that VRs could only be transcribed if interpreters were able to edit them (which would be in line with speakers' right to correct transcripts), which would be charged as an extra service.

We have to remember that under many of the theoretical models, if we make the interpreter work for not only those in the meeting but also all those who may watch the recordings live or at a later time, then we may make their task harder. This extra pressure may not be conducive to better quality, as described by the Hawthorne effect. This is compounded by varying opinions on what constitutes quality when we compare the expectations of delegates and interpreting practitioners and researchers (Moser-Mercer, 1998). Unfortunately no debate has centred on whether those who work with fewer norms have an easier life, although conventional wisdom would say so. The data is hard to come by yet hopefully projects such as EPIC will incorporate comparative studies. According to Relevance Theory, the inclusion of a wider, more demanding audience would place a greater processing load on the interpreter, as regards their assessment of that larger audience's relevance effect. (It is interesting, however, that the translator also has to deal with large distances, yet not with the same variables.) We could also argue that as the speaker in a parliamentary assembly must be aware that the institution will make their words official and public, therefore in interpreting that person, the conference interpreter should include that fact in their performance, regardless of any recording. In fact, we could go so far as to say that while the translation-transcription regime exists, interpreters do not have this particular incentive to perform.

We should not be fooled into thinking that all improvements are down to interpreters and interpreting trainers. The ILO has led by example in this respect by laying down guidelines for speakers. In the case where interpreters are able to prepare a speech before it is delivered, accuracy will be higher, although a written copy of a speech negates the need for transcription. Furthermore, it does not address the debate. It does, however, highlight the utility of a feedback mechanism, whereby those speaking do so in a way that facilitates the overreaching democratic process.

Indeed, we can put to rest a certain number of arguments related to the quality of output from SI e.g. stutters, false starts etc., as these are the same elements that are removed from the raw transcriptions of speakers, who prevaricate in similar ways, including intentionally. As we said earlier, it is not the style and flourish that VRs set out to capture, but the substance of the process of debate and ideas evoked. Unfortunately, any argument asking politicians to speak in flat monotone voices is likely to be met with fierce opposition. Besides, as Moser-Mercer (2007) points out, there are currently many factors operating in the opposite direction, e.g. reduced speaking time, increased speaking speed etc.

As if we were short of confounding variables, we are also faced with the scarcity of interpreters, or more precisely interpreting combinations (as are EU recruiters). Given this issue, institutions such as the EU often employ relay interpretation. It is and has always been seen as a temporary measure, but a number of language combinations are often covered by interpreters working out of their A language. This practice is held to be more accurate, as the interpreter's comprehension rate will be higher, although their ability to express will vary. It is hard to estimate whether the interpretation-transcription process would gain or suffer from this, but it is likely that any editing/revision would need to be done or at least supplemented by a native speaker.

Were interpretation to be employed as a principal method, we would considerably reduce the number of middlemen. There are a number of ways in which it could be used. First, it can be used as one form of record, to provide a lively, realistic portrayal of a sitting. Second, it can be used to replace a written record, i.e., as a solution to the high costs of translation. In the first use, it can either be either a complement to official written record or vice versa. Third, it can be used as a source for transcriptions, in the case where transcription is more desirable than translation, e.g. cheaper, faster and so on. In all cases, on-demand translation of excerpts is not ruled out.

Without empirical evidence it is too early to examine each situation individually. At this stage we can only look at broad approaches, namely interpretation-transcription and interpretation-archive. The table on the following page outlines the possible regimes.

	Written record?	Oral record?
A. Transcribed then translated	Yes (official)	No
B. Transcriptions from interpretation	Yes (official)	No
C. Interpretations only	No	Yes
D. Transcribed, then translated, also recorded	Yes	Yes (official)
E. Transcriptions from interpretation, also recorded	Yes	Yes (official)
F. Transcribed, then translated, also recorded	Yes (official)	Yes
G. Transcriptions from interpretation, also recorded	Yes (official)	Yes

Transcribing an interpretation can be done in a number of ways. Firstly it can be done on a blind basis, without being checked against the original. It could also be done in such a way that verification would only be carried out when an idea was not clear. Finally, it could be checked thoroughly against the original. The time and cost of this would be greatly influenced by whether this was conducted by the interpreter, an interpreter or a suitably trained person. Until satisfactory methods are developed for editing audio and/or audiovisual media, the interpretation archive could be either directly archived or checked for accuracy and have a corrigendum added, perhaps in the form of embedded subtitled text. Such makeshift measures would likely be unpopular, as they would highlight errors rather than correct them, possibly casting doubt on multilingualism.

In either case, the interpreter's role is affected through the ideas of Relevance Theory (which might be stretched to incorporate performance anxiety). We have also seen an incompatibility when it comes to using SI for producing VRs, because there is a conflict between the *skopos* commission and the adequacy of the produced text (i.e., quality). A VR has to be a substantially-verbatim record of what was said and cannot therefore accept output that is merely 'plausible.' As the records are used to hold politicians accountable, it would not be acceptable for those records to be in anyway fallible. This could be addressed by a thorough revision/editing regime as we just discussed, but that constitutes a paradigm extension for interpreters, who on the whole are not trained in writing prose, transcribing or

editing transcriptions. We have the luxury of digitally recorded and archived footage of assembly sittings, and so we can easily verify what was said, but someone still has to be employed to go through with a fine-toothed comb.

Hopefully we will soon have more corpus research on SI, giving us a clearer idea of its ability to fulfil the needs set out by rules of procedure in parliamentary assemblies. Any comparative studies would be greatly helped by textual research into monolingual transcription. In the meantime, we watch as decisions continue to be made, such as that by the European Parliament to broadcast live debates with simultaneous interpretation. On the upside, it was this decision that has given researchers at Trieste the material needed to create a corpus. If these are to be reliable they must account for trends such as speakers bringing denser and redundancy-free prepared speeches and reading them at higher speeds. This could perhaps be correlated to the shortening of podium allocations. It will also be interesting to see corpus-based research applied over the long term, for example looking at variations in quality, and which if any variables are responsible for this.

Of course the real test will come should there ever be a switch to exclusive AV archiving in monolingual environments. This may be the impetus for decisions to follow in multilingual institutions. These decisions should not be made without solid evidence that interpretation either is or is not a suitable alternative to transcription-translation. The original speech will always be accessible whether transcribed or not, eliminating any situation where we rely solely on interpreter output. At the expense of the ludicrous (i.e., transcription-translation-dubbing), blindly undertaking such a system, as the EP tried in 2007, means risking an unknown level of disenfranchisement.

The status quo in the EU and the ILO may then be an ideal situation until such research is validated. Live broadcasting and immediate retrieval of AV material covers the gap created by barriers of language, provided it has clear disclaimers. This is then bolstered by a more complete and reliable publication of translations at a later stage. The only, glaring downside is the cost to the institution, as well as the unavoidable losses associated with language translation.

3.1.4 The written word

Since the time of Cicero and Tiro the written word has dominated. As technology and our ability to capture the spoken word improve, we may soon see this era come to an end. Other changes have also occurred, for example, as we have already discussed the democratic principle of transparency seems to drift in and out of favour and the responsibility for verbatim reporting passes from private to public hands. There are lessons therein. If we wish to forecast change and we should be paying attention to the precursors of those changes. For example, the news press is currently going through a period of mutation. Western newspaper readership no longer supports the bulky, expensive and wasteful printed press, favouring instead the clean, modern and interactive internet, changing the media landscape irreparably. This change was also mediated by radio and television. A good indicator of further change may be seen in democracies formed following the first social-media fuelled revolutions. If they give preference to reincarnated word-of-mouth over the incumbent press corporations, we may see a sign of future change in related areas, such as verbatim reporting.

So, until these hurdles are overcome, we will continue to give translators VRs to translate. The current method, assumed to be the most accurate, is to transcribe a debate in its original language and then translate that transcript into the required languages. Yet as we have seen the entailed processing stages add to the possibility of loss. Furthermore, in many situations, those taking verbatim notes are not trained to do so; they are either translators or typists (as opposed to stenographers whose selection is even fiercer than that for interpreters, CHEA, 2005). We must also not forget the cost and the asymmetric use of relay translation. In fact, approaching this situation using Relevance Theory, we must bear in mind a number of other consequences. First, there are cases where transcribers do not work from inside parliamentary chambers, and in most cases they do not cover the entire debate, so can we be assured that they have sufficient access to context, and is the work they produce ensuring optimal relevance in their readership? The fact that the Members of the European Parliament decided to increase their turnaround time for corrections from one day to one week might suggest otherwise. The distance embedded in the transcript is compounded by that of the translator, who is invariably not in the chamber following the debate as he or she works.

It may seem self-defeating for a translator, writing for a translation readership, to argue that large amounts of translation work may be inaccurate. In other words, the argument that

translation of original language transcripts produces accurate multilingual reports is based on tradition and circumstance. When we take into account the possibilities that technology is bringing and add them to these criticisms, we can find motivation to push ourselves towards a better solution. It is difficult to argue that a video recording of what was said is less representative than a repeatedly-edited text document of what should have been said. So it follows, that if translators and interpreters wish to continue providing services, they should be riding the coat tails of change.

The further we step back from this specific argument, the more sense it makes to take an active approach. High-quality professional translation is already a scarce resource, particularly for certain language combinations. This scarcity means many new projects are delayed and get bogged down in debates over language policy and translation arrangements. The lack of consensus usually opposes two groups, those in favour of full multilingualism and those in favour of using a smaller number of core working languages. The European patent system is one such example. Proposals have been made to satisfy the needs of linguistic regions not covered by English, French and German with machine translation.

In the light of such an example, it seems ridiculous that the resources necessary for getting such a system off the ground would be employed elsewhere, in a role for which there is a feasible alternative (this is admittedly comparing interpretation to machine translation).

This all seems to reflect the rather submissive position taken by translators and language professionals in general. We are seen as a tool of policy and are seldom involved in the decision making processes and have little say in the allocation of resources. If language professionals involved in translation, interpreting and verbatim reporting are to be taken more seriously, we must examine the work we are performing (i.e., which documents we are translating) and analyse its value (i.e., is our work the best allocation of a scarce resource) . It is only in this way that we can really contribute to better communication, as well as remain competitive against advances in technology. This is currently a win-win situation, as such a solution may save resources which would otherwise be spent on researching alternatives. Just because we give up one document does not mean there will be no more work for translators. In fact the contrary, the profession may be seen as a more reliable negotiating partner. The image of a service provider who selfishly hoards contracts and contacts does nothing for the

reputation as a whole. The case of translating VRs is a clear example of an issue where upstream decisions are being made without the input of translators and particularly translation theorists.

As we discussed in the previous section, if written records are replaced in monolingual settings such as national parliaments, the same thing might eventually happen in multilingual environments. Any newly-founded international organisations would then follow suit from day one, as they often look to well-established institutions to find inspiration for their own statutes. It seems fair to say then that as long as national parliaments rely on written records, translators and those in charge of language policy elsewhere will feel a professional obligation to do the same. Unfortunately, aside from Toury's work, the body of translation theory sheds little light on what gets translated, instead favouring an examination of the process itself. This is perhaps a reflection of its relatively short existence. Hopefully future research, including in areas such as language policy, will allow decisions to be made on more practical bases. We also need to begin empirical research into the differences between translation and interpreting, as it is unlikely that large institutions will accept theory that is unsubstantiated with facts and figures. So far, there seems to be no theory suggesting interpreters cannot perform the task of communicating parliamentary debate, just anecdotal evidence that they cannot and will not be subjected to producing VRs. Translation studies also lacks any findings on whether translators are capable. It seems that all we know is just that the professional standards between the two domains differ.

Translation does not, of course, suffer from the same constraints as interpretation, even in the case of the night-shift translators at the Canadian Parliament. That does not mean to say, however, that they are free from all constraints in this specific case. As Ross (1998) points out, speeches delivered in plenary fall neither into written nor oral categories. She states that the translator has to move from oral to written language, but this is only true where the translator translates directly from an audio recording. We have to accept that some speakers read their manuscript verbatim (in which case, with any luck, the transcribing is skipped), although there is no consistency in this respect. As a result, the translation of any transcript poses a specific challenge to the translator, an obstacle which may be confounded by the many processes that precede translation. The more transcription, editing, aligning, revising, terminologising a text undergoes, the less certain a translator can be as to its nature. In any

case, there is a process of deoralisation, which currently seems to be performed by a multitude of different professionals, not all of whom are language professionals. So whilst a translator may provide a reliable translation of the text handed to them, it is much harder for them to take a more overall responsibility for providing an official record of the democratic process, as this would involve them having to reproduce the lost orality of the speaker.

3.1.5 Economics

If institutions are to be founded on multilingualism, it seems strange that their deliberative procedures do not allow for this to take place efficiently. The ILO and other organisations, such as the UN, ask delegates to ensure they send copies of speeches in advance so as to underpin effective communication as mediated by SI. Even though the International Labour Conference is held annually, it is the grandfather of international organisations and the measures it has started to take could represent a pull factor in the level of quality in service provision that would allow a switch to AV record archiving. We have also seen other proposals, such as language conversion courses, which are efficient ways of expanding individual language combinations, therefore freeing up language-specialist resources.

The multilingual environment poses a particular challenge. In Canada's bilingual context, this has been tackled using bilingual reporters (stenographers). Yet in regimes with a large diversity of languages there are few if any reporters, delegates or even interpreters who could ever have a clear understanding of exactly what was said at a given moment for the entirety of a debate, other than that gleaned from the interpretation. Interpreters are perhaps the hardest pressed as they are also trying to speak at the same time and are trained to 'flush' old information so as to better cope with the new. All the while, the meeting continues, ideas are developed and decisions made, all long before the transcripts are ready for revision, translation and publication. Yet the number of confounding factors multiplies, as there is no way of knowing who was listening to which of the numerous interpretations available. This cacophony is converted into text, edited, translated and revised, yet with no assurances of inner coherence, as the verbatim reporters and editors are only working on sections that fall within their language combination and would not therefore be able to refer to interventions made in the other working languages without either waiting for the translation or referring to the interpreting record. In fact, inner coherence can only be verified post-translation, and

would involve much back translation and a lot of consequent unravelling. This may explain the practice of compiling a relay language version before distributing for translation, yet we do not know what, if any, extra revision is being carried out at this stage.

Both translation and interpreting are scarce resources. Interpreters, however, are necessary for multilingual meetings, if some way can be found to capitalise on their presence this would free up valuable translation resources. It is clear that, amongst other things, a detailed economic analysis needs to be conducted to allow decisions to be made on this issue, based on the work of researchers such as Gazzola and Grin (2007). It is clearly inefficient to have translators on hand in meetings for transcription. Yet institutions such as the EU and the UN hire translators who at some point in their careers, if not regularly, will work either as transcribers or minute takers, i.e., they will work from audio sources, despite their not having been trained to work from audio.

Economic analysis would also allow insight into the effects of budgetary fluctuations on the delivery of these services. It is clear to the untrained eye that institutions such as the ILO have suffered in this respect over the years. They would also be able to examine the consequences of changes in the statutory obligations such as those made by the European Parliament in 2007. It is only on the basis on this information that we can hope to find an efficient allocation of resources, which has not been the case in this respect since Hansard was nationalised in 1909. There is therefore a need to pursue this line of research, as decisions will be made with or without it, as we have seen in both the ILO and the EU.

3.2 Conclusion

We have discussed how the current regime of VR production involves speeches being processed multiple times, from oral to short-hand or transcription, and then being edited and, in multilingual settings, also translated. At each stage there is a margin into which substantial errors can be introduced, added to which there is a possible economic inefficiency. The reader might quite rightly be thinking that this is of little concern to the translator, who must after all deal with the text they are given. The revision scheme which allows speakers to amend their own speeches should ensure errors are kept out, as should standard revision methods used in translation departments. Nevertheless, errors to one side, at each stage there will be some loss, which at the moment goes unaccounted. This is compounded in situations

were relay languages are used. It is also very difficult for a speaker to correct the translated version of their discourse, especially in the extreme case of the EU's many languages. Furthermore, the time delay makes this process even less accurate, although it is given that they would have had the chance to correct the version in their language, and therefore any issue of accuracy can be isolated as having occurred in translation. There is therefore little doubt that this process is a costly and inefficient, added to which, it seems it will also soon be out-dated.

At this point, we should perhaps ask ourselves a more fundamental question: do we need to keep written records? Relying on AV records removes the need for translation. Such a change would add to the demands on interpreters and those who train them, but it appears at first sight that this would represent a net improvement.

This analysis shows us that regardless of the different processes at work, the material with which interpreters and translators do their jobs in this specific example is wildly different, particularly under a functional approach to communication. Communication between MPs has a purpose that is clearly distinct from that of the verbatim record. Yet when the verbatim record was born, it took advantage of the time's cutting edge technology, accepting and adapting to its limitations. At the beginning of the 21st century, technology and globalisation provide new opportunities and demands. Audiovisual publication is still in its infancy and will meet with the resistance the printing press did, but it is here to stay. We should be striving to accept and adapt to that fact. Translators and interpreters have two opportunities to do so. First, by adapting the way their services are provided, and second, by thinking even more globally about the role they have in modern communication.

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