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Interpreting Proper Names: Different Interventions in Simultaneous and Consecutive Interpreting?

1 Intervention as a Universal of Translation and Interpreting?

The idea of language universals has two prominent representatives in linguistic theory: Noam Chomsky (1969) and Joseph Greenberg (1961). Chomsky's approach ("Universal Grammar") is based on Cartesian Rationalism and the idea of innate knowledge. In the Chomskyan sense, a good part of our linguistic knowledge is innate, i.e. not gained through experience, but rather being part of our nature as humans. Thus, all languages, as different as they may appear, necessarily share certain basic properties. We can detect these properties by formulating hypotheses about "Universal Grammar" and testing these hypotheses with regard to different languages or processes of language development (language variation or acquisition). Greenberg's research on linguistic universals, however, was driven more by empiricism. He gathered information from linguistic corpora on as many languages as possible in order to develop criteria for language typologies. In doing so, he discovered what he called "universals of grammar", i.e. certain principles of word order, or the frequent co-occurrence of specific grammatical features in languages belonging to the same language family. Greenberg's universals are simply frequent statistically – explaining this frequency was not his concern.

Neither Greenberg nor Chomsky played a role in the discussion of universals in translation. The notion of "universals" in translation theory seems to be sometimes used in a Greenbergian, empiricist sense, and sometimes in a Chomskyan sense, i.e. by hypothesizing certain mental procedures inherent to translation processes (see Bloch 2005 for an overview). However, while the claim of "universals" or "laws" of translation is usually made on a relatively narrow empirical basis, the proposed mental models, on the other hand, are too complex to be tested. Furthermore, the strong scientific desire to find such universals is not clearly motivated. While Chomskyan grammarians have good philosophical reasons for working with the idea of universals, and Greenberg simply found certain trends or recurrent patterns by browsing through an immense set of data, it is not clear why some scholars in translation and interpreting studies are still on the hunt for universals – at least not to me.

Hence, this study is not concerned with the discovery of such universals. Rather, I will discuss differences and similarities between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting with regard to the rendition of proper names by interpreters. Proper names, though sometimes considered not to be subject to interpreting but rather to linguistic transcoding, are an interesting object of study because their use assumes that speaker and listener share common ground with regard to the named entity, and are thus equally able to identify this entity. The aim is to investigate whether interpreters pay attention to this assumption differently in different modes of interpreting. The results show that proper names, although often being treated as a source of trouble, are not necessarily rendered differently in different modes of interpreting. Rather, the individual strategies of the interpreters seem to be more important.

2 Intervention(s) in Translation and Interpreting

Considering the fact that interpreters in the 1950's still claimed to be working "as faithfully as sound-amplification" (Glémet 1958, cit. from Pöchhacker 2004: 141) it is impressive how standard concepts, the self-perceptions of the practitioners and their research agendas have changed during the last 40 years. While a layperson may still be fond of the idea that interpreters simply render what others said before, most researchers and providers of interpreting services either implicitly or explicitly acknowledge that a mismatch between source- and target-text/discourse is unavoidable – and in some cases even desirable. This view of translators and interpreters as "intervenient beings" (Maier 2007) is backed by the insight that acts of translation are based on choices and that "each choice, reflected upon or not, represents an intervention" (Munday 2007: xiv). Although, the notion of "intervention" today almost inevitably leads one to think of the US "War on Terror", it also points directly to the question of linguistic equivalence, cultural filtering, and cultural action in oral and written translation (House 1977/1981, House/Rehbein eds 2004, Rehbein 2006).

However, what exactly is considered to be an intervention varies to a large extent: while Moeketsi (2007) calls for organizational interventions in interpreter training and institutional language policies to enhance court interpreting in post-apartheid South Africa, other authors study interventions in translation as related to linguistic features of discourse, such as dialogue coordination and different types of renditions (Wadensjö 1998), adaptation strategies (Kohn/Kalina 1996), speaking out of implicatures (Mason 2006), or shifts of intonational patterns (Nafá Waasaf 2003, Ahrens 2004). All of these studies and many others not mentioned here provide examples for the active involvement of interpreters. The notion of "intervention", therefore, does not constitute a new research paradigm. Rather, it sheds new light on issues that have been discussed at least since the 1970's. Basically, it accounts for the fact that translation and interpreting are activities usually performed by humans who somehow interact with other humans in the process of communication. As a Turkish-speaking ad hoc-interpreter in a German hospital once said: the mere fact of being in the room together with the doctor and the patient already changes the whole situation (Meyer 2003).

Gumul's study on explicitation in simultaneous interpreting shows that many interventions (i.e. changes, adaptations, shifts ascribed to interpreters) are not consciously carried out (Gumul 2006). Rather, they are often based on unconscious decisions. Gumul suggests that this might be due to the "incessant time pressure" and the "piecemeal picture of the text structure" (Gumul 2006: 184). Conscious interventions of interpreters in Gumul's study, however, often serve the purpose of disambiguation. Thus, we may conclude that interventions occur in different modes of interpreting, though not to the same extent and not for the same purposes. In an institutional setting with considerable differences in status and knowledge between agent and client, a dialogue interpreter may feel the need to explain technical terms to the client or draw the attention of the primary interlocutors to possible conflicts of culture. In a business meeting of experts, however, differences in knowledge or conflicting cultural norms are less likely to be sources of misunderstanding.

In addition to influencing context, the issue of processing constraints seems to play a major role when studying the frequency and the types of interventions in different modes of interpreting. If an interpreter is working in the simultaneous mode, there is less time to handle differences in mutual knowledge or culture if they occur. Therefore, Setton maintains that, in theory, renditions should provide all necessary communicative clues that allow for a correct interpretation, but that "in practice, the simultaneity constraints scramble the discourse, so that it becomes difficult to establish any more than occasional, indirect correspondences between communicative clues in the product and linguistic properties of the original" (Setton 2006: 382). Accordingly, Pöchhacker states that the "concern with cognitive information processing skills" (Pöchhacker 2004: 53) is one of the hotly debated topics in interpreting studies to date. Following up on that, this paper investigates whether time constraints lead to different types and frequencies of intervention in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. This hypothesis will be tested with regard to the use of proper names.

3 The Rendition of Proper Names

By using proper names, speakers verbalize their knowledge about single entities, such as persons (*John Doe*), places (*Hamburg*), institutions (*the United Nations*), or vehicles (*Queen Mary II*). A specific feature of proper names is that their use assumes a great deal of common knowledge between speaker and listener: if someone mentions *John*, he or she assumes that the listeners' knowledge associated with this name is sufficient to identify the person named "John" in the context of the current interaction. Although the knowledge associated with proper names is highly specific, many proper names actually contain generic information: names of people usually say something about the person's gender, names of places sometimes allow us to infer what kind of place it is (a city, an area, a river, etc.), and the names of institutions often consist of appellative constituents (*World Health Organization*) which characterize the purposes and structures of the institution, thus facilitating communication even if one does not know much about the institution itself. Therefore, proper names show different degrees of accessibility and their interpretation requires different types of knowledge. While some names allow for a "symbolic identification" of the named object, place, etc., others access knowledge about the respective element via a "symbolic characterization" (Hoffmann 1999).

The use of proper names allows the speaker to present his/her relation to and knowledge of the referenced entities as well as his/her assumptions about the other participants' knowledge and familiarity with the subject. If the speaker's assumption about the listener's knowledge is false, and if the knowledge conveyed by the speaker in early portions of the conversation does not allow the listener to bypass the knowledge deficit, the proper name automatically becomes a source of trouble for the continuing conversation. Therefore, speakers may choose to adopt the strategy to use proper names in combination with other generic terms related to those characteristics the speaker and listener have in common (Allerton 1996). In the sentence "John, Mary's uncle, came here yesterday", additional information is provided about "John", who is the grammatical subject and potential theme of the statement. The identification of "Mary", however, is treated as unproblematic for the addressee.

Conflicting findings and assumptions about proper names can be found in translation and interpreting studies. Newmark states that "proper nouns [...] are transferred or transliterated when they are translated", and he adds: "There are a large number of exceptions [...]" (Newmark 2004: 527). Accordingly, Kelletat (1998) maintains that names in translation usually require only minor adaptations, mainly on the orthographic or phonetic level (*Lisbon* – *Lisboa*), while Moya (1999) references journalistic texts to show that translators indeed adapt, explain, or omit names with regard to the presupposed knowledge of the readers of the text. Furthermore, Grass (2006) highlights that the translation and adaptation of foreign place names may actually touch on political and historical issues and, therefore, is not always that trivial: "elles [old German place names in the Alsace region] ne sont pas réutilisables dans une traduction du français vers l'allemand, sous peine de se faire taxer de pangermanisme" (Grass 2006: 667).

In interpreting studies, the idea that names require linguistic "transcoding" rather than interpreting can be traced back to Seleskovitch's model of interpreting as a "triangular process", involving interpreting as a heuristic mental process, and transcoding as a simple, mechanistic conversion of signs into other signs (Seleskovitch 1962, Pöchhacker 2004: 97). Unlike Seleskovitch, Gile highlights names as potential problems for interpreters, especially if the interpreter is not familiar with a particular name or its pronunciation in the target language (Gile 1995: 173f). In terms of Gile's "Efforts Model" and its focus on listening/analysis, production and memory, names and other smaller linguistic forms such as numbers or acronyms may increase the efforts of the interpreter and thus require certain "coping tactics". Emphasizing the specific challenges of simultaneous interpreting in contrast to written translation, Vianna maintains that, "if speaker and interpreter share contextual assumptions not accessible to the audience" (Vianna 2005: 181f) (as it may happen in the case of proper names), interpreters are allowed to provide information that is not explicitly encoded in the source-language discourse. She discusses examples of speakers talking about Brazilian celebrities such as drug-lords or sportsmen, showing that the communicative purposes achieved with these names in the Brazilian source discourse are not easily reproducible in the target discourse.

These studies clearly show that, in certain settings or contexts, proper names indeed trigger explanations, substitutions, omissions, etc. These interventions, however, do not always leave the original message intact. Increasing the accessibility for the target audience does not necessarily lead to functional equivalence, as the following example (1) shows. In example (1), current Brazilian president Lula da Silva is speaking in Germany to a mixed German-Brazilian audience. The event took place in the mid-nineties when Lula's left-wing workers party ("Partido dos Trabalhadores") was not yet strong enough to win elections. In his speech, Lula mainly talks about Brazilian internal policy issues and, more specifically, reasons why his party lost the previous elections. His interpreter is a German activist with a good command of Brazilian Portuguese. She frequently serves as an interpreter in the context of NGO-meetings but is not formally trained. The original speech is in Portuguese, with consecutive interpreting into German. Here, we present only English translations of the original contributions.

(1) "Miro Teixeira"

Brazilian Speaker (Lula da Silva)	**German Interpreter**
In addition, there is something else that I discovered after the elections.	
	And then there is something else that I discovered after the elections.
And who told me this was Miro Teixeira, leader of the PDT.	
	And who told me this was actually another/ a leader of another party.

In this portion of the speech, Lula announces a new topic that is related to the overall theme "elections". Then, in line 3, he adds the source of the information to this announcement. Here, Lula uses a pseudo-cleft construction that brings the grammatical subject (*Miro Teixeira*) to the end of the sentence. This construction type is used to place the subject in the foreground, which, in the canonical sentence structure would be perceived as old or known information (Reichmann 2005). In this case, it is the name of a person and their political function that are being highlighted. It is not necessary to know anything about Miro Teixeira and his political party, the PDT, to understand that this source of information is important from the speaker's perspective. The syntax of pseudo-clefting already indicates that the combination of proper name and generic designation at the end of the sentence is the crucial piece of information in this particular utterance. In the German rendition, however, while the pseudo-cleft structure is reproduced, the proper names of the person and party are substituted by indefinite, generic noun phrases (a leader of another party). Though common nouns such as "leader" and "party" are perfectly understandable for the German audience, they are less specific and less informative. In this syntactic and pragmatic context, their use contradicts the information structure of the statement and the communicative effect intended by the speaker.

In this way, example (1) shows that the use of proper names influences the communicative purposes of speech in various ways. By using proper names, speakers may anchor or back-up information in specific ways, they may allude to common knowledge and shared experiences, or they may present themselves as standing in a certain relation to others. Therefore, proper names can be regarded as important elements of discourse structure which contribute to the overall communicative purposes of talk. As with any other linguistic element, interpreters and translators must decide whether such elements need to be rendered in a certain communicative context and if so, how. In this study, however, we investigate whether such decisions lead to comparable results in different modes of interpreting.

4 Data

4.1 Data Collection

In order to test the hypothesis that proper names are rendered differently in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, we collected a corpus consisting of comparable performances of five consecutive and simultaneous interpreters. We opted for a constellation in which a foreign language-speaking expert speaks to a non-expert audience in a public setting in Germany. To avoid a role play-setting, we cooperated with the German nongovernmental organization KOBRA (*Koordination Brasilien*), a network of rainforest- and third world activists. As part of their regular activities, the NGO organized the visit of a Brazilian speaker engaged in campaigns against the use of genetically modified crops (soy) and the plantation of soy in the Amazon basin.

The speaker came to Germany in May 2006 for a series of three lectures on the same topic. The lectures were given in Berlin, Hamburg, and Heidelberg. Two of these lectures were rendered in the consecutive mode, but in one case (Heidelberg) simultaneous interpreting was provided. The event took place at the Department for Translation and Interpreting of the University of Heidelberg. We were able to use the local professional system for conference interpreter training, including booths, headsets for the audience, etc. This enabled us to have two teams, each with two simultaneous interpreters working side by side, in different booths, on the same speech. The audience was similar in each case: German rainforest activists, concerned citizens who wanted to know more about genetically modified food, and people with a general interest in Brazilian politics or environmental issues. In Heidelberg, however, there were also a considerable number of university students present, as the talk was part of the 'regional studies'-programme of the department.

Professional interpreters were hired through an interpreting agency that had already cooperated with the NGO on several previous occasions. In order to prepare themselves, the interpreters received written material on the topic of genetically modified crops, as well as the manuscript of the speech, which was available one day before the events took place. The manuscript was the same for all three lectures, but the speaker deviated from it frequently. Thus, the speech was largely spontaneous and therefore not always text-based. Rather, the manuscript served mainly as an aide-mémoire for the speaker. The interpreters were all native speakers of German with Portuguese as their B-Language. All of them had good professional records and earned their livings with translation and interpreting, though one was an autodidact with no formal training. Three of the interpreters were more familiar with European Portuguese, while two reported that they mainly work with Brazilian Portuguese. While four members of the group worked in various contexts (media, conferences, court), one mainly worked for the European Parliament. The consecutive interpreter in Hamburg ("Hans") also participated in the Heidelberg lecture as a simultaneous interpreter (Figure 1).

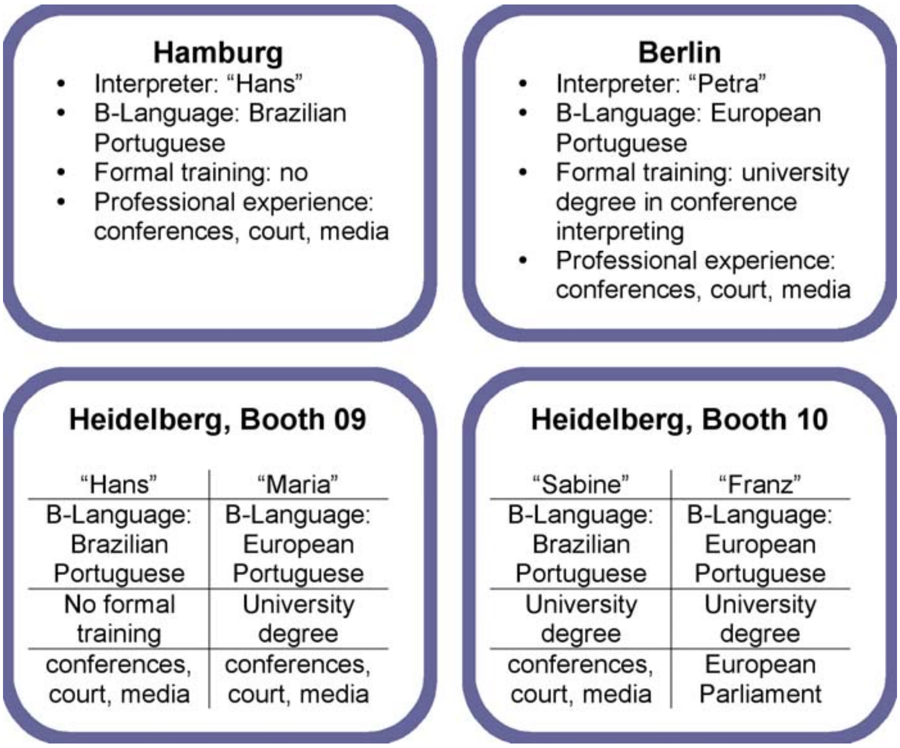

Figure 1: Interpreters participating in the study

Two weeks after the conferences, all five interpreters filled out a questionnaire on their professional experience, their second language acquisition, their likes and dislikes regarding different types of interpreting and different conference settings and how their opinion of the particular lectures on rainforest issues and genetically modified crops.

The three talks were recorded and transcribed using the EXMARaLDA-transcription editor (http://www.exmaralda.org). In the case of the consecutive mode, the transcripts contained both the original speech and the subsequent renditions. In Heidelberg, however, where simultaneous interpreting was provided, we transcribed the original speech and the two streams from the booths separately (Figure 2). Nevertheless, the temporal relations between source and target discourse (time-lag) were documented by annotating the time at which each statement began. This was necessary because the temporal extension of speech and the spatial extension of writing diverged to an extent that could not be integrated in the transcript. Nevertheless, temporal relations between source and target discourse (time-lag) were documented by annotating for each utterance the point at which it started. A detailed analysis of the temporal relations in smaller segments of discourse, however, was only possible by referring to the sound-file.

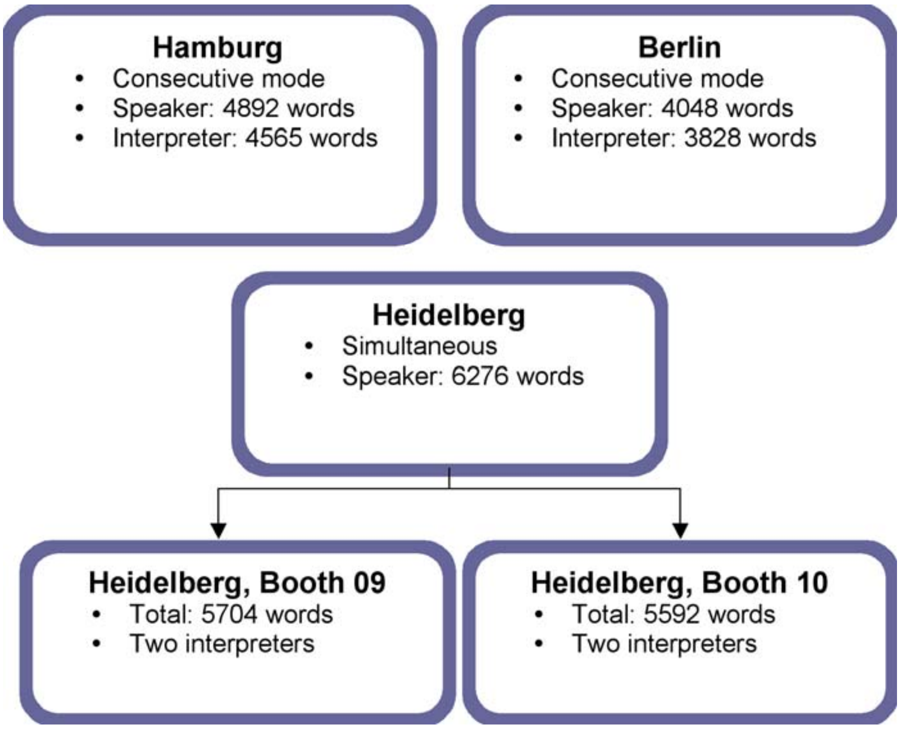

Figure 2: Features of the transcripts

This type of data varies systematically on one hand and is semi-controlled on the other. The setting and working conditions for the interpreters were authentic with regard to time for preparation, preparation material, and payment. The interpreters rated the speakers' performance (argumentative style and articulation) as "normal" or "typically Brazilian". The content was almost the same in all lectures, though the formulations were often not entirely identical. With regard to the argumentative structure of her talk, the speaker uses a presentational, assertive style. At the beginning, there are always descriptive sections in which she gives a *tour d'horizon* of the topic, while at the end she presents political measures that need to be taken and political demands to which the audience should adhere. Thus, the data were uniform in the sense that there was high degree of convergence between each individual lecture with regard to parameters that are important for interpreters. The one parameter that varied systematically was the difference between consecutive interpreting in Berlin and Hamburg, and simultaneous interpreting in Heidelberg. Furthermore, the B-language of the interpreters (European or Brazilian Portuguese) varied, and for each mode of interpreting, we had subjects representing both of these possibilities. Nevertheless, all subjects worked from their B-language into their A-language (German). One subject, "Hans", was present both in Hamburg and Heidelberg and thus interpreted the same speaker and the same speech for a second time one day after doing so in the consecutive mode in Hamburg, allowing for an analysis of individual variation in interpreter performance. As we will see later in the discussion of results, the importance of individual variation was indeed one outcome of the study.

The corpus presented in this study (35,000 words, Portuguese-German) will be available at no charge in 2008. Access will be provided via the http://www.exmaralda.org website. For details, please contact the author of this article.

4.2 Data Analysis

In the three speeches, four types of proper names were identified, namely persons (*Lula, Chico Mendes*), institutions (*IDEC, Congresso Nacional*), places (*Amazônia, Pará*), and products (*soja Roundup-Ready*). Occurrences of these types were located and noted. The frequencies of appearance ranged between 1% and 2% of the total amount of words spoken by the speaker (see Table 1).

Berlin	**Hamburg**	**Heidelberg**
N=56	N=63	N=79
1,14%	1,55%	1,25%

Table 1: Frequencies of proper names in the Brazilian source discourse

These occurrences were then compared in their context with the target language version in order to identify different types of renditions. In the case of proper names, we identified five types of renditions:

1 A name is rendered as a name, sometimes with minimal (phonetic) adaptations ("N – N")

2 A name is omitted, with no rendition at all ("N – Ø")

3 A name is rendered by a pronoun referring to previous occurrences in the local context of the target language discourse ("N – Pro")

4 A name is rendered by a generic characterization, i.e. a class or common noun ("N – Gen")

5 A name is rendered as a name, and additional characterizations are provided which enhance the accessibility for the German audience ("N – N+")

In the following section, we will give examples for each of the rendition types. Example (2), "Rio Grande do Sul", provides evidence of types 1, 2, and 3. In this example, the name of a federal state in Brazil is used by the speaker three times, but not by the two simultaneous interpreters in booths 9 and 10 (in the Heidelberg lecture). For space reasons, only English versions of the original German and Portuguese utterances are presented. The speaker begins an utterance containing the name "Rio Grande do Sul", continues by adding a parenthetical construction with information concerning that place, and then restarts the utterance using the name again for the third time. Thus, the place name is redundantly used, and both interpreters apply certain techniques to avoid this overuse. While "Maria" skips the restart and shortens the parenthetical by omitting certain elements, "Franz" reproduces the structure and the content of the original, but refers to the initially mentioned name with demonstrative pronouns (that, there).

(2) "Rio Grande do Sul" (•= short hesitations; ((1,5s))= longer pauses measured in seconds)

Speaker	**Interpreter "Maria"**	**Interpreter "Franz"**
The soy peasants • • of **Rio Grande do Sul** – **Rio Grande do Sul** is the southernmost federal state of the country – • • • so the soy peasants of **Rio Grande do Sul** grow transgenic soy.	The uh • planters of **Rio Grande do Sul** – in the south of the country – • • already uh offered transgenic soy.	Namely the soy peasants of **Rio Grande do Sul** – **that** is the southernmost federal state of Brazil – **there**, ((1,5s)) well it was said that they grow genetically modified soy.

Example (3) "Soja RR" below is an example of a rendition of a name by a generic characterization (N – Gen). Here, the speaker names a specific product, Monsanto's soy seed "Roundup-Ready". The interpreter, however, already mentioned the company Monsanto before and now simply refers to the brand as "their [i.e. Monsanto's] product". Thus, the use of a generic characterization becomes possible through anaphoric reference [via "their"] to the name of the company that produces genetically modified soy seeds. The speaker had already established that Monsanto produces the kind of crop named "RR" or "Roundup-Ready". Therefore, the audience could infer what kind of product is meant here.

(3) "Soja RR"

Speaker	**Interpreter "Petra"**
Only a few days after the accreditation of the **RR soy**, the companies issued an application to the public health authorities (...)	Only a few days after the accreditation of **their product** they actually applied to the health authorities for (...)

The fifth type of rendition (N – N+) is presented in example (4) "Congresso Nacional". In this case, a name is repeated and the interpreter provides additional information about this name. Though one may argue that the audience in this case probably did not need the information that the National Congress in example (4) is actually the *Brazilian* National Congress and not another, the example demonstrates a case in which the proper name is expanded and implicit or presupposed knowledge is thus explicitly verbalized.

(4) "Congresso Nacional"

Speaker	**Interpreter "Hans"**
People in wheelchairs occupied the **National Congress** for several days (...)	People in wheelchairs beleaguered the **National Congress of Brazil** for several days (...)

The five different types of renditions accounted for all occurrences in our data. The number of cases that were borderline or unclear was small. Most occurrences clearly fit into one of the categories we established. Thus, all occurrences of proper names in our corpus were captured so that we were able to compare different interpreters, as well as their performance in different modes of interpreting with regard to this linguistic phenomenon.

5 Results

The percentages of different rendition types in different modes of interpreting (Table 2) show that in most cases, the majority of names are rendered as names (47%-74%). Zero renditions range between 4% and 12%, pronominal reproduction between 2% and 7%. Generic reproductions (N – Gen) and expansions of names (N – N+) together are the second most common type of name reproduction. Although these findings confirm the hypothesis that names may indeed be sources of trouble for the listener and/or the interpreter, the percentage values did not show clear differences between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. We began with the assumption that consecutive and simultaneous interpreting would constrain interpreter performance in different ways and that this should have an impact on how names are rendered and how much time and effort are spent, for example, on expanded renditions of names (the N+-type). We thought that consecutive interpreting, compared to simultaneous interpreting, would allow for more variation on the part of the interpreter, thus triggering an increase in renditions other than N-to-N. This, however, was not the case, as the interpreters varied individually.

The most obvious example for of this phenomenon is the comparison of the two teams of simultaneous interpreters in Heidelberg who simultaneously worked with the same speech. Here, the input is virtually the same, but the output differs to a large extent. While only 47% of names in booth 09 were rendered as names, the neighboring booth 10 decided to render 74% of the names as they were. Accordingly, the number of N+-renditions (combination of names and additional information) is low in booth 10 (10%), while more than twice as many names in booth 09 were combined with additional information (21%).

In the consecutive mode (Hamburg and Berlin), however, both performances were comparable to one another. In these events, N-to-N-renditions range between 52% and 60%, the percentages of zero-renditions and generic renditions are low, and the N+-renditions range between 23% (Berlin) and 27% (Hamburg). It becomes clear that there are three settings in which interpreters acted quite similarly (Hamburg, Berlin, Heidelberg 09), with one setting (Heidelberg 10) which poses an exception.

	N	**Ø**	**Pro**	**Gen**	**N+**
Heidelberg 09 (n=81)	38 (47%)	10 (12%)	6 (7%)	10 (12%)	17 (21%)
Heidelberg 10 (n=81)	60 (74%)	2 (2%)	6 (7%)	5 (6%)	8 (10%)
Hamburg (n=63)	33 (52%)	5 (8%)	3 (5%)	5 (8%)	17 (27%)
Berlin (n=57)	34 (60%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)	5 (9%)	13 (23%)

Table 2: Frequencies of different rendition types in our transcripts

Thus, the contrast found in the data seems to be more a contrast between individuals, and not a contrast between modes of interpreting. This can be illustrated by comparing how two of the interpreters in Heidelberg dealt with the place name *Amazônia* (Amazon basin). Not surprisingly, the speaker used this place name quite frequently, as the talk addressed the social and ecological consequences of genetically modified crops in the Amazon basin. In example (5), the speaker uses this place name in the context of her tour d'horizon of this topic.

(5) "Amazônia"

Speaker (39m:51s)	**"Hans"** (40m:02s)	**"Franz"** (39m:54s)
((1s)) Essa soja • • que tá sendo plantada na ***Amazônia*** *• • vem toda de terras griladas, ou boa parte.*	*Die Sojaproduktion in Pará und auch im* ***Amazonas-gebiet*** *• • geschieht nun hauptsächlich auf wider-rechtlich angeeignetem Bundesland.*	*Und • • die Soja, • die in* ***Amazonien*** *angebaut wird, • • kommt aus Gebie-ten, • • die man sich eigentlich widerrechtlich an-geeignet hat.*
This soy that is currently planted in Amazonia comes entirely from illegally acquired federal estates, or at least most of it.	The soy production in Pará and also in the Amazon region takes place mainly on illegally acquired federal estates.	And the soy that is planted in Amazonia comes from areas that were actually acquired illegally.

In example (5), Interpreter "Hans" renders *Amazônia* by using a more explicit German term. He uses the word *Amazonasgebiet* 'Amazon region', whereas "Franz" uses *Amazonien*. We rated the rendition of "Amazônia" as "Amazonien" as an N-to-N-rendition (type 1). The rendition type chosen by "Hans", *Amazonasgebiet*, however, was rated as an expanded N+-rendition (type 5).

The different ratings are justified by the fact that, from a structural and semantic point of view, *Amazonasgebiet* is more explicit than *Amazonien*. While *Amazonien* is composed of the nominal stem *Amazon-* and a derivational affix, *Amazonasgebiet* is a compound word consisting of two nouns that can be processed independently. The nominal head *-gebiet* 'area' prevents any misunderstanding, especially with respect to any possible confusion between the Amazon region as a geographic entity encompassing parts of Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, etc., and those parts of the Amazon region which are part of the Brazilian federal states of Amazonas, Acre, Roraíma, etc., and thus have a special legal status (*Amazônia legal*). Therefore, while *Amazonien* could be used for either of these slightly different denotations, *Amazonasgebiet* refers exclusively to the Amazon region as a geographic entity, with the generic meaning of the nominal head *Gebiet* dominating the compound as a whole. Therefore, the word *Amazonasgebiet* is less ambiguous and more explicit than *Amazonien*.

In Table 5, we counted only those instances in which the Brazilian speaker specifically uses the noun *Amazônia* to refer to the Amazon region in the more general, geographical sense, and not to the legal entity. Variants such as *Amazônia brasileira* 'Brazilian Amazon region' or adjectives as in *povos amazônicos* 'Amazonian people' were excluded from the survey.

The results presented in Table 3 show that on the whole, the use of *Amazonasgebiet* and *Amazonien* differed considerably among the subjects. The main difference can be found for the simultaneous mode in Heidelberg. Both interpreters ("Hans" and "Franz") had to render the place name sixteen times. While "Hans" switches between the explicit and the less explicit rendition types, and sometimes even fails to render the word, "Franz" almost exclusively renders *Amazônia* with *Amazonien*. Thus, there seems to be no clear impact of the different modes of interpreting on the choice between *Amazonasgebiet* and *Amazonien* for *Amazônia*. Rather, the two subjects opted for two different ways of dealing with the issue. While "Hans" is more flexible, "Franz" sticks to one option throughout his performance.

Interpreter	*Amazonien*	*Amazonasgebiet*	Other nouns	Pronouns	Ø
"Hans"	4	9	–	–	3
"Franz"	15	–	–	–	1

Table 3: Renditions of *Amazônia* into German in the Heidelberg lecture

It could be argued, though, that the difference between the two German options is of no importance, at least in the context of this lecture. Our aim, however, was not to expose spectacular mistranslations or shifts of meaning. Rather, we hoped to find out whether interpreters search for listener-friendly variants of lexical items under certain performance conditions and if so, to which degree. The N+-rendition (*Amazonasgebiet*) provides more explicit information on the respective geographic entity. Hence, it is slightly more listener-friendly and should therefore be used with a similar frequency by interpreters working in the same mode of interpreting and with the same input. The differences in the performances of "Hans" and "Franz" show that factors other than the differences between simultaneous and consecutive interpreting may be more important.

Another interesting result emerges when one looks at the types of names that were rendered as Type 4 (N – Gen) and Type 5 (N – N+). Table 4 shows the percentages of all N+ or generic renditions for each interpreter or interpreter team separately for each name type. In the Berlin lecture, for example, 31% of the 26 institution names are rendered by generic characterizations or expanded renditions. As shown in Table 4, the percentages of generic or expanded renditions are high for persons and places, and a bit lower for institutions, with the exception of the Berlin lecture. Mostly names of institutions containing regional terms such as *Centro Universitário do Pará* 'University Centre of Pará', or acronyms such as *CTNbio* 'National Commission for Bio-Security' were replaced or received further elaboration so that they could be made more accessible for the German audience. This shows that interpreters considered the lecture to be difficult mainly with regard to Brazil's political personnel and the geographic landscape. In the case of institutional names, however, only minor changes are sufficient to increase accessibility, as these names are in most cases already composed of class nouns (Humbley 2006). They are proper names built out of "symbolic characterizations", in Hoffmann's (1999) terms. In any case, interventions of the interpreters affected the purpose and content of the lecture in only very few and isolated cases. An example for this will be given in (6) "Chico Mendes".

	Places	**Persons**	**Institutions**	**Products**
Heidelberg, booth 09	41%	50%	20%	16%
Heidelberg, booth 10	19%	14%	13%	16%
Hamburg	38%	44%	25%	40%
Berlin	33%	33%	31%	25%

Table 4: Generic characterizations or expanded renditions per name type

Example (6) is from booths 09 and 10 in Heidelberg. The interpreters are, again, "Hans" and "Franz". In the excerpt, the speaker is talking about possible solutions for the social and ecological problems in the Amazon basin. More specifically, she addresses the issue of so-called "extractive reserves" (*reservas extrativistas*): areas under legal protection that, at the same time, could be economically used by rubber tappers and other small businesses on a sustainable basis, in order to preserve the ecological foundations of the rainforest. In this context, she quotes Chico Mendes by saying that "the extractive reserve is the land reform of the Amazonian people". This quote is practically a political formula that is frequently used by Brazilian grass root movements. Chico Mendes was a leader of the trade union of rubber tappers in the Brazilian federal state of Acre. He was killed in 1988 by gunmen presumably hired by *fazendeiros* 'big landlords'. Thus, Mendes is seen as a martyr of these social and ecological movements in Brazil. For Brazilian activists, it is normal to refer to him in discussions about developmental policies and the rainforest. Among the German audience, however, he is probably not as well known.

(6) "Chico Mendes"

Speaker (48m:17s)	**"Hans"** (48m:23s)	**"Franz"** (48m:22s)
Uh **Chico Mendes who was a great Amazonian leader** said that the extractive reserve is the land reform of the Amazonian people.	**One of the great leaders of this movement in the Amazon region** always said that protected areas are somehow the land reform of the Amazon region.	**Someone** once said that this is somehow almost a type of land reform for us.

The speaker explicitly indicates that the statement is a quote, she names the author, and she characterizes him as a "great Amazonian leader". Thus, she anticipates that the name is not familiar for the audience. The interpreters, however, avoid the use of the name *Chico Mendes*. While "Hans" omits the name and uses only the generic "one of the great leaders", "Franz" goes one step further and simply uses the German indefinite pronoun *jemand* 'someone'. Hence, both interpreters omit the speaker's reference to the person Chico Mendes, who is an authority on rainforest issues, even more so after he died in the struggle against the devastation of the Amazon basin. The speaker's argument in favour of extractive reserves and the fact that they could significantly change the economics of the area is backed by her reference to the person Chico Mendes. By omitting this indication of authorship, the interpreters change the weight of the argument (Johnen/Meyer 2007). In the rendition by "Franz" ("Someone once said..."), the argument is at least no longer clearly embedded in the political discourse of the Brazilian social movements.

Of course we cannot know exactly what triggered these omissions. However, the interpreter "Hans" indirectly justified this omission when answering our questionnaire two weeks after the events. He made the general remark that Brazilian speakers usually assume too much when talking to a non-Brazilian audience. Considering that "Hans" frequently works with Brazilian NGO's, while "Franz" mainly works in the European Parliament and has European Portuguese as his B-language, we may assume that "Hans" deleted the name deliberately, while "Franz" simply did not know who the person was.

6 Discussion

This study was designed to investigate differences between the performances of interpreters in simultaneous and consecutive interpreting. The phenomenon of proper names was chosen in order to investigate whether interpreters pay attention to the assumptions that go along with these items, and whether they do so differently in different modes of interpreting. The data investigated were semi-controlled insofar as the speaker was always the same person talking about the same topic. The audience, working conditions, and the setting were authentic and the interpreters were experienced practitioners. The results show that a considerable number of proper names were rendered in a way that deviated from the original. However, no clear differences were found between consecutive and simultaneous interpreting. Furthermore, we were not able to identify the reason for deviant renditions in all of the cases. In some cases, it is possible that the interpreters themselves were unfamiliar with the name or simply missed hearing it, and thus preferred a class name, i.e. a more general "dummy" term that requires less specific knowledge, both for the interpreter and the audience. Nevertheless, this study confirms previous findings regarding simultaneous interpreters as co-actors, who react, though mainly unconsciously, even to particular linguistic forms such as proper names and creatively change the structure and the content of the source discourse. This, indeed, can be considered to be a universal of linguistic mediation: rendition and source discourse are never identical. Their distance or proximity can be evaluated by considering linguistic categories and pragmatic dimensions of speech.

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