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List of Abbreviations

EFL	English as a foreign language
EIL	English as an international language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELT	English language teaching
ENL	English as a native language
ESL	English as a second language
ISIB	interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit
L1	first language
L2	second language
LFC	lingua franca core
NNS	non-native speaker
NS	native speaker
SI	simultaneous interpreting
SLA	second language acquisition
T1 SLB	Type 1 shared languages benefit
T2 SLB	Type 2 shared languages benefit

1. Introduction

When choosing the topic of my thesis, I insisted upon conducting research on something that I could relate to personally. Lingua franca communication situations, which take place when speakers who do not share a first language or mother tongue¹ communicate with each other in a language that is usually a second language² for everyone involved (cf. O’Grady/Archibald⁵2004: 532), are something that I have experienced on several occasions: haggling with Bulgarian shopkeepers in Greek, conversing with Austrian acquaintances in French, or asking a Croatian retiree in Zagreb for directions in German, to name a few.

The choice of ELF was particularly appealing, as it is a relatively new field of study (cf. Clark 2013: 15, Albl-Mikasa 2013a: 191) with a growing body of research that attests to its significance for a number of scholars involved in a variety of disciplines (cf. Klimpfinger 2009: 348). Interpreting studies is one of those disciplines (see Albl-Mikasa, Cook, Reithofer). As Reithofer (2011: 42) notes, “English as a Lingua Franca is increasingly seen as competing with simultaneous interpreting and this is why our profession must be characterized by its high quality all the more” (my translation).

In addition to interpreters viewing ELF as a potential threat to their livelihood (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2010: 129), they often come under fire from ELF researchers for their critical attitudes towards ELF speakers’ output. As a case in point, House (2012: 173) argues that

ELF is definitely not a “reduced, interference-bound system of verbal communication”, as was recently claimed by [translation studies scholar] Snell-Hornby (2010) in *The Linguist*, and it is silly to disparagingly refer to ELF as “Globish”, “McLanguage” or even BSE (for “Bad Simple English”) and so on.

As a prospective interpreter, I can understand the feelings of frustration that arise when a speaker’s use of English differs significantly from the varieties that an interpreter is accustomed to. On the other hand, I feel that interpreters must heighten their awareness of the various communication strategies and language forms that characterize ELF speakers’ output, as they greatly outnumber L1 English speakers (cf. Crystal²2003: 69).

Moreover, my decision to focus on ELF as the subject of my thesis was due, in part, to my previous professional experience: I hold a CELTA³ teaching certificate, and was employed as a “Native Speaker for English” for several years in both an elementary school

¹ The problematic nature of the term “mother tongue” will be addressed in Section 2.2.

² The term “second language” will be discussed in Section 3.2.

³ Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other languages, offered by the University of Cambridge. More information is available at <http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/teaching-english/teaching-qualifications/celta/> (20.02.2015)

and a middle school in the province of Lower Austria.

As ELF researchers are concerned about the pervasiveness of prescriptive, L1 English norms in the ELT industry, arguing that strict adherence to ENL norms is not always appropriate (cf. Dewey 2009; Jenkins 2000, 2009, ²2009; Seidlhofer 2001, 2011), I felt that researching ELF could provide me with further insight into how to accommodate my future students' needs as effectively as possible. Furthermore, I found Seidlhofer's (2001: 378-387) critical appraisal of the very position that I had held for a number of years to be particularly interesting.

The specific goal of this thesis is to investigate whether or not knowledge of ELF speakers' L1s makes it easier for interpreters to understand the speakers' English. The answer may appear to be blatantly obvious; however, it must be supported with empirical evidence. This thesis attempts to provide said evidence.

The next chapter offers an overview of the conventions and practices that define simultaneous interpreting (SI) and explains how interpreters engage in cognitive multitasking by using Gerver's (1975) flowchart model of input processing and output generation (cf. Pöschhacker 2004: 100). It also details how the cognitive multitasking process can go awry by using Gile's (2009) Effort Models. The latter will then be analyzed in view of ELF speakers' output.

Chapter Three is devoted to ELF. It will trace ELF's development and highlight how it differs from EFL as a subset discipline of SLA. These differences are ideological in nature; terms such as "English," "NNS," and "learner" will be evaluated in view of these differences. It also includes an introduction to Jenkins' (2000) *Lingua Franca Core*, which relates to ELF phonology, followed by an overview of the common features and differences ELF speakers exhibit in the following areas: morphosyntax, lexis, and pragmatics. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the interface where ELF and SI meet.

Chapter Four will introduce the reader to Bent/Bradlow's (2003) concept of the "Interlanguage Speech Intelligibility Benefit," which provides evidence that speakers whose L1 is not English find other speakers who share their L1 just as, if not more, intelligible than L1 English speakers. The term "interlanguage" is viewed critically by many ELF scholars (cf. Prodromou 2008: 73f, Jenkins ²2009: 67, Seidlhofer 2011: 89f), as explained in the subchapter which describes Selinker's (1972) notion of interlanguage. Subsequently, the concept of intelligibility, with its implications for interpreter processing strategies, will be explained in greater detail.

When not referring to Bent/Bradlow's experiment itself but, rather, the phenomenon

that it denotes, I have decided to use Albl-Mikasa's (2013b) term "shared languages benefit." The reason for this is twofold: Firstly, the term "shared languages" is arguably more neutral than "interlanguage" when viewed from an ELF perspective. Secondly, it is also more appropriate for the experiment at hand, as a "shared language" could be any of the working languages in an interpreter's combination, not just the interpreter's L1.

Chapter Five focuses on analyzing a variety of studies which investigate both the effect of the interpreter's non-native accent on listeners, as well as how interpreters perform when interpreting ELF speakers. I have chosen to include studies related to interpreters' accents, because as demonstrated in Chapter 2, interpreters occasionally work into their L2 and, like many ELF speakers, their accent may also diverge from ENL varieties. Bork's (2012) study demonstrates that interpreting with a non-native accent does not have a negative impact on listeners' quality perceptions, while Cheung's (2013) study demonstrates the exact opposite. The studies related to interpreting ELF speakers include Kodrnja's (2001) study on information loss when interpreting a NNS, Basel's (2002) study on information transfer and non-native elocution in SI, and Chang/Wu's (2014) study on interpreting ELF speakers in Taiwan.

Chapter Six details the methodology used to conduct the present study and presents the results of both the pilot study carried out with students, as well as the main study with professional conference interpreters. A discussion of the study's limitations leads to closing remarks about the findings and their implications for further research into ELF and SI.

As transparency and translator visibility (cf. Venuti 1995) are two ideological standpoints which I subscribe to, I have indicated the name of the translator (if available) for all direct quotes which did not originally appear in English, or translated them myself. Any inaccuracies arising as a result thereof are solely my responsibility. This is also the case with the IPA transcriptions found in Appendix B. Attending more than one linguistics class in more than one country does not make me an expert in the field.

Nonetheless, this thesis does draw heavily from linguistics, as it is of particular interest to me and certain key aspects, such as phonology and pragmatics, are part and parcel of ELF research (cf. Jenkins 2000, Cogo 2009). I will endeavor to explain certain concepts as clearly as possible; however, I will replace detailed explanations with specific examples if a lengthy explanation is deemed to impede the text's readability.

Although I have written about ELF and sought to cater to its users' needs in this thesis, there are instances where I am 'guilty' of using ENL idioms (e.g. "part and parcel"). As an L1 speaker writing in English, I chose these phrases because they came to me immediately during

the writing process and I feel that they are a reflection of my individual writing style.

Given my interest in postcolonial studies, I cannot help but recognize that this thesis has a Eurocentric bias. I have done my best to counteract it by including studies which were not conducted in the West. Melchers/Shaw's (2003: x) turn of phrase sums it up succinctly: I recognize that I am a "prisoner of [my] prejudices and hope that readers can see past them."

2. What is simultaneous interpreting (SI)?

There are two modes of interpreting: simultaneous interpreting and consecutive interpreting (cf. Kadrić/Kaindl/Kaiser-Cooke ²2007: 63, Kalina 1998: 21). As the names suggest, “simultaneous⁴ interpreting” takes place when the interpreter hears a speech in one language and conveys it into another language at the same time (cf. Russo 2010: 333), while in “consecutive⁵ interpreting,” the interpreter conveys the speaker’s message after s/he has finished speaking. “Finished speaking” may refer to a point in time where the speaker has paused after a few minutes (between three and twelve minutes), so that the interpreter can deliver the message in another language, or after the speaker has completed his/her speech (cf. Kalina 1998: 23).

These modes are related to various types of interpreting, which take different communicative settings and forms of interaction into account (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 13-16): for example, simultaneous interpreting may be practiced in conference settings (conference interpreting), while liaison interpreting typically involves consecutive interpreting (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 14, Kadrić et al. ²2007: 65). The terms “simultaneous interpreting” and “conference interpreting” are sometimes used interchangeably. However, for the sake of conciseness and consistency, I will only use the abbreviated form of the term “simultaneous interpreting,” “SI,” throughout this thesis and will focus exclusively on SI, explaining its underlying mechanisms and what characterizes it.

SI between spoken languages is used in a variety of settings. These include international summits, professional seminars, bilateral and multilateral negotiations between states, as well as other types of meetings and congresses (cf. International Association of Conference Interpreters - AIIC 2013a: 1). As these “interpreter-mediated events” (Russo 2010: 333) often include a large number of participants and can last several hours, the use of consecutive interpreting would be too time-consuming (cf. 2010: 333, Kadrić et al. ²2007: 64).

One of the preconditions for efficient SI is ensuring that fully functioning technical equipment is available (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 19). Again, as the aforementioned settings often involve a large number of participants, microphones are necessary to ensure that the speaker and the interpreter are heard by everyone. Soundproof booths guarantee that the interpreter can hear the speaker as clearly as possible and is not distracted by background noise, such as audience members coughing or rustling sheets of paper. Finally, the interpreter needs

⁴ Derived from the Latin word “simul,” meaning “at the same time” (cf. *Oxford Dictionary* ³2001: 845).

⁵ Latin “consecutivus” – “following in an unbroken sequence” (³2001: 185).

headphones while sitting in the booth, so that s/he can hear the speaker as clearly as possible; those who wish to listen to the interpreter will also need to have headphones available to them. (cf. AIIC 2012: 1). As there is usually more than one interpreter in the booth, headphones help block out any noises that the other interpreter might be making (i.e. writing down additional information or drinking out of a water bottle).

Although fully functioning technical equipment may be a precondition for successful SI (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 19), the use of technology itself is not a precondition for certain types of SI. Some examples include whispered interpreting, sight translation, and sign language interpreting (cf. Kadrić et al. ²2007: 64f, Pöchhacker 2004: 17ff).

Whispered interpreting, as the name suggests, occurs when “[t]he interpreter is seated or standing among the delegates and interprets simultaneously directly into the ear of the delegates” (European Commission - EC 2012a: 1). This type of SI is used when there are no interpreting booths at a particular event, such as when heads of state or foreign delegates attend a play or another cultural event (cf. Kadrić et al. ²2007: 65).

Sight translation takes place when there is a source text written in one language that the interpreter then “reads” aloud in another language, processing the written source text while simultaneously reading it in the target language (cf. Russo 2010: 333). This form of SI occurs in a variety of settings with different text types: sight translation of a birth certificate in court or documents used at a conference (cf. Kadrić et al. ²2007: 65, Pöchhacker 2004: 19).

Finally, sign language or signed language interpreting facilitates communication between the Deaf (capitalized as an expression of a distinct cultural identity, cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 18) and the hearing. In much the same manner spoken languages are typologically different (i.e. French, German) and have national varieties (i.e. British English, American English), signed languages also exhibit these differences through a variety of manual gestures and facial cues which may occur only in one particular variety (cf. EC 2012b: 1). Usually, signed language interpreters performing SI in an institutional setting, such as interpreting a parliamentary debate, work from their A language (a spoken language) into their B language (a signed language). Section 2.2 includes an analysis of the differences between A and B languages.

In short, SI is characterized by contemporaneous communication which takes place using a minimum of two languages (cf. Kalina 1998: 19). It may or may not involve the use of technical equipment. Furthermore, SI is unidirectional (cf. Kadrić et al. ²2007: 66): the interpreter does not engage in any form of dialogue with the speaker or audience members while interpreting (cf. Kalina 1998: 21). Finally, communication situations where SI is used

are symmetrical in nature (cf. Pöchhacker 2010: 155): using Kadrić et al.'s (cf. 2007: 66) example of an international symposium of cardiologists, one can assume that the participants possess similar qualifications and have common goals; they are more or less on the same footing in terms of the knowledge and ideas they have about the world and how they use this knowledge and these ideas in a communicative setting. In Section 3.4 I will demonstrate that the concepts of unidirectionality and communicative symmetry have far-reaching implications for SI in an ELF setting.

2.1 How does SI work? A model-based approach

The cognitive process of SI can be described with reference to models developed by two interpreting researchers: David Gerver and Daniel Gile. Gerver's model (1975) analyzes the processes which take place during SI from a perspective based on research in psychology (1975: 119f). This is also true of Gile's model; however,

[...]the idea is not to *describe* the simultaneous interpreting process, but to account for errors and omissions observed in the performance of simultaneous and consecutive interpreters which could not be easily attributed to deficient linguistic abilities, insufficient extralinguistic knowledge or poor conditions in the delivery of the source text" (Gile 1999: 154, his italics).

While there are other models which are arguably more comprehensive in terms of their interdisciplinary approach⁶ to explaining the underlying cognitive mechanisms of SI (see Cokely 1992, Paradis 1994, Setton 1999, cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 102f), Gerver was the first interpreting researcher to undertake this task (cf. 2004: 100). Furthermore, his research findings provided Gile (2009: 169) with the evidence needed to conclude that interpreters engage in several tasks at once; this is a central tenet of the Efforts models. These models are relevant for this analysis, as they show how ELF speakers' output may have an influence on interpreters' abilities to execute the aforementioned tasks. Plus, Gile's sense of 'pedagogical camaraderie' holds particular appeal for interpreting students: the models should "[...] help students understand why interpreting is so difficult and accept this as a fact of life rather than as a worrying sign of incompetence" (Gile 2009: 158).

⁶ For example, Cokely's model takes aspects of sociolinguistics and intercultural communication into account, while Paradis' and Setton's models also incorporate various elements of linguistics (i.e. pragmatics) into their models, rather than "only" taking research findings in psychology into account.

2.1.1 Gerver's process model of SI

Gerver's model is based on data obtained from 14 recordings of conference interpreters working from English to French; the recordings were between 5 and 20 minutes long (Gerver 1975: 124). He used a computerized analysis based on a pause criterion of 250 msec. to determine how often the interpreters engaged in two or more tasks simultaneously; his findings show that on average, the interpreters listened and spoke simultaneously for 65% of the total recording time (1975: 24). However, as seen in the flowchart below, there are other tasks which are executed simultaneously, in addition to speaking and listening.

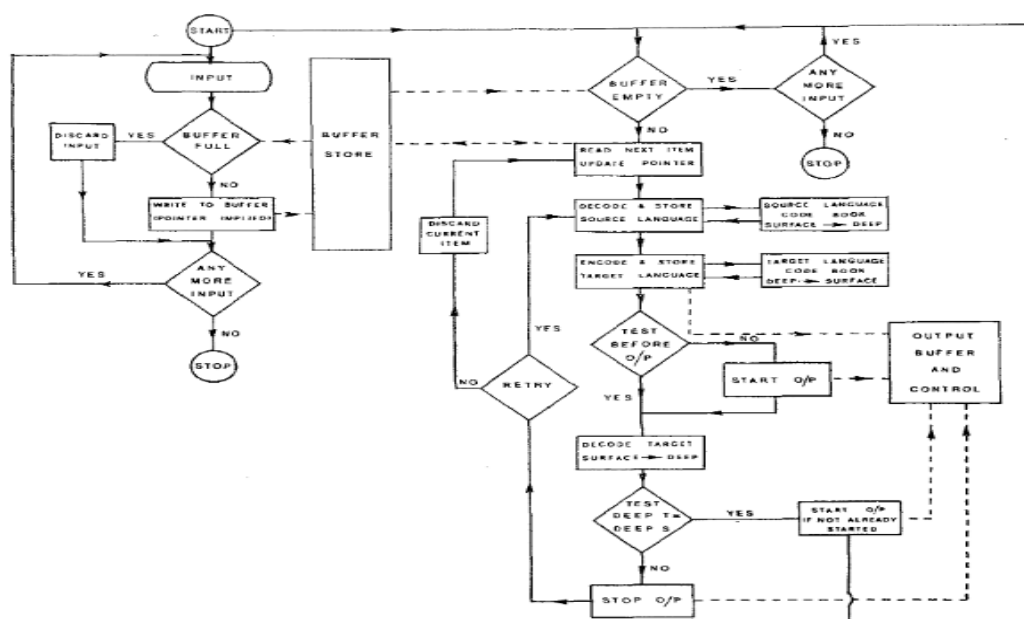


Figure 1- Gerver's model of psychological processing for SI (Gerver 1975: 124)

The model displays the mental mechanisms which are active during SI: input procedures, working memory, decoding and encoding, and output procedures (Gerver 1975: 125f). The diamond-shaped boxes (i.e. “retry”) display the options available to the interpreter when s/he is interpreting and determine the amount of attention s/he will allocate to a particular task (cf. 1975: 125).

“Input” is the source speech heard by the interpreter. The interpreter then stores the input in his/her short-term memory buffer. If the amount of input exceeds available storage capacities, for example, because certain elements of the source speech have a particularly high information density, the interpreter will store as much input as his/her memory buffer allows and discard the rest. The information stored in the buffer will be segmented into units whose information content will be processed by the interpreter and released during the output phase.

The interpreter's working memory is engaged during the entire process. It is

responsible for accessing information related to the source and target languages, such as whether or not the utterance in the source language is in the singular or plural form, which verb tense is required, or the gender of a particular noun. This knowledge of linguistic structures is stored in the interpreter's long-term memory and can be retrieved via his/her working memory through a process of "active reinstatement" (Gerver 1976: 194).

The interpreter's working memory is also responsible for decoding source language utterances and encoding them into target language utterances. The monitoring and self-correction actions performed by interpreters (cf. Gerver 1975: 122) are also subject to the constraints of the interpreter's working memory (cf. Gerver 1975: 127).

Decoding and encoding occurs when the interpreter receives auditory input in the form of the source language speech, perceives its sounds, words, and sentences, infers their intended meaning and reorganizes the content stored in his/her short-term memory buffer so that it can be released as output in the target language (cf. Gerver 1975: 126).

During the output phase, the interpreter can either begin immediately or check to see if his/her encoded version of the source speech's message is in line with the original input source. If there is a match and the interpreter is satisfied with it, s/he will proceed; if not, s/he will pause before continuing. The interpreter may then decide to correct the output and try again. If s/he feels that s/he cannot keep up with the input speech's delivery rate or that it is unnecessary to devote time to correcting the error, s/he will leave the output 'as is' and then proceed to the next available content item (cf. 1975: 126).

2.1.2 Gile's Effort models for SI

These models are the product of "[...] two intuitive ideas based on observation and introspection: Interpreting requires some sort of mental energy that is only available in limited supply. Interpreting takes up almost all of this mental energy, and sometimes requires more than is available, at which times performance deteriorates" (Gile 2009: 158f).

In order to account for performance deterioration, Gile developed the Effort models in the 1980s and modified them over the course of his teaching career (cf. 2009: 158). They can be summed up as follows: $SI = L + P + M + C$. Simultaneous interpreting (SI) consists of (=) a Listening and Analysis Effort (L), Speech Production Effort (P), Short-term Memory Effort (M) and a Coordination Effort (C). (cf. Gile 2009: 167f). As the names suggest, L refers to when the interpreter receives auditory input and analyzes its meaning. This also includes determining the plausibility of an utterance, as well as anticipating how the speaker will

conclude the utterance and what it is that s/he is ‘trying to get across’ (cf. Gile 2009: 161).

P refers to the interpreter’s output. This not only entails the interpreter vocalizing the message, it also refers to the interpreter’s ability to monitor what s/he is saying and correct him/herself when s/he feels that s/he has made a mistake (cf. 2009: 163). These mistakes could be content-related (i.e. saying the opposite of what the speaker intended) or language-related (i.e. mispronouncing a word).

Interpreters are invariably bound to the speech patterns of another person (cf. 2009: 163) and, in order to save time and ensure maximum fluency, may engage in “verbal piggy-back riding” (2009: 164) by adhering to the source speech’s syntactic structure and wording. This can backfire and result in the interpreter producing output which ‘sounds foreign’ to NS listeners. This may be the case, for example, if an interpreter whose L1 is English were to talk about ‘making a photo’ (from the German expression *ein Foto machen*), instead of “taking a picture.” Although his/her accent clearly identifies him/her as an L1 speaker of English, s/he ‘sounds odd’ to NS listeners. This is an example of interference, an issue which will be addressed in further detail in later chapters.

M is the Effort required to store a particular quantity of information for a given length of time, while C refers to the resources required to coordinate the remaining Efforts. The term “Efforts” is used to convey the idea that these actions are deliberate and entail conscious decision-making and consume cognitive resources (2009: 160).

Ideally, the interpreter will be able to dedicate an equal amount of his/her total capacity to each Effort. There are times when only one Effort is active, i.e. the interpreter is producing an utterance (P) while the speaker has paused. Two Efforts are active when the interpreter listens to the source speech (L) and stores it (M) before s/he begins to say anything; occasionally all three core Efforts (L, P, M) are active simultaneously and are executed based on the capacity available for Effort C (cf. 2009: 169f).

However, if there is not enough total processing capacity available for the active Efforts, or the Efforts are not allocated efficiently, problems will arise; Gile refers to this as “saturation” (2009: 170). If the speaker’s utterance has a high information density and his/her speed of delivery is particularly high, this will consume a significant portion of the interpreter’s total available capacity. Interpreters may not allocate their resources efficiently, for example, if they “direct too much attention to producing elegant reformulation of a previously heard segment of the source speech, and may therefore not have enough capacity left to complete a Listening task on an incoming segment” (2009: 170).

With regard to interpreting ELF speakers, Gile (2009: 173) concludes that “[b]ad

pronunciation by a non-native speaker forces the interpreter to devote much processing capacity to the Listening and Analysis Effort, and therefore slows down production.” The Memory Effort requires additional capacity “[...] if the speech is unclear because of its logic, unusual linguistic structure or speaker’s accent[.] [T]he interpreter may wish to wait for a short while before reformulating it [...] so as to have more time and a larger context to deal with comprehension and reformulation difficulties” (Gile 2009: 166). As Albl-Mikasa (2010: 141, *her italics*) points out, catering to ELF listener’s needs (see Section 3.4.2) also “[...] requires extra cognitive load in *target text production*,” which adversely affects the Speech Production Effort. The resources available for the Coordination Effort also diminish as a result.

Use of the term “bad” to refer to L2 English pronunciation clearly shows that many interpreters are critical of ELF speakers’ output. As discussed in later subchapters, many ELF speakers do not feel that attempting to attain an unrealistic standard (speaking English with the accent and ‘naturalness’ of a NS 100% of the time) is worth the effort. Therefore, I would substitute “bad pronunciation by a non-native speaker” with “an L2 speaker’s divergent pronunciation.” With reference to ELF interactions, Jenkins (2000: 1) notes, “[s]ince it is in their pronunciation that [...] L2 varieties [of English] diverge most from each other linguistically, it is arguably this linguistic area that most threatens intelligibility.” This realization prompted Jenkins to develop her Lingua Franca Core, which will be presented in Section 3.3.1.

As for the added strain on the Memory Effort, I would argue that while “an unusual linguistic structure” or “unfamiliar accent” may be more likely to occur in ELF speaker output, it does not mean that it is only ELF speakers who exhibit these features. This calls for a definition of what constitutes an unusual linguistic structure.

In the case of English, it could be something that is considered “non-standard.” As Trudgill (cf. 1999: 123) notes, Standard English is neither an accent, nor is it a language, style, or register; it is a dialect. As such, we can make the generalization that it is “[...] primarily a case of grammar and vocabulary, [...] the variety promoted through the education system.” (Jenkins ²2009: 36). The education system in question is one which is part of a country in the Inner Circle (see Section 3.2); “[...] there is no such thing (at present) as a Standard English which is not British or American or Australian [...]” (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 31).

With this in mind, we could classify an unusual linguistic structure as one which is not promoted through the education system because it “[...] lacks positive prestige in the

community” (Archibald/O’Grady ⁵2004: 438f). Therefore, the sentence “He’s after talking to her twice already” could be classified as an “unusual linguistic structure,” as the use of “after” combined with the present participle is used where “Standard English” would dictate the use of the present perfect, as in “He has talked to her twice already.” This structure is used both in parts of Canada and Ireland (cf. ⁵2004: 448), countries where the majority of the population has English as an L1. Therefore, the speech of both NSs and NNSs can exhibit “unusual linguistic structures” and be characterized by ‘difficult’ accents⁷.

Finally, with regard to the Speech Production Effort, interpreters are often ‘caught between a rock and a hard place’: on the one hand, by catering to ELF listeners’ needs (see Section 3.4.2), they feel that they are ‘dumbing down’ their use of language⁸, on the other hand, if their output is characterized by a use of language which may sound sophisticated to ENL listeners, but is very difficult for many ELF listeners to understand, this is a breach of AIIC’s standards of professionalism and integrity, as defined in its Code of professional ethics (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2010: 138f, AIIC 2014: 1).

2.2 Language combinations

Interpreters work with a specific set of languages. This set of working languages is referred to as their language combination. AIIC (2013b:1) classifies an interpreter’s working languages as follows:

The '**A**' **language** is the interpreter's **mother tongue** (or its strict equivalent) into which they work from all their other working languages in both consecutive and simultaneous interpretation. It is the language they speak best, and in which they can easily express even complicated ideas. It is therefore an **active language** for the interpreter. A '**B**' **language** is a language in which the interpreter is **perfectly fluent**, but is not a mother tongue. An interpreter can work into this language from one or several of their other working languages [...]. It is also considered an **active language** for the interpreter. A '**C**' **language** is one which the interpreter **understands perfectly** but into which they do not work [...]. It is therefore a **passive language** for the interpreter. (2013b:1, emphasis in the original)

I would like to examine two concepts, as they appear in the aforementioned definition, in greater detail: the “mother tongue” and the notion of perfection in terms of fluency and

⁷ The concept of ‘having an accent’ is explained in Chapter 3.1.1. Using Albl-Mikasa’s (2010: 134f) example, many of the interpreters interviewed in her study pointed out that there are instances when it is less difficult to interpret a NNS, as compared to a NS (a Scandinavian scientist vs. a soccer player –footballer– from the North of England).

⁸ This is especially true when NS listeners are present: Five of the interpreters interviewed in the study stated that they stop catering to ELF listeners’ needs when they know that a NS is listening to them (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 138f). One interpreter went as far as to say that “as soon as a native speaker is listening, no interpreter would ever expose or humiliate herself by producing on a lower level than she is able to” (2010: 138, Albl-Mikasa’s translation).

understanding.

I have purposely avoided use of the term “mother tongue” in this thesis, as it is arguably both imprecise and connotes ideas which may carry certain value judgments with them. “Mother tongue,” if taken literally, means: “the tongue (language) of one’s mother.” However, if, for example, a mother grew up speaking Italian and raised her child in England, avoiding use of Italian at home because of fears that the child might mix up the languages, and the child goes on to attend a school where the sole language of instruction is English, can this child say that their mother tongue is Italian? It is clearly not “the language they speak best,” as qualified in the definition above.

Moreover, the term “father tongue” does not exist. Perhaps it exists in some language families, but, when referring to the language one speaks best (in Indo-European languages), the term invariably translates as “mother tongue”⁹; this implies that it is ultimately the mother who ought to stay home and raise her child, which of course entails ensuring that the child learns to speak. I would argue that there are many people, especially parents, who feel that this notion is inaccurate, unfair and dated; hence my decision to use the term “L1” when referring to the language one speaks best.

It is interesting to see that the definition mentioned above not only uses a potentially problematic turn of phrase to define the meaning of an A language, but also fails to specify what the “strict equivalent” of a “mother” tongue is. With reference to English, a person who speaks English better than any other language is said to be a “native speaker.” However, this term is also the subject of much discussion in ELF discourse (see Seidlhofer, Jenkins, Kachru), and will be touched on briefly in Section 3.2.

Rather than launching into a long-winded diatribe about how perfection does not exist, I would like to take a look at the term “perfection” regarding interpreter output. With regard to perfect fluency in the case of a B language and perfect understanding in the case of a C language, I would argue that AIIC would equate “perfect” with “native-like” (cf. Seleskovitch/Lederer 1989: 226). For example, an interpreter who has a B language exhibits perfect fluency by using the language in a smooth and natural manner akin to that of a NS; however, this does not mean that the interpreter will have an ENL accent (cf. 1989: 135). An interpreter with English as a C language understands it to the same degree as an educated ENL speaker. For the sake of argument, an “educated” ENL speaker is one with some form of post-secondary education.

⁹ Using the languages I speak as examples: “langue maternelle” in French, “Muttersprache” in German, or “μητρική γλώσσα” – mitriki glossa – in Greek.

The practice of interpreting into a language that is not the interpreter's L1 is referred to as "A-to-B interpreting" or "retour" interpreting (Pöchhacker 2004: 21). Although SI performance into an A language is usually considered better than into a B language (cf. Seleskovitch/Lederer 1989: 135), this does not mean conference organizers shy away from retour interpreting; it does occur in institutional settings, such as the EU, though it is more common in the private sector (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 21).

However, given the heightened variability that characterizes ELF and its users (cf. Dewey 2009) – i.e. the presence of linguistic features borrowed from languages all over the planet and individuals who have been socialized according to the conventions of highly different cultures with very different notions of what is considered appropriate behavior, for example, in a communication setting – it becomes clear that the presence of ELF "[...] adds yet another dimension" (Albl-Mikasa 2011: 267) to the interpreting profession. This is both in view of the presence of ELF speakers and ELF listeners at an interpreter-mediated event. Therefore, the following chapter will discuss ELF in further detail.

3. English as a lingua franca

Research into ELF as a communicative tool gained momentum in the 1990s (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2014: 294, Jenkins ²2009: 143). However, as Prodromou (2008: x) rightly observes, “[...] scholarly articles about how the ‘native speaker was dead’ and that English should be pluralized to *Englishes* were already written in the 1980s” (cf. Mey 1981, Kachru 1983). These issues are inextricably linked to ELF discourse, yet, as Seidlhofer (2006: 41) notes, “[...] there seems to be considerable confusion in the English-speaking world, even among linguists, about what English as a lingua franca is.”

If Seidlhofer equates “the English-speaking world” with Kachru’s Inner Circle (see Section 3.2), then I would go as far as to say, based on personal observation, that most laypeople and many academics in the English-speaking world who do not have a background in linguistics or any language-related field of study have never even heard of ELF, making it impossible to be confused about something whose existence remains unknown to the majority. This may also be the case for people in other parts of the world, as “[...] ELF is an applied linguists’ term; most users probably just think they are speaking English” (MacKenzie 2014: 2). This statement shows that MacKenzie, like most other translators and interpreters¹⁰, feels that ENL and ELF are two very different varieties (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2014: 299).

Therefore, one of the goals of this thesis is to raise awareness about ELF among both L1 and L2 English readers in equal measure. The idea that there is confusion about what ELF is among linguists is most likely the case; however, I assume that nine years after Seidlhofer made this statement, enough research has been conducted to clear up at least some of the misunderstandings among linguists as to the nature of ELF. In any case, I would expand the term “linguist” to include many of those who are active in a variety of language-related professions, such as ELT, translation and interpreting, or diplomacy (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: xi). As “[...] interpreters are most directly confronted with the spread of ELF” (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 295), one of my goals will be to provide information about ELF in relation to interpreting.

As noted in the Introduction, a lingua franca is a language which is used to facilitate communication among speakers who do not share a common first language and it is unlikely that the language in question will be any of the speakers’ first language. There are different explanations as to the origin of the term “lingua franca”: House (cf. 2013: 59) notes that the term is derived from the Arabic “lisan al farang” (“the Italian language”) and refers to a

¹⁰ MacKenzie is a professor at the University of Geneva’s Faculty of Translation and Interpreting (cf. 2014).

contact language used by Arabic speakers to communicate with Western Europeans. This language was spoken between the 15th and 19th centuries along the south-eastern Mediterranean coast and borrowed elements from a variety of languages (cf. 2013: 59). According to Asher (cf. 1994: 2211), “lingua franca” is Italian for the “French” or “Frankish” language and refers to an extinct auxiliary language that was spoken between Marseilles and Genoa among the Crusaders; the lingua franca included borrowings from Arabic, Greek, and Spanish (1994: 2211).

As we have already concluded that “English as a lingua franca” is an applied linguist’s term, we can use another applied linguist’s term, “semantic broadening” (O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 238), to explain that the meaning of the phrase “lingua franca” became more general with the passing of time; it no longer refers to the specific language described above, rather, it now refers to any language which enables communication between speakers with various L1s.

Some other examples of languages which were used as lingua francas throughout history¹¹ include Greek, Latin, Russian, and French (cf. Crystal ²2003: 8), however, it is ultimately English which has prevailed as the de facto language of international communication. Crystal (²2002: 280f) summarizes why English has edged out other languages as follows:

At present, English is the only language in a position to adopt the role of the world’s first language. Chinese has many more mother-tongue speakers, but it is currently too isolated (and its main writing system too unfamiliar) to attract much external interest. French, the world language of the eighteenth century, is an important lingua franca in many countries, but does not have the regional or occupational spread of English. Spanish is important in South and Central America, and increasingly so in the United States, but has little further spread outside Spain. No language other than English carries universal appeal. And auxiliary languages, such as Esperanto, have to date made very slow progress in persuading world authorities to pay attention to their claims [;] [...] there is no competitor for English as a world language.

However, the question remains as to whether or not ELF should be considered a distinct variety of English or if it is a different language entirely. Moreover, if ELF is to be considered a variety of English, should it be seen as something which ought to exist “in its own right” (Seidlhofer 2011: 10)? I would like to address these issues by referring to what I feel are some of the most important aspects when it comes to characterizing ELF. In short, ELF is

- a language and a field of research.

¹¹ For more detailed information, see Reithofer (2011), Knapp/ Meierkord (2002).

- no one's L1.
- an alternative option to classic ELT methods.
- not codified and highly variable.

(cf. House 2013; Jenkins ²2009; Seidlhofer 2006, 2011; Dewey 2009)

Saying that ELF is a language refers to the “E” in “ELF”: English. The name makes it clear that ELF and English are not completely different languages (cf. Meierkord 2002: 111). ENL speakers will recognize that ELF speakers are using a form of English and vice versa; however, the ENL speakers may feel that the ELF speakers “sound odd” (cf. MacKenzie 2014: 57, Reithofer 2011: 59).

This contradicts Pitzl's (2009: 301) argument that English NSs who take part in ELF interactions “[...] generally are not seen to judge non-native speakers' linguistic output or to penalize them for it.” I would argue that this statement is only partially true: If “penalizing” ELF speakers means interrupting them to correct their speech so that it conforms to ENL norms, or making comments about the inadequacy of their output, then, no, any NS who has some notion of tact or politeness will refrain from doing so. I would maintain that this is generally the case. Nonetheless, if “judge” means “form an (a negative) opinion about,” then I would disagree with Pitzl; as an L1 speaker, I will usually notice right away (without explicitly wanting to) that a speaker is using his/her L2 (cf. Derwing/Munro 2005: 383). Furthermore, I will judge his/her output, in that I will invariably notice how it differs from L1 varieties (cf. Jenkins 2000: 27). If I notice that the interlocutor does not feel at ease with my English, even after slowing down my speech and ensuring I avoid idiomatic expressions and use basic vocabulary, I will inevitably pass judgment on the speaker's knowledge of English.

As Crystal (⁶2008: 319) notes, “[...] [when] two varieties of speech are [...] mutually unintelligible [, i.e. speakers do not understand each other,] they are different languages.” This quote, despite its oversimplification¹², can be used to argue that ELF and ENL are not different languages: written ELF is immediately recognizable as a variety of English to literate ENL and ELF readers (cf. Seidlhofer 2007: 146), while spoken ELF, which may not be immediately recognizable as a variety of English because of extremely divergent L2 English accents (cf. Jenkins 2000: 1), will be recognized as such after a very brief period of time (cf. Clarke/Garrett 2004). In the case of ELF speakers and listeners, unintelligibility has

¹² Crystal (⁶2008: 319) specifically addresses this issue: “The criterion seems simple, but there are many problem cases. Two varieties may be partially intelligible – for example, because they share some vocabulary. Also, political or cultural factors may intervene, causing two mutually intelligible varieties to be treated as different languages (e.g. Swedish and Danish) or two mutually unintelligible varieties to be treated as the same language (e.g. the so-called ‘dialects’ of Chinese).”

also been found to be “a temporary phenomenon” (Smit 2009: 210).

Like MacKenzie (2014) and Albl-Mikasa (2014), I would argue that ELF is its own distinct **variety** in much the same manner as Australian English and Nigerian English are distinct varieties. However, applying the term “variety” to ELF is arguably not entirely appropriate: Dewey (2009: 61) observes that the term is “too tied to stable, rather static notions of community to adequately capture the especially fluid nature of ELF.”

In this case, “community” refers to a “speech community,” defined as “[a]ny group of people who share a set of conventions for language use” (O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 541). This definition may be too general; in the context of World Englishes, Kachru (1984: 15) proposes the term “speech fellowship.” For example, there is an American “speech community,” which is composed of various “fellowships”, such as the Northeast (Maine) (cf. Kachru/Nelson 2006: 26). This dichotomy “brings us closer to the real world of English users, their underlying distinct differences, and also their shared characteristics” (Kachru 1984: 16).

However, the term “speech fellowship” is also imprecise (cf. Kachru 1985: 23) and in this case it is hard to see the difference between a regional variety and a speech fellowship. In the context of ELF, the term “community of practice” has been suggested, as it captures the notions of “mutual engagement” (communicative interaction between interlocutors), a “joint enterprise” (a shared goal or purpose of interaction) and a “shared repertoire” (linguistic common ground) (cf. Ehrenreich 2009: 131ff). Arguably, this can also apply to a variety; however, the question remains as to what a “variety” is.

Crystal (⁶2008: 509) defines a variety as a “system of linguistic expression whose use is governed by situational variables.” In the case of ELF interactions, the “system of linguistic expression” is the sum of the participants’ individual uses of English. This means that each participant will have acquired their knowledge of the language through various means in various parts of the world and for various reasons; these impetuses could be educational, recreational, or personal in nature. Even if there are no NS participants in a given ELF communication scenario¹³, we could say that some of the participants will ‘speak ELF with an EFL accent’ nevertheless (see Section 3.2).

Some of the situational variables included in Crystal’s (⁶2008: 509) definition are presented as individual elements (i.e. regional or occupational varieties), whereas others “involve the intersection of several variables” (⁶2008: 509), such as sex, age, occupation. However, this is not an exhaustive list of all the possible situational variables (⁶2008: 438); we could argue that the presence of lingua-cultures in a given communicative interaction, its

¹³ This is considered to be the most common constellation in ELF interactions (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 87, Reithofer 2010: 144).

context, and its purpose (cf. House 2013: 60, Seidlhofer 2011: 18) are also relevant variables. Additionally, if the verb “intersect” implies that some form of movement takes place¹⁴, a certain instability is inherently involved; this instability is characteristic of “being fluid” (cf. *Oxford Dictionary* ³2001: 346). In other words, ELF’s fluidity and its classification as a variety do not have to entail mutual exclusiveness.

According to Mauranen (2009: 2), “[...]ELF is a vibrant field of study.” As noted in the Introduction, ELF is of an interdisciplinary nature; furthermore, it has given rise to two, one million-word corpora¹⁵ of spoken ELF (the ELFA Corpus in Helsinki and the VOICE Corpus in Vienna) which attest to the interest in ELF as a field of research (cf. 2009: 2).

Returning to the original, historical definition of the lingua franca, one could argue that “[...] nobody speaks ELF natively” (Seidlhofer 2006: 42). “Natively,” in other words, means that no one has ELF as an L1. However, the question remains as to whether or not it is **impossible** to speak ELF as an L1 variety. Assuming a child of two ELF speakers (for example, from Austria and Turkey) living in Russia only spoke English at home, would this child’s use of English fall on the ENL or ELF spectrum? As this is considered “a marginal phenomenon” (Schneider 2011: 221f), this issue will not be addressed further; however, it would be a potentially interesting field of research for the future¹⁶. For now, we will argue that ELF is characterized as a language variety which is not equated with L1 English use. Nonetheless, it is possible that L1 English speakers will take part in ELF interactions.

I specifically chose O’Grady/Archibald’s definition of a lingua franca (⁵2004: 532, see Introduction), as it does not immediately dismiss the presence of L1 speakers in a lingua franca communication setting. This is on par with Jenkins’ (cf. 2007: 3) and Seidlhofer’s (cf. 2011: 7) conception of ELF as a form of communication which does not exclude L1 English speakers. However, these L1 English participants are not native ELF users: instead, they will invariably use a (potentially modified, possibly foreigner talk¹⁷-like) version of ENL during the communication process. For this reason, their use of language does not “constitute the linguistic reference norm” (Seidlhofer 2011: 7) and is not taken into account in the data collection process (cf. Jenkins 2007: 3).

One common misconception that still persists, which is particularly noticeable among

¹⁴ Movement is implied in the definition of the word, as something must pass across or cut through something else (cf. *Oxford Dictionary* ³2001: 476).

¹⁵ Defined as written or spoken texts collected from natural sources which do not use external interference (i.e. a teacher asking questions or a researcher giving instructions) to collect data (cf. Prodromou 2008: 5).

¹⁶ See Piller (2009) for more information about intimate personal relationships in an intercultural context.

¹⁷ Foreigner talk, also known as teacher talk, refers to speech addressed to L2 learners, which is characterized by simplified syntax and vocabulary (cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 528).

language teachers¹⁸, is that ELF researchers argue that it is the only form of English which should be taught in the L2 English classroom (cf. Seidlhofer 2006: 48). Statements such as “[...] it would make sense for English language teaching to move away from its almost exclusive focus on native varieties of English” (Jenkins 2009: 10), might lead someone who has not done in-depth research into ELF to believe that this is true. However, both Seidlhofer (2006: 48) and Jenkins (2009: 144) note that it is ultimately the decision of “the learners and users of English.” “There will always be learners and users of English who need to blend in with native English speakers, or who wish to aspire to a native English accent” (2009: 144). Therefore, anyone who strives for this form of English (including interpreters with English as a B language, see Section 3.4), should not be subject to criticism. The idea is to “live and let live” (Seidlhofer 2006: 48) and to heighten awareness about ELF as an alternative option to classic ELT methods, allowing learners to make an informed decision (cf. Jenkins 2009: 144). These differences will be examined in further detail in Section 3.2.

By extension, arguing in favor of alternatives to exclusively L1 norm-based teaching methods reveals an underlying ideological standpoint: mutual intelligibility takes precedence over ENL notions of what constitutes correct language use (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 18). I would argue that this is a standpoint which ELF researchers and proponents of ELF adhere to; the two **can** be mutually exclusive, as “[...]acknowledging the existence of ELF is, of course, not the same as approving of it [...]” (2011: ix). Jenkins (cf. 2007: 7-10) argues that only very few scholars (including linguists), regardless of whether or not they speak English as an L1 or an L2, view ELF, in particular, ELF speakers’ use of English, positively. Most ELF researchers with a background in translation and interpreting (henceforth T&I) are no exception.

The title of an article written by an ELF researcher in the field of T&I, which refers to ELF speakers’ “restricted power of expression” (Albl-Mikasa 2013a), is something which could be seen by some unremittingly pro-ELF researchers as proof of interpreters’ unyielding criticism of ELF speakers’ output. This is also apparent in Reithofer’s study, which demonstrates that interpreters are generally much more critical of ELF accents than other language experts, including most ELF researchers (cf. 2011: 120). Furthermore, her study demonstrates that in monologic, unidirectional communication settings, “interpreting appears to have a greater communicative effect on the audience [than the use of ELF]” (2011: 273, my translation). Nonetheless, there are ELF researchers with a T&I background who appear to

¹⁸ As a case in point, Dellar (2012: 1) comments that “[...] we all need to be teaching Globish – Global English – or EIL – English as an International Language or even ELF: English as a Lingua Franca.”

take a more optimistic stance, such as House (2012: 173f), who argues that “[...] ELF communication is characterized by a remarkable and, indeed, unexpected dearth of misunderstanding [...].”

Finally, ELF is not codified and is highly variable. It could be argued that the latter justifies the former. ELF “is *not* a fixed code” (House 2013: 59, her italics) and speaker constellations vary continuously (cf. Hülmbauer 2009: 325); this is in terms of lingua-cultures, speaker attitudes, and how they are embedded in a communicative situation. Consequently, it is impossible to “fix” ELF with grammars and dictionaries (cf. Clark 2013: 15), which is part of the codification process.

Codification not only refers to the presence of products such as style guides, spelling, or pronunciation guides, dictionaries, and grammars (cf. Crystal ⁶2008: 83), products which “regulate the pace of [language] change” (Clark 2013: 23); it also refers to “the compilation of a systematic statement of the rules and conventions governing the use of a language variety” in corpus planning (Crystal ⁶2008: 83). Therefore, the statement that ELF is not codified should be qualified: although there is currently no ‘Dictionary of ELF’ on the market, the codification process has begun, as evidenced by Jenkins’ proposal of a Lingua Franca Core (see Section 3.3.1) and the systematic identification of lexicogrammatical features observed in the VOICE Corpus (cf. Seidlhofer 2004: 220), described in Section 3.3.

3.1 Factors which account for the dissemination of ELF

The word “dissemination” is used here to refer to the spread of ELF and, in particular, the “E” (“English”) in ELF, as the verb “disseminate” denotes something which is spread **widely** (cf. *Oxford Dictionary* ³2001: 258, my emphasis). Given the fact that ELF is a global phenomenon, “dissemination” is an appropriate choice in this context. If the ergative verb “spread,” a type of verb in which the subject and the object can be interchangeable, is used as a synonym, it is easy to downplay a causal relationship (cf. Widdowson 1997: 164). Should we say that “English (the subject) has spread around the globe?” Or is “English” the object of the verb “spread,” as in “Anglo-American colonial aspirations spread English around the globe?” (cf. 1997: 164). The answer to this question depends on personal attitudes and ideologies regarding language and identity.

Melchers/Shaw (2003: 30) have identified three ideological standpoints with regard to the “globalization of English”: conservative, liberal, and radical. These standpoints also include examples of some of the more well-known proponents of these ideas. However, they

rightly assert that this classification is “grossly oversimplified” (2003: 30); nonetheless, it does provide a concise overview of some of the authors whose work has been cited in this thesis and their ideas. (The authors do not mention directly which ideological standpoint they personally subscribe to.)¹⁹

In short, conservatives (i.e. Quirk) argue that maintaining L1 English norms is important for users’ credibility, while liberals (i.e. Crystal, Kachru) argue that all varieties of English are equally valid (cf. 2003: 30). Finally, radicals (i.e. Phillipson) feel that the globalization of English is a form of linguistic imperialism and has adverse effects on other languages (cf. 2003: 30, Phillipson 1992).

The authors do not mention where Widdowson stands. However, the phrase “[...] English has spread, like a growth or like an infection” (Widdowson 1997: 164), suggests that, using the grossly oversimplified classification mentioned above, he views the spread of English very negatively. Furthermore, he notes that “[s]preading is like transmitting. A disease spreads from one country to another [...] It does not alter according to circumstances, the virus is invariable” (1997: 164).

I would argue that the aforementioned comparison is inappropriate in two ways: Firstly, claiming that a virus is invariable, that it does not change, is simply incorrect. If this were the case, there would be no possibility of future influenza pandemics and the H5N1 avian flu virus would never have been able to spread to human hosts (cf. Munk 2001: 4-10). Secondly, I personally do not take very kindly to the idea that my first language should be equated with a virus, or something as unpleasant as an infection that spreads.

Given that entire books have been dedicated to the subject of explaining how and why English has attained its global status (cf. Brutt-Griffler 2002, Crystal ²2003), and that the research question addressed in this thesis is more closely related to intelligibility in SI, I would prefer to briefly comment on some of the beliefs surrounding popular explanations of why English is the global language. This will also include the explanations mentioned in Crystal (²2003), which appear in the form of a concise summary in Jenkins (²2009: 40f).

In conversations with many friends and acquaintances, I have often heard that ‘Everyone speaks English because it is so easy. It is much harder to learn German/Greek/Polish, etc. than English.’ This statement shows that “[i]t is widely believed

¹⁹ Jenkins (cf. 2007: 38f) criticizes Melchers and Shaw for being biased towards Inner Circle Englishes, as their textbook’s accompanying CD does not feature other varieties of English. She also argues that in failing to specifically mention ELF in *English as a Global Language*, Crystal proves to be anti-ELF (cf. 2007:37) and ultimately, a conservative, in much the same manner that Melchers/Shaw characterize Quirk as a conservative (cf. 2007: 39).

language use and development is determined by inherent linguistic qualities of a language” (Schneider 2011: 36). Therefore, many people believe that English is a global language because one of the properties of English is that it is easy (cf. 2011: 36).

Arguably, the notion of “easy” stems from two sources: Firstly, English is not highly inflected (cf. 2011: 36, Basel 2002: 18), i.e. its nouns are not assigned a gender which determines how the plural is formed and their forms do not change to a significant degree according to their function in the sentence.²⁰ Secondly, as it is not uncommon for people to take pride in ‘their’ language, on a subconscious level they may see its perceived difficulty in relation to other languages as a sign that only people with a certain level of intelligence are really able to ‘master’ said language. Given that pervasive stereotypes about Americans being uneducated and unintelligent exist²¹, and that the most widespread form of L1 English is from North America²², it is possible that some people will (subconsciously) use stereotypes as a way to equate a population’s lack of intelligence with its language’s perceived simplicity. Obviously, resorting to stereotypes has no place in a serious discussion and as this assertion cannot be easily confirmed, it will not be addressed further.

The idea that a lingua franca will invariably be a language which has the quality of “being easy,” i.e. it does not have a high degree of inflection, is wrong. Languages such as Latin and Russian, which are highly inflected, have all served as lingua francas at some point in time (cf. Crystal 2003: 8). If we return to the example of English, another reason why it is considered “easy,” is “because it has [...] a historically mixed vocabulary which allows speakers of many language backgrounds to grasp glimpses of it” (Schneider 2011: 36). Furthermore, Basel (2002: 18) cites its “intrinsic double-rooted German and Romance vocabulary coupled with inflectional loss” as an explanation of why English is the world’s most widely used lingua franca.

With words whose origins stem from a variety of language families²³ and languages as

²⁰ For example, English has one form of the direct article “the,” while languages such as German and Greek have different forms of “the,” which reflect, for example, a noun’s gender (German: “der” Tisch, masculine - “the table”; “die” Sonne, feminine - “the sun”; “das” Fenster, neuter - “the window”) or number (Greek: the masculine form of “the” in the singular - “o” - becomes “oi” in the plural, while the neuter form of “the” in the singular - “to” - becomes “ta” in the plural). In some cases, the article and the noun will change their appearance (known as a “declination”) depending on their role in a sentence. Compare “**Ο άντρας** μιλαεί αγγλικά” (O andras milaei anglika – the man speaks English – “the man” being the subject of the sentence) with “Είδα **τον άντρα**” (Eitha, with “th” pronounced as in “the”, ton andra – I saw the man – “the man” being the object of the verb “to see”).

²¹ As a case in point, typing the phrase “stupid Americans” into the search engine Google turned up 142 million results (30.07.2015).

²² “[...] [T]he largest English-speaking population [is] that of North America [...]]; today two out of three native speakers of English speak it with a North American accent” (Clark 2013: 32).

²³ A few of the examples cited in O’Grady/Archibald (2004: 238) include Slavic (“polka”), Germanic (“boom”), and Romance (“motto”) languages. I am aware that these examples are overtly Eurocentric; however, the authors’ classification of other examples was much less precise (i.e. citing examples from “Aboriginal languages” without specifying the particular language family, while most of the Indo-European languages were named individually, i.e. “Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch”). In any case, this list was meant to provide examples and it cannot claim to be exhaustive.

diverse as Malay, French, and Hindi²⁴, it is clear that English has much more than a “double-rooted German and Romance” vocabulary. Either the author maintains that English lexis is, in fact, rooted in a single language (German), or she is actually referring to a language family (the Germanic family, which includes languages such as English, Norwegian, and German, cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 286). As the quote specifically refers to “Romance vocabulary” (as in the Romance language family, whose members include French, Romanian, and Portuguese, cf. ⁵2004: 287) and it is apparent that English etymology is characterized by a high degree of linguistic diversity, the latter scenario seems highly plausible. Therefore, the idea of a double-rooted lexis being one of the reasons why English has attained its global status does not hold up to scrutiny. One can only speculate as to what extent L2 speakers feel that they are able to find traces of their L1s in English and whether or not they feel that this is helpful during the learning process.

Furthermore, English may not be highly inflected; however, there are aspects of the language which do not make it ‘easy’ for L2 speakers whose goal is to blend in with NSs: for example, most spoken varieties of L1 English²⁵ use the marked sounds /ð/ (as in the) and /θ/ (as in think). A marked sound is one which does not occur in many of the world’s languages (cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 352), making it difficult for most people who do not have this sound in their L1 to imitate it. Finally, something that I have observed directly among my L1 German students is uncertainty as to when the present perfect (“I have been”) or the simple past (“I was”) should be used. “Should” clearly refers to educated NS expectations of accuracy, which may or may not be relevant to a student. In any case, the idea that a language is inherently easy and that this quality explains why it is widespread is a myth that can be easily dispelled. In reality, English has attained its status as a global language as a result of historical and political developments and for economic, practical, intellectual, and entertainment reasons (cf. Crystal ²2003, Jenkins ²2009: 40f).²⁶

In terms of recent history, the idea of an international lingua franca initially gained momentum in the 1950s, because international bodies such as the World Bank and the World Health Organization needed a single language to facilitate communication (cf. Crystal ²2003: 12). This institutional underpinning was also apparent in another historical context whose effects could be felt long before the 1950s: British colonialism. As colonialism brought the

²⁴ The words “bamboo” and “bandage” derive from Malay and French respectively (cf. *Oxford Dictionary* ³2001: 62), while “bangle” derives from Hindi (³2001: 63).

²⁵ An exception would be certain varieties of Irish English, where the words “three” and “tree” have the same pronunciation. More information is available in Hickey (2004).

²⁶ This list is insufficient when it comes to detailing the contributions made by Africans and Asians to the spread of English (cf. Brutt-Griffler 2002: 107). For a more comprehensive view of how this took place through the process of “macroacquisition,” see Brutt-Griffler (2002). As the dissemination of English is not the focus of this thesis, I have attempted to be as brief as possible.

language to every continent (cf. Crystal ²2003: 29), many countries under colonial rule adopted British institutions (parliament, courts, schools), ultimately carrying out their proceedings in English (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 40). This is the case in countries which are part of the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle (see the following section).

Finally, the legacy of American imperialism (cf. ²2009: 40) in recent history also had an influential role in assuring English's global status. This may tie in with militaristic aspirations, although this is a difficult evaluation to make (cf. Crystal ²2003: 105f). In any case, it was ultimately the American-backed NATO, not the Soviet-backed Warsaw Pact, whose presence on the world stage prevailed. Clearly, this can be viewed as both a historical and political development.

Another political development mentioned in Jenkins' list was the use of English as an element of unification in countries which are both multiethnic and multilingual and have colonial ties to Great Britain. The example provided here is India (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 40). Rather than use a language which was indigenous to one of the country's ethnic groups, communication took place in the language of the colonizer: English. The idea that this provided "a neutral means of communication" (²2009: 40) is problematic, as language cannot be neutral (cf. Clark 2013: 8). This communication ultimately gave rise to "[a] distinctive local variety of English," which became "a symbol of national unity or emerging nationhood" (Jenkins ²2009: 40).

In terms of economics, Bretton Woods and Wall Street are two places which, both historically and currently speaking, have helped secure "[t]he USA's dominant economic position [...] as a magnet for international business and trade" (²2009: 41). Other economic factors which account for the spread of English relate to tourism and advertising (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 41).

The practical reasons for the spread of English include the use of English in the domains of international air traffic control, as well as maritime, policing, and emergency services (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 41). On an intellectual level, "[...] over 80% of all the information stored in electronic retrieval systems is in English" (²2009: 41) and one of the tenets of academia around the planet is "publish in English or perish" (cf. Reithofer 2011: 47). This idea is more likely one of the *consequences* of the spread of English, rather than one of the driving forces behind the spread of the language itself.

Finally, another factor which accounts for the spread of English as a global language is the entertainment industry (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 41). Popular music, popular culture, satellite broadcasting, home computers, video games, pornography, and illicit drugs are all mentioned

as manifestations thereof (cf. ²2009: 41). As Phillipson (2004: 65) notes, “popular demand for English” ties in with connotations of “success, influence, consumerism, hedonism.” Perhaps it is the sum of these very qualities which has prompted many of my pubescent students to quip that “English is ‘cool.’” Again, this is nothing but speculation and will not be addressed further; instead, I would like to explain the meanings and ideological underpinnings of the various ‘E acronyms’ which appear in this thesis in the following subchapter.

3.2 ELF vs. EFL vs. EIL vs. ENL vs. ESL: comparing and contrasting ideologies

To better understand how the aforementioned acronyms differ from one another, it is necessary to present Kachru’s (1985) seminal Three Circle Model of World Englishes (cf. Jenkins 2009²: 18f). The model’s original representation, as it appears in Figure 2, differs in appearance from the versions of it which appear *inter alia* in Crystal (²2003: 61), Prodromou (2008: 258), and Clark (2013: 18); the authors mentioned here present it so that it looks similar to a target - © - and not a series of vertical ovals. The depiction in Figure 2 also differs from Kachru’s original model, in that it does not list all of the countries with their populations in the corresponding circles; for the sake of conciseness and consistency, I have opted to include only one or two examples of countries for each circle. The model appears as follows:

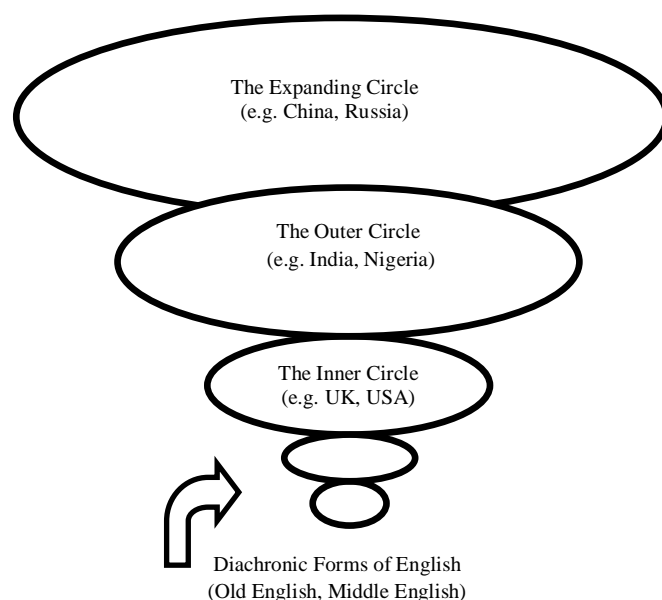


Figure 2 - Kachru's World Englishes model (Kachru 1985: 12, cf. Jenkins ²2009: 19)

The Inner Circle “refers to the traditional bases of English – the regions where it is a primary language [...]” (Kachru 1985: 12). It is associated with “ENL” and is said to be “norm-

providing,” i.e. setting the standards for the Expanding Circle (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 18ff). The Outer Circle is characterized by “institutionalization in non-native contexts” (Kachru 1985: 12); this stems from colonial relationships with the UK or the US in countries with multiethnic and multilingual populations who use English for various international (trade) and intranational (the legal system) purposes (cf. 1985: 12f). The Outer Circle also has established “nativized literary traditions in different genres, such as the novel, short story, poetry, and essay” (1985: 13). This institutionalization process means that it is “norm-developing” and is associated with “ESL” (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 18). Finally, the Expanding Circle refers to parts of the world which do not have colonial ties to the Inner Circle (cf. Kachru 1985: 13) and whose users of English fall under the “EFL” category; they are speakers who use “‘performance’ varieties without any official status,” (Jenkins ²2009: 20) making them “norm-dependent” in relation to the Inner Circle (cf. ²2009: 18ff).

Before demonstrating that the acronyms mentioned above are often associated with different meanings, I would like to briefly comment on the limitations of Kachru’s model. Kachru himself recognized that his model has certain shortcomings. He argues, for example, that “[t]he outer circle and the expanding circle cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other; they have several shared characteristics, and the status of English in the language policies of such countries change[s] from time to time” (1985: 13f).

Jenkins (cf. ²2009: 20f) also summarizes the model’s limitations as follows: it is based on geography and history, rather than the way speakers identify with the language; the lines separating the Inner and Outer Circle are also blurry, given the fact that there are inhabitants of the Outer Circle who learned English before any other language and speak it at home; being from the Inner Circle does not mean that a speaker will always have an extensive vocabulary and astute knowledge of grammar; finally, the term “Inner Circle” implies that its superiority is vested in its status as ‘the norm-providing, Anglo-Saxon center.’ However, as its size clearly shows, the Inner Circle is a minority and its sphere of influence as a normative authority is becoming less and less pronounced.

The differences between ELF and EFL are summarized in Table 1. As for ENL, several authors have questioned the viability of promoting “the native speaker gold standard” (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 294)²⁷ and a practice common among many ELF researchers, including Jenkins (2000) and Seidlhofer (2011), is to place the terms native speaker and non-native speaker in quotation marks “in recognition of their ideological construction” (Holiday 2006: 385).

²⁷ See, for example, Mey (1981), Campbell (2005), and Holliday (2006).

Jenkins (cf. 2007: 1f) states that EIL and ELF are one and the same. However, she notes that some researchers use EIL to refer to NNS-NNS interactions and ELF to include NNS-NNS-NS interactions; this could easily cause confusion and is not very commonly used. Overall, the term “EIL” seems to be much less commonly used than ELF in the literature. It is possible that some researchers use the term EIL to make the ‘global nature of English’ more readily apparent; however, it appears that ELF is the more popular choice.

As for ESL, some researchers who are based in North America (e.g. Derwing/Munro 2005, Major/Fitzmaurice/Bunta/Balasubramanian 2002, Winke/Gass 2013) use it to describe the English of members of the Expanding Circle. This may be because they wish to put the focus on the fact that English was the second (rather than the third or fourth) language learned by the subjects in their experiments, none of whom are from an Outer Circle country. Derwing/Munro (cf. 2005: 380) equate ESL with English used by immigrants to Inner Circle countries, noting that they differ from EIL users because of their need to integrate in the L1 majority. In this thesis, I will adhere to Kachru’s and Jenkins’ use of the acronym ESL.

Interestingly, Dehors (2014: 277), who is also a North American researcher, does distinguish between “ESL (i.e. indigenized varieties of English spoken in countries like Singapore or Hong Kong) and EFL (i.e. foreign varieties of English spoken in countries such as France o[r] Germany)” and argues in favor of a unified approach to analyzing the two. This unified approach refers to grammar analyses (cf. Dehors 2014: 277), yet it could be argued that many proponents of World Englishes would disagree with her arguments in favor of equating the two; Kachru (1991: 515) maintains that “[...] there is a widely recognized and justified sociolinguistic and pedagogical distinction between ESL and EFL.”²⁸

Table 1 - ELF vs. EFL

ELF	EFL
Part of World Englishes and the “liberation linguistics” paradigm (cf. Kachru 1984).	Part of modern foreign languages and its traditional teaching paradigm.
Linguacultural norms are ad hoc and negotiated in a particular communication setting. Users accommodate to each other’s needs.	Linguacultural norms already exist: users should imitate and adopt L1 English norms.
Users’ goal is to make themselves understood in NS – NNS and NNS – NNS interactions.	Users’ goal is to express themselves in a manner that makes it nearly impossible to distinguish their speech from that of an ENL speaker.
It is perfectly acceptable that users’ language is different from ENL and this stems from language contact and evolution.	When users’ language differs from ENL, this reflects deficiencies in their ability to satisfy ENL expectations and stems from interference and fossilization.
Interspersing a conversation with words and phrases from the L1 or any other language that is not English (“code-switching”) is a sign that speakers take	Interspersing a conversation with words and phrases from the L1 or any other language that is not English is a sign of interference.

²⁸ For more information concerning reticence about ‘bestowing native-speaker status’ on ESL varieties, see Kachru (1983).

3.3 Observable ELF phenomena

The following information stems from ELF corpora which are either accessible online (i.e. VOICE, ELFA) or the authors' own corpus-based data (cf. Prodromou 2008, Björkman 2009). These features were observed among a variety of speakers from different linguacultural backgrounds. Given the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to list every single feature observed in the corpora; these subchapters cannot claim to be exhaustive. However, they do list some very common tendencies and could arguably be used as a guideline to determine which features would become part of a single codified ELF variety that could be taught to those who wish to use it and those who need to learn about its conventions (such as interpreters, see Section 3.4).

3.3.1 Phonological features

As pronunciation is a factor which has far-reaching consequences when it comes to ensuring intelligibility among L2 speakers (cf. Jenkins 2000: 1) and “the area of greatest prejudice and preconception, [...] the one most resistant to change on all sides” (2000: 4), I chose to make it the focus of my thesis. This was also because of the nature of my research design (see Chapter 6). In this subchapter, I will explain what an accent is, which factors are said to influence the strength of a speaker's accent in the L2 (referred to henceforth as “accentedness”), and what can be done to ensure that ELF speakers understand each other's accents.

As I have often heard the phrase “I don't have an accent,” I would like to point out that the opposite is in fact true: everyone, regardless of whether or not the language they are using is their L1 or their L2, or if the language is a spoken language or a signed language, has an accent. As the focus of this thesis is on spoken languages, an accent can be defined as the “[p]honetic qualities of a language variety which identifies it to speakers of other varieties as different from their own” (O'Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 519).

An accent has segmental (phonemic and phonetic) and suprasegmental (stress, rhythm, intonation, and features of connected speech) properties (cf. Jenkins 2000: 32). When a speaker is said to have a ‘foreign accent,’ this generally means that the listener cannot help but notice how the aforementioned properties in the speaker's L1 are transferred onto his/her

L2. Some speakers will try their best to ensure that traces of their L1 are undetectable in the target language, while others will avoid doing so, as an assertion of their identity as an L2 speaker (cf. Jenkins 2000: 16).

Using L2 English accents as an example, **segmental deviations**²⁹ include **sound substitution** (L1 German speakers' use of /v/ where ENL dictates a /w/) and **conflation** (/θ/ and /s/ being pronounced as /s/) (cf. Jenkins 2000: 34, my emphasis). Other examples include **consonant deletion** (not pronouncing the /r/ in "price," common among Taiwanese speakers of English) and **addition**³⁰ (ibid).

As for **suprasegmentals**, stress-related deviations include an unexpected placement of the nucleus, which is the most prominent syllable in any group of words.

It is the one which the speaker has chosen to highlight (by means of extra length and loudness, and a change in pitch level) as carrying the most salient part of his or her message, and thus the part on which he or she wishes to focus the listener's attention. This means that deviations in the placement of the nucleus have the potential to **affect the listener's ability to process entire chunks of the speaker's message** (Jenkins 2000: 42, my emphasis).

In terms of understanding rhythmic deviations, it is necessary to point out that English is a "stress-timed language," which means that syllables come at regular intervals (cf. Collins/Mees ²1984: 212); this is "[...] achieved mainly by lengthening certain vowels at the expense of others" (²1984: 214). German, the L1 of one of the ELF speakers who delivered a speech for this study (see Chapter 6), is also a stress-timed language (²1984: 212).

As for the other L1s which were used in the study (French and Greek), they use syllable-timing, which occurs when each syllable is pronounced for the same length of time, regardless of where the stress occurs (cf. ²1984: 213). These classifications are an oversimplification (²1984: 213); additionally, more recent experiments (cf. Arvaniti 2009: 47) have demonstrated that while traditional classifications for English, French and German were applicable, Greek was unclassifiable.³¹ In any case, a speaker whose L1 is syllable-timed may prove to be more difficult to understand than a speaker with a stressed-timed L1 (cf. Collins/Mees ²1984: 213).

Intonation relates to pitch movement and whether or not a sentence should signal that

²⁹ This is the wording used in the original source, which I will stick to in this example for the sake of consistency. I feel that the word "deviations" may have certain negative connotations along the lines of "abnormal;" I assume the author used the term to convey the idea that L1 English speakers judge L2 English speakers' accents along these lines.

³⁰ Jenkins (2000: 34, my emphasis) notes that this occurs either in the form of **epenthesis**, i.e. placing a schwa (/ə/) sound between two consonants, such as an Arab speaker of English pronouncing "place" as "p-uh-lace" and **paragoge**, where a schwa is placed at the end of a word, such as an Italian pronouncing the word "go" as "go-uh."

³¹ The other unclassifiable languages were Malay, Romanian, Singapore English, Tamil, and Welsh, while Catalan, Estonian, and Polish were mixed-rhythm languages (cf. Arvaniti 2009: 47).

the interlocutor has a question (usually with rising pitch) or is making a statement (falling pitch) (cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 35). Deviations may result in ‘mistaken pragmatic intentions,’ as the speaker may have wanted to convey irony or sarcasm and this was not recognized as such by either ENL or other ELF listeners (cf. Prodromou 2008: 56f).

Finally, connected speech, as the name suggests, relates to the various ways speakers link the end of a word to the beginning of a new word. As it is not considered conducive to promoting intelligibility in ELF (see Table 2), it will not be addressed further.

These “deviations” tie in closely with differing syllable structures in English and the speaker’s L1 (cf. Jenkins 2000: 35). Jenkins’ data (cf. 2000: 42) consistently showed that stress deviations combined with consonant deletion caused words to be totally unintelligible to all listeners.

Many L2 English speakers also strive for an ENL accent with the goal of being as widely-understood as possible. For more information about how understanding and intelligibility are interrelated, see Section 4.2. Piske/MacKay/Flege (cf. 2001: 191) reviewed the factors which purportedly have an effect on the degree of accentedness in an L2: “age of L2 learning, length of residence in an L2-speaking country, gender, formal instruction, motivation, language learning aptitude, and amount of native language (L1 use).” Their study concluded that a speaker’s age of L2 learning (the earlier the age of onset, the more the speaker’s pronunciation will conform to L1 norms, cf. 2001: 196) and L1 usage (the more often a speaker uses his/her L1, the more accented his/her L2 will be, cf. 2001: 208) had the most significant effect on accentedness (2001: 191).

Finally, for the L2 speakers who do not wish to emulate an ENL accent for a variety of personal reasons, yet wish to remain intelligible to an international audience, Jenkins’ (2000) *Lingua Franca Core* may be a potential solution. She was not the first person to attempt to establish a phonological core with the purpose of ensuring mutual intelligibility (cf. 2000: 125), but it was the first attempt to do so within the context of EIL/ELF. Jenkins’ explanation of the thinking behind the LFC is as follows:

This approach, combining the use of core features and accommodation, along with locally pronounced non-core features and a receptive understanding of the ways they are produced by NSs of English would, I believe, resolve the intelligibility-identity conflict by enabling NNSs to express both their L1 identity and membership of the international ELF community, while remaining intelligible to their ELF interlocutors, and still able to understand ENL accents (Jenkins 2007: 24f).

However, it is impossible **not** to have an ENL point of reference. In this case, the “somewhat constructed” (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 16) standard British RP (“Received Pronunciation”) or

standard American GA (“General American”) accent would serve as a point of reference and depending on the interlocutor, the LFC user would adjust his/her accent either toward the L1 (speaker and interlocutor have the same L1) or the L2 (speaker and interlocutor do not have the same L1) (cf. Jenkins 2000: 18). The LFC appears as follows:

Table 2 - The Lingua Franca Core

	EFL target Traditional syllabus	ELF target Lingua Franca Core
1 The consonantal inventory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> all sounds close RP/GA RP non-rhotic /r/ GA rhotic /r/ RP intervocalic [t] GA intervocalic [ɾ] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> all sounds except /ə/, /ð/ but approximations of all others acceptable rhotic /r/ only intervocalic [t] only
2 Phonetic requirements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> rarely specified 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> aspiration after /p/, /t/, /k/ appropriate vowel length before fortis/lenis consonants
3 Consonant clusters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> all word positions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> word initially word medially
4 Vowel quantity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> long-short contrast 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> long-short contrast
5 Tonic (nuclear) stress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> critical
Non-core features		
	EFL target Traditional syllabus	ELF target Lingua Franca Core
1 Vowel quality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> close to RP or GA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> L2 (consistent) regional qualities
2 Weak forms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> essential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unhelpful to intelligibility
3 Features of connected speech	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> all 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> inconsequential and may be unhelpful
4 stress-timed rhythm	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> important 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unnecessary
5 word stress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> critical 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> can reduce flexibility/unteachable
6 pitch movement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> essential for indicating attitudes and grammar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> unnecessary/unteachable

(Jenkins 2007: 23f)

It remains to be seen if the LFC will be featured in phonology and phonetic courses for ELT and other language-related purposes.

3.3.2 Morphosyntactic features

With reference to the ELFA corpus, Ranta (2009) has identified three features which frequently appear in ELF users' speech: the universal use of "would"³² for hypothetical *if*-clauses, the use of *there is* for singular and plural nouns, and embedded inversions. These phenomena were also observed in VOICE³³.

Ranta (2009: 95) observes that all of the aforementioned features were present in the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English, MICASE (cf. 2007: 1), "a native-speaker corpus." Making this observation is in the same vein as 'Native speakers do these things too. That means that ELF also uses speech conventions which should be just as acceptable to everyone.' This seems to contradict one of the fundamental ideological standpoints in ELF: "[...] the native-speaker community is irrelevant anyway" (Seidlhofer 2011: 16).

Or perhaps it was an observation similar to the following statement that compelled her to make the comparison to ENL: "It is interesting that it is the 'deviation' from 'native speaker' norms which is raised to NNS varietal status and not the instances where the speakers display common ground with their 'native-speaker' counterparts, as they do in the use of the codified form" (Prodromou 2008: 32).

Other examples of morphosyntactic features observed in ELF were also evaluated in Björkman (2009), whose corpus data is modeled on the ELFA corpus, as it distinguishes between monologic and dialogic speech events (cf. 2009: 228). She notes that in ELF, the progressive (*ing*-form of a verb) is used "for prominence and salience" (2009: 227), a feature which is typical of Indian English usage, as in "I am understanding it now" (Crystal ²2002: 277, cf. Kachru 1983: 121). Another feature observed in both VOICE and Björkman's data, which relates to verb phrases, includes dropping the "s" in the third person singular, as in 'He like coffee' (cf. Seidlhofer 2004: 220, Björkman 2009: 233); this feature is also noticeable in Filipino and Indian ESL varieties (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 29). Finally, one of the linguistic innovations (cf. Pitzl 2009) observed in ELF is the creation of phrasal verbs such as "discuss about" (cf. VOICE PBmtg300: 1265, PBmtg414: 2693).

A feature which was observed on several occasions in both Björkman's data (2009:

³² As Ranta (cf. 2009: 94) notes, standard varieties of ENL use the following three forms of *if*-clauses: will+if+present simple (I will eat if I am hungry), would+if+past simple (She would drive if her car worked), would have + if+ past perfect (We would have left if they had come). Transformed using ELF-based conventions, the sentences become "I would eat if I would be hungry", "She would drive her car if her car would work", "We would have left if they would have come" (cf. 2009: 94). In the case of *there is*, traditional grammar states that it is followed by the singular (cf. Murphy ²1994: 192).

³³ Examples of the universal use of "would" are found in POWsd372: 997 and POWsd376: 113. "There is" followed by the plural form can be observed in EDcon250: 725, EDint328: 298, and EDint 330: 872. Embedded inversions, such as "[...] getting a feel for how **are they** experiencing what's going on [...]" (EDwsd464: 878, my emphasis) was also observed in EDwsd499: 991.

231) and VOICE³⁴ was use of the analytic comparative, as in “more easy” or “more cheap.” Other features which were frequently observed in both sources include use of the indefinite article (“a”) and the definite article (“the”) where ENL would not use it³⁵ (Seidlhofer 2004: 220) and not marking the plural form³⁶. Furthermore, Björkman (2009: 234f) notes the presence of “unraised negation,” i.e. “it looks not good,” and word order for questions which is based on affirmative statements, such as ‘He is coming today?’ or ‘What you are doing?’. The latter is also observed in Indian varieties (cf. Kachru 1983: 121, Crystal ²2002: 279).

Finally, one feature which was observed in Seidlhofer’s (2004: 220) data seemed to span all three Kachru circles: invariant question tags³⁷. The most commonly observed ELF (Expanding Circle) question tags were “isn’t it” or “no?” (Seidlhofer 2004: 220); these tags are also common in the Outer Circle, particularly in Indian, Malaysian, and Lankan Englishes (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 30), while in the Inner Circle, Welsh English uses the invariant tag “isn’t it?” (cf. Melchers/Shaw 2003: 57) and Canadian English uses the tag “eh?” (cf. Hülmbauer 2009: 336).

3.3.3 Lexical features and idiomatic expressions

A variety of explanations can account for how and why ELF users use the lexical features and idiomatic expressions that they do. One example is “cross-linguistic influence” (Hülmbauer 2009: 326), i.e. the presence of features borrowed from their first language(s) and/or other languages in their linguistic repertoires. She cites the examples (2009: 341) of an L1 Greek speaker’s use of the word “card” for “map” when talking to an L1 German interlocutor, noting that the Greek word “χάρτης” (hartis)³⁸ and the German word “Karte” are closer to one another than “map,” which shows that “[...] false friends have the potential to become ‘true friends’ in ELF” (Hülmbauer 2009: 341).

An example of influence from a language that is not the L1 is “chick break,” observed in an L1 Polish speaker in Vienna (cf. VOICE EDcon4:99). Assuming this phrase occurred in an SI setting with the same speaker in the same context, I could easily interpret it into French

³⁴ “more better” cf. EDwsd302: 1038, LEcon562: 1799, PBmtg463: 1490, POwsd257: 984, POwsd372: 403; “more easy” EDcon521: 757, EDint328: 319, EDwgd305: 237, EDwsd242: 29, PBmtg269: 598.

³⁵ Björkman’s examples (2009: 232) include “a old runner,” “the Einstein,” and “you can have idea.” This feature is also observed in ESL varieties (cf. Jenkins ²2009: 29).

³⁶ This was also commonly observed among units of measurement, i.e. “500 meter, 5 kilogram, 5000 hour” (cf. Björkman 2009: 231). Seidlhofer (cf. 2004: 220) mentions non-existent plural markers in her data; this is also a feature of Indian, Jamaican, and Filipino ESL varieties (Jenkins ²2009: 29).

³⁷ For example, ‘The boys are smart, isn’t it?’ and ‘She doesn’t like apples, isn’t it?’ vs. ENL usage ‘The boys are smart, aren’t they?’ and ‘She doesn’t like apples, does she?’

³⁸ “χ” would normally be transcribed as “ch”; I purposely only used an h to make the pronunciation clearer to an L1 English reader, who might see “chartis” and think it is pronounced /tʃartɪs/, see Appendix B.

as a *pause cigarette*, because of my knowledge of the German slang word for cigarette, *tschick*. This demonstrates the importance of a shared languages benefit (see Introduction); an interpreter working from English to French with no knowledge of German may literally be at a loss for words in this case.

Another tendency of ELF lexical usage is increased explicitness, saying “black color” instead of “black” (Seidlhofer 2004: 220); this could relate to a pragmatic strategy in line with the Gricean maxims of quantity, which entails providing necessary information to an interlocutor, and the maxim of manner, which entails avoiding ambiguity (cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 203). ELF pragmatics will be examined in the next subchapter.

Finally, ELF lexical coinages may also be created ad hoc, such as “far away uncle” explained as “the brother of my grandfather” and adopted by both interlocutors in the conversation in question (Hülmbauer 2009: 334). This is one tendency which may make codification more difficult. However, it could be possible to compile a list of coinages and observe if they occur in other corpora-based conversation settings. When settling on ad hoc terminology, the typological relationship between the speakers’ L1s is also relevant (2009: 327).

According to Pitzl (2009: 299), to use an idiom means to “[...] utilize an already existent repertoire of semi-fixed chunks.” Some of these ‘repertoires’ include prepositional phrases, such as “at the back of my mind”; bi- and trinomials, such as “wining and dining” and “in such and such a town”, or discourse markers such as “for my part” (Prodromou 2008: 221f).

In the context of idiom usage in ELF, Seidlhofer (Jenkins/Modiano/Seidlhofer 2001: 49, my italics) refers to *unilateral idiomaticity* as “the phenomenon of one interlocutor employing utterances which are particularly idiomatic in native English, but (therefore) difficult to understand them if the conversational partner does not know them (e.g., ‘[...] give you a hand [...]’ instead of [...] help you [...]).” I would argue that the term could also be extended to refer to instances where ELF users’ creative language use (cf. Pitzl 2009: 306), which may or may not be the result of, for example, cross-linguistic transfer or “re-metamorphization”³⁹ (2009: 303f), makes them difficult to understand for an interpreter.⁴⁰

³⁹ Pitzl (2009: 303f) describes the process as follows: an ENL idiom “[...] is deconstructed and reassembled in order to create a new or different meaning which relies on the semantic properties of the individual linguistic components and is thus compositional, although not literal.”

⁴⁰ For specific examples of where and how this phenomenon occurs, see Prodromou (2008: 220).

3.3.4 ELF pragmatics

“Pragmatics is concerned with language in use: how we use language in particular circumstances to achieve particular ends. It is concerned with appropriacy rather than correctness” (Melchers/Shaw 2003: 27f). Given the fact that ELF interactions are characterized by a vast array of ever-changing linguacultures and speakers, this will have an effect on the pragmatic features of a particular setting (cf. Björkman 2009: 244).

Thomas (1983: 22) uses the term “pragmatic failure” to describe “an area of cross-cultural communication breakdown” which can stem from either “pragmalinguistic failure” or “sociopragmatic failure.” The former describes the inability to formulate a speech act in the target language (cf. Anderman/Rogers 2005: 23, see Section 4.2), which can be dealt with by teaching “highly conventionalized” phrases “as part of the grammar” (Thomas 1983: 22). The latter relates to the speaker’s belief systems and knowledge of language as it relates to norms surrounding politeness and taboo conversation topics (cf. 1983: 22, Anderman/Rogers 2005: 23)

In the case of ELF interactions where ENL speakers are present, Ife (2005: 289) notes that “[i]t is also the case that not all mother tongue speakers are language aware, and they may not realise that a second-language speaker is not, for instance, being intentionally rude but simply carrying over pragmatic norms from his or her own mother tongue.” She mentions the example of saying “please” and “thank you” among L1 English and Spanish speakers, where the English speakers’ usage appeared too excessive and contrived to the Spanish speakers, while the Spanish speakers were perceived to be impolite by the English speakers (cf. Ife 2005: 290).

Therefore, ELF speakers generally feel more at ease when ‘left to their own devices,’ i.e. when ENL speakers are not present in a conversation setting. This is particularly the case when interlocutors sense a “cultural kinship” (cf. Ife 2005: 291). The author cites the example of L1 Greek and Spanish speakers, with their perceived ‘southern mentality’ and ‘Mediterranean ties’ (cf. 2005: 291). Hülmbauer (2009: 325) notes that ELF interactions are characterized by co-operative behavior and flexibility, something that I would refer to as the ‘we’re-in-this-together principle.’ The following paragraph will describe which strategies ELF speakers use to avoid potential communication breakdowns, which may or may not arise as a result of pragmalinguistic or sociopragmatic failure.

Cogo (2009: 260f) cites repetition as a strategy which acknowledges understanding, thereby ensuring that the conversation proceeds smoothly. It is also “[...] used to show

alignment and solidarity with the interlocutor, to invoke their approval and possibly to suggest affiliation and membership into the same community of multilingual speakers.” She also notes that code-switching is used to accommodate diversity (cf. 2009: 263) and has a variety of functions: making use of an additional linguistic resource, ensuring communicative efficiency (i.e. looking for a word), and signaling solidarity (cf. 2009: 268f). Other strategies include backchanneling (the use of interjections such as ‘uh huh’) and additional clarification (cf. Björkman 2009: 238).

3.4. ELF and its convergence with SI

Cook (2012: 241) demonstrates how ELF and SI are interrelated as follows: “[b]oth are concerned with cross-linguistic communication [...], central to the understanding and amelioration of temporary problems [, and] can be regarded as branches of applied linguistics. In addition, translation into English is increasingly both by and for non-native speakers.” Other areas which the two have in common from an ideological standpoint include ideas surrounding foreignization vs. domestication (cf. Cook 2012: 248) and the “cult of invisibility” (cf. 2012: 250, Venuti 1995).

In a translation-related context, foreignization and domestication refer to processes in which a translated text can either “[...] signify the linguistic and cultural difference of the text” (1995: 23) or “[...] the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target [...] language reader” (1995: 18). This clearly has its parallels in ELF ideology: why should users make their L1 identities “invisible” by forcibly replacing their ‘linguacultural communication conventions’ with those of an Anglo-American minority? Or, as evidenced by Quirk’s (1981: 221, my emphasis) rhetorical question, “[...] do we abandon the idea of an international language altogether and contemplate a future of linguistic frontiers manned by **faceless simultaneous translators**?”

Quirk’s comment also ties in with the reasons mentioned in the Introduction as to why interpreters tend to be very critical of ELF. In view of the features mentioned in the previous subchapters, I will summarize why they may be considered ‘a thorn in interpreters’ collective side’ as follows: L2 accents where consonant deletion and unexpected nuclear stress occur make speakers unintelligible, and the process of becoming accustomed to an L2 accent, which may not take a long time (cf. Clarke/Garrett 2004), may cost them precious cognitive resources that could be allocated in other ways during SI.

ELF speakers’ grammar conventions are problematic for interpreters, because they

seem to make it more difficult to anticipate how a sentence will end. Anticipation is a necessary element of SI when it comes to ‘keeping up with a speaker’s pace’ (cf. Chernov 2004). Divergent use of grammar may also give rise to misunderstanding and misinformation⁴¹.

Ad hoc lexical coinages which are not supplemented with any kind of explanation can often leave interpreters guessing as to what the speaker means, while an idiom translated literally from the L1, such as to “mix frogs and grandmothers” (Prodromou 2008: 220), will likely cause unilateral idiomaticity.

Finally, on a pragmatic level, the unidirectional nature of SI makes it impossible to employ certain cooperative communication strategies (cf. Reithofer 2011: 65) which could be used in a dialogue setting; for example, an interpreter sitting in a soundproof booth cannot say to a speaker through a microphone ‘The word you’re looking for is...’ when s/he notices that the speaker is struggling to find a word. Furthermore, code-switching is a behavior which exasperates many interpreters (cf. Chang/Wu 2014: 183) and if a speaker were to switch into a language that the interpreter does not speak, s/he may not be able to interpret that particular section and may run the risk of being unable to provide conference participants with salient information. Finally, Reithofer (cf. 2011: 31) notes that communicative symmetry in SI is an idealized construct, particularly in view of the different ‘sociopragmatic idiosyncrasies’ which may be present in a given ELF setting.

Because lingua franca research is mainly concerned with “reciprocal communication processes” (Hülmbauer 2009: 326), a study which focuses on unilateral communication in ELF can “[...] make a[n interpreter-based] contribution to the study of [...] ELF communication more generally and broaden the scope of the academic discussion of ELF” (Albl-Mikasa 2014: 296). The following subchapters will detail the considerations interpreters and those directly involved with them could take into account when planning conferences, as the presence of ELF speakers and listeners at international conferences is “[...] the norm, rather than the exception” (Reithofer 2011: 109, my translation).

⁴¹ Using Jenkins’ (2009: 29) example of “Mandarin, I learn it privately,” it is possible that the interpreter would render the sentence in the target language so that it means “I am learning Mandarin privately” when the speaker actually meant “I learned Mandarin privately,” as marking verbs for the past tense is uncommon in certain ESL varieties (cf. 2009: 29). This may occur in an ELF speaker’s usage as a result of, for example, linguistic transfer or because the speaker may feel that making an effort to mark for tense hinders his/her fluency (cf. Hüttner 2009). See also Albl-Mikasa (2014: 299) for examples of verb tenses and the use of “if/when” leading to communication problems among ENL participants in ELF interactions.

3.4.1 Interpreting ELF speakers

As mentioned above, there are several reasons as to why an interpreter may find a particular ELF speaker difficult to interpret. When interpreters are faced with difficulties, regardless of whether or not the speaker is using his/her L1, they resort to coping strategies with the hopes of alleviating the cognitive strain that arises from interpreting a ‘difficult speaker.’ As the notion of difficulty is subjective, the coping strategies interpreters use and how they develop them will obviously vary from person to person. Section 5.4 presents examples of coping strategies used when interpreting ELF speakers.

The present study shows that most of the English speakers interpreters interpret at conferences are ELF users (see Section 6.5.2). Consequently, it may be advisable to begin introducing interpreting students to speeches given by ELF speakers sooner rather than later, in order to provide them with more time to learn how to develop coping strategies and become familiar with a wider range of accents (cf. Chang/Wu 2014: 185, Albl-Mikasa 2013c). Basel (2002: 24, my emphasis) notes that the most important factors in developing coping strategies in the context of ELF speakers are “frequent exposure to non-native varieties, language proficiency, **some knowledge of the speaker’s native tongue** and a clear judgement of what can be achieved in the target language.”

As Albl-Mikasa (2014: 298) notes, “[...] the ‘shared languages benefit’ is a fact of [interpreters’] everyday working life” and is something that both interpreters and those in charge of putting together interpreting teams at conferences are keenly aware of; “[...] one of Germany’s top conference interpreter team organizers [...]take[s] into account not only the conference languages, but also the speakers’ L1s in contracting interpreters” (2014: 298). This shows that both interpreters and those who work with them are increasingly aware of some of the potential difficulties that may arise when an interpreter has to interpret a speaker who is not using his/her L1; by ensuring that a potential shared languages benefit exists, they are doing their best to counteract these difficulties and ensure that effective communication is possible.

The reasons why ELF is used at conferences may also vary: on the one hand, it may be because speakers do not have recourse to interpretation services which would allow them to use their L1. On the other hand, these speakers may simply choose to ignore recommendations regarding use of their L1 (EC 2012c: 1) and opt to use English instead. As Chang/Wu (2014: 181) note, speaking English in Taiwan, for example, is “[...] a status symbol, projecting the speaker as someone who has a ‘global’ perspective.” I would argue

that this is also the case in many other parts of the world.

In the EC's SCIC customer satisfaction survey on interpreting (cf. EC 2013: 25), some of the reasons why speakers in the institutions of the European Union decide not to use their L1 in conference settings include more familiarity with the subject matter in another language, not knowing beforehand whether or not interpretation would be available, thinking that the message could be better conveyed in a more widely spoken language, and fearing that the interpretation could be inaccurate. However, when interpretation services were provided, 65% of the speakers always used their L1⁴² (2013: 24) and only a very small percentage of those surveyed (9%) feared that the interpretation would be inaccurate (2013: 25). This shows that most users trust interpreters' ability to effectively convey their messages and adhere to best practices by following the recommendation to use their L1 at interpreter-mediated events.

3.4.2 Interpreting for ELF listeners

When interpreting at a conference, it is unlikely that the interpreters will know what the ratio of NS to NNS listeners is. This is because conference organizers do not gather detailed information about the conference participants' knowledge of English (something which some people might be very apprehensive about and also view as patronizing). It is highly probable that both ELF and ENL listeners will be present, though the presence of one group may outweigh the other. As professional communicators, interpreters are required to cater to **everyone's** needs (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2010: 138, my emphasis); as interpreters cannot know who will be listening to them, they will have to rely on their intuition as to how and to what extent they should employ accommodation strategies to satisfy ELF listeners' needs. As Albl-Mikasa (2011: 272) notes, the interpreter's intentions to accommodate may not be perceived in a positive manner:

The interpreter's perception of how best to accommodate to the listener may or may not be in line with this listener's own experiences and needs. This is particularly the case in lingua franca situations where it is even more difficult to ascertain the needs of addressees who come from the most varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds. At worst, they may view the interpreter's accommodation effort as a patronizing attitude. On the part of the interpreter, on the other hand, it is not at all clear to what extent she feels inclined to accept accommodation to the non-native speaker as a professional requirement of her performance [...].

⁴² 8% used their L1 "sometimes", 7% "always spoke in another language", and 20% "did not take the floor" (EC 2013: 24).

I would argue that professionalism and communicative integrity, combined with the likelihood that the ELF speakers present at a conference will have to rely on the English interpretation⁴³, dictate that interpreters should try to accommodate to their needs by, for example, paying careful attention to clear articulation, avoiding syntactically complex structures, or paraphrasing the meaning of ENL idioms (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2010: 138). However, this can only be done successfully if there is enough processing capacity available (cf. 2010: 137), meaning it may only be possible to employ one strategy at a time, such as slowing down their speed of delivery; the interpreter will have to judge for him/herself which strategy is the least troublesome, based on how the source text is delivered (an NS with a high speed of delivery vs. an ELF speaker with an unfamiliar accent), and use that strategy accordingly.

Potential solutions could be that conference organizers would be required to provide written information stating that the interpretation into English will be performed in a manner that makes it accessible to an international audience. This could heighten awareness, for example, among L1 English listeners, making them realize that the interpreter's 'simplified' English is not a sign of his/her incompetence but, rather, relates to standards of 'international intelligibility.' Consequently, interpreters would not have to feel that they are potentially disappointing their L1 English listeners by using 'Simple English'; rather, they could remember that ELF listeners who are unfamiliar with many L1 English idioms or whose knowledge of English vocabulary is limited will appreciate English which enables them to understand the proceedings in their entirety. Or, if the organizers feel that they need more than one English booth, there could be a designated "Global English" or "International English" booth and an "American/Irish/Australian English" booth, depending on which variety or varieties of L1 English the interpreters speak (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2014: 299).

As interpreters who work into their B language may not speak in a manner that easily places them in one of the aforementioned categories, this brings us to the questions mentioned above: Are interpreters ELF speakers and should they adjust their output so that it conforms to what could become a unified ELF standard?

If an ELF speaker is someone who communicates using English as an L2 with other L2 English speakers, interpreters who do not have English as an A language are, by definition, ELF speakers. As ELF speakers "[...] have a command of English that varies along a continuum from minimal to expert [...]" (Seidlhofer 2011: 18), we can argue that as

⁴³It is not uncommon for ELF listeners who participate in interpreter-mediated conference settings to rely on English interpretation if interpretation into their L1 is not available. According to the EC's (2013: 7) SCIC customer satisfaction survey, 70% of ELF listeners who did not have interpretation available into their L1 relied on the English interpretation.

professional communicators, interpreters are ELF speakers whose command of the language is characterized by expert use. The question remains as to what constitutes “expert” use.

With regard to language, the Council of Europe’s (COE) Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (henceforth CEFRL) “[...] describes in a comprehensive way what language learners have to learn to do in order to use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively.” (COE- Council of Europe 2014: 1). The CEFRL classifies the user’s level of L2 use as follows:

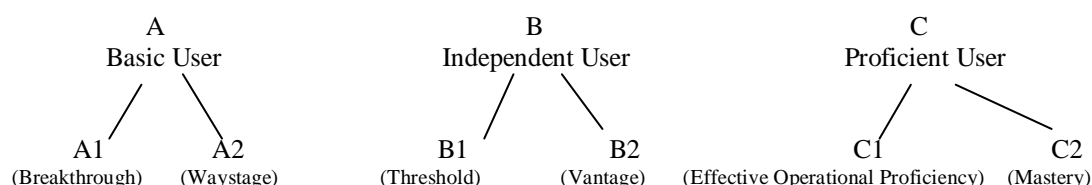


Figure 3 - CEFRL levels of language use (COE 2014: 23)

However, it should be noted here that the CEFRL was designed with European users in mind and provides a reference point when describing their use of a language that is spoken in Europe. As it applies to more languages than just English, it invariably sets out target goals related to user output based on interactions with NSs of a particular language; it does not specify a set of criteria which applies to lingua franca interactions in that language.

However, as it “does not imply the imposition of one single uniform system” and is “open and flexible, so that it can be applied, with such adaptations as prove necessary, to particular situations” (COE 2014: 7), it can be used to analyze ELF language use. Furthermore, it may appease many proponents and users of ELF when they see the use of the term “user,” as in “independent user,” rather than “independent learner.” As Seidlhofer (2011: 45) notes, “[d]ue to the lingua franca function of English, there are many people who avail themselves of this convenient means of communication [...]; they often conceive of themselves as users, not ‘learner[s]’[...].”

An interpreter’s “expert command” of English can thus be defined by using the CEFRL C2 proficient user description:

Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations (COE 2014: 24).

However, as evidenced by the following extract from VOICE (EDint330: 900), interpreters differ from most ELF speakers because of their insistence upon and, in many instances, ability to adhere to NS speech conventions; this may be related to the idea that many ELF speakers feel that speaking in a way which does not encourage them to let their L1 identity shine through is “[...] unnecessary, unrealistic, and at least by some, as positively undesirable” (Seidlhofer 2011: 50).

S17: L1=Bulgarian

S17: <3><un> xx(.) xxxx </un></3> i think here comes the question of quality. what (.) level e:r (.) of (.) a- <4> what </4> ability of speaking the language we should HAVE. and I think the MOST important thing is to have a ce:rtain level of understanding. since we understand us who cares about the rules. let british speak their british english let let america speak their american english and LET us speak OUR english in which we have a certain level of understanding. [...] ⁴⁴

In short, interpreters’ insistence upon adhering to ENL pronunciation and grammar norms is a necessity. If we return to the CEFRL, there are criteria which serve as a guideline for evaluating language use in formal discussions and meetings (cf. COE 2014: 78). For C2 users, which is the level that interpreters operate at, they are expected to be “[...] articulate and persuasive [...] at **no disadvantage to native speakers**” (2014: 78, my emphasis). It would be disadvantageous to NS listeners, for example, if the interpreter’s English pronunciation differed so significantly from a NS speaker variety that this changed the meaning of an utterance. ⁴⁵ Furthermore, Osimk’s (2009) study found that ENL pronunciation norms were generally well understood. However, if an interpreter cannot maintain these norms 100% of the time because of effort-based constraints, s/he should not feel guilty, as studies have shown that having a native-like accent is not the most important factor when listeners are asked to evaluate how satisfied they are with an interpreter’s performance (cf. Kurz 1993, Bork 2012).

In addition to providing an answer to the question “Can we argue that interpreters are ELF speakers?” I have already partly answered the second question, “Should interpreters adjust their output so that it conforms to the typical characteristics of ELF usage?” I would like to complete my answer by referring to the results of Albl-Mikasa’s (2010) qualitative study, in which interpreters detail their experiences with and attitudes toward ELF (cf. 2010: 128). 72% of those surveyed had English as a B language, while 28% had English as a C language (2010: 128); no one involved in the study is an ENL speaker, which reflects the

⁴⁴ Transcribed using VOICE (cf. 2013) conventions.

⁴⁵ See Chang/Wu (2014: 178) for the example of “He bit his wife” vs. “He beat his wife.” If an interpreter were to ignore this aspect of NS pronunciation conventions and use /t/ and /i/ interchangeably, s/he could cause misunderstanding among his/her English L1 listeners. This is an essential element of the LFC.

most common ELF communication scenario.

In response to the question “Do you expect yourself to offer native-like English?” 53% of those surveyed replied that they endeavor to be “as native-like as possible,” 25% strive for a “solid B language level,” while 6% have “no such requirement.” The remaining 16% did not respond, as English is their C language (Albl-Mikasa 2010: 131). Therefore, the majority of interpreters whose B language is English continue to strive for L1 norm-based standards in terms of grammar and pronunciation, even if they are working in a predominately ELF setting. This is evidenced by the answers to the questions “Do you feel less inclined to be grammatically correct?” and “Do you care less about your accent?”: none of the interpreters were less inclined to be grammatically correct, while only 3% were less inclined to emulate an NS accent.⁴⁶

This insistence upon adhering to L1 English pronunciation and grammar runs counter to arguments put forth by some ELF proponents. As Dewey (2009: 66) notes, “[i]n particular, the formal rules [of grammar] handed down through (especially idiomatic) use in ENL have little or no value in lingua franca settings.” In reference to these “international/lingua franca communication contexts” (Jenkins 2009: 10), “sociolinguistic common sense indicates that [native speaker] accents are inappropriate and irrelevant” (2009: 10).

Neither Dewey nor Jenkins specified whether or not the aforementioned statements also hold true in a formal communication setting. I fully agree with Seidlhofer (2011: 199f, my emphasis), who argues that “[s]ome learners of the language will want or **need to conform** to the NS conventions of the standard language, and **for certain purposes** adherence to canonical forms will be **important**.”

Given the codified norms set out for interpreter performance by AIIC, as well as interpreters’ personal standards relating to their use of language, which may or may not stem from “perceived advantages for mobility, advancement and status” (Kachru 1984: 435), I would argue that, although interpreters who do not have English as an A language are also ELF speakers in a sense, it would be counterproductive of them to jeopardize their expert user status by purposely adopting lexicogrammatical features which would appear odd to most L1 English listeners, even if the listeners in question do not ‘represent a linguistic reference point’ (cf. Jenkins 2007, Seidlhofer 2011). However, this could change when ELF becomes a codified variety and interpreters may be asked to use it at conferences.

⁴⁶ The answers to the question about grammar were as follows: “yes” – 0%, “no” – 84%, “no reply” – 16% (respondents with English as a C language, Albl-Mikasa 2010: 133). This clearly refers to ENL expectations. 75% of those surveyed still continued to emulate an NS accent, while 22% (English as a C language) did not reply (2010: 133).

4. The interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit

The interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit (ISIB), mentioned briefly in the Introduction, was tested in an experiment carried out by Bent/Bradlow; although their study was not the first to investigate the intelligibility of L2 accents (cf. Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1600), it proved to be a source of insight for the present study. Consequently, its findings and terminology were adapted to suit the research purposes of this thesis.

The idea that L2 English users find an L2 English speaker with the same L1 just as intelligible as an ENL speaker is referred to by Bent/Bradlow (2003: 1600) as a “matched” ISIB, while a “mismatched” ISIB (2003: 1606) occurs when L2 English users find a high proficiency L2 speaker with a different L1 just as or more intelligible than an ENL speaker. The way that I have modified these concepts for my own research will be detailed in Section 6.1. Conversely, it was deemed necessary to clarify the meaning of “interlanguage” and “intelligibility” in separate subchapters, as they are terms which are either viewed critically by ELF researchers (see Introduction) or can be interpreted in a variety of ways (cf. Osimk 2009: 30). Before doing so, Bent/Bradlow’s (2003) experiment is discussed in the following paragraphs.

The researchers used the dictation method (cf. Osimk 2009: 32), i.e. the subjects had to “[...] listen to the sentence stimulus and write down whatever [they] heard on specially prepared answer sheets” (Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1604). Although this method is arguably less fraught with annoyance and bias-related problems than subjective analysis methods (see Section 6.4), it may be argued that, for example, parroting an utterance is not a reliable indication of understanding (cf. Osimk 2009: 35). The authors counteracted this potential problem by administering a post-experiment word-familiarity test with the words the subjects had heard (cf. Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1605).

The subjects were 65 adults with no self-reported hearing loss or speech impediments who came from the following L1 backgrounds: monolingual L1 English speakers (n=21), L1 Chinese English speakers (n=21), L1 Korean English speakers (n=10), and L2 English speakers with the following L1s (n=12): Bulgarian, Dutch, French/Douala, German, Greek, Hindi, Japanese, Serbian, Spanish, and Tamil; they were all recruited via Northwestern University (cf. Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1604)⁴⁷.

The sentence stimuli that they heard came from the following female talkers (cf. 2003: 1603): one monolingual L1 English speaker (E), one L1 Chinese English speaker who was

⁴⁷ I am aware that the numbers displayed here ≠ 65.

deemed to be “high proficiency” (CH) based on the authors’ database evaluation scoring tests (cf. 2003: 1602), one “low proficiency” L1 Chinese speaker (CL), one high proficiency L1 Korean speaker (KH), and one low proficiency L1 Korean speaker (KL).

These talkers read sentences from the Bamford-Kowal-Bench Standard Sentence Test (BKB-R), a test administered to American children in order to detect hearing loss; the authors chose these sentences as they are syntactically simple and the commonly used words were not seen to be a problem for the L2 English subjects (cf. Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1602). For the experiment, the authors selected a total of 60 sentences to create five lists with twelve sentences; the twelve sentences contained a total of 37 keywords (cf. 2003: 1604).

The order in which the subjects heard the talkers depended on their L1 (cf. 2003: 1604): L1 Chinese and English listeners heard the sentences read by the talkers in the following order: CH, KH, E, CL, KL. L1 Korean listeners heard the talkers in the following order: KH, CH, E, KL, CL. Half of the mixed group heard the sentences in the same order as the L1 Chinese listeners; the other half heard them in the same order as the L1 Korean listeners. Furthermore, the subjects heard white noise in the background while listening to the talkers; this was to better assess the talkers’ intelligibility (cf. 2003: 1603).

Bent/Bradlow’s (2003) study was replicated⁴⁸ by Stibbard/Lee (2006), who determined that there was **no** evidence of a **mismatched** ISIB (cf. 2006: 433, my emphasis). In terms of an interpreting-related context, this would mean that the presence of a Type 2 SLB is unlikely (see Section 6.1). However, as the auditory stimuli used in the experiment are not something that any interpreter would be likely to encounter in a conference setting (see Chapter 4), it is possible that these findings may not be applicable in an interpreting context.

Additionally, two aspects of the experiment differ from SI-related settings: Firstly, the author’s use of the term “intelligibility” can only refer to the recognition process in which the listener recognizes the auditory signals which, taken together, make up a word (cf. Smith/Nelson 2006: 429); this process, although a part of SI, does not make the kind of cognitive demands that characterize other processes which take place during SI (cf. Gröbl 2010: 11). Secondly, “[the] subjects could take as long as they needed to record their responses” (Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1604). Given the time constraints which arise as a result of the continuous flow of auditory input interpreters have to process during SI, this condition is not appropriate in an interpreting context.

⁴⁸ The number of listeners (n=59) and the ratio of various L1s in terms of the talkers and listeners was slightly different (cf. 2006: 446) from Bent/Bradlow’s study.

4.1 The notion of interlanguage

This subchapter explains what interlanguage is and the reasons why many researchers who study World Englishes and/or ELF express doubts about its applicability when analyzing users' various forms of English. As Kachru (1988: 46) notes:

The unsightful use of [...] [the] concept [...] [of interlanguage] has resulted in observations about the users and uses of English which have doubtful empirical bases if seen in the world context of the uses of English. The concept [...] *per se* [is] not necessarily to be attacked. Rather, we should seriously evaluate the validity of the generalizations made on the basis [thereof].

It is possible that as an Indian scholar, Kachru feels the inappropriate use of the concept stems from Selinker's specific reference to Indian English as an interlanguage (cf. Selinker 1972: 216). The issue of whether or not the term "interlanguage" applies to the Outer Circle is one addressed by Selinker (1972: 216) directly:

Keith Brown (personal communication) has argued that the sociolinguistic status of the 'languages' or 'dialects' called Indian English, Filipino English, West African English [...] places them in a different category from that of the IL situation which I have been describing. From the sociolinguistic point of view this argument might be justified, but I am concerned in this paper with a psychological perspective [...]

Interlanguage is defined as "a separate linguistic system based on the observable output which results from a learner's attempted production of a TL [target language] norm" (Selinker 1972: 214). In other words, it is "a fully independent, internally coherent language level" (Kraft/Geluykens 2007: 12) which combines elements (phonological, lexical, grammatical) of the speaker's L1 and the target language.

The concept of interlanguage presupposes that the learning process is highly dynamic and that the ultimate goal is to achieve "successful" target production, i.e. language competence identical to that of an L1 speaker (cf. Selinker 1972: 223). However, the active learning process eventually comes to an end (cf. 1972: 217) and fossilization is said to occur; the speaker's use of the language is then said to be "[...] often far from TL **norms**, often shown by the **failure** of learners to acquire a feature where a particular TL feature is expected" (Selinker 1992: 209, my emphasis). These features may be phonological (i.e. substitution of the German sound /ü/ with /u/ by L1 English learners of German) or grammar-related (i.e. English article usage by speakers whose L1 does not use articles).

In short, the reason why the term "interlanguage" is viewed critically in the context of ELF and World Englishes is because it implies "deficit rather than difference" (Jenkins ²2009:

93); as Prodromou (2008: 73f) writes, “[...] [t]he concept of interlanguage [...] tends to focus on learners' failure to achieve success in 'native-speaker' terms, rather than on L2-user discourse as the achievement of communication on its own terms.”

Interestingly, Selinker also occasionally puts the term “error” in quotation marks (cf. 1972: 215), indicating that he may not always feel that interlanguage variation should be equated with an erroneous performance. As Corder (1982: 19) argues, the use of terms such as “error” or “deviant” is objectionable as “[...] they [...] to a greater or lesser degree, prejudice the explanation of the idiosyncrasy.” Particularly in the case of the Outer Circle, where many users⁴⁹ of English actively appropriated the language of the colonizer for their own purposes, these ‘deviant linguistic forms’ may be ideologically motivated; as the concept of interlanguage ignores sociolinguistic and socio-psychological findings (cf. Rampon 1987: 273), its use is questionable in this context. Jenkins (2000: 30) concludes that

It is undoubtedly true that in a number of ESL countries such as Bangladesh, there are many learners of English who have not yet reached their target production, and who thus still have interlanguages. However, we should be careful not to confuse the inaccuracies of their production with the more stable regional pronunciation varieties used by fluent speakers of non-British or American varieties of outer circle English.

In short, this shows that ELF researchers cannot make sweeping generalizations that the concept of interlanguage is **always** inappropriate in an ELF context. The findings in both fields can potentially supplement one another; Hülmbauer (2009: 326) maintains that “[...] cross-linguistic influence⁵⁰ from the L1 has already been treated as an important aspect in [...] interlanguage studies [...] and can thus be assumed to play an important role in ELF as well.”

Contradictory attitudes also become apparent, for example, if we note how statements such as “[...] to avoid **excessive circumlocution and political correctness, all L2 phonological variation** from L1 forms will be described indiscriminately as ‘**error**’, ‘**deviation**’ and **variant**.” (Jenkins 2000: 32, my emphasis) turn into “[...] just because a language item differs from the way it is produced by Inner Circle speaker, it is not automatically an error” (Jenkins ²2009: 143).

In the context of ELF, the notion of interlanguage appears to be problematic because it presupposes that users’ ultimate goal is to attain ENL status. Therefore, it can be argued that although researchers’ objections to the term are valid in this context, the concept of

⁴⁹ The consistent use of the term “learner” is also something which many ELF researchers may find objectionable (see Section 3.4.2)

⁵⁰ Selinker (1992: 208) defines it as “[...] the influence and use of prior linguistic knowledge, usually but not exclusively NL [native language] knowledge. This knowledge intersects with the input from the TL [target language] and with universal properties of various sorts in a selective way to help build IL [interlanguage].”

interlanguage may not be inaccurate when it comes to describing L2 users of English who feel that **they** have not reached their target usage, in much the same manner that it is ultimately the learner's decision as to which form of English they want to strive for.

4.2 Defining intelligibility

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the term “intelligibility” and the idea of “understanding a speaker” are often subject to a variety of interpretations. Kachru (1984: 447) observes that the term “[...] is unfortunately the least researched and least understood concept in cross-cultural and cross-linguistic contexts.” It focuses too much on phonetics and does not analyze the effect of “communicative units” (cf. 1984: 447). This observation is particularly true in an interpreting context; interpreters will be more concerned with understanding these units as a whole. Moreover, Munro/Derwing (cf. 1999: 305) also maintain that accents are not a scale for understanding. This calls for a more precise definition of “understanding,” as the use of terminology often varies from author to author (cf. Osimk 2009: 30).

Smith/Nelson (2006: 430, their italics) identify three degrees of understanding with varying complexity: *intelligibility* requires phonological competence and is the least complex, as it refers to “word/utterance recognition” (cf. 2006: 429), i.e. acoustic perception of the phonemes which make up a word or utterance; *comprehensibility* requires lexical competence and refers to “word/utterance meaning (locutionary force)⁵¹” (cf. 2006: 429); *interpretability* is the most complex form of understanding, as it entails pragmatic competence (cf. 2006: 430) or recognizing the “meaning behind [a] word/utterance (illocutionary force)” (cf. 2006: 429).

For the purpose of my study, particularly because it relates to interpreting, I will use the term “interpretability” throughout my experiment as an umbrella term to include all of the levels of understanding an utterance. I realize that my use of the word “Verständlichkeit” in the surveys may have been subject to a variety of interpretations concerning the level of understanding (see Section 6.4) and because the focus of this thesis is on ELF accents, it may be more appropriate to refer uniquely to intelligibility. However, as interpreting ultimately entails conveying the speaker's intended meaning, I will use “interpretability” when referring to my study.

Finally, in the case of the intelligibility and ELF, Hülmbauer (2009: 327) shows that

⁵¹ The terms “locutionary” and “illocutionary” force are references to Austin's (²1975) speech acts, in which a locutionary act entails *inter alia* asking or answering questions, describing something, or announcing one's intentions (cf. ²1975: 98f) while an illocutionary act sets out to achieve a goal (i.e. convincing someone to agree to something) using a locutionary act (cf. ²1975: 101f).

in much the same manner that meaning is negotiated by the presence of certain lingua-cultures and users, intelligibility in ELF is also determined by the situation at hand. In my study, the situation is the same for all participants: simulating SI with speakers whose speeches reflect the style of one individual (see Section 6.3).

The importance of attitudes when measuring intelligibility is undeniable: as Jenkins (2007: 153) argues, “[...] because intelligibility is contingent on a specific speech context [...], respondents who [have] limited familiarity with an accent might rate its intelligibility according to a single ‘concrete’ experience.” This “single concrete experience” is not uncommon for interpreters: although they may interpret the same speaker at various functions over a period of several years, they often interpret a speaker only once and can only draw conclusions about his/her intelligibility based on a one-time experience. This issue will be addressed in Section 6.4. Attitudes may not only be based on the number of encounters, but also relate to biases; with reference to a study about the intelligibility of two dialects, Jenkins (2000: 14) also states that “[...] intelligibility is not necessarily reciprocal and may be the result rather than the cause of negative social-psychological attitudes which have, themselves, reduced the receiver’s motivation to make an effort to understand.”

5. Studies related to accent as a factor in interpreters' performance

As the focus of this study is on ELF (L2) accents in interpreter-mediated settings, it is important to review studies which investigate the effect of interpreters' L2 accents on listeners and the effect of ELF speakers' L2 accents on interpreters. Although the studies about interpreters' L2 accents are not about L2 English accents, their relevance is still very high in view of their findings. Finally, the studies about ELF speakers and SI use both experimental and qualitative methodological approaches. They differ from my study; however, providing information about studies with other methods could arguably present a more holistic view of how SI and ELF are interrelated.

Each section will present a different study and explain the topic of research, the hypotheses, and the methods used to conduct it. It will then conclude with an overview of the study's findings and their relevance to my study, as well as the strengths and limitations of the study in question.

5.1 Interpreting with a non-native accent and quality perceptions

Bork's (2012) quantitative study is based on the hypothesis that a non-native accent would have an adverse effect on how users rate an interpreter's SI performance (cf. 2012: 60). This necessitated two interpretations of similar texts, one with an L1 accent, and the other with an L2 accent (cf. 2012: 61). She chose the interpretation with an L2 accent first; the text used was a Romanian MEP's comments about help for Haiti during a plenary session in the European Parliament (cf. 2012: 61), which was translated into German with an L2 accent (cf. 2012: 61)⁵². The author downloaded the interpretation and used it to create the second interpretation: an L1 German student with experience as an interpreter, who had completed her final exams in Conference Interpreting at the University of Vienna's Center for Translation Studies (referred to henceforth by its German acronym "ZTW"), shadowed⁵³ the interpretation described above. (cf. 2012: 62f). Rather than have the student read the written version of the text, the author felt that shadowing it would make the recording more realistic (cf. 2012: 61).

These recordings were then incorporated into an online survey which consisted of questions about the following: expectations about and experience with SI, user ratings for the

⁵² The interpreter's L1 was presumably Romanian; however, this information was not available in the study. My attempt to deduce what the interpreter's L1 could be was unsuccessful, as I could not download the speech the author used in her study.

⁵³ Shadowing is defined as "immediate verbatim repetition of the input in the same language" (Pöchhacker 2004: 117).

NNS's interpretation, user ratings for the NS's interpretation, an open-ended question about which interpretation the user preferred and a justification as to why, as well as questions of a demographic nature (cf. 2012: 63). The survey was created using LimeSurveyTM (2015, cf. 2012: 66).

The first question asked about the users' experiences with media interpreting, interpreting during presentations, and interpreting at conferences, as well as asking them about how often they experience each type of interpreting. They were asked to choose one of the following options: often-sometimes-never-N/A (cf. 2012: 63f). They were then asked about their expectations of SI by evaluating the following 10 criteria on a 5 point scale (very important –mostly important – mostly unimportant – not at all important – N/A): pleasant voice, fluency of delivery, native accent, logical cohesion of the sentences, sense consistency with the original message, completeness of interpretation, lively intonation, clear pronunciation, correct grammatical usage, very good performance overall (cf. Bork 2012.)⁵⁴

The rating task for the NNS's and NS's interpretations consisted of listening to the recording first and then rating the following statements (cf. Bork 2012: 65)⁵⁵ on a 5 point scale (totally agree- mostly agree- mostly disagree-totally disagree- N/A):

- The [interpreter's] voice was pleasant.
- The [interpreter] was fluent.
- The [interpreter] had a native accent.
- [The interpretation] was logically cohesive.
- The [interpretation's] message was consistent with the original.
- [The interpretation] was complete.
- The [interpreter's] intonation was lively.
- The [interpreter's] pronunciation was clear.
- The [interpreter's] grammar was correct.
- The [interpreter's] overall performance was very good.

The criteria described both in this paragraph and the aforementioned paragraph were adapted from Cheung (2003), Rožić (2004), and Stévaux (2007) (cf. 2012: 64f).

⁵⁴ The English translations are based on the information in Grübl (2010: 50), which Bork (2012: 25) cites in her subchapter about quality expectations.

⁵⁵ The criteria were modified in a way which makes them appear more natural to an L1 English readership. The modifications appear in square brackets ([...]). A literal translation of the first criterion would have been "The voice was pleasant," which sounds unnatural to the author as an L1 English speaker. The original German criteria are as follows: "die Stimme war angenehm, die Verdolmetschung war flüssig, die Verdolmetschung war akzentfrei, der logische Zusammenhang war vorhanden, der Sinn des Originals wurde wiedergegeben, das Original wurde vollständig wiedergegeben, die Intonation war lebendig, die Aussprache war deutlich, die Grammatik war richtig, die Gesamtleistung war sehr gut" (2012: 65).

After hearing and evaluating the interpretations, the survey participants were asked to choose which interpretation they preferred and justify their response (cf. 2012: 66). They completed the survey by specifying their gender, age, and first language (cf. 2012: 66). The participants were recruited via Facebook; in total, the author contacted 101 acquaintances with some form of post-secondary education who were German-speaking citizens of the European Union (cf. 2012: 67f).

Of the 57 participants who took part in the survey, 68% were women and 32% were men; on average, they were 30 years old (cf. 2012: 69). Of the 55 participants who stated that German was their first language, 2 identified as bilingual (German-English, German-Japanese) and 1 as trilingual (German-Bulgarian-Polish); the remaining participants' first languages were Croatian and Polish (cf. 2012: 69). 56 participants (98%) had experience with media interpreting, 37 (65%) had experience with interpreting during presentations, and 32 (56%) had experience with interpreting at conferences (cf. 2012: 70).

Overall, the participants felt that fluency and clear pronunciation were the most important criteria (cf. 2012: 73), while having a native accent placed last in terms of importance to the participants (cf. 2012: 74). When comparing the NS and the NNS's interpretations, 40% of the participants stated that they preferred the NNS's interpretation, 32% felt that both interpreters performed equally well, and the remaining 28% felt that the NS interpreter was better (cf. 2012: 84). Therefore, the hypothesis that an interpreter's L2 accent would have a negative effect on SI users' performance ratings was not supported (cf. 2012: 91).

This study is relevant to my own research not only for the concept of an L2 accent and the information it provides about it; the author's research design in the form of a survey also provided me with inspiration after my original research design could not be implemented (see Chapter 6). The study's strengths stem from its use of realistic texts and meticulous planning in terms of designing the survey. Its weaknesses relate to two issues: firstly, it may have been a good idea to include a question as to whether or not the participants were accustomed to hearing German spoken with an L2 accent, as familiarity with L2 accents can influence how they are perceived by listeners (cf. Fayer/Krasinski 1987, Winke/Gass 2013). Secondly, there should have been more information about the NS interpreter (in particular, what variety of German she spoke), as one of the participants indicated that she had a noticeable regional accent (cf. Bork 2012: 118), and it may be possible that it may have invoked feelings of annoyance in some of the participants. In the context of L2 speech production, Fayer/Krasinski (1987: 315) state that "[a]nnoyance is a negative, subjective reaction to the

form [of language used].” In particular, the present study will touch on interpreters’ negative, subjective reactions to ELF accents; this issue is addressed in Section 6.2.3.2.

5.2 Interpreting with a non-native accent and its negative impact on listeners

Cheung’s earlier research (Cheung 2003) played an important role in Bork’s (2012) study; he designed an additional experiment (2013) which concluded once again that interpreters’ non-native accents have a negative impact on the way listeners evaluate their performance (cf. Cheung 2013: 25). Therefore, this study’s relevance lies in the fact that it supplements the information provided in Bork’s (2012) study and clearly demonstrates that purist attitudes surrounding interpreters’ language use persist; factors such as annoyance and familiarity with particular accents are also addressed here, making this study relevant to my own.

The author conducted a controlled experiment in which 180 L1 Cantonese university students were recruited from departments which were not related in any way to language-based studies (cf. Cheung 2013: 33). They were told that they would be part of an experiment about listening comprehension in Cantonese (cf. 2013: 33) and that after the end of the presentation, they had the chance to win a prize if they answered all the questions in a comprehension test correctly and filled out a questionnaire about the quality of the presentation; the author did this to ensure that the participants paid careful attention to the interpretations they heard, in much the same manner that conference participants rely on the content of interpretations to follow the proceedings (cf. Cheung 2013: 32). The author’s experiment did not take the results of the comprehension test into account (cf. 2013: 32).

In total, 159 students’ answers were analyzed; incomplete tests and questionnaires were discarded (cf. 2013: 35). 53 students’ answers were based on an SI presentation delivered with an L1 Cantonese accent, 52 students heard the Cantonese presentation with a Mandarin accent, and 54 students heard the English-accented Cantonese version of the presentation, which will be described below:

The source text used in the presentation was a 10 minute video related to Sino-US economic relations and was delivered by a Caucasian female presenter, whose L1 was a North American variety of English (cf. Cheung 2013: 33). The author chose an English source text, as the most common SI language combination in Hong Kong is Cantonese-English (cf. 2013: 33). He then recruited 3 L1 Mandarin (all from northern China) and 3 L1 English speakers (from the UK, Canada, and Australia) to shadow (see Section 5.1) the Cantonese interpretation of the source text, which had been recorded with a professional conference

interpreter from Hong Kong (cf. 2013: 33). Finally, Cheung recruited 10 L1 Cantonese speakers with a background in Cantonese linguistics to choose the least-accented sample in the Mandarin and English groups for use in the experiment. The rationale behind this decision was that most interpreters who work into a B language invariably have some form of an L2 accent; however, it would not be as strong as that of someone who does not work with languages in a professional context (cf. 2013: 34).

Cheung simulated a conference situation in which the aforementioned participants heard the corresponding Cantonese version of the presentation with headsets, while the original English version could be heard over the loudspeakers in the lecture hall where the experiment took place (cf. 2013: 34f). They were told that the interpreter was sitting in a room next door, interpreting the presentation live, to convey an additional feeling of authenticity (cf. 2013: 35). Following the presentation, the participants had five minutes to complete a comprehension test, followed by the survey about the interpretation (cf. 2013: 35).

The questionnaire (2013: 36) included the following ten statements, as well as an open-ended question in which the participants could make additional comments about the SI performance. The statements were rated using a Likert scale of 1 “strongly disagree” to 5 “strongly agree” (Cheung 2013: 35f); all of the statements were originally in Cantonese and translated into English by the author (cf. 2013: 37):

- I could understand the SI.
- There were no mistakes in the SI delivery.
- The SI delivery was clear.
- The SI delivery was well-paced.
- The SI delivery did not have long pauses.
- The SI was fluent.
- The SI was in synch with the speaker.
- The interpreter delivered the SI very professionally.
- I am satisfied with the overall SI performance.
- I will recommend that the same interpreter be hired again for a similar event.

The quantitative data clearly demonstrates that the L1 Cantonese presentation was perceived most favorably, with mean scores ranging between 4.02 and 4.21. The mean scores of the Mandarin-accented presentation were in the 2.54 to 3.10 range, while the English-accented Cantonese presentation received the lowest mean scores of 2.31 to 2.78. (cf. Cheung 2013:

36).

The qualitative data in response to the open-ended question demonstrated that comments about the L1 Cantonese interpreter were all positive in nature (cf. 2013: 37), while the comments about the L2 Cantonese versions referred to the difficulty of understanding the accent, perceived mispronunciations and a lack of idiomaticity (although the content of the presentations was exactly the same), the unreliability of the performance, and the idea that NNS versions of Cantonese threaten the purity of the language (cf. 2013: 37- 40).

Therefore, this study shows that in much the same manner that L2 speakers' accents can tax interpreters' Listening Effort (see Section 2.1.2), interpreters with an L2 accent can put added strain on the effort L1 listeners of the language require to decipher what they hear (cf. 2013: 26). Furthermore, interpreters whose accent immediately reveals that they are not L1 speakers of the language may be deemed to be less credible and hence, less professional (cf. Lev-Ari/Keysar 2010, Cheung 2013: 41). Listeners may equate having an accent with being a member of a less prestigious group; in the case of this study, a Mandarin accent may be equated with migrant status (cf. 2013: 28) and both a lack of familiarity with English-accented Cantonese (cf. 2013: 28) and stereotypes about ignorant Westerners and/or stupid Americans (see Section 3.1) may have had an adverse effect on the rating process. In short, "[...] positive attitudes increase comprehension whereas negative attitudes decrease comprehension" (Major et.al 2002: 187, cf. Cheung 2013: 27).

In any case, the author's experimental approach made for a very realistic simulation and hence one of the study's strengths. The only limitation is, as Cheung (2013: 31f) notes, that "[u]nlike genuine conference-goers who have to rely on the SI to understand the speakers, participants [...] do not have a genuine, pragmatic need to understand the source language speaker through SI"; arguably, he managed to counteract this weakness with the comprehension test strategy.

5.3 Information loss when interpreting a non-native speaker

Kodrnja's (2001) thesis is concerned exclusively with the effect of an L2 English accent in interpreter-mediated settings (cf. 2001: 4) as is the case here and was among the first to link ELF (cf. 2001: 7f) and SI. She used an experimental approach: 10 interpreting students enrolled at the ZTW who had English in their language combination (English as an A language: n=1, English as a B language: n=7, English as a C language: n=2, cf. 2001: 40) were divided into two groups and asked to interpret a relatively easy, 5 minute speech about

language development into German and record their interpretations; the students were told that the speaker would change in the middle of the speech (cf. Kodrnja 2001: 41).

The speech used in the experiment was 591 words long and described language change with reference to how English and German diverged from one another over the course of time (cf. 2001: 33ff). The speakers who read the speeches were a British NS of unknown origin and “[...] a speaker, also of unknown origin, who probably uses English as a colloquial language, but had a thick accent” (2001: 33, my translation.)⁵⁶ One group heard the NS for the first half of the speech, followed by the NNS; the other group heard the NNS first and the NS second (cf. 2001: 39).

Using the aforementioned material, Kodrnja formulated the following research questions and hypotheses (2001: 43): “Can it be shown that the text passages spoken by the non-native speaker will result in a higher degree of information loss than those spoken by the native speaker?”, “Will the amount of information loss in the non-native section of each speech be less pronounced among students who are more advanced?”, and “Will there be passages in the non-native section of the texts that the overwhelming majority of subjects will have difficulties with?” (my translation). Her hypotheses were that there would be a higher degree of information loss in the non-native text passages, the advanced students’ interpretations would be more complete than those of the less advanced students, and that there would be passages that the majority of interpreters would have difficulty with (cf. 2001: 43).

Following the experiment, the subjects filled out two separate questionnaires about each half of the speech (cf. 2001: 41). After providing their personal information (experience in semesters, language combination, and sex), they were then asked to rate the following on a scale of 1 (simple) to 5 (very difficult): topic, terminology, speed of delivery, and accent/pronunciation (cf. 2001: 41). They were also asked to specify whether or not the topic was completely new to them, if they could follow the speaker’s logic, and if the accent, prosody, or the sudden change of (a difficult) accent were perceived to be particularly difficult (cf. 2001: 41).⁵⁷

After completing the questionnaire, the author interviewed each of the subjects personally, recording their answers (cf. 2001: 42). They were asked to answer the following four questions: “What was your initial reaction to the text spoken with an unusual/unexpected

⁵⁶ The original quote is as follows: “[...] ein Sprecher [...], der Englisch vermutlich als Umgangssprache verwendet, aber einen starken Akzent aufwies” (Kodrnja 2001: 33). The question is if the author really meant a contact language or some form of vernacular; her use of terminology is imprecise here.

⁵⁷ For an example of the questionnaire, see Kodrnja (2001: 85).

accent?”, “How did you deal with potential difficulties? Did you develop a strategy to be better able to interpret the non-native speaker?”, “How did you find the native speaker compared to the non-native speaker?”, and “Where do you think the non-native speaker was from?” (Kodrnja 2001: 101ff, my translation)

The study supported all of the author’s hypotheses: on average, approximately 28% more information (calculated in the form of propositions, cf. 2001: 44, see Section 5.4 for more information) was lost when both groups interpreted the non-native speaker (cf. 2001: 51). Furthermore, with an average information loss percentage of 15 to 25% among the advanced students and 26 to 48% among the students who were less experienced (cf. 2001: 54), the author’s second hypothesis was confirmed. Finally, there were instances in which propositions read by both the native speaker (3, 18, 21) and the non-native speaker (1,2,3,5,8,9,12,13,14,15,16,18) were deemed to be difficult for the majority of interpreters (cf. 2001: 57-60).

As for the questionnaires (cf. 2001: 91ff), the subjects rated the criteria as follows: as not all of the subjects rated the criterion “topic,” the author did not conclude whether or not her findings were in line with her expectations (cf. 2001: 91). The NS’s average terminology rating was “relatively easy”; the NNS’s rating was “manageable.” The NS’s average speed of delivery rating was “relatively easy”; the NNS’s rating was “manageable.” Finally, the NS’s accent/pronunciation was rated on average in the “easy” to “relatively easy” range, while the NNS’s accent/pronunciation was deemed to be “very difficult” (cf. 2001: 91).

Finally, the interviews showed that most subjects were irritated by the NNS’s accent (cf. 2001: 101), the subjects increased their time lag as a coping strategy (cf. 2001: 102), the NS was deemed to be easier overall than the NNS (cf. 2001: 102), and with answers as varied as “Africa,” “Eastern Europe,” “India or Pakistan” (cf. 2001: 107), “Nigeria” or “Japan or China” (cf. 2001: 111), the subjects showed that they were not familiar with the NNS’s accent (cf. 2001: 118).

This study is relevant to this thesis for its findings concerning the accent parameter in SI and how ELF entails interpreting a variety of unfamiliar accents. In terms of the study’s strengths and limitations, it was felt that by designing her experiment so that it makes use of quantitative (the questionnaire) and qualitative (the interviews) data, Kodrnja uses a very comprehensive analysis method. She also provides the reader with a very detailed overview of the cognitive aspects of SI and how an unfamiliar accent may influence the task of SI.

One of the limitations of the study relates to the lack of information about ELF. Although it would not have been possible to present a corpus-based analysis of spoken ELF at

the time of writing⁵⁸, the author could have provided more information about lingua franca usage. Additionally, knowledge of the speakers' origins may have made a more detailed analysis about factors such as annoyance and sympathy possible; however she did not record the speakers herself, making this type of analysis impossible.

5.4 Information transfer and non-native elocution in SI

Basel's (2002) study is also among the first to specifically refer to the presence of "English as a Lingua Franca" in an interpreter-related context. Earlier studies refer exclusively to the presence of "non-native speakers" or "EFL" (cf. Pöchhacker 1994) in SI settings, concepts which are either contentious in ELF or are fundamentally different from it (see Section 3.2). Furthermore, Basel's underlying assumption that interpreters who understand an ELF speaker's L1 are better at understanding his/her English (cf. Basel 2002: 20) greatly interested me and prompted me to choose it as the topic of my thesis, with the hopes of replicating her experiment, described below.

The author's study used source texts and interpretations (from English into German) recorded at the 6th International Conference of the Basic Income European Network, held in Vienna from September 12th – 14th, 1996 (cf. 2002: 58). She then chose speeches delivered by an L1 Spanish speaker and an L1 French speaker, "[...] because their phonetic, lexical and syntactic levels deviated strongly from anything that could be recognised as International Standard [English]" (2002: 58). Twelve interpreting students enrolled at the ZTW with between three and five years of study experience interpreted the speeches into German; half of them interpreted the Spanish speaker and the other half interpreted the French speaker (cf. 2002: 58). Additionally, six professional conference interpreters interpreted both speeches; all of the interpretations were done at the ZTW (cf. 2002: 59).

The statement that the students' and professionals' working languages "were not selected on purpose, although it was a fortunate coincidence that some of them were studying and working in French and Spanish" (2002: 59) is hardly reassuring, considering the nature of the author's underlying assumption, mentioned above. They all had German as an A language (cf. 2002: 86); in the Spanish group, one student had Spanish in his/her language combination (cf. 2002: 92) and one student in the French group also had French in his/her language combination (cf. 2002: 98). As for the interpreters (cf. Basel 2002: 95), only two of them did

⁵⁸ For example, VOICE did not appear until 2005 (cf. VOICE 2013: 1) and ELFA was not completed until 2008 (cf. ELFA 2008: 1).

not have either French or Spanish in their language combination. Before any of the interpretations were recorded, the subjects were briefed on the proper names of people and institutions which appeared in their texts (cf. Basel 2002: 59).

The study investigates four hypotheses (cf. 2002: 79-82): “experienced interpreters with knowledge of the speaker’s mother tongue will transfer information more symmetrically than inexperienced ones who have no knowledge of the speaker’s mother tongue” (2002: 79f), information loss will be greater among the students who interpret the speaker that the author deemed more difficult to understand (in this case, the Spanish speaker, cf. 2002: 81), “[...] professional interpretations will show higher symmetries than those achieved by students” (2002: 81), and “[...] interpreters who achieve higher symmetries will also judge the source text speaker to be more easily understandable” (2002: 82). “The model of symmetry [,] with its underlying binary principle (yes/no-assessment) [,] seems indispensable if the evaluation of collected data is based on statistical methods and goes beyond verbal description” (2002: 46).

Using the analogy of an equilateral triangle (cf. 2002: 64-67), the author demonstrates that symmetry in SI means that an interpreter can convey all of the units of meaning in a text with a variety of techniques: shadowing (see Section 5.1), syntactic changes, changes from the active voice⁵⁹ to the passive voice and vice versa, or enlarging or contracting the text (cf. 2002: 66). Hence, the binary (yes/no) model translates into a symmetry/asymmetry method of analysis: do all of the propositions appear in a complete and accurate manner? If so, the interpreted version was considered to be symmetrical, if not, it was considered asymmetrical (cf. 2002: 71).

Upon determining the number of symmetries and asymmetries, the author used a regression analysis in Microsoft Excel to determine the correlation between the interpreters’ working languages and the amount of symmetry in their interpretations (cf. Basel 2002: 86ff). The study concludes that the correlations between working languages/ experience and the number of symmetries is statistically significant, ranging between $r = 0.77$ to 0.89 (cf. 2002: 104), i.e. knowledge of a speaker’s L1 facilitated information transfer during the interpreting process. The author’s second hypothesis was also confirmed: the students interpreting the Spanish speaker only conveyed approximately one quarter of the propositions in their entirety, while the students interpreting the French speaker managed to do so approximately 30% of the time (cf. 2002: 106f). The professional interpreters transferred information more

⁵⁹ Compare “The dog bit the man” (the active voice, in which the subject of the sentence is “the dog”) with “The man was bitten by the dog” (the passive voice – in this case, the subject of the previous sentence is transformed into the object in the following sentence).

symmetrically than the students did (cf. 2002: 128), while the interpreters who exhibited the highest symmetry scores did not differ from the other interpreters in their personal evaluation of the speakers' difficulty (cf. 2002: 132), as evidenced by the answers in the questionnaire the participants filled out upon completing their interpretations (cf. 2002: 131).

As the study's relevance for my research was clearly described in the first paragraph, I will conclude with a brief overview of its strengths and limitations. Firstly, the study used authentic texts, delivered by speakers in an impromptu manner in a real-life setting (cf. 2002: 58). Conversely, one of the limitations of the study is that the Spanish speaker's text was much longer than the French speaker's (cf. 2002: 60ff), meaning that the performance of some of the members of one group may have been adversely affected because of a higher number of information units and consequently more strain on their memories; this is a variable which could have been isolated more effectively by choosing speeches of a similar length.

The remaining strengths of the study relate to conducting analyses with both professional and student interpreters for more holistic conclusions about what can be argued to be difficult in SI with ELF speakers, the efficiency of a binary system to determine the presence of correlations, and the author's transcription, which included both depictions of sound waves to measure the occurrence of propositions (cf. 2002: 62) and their corresponding translations into orthographic text.

Finally, I feel that the limitations of the study include choosing speakers from the same language family and a certain degree of carelessness when selecting the interpreters for the experiment. Additionally, the author did not provide a copy of the questionnaire that the interpreters filled out after the experiment.

5.5 Interpreting ELF speakers in Taiwan

Chang/Wu's (2014) study sheds light on interpreting ELF speakers from the perspective of Taiwanese conference interpreters; all of the interpreters who took part in the study had Mandarin as an A language and English as a B language (cf. 2014: 169). The authors used a qualitative approach, conducting semi-structured interviews with ten conference interpreters that lasted approximately one hour (cf. 2014: 172f). As a qualitative study, the focus was more on making sense of the data rather than testing a particular hypothesis (cf. Bhattacharjee²2012: 113).

Of the ten interpreters interviewed in the study, eight were women and two were men.

On average, they had approximately ten years of experience and all had studied Chinese – English conference interpreting at the post-secondary level; additionally, more than half the participants (n=8) also taught conference interpreting (cf. Chang/Wu 2014: 172), implying some form of involvement, or, at least interest, in questions relating to interpreter pedagogy.

The interpreters were interviewed in their L1 and the interviews were recorded, transcribed, and translated into English by the authors (cf. 2014: 174). The goal of the interviews was to learn about the interpreters' experiences with and attitudes toward interpreting L2 English speakers (cf. 2014: 173); during the interviews, the interpreters made comments about the individual speakers they had interpreted and their output, elaborated upon difficulties they had and the coping strategies they used (cf. 2014: 173). Another topic of discussion was the perceived effects of ELF on the interpreting profession (cf. 2014: 172).

The interviews were not the sole source of information used when conducting the study: the authors also relied on a content analysis of the conference agendas they had received from the interpreters while conducting the study (cf. 2014: 174). With a total of 25 conferences involving 235 ELF speakers (cf. 2014: 169), a wealth of material was available, with the ratio of speakers from the Inner Circle to the Outer and Expanding Circles at 1:3 (cf. 2014: 175); these figures are similar to those mentioned in Crystal (²2003: 69).

The authors told the participants to send them the conference agendas of the last three conferences where they had interpreted at least one ELF speaker; this was to help jog the interviewees' memories during the interview (cf. Chang/Wu 2014: 173). The types of agendas used in the study varied between conference programs made available to all of the participants and internal communication with specific time slots allotted to the speakers in question (cf. 2014: 173). All of the conferences took place in Taipei between August 2010 and May 2011 and lasted between half a day and two days; the topics ranged from general presentations about education and investment to highly technical subjects, such as clinically testing a new pharmaceutical product (cf. 2014: 173).

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study: the interviewees feel that although ELF speakers' accents can be challenging, they would classify a high speed of delivery and a highly complex topic as speech parameters which are more difficult to cope with (cf. 2014: 180). Furthermore, the ELF speakers mentioned did not often have a degree of accentedness which was particularly troublesome; the interpreters attributed this to the speakers' status as academics or as international key players (cf. 2014: 179). They also concluded that ELF speakers often deliver their speeches more slowly than ENL speakers, a factor that works in the interpreters' favor (cf. 2014: 179); hence, ELF speakers should not

always be seen as a source of aggravation for interpreters.

The interpreters, who all had Chinese as their A language, mentioned that they found speakers whose L1s were similar to theirs (such as Japanese or Korean speakers) had accents which were less difficult to understand overall (cf. 2014: 175). The interpreters specified that Expanding Circle speakers with L1s from the Romance or Slavic language families have accents which are particularly difficult to understand (cf. 2014: 180) and that the ability to adapt to a speaker's accent requires both a high level of concentration and substantial professional experience (cf. 2014: 177).

The interpreters cited a variety of coping strategies: mentally preparing for the presence of ELF speakers by examining their biographies and inferring what their level of English proficiency could be (cf. 2014: 175), looking for the speaker on Youtube to become accustomed to his/her accent beforehand (cf. 2014: 176), or speaking to the speaker before the presentation and requesting copies of his/her notes and slides (cf. 2014: 176). If the interpreters thought that the speaker's use of English might pose a problem, they focused on internalizing the conference material and doing additional research about the topic at hand (cf. 2014: 176). While in the booth, they often lengthened their time lag or summarized the speech's content; they also relied on their booth mates for additional help and shortened the length of their turns (cf. Chang/ Wu 2014: 177).

The study also concluded that although the number of booths for other languages other than English and Chinese is decreasing (cf. 2014: 184), ELF is not a threat to the profession and examining its impact on the interpreting market should be done in a way that takes local factors into account.

The strengths of the study pertain to its insider perspective, which of course, ultimately relates to the qualitative research design. The term 'insider perspective' could also be viewed in a way that the study is of a "purely ELF nature," as neither the researchers nor the interviewees are ENL speakers. Furthermore, it provides both prospective and professional interpreters with a systematic overview of coping strategies that could be used when interpreting an ELF speaker and addresses the issue of accents in ELF in great detail. Clearly, these strengths also reflect what the author deems relevant in relation to this study.

The only limitation that can be seen, particularly in the context of developing the research design for this thesis, is also invariably one of the study's strengths: its qualitative research design. The interpreters stated that they adapted to speakers' accents after "a few minutes" (cf. 2014: 176), however, they were not asked to qualify what exactly they meant by

“a few minutes” and express the term in a specifically quantifiable way. This influenced my decision when determining the lengths of the recordings used in my experiment.

6. Empirical study

This chapter provides an overview of my hypotheses and research questions. It also details how speakers and participants were recruited for the surveys in this thesis, as well as explaining the choice of speeches and how their difficulty was determined in relation to one another. It concludes with a presentation of the survey instruments (see Appendix D for screenshots of the German questionnaire, including its English translations) and the limitations of the study.

A pilot study was conducted with students enrolled in the University of Vienna's MA Interpreting program, whereas the main study was conducted with professional conference interpreters who are members of AIIC. All of the participants had German as an A language and English as a B language. Both studies were conducted using an online survey created with LimeSurveyTM open-source software (2015); the content of the surveys is presented in Sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2. The statistical analysis for the main study (see Chapter 6.5.2.) was performed using R (2013), open-source software.

It should be noted that this was not my original research design. I had initially chosen an experimental approach, hoping to replicate Basel's (2002) study, as described in Section 5.4. Unfortunately, after contacting students with German as an A language and English as a B language via interpreters who taught SI courses with German and English at the ZTW, who had access to their students' email addresses, only two students were willing to interpret for the experiment. As a result, the study was conducted in its current form.

6.1. Hypotheses and research questions

The research questions and hypotheses are as follows:

- 1) Does a shared languages benefit exist?
- 2) Is there a correlation between the inability to correctly identify a speaker's L1 and judging a speaker to be difficult to interpret?
- 3) Does a thick non-native accent automatically entail a lower rating for interpretability?

Hypothesis 1: The term "shared languages benefit" is more appropriate than ISIB in this context (see Chapter 4); nonetheless, additional clarification is necessary. Henceforth, I will differentiate between a *Type 1 shared languages benefit* and a *Type 2 shared languages benefit* (T1 SLB and T2 SLB respectively). A T1 SLB is akin to what Bent/Bradlow (2003:

1606) describe as a “matched ISIB,” i.e. the ELF speaker and the interpreter share the same L1. A T2 SLB is similar to what Bent/Bradlow refer to as a “mismatched ISIB” (2003: 1606), i.e. the ELF speaker and the interpreter do not share an L1, however, the interpreter has knowledge of the speaker’s L1, be it in the form of either a B or C language, or a language the interpreter has knowledge of that is not officially part of his/her combination.

The minimum degree of proficiency required for languages that are not officially part of an interpreter’s combination is a matter that allows for speculation. For the sake of conciseness, it can be argued that an interpreter’s active and passive knowledge of the speaker’s L1 should be in the B1 to B2 range (see Section 3.4.2) to ensure the presence of the T2 SLB; however this may not be necessary. As this study focuses exclusively on ELF accents, the issue of proficiency will not be addressed in great detail, as “[...] even a low level of accent familiarity (gained through less than two years of classroom-based L2 study) may influence a rater’s rating process” (Winke/Gass 2013: 783). Furthermore, in this study, when the interpreters were asked whether or not they spoke other languages, they were not required to specify their proficiency in those languages. This was to avoid potentially frustrating the participants by taking up too much of their time for explanations; I trusted them as language professionals to be able to gauge how well they spoke a language and determine whether or not it was ‘worth mentioning.’

Returning to Bent/Bradlow’s concepts of a matched or a mismatched ISIB, one difference worthy of note is that in their experiment, the intelligibility⁶⁰ of the L2 English speakers was always compared to that of the L1 English speaker. In this experiment, the L2 English speakers were compared to each other without using an L1 English speaker as a point of reference. Bent/Bradlow (2003: 1606) provide the following example of a matched ISIB: “[...] the low proficiency Korean talker was as intelligible as the native English talker for the NN Korean listener group.” A “mismatched” ISIB occurred when listeners who did not have the same L1 as a **high proficiency** NNS judged him to be just as intelligible as the L1 English talker in Bent/Bradlow’s experiment (cf. 2003: 1606, my emphasis; see Chapter 4).

As the focus of my study is more closely related to ELF, the concepts of a matched ISIB and a mismatched ISIB were adapted to suit the needs of this thesis: as ENL is not the ‘relevant unit of measurement’ for ELF, the terms T1 SLB and T2 SLB are used to compare the intelligibility* of one ELF speaker to another. Since the participants in the surveys all have German as an A language, it can be predicted that the Austrian ELF speaker is most

⁶⁰ As mentioned in Chapter 4.2, the term intelligibility is very difficult to define. To avoid giving the reader the impression that I am inconsistent with my use of terms, a term that is followed by an asterisk (*) indicates that this is the term used in the study in question. Specific use of the term “interpretability” was made throughout this thesis; this decision was explained in the aforementioned chapter.

interpretable overall, as compared to the French and Greek ELF speakers. Therefore, I believe that a T1 SLB exists (H_1). The null hypothesis (H_0) is that there will be no significant difference between the Austrian, Greek, and Belgian's overall ranking scores and that any difference is not statistically significant.

Currently, the evidence in favor of a mismatched ISIB is too scant to argue that it exists (cf. Osimk 2009: 42) and Stibbard/Lee's (2006) study provides evidence against the presence of a mismatched ISIB (see Section 4.3). Therefore, I argue that H_0 is true: a T2 SLB does not exist, meaning that having an ELF speaker's L1 as a B/C/other language will not make him/her more intelligible* than an ELF speaker who shares the interpreter's L1. H_1 would mean that in this experiment, the interpreters with German as an A language and French as a C language/other language will judge the Francophone Belgian speaker to be more interpretable overall at a level that is statistically significant⁶¹.

I specifically mentioned him rather than the Greek speaker, as I doubt that the number of participants who have knowledge of Greek will be very high, if at all. The reason for this is because I have only encountered one interpreting student in Vienna with German as an A language who was conversational in Greek. Furthermore, when perusing the AIIC directory during the participant recruitment process (see Section 6.4), only **one** of the interpreters who listed German as an A language and English as a B language had Greek in her language combination and she was ultimately excluded, as she had more than one B language (see Section 6.2.3.2).

Hypothesis 2: As mentioned in Jarvella/Bang/Jakobsen/Mees (cf. 2001: 50f), knowledge (or a lack thereof) of where a speaker is from may have an effect on how s/he is evaluated by listeners. Furthermore, as familiar foreign accents tend to receive higher ratings in listener evaluation contexts (cf. Winke/Gass 2013: 784), I predict that there is a correlation between the inability to correctly identify a speaker's accent and judging the speaker to be difficult to comprehend* (H_1). This judgment is presented in the form of a ranking scale, and a score ≥ 5 on a scale of 1 to 7 (1=very easy to interpret, 7= very difficult to interpret, cf. Reithofer 2011: 118) is considered "difficult." According to H_0 , this correlation is not statistically significant.

I predict that the Greek speaker's accent will not be easily identified, as I have noticed a lack of familiarity with the accent based on personal experience (speaking Greek with Greek friends here in Vienna and being mistaken for Spanish or Portuguese speakers), and the fact that the language is not as widely spoken as, say, German or French. In the case of the French

⁶¹ In this case, "more interpretable overall" refers to either a 1st place or a 2nd place ranking. Given the small size of the sample, I needed to combine both rankings to perform the statistical test.

and German speakers, I believe that their accents will be easily identified in most ($\geq 60\%$) cases. I say most cases, because despite my attempts to ensure that the speakers' accents were as representative as possible (see Section 6.2.1), they may not be perceived as such by the participants. It stands to reason that the participants who are able to correctly identify the Greek speaker's accent can do so because they have some knowledge of Greek or because of exposure to the accent in a variety of personal or professional contexts (cf. Winke/Gass 2013: 783).

Hypothesis 3: A high degree of accentedness (having a thick non-native accent, expressed as a rating score ≥ 5 on a scale of 7 in this study), does not entail a lower ranking for comprehensibility* (cf. Munro/Derwing 1999: 305). This is a phenomenon which can be easily observed when comparing the speakers' average accentedness and interpretability ratings. In view of the prediction that there is a T1 SLB, it can be argued that annoyance (cf. Fayer/Krasinski 1987) may cause the L1 German listeners to assign the Austrian speaker higher accentedness ratings but the best interpretability score overall. In the case of the French and Greek speakers, it can be assumed that they will have similar, relatively high (≥ 4) accentedness scores and will receive good to average (≤ 3) interpretability scores. It must be remembered that the participants will invariably make judgments in relation to the others' accents, therefore, the speakers' scores might have differed if they were heard by the same participants in a different experiment in which they were heard in relation to speakers with the same L1 (cf. Winke/Gass 2013: 784).

To ensure greater transparency and allow the reader to draw his/her own conclusions about the speakers' accentedness, transcriptions of the speeches appear in Appendix B. However, as Pöchlhammer (cf. 1994: 157) rightly argues, the transcriber's personal, knowledge-related perception of and opinion about the acoustic signals will be apparent in the transcription process. Therefore, it cannot be entirely objective; it is an approximation only, regardless of the transcription method used (cf. Basel 2002: 63).

As this study relates to accents in ELF, the decision was made to use phonetic transcription, as accents are a phonological element of speech and the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) can be used to transcribe more sounds than the alphabet allows; it also ensures consistency, as one symbol or one set of symbols is used for a single phoneme (cf. Clark 2013: 175). In this case, as it is important to give very specific details about sound quality, the sounds were transcribed using narrow, rather than broad, transcription (cf. 2013: 175). As one of the downfalls of phonetic transcription is that only a small number of people can read it with ease (cf. Pöchlhammer 1994: 157), a list of the symbols used and examples of words which

include the sounds is also included (see Appendix B) to make it more accessible to readers who have not studied linguistics. Finally, I have adopted Jenkins' (2000: 58f) transcription convention of placing the transcription of words whose pronunciation differed significantly from L1 English varieties directly above the words in question; this is to highlight the differences in pronunciation in relation to ENL varieties even more clearly.

6.2 Methodology

The following paragraphs detail the methods used in this study. These methods pertain to recruiting participants and data analysis, including comments on why certain factors, such as time constraints, influenced the study's methodology.

6.2.1 Recruiting ELF speakers

The choice of ELF speakers based on their L1s was initially related to the languages offered at the ZTW. In addition to German, which must be the students' A or B language, students can choose two of the following languages: Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Czech, English, French, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, and Spanish (cf. ZTW s.a.: 1).

I decided to recruit speakers whose L1s were French, German, Russian, and Hungarian. I did not actively seek out L1 German speakers from university, as I know a large number of L1 German speakers and I wanted to avoid picking someone that the potential interpreters (this was assuming that the study was to be an experiment, see Chapter 6) might know and assign higher scores to because they were friends with the speaker. Arguably, the same could be true of the other languages; however, I needed somewhere to start in terms of the recruitment.

French and Russian were chosen because they are members of the Romance and Slavic language families respectively (cf. O'Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 287f) and the goal was to represent more than one language family. The choice of French and Russian over, for example, Spanish and Polish, which are also examples of a Romance language and a Slavic language, was because my firsthand experience has shown that French and Russian are among the most widely studied Romance and Slavic languages at the ZTW. Furthermore, as I do not speak Spanish, I felt more comfortable with the idea of selecting a speaker whose L1 I am familiar with (cf. Reithofer 2011: 114) which is also why I chose French over Spanish.

Hungarian was also chosen; as a member of the Uralic language family (cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 289), it is the only language in the aforementioned list (excluding English, which is a Germanic language, cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 286) which is not either a Slavic language or a Romance language. Again, this was to represent as many language families as possible.

The recruitment process took place in January 2015. I initially attempted to recruit speakers through an online forum run by the ZTW’s student representatives, the *Studienvertretung*. Here is my original post:



Figure 4 - Attempt at recruiting students (http://forum.stv-translation.at/yaf_postst9698_ProbandInnen-für-Masterarbeit-gesucht.aspx, 05.06.2015) ⁶²

As no one replied to my post⁶³, I decided to look for people whom I knew personally. After contacting friends and acquaintances, I managed to find a minimum of three speakers for each of the following L1s: French, Hungarian, Russian, German, and Greek. Greek was added to the list of ELF speakers’ potential L1s, as I know several Greek speakers; this was also to counteract the initial difficulties contacting speakers with Hungarian and Russian as L1s. Furthermore, as a representative of the Hellenic language family (cf. O’Grady/Archibald

⁶² My translation:

»Master’s thesis and Master’s exam» **Looking for subjects for my thesis**
Written: 5 months ago

Dear colleagues,

I am looking for people who would be willing to be speakers as part of my master’s thesis about English as a Lingua Franca and Interpreting. Your job: speaking freely for 1 minute. The topic will be announced. I will record you and incorporate the recording into my experiment. I wanted a couple of examples for each language. I will analyze them with my thesis supervisor to see which speaker would be appropriate for the experiment. If your first language is French, Russian, or Hungarian, please contact me at r.katikos@gmail.com. I’d be more than happy to give you more information about the experiment.

Thank you for your help!

Best,

⁶³ One user named “endres” responded by saying “You got mail!” however, I did not receive an email or a private message from this person. Another user named “monikela” asked if I was still looking for speakers; this was after my thesis supervisor and I had settled upon the speakers who would give the speeches used in the experiment.

⁵2004: 285ff), it would still be possible to ensure a mixture of languages from different language families by incorporating Greek into the list. The total number of potential speakers for each language is obviously very small; however, due to time constraints and limited resources, I decided to work with what was available to me.

After securing the speakers' cooperation, they were recorded at their homes, using an Olympus VN-712PC digital voice recorder. This was done to ensure their comfort and avoid the background noise typical in restaurants, cafés, etc. In order to ensure that their speech was as natural as possible, they were asked to speak freely for one minute about their experiences learning English; the goal was to use these samples to determine which speaker had an accent in English that had the most features 'typically' associated with speakers with the respective L1s. This was a very difficult task, as "[i]t is next to impossible to find a truly representative speaker of any accent" (Wilcox 1978: 125, qtd. in Reithofer 2011: 115). I attempted to counteract this problem by contacting ELF experts in Vienna for their help in determining which of the samples was the closest to a 'prototypical' L2 English accent for the languages in question (cf. Reithofer 2011: 116); however, I did not receive a response and, again due to time constraints, chose the speakers based on the criteria described below.

6.2.1.1. Determining "typical" accent characteristics by language

As I did not trust myself to evaluate accents in languages that I do not speak without the expertise of specialists, I ultimately chose speakers whose L1s were familiar to me, i.e. French, German, and Greek. These decisions were based on both personal experience (growing up in a country with French as an official language, an L1 Greek-speaking parent, living in a German-speaking country for several years) and the phenomena observed in Weinberger's (2015a) Speech Accent Archive. I felt that years of personal experience with these languages gave me a basic idea of what characteristics to look for; this information was then supplemented with Weinberger's (2015a) data. An example of one of the samples used in the analysis, which includes the speaker's biographical information, the elicitation paragraph and its transcription (cf. Weinberger 2015a), and a list of the observable phonetic features in the speaker's English, appears in Figure 5:

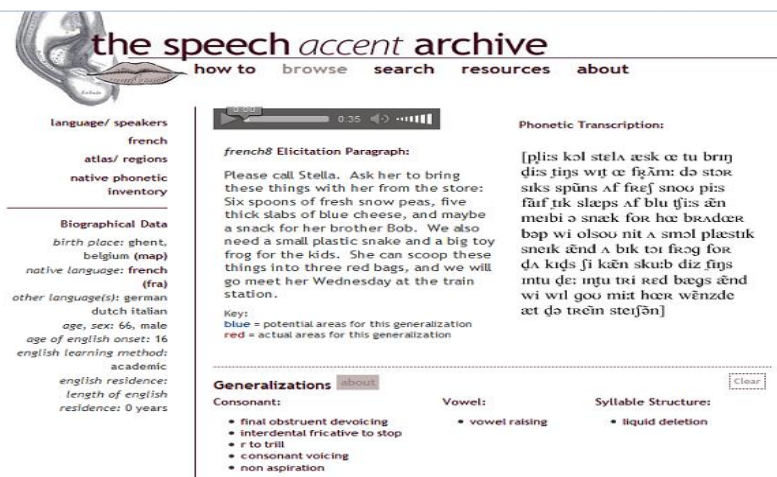


Figure 5 - Speech Accent Archive information (http://accent.gmu.edu/browse_language.php?function=detail&speakerid=186, 28.08.2015)

The three French speakers had the following L1 national varieties: Belgian, French, and Swiss. The three German speakers were two Austrians and one German. Finally, the only national variety of Greek was from Greece, as none of my contacts were from Cyprus. Therefore, when examining Weinberger's data, I only took into account the speeches which had been transcribed⁶⁴ with speakers who have the national varieties mentioned above. The most common pronunciation features and the L1-specific differences are listed in the following table (cf. Weinberger 2015a). A feature which was observed in all three languages appears in *italics*, while a feature which appears in one of the languages and not in the others appears in **bold print**. The numbers after each feature indicate how often it was observed. The most salient features include an explanation in the form of a footnote, which also includes an example.

Table 3 - Features of L1 French, German, and Greek accents in English

L1	Observed feature
French (n=9)	Consonants Consonant voicing 1
Belgium (n= 1)	Dentalization 1
France (n= 7)	<i>Final obstruent devoicing 9</i> ⁶⁵
Switzerland (n= 1)	H to velar fricative 0
	Interdental fricative to alveolar fricative 2 ⁶⁶
	Interdental fricative to labial fricative 1

⁶⁴ As the site is updated continuously, it is worth noting that my examples are those which were transcribed in January 2015. As of 28.08.2015, the last update was on 25.08.2015.

⁶⁵ An example would be pronouncing the /z/ sound at the end of the word "please" (voiced) as /s/ (voiceless, cf. Weinberger 2015b, O'Grady/Archibald⁵2004: 23).

⁶⁶ English has the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, i.e. the sounds in "think" and "the" respectively. These sounds are then substituted with either /s/ or /z/ (alveolar fricatives) or /f/ or /v/ (labial fricatives). An example of pronouncing an interdental fricative as a stop would be pronouncing the word "think" as "tink" (cf. ⁵2004: 22f).

	<p><i>Interdental fricative to stop</i> 6 <i>Non-aspiration</i> 9⁶⁷ Palatalization 0 R to trill 1 R to uvular 0 W to labial fricative 0</p> <p><u>Vowels</u> <i>Vowel fronting</i> 1 Vowel lengthening 0 Vowel lowering 3 <i>Vowel shortening</i> 7⁶⁸ <i>Vowel raising</i> 9</p> <p><u>Syllable structure</u> Consonant insertion 1⁶⁹ Liquid deletion 1 Obstruent deletion 2 Vowel insertion 0</p>
<p>German (n=12) Austria (n=2) Germany (n=10)</p>	<p><u>Consonants</u> Consonant voicing 2 Dentalization 0 <i>Final obstruent devoicing</i> 12 H to velar fricative 0 Interdental fricative to alveolar fricative 1 Interdental fricative to labial fricative 0 <i>Interdental fricative to stop</i> 4 <i>Non-aspiration</i> 7 Palatalization 0 R to trill 0 R to uvular 2⁷⁰ W to labial fricative 1</p> <p><u>Vowels</u> <i>Vowel fronting</i> 2 Vowel lengthening 1 Vowel lowering 4 <i>Vowel shortening</i> 9 <i>Vowel raising</i> 6</p> <p><u>Syllable structure</u> Consonant insertion 0 Liquid deletion 1 Obstruent deletion 0 Vowel insertion 0</p>
Greek (n= 4)	<p><u>Consonants</u> Consonant voicing 0 Dentalization 0 <i>Final obstruent devoicing</i> 4 H to velar fricative 1⁷¹ Interdental fricative to alveolar fricative 0</p>

⁶⁷ Refers to the release of air following certain stops (t, k, p) in English (cf. O’Grady/Archibald⁵2004: 521).

⁶⁸ An example of vowel shortening would be pronouncing “these” as “this” (cf. Weinberger 2015a), while an example of vowel raising would mean changing the tongue’s position from the low /æ/ (as in “bat”) to a high /i/ (as in “beat,” cf. O’Grady/Archibald⁵2004: 30).

⁶⁹ As the name suggests, this indicates inserting a consonant where no L1 English speaker would put one. This feature was observed in Speaker 3, who pronounced the English word “is” as /ɪs/ (see Appendix B). However, this also may be an example of L2 German transfer (the German word for “is” is “ist”). Examples of obstruents include fricatives, such as /f/, affricates (for example, the sound at the beginning of the word “change”), and stops, such as /t/ (cf. ⁵2004: 535).

⁷⁰ See the examples listed under [R] in Appendix B. W to labial fricative is an example of the stereotypical German pronunciation of “what” as “vat” (cf. Jenkins 2007: 170).

⁷¹ See the examples listed under [x] in Appendix B.

	Interdental fricative to labial fricative 0 <i>Interdental fricative to stop 1</i> <i>Non-aspiration 4</i> Palatalization 1 ⁷² R to trill 4 R to uvular 0 W to labial fricative 0 <u>Vowels</u> <i>Vowel fronting 1</i> Vowel lengthening 0 Vowel lowering 0 <i>Vowel shortening 4</i> <i>Vowel raising 4</i> <u>Syllable structure</u> Consonant insertion 0 Liquid deletion 0 Obstruent deletion 0 Vowel insertion 1 ⁷³
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These sample sizes are very small and some national varieties significantly outweigh others; however, they were meant to serve as a general guideline. As seen in Appendix B, the speakers chosen for the experiment displayed the aforementioned features found in speakers who share their L1s to varying degrees. Although the phonological features played an important role in the decision-making process, I felt it was also necessary to ensure that the speakers were as similar as possible, in order to control for variables which could possibly influence the results, such as potentially assigning a woman better ratings than a man, for example. Given the time constraints and speakers available, it was not possible to find three speakers who exhibited exactly the same characteristics. However, I tried my best to ensure that all three were as similar as possible and exhibited similar degrees of accentedness with ‘typical’ transfer features from their respective L1s.

6.2.1.2 Speaker profiles

I determined the speakers’ similarity to each other with reference to the criteria listed in Piske et. al. (2001) and Weinberger (2015a, see Figure 5). Furthermore, “ELF interactions” was listed as an additional criterion. The percentage listed is an indication of how often the speaker uses English with L2 English speakers only, the most common form of ELF interaction. The information below was obtained when interviewing potential ELF speakers

⁷² Palatalization is defined as “[t]he effect that front vowels and the palatal guide /j/ typically have on velar, alveolar, and dental stops, making their place of articulation more palatal [...]” (O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 535).

⁷³ See p. 30, footnote 30.

for the experiment. Before recording the speaker, I noted their answers to the following questions, which were either asked in the speakers' L1 or, in the case of the Hungarian and Russian speakers, in either German or English:

1. Where were you born?
2. How old are you?
3. When did you begin to learn English?
4. What is your first language?
5. How often do you speak your first language?
6. Would you describe the way you use your first language as mostly high quality (to talk to mostly educated native speakers and read/ write complex texts), mostly medium quality (to talk to both educated and uneducated native speakers and read/write general texts) or mostly low quality (to talk to mostly uneducated native speakers and not read/write at all)?
7. Do you speak other languages besides your first language and English?
8. Have you ever lived in an English-speaking country?
9. What is the highest level of education you've received?
10. Did you learn English in an academic or home setting?
11. Would you say your talent for learning languages is low, medium, or high?
12. Would you say your motivation to learn English low, medium, or high?
13. If you had to estimate in percent, how often do you speak English with other non-native speakers?⁷⁴

Numbering the speakers as 1, 2, and 3 refers to the order in which they were heard by the participants who filled out the questionnaires (see Section 6.4). Their profiles appear as follows:

Table 4 - Speaker 1's language profile

Place of Birth	Mödling, Austria
Sex	male

⁷⁴ Some people may be critical of these questions for the following reasons: I did not specifically ask the participants about their gender identity and just assumed that they identified as male or female, I did not specify what an "educated native speaker" is, and I made use of the term "non-native speakers." I did not ask the participants about their gender identity as I did not want to take up more time than necessary or possibly end up having to listen to an 'anti-Women's/Gender Studies tirade.' As all of the participants I interviewed had some form of post-secondary education, I did not feel the need to qualify what an 'educated' native speaker is. I also realize that having some form of post-secondary education is not always a measure of 'being educated.' Finally, I used the term "non-native speaker", as it is more widely understood than "L2 English speaker."

Age	37
Age of Onset	10
L1	German
Use of L1 and quality of use	daily, high
Other languages	Spanish
Length of Residence in an Inner Circle Country	0
Formal Instruction	university
Learning Method	academic
Language Learning Aptitude	low
Motivation	low
ELF interactions	80%

Table 5 - Speaker 2's language profile

Place of Birth	Athens, Greece
Sex	male
Age	33
Age of Onset	10
L1	Greek
Use of L1 and quality of use	daily, high
Other languages	German
Length of Residence in an Inner Circle Country	0
Formal Instruction	university
Learning Method	academic
Language Learning Aptitude	high
Motivation	high
ELF interactions	80%

Table 6 - Speaker 3's language profile

Place of Birth	Brussels, Belgium
Sex	male
Age	30
Age of Onset	15
L1	French
Use of L1 and quality of use	daily, high
Other languages	German
Length of Residence in an Inner Circle Country	3 months in Great Britain
Formal Instruction	university

Learning Method	academic
Language Learning Aptitude	high
Motivation	high
ELF interactions	10%

All three participants are male and in their 30s. They all have an excellent command of their L1 and use it every day. They all speak one other language in addition to English and their L1. They all acquired English in school and all have some form of post-secondary education. They differ in the following ways:

Speaker 1 stated that his language learning aptitude was low because he is “more of the math and logic kind of guy” and that his motivation to learn English was low because of a negative experience with a former English teacher. Both he and Speaker 2 began learning English at the age of 10 and estimated their use of ELF at 80%, specifying that it was work-related.

Speakers 2 and 3 described their talent for learning languages as high, explaining that they enjoy learning languages; Speaker 3 also mentioned receiving good marks in English in school. They both see themselves as highly motivated; Speaker 2 mentioned relatives who live in the Inner Circle as his primary motivation, while Speaker 3 mentioned that his motivation was work-related. Finally, Speaker 3 did not begin to learn English until the age of 15; however, he did spend a semester in Great Britain for his studies and noted that he uses English primarily (90% of the time) to communicate with ENL friends.

After settling on the speakers for the reasons mentioned above, they were recorded reading the speeches described in the following subchapter, using the same method described in Chapter 6.2. It was not only important that they exhibit “typical” phonological features and be similar in terms of the factors that account for their accents; it was also necessary to ensure that the recordings did not include any background noise that made the speakers hard to hear. Furthermore, it was also important to ensure that the speakers did not differ too much in terms of the speed at which they delivered their speeches, as speeches read at a high speed are among the most stressful factors for interpreters (cf. AIIC 2002: 11).

As evidenced by Pöschhacker’s (1994) corpus study, L1 English speakers tend to deliver their speeches at a higher speed than L2 English speakers; the L1 speakers in the study spoke at an average rate of approximately 246 s/” (246 syllables per second), while the L2 English speakers spoke at an average rate of approximately 199 s/” (cf. 1994: 174). The author surmised that because this study relates to accents, it was better to determine the

speakers' speed of delivery by measuring the number of syllables, rather than words, per minute. This is because syllables are phonological units, not semantic units. When analyzing an accent, the former is more pertinent than the latter (cf. Pöschhacker 1994: 131f).

Not only did the speeches differ from each other minimally in length⁷⁵, the differences between the speakers' speed of delivery (calculated using the number of syllables spoken correctly, minus any slips of the tongue or stuttering, in 60 seconds) were also minimal: Speaker 1 spoke at a rate of 211 s/", Speaker 2 at a rate of 213 s/", and Speaker 3 at a rate of 210 s/". This amounts to a difference of 1.4 % between the fastest speech and the slowest speech. Additionally, they were also slower than the ENL speakers mentioned above. The following subchapter explains the choice of the speeches.

6.2.2 Choosing speeches

The reason that the speakers in this study did not deliver the same speech was to avoid habituating the participants to its content and possibly assigning the speaker they heard last better ratings than the speakers they had heard first. It was felt that each speaker should deliver a different speech and each speech should be as similar as possible in terms of the general nature of its content and its perceived difficulty – another next-to-impossible task (see Section 6.2.1).

When choosing speeches for the study, the following factors were taken into account: Firstly, the content of the speeches should be something that an interpreter working in a formal setting, such as a plenary session in the European Parliament, would likely encounter. This means that the language used should display a certain degree of sophisticated use and the topics should relate to some aspect of politics or economics. I wanted to avoid choosing speeches about a very specific topic, such as an annual report about deforestation in one of the European Union's member states, as this could skew the ratings about how well the participants understood a particular speaker: interpreters with a strong background in environmental affairs may be more inclined to give him better ratings than those who do not.

Secondly, in order to be as authentic as possible for the task at hand, the speeches should be speeches that were given by ELF users. I ultimately settled upon one user, because it could be argued that the degree of intra-speaker variation (cf. Jenkins 2000) that the speeches would exhibit in terms of difficulty would be less than that present in speeches given

⁷⁵ Speaker 2's speech was 145 words long, while Speaker 1 and Speaker 3 had speeches with 141 words each. Expressed as a percentage (~3%), I would argue that the difference is minimal.

by different speakers (inter-speaker variation, cf. Jenkins 2000). In other words, choosing one speaker for all three speeches was better than choosing three speeches delivered by three different speakers. This is because language use arguably varies more from person to person than when an individual uses language; for example, s/he may often use the same interjections or adjectives to describe certain phenomena.

For the reasons mentioned above, I settled upon the current president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker (cf. EC s.a.: 1). Mr. Juncker was chosen over other presidents of the other European Union's institutions, given my high degree of familiarity with his speeches and the large selection to choose from. I settled on the speeches cited in Appendix B; any additions or omissions of the original content are designated using square brackets.

Finally, speech segments that could be read in approximately one minute (± 5 seconds) were chosen to avoid tiring the listeners during the survey and giving them more time than necessary to become accustomed to the speakers' accents (cf. Clarke/Garrett 2004) and potentially influence the rating process. I settled on speeches that were between 140 – 145 words long, using my own rate of delivery (purposely slowed down to what I thought an L2 speaker's speed of delivery could be) as an initial guideline. As all three listeners not only read the speeches within the allotted time frame but also did not differ significantly in terms of the speed of delivery (see Section 6.2.1.2), the recordings were used for the survey.

6.2.2.1 Analysis of the speeches' difficulty

The Flesch reading test was used to begin this analysis. As Crystal (cf. ²2002: 289) notes, the test was developed in the US and rates texts' readability on a scale of 0 "practically unreadable" to 100 "extremely easy." Although the perceived difficulty is based on an L1 English readership, it should also apply to interpreters, as their ability to read and understand texts in their B and C languages is (at least theoretically) comparable to that of an educated ENL speaker. Furthermore, the reading aspect is also important from an interpreter perspective for two reasons: Firstly, reading a text means processing the words used to convey the message and determine what the author's message is. This is also part of the SI process. Secondly, there are instances in which interpreters have a written text made available to them and this is used during SI (see Chapter 2).

It was necessary to find texts whose difficulty was somewhere in the middle between "practically unreadable" and "extremely easy." Speeches with a score between 50 and 60

were chosen, or speeches which could be described as “fairly difficult” (cf. Scott 2015: 1). This was because on a scale of 0 to 100, 50 is both the mean and the median. Additionally, it was felt that the description “fairly difficult” was one which applies to the types of texts that interpreters encounter regularly.

The speech read by Speaker 1 had a score of 56.32, Speaker 2’s speech had a score of 59.80, and Speaker 3’s speech had a score of 52.84. However, as the Flesch test is “fundamentally flawed” (Marnell s.a.: 8), it could not be used alone to determine the texts’ difficulty in an interpreting-related setting. The test’s flawed nature stems from the following factors: the length of a sentence and the number of syllables it has is not a reliable measure of a text’s difficulty (cf. s.a.: 4) and textual statistics do not account for poor grammar and deficient logic (cf. s.a.: 5ff).

Marnell (s.a.: 4) cites the example of the sentences “The work done was five ergs” and “The cat sat on the mat”: both sentences are the same length and have both the same number of syllables and the same score. However, knowledge of the term “erg” presupposes a scientific background that the average layperson will not have, hence, a monosyllabic word is not automatically easier to understand (s.a.: 4). Additionally, the nonsensical “Sat the mat the cat on” has the same score as “The cat sat on the mat” (s.a.: 5). Therefore, I did not rely on the Flesch score alone.

Instead, it was felt that the analysis should reflect the difficulties that may arise during SI. As Gile (2008: 60) notes, “[...]‘local’ analysis, i.e. analysis focused on short segments and sequences of two or three neighbouring segments as opposed to general features of speeches, may provide explanations which overall analysis fails to uncover.” Therefore, I determined the speeches’ difficulty by using the sentence as a local unit of analysis (cf. Gile 2008: 63). Each sentence was analyzed in view of the following: information density distribution and number of information units, syntax, pauses, context recognition, the number of triggers, and lexis. These criteria were selected because of their influence on what Gile (2008) refers to as “cognitive load” (cf. Sweller 1994), which relates to the idea that certain passages require more effort (see Section 2.1.2) to interpret than others.

In this analysis, sentences with a higher information density at the beginning are followed by “ α ”, while sentences with higher information density at the end are followed by “ ω .” A sentence with a high information density at the beginning is vulnerable to imported cognitive load (cf. Gile 2008: 67f), while a sentence with high information density at the end “[...] export[s] [more] cognitive load into the processing of the following sentences than sentences which end with little information or information which is easy to anticipate” (Gile

2008: 67). Therefore, when determining the difficulty of a segment, sentences with a higher information density at the end will be judged to be more difficult; this is because cognitive load which is exported into additional sentences may have a more negative effect on the interpreter's overall Production Effort and the resulting speech, which may be deemed to be both incoherent and halting, will invariably be perceived negatively by listeners (cf. Bork 2012: 91).

Additionally, the number of information units is also important, as this may increase the Memory Effort. In this analysis, each segment's information density is designated as follows: L (low, 0 – 2 information units, each unit listed individually), M (medium, 3 – 5 information units), and H (high, > 5 information units).

Syntax is also an important element worthy of consideration, as “[...] it seems undeniable that depending on syntax, at least some of the pieces of information with which global meaning is constructed do not arrive in the same order, [...] [and this will] have implications on the interpreter's options in target-speech production” (Gile 2008: 68). In this analysis, the syntactic analysis relates to both the number and type of clauses (a) and the presence of hypotaxis and parataxis (b).

It is obvious that the more clauses a sentence has, the longer it will be; a long sentence with a large number of relative clauses will put added strain on the Memory Effort and afford the interpreter fewer pauses to relieve him/herself of cognitive load (cf. 2008: 68). In the analysis, each segment is divided into its corresponding parts of speech (subject, predicate, relative clause, etc.) and listed individually.

As Eggins (2004: 263) notes, “[i]n parataxis, clauses relate to each other as equals. They are independent. This equality is reflected in the fact that each clause in a paratactic complex could usually stand alone as a complete sentence.” With hypotaxis, on the other hand, “[...] clauses relate to each other in a modifying or dependency relationship” (2004: 263). In this analysis, hypotaxis is deemed to be more difficult (cf. Gile 2008: 69) as remembering how the clauses relate to each other, for example, if the relationship is causal or expresses dependency, may increase the Memory Effort.

As pauses can provide interpreters with cognitive relief (cf. 2008: 68) each speech had a total of three pauses of more than two seconds. Ensuring that each speech had the same number of pauses served as a way to reduce the number of variables which could influence how the interpreters rated the speakers. Pauses are designated by “II.”

Context recognition is important during SI and is seen to facilitate the process by allowing the interpreter to make use of his/her pre-existing knowledge (cf. 2008: 66).

Therefore, this analysis uses italics to highlight key words which provide context; recognizing the speeches' context early on is considered a factor that makes a speech easier.

Furthermore, each segment is analyzed in view of the presence of problem triggers, i.e. numbers, names, enumerations, and idioms which appear in a given segment and may take up additional processing capacity (cf. 2008: 60). The symbols “#, N, E, I” are used for those items in the current analysis. “Names” (N) are any form of a proper noun (i.e. a noun that is always capitalized in English, such as the first and last names of people or the names of places and organizations, for example). An enumeration (E) is something which lists at least two actions or things.

Finally, the “Comments” section includes remarks about the speeches' lexis (wording). As the pilot study used students and it was possible that beginners might have participated in it, I also felt that it was necessary to determine which words and phrases could be difficult. A word was deemed to be difficult when it was part of the vocabulary listed in the C2 section of the English Vocabulary Profile (cf. Cambridge University Press – CAP 2015), the highest level of proficiency attained in an L2, see Section 3.4.2. Although this is the anticipated level that the students would be expected to operate at upon finishing their studies, they may not have reached said level when beginning their studies.

As the study focuses on ELF accents, I concluded that the speaker with the accent that is most familiar to the participants (the Austrian speaker) should deliver the most difficult speech, while the speaker with what is probably the most unfamiliar accent (the Greek speaker) should deliver the easiest speech. The Austrian speaker read the speech that was deemed to be most difficult, as it had both the highest number of information units and the highest number of sentences with high information density at the end. Furthermore, it also contains a syntactically complex enumeration and more difficult vocabulary in relation to the other speeches (see Appendix C). The second most difficult speech was delivered by the Belgian speaker, referred to as “Speaker 3,” while the Greek speaker (“Speaker 2” in the surveys) delivered the easiest speech. His speech was deemed to be the easiest, as it had both the lowest number of information units and the fewest occurrences of sentences with a high information density at the end. The speeches appear in the order they were heard during the survey.

6.2.3 The online surveys and the participant recruitment process

This section describes how each survey was constructed, explaining the logic behind each question. For more information about the specific details of a question, the reader is referred

to Appendix D; the following paragraphs detail how participants were recruited for each of the surveys.

6.2.3.1 The survey for interpreting students

Both questionnaires were constructed with the same logic in mind; any content-related differences will be explained in the corresponding subchapter. Each survey had a group of questions about the following: linguistic repertoire, experience with ELF speakers, the three individual rating questions about the ELF speakers who were described in Section 6.2.1.2, an overall rating question, and demographic information.

The survey was open to students whose A language was German and whose B language was English. The reason for this was to counteract the potential disparities in the students' knowledge of their working languages; in other words, it was assumed that overall, students with English as a B language would have a better grasp of the language than the students whose C language was English. Additionally, this criterion was also one of the vestiges of the initial experimental approach (all of the interpreters in Basel's study had German as an A language, see Section 5.4) and students who have English as a B language at the ZTW must have German as their A language (cf. ZTW s.a.: 1).

As the participants were all L1 German speakers, German was used as the language of the surveys, in order to ensure that the participants felt as comfortable as possible when filling it out. Furthermore, as this survey was directed at students, the informal *du* form of address was used.

The students were asked about their linguistic repertoires to determine if they might have a potential T2 SLB with either Speaker 2 or Speaker 3. This entailed answering questions about their C language(s) and if they spoke other languages outside their combinations. Furthermore, I created a condition in which students were directed to the end of the survey if their A language was not German and their B language was not English. As I did not have access to the students' email addresses, I could not be sure who would take the survey and wanted to ensure that only students who fit the aforementioned criteria participated.

The students were asked to estimate the percentage of speakers that they had interpreted in class so far that were L1 English speakers. This was to see if they were more accustomed to interpreting L1 or L2 English speakers and if this in any way related to how experienced they were in terms of semesters. However, it was later concluded that the

wording of the question did not make it as clear enough that the focus of this study was on ELF, which is why it was changed to “ELF speakers” in the main study. I felt that this information was also relevant from a pedagogical perspective: if students continue to interpret mostly L1 English speakers when L2 English speakers appear to be the norm in a conference setting, this would clearly be a skewed vision of reality and poor preparation for what their working conditions will be like (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2013c). Finally, they were asked to specify whether or not they found certain non-native accents difficult to understand; this was to see if these findings were line with other interpreting-related studies (cf. Chang/Wu 2014) and if the accents were those of languages that were in the students’ combinations (potentially disputing the idea that a T2 SLB exists or suggesting a certain degree of annoyance, as described in Fayer/Krasinski 1987, where a T1 SLB or a T2 SLB was present).

The participants then heard the speech samples in the following order: the German speaker, the Greek speaker, the French speaker. They heard the German speaker first, as in Bent/Bradlow’s experiment, in which Chinese listeners heard a Chinese talker first (2003: 1604). I justified putting the recording of the Greek speaker in the middle, as I assumed his accent would be difficult to identify and I felt it was better if the participants heard him at an earlier stage of filling out the survey, where they had more time and energy to guess what his L1 was and rate him. This left me no choice but to place the Belgian speaker last; the potential limitations of the order listed above are described in further detail in Section 6.4.

After hearing the first speech sample, the participants were asked to guess the speaker’s L1 before rating him in terms of accentedness and interpretability (see Appendix D). Because they were not allowed to listen to the speech sample more than once (in much the same way speech heard during SI is only heard once), I felt it was best that they attempt to identify the accent sooner rather than later. The questions about accentedness were used to see how the ratings differed if a potential T1 SLB and T2 SLB existed; this was also the case with the questions about interpretability. The rating process for both accentedness and interpretability was on a scale of 1 to 7, based on Reithofer’s (2011: 118) speaker evaluation description. The verbal descriptors (see Appendix C) were inspired by those used in Derwing/Munro (2005: 385).

Finally, the participants were asked to rate the speakers overall, to see whether or not there were any discrepancies between the individual scores the speakers received and their overall ranking, revealing any potential biases which could arise. In the final part of the questionnaire students were asked to indicate their gender (male, female, N/A), state their age, and say which semester they were in (as a measure of experience).

This study used convenience sampling, as it was a pilot study and the most important goal was to determine that there were no technology-related problems and that the measurement techniques used were appropriate (cf. Bhattacharjee ²2012: 69). Furthermore, as I did not have access to the students' email addresses due to data protection laws, it was impossible to ensure that the sample would be representative. I contacted three interpreters who teach SI classes with the language combination English – German and they then forwarded the link to the survey to their students via email.

6.2.3.2 The survey for professional interpreters

The questionnaire for the professional interpreters differed from the student one by using the formal *Sie* form of address. It also differed from the student survey because experience was measured in years, rather than semesters, and the interpreters were asked to indicate their AIIC region. This was because I was interested in seeing the extent to which the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles might be represented. Additional differences are highlighted in Section 6.3.2.

The technique used to recruit participants was expert sampling, as the interpreters were experts in their field (indicated by AIIC membership) and recruited in a systematic, non-random manner (cf. Bhattacharjee ²2012: 69). I used the AIIC interpreter directory to find all of the interpreters whose A language was German and whose B language was English. As of March 2015, this was a total of 180 interpreters. However, this number only includes those interpreters who listed an email address and those who did not have English as an additional A language. The number was reduced once again to only include those interpreters who have German as a sole A language and English as a sole B language, which corresponds to a total of 151 interpreters.

Participants with more than one A and/or B language were excluded to make the presence of potential shared languages benefits even more clearly delineated. This was also the case in the pilot study, and I felt that this criterion proved to be successful. Despite the aforementioned exclusions, the sample is arguably highly representative of expert interpreters with German as a sole A language and English as a sole B language.

Because I had access to the participants' email addresses, it was possible to generate tokens which made it possible to fill out the questionnaire only once (cf. LimeSurveyTM 2015), thereby guaranteeing that no one could skew the results by participating more than

once. More information about the invitation to participate in the survey and the reminder email is available in Appendix D.

6.3 Survey results

The following subchapter presents the results of both the pilot study and the main study. It presents the results of each study and, where necessary, compares the results with other study in question.

6.3.1 The student survey

A total of 18 students enrolled in the University of Vienna's MA Interpreting program participated in the survey. 12 students (66.6%) completed the survey in its entirety, while 1 (5.5%) only filled out the question about his/her A language. As this student's A language was Hungarian, s/he was immediately directed to the end of the survey, as it was only open to students with German as an A language and English as a B language. This was also the case with 1 student (5.5%) whose B language was Czech. Finally, 2 students (11.1%) only completed information about their C languages, while another 2 students (11.1%) only completed the survey until Question 6 ("Are there non-native English accents that you find particularly difficult to understand and/or interpret?", see Appendix D).

As stated in Section 6.2.3.1, this survey was open to students with English as an A language and German as a B language. The most common C languages among the students were as follows: Spanish (n=9), French (n=7), Czech (n=1), Italian (n=1), and Romanian (n=1).

These numbers show that the overwhelming majority of the participants in this survey have a Romance language as a C language. The only exception was one student with Czech as his/her C language (ID 8)⁷⁶. Therefore, the majority of the participants had at least one C language which was typologically identical to or similar to Speaker 3's first language, French. Of the 16 participants who specified their C languages, 13 had 1 C language and 3 had 2 C languages. The combinations were as follows:

⁷⁶ "ID x" is used to refer to a participant and specify that s/he made a particular comment in the survey; The letter "P" followed by a number indicates that the comments were made in email communication.

Table 7 - Number of C languages among the students

Answer Type	n
Spanish as only C language	7
French as only C language	5
Czech as only C language	1
French and Spanish as 2 C languages	2
Italian and Romanian as 2 C languages	1
	$\Sigma=16$

It must be noted here that the student with Italian and Romanian as C languages (ID 10), as well as one of the students with a dual French-Spanish C combination (ID 9), did not complete the survey past this point, meaning that most of the participants who completed the survey have a single C language. Of the 12 completed questionnaires, 11 participants (92%) had a single C language, while the remaining 1 participant (8%) had 2 C languages (ID 12).

In terms of knowledge of other languages that were not part of their combination, 25% of the students (n= 3) who completed this question specified that they spoke an additional language that was not in their combination. The languages were Serbian (ID 1), French (ID 15), and Spanish (ID 17). Again, this reflects a strong presence of Romance languages in the students' linguistic repertoires.

Although the demographic information about the students appeared at the end of the survey, it will be presented here before turning to the specific information about the ELF speakers and the students' ratings. Of the 12 participants who completed the survey in its entirety, 11 (92%) identified as female, while one identified as male. On average, the students were in their mid-20s and were nearing the end of their degree program.⁷⁷

Table 8 - The students' ages

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	24.92
Standard deviation	2.22
Minimum	22
1st quartile (Q1)	23
2nd quartile (Median)	24.5

⁷⁷ The MA in Interpreting offered at the University of Vienna at the time of writing was a 2-year (4 semesters in total) program. See <http://www.stv-translation.at/studium/masterstudien/dolmetschen-%28laeuft-aus%29/allgemeine-informationen.aspx> for further information (in German only).

3rd quartile (Q3)	26.75
Maximum	29

Table 9 - The students' experience in semesters

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	3.17
Standard deviation	1.14
Minimum	2
1st quartile (Q1)	2
2nd quartile (Median)	3
3rd quartile (Q3)	4
Maximum	5

With regard to their experience interpreting L1 English speakers into German, the numbers reflect that although mostly L1 English speakers were used in interpreting classes, they did not significantly outweigh the presence of L2 English (ELF) speakers (on average approximately 60 percent L1 English speakers vs. 40 percent ELF speakers). From my own experience, I would attribute this to the fact that the students were nearing the end of their studies and had acquired some experience interpreting ELF speakers in more advanced interpreting classes.

Table 10 - Estimated percentage of ELF speakers interpreted in class

Calculation	Result
Count	14
Average	57.29
Standard deviation	24
Minimum	2
1st quartile (Q1)	40
2nd quartile (Median)	55
3rd quartile (Q3)	80
Maximum	90

What is immediately noticeable is that the minimum value (2%) differs significantly from the maximum value (90%). Based on my own experience, it does not seem plausible that someone would estimate the percentage of L1 English speakers interpreted in class (particularly when taking into account the beginner and intermediate interpreting classes that

the students would have done in their first and second semesters) at only 2%. Although this assumption cannot be proven, I would argue that the student (ID 2) may have accidentally clicked on the “Continue” button too quickly, and may have wanted to type something in the 20% - 29% range.

The maximum value (90%) appeared twice and in both instances the participants did not complete the questionnaire in its entirety; they only completed it until Question 6. It would have been interesting to see if they had less experience than average. Of the three respondents who stated that they interpreted L1 English speakers less than 50% of the time⁷⁸, all three had been studying for a minimum of 3 semesters (5 semesters, 3 semesters, and 4 semesters respectively); however, this is an observation and as it is based on the participants’ subjective opinions and a very small population sample, we cannot draw any conclusions about the correlation between the number of semesters and their greater experience interpreting ELF speakers. When asked “Are there non-native English accents that you find particularly difficult to understand and/or interpret?”, all 14 responses included references to specific languages and geographical regions, as well as language families. Only 1 participant (ID 13) stated that there were no non-native accents that were particularly difficult to understand and/or interpret. The participants’ responses appear as follows:

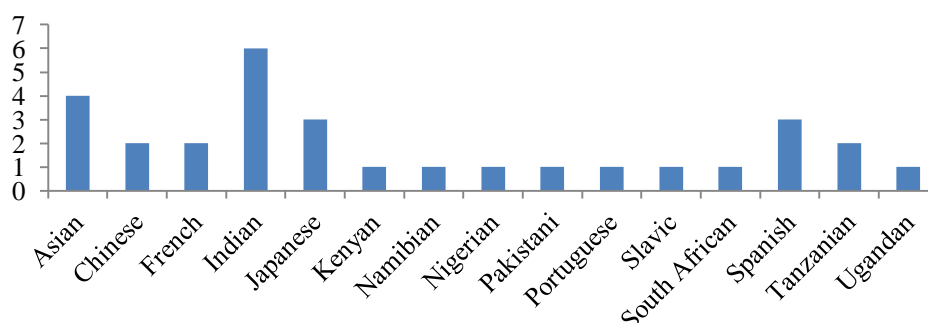


Figure 6 - Student descriptions of difficult accents

Of the 15 descriptors above, 5 accents (30%) are part of Kachru’s Outer Circle (Indian, Kenyan, Nigerian, Pakistani, and Tanzanian, cf. Jenkins ²⁰⁰⁹: 19). As shown in Section 6.3.2, the specific mention of Indian English’s perceived difficulty correlates with findings in other studies. This is also true of “Asian,” “Japanese,” and “Chinese”; the perceived difficulty of Chinese and Japanese accents was mentioned in studies which are mentioned in Section 6.3.2. This seems to demonstrate that the Outer Circle is problematic for the students in this survey; one student (ID 17) specifically mentioned English speakers from African countries

⁷⁸ The respective answers were 30% (ID 14) and 40% (ID 13, ID 16); this does not include the 2% answer.

where English is an official language, e.g. South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Namibia” (my translation). Whether or not these perceived difficulties stem from experience or stereotypes remains unknown. In this sample, it clearly shows that the only English considered to be “native English” is spoken in the Inner Circle and the accents perceived to be difficult differ from Chang/Wu’s findings (see Section 5.5).

Of the European varieties mentioned, Spanish and French were mentioned most often. These are also the two languages which were most widely studied as C languages. Of the 3 respondents who mentioned Spanish, 2 spoke Spanish (of which one had it in his/her combination, the other did not). This may suggest that in this study, there was a higher degree of annoyance when a potential T2 SLB was present. In the case of French (mentioned twice), none of the respondents had French, but rather, Spanish as a C language, a language typologically similar to French. The perception of French and Spanish-accented English in an ELF context will be evaluated in Section 6.3.2; now the speakers’ results are described in the following paragraphs.

100% (n=12) of the participants identified Speaker 1’s first language as German; almost half of the participants (42% or 5 in total) specifically mentioned that his German was Austrian.

Table 11 – Students’ accentedness ratings Speaker 1

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	6
Standard deviation	1.13
Minimum	4
1st quartile (Q1)	5
2nd quartile (Median)	6
3rd quartile (Q3)	7
Maximum	7

With an average rating of 6, the participants felt that Speaker 1 had a thick non-native accent. This value was higher than that of the speakers who did not share the students’ L1, strongly suggesting increased irritation among listeners who share the speaker’s first language (cf. Fayer/Krasinski 1987).

Table 12 - Students' interpretability ratings Speaker 1

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	1.67
Standard deviation	0.89
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	1
2nd quartile (Median)	1.50
3rd quartile (Q3)	2
Maximum	4

Despite having the harshest ratings in terms of accentedness, Speaker 1 had the best ratings in terms of interpretability. This supports Munro/Derwing's conclusion (cf. 1999: 305) that speech that is heavily accented can also be perceived to be easily understood.

None of the participants correctly identified Speaker 2's L1 as Greek. Although the participants were asked to specify a single language, 2 of the students (17%) included more than one language in their answer ("Czech/Polish", "Spanish or Portuguese"), most likely as an indication of their uncertainty. All of the responses were plotted in the following bar graph:

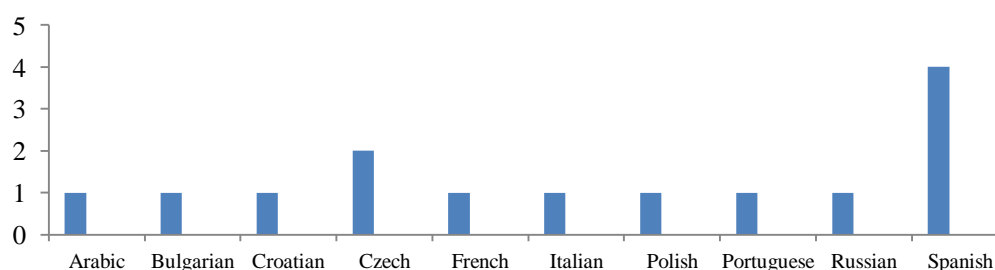


Figure 7 - Students' assumptions about Speaker 2's L1

Most students assumed Speaker 2's L1 was Spanish. These findings support the hypotheses based on my own personal experience that Greek accents are not easily identifiable in English and that Greeks are often mistaken for Spanish speakers.

Table 13 - Students' accentedness ratings Speaker 2

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	5.58
Standard deviation	1.16

Minimum	4
1st quartile (Q1)	5
2nd quartile (Median)	5
3rd quartile (Q3)	7
Maximum	7

On average, Speaker 2 and Speaker 3's perceived accentedness was exactly the same.

Table 14 - Students' interpretability ratings Speaker 2

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	3.50
Standard deviation	1.51
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	2
2nd quartile (Median)	3
3rd quartile (Q3)	5
Maximum	6

Speaker 2's average rating demonstrates that he was judged to be least interpretable. However, he did receive more 1st place ratings than Speaker 3, a speaker with whom a T2 SLB would be possible.

More than half of the respondents (67%) correctly identified Speaker 3's L1 as French. Of the remaining 4 participants, 2 identified the speaker's L1 as "Indian"; the remaining participants assumed it was either Hindi or Italian. This is an interesting observation in two ways: Firstly, Speaker 3 does not have any ethnic ties to India. He was born and raised in Belgium to two Francophone Belgian parents of European descent. Secondly, unlike the other languages analyzed in this study (English, German, and Greek), French and Hindi are examples of syllable-timed languages with variable word stress (cf. Collins/Mees ²1984: 213, Section 3.3.1). However, it is likely that the participants were referring to "Indian English"; if this is the case, it implies, at least in this sample, that ESL English varieties are not considered to be "native-like."

Table 15 - Students' accentedness ratings Speaker 3

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	5.58
Standard deviation	1.24
Minimum	4
1st quartile (Q1)	4
2nd quartile (Median)	5.50
3rd quartile (Q3)	7
Maximum	7

The similarity of the speakers' degree of accentedness was also confirmed in personal correspondence with an interpreter (P-4) who participated in the main study:

For me, in all three cases, the unnatural flow of speech as read by a non-professional speaker had more of a negative impact on my listening comprehension than the accents. However, *ceteris paribus*, the difference between the various accents obviously seemed to be to the same degree.⁷⁹

However, Speaker 3 scored slightly better than Speaker 2 in terms of interpretability (3.08 vs. 3.50).

Table 16 - Students' interpretability ratings Speaker 3

Calculation	Result
Count	12
Average	3.08
Standard deviation	1.44
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	2
2nd quartile (Median)	2.50
3rd quartile (Q3)	5
Maximum	5

⁷⁹ My translation. The original quote: “[...] Die Hörverständlichkeit wurde für mich in allen drei Fällen stärker durch den unnatürlichen Redefluss einer von nicht-professionellen Sprechern abgelesenen Rede als durch die Akzente beeinträchtigt. Aber *ceteris paribus* dürfte der Unterschied zwischen den verschiedenen Akzenten natürlich in gleichem Maße zutage treten.”

Given the fact that the sample is extremely small, not representative, and uses a non-probability-based sampling technique (see Section 6.2.3.1, cf. Bhattacharjee ²2012: 67ff), we can only draw conclusions based on observations, rather than making statistical inferences.

The purpose of Question 16, in which the participants were asked to rank which speaker they understood best overall (see Appendix C), was to determine the presence of potential T1 and T2 SLBs. As seen by the first place rankings, Speaker 1 was found to have the highest degree of interpretability. As the participants and Speaker 1 share the same L1 (German), this strongly suggests the presence of a T1 SLB.

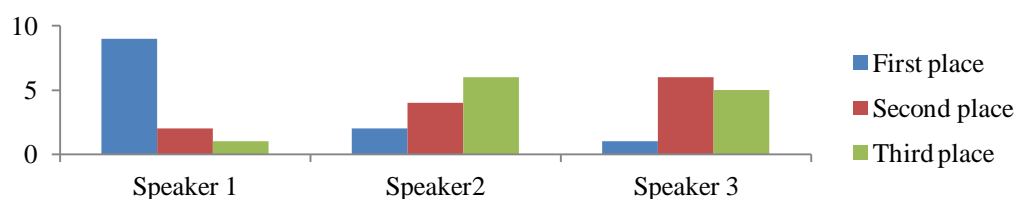


Figure 8 - Students' overall interpretability rating

It is also interesting to note that Speaker 2 received more first place votes than Speaker 3, suggesting that there is little evidence in favor of a T2 SLB. Furthermore, as both speakers' accentedness ratings were exactly the same, and Speaker 3 fared slightly better on average than Speaker 2 in terms of interpretability rankings (3.08 vs. 3.50), Speaker 3 should have been ranked 1st more often than Speaker 2. This may reflect some sort of bias towards the French speaker, i.e. implying that the presence of a potential T2 SLB may entail a higher degree of annoyance (cf. Fayer/Krasinski 1987) in this sample. However, given the weaknesses associated with its size and collection methods, this cannot be verified reliably.

In short, the pilot study suggests that there is strong evidence of a T1 SLB. As none of the students had any knowledge of Greek, it was only possible to analyze the potential presence of a T2 SLB using the French speaker data. Of the students who ranked the French speaker 1st or 2nd in terms of overall interpretability (1st n=1, 2nd n=6), the 1st place ranking did not come from a student who had French as a C language (the student's C language is Spanish), while the 6 2nd place rankings were from 5 students with knowledge of French and one student who did not speak any language typologically similar to Speaker 3's (this student's C language is Czech). Therefore, the evidence surrounding the existence of a T2 SLB remains inconclusive.

As for the inability to correctly identify an accent and its correlation with perceived difficulty in interpreting the speaker, the data does not seem to suggest that there is a statistically significant correlation. Using Speaker 2, the only speaker whose accent was not

correctly identified 100% of the time as an example, a statistically significant correlation would have been noticeable if he had not received any 1st or 2nd place rankings; however, he received 2 1st place rankings and 4 second place rankings.

Furthermore, the speaker with the highest degree of accentedness (Speaker 1) had the best interpretability ratings, supporting Derwing/Munro's (2005: 386) conclusion that "[...] listeners often assign good comprehensibility ratings to speech samples that they have also rated as heavily accented." In this case, this is most certainly true of a T1 SLB.

6.3.2 Interpreter survey

The findings in this study are very similar to those in the pilot study; however, given the nature of the recruitment process and the higher degree of diversity present in the interpreters' linguistic repertoires, as compared to those of the students, there are some differences. One important difference is that it was possible to apply statistical operations to the data in the main study, because the sample was larger, the sampling frame was representative of the population in question (AIIC professional conference interpreters with German as their sole A language and English as their sole B language), and probability sampling was used.

47 participants (79.7%) completed the survey in its entirety, while 1 participant (1.7%) stopped after specifying his/her C languages. The remaining 11 participants (18.6%) completed the survey until Question 5: "Which accents make English as a lingua franca particularly difficult for you to understand and/or interpret?" (see Appendix D).

The survey conducted among the professional interpreters also included interpreters who did not officially (according to AIIC) work with a C language⁸⁰. Out of a total of 59 responses, 36 interpreters (61%) officially have a German A – English B combination, while 23 (39%) have at least one C language.

The composition of C language combinations differs significantly from that of the student interpreters (see Section 6.3.1) for the following reasons: Firstly, the main study included interpreters who did not have an official C language. This was to ensure a maximum number of possible participants with German as an A language and English as a B language. Secondly, the study with the students was confined to a single university in a single country, which of course would limit the choice of potential working languages the students could have; the professional conference interpreters were from various geographical regions.

⁸⁰ One of these respondents (ID 26) stated that although they do not have a C language according to AIIC, they have EU accreditation for 2 C languages.

Finally, in the case of the professional interpreters with official C languages, we could argue that one of the reasons why they usually had more than one C language was because they have far more experience in the field than students and hence have had more time to acquire additional C languages.

Returning to the 36 participants with an official A-B combination, half of the respondents stated that they speak other languages which are not officially part of their combination, while the other half did not. Of the 18 interpreters with an A-B combination who speak additional languages, their linguistic data appears as follows:

Table 17 - Number of additional languages spoken by the A-B interpreters

Answer Type	n
1 additional language	9 (50%)
2 additional languages	5 (28%)
3 additional languages	3 (17%)
5 additional languages	1 (5%)
	$\Sigma=18$ (100%)

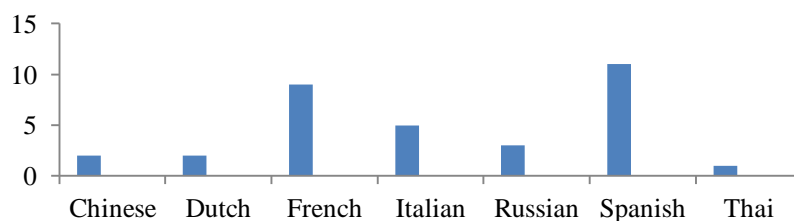


Figure 9 - The additional languages spoken by the A-B interpreters

As in the case of the students, the presence of Romance languages is clearly dominant; Spanish and French are the two most popular additional languages, as in the case of the students' C languages. There is more linguistic variety and more knowledge of additional languages as compared to the students, given the larger sample and the fact that interpreters from various geographical regions participated in the survey and have more experience than the students.

Of the 23 interpreters who stated that they have at least one C language according to AIIC, their linguistic data appears as follows:

Table 18 - Number of interpreters' official C languages

Answer Type	n
1 C language	12 (52%)

2 C languages	8 (35%)
3 C languages	2 (9%)
4 C languages	1 (4%)
	$\Sigma=23$ (100%)

1 respondent (ID 14) listed their C language as “de,” i.e. German. This is not a valid response, as the survey was only open to participants who have German as an A language. As it is extremely unlikely that an interpreter who, according to the AIIC website has German as an A language, would suddenly downgrade their A language to a C language, there are two possible explanations for this: either the participant read the question incorrectly and typed in their A language instead of their C language, or “de” should have been “da” (Danish). As there were two participants from Northern Europe who took part in the study (see below), the latter seems plausible. Excluding the invalid response, the most common official C languages were as follows:

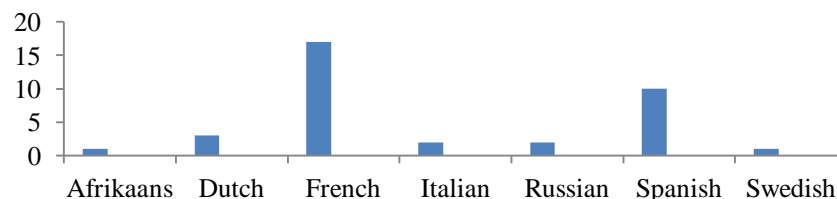


Figure 10 - The interpreters' most common C languages

Again, as in the case of the students and the interpreters with an official A-B combination, French and Spanish were the two most dominant languages. However, unlike the students and the A-B interpreters, French is the more widely-spoken language of the two.

Furthermore, the interpreters with at least one official C language also had knowledge of languages that were not part of their official combination. Out of a total of 22 valid responses, 8 (36%) stated that they speak other languages in addition to the ones in their combination. The language data appears as follows: Afrikaans and French (n=1), Dutch (n=1), English (n=1), Estonian (n=1), French (n=1), Italian and Dutch (n=1), Spanish (n=1), Swiss German (n=1).

It is interesting to note that one of the interpreters listed “English” as a language that was not part of their combination, given the recruitment criteria presented in Section 6.2.3.2. It is possible that the interpreter listed English as a B language in the past and had changed his/her combination in the meantime, choosing to offer other languages instead. However, considering that this participant did not complete the survey beyond Question 5, this answer

did not in any way influence the data analysis used to determine the presence of a shared languages benefit. Furthermore, it is also interesting to see that 1 participant mentioned “Swiss German” as a distinct language, rather than seeing it as a variety of German.

The demographic information presented in the main study also differs significantly from that of the pilot study with the students. Firstly, the percentage of male participants was much higher; in the pilot study, only one out of twelve participants was male, whereas in the main study, 11 respondents (23%) were men and 36 (77%) were women. Secondly, the main study was not confined to a single geographic region. In much the same manner that ELF is a global phenomenon, this study also included participants from around the globe, with interpreters based on 4 different continents participating in the study.

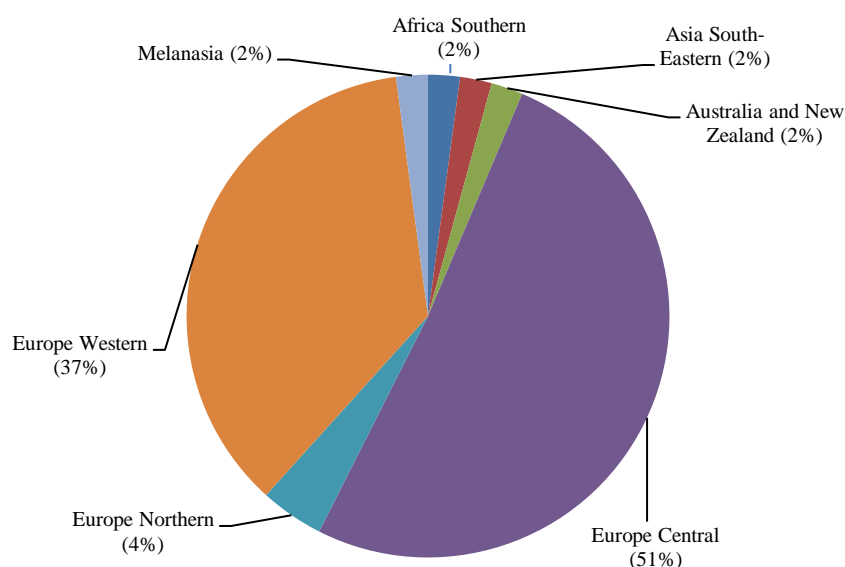


Figure 11 - The interpreters' AIIC regions

On average, the interpreters in this study were in their early 50s and had over 20 years of work experience.

Table 19 - The interpreters' ages

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	51.11
Standard deviation	9.15
Minimum	31

1st quartile (Q1)	44
2nd quartile (Median)	51
3rd quartile (Q3)	59
Maximum	66

Table 20 - The interpreters' experience in years

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	23.3
Standard deviation	9.47
Minimum	6
1st quartile (Q1)	17
2nd quartile (Median)	22
3rd quartile (Q3)	30
Maximum	43

As mentioned in Section 6.2.3.1, the wording of some of the questions in the pilot study was changed in the main study. The question about the estimated percentages of speakers (see Appendix D) was changed from “native speakers” in the pilot study to “ELF speakers” in the main study. This was done in order to increase the focus on ELF speakers, since this study primarily relates to ELF, not L1 English. Furthermore, the present simple was used (“the speakers you interpret at conferences”) rather than the present perfect (the students’ survey referred to “the speakers you have interpreted in class,” see Appendix D for more information).

The present tense implies that the interpreters are still actively working and is used in L1 English as a statement of fact or to indicate a general truth (cf. Murphy ²1994: 4). As the presence of ELF at conferences is the rule rather than the exception, I felt that the present tense was an appropriate choice. An explanation in brackets that ELF is not the speakers’ L1 ⁸¹ (see Appendix C) was used to ensure that the question was understood correctly.

⁸¹ In the pilot study, I chose conciseness and avoiding ambiguity over political correctness when explaining in brackets that ELF speakers are “non-native speakers” (NichtmuttersprachlerInnen), rather than referring to them as “L2 English speakers,” as the term L2 is not widely understood among people who have not studied linguistics in some form. Furthermore, the literal translation of the term above into German would be “L2 Englischsprachige”, which is a term that does not exist in German. However, I did not completely abandon the notion of political correctness, as I chose the form “NichtmuttersprachlerInnen” to include a variety of genders and gender identities, rather than the ‘male-centric’ form “Nichtmuttersprachler.”

Table 21 - Estimated percentage of speakers who use ELF at the interpreters' conferences

Calculation	Result
Count	58
Average	72.19
Standard deviation	16.11
Minimum	10
1st quartile (Q1)	60
2nd quartile (Median)	80
3rd quartile (Q3)	80
Maximum	95

These results demonstrate that the presence of ELF speakers clearly dominates in conference settings, with an average (mean) of approximately 72% and a median of 80%.

Unlike the pilot study, the question about which accents were most difficult to understand and/or interpret did not specifically ask which “non-native” accents were particularly difficult. I purposely chose a more ambiguous way of formulating the question, in order to encourage more detailed responses, and as L1 English speakers are not excluded from ELF interactions, I was interested in seeing whether or not any accents from the Inner Circle would be deemed to be difficult. Not only did the participants make very detailed comments both in the survey and in personal correspondence, they also mentioned certain Inner Circle accents in terms of their difficulty. Before presenting the results, I would like to comment on the more detailed responses in the survey which addressed ‘the accent issue.’

One participant (ID 25) wrote, “I don’t understand this question. EN native speakers’ accents can be really difficult. However, with non-native speakers, it’s more about the WAY they speak EN, the syntax, the false friends, but I don’t think that has anything to do with ACCENTS.”⁸² This is one of the comments that correlates with Albl-Mikasa’s (2010: 134f) findings that there are times when interpreters prefer ELF speakers over ENL speakers. Another participant (ID 32) also mentioned the difficulties associated with “[...] native

⁸² My translation of “Diese Frage verstehe ich nicht. Akzente von EN-Muttersprachlern können verdammt schwierig sein. Bei Nicht-EN-Muttersprachlern hingegen ist es eher die ART, wie sie EN sprechen, der Satzbau, die falschen Freunde, aber das bezeichne ich nicht als AKZENT.”

speakers with thick regional accents that speak quickly and unclearly.”⁸³ Five of the participants stressed the difficulty in making generalizations (yet, interestingly, four of them did happen to mention particular L2 varieties which caused problems).⁸⁴ In the words of survey participant P-3 (personal correspondence), “[t]he biggest problem with English as a Lingua Franca is that most speakers not only have an accent, they also use incorrect grammatical structures and therefore it becomes extremely difficult to anticipate in SI. The incorrect grammar steers your brain off the right track, so to speak”⁸⁵. This is also in line with findings cited in Albl-Mikasa (2014: 299), in which ELF speakers’ use of tenses and interchangeable use of “if” and “when” caused misunderstandings among the ENL participants they had directly addressed in conference settings.

Returning to the participants’ responses, the presence of Kachru’s circles was as follows⁸⁶:

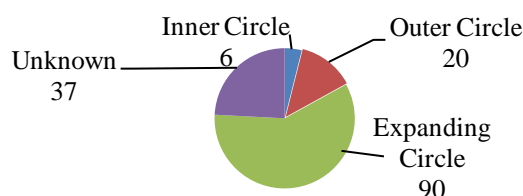


Figure 12 - Difficult accents for the interpreters classified using Kachru's circles

A total of six references were made about the Inner Circle; they include the two comments discussed in the previous paragraphs, as well as 1 mention each of New Zealand (ID 58) and Scotland (ID 52), and 2 mentions of the US (IDs 30, 33). 20 references were made about the Outer Circle, with the majority of references (18 or 86%) about Indian English and 1

⁸³ My translation of “indischer Akzent, asiatische Akzente allgemein. Viele Akzente, wenn sie stark sind, auch schnell und undeutlich sprechende Muttersprachler mit starkem regionalen Akzent.”

⁸⁴ All quotes my translation, followed by the original in brackets: “depends...Indian, SA” (kommt drauf an...indisch, SA, ID 12); “Depends on how good the speaker’s knowledge of the language is, I can’t make any general observations” (Hängt immer vom Stand der jeweiligen Sprachkenntnisse des Redners ab, allgemeine Angaben kann ich nicht machen, ID 26); “depends on the speaker Japanese African languages Danish” (sprecherabhängig Japanisch afrikanische Sprachen Dänisch, ID 28); “It’s not so much about non-native speakers’ accents as it is about their language competence; when the French say ‘dietermeint’ when they mean determine, then it’s not the accent that causes problems for me. In general, Indians are difficult because of their slurred accent, although they often speak terrific English. The Japanese and Koreans are usually difficult for both reasons” (Es sind nicht so sehr die Akzente als die Sprachkompetenz derer, die in einer Nicht-Muttersprache sprechen; wenn die Franzosen von “dietermeint” sprechen, wenn sie determine meinen, dann ist das nicht der Akzent, der mir Schwierigkeiten macht. Wegen der verschleiften Aussprache sind Inder i.A. schwierig, obwohl sie oft hervorragendes Englisch beherrschen. Japaner und Koreaner sind meistens aus beiden Gründen schwierig, ID 56); “Hard to say. Asians can be very difficult and quite easy, the same is true of Slavic, French, African accents etc.” (Kann man nicht generell sagen. Asiaten können sehr schwer und eher einfach sein, gleiches gilt für slawische, französische, afrikanische Akzente usw, ID 65).

⁸⁵ My translation, the original quote: “Das größte Problem bei Englisch als Lingua Franca ist, dass die meisten Redner nicht nur mit Akzent sprechen, sondern auch grammatikalisch falsche Strukturen verwenden und damit gerade beim Simultandolmetschen das Antizipieren äußert erschwert wird. Durch falsche Grammatik wird das Gehirn sozusagen auf eine falsche Fährte gelenkt.”

⁸⁶ Each reference was counted individually, i.e. mentioning Indian English and New Zealand English counts as 1 Outer Circle and 1 Inner Circle reference, while mentioning China and Japan counts as 2 Expanding Circle references. In the case of a description such as “Asia and Eastern Europe”, although “Eastern Europe” would clearly refer to the Expanding Circle, the description “Asia” is too vague to determine whether or not it is a reference to the Outer Circle or Expanding Circle. Therefore, a general reference to “Africa” or “Asia” will be categorized as “Unknown”.

reference each about Lankan and Nigerian English.

These findings parallel conclusions drawn in earlier studies: according to Smith/Bisazza's study (1982), which examined the comprehensibility* of three different varieties of English to listeners in seven countries, "89% of the subjects responded that the Indian speaker was the most difficult to comprehend" (1982: 267). Jenkins' (2007: 172) study about ELF speakers' attitudes towards each other's accents stressed the perceived difficulty of understanding Indian accents and how it "[...] appeared to be based on media stereotypes rather than direct experience" (2007: 173). Finally, Ehrenreich's (2009) qualitative study about German managers and the use of ELF in multinational corporations notes that "[i]n general, Indian English seems to be a linguistic mystery to everybody involved" (2009: 140).

The Expanding Circle was mentioned most often in terms of the perceived difficulty of understanding accents, with a total of 90 references made to it. The most common references were described using adjectives and demonyms. Given the large number of descriptors, they will be presented alphabetically in two bar charts (A – G and I – V).

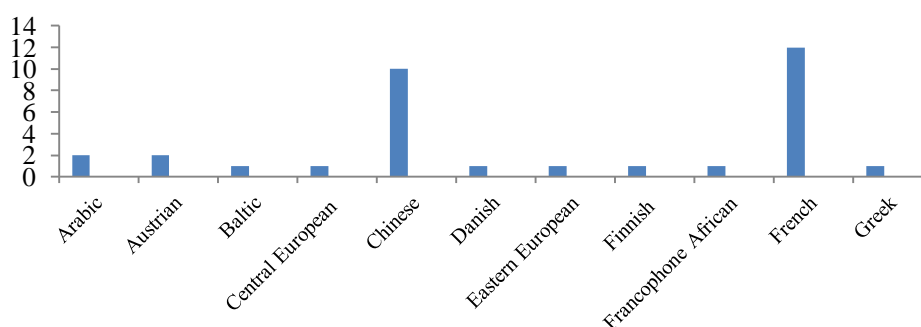


Figure 13 - Expanding Circle references A – G (n=33)

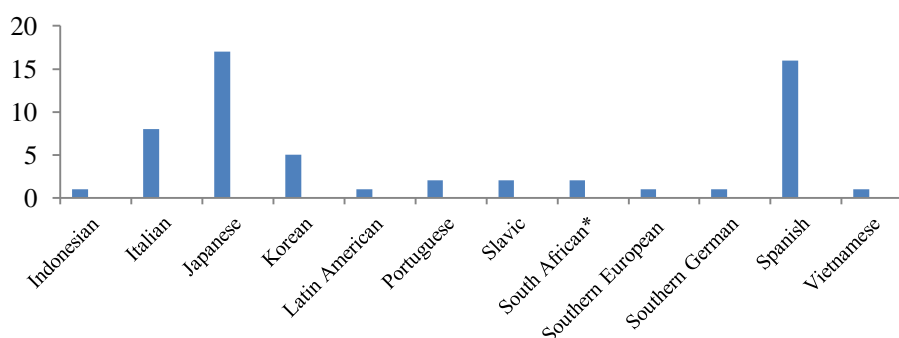


Figure 14 - Expanding Circle references I – V (n=57)

As one of the purposes of the question about difficult accents was also to reveal potential sources of irritation and/or potential stereotypes relating to certain ELF accents (see Section 6.4), it is interesting to see that Chinese and French are the two most common responses in Fig. 13. Both languages are listed as languages that are either part of the interpreters' C languages or languages they speak outside their combination. Again, this may indicate a potential irritation increase in the case of a potential T2 SLB. There are studies about the perception of French accents in English by ENL listeners (cf. Ryan 1972, Flege 1984); however, I could only find one study about how they are perceived by ELF listeners (Jenkins 2007: 177). The comments about French accents in English oscillated between positive comments about their perceived charm and melodious quality, while the negative ones related to their "strength and unintelligibility" (2007: 177). The same cannot be said of Chinese English; comments made about it show how heavily stigmatized it is (cf. Jenkins 2007: 174).

The perception of Chinese English in ELF settings was mentioned in Ehrenreich's (2009) qualitative study about ELF in multinational corporations, Jenkins' (2007) study about how ELF speakers perceive each other's accents and Major et. al's EFL-based study (2002) about the perception of non-native accents in listening comprehension contexts. All three studies indicated that negative attitudes persist towards Chinese English: Ehrenreich (2009: 140) mentions "bitter frustration over unintelligible Chinese English," while the descriptions of Chinese-accented English in Jenkins' study (2007: 173) include labels such as "choppy, incomprehensible, short and abrupt (ping pong), broken, appalling, quarrel-like." Finally, Major et. al's study (cf. 2002: 186f) showed that speech produced by Chinese speakers was rated less highly than other NNS groups.

In Figure 14, Japanese and Spanish were the two most difficult accents. However, none of the survey respondents reported that they had knowledge of Japanese. It would be interesting to see to what extent the perceived difficulty of Japanese accents stems from genuine experience interpreting them in ELF settings or from stigmatizing stereotypes. One of the weaknesses of the present study (see Section 6.4) is that it did not include a question about how often the interpreters interpret speakers with the accents they perceive as difficult to understand and/or interpret. In an ELF context, Jenkins (2007: 174) notes that

[a]n interesting feature of the descriptions of Japanese English is the greater number and length of comments relating to it as compared with those relating to the other nine accents.[...] Japanese English was by far the worst rated of the ten [varieties analyzed in the study]. [...] [T]he data contains very few instances of positive descriptions in respect of the intelligibility of the Japanese English accent.

The pervasiveness of negative stereotypes surrounding Japanese accents was also highlighted by Jenkin's observation that her data used to conduct another study provided evidence that Japanese English was perceived to be more intelligible in ELF settings than Chinese English (cf. Jenkins 2007: 175). This is also the case in Major et. al's (2002) study, in which perceptions of Japanese accents' intelligibility were overwhelmingly negative.

As for Spanish accents in English, their effects on ENL listeners were also evaluated in Ryan (1972) and Fayer/Krasinski (1987). In Jenkins' study (cf. 2007: 169), most comments related to Spanish English's perceived speed delivery as being very fast and the high occurrence of L1 transfer into English. However, a large number of the participants made positive comments about its intelligibility (cf. 2007: 169). Interpreters may differ from other ELF speakers when it comes to evaluating accents (see Section 3.4), as they generally have more of a "purist attitude" towards what constitutes 'proper' English (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2014: 294). Another possible explanation may be that they have negative experiences interpreting L1 Spanish ELF speakers, or personal stereotypes associated with the accent. However, as these assertions cannot be verified, they will not be addressed further.

The reason for including an asterisk after "South African" in Figure 14 was to indicate that it does not fit neatly into Kachru's circle classification system (cf. Kachru 1985: 14). As it was a much more specific reference than "Asia" or "Africa", it was not placed in the "Unknown" category. For the sake of convenience, it appears in the "Expanding Circle" category.

In short, these findings seem to correlate with Chang/Wu's (cf. 2014: 175) conclusion that interpreters find speakers whose linguistic backgrounds differ significantly from theirs (in my study Chinese, Japanese, and Korean are the most commonly cited examples) most difficult to interpret. Additionally, their observation that Expanding Circle speakers whose L1 is a Romance language (2014: 180) often prove to be difficult to understand and/or interpret was also evident in this study (Spanish, French, and Italian being the most commonly cited examples). The following paragraphs present how the interpreters rated the speakers in this study.

Of the 47 responses, 46 respondents (98%) stated that German was Speaker 1's first language. 1 interpreter identified his L1 as Spanish. Of the respondents who correctly identified Speaker 1's L1, 10 (22%) specified that he was an L1 speaker of Austrian German, while an additional 3 (7%) either made a reference to the southern German state Bavaria ("Bavarian/Austrian", "German, probably a Bavarian accent") or that his variety of German sounded "southern" ("Southern German, possibly Austrian or Swiss"). Overall, a higher

percentage of the students specifically mentioned that he was from Austria, possibly because they themselves are students at an Austrian university. It is interesting to note that 1 interpreter assumed Speaker 1's L1 was Spanish, a language that is part of Speaker 1's linguistic repertoire (see Section 6.2.1.2).

Table 22 - Interpreters' accentedness ratings Speaker 1

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	5.21
Standard deviation	1.21
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	5
2nd quartile (Median)	5
3rd quartile (Q3)	6
Maximum	7

It appears that the interpreters were less harsh (an average score of 5.21) than the students (an average score of 6) in terms of their ratings. However, as Speaker 1's average accentedness score was higher than that of Speaker 3's (4.96), this could suggest some irritation concerning the perceived strength of his accent as a speaker who shares the same L1 as the interpreters.

Table 23 - Interpreters' interpretability ratings Speaker 1

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	1.55
Standard deviation	1.16
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	1
2nd quartile (Median)	1
3rd quartile (Q3)	2
Maximum	7

Again, the average interpretability score in this study suggests that the interpreters appear to be slightly less critical than the students (1.67 vs. 1.55). Both in this study and the pilot study, Speaker 1 had the highest interpretability ranking overall. This provides strong support for the evidence in Derwing/Munro's (2005) study.

Correctly identifying Speaker 2's L1 also proved to be difficult for the participants in the main study. However, 2 interpreters (4%, ID 3, ID 43) correctly identified his L1 as Greek. This shows that my hypotheses based on personal experience were correct: most of the participants would not be able to recognize a Greek accent in English and would assume that Speaker 2's L1 would be Spanish. Interestingly, the interpreter who specifically mentioned Greek accents as being particularly difficult (ID 53) did not correctly identify Speaker 2's accent as such; s/he guessed that his L1 was Spanish. Again, one of the weaknesses of this study is that it did not determine how often the interpreters worked with the accents that they perceived to be difficult and if that somehow correlated with the ability to correctly identify a given ELF accent. This would have also maybe explained to a certain extent why the two interpreters managed to correctly identify the accent.

9 interpreters (19%) did not specify a single language when asked to guess what Speaker 2's L1 was, again demonstrating uncertainty as to what his L1 could be. This percentage does not differ significantly from the percentage of students (17%) whose answers were vague. The 9 answers which did not list 1 specific language appear as follows: "Polish or Eastern European" (ID 2); "?" (ID 9); "PL [Polish]?" (ID 10); "IT, RU [Italian, Russian]" (ID 23); "An Eastern European language" (IDs 25, 31, 56); "Portuguese or Spanish" (ID 47); "NL [Dutch] Scandinavian" (ID 62). The answers which listed a single language appear in the following graph:

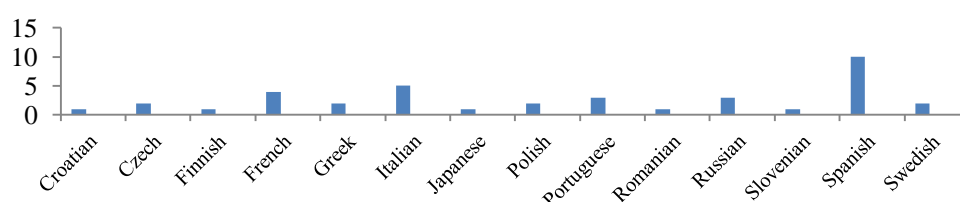


Figure 15- Interpreters' assumptions about Speaker 2's L1

Like the students, most of the interpreters assumed that Speaker 2's L1 was Spanish. His accentedness and interpretability ratings appear as follows:

Table 24 - Interpreters' accentedness ratings Speaker 2

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	5.43
Standard deviation	1.35
Minimum	2

1st quartile (Q1)	5
2nd quartile (Median)	6
3rd quartile (Q3)	6
Maximum	7

Speaker 2's average accentedness rating was lower among the interpreters than the students (5.43 vs. 5.58), but only slightly. Again, this suggests that the interpreters were slightly less critical than the students. Unlike in the pilot study, where Speaker 1's speech was judged to be the most accented, it is Speaker 2 whose accent was deemed to be the strongest overall in this study. However, the difference between Speaker 1 and Speaker 2's average accentedness ratings is only slight, less than half a point ($5.43 - 5.21 = 0.22$).

Table 25 - Interpreters' interpretability ratings Speaker 2

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	3.04
Standard deviation	1.50
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	2
2nd quartile (Median)	3
3rd quartile (Q3)	4
Maximum	6

As in the case of the pilot study, Speaker 2's average interpretability rating suggests that he was perceived to be more difficult to interpret than Speaker 1 (1.55) and Speaker 3 (2.81). This is also evident in the number of 1st place overall interpretability rankings that Speaker 2 received, suggesting that the interpreters did not display the bias observed in the students' overall interpretability rankings. Again, the interpreters appeared to be slightly less critical than the students; on average, they gave Speaker 2 a 3.04 rating, compared to the students' average rating of 3.50.

A higher percentage of the interpreters (83%) correctly identified Speaker 3's L1 as French as compared to the students. The remaining responses ($n = 8$) appear as follows: 2 references each to "Dutch" and "Italian," with the remaining responses being "India," "Serbo-Croatian," "Spanish," and "?". It is interesting to note that both "India" and "Italian" were also mentioned in the interpreter study. Furthermore, the presence of Dutch is also worth noting, as Speaker 3 is from Belgium and Flemish (Dutch) is one of the national languages.

Table 26 - Interpreters' accentedness ratings Speaker 3

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	4.96
Standard deviation	1.28
Minimum	2
1st quartile (Q1)	4
2nd quartile (Median)	5
3rd quartile (Q3)	6
Maximum	7

The results of this study differ from the pilot study, as Speaker 3's average speech accentedness rating was the lowest of all the speakers, meaning that on average, his accent was perceived to be the least thick, as compared to the other speakers. Whereas in the pilot study, his average accentedness rating and that of Speaker 2's were exactly the same (5.58), in this study, there was a difference of almost half a point ($5.43 - 4.96 = 0.47$) between them, meaning that on average, the participants concluded that Speaker 2's English was slightly more accented than Speaker 3's. Compared to Speaker 1, the speaker who has the same L1 as the interpreters, Speaker 3's accent in English was deemed to be less thick. This also suggests that the irritation observed among the students may have also been present in the interpreters.

Table 27 - Interpreters' interpretability ratings Speaker 3

Calculation	Result
Count	47
Average	2.81
Standard deviation	1.41
Minimum	1
1st quartile (Q1)	2
2nd quartile (Median)	3
3rd quartile (Q3)	4
Maximum	6

The difference between Speaker 2 and Speaker 3's average interpretability ratings was not as high in this study as in the pilot study. Speaker 3's average interpretability rating differed from that of Speaker 2's by almost half a point in the pilot study ($3.08 - 3.50 = -0.42$), i.e. Speaker 3 was said to have a higher average interpretability rate than Speaker 2. The same is

true in this study; however, the difference between their average interpretability rates was smaller ($3.04 - 2.81 = 0.23$).

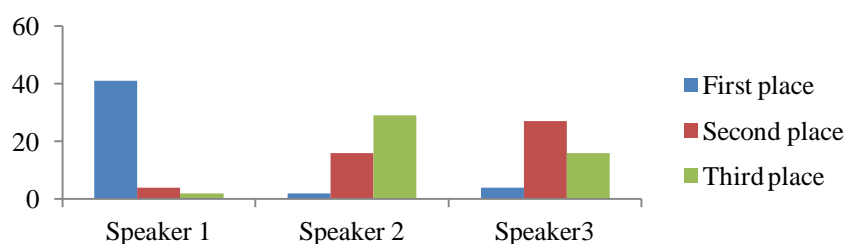


Figure 16 - Interpreters' overall interpretability rates

As in the case of the pilot study, Speaker 1 received far more first place rankings than any of the other speakers. A chi-square test was used to determine the statistical significance of the frequency counts (cf. Bortz/Döring ³2005: 153). As $p=0.0000000000000000 < 0.05$, we can safely accept H_1 (the above distribution is statistically significant) and conclude that a T1 SLB exists.

As in the case of the pilot study, none of the interpreters had any knowledge of Greek. Therefore, testing the presence of a T2 SLB was only possible using the data related to the French speaker. Once again, a chi-square test was used to determine the statistical significance of the relationship between knowledge of French ($n=26$) and higher rankings for the French speaker (1st and 2nd place). As $p=0.38 > 0.05$, we cannot reject H_0 (knowledge of French does not mean that the interpreters will assign an L1 French speaker higher ratings), meaning that the evidence of a T2 SLB is insufficient.

The third question relates to the potential correlation between correctly identifying an accent and describing a speaker as “difficult to interpret.” In this study, “difficult to interpret” is equated with an interpretability rating ≥ 5 . I used the Greek speaker’s data to determine the correlation for the following reasons: Firstly, the percentage of instances in which the Greek speaker’s accent was not correctly identified (96%) was much higher than that of the French (17%) and German (2%) speakers. Therefore, we can make the generalization that most interpreters with German as a single A language and English as a single B language who have no knowledge of Greek are unfamiliar with Greek English. As ELF is a global phenomenon, it is likely that interpreters are confronted with accents that are very unfamiliar to them stemming from L1 (and perhaps, in some cases L2) transfer from languages they do not have any knowledge of. Therefore, it seems appropriate to analyze data in which there was no possible occurrence of either a T1 SLB or a T2 SLB.

Another issue to be addressed here is the potential bias (i.e. annoyance) toward speakers with whom either a T1 SLB or a T2 SLB exists. The presence of a potential bias was inferred from the interpreters' comments about accents they found difficult to interpret and the languages they were familiar with. This is also a reason why I decided on focusing exclusively on Speaker 2's data, rather than including the participants who could not correctly identify Speaker 1's L1 as German and Speaker 3's L1 as French. The justification for this decision follows below.

In the case of Speaker 1, two participants (ID 9, ID 42) specifically mentioned "every Southern German dialect, thick Austrian accents" and "everything from Finns to Austrians" as being difficult to understand and interpret. This T1 SLB-based annoyance was evident, for example, with ID 9: there was no possibility of a T2 SLB with Speaker 3, as this participant did not list any C languages or any languages spoken outside of his/her combination. ID 9 correctly identified Speaker 1 and Speaker 3's L1s and assigned both of them the same score for interpretability (2), but Speaker 3 was rated higher overall. Furthermore, the participant who assumed Speaker 1's L1 was Spanish (ID 11) not only had Spanish as a C language, s/he also gave him the highest possible score (7) both in terms of accentedness ("he has a very strong non-native accent") and interpretability ("he is very difficult to interpret"). This strongly suggests annoyance was present in the case of a T2 SLB.

In the case of Speaker 2, only 1 participant (ID 53) specifically mentioned Greek accents in terms of their difficulty; ID 53 assumed Speaker 2's L1 was Spanish. However, the languages that are part of the interpreter's combination (French and Spanish) and the languages that were deemed to be difficult (Asian languages, Slavic languages, Greek, Italian) suggest that there is no bias towards speakers with whom a potential T2 SLB exists. A potential bias towards Greek speakers may have been evident if the participant had correctly identified Speaker 2's L1; however, this was not the case. Interestingly, the two interpreters (ID 3, 43) who correctly identified Speaker 2's L1 as Greek both have knowledge of Spanish and both mentioned Spanish accents in terms of their difficulty (suggesting a bias), however neither of them mentioned Greek accents, implying that they are not annoyed by Greek accents in English.

The decision not to include the French speaker's data was because out of the 3 L1s used in this study, a far larger number of participants indicated that French accents were difficult to understand and/or interpret (n= 10) than German (n=2) or Greek (n=1) accents. This may also be due to more familiarity with the accent, or the interpreters in this study have far more experience interpreting L1 French ELF speakers as compared to German or Greek

ELF speakers. In any case, the idea that there is a general bias towards French speakers who use ELF is not implausible (cf. Jenkins 2007: 177); furthermore, of the 10 participants who could not correctly identify Speaker 3's L1 as French, half seemed to have some sort of potential T2 SLB-based bias: ID 15 mentioned French and Spanish accents as being difficult and has knowledge of Spanish, IDs 27 and 40 have knowledge of French and mentioned French accents in terms of their difficulty, ID 40 mentioned the accents of "all Asian languages" as being difficult and has knowledge of Chinese, while ID 51 has French, Italian, and Spanish as C languages and mentioned all three in terms of their difficulty. Therefore, the data used for the correlation only focused on Speaker 2, as he seemed to be less inclined to be the subject of a bias and the participants were unable to correctly identify his L1 in the overwhelming majority of cases.

A Spearman correlation test (cf. Reithofer 2011: 173) was used to determine whether or not the correlation between incorrectly identifying a speaker's L1 and judging him to be difficult was statistically significant. As $r_s=0.28$, this is not a statistically significant correlation, meaning that being unable to correctly identify a speaker's L1 does not mean that s/he will automatically be perceived to be difficult in terms of interpretability.

Finally, at least in the case of Speaker 1, the hypothesis that heavily accented speech will not automatically be difficult for the interpreters proved to be true where a T1 SLB was present; in the pilot study, Speaker 1 had both the highest average accentedness rating and the best overall interpretability rating, while in the main study, he also had a high accentedness rating (5.21 on a scale of 7) and had the best interpretability rating. As for whether or not this was also the case with Speaker 2 and Speaker 3, we would have to determine what "good comprehensibility ratings" (Derwing/Munro 2005: 386) are: as both speakers have high accentedness ratings (4.96 and 5.43 on a scale of 7), would an average score of approximately 3 (Speaker 2's interpretability score of 3.04 rounded down to the nearest whole number and Speaker 3's score of 2.81 rounded up) on a scale of 7 still be considered a "good" rating? This is something best left for the reader to decide.

6.4 Limitations of the present study

The goal of this study was to investigate whether or not knowledge of an ELF's speaker's L1 is beneficial to interpreters' ability to interpret, i.e. understand him/her. As mentioned in Section 4.2, the notions of intelligibility and understanding are very difficult to define and there is no single term which aptly refers to the various levels of understanding a speaker and

his/her intentions. Therefore, the idea that a speaker is easy or difficult to understand is one which can be the subject of individual interpretation. This issue was addressed by P-1 in personal correspondence:

I would like to briefly note that “understanding [a speaker]” can be interpreted in very different ways. In my opinion, it [the study] was not primarily a question of ELF, but rather, accents. Understanding a speaker’s spoken utterances most definitely does not mean that I basically understand his message. I understand a speaker whose accent I might find difficult, but makes a certain ability to anticipate in ENG possible, better than someone who articulates clearly but uses [linguistic] structures which are not what you would consider ENG. I would have to listen to longer passages and be sure that the speaker is speaking freely and not reading from his notes. However, it’s also obvious to me that you had to put a clear limit on the focus of your thesis.⁸⁷

P-1 clearly recognized that I had to limit my focus to a single topic. It may not have been wise to have the participants’ only evaluate the speakers’ accent and interpretability (cf. Stibbard/Lee 2006: 441); I had toyed with the idea of modifying the speeches so that they contained transfer elements from the speakers’ L1s (morphosyntax, ‘false friends’, idioms from the L1), but this would have been a very time-consuming undertaking. Furthermore, in consideration of potential candidates for what was supposed to be an experiment, the choice of languages was limited. As it was important for me to have languages from different language families, in this case, I would have required the assistance of someone who has profound knowledge of Hungarian or Russian morphosyntax and idioms to help me modify the speeches’ content. In order to save time and make the focus of the thesis readily apparent, I limited my research to ELF accents.

I am also aware that although these languages are members of different language families, they are still members of the Indo-European family, which implies a Eurocentric bias. Again though, given the potential language combinations of those who would/could participate in the studies, my choices were limited. It would be interesting to repeat this study with languages that are even less similar to each other, such as German (an Indo-European language), Vietnamese (an Austroasiatic language), and Swahili (a Niger-Congo language, cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵2004: 289). However, finding professional interpreters with knowledge of those languages could be a difficult task.

Furthermore, one of the weaknesses of this study relates to its size, not only in terms

⁸⁷ My translation: Ich möchte noch kurz darauf hinweisen, dass „verständlich“ ziemlich unterschiedlich interpretiert werden kann. Hier geht es meiner Meinung nach nicht in erster Linie um ELF – sondern um Akzente. Die Wörter verstehen, die ein Redner ausspricht, heisst noch lange nicht, dass ich seine Botschaft grundsätzlich verstehe. Einen Redner, mit dessen Akzent ich vielleicht Mühe habe, der aber eine gewisse Antizipation im ENG ermöglicht, verstehe ich letztlich besser als einen anderen, der zwar klar artikuliert, dessen Strukturen aber mit ENG wenig zu tun haben. Dazu müsste ich längere Ausschnitte hören und sicher sein, dass die Redner frei sprechen und nichts Vorformuliertes vorlesen. Mit ist allerdings auch klar, dass Sie für Ihre Arbeit den Fokus klar einschränken müssen.

of the makeup of the study itself (the participants only heard three speech samples and there was no way to vary the order in which the participants could hear the speakers⁸⁸), but also because of the number of participants. It would be interesting to see how the rankings may have differed if additional speech samples had been included, perhaps from languages such as Spanish and Russian, or if it had been possible to vary the order in which the participants heard the speakers. However, I decided to limit the number of samples to three, so that filling out the survey would not take up too much of the participants' time and hence avoid a large number of people failing to complete the survey in its entirety. The number of participants who participated in both the pilot study and the main study is too small to be able to draw conclusions which apply to the entire interpreter population.

Given the fact that this study draws heavily from Bent/Bradlow (2003) and that L1 English speakers do participate in ELF interactions, the presence of L1 English speakers may have been necessary in order to really be able to refer to a matched ISIB (cf. Bent/Bradlow 2003: 1606), since this implies that German A interpreters understand L1 German speakers' English better than varieties of L1 English. This finding was mentioned in Ehrenreich's (2009: 140) study that German and American English were easiest to understand. However, because I wanted the focus on ELF to be completely obvious to anyone participating in the survey, I chose not to include an L1 English speaker in the samples. This was also to avoid the problems associated with picking a particular L1 accent that should be representative of L1 English accents as a whole.

Other limitations of this study relate to the ELF speaker recruitment process and the fact that none of the participants had to interpret. Despite my best attempts to find speakers of the languages used in the study who spoke English with an accent that could be described as "typical" for speakers with that L1, I do realize that, given the limited possibilities in terms of finding people who would be willing to participate in the study, 'my' speakers' accents may not have been entirely representative. Furthermore, returning to the idea of a single 'concrete' experience with an accent, mentioned in Section 4.2, we could argue that in the case of the Greek speaker, his ratings may have been different if more interpreters were familiar with Greek accents in English.

As SI requires interpreters to listen, decode, and speak at once (see Chapter 2), having the interpreters only listen to the speakers may not have been enough to get an accurate judgment of how difficult they would really find the speakers to be. Furthermore, the content

⁸⁸ This might have counteracted the potential "surprise effect" (Winke/Gass 2013: 784) that arose from the expected change in accents or the surprise the participants may have experienced when listening to an accent that was easily identifiable and then suddenly hearing an accent which was highly unfamiliar.

of each speech was different, in order to avoid habituation; however, as my analysis of the speeches' difficulty pre-supposed that they would be interpreted, this may have skewed the participants' perception of how difficult the speech was. In other words, because they only listened to the speeches, the interpreters may have only based their judgments on the speech's content and may have been more familiar with one topic over another, which of course would influence their choice of overall understanding. Additionally, in my analysis I may have erroneously attributed more importance to a factor such as the amount of information units rather than, for example, immediate context recognition, when determining the speeches' difficulty.

Osimk (2009) addresses the pros and cons of using subjective evaluation methods (as in this study) versus dictation methods (Bent/Bradlow 2003) to determine speech intelligibility. She notes that subjective studies are commonly used to evaluate intelligibility and speech accentedness (cf. Osimk 2009: 32) and that the results of subjective methods are often comparable to those found in dictation-based studies (cf. 2009: 33). However, the main problem of subjective studies ultimately relates to whether or not the listener finds the speaker's accent pleasant or annoying (cf. 2009: 33); although I had taken this factor into account as much as possible, it was impossible for me to know what the participants would actually find pleasant or annoying.

Finally, in terms of the survey content, it did not provide any information about what coping strategies the interpreters use when interpreting ELF speakers (cf. Reithofer 2011: 275). Furthermore, as the percentages of how often the interpreters interpret ELF speakers were solely based on subjective data, the numbers may differ slightly from reality. Additionally, although there was a question about which accents the interpreters found to be particularly difficult, there were no explanations as to why the accents were difficult or a question about the interpreters' familiarity with the accents in question. Again, with the specific goal of creating a survey which did not take up too much of the participants' time and was easy to complete, I did not want to force them to think about justifying their responses as well.

7. Conclusion

This study demonstrates that SI and ELF are inextricably linked on several levels. It shows that SI is a highly demanding cognitive task which takes on various forms in various settings. Furthermore, speakers who do not use their first language when addressing an audience are often associated with additional cognitive load for interpreters, which is also the case with ELF.

ELF is a variety of English in which features that are similar to and different from ENL occur. It is the most commonly used form of English used in conference settings. As such, this necessitates a systematic identification of its characteristic features and ultimately, codification in the form of style guides and grammars; this is to ensure its acceptance by the general public and to provide current and prospective interpreters with more information about it. This information would better prepare students for the realities of interpreting in conference settings and help them learn to create effective coping strategies. These coping strategies are a necessity in view of SI's unidirectional communication form, which makes it impossible for interpreters to rely on the techniques which facilitate communication in dyadic ELF interactions.

Interpreters with English as a working language need to be aware of the fact that the majority of speakers who use English at conferences will not have it as an L1. Conversely, when interpreting into English, it is highly probable that a significant number of listeners are not L1 English speakers. Therefore, this study suggests that interpreter training should take these results into account and begin to introduce interpreting students to ELF speakers at the beginning of their degree programs. This is to allow them more time to learn how to develop coping strategies and to better prepare them for the realities of the interpreting market, both in the private sector and in institutional settings. This not only applies to interpreting schools in the Outer and Expanding Circle, but also the Inner Circle as well.

As this study focuses on ELF accents, the former scenario is the one I had in mind while formulating my research question: "Does knowledge of an ELF speaker's L1 help interpreters better understand said speaker?" The answer appears to be that interpreters with English as a B language understand ELF speakers with whom they share an L1 best. Knowledge in the form of a C language or additional language does not appear to be helpful in a manner that is statistically significant, nor does it appear that the inability to identify a speaker's L1 correlates with an increase in the speaker's perceived difficulty. As this study was not conducted with interpreters who have English as an A language and the population

sample was rather small, the results cannot lay claim to universal validity. Nonetheless, this thesis does arguably fulfill its purpose by contributing to the study of ELF from an interpreting studies-based perspective.

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Appendix B - IPA transcriptions of the speeches

The following chart helps readers decipher the IPA transcriptions. Each symbol includes examples of words where this sound occurs. This chart is an adapted form of O'Grady/Archibald's (⁵2004: 32f) transcription of English vowels and consonants; the pronunciation of the example words is based on Canadian English pronunciation conventions.

Because the speakers are L2 English speakers, it is necessary to include transcriptions of sounds which do not occur in L1 English. These symbols will be separated from the L1 English symbols in the chart by a space; the example words will list the language and an English translation of the word. This information was taken from the text enrichment site about phonetics, as it appears in O'Grady/Archibald (⁵2004). This information is available at http://www.pearsoned.ca/text/ograde/data/02b_ograde_TES_phntcs_other.pdf (16.07.2015).

Vowels	
Symbol	Example
[i]	<u>f</u> ee, be <u>lie</u> ve, high <u>ly</u>
[ɪ]	<u>f</u> it, <u>h</u> it, <u>i</u> ncome
[e]	<u>f</u> ate, <u>th</u> ey, <u>gr</u> ain
[ɛ]	<u>l</u> et, <u>gu</u> est, <u>s</u> aid
[æ]	<u>b</u> at, <u>r</u> acket, <u>la</u> ugh
[u]	<u>bo</u> ot, <u>tw</u> o, <u>loo</u> se
[ʊ]	<u>bo</u> ok, <u>sh</u> ould, <u>pu</u> t
[o]	<u>no</u> te, <u>th</u> roat, <u>to</u> e
[ɔ]	<u>bo</u> y, <u>vo</u> ice
[ɑ]	<u>s</u> aw, <u>ca</u> ught, <u>ac</u> ross
[ʌ]	<u>o</u> ther, <u>lu</u> ck, <u>wa</u> s
[ə]	<u>co</u> llide, <u>tele</u> graph
[aʊ]	<u>cro</u> wd, <u>bo</u> ugh
[aɪ]	<u>my</u> , <u>bu</u> y, <u>lie</u>
[y]	<u>pur</u> (French: pure), <u>Bü</u> cher (German: books)
[ø]	<u>peu</u> (French: few), <u>schö</u> n (German: beautiful)
[œ]	<u>oeuf</u> (French: egg), <u>ört</u> lich (German: local)
Consonants	
Symbol	Example
[p]	<u>s</u> par, <u>up</u> per, <u>cul</u> prit
[t]	<u>st</u> em, <u>hun</u> t, <u>na</u> sty
[k]	<u>sc</u> atter, <u>unc</u> le, <u>li</u> ke
[tʃ]	<u>ch</u> ip, <u>lun</u> ch, <u>ditch</u>
[dʒ]	<u>ju</u> dge, <u>ger</u> m, <u>wed</u> ge
[b]	<u>bi</u> b, <u>bo</u> at, <u>bla</u> st
[d]	<u>di</u> p, <u>du</u> st, <u>sle</u> d
[r]	<u>bu</u> tter, <u>ri</u> der, <u>bet</u> ter
[g]	<u>ge</u> t, <u>mu</u> g, <u>twi</u> g
[f]	<u>fi</u> t, <u>fl</u> ash, <u>cough</u>
[v]	<u>va</u> n, <u>vo</u> te, <u>ove</u> n

[ð]	<u>th</u> ough, <u>th</u> en, bo <u>th</u> er
[ə]	<u>th</u> ick, <u>te</u> eth, <u>th</u> ree
[s]	<u>s</u> ip, <u>ps</u> ychology, <u>s</u> cience
[z]	<u>z</u> ap, <u>sc</u> issors, <u>z</u> ipper
[ʃ]	<u>sh</u> ip, <u>sh</u> ock, glaci <u>er</u>
[h]	<u>h</u> at, <u>h</u> ead, <u>w</u> ho
[j]	<u>y</u> es, <u>y</u> et, <u>u</u> se
[w]	<u>w</u> ait, <u>w</u> eird, <u>n</u> ow
[l]	<u>l</u> eam, <u>l</u> oose, <u>l</u> ock
[r]	<u>r</u> ef, <u>r</u> od, <u>t</u> ear
[m]	<u>m</u> ind, <u>s</u> um, <u>th</u> umb
[n]	<u>n</u> ote, <u>n</u> ow, <u>s</u> ign
[ŋ]	<u>s</u> ing, <u>l</u> ong, <u>b</u> ank
[u]	<u>h</u> uit, <u>h</u> uile (French: eight, oil)
[R]	<u>r</u> ent <u>r</u> er (French: return), <u>r</u> eden (German: talk)
[ɪ]	perro (Spanish: dog), μηρό <u>ς</u> (Greek – miros: thigh)
[x]	Bach <u>h</u> (German: creek), τέ <u>χ</u> νη (Greek – techni: art)
[ɣ]	agua (Spanish: water), γά <u>λ</u> α (Greek – gala: milk)
Notes: When “ <u>h</u> ” appears after a symbol, this indicates the presence of aspiration (cf. O’Grady/Archibald ⁵ 2004: 61). Underlining indicates which syllable is stressed in a word.	

Speaker 1

Speech Title: Investing in Europe: speech by President Juncker in the European Parliament plenary session on the € 315 billion Investment Plan

Source: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-2160_en.htm (15.07.2015)

<p>^{tfɛntəlmen} Ladies and Gentlemen,</p> <p>Investing in Europe: It means much more than figures and projects. We need to send a message to the people of Europe and to the rest of the world: Europe is back in business. This is not the moment to look back. Investment is about the future. Of course, we should never neglect the sacrifices that many in Europe made over the past few years to overcome the crisis. Nor should we stop the push to bring down barriers, open up markets and reform what doesn't work in our economies. These are necessary, but not sufficient conditions for growth. We need structural reforms to modernise and preserve our social market economy. We need fiscal responsibility to restore confidence and the sustainability of our public finances. We are offering hope to millions of Europeans disillusioned after years of stagnation.</p>	<p>^{prɑtʃɛks}</p> <p>^{dʌ} ^{dʌ} ^{wʰælt} ^{bʰɛk}</p> <p>^{fjʊtʃʌ} ^{nɪɡlɛkt}</p> <p>^{ʝiʌs} ^{pʰʊʃ}</p> <p>^{mɑɡɪts} ^{wʰæk}</p> <p>^{ŋɡsəʀi} ^{strʌktʃʊl}</p> <p>^{prɪsɔɹf} ^{mɑkɪt}</p> <p>^{ʝiʌs} ^{joʀopiʌns}</p>
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Speaker 2

Speech Title: A brave Europe

Source: <http://juncker.epp.eu/news/brave-europe> (15.07.2015)

^{tsɛntəlmen}
Ladies and Gentlemen,
^{koʊnɛɪstəʰn} ^{ɡɪədɪd} ^{ɪts}
Free movement is a cornerstone of European integration. A right granted to each and every EU citizen,
^{lɪv} ^{rɪsəjɪt} ^{fʌdəməntədl}
to live, study and reside anywhere in the European Union. This is the single market: Four fundamental
^{quðeɪ} ^{xæf}
freedoms. And you cannot separate one from the other. You cannot have free movement of services
^{dɪbeɪt} ^{mɑts}
and capital, but not of persons. Not in our Union. The debate has become emotional, too much so. And
^{ɪnrɑːtsmɛd} ^{wɛnd æp} ^{næn}
it has plagued every enlargement. If we start negotiating freedoms, we will end up having none.
^{dɪbeɪt}
What I find most worrying, is that the crisis has also seen the rise of a populist debate about the free
^{pəlɪˈtɪkəli}
movement of people. The crisis has been a test for our Union. Economically and politically. We must
^{fəʊˈdeɪd}
prove up to the task. And that must start by protecting the very values our Union is founded upon.

Speaker 3

Speech Title: Speech by President Juncker at the Opening Ceremony of the European Year for Development 2015

Source: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-15-3100_en.htm (15.07.2015)

^{tʃɛntəlmen}
Ladies and gentlemen,
^{wɜːlt} ^{lɪv ɪn} ^{ɪnteɪˈdeɪpɛndɪnt} ^{wɪtnɪs} ^{tʃɛləndʒɛz}
The world we live in is increasingly interdependent. We witness this every day. The challenges we
^{Rædɪkəlɪzəm} ^{vɪrəsɪz} ^{ɛjboʊlæ}
face, be that climate change, migration, radicalism or viruses like Ebola, do not know any borders.
^{æˈrɛpt}
Our response needs to be united. Our policy must adapt to better face these challenges. In this context,
^{ɪst} ^{ɒpɔːtʊnɪti}
the post-2015 agenda is, quite simply, an opportunity we cannot afford missing. Eradicating poverty
^{dɪˈʌvələpmənt}
and achieving sustainable development are two of the most pressing challenges facing the world today.
^{ˌæləʊɪŋ} ^{dɛsɛnt}
It is about allowing people to live a decent life whilst respecting our planet. This means that the EU
will also need to rise to the challenge. This is not a new departure for us – we are already committed
^{ɒm}
to sustainable development at home and abroad, and to global solidarity. But we will need to do more,
^{bɛtə}
and better.

Speaker 1's speech	I-density	Syntax	Context Recognition	Triggers	Comments
[Ladies and Gentlemen,]	L (0)	subject-coordinating conjunction-subject a) (0) b) (0)	0	0	greeting, phatic function
Investing in Europe:	L (1) 1. Investing in Europe	gerund-preposition-object (incomplete syntax) a) (0) b) Parataxis is demonstrated by the use of a colon (cf. Eggins ² 2004: 267) used to link this segment with the following segment.	Investing in Europe	N: Europe	The question is as to whether or not interpreters working for the EU would classify it as a trigger or struggle to remember it.
It means much more than figures and projects.	L (1) 1. It means more than figures and projects.	subject-predicate a) (0) b) (0)	0	0	
We need to send a message to the people of Europe and to the rest of the world:	L (1) 1. We need to send a message to everyone.	subject-predicate-ellipsis of the subject and predicate-prepositional phrase a) two independent clauses in the form of "We need to send a message to the people of Europe and [we need to send a message] to the rest of the world. b) parataxis: "and [we need to send a message] to the rest of the world. Furthermore, parataxis is demonstrated by the colon used to link this segment with the next segment (cf.	0	N: Europe	

		Eggins ² 2004: 267).			
Europe is back in business. II	L (1) 1. Europe is back in business.	subject-predicate a (0) b (0)	0	N: Europe	"Back in business" could stay the same, for example, in the German version of the interpreted text.
This is not the moment to look back.	L (1) 1. Now we will not look back.	subject - predicate a (0) b (0)	0	0	
Investment is about the future.	L (1) 1. Investment is about the future.	subject - predicate a (0) b (0)	0		
Of course, we should never neglect the sacrifices that many in Europe made over the past few years to overcome the crisis. ω II	M (3) 1. Many people in Europe made sacrifices over the years. 2. They did this to overcome the crisis. 3. This is something we cannot neglect.	transitional phrase-subject-predicate-relative clause-dependent clause. a) (2) relative clause: "that many people made", dependent clause: "to overcome the crisis" b) hypotaxis: "Of course" – hypotactic relation of concession (Halliday/Hasan ¹ 1976: 222), as well as the clauses mentioned above.	0	N: Europe	
Nor should we stop the push to bring down barriers, open up markets and reform what doesn't work in our economies.	M (3) 1. We should not stop bringing down barriers. 2. We should not stop opening up markets. 3. We should not stop reforming what doesn't work in our	coordinating conjunction-modal verb-subject-predicate-enumeration a) (1) parenthesis in the form of an enumeration. b) 0	0	E: stop the push to bring down barriers, open up markets, reform what doesn't work in our economies	Compared to the enumeration in Speaker 3's speech, this enumeration is more complex on a syntactic level, as this list consists of both nouns (i.e. "barriers") and (phrasal) verbs ("bring down").

	economies.				
These are necessary, but not sufficient conditions for growth. [...]	L (2) 1. These are necessary conditions for growth. 2. They are not sufficient.	subject-predicate-contrasting conjunction-modifier -object-preposition-object a) (1) By transforming the sentence's structure (These are necessary conditions for growth, but [they are] not sufficient), we see two independent clauses characterized by the use of ellipsis. b) parataxis: demonstrated by the use of the conjunction "but" (cf. Eggins ² 2004: 267)	0		
We need structural reforms to modernise and preserve our social market economy.	L (2) 1. We need structural reforms. 2. They must modernise and preserve our social market economy.	subject-predicate-dependent clause a) (1) dependent clause: "to modernise and preserve our social market economy." b) hypotaxis using the prepositional marker of dependency "to" in the non-finite clause "modernise and preserve..." (cf. ² 2004: 267)	0		
We need fiscal responsibility to restore confidence and the sustainability of our public	M (3) 1. We need fiscal responsibility. 2. It must restore	subject-predicate-dependent clause-coordinating conjunction-object-modifier	0		

finances. [...] ω II	confidence in our public finances. 3. It must restore the sustainability of our public finances.	a) dependent clause: "to restore confidence and the sustainability of our public finances." Despite the use of the coordinating conjunction "and", this is not an example of parataxis, as "and" qualifies what constitutes the dependent clause ("to restore confidence and the sustainability...") b) hypotaxis using the prepositional marker of dependency "to" in the non-finite clause "restore confidence and..." (cf. Eggins ² 2004: 267)			
We are offering hope to millions of Europeans disillusioned after years of stagnation.	L (2) 1. We are offering hope to millions of Europeans. 2. They are disillusioned after years of stagnation.	subject-predicate-modifier a) (1) modifier – "disillusioned after years of stagnation." b) (0)	0	N: Europeans	
Speaker 2's speech	I-density	Syntax	Context Recognition	Triggers	Comments
[Ladies and Gentlemen],	L (0)	subject-coordinating conjunction-subject a) (0) b) (0)	0	0	greeting, phatic function
Free movement is a cornerstone of European integration.	L (1) 1. Free movement is a cornerstone of European integration.	subject-predicate a) (0) b) (0)	free movement		

A right granted to each and every EU citizen, to live, study and reside anywhere in the European Union.	L (2) 1. It is a right granted to every EU citizen. 2. As a result thereof, they can live, study and reside anywhere in the EU.	incomplete syntax (ellipsis of the subject and predicate, i.e. [This is] a right granted to each and every EU citizen...)	0	E: live, study, reside N: European Union	
This is the single market:	L (1) 1. This is the single market.	subject-predicate a) (0) b) (0)	0		
Four fundamental freedoms. II	L (1) 1. There are four fundamental freedoms.	incomplete syntax (ellipsis of the subject and predicate ,i.e. [It has] four fundamental freedoms.) The use of the colon after "single market" indicates a paratactic relationship between this segment and the segment beforehand.	0		
And you cannot separate one from the other.	L (1) 1. You cannot separate one from the other.	coordinating conjunction- subject-predicate a) 0 b) 0	0		The use of "and" to begin a sentence is a contentious issue. I was taught that beginning a sentence with a conjunction is wrong; however, it has become more widely accepted. It is not very formal ("moreover" would be a formal synonym), considering that this speech was delivered in an official setting. When practicing interpreting into German in class, professors have often mentioned that overuse of the word "und" to begin sentences should be avoided.
You cannot have free movement of services and capital, but not of persons.	L (2) 1. Free movement of services and capital is one of the aspects of free movement in the EU.	subject-predicate- contrasting conjunction- dependent clause a) (1) dependent clause "but not of persons." Despite the use of the marker "but" to	0		

	2. Free movement of persons must also be possible.	demonstrate a paratactic relationship, it is not possible to fill in ellipsis of the subject and predicate (*but [you can] not of persons.); this displays a hypotactic relationship. b) hypotaxis in the form of the aforementioned clause.			
Not in our Union. II	L (1) 1. This is impossible here.	incomplete syntax (ellipsis of the subject, predicate and an adjective, i.e. [This is] not [possible] in our Union.)	0		
The debate has become emotional, too much so.	L (1) 1. The debate has become too emotional.	subject – predicate-modifier a) (1) modifier: "too much so" b) 0	0		
And it has plagued every enlargement.	L (1) 1. The debate has plagued every enlargement.	coordinating conjunction – subject-predicate-object a) 0 b) 0	0		
If we start negotiating freedoms, we will end up having none.	L (1) 1. If we start negotiating freedoms, we will not have any.	dependent clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction "if" – subject - predicate a) (1) dependent clause "if we start negotiating freedoms" b) hypotaxis in the form of the aforementioned clause.	0		
[...][W]hat I find most worrying, is that the crisis has also seen the rise of a	M (3) 1. The most worrying thing is	dependent clause-subject-predicate-modifier	0		

populist debate about the free movement of people. ω Π	increasing populism. 2. It is related to the free movement of people. 3. This populism is a result of the crisis.	a) (1) dependent clause "What I find most worrying is that" b) hypotaxis in the form of the aforementioned clause			
The crisis has been a test for our Union.	L (1) 1. The crisis has been a test for our Union.	subject-predicate a) (0) b) (0)	0		
Economically and politically.	L (1) 1. This test is of an economic and political nature.	incomplete syntax (ellipsis of the subject, predicate and object, i.e. [This is has been a test] economically and politically.)	0		
We must prove up to the task.	L (1) 1. We must prove up to the task.	subject-predicate a)0 b) 0	0		
And that must start by protecting the very values our Union is founded upon.	L (1) 1. We will do this by protecting our Union's fundamental values.	coordinating conjunction- subject-predicate-modifier- object-modifier a) 0 b) 0	0		
Speaker 3's speech	I-density	Syntax	Context Recognition	Triggers	Comments
Ladies and gentlemen,	L (0)	subject-coordinating conjunction-subject a (0) b (0)	0	0	greeting, phatic function
The world we live in is increasingly interdependent. ω	L (2) 1.world we live in	subject-modifier-predicate a (0) b (0)	0	0	figure of speech: alliteration -increasingly interdependent. "Interdependent" may be troublesome, as it is an uncommon word (175 hits in

	2. increasingly interdependent				the British National Corpus http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/) and could be confused with "independent."
We witness this every day.	L (2) 1. we witness this 2. every day	subject- predicate a (0) b(0)	0	0	
The challenges we face, be that climate change, migration, radicalism or viruses like Ebola, II do not know any borders.	M (3) 1. We face challenges 2. examples 3. They do not know borders	subject-modifier- parenthesis-predicate a (1) – parenthesis in the form of an enumeration b (0)	<i>challenges</i>	E: climate change, migration, radicalism or viruses N: Ebola	
Our response needs to be united.	L (1) 1. Our response needs to be united	subject-predicate a (0) b(0)	0	0	
Our policy must adapt to better face these challenges	L (2) 1. Our policy must adapt. 2. By doing so, we can face these challenges more effectively.	subject-modal verb-main verb-subordinate clause a (0) b (1) hypotaxis in the form of the subordinate clause "to better face these challenges."	<i>policy</i>	0 0	
In this context, the post-2015 agenda is, quite simply,an opportunity we cannot afford missing. II	L (1) 1. In view of these challenges, this agenda is indispensable	subordinate clause – object-verb- parenthesis- object-subject-modal verb- verb a (1)-parenthesis "quite simply" b (1) hypotaxis with the subordinate clause "in this context"	0	#: 2015	"Post-2015" is a compound adjective in this context. As the number has an adjectival function, I will not count it as a trigger.
Eradicating poverty and achieving sustainable development are two of the	L (2) 1. There are two challenges which affect the	gerund-noun-coordinating conjunction-gerund- adjective-noun-finite verb- modifier-noun-gerund-	<i>sustainable development</i>		

most pressing challenges facing the world today. α	international community. 2. They are eradicating poverty and achieving sustainable development.	object-modifier a (0) b (0)			
It is about allowing people to live a decent life whilst respecting our planet.	L (2) 1. We must allow people to live comfortably. 2. We must respect out planet.	subject-predicate-subordinate clause a) subordinate clause "whilst respecting our planet" b) hypotaxis: see above	0 0	0 0	
This means that the EU will also need to rise to the challenge.	L (1) 1. In view of this, the EU must also act.	subordinate clause-subject-predicate a) subordinate clause "this means that" b) hypotaxis: see above	0	N: EU	"EU" is a proper noun, in the form of an abbreviation for "European Union"; however, the question is if it counts as a trigger for interpreters who work for the European Union.
This is not a new departure for us –	L (1) 1. This is not new for the EU.	subject-predicate a (0) b (0)	0	0	
we are already committed to sustainable development at home and abroad, II and to global solidarity. ω	L (1) 1. The EU is committed to both national and international sustainable development and global solidarity.	subject-predicate-coordinating conjunction-ellipsis of the subject and predicate-modifier-noun a) 0 – "and to global solidarity" is an independent clause, with ellipsis in the form of " and [we are already committed] to global solidarity	0	0	

		b) parataxis: see above			
But we will need to do more, and better.	L (2) 1. We need to do more. 2. We need to do it better.	coordinating conjunction- subject-predicate- ellipsis of the subject and predicate-adverb a) 0 – "and better" is an elliptical form of "and [we will need to do] better" b) parataxis: see above	0	0	

Appendix D – The online surveys

This section includes screen shots of the surveys used in the pilot study and the main study. Each screen shot is supplemented with an English translation. This section also includes the messages sent via LimeSurveyTM to the professional conference interpreters recruited for the main study.

The student survey

The screenshot shows the title 'Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen' in green. Below it is a welcome message in German: 'Herzlich willkommen zu meiner Befragung und vielen Dank, dass du mitmachst! Dabei wirst du ein paar Fragen beantworten und 3 Redner mit 3 verschiedenen Erstsprachen kurz anhören. Das Ganze sollte nicht länger als 10 Minuten dauern und ist selbstverständlich anonym.' A blue box contains a privacy note: 'Eine Bemerkung zum Datenschutz. Dies ist eine anonyme Umfrage. Die Daten mit Deinen Antworten enthält keinerlei auf Dich zurückzuführende/identifizierende Informationen, es sei denn bestimmte Fragen haben explizit danach gefragt. Wenn Du für diese Umfrage einen Zugangsschlüssel benutzt hast, so kannst Du sicher sein, dass der Zugangsschlüssel nicht zusammen mit den Daten abgespeichert wurde. Er wird einer getrennten Datenbank aufbewahrt und nur aktualisiert, um zu speichern, ob Du diese Umfrage abgeschlossen hast oder nicht. Es gibt keinen Weg die Zugangsschlüssel mit den Umfrageergebnissen zusammenzuführen.' At the bottom are three buttons: 'Zwischengespeicherte Umfrage laden', 'Weiter >>', and 'Umfrage verlassen und löschen'.

English as a lingua franca and simultaneous interpreting

Welcome to my survey and thank you very much for your participation! In this survey, you will answer a few questions and listen to 3 speakers with 3 different first languages. It shouldn't take you more than 10 minutes to do it, and of course, it's anonymous.

A note on privacy

This survey is anonymous.

The record kept of your survey responses does not contain any identifying information about you unless a specific question in the survey has asked for this. If you have responded to a survey that used an identifying token to allow you to access the survey, you can rest assured that the identifying token is not kept with your responses. It is managed in a separate database, and will only be updated to indicate that you have (or haven't) completed this survey. There is no way of matching identification tokens with survey responses in this survey.

The screenshot shows a survey question in German: '* Welche A-Sprache hast du?'. Below it is the instruction 'Bitte wähle eine der folgenden Antworten:'. A dropdown menu is open, showing the following options: 'Bitte auswählen...', 'BKS', 'Deutsch', 'Englisch', 'Französisch', 'Italienisch', 'Polnisch', 'Portugiesisch', 'Rumänisch', 'Russisch', 'Spanisch', 'Tschechisch', and 'Ungarisch'.

What is your A language?

Please choose one of the following answers:

Please choose..

BCS (Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian)
German
English
French
Italian
Polish
Portuguese
Romanian
Russian
Spanish
Czech
Hungarian

If the student chose “German,” the question about their B language appeared. If not, they automatically received the message which appeared at the end of the survey:

Das war's! Vielen Dank für deine Teilnahme und alles Gute!

That's it! Thank you very much for your participation and all the best!

If they did not choose English as their B language, they were then automatically directed to the end of the survey and the message above. The language options for the students' B language appeared in the same order as above.

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Sprachenprofil Teil I

* Welche A-Sprache hast du?
Bitte wähle eine der folgenden Antworten:
Deutsch

* Welche B-Sprache hast du?
Bitte wähle eine der folgenden Antworten:
Bitte auswählen..

Später fortfahren Weiter >> Umfrage verlassen und löschen

English as a lingua franca and simultaneous interpreting
Language Profile Part I

What is your A language?
German

What is your B language?
Please choose..

When the students chose German as an A language and English as a B language, they could then proceed to the next section:

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Sprachenprofil Teil II

*** Welche C-Sprache(n) hast du?**

? Bitte schreibe die Sprache(n) vollständig aus, i.e. „Russisch, Spanisch“. Du musst aber nicht auf die Großschreibung achten. Diese Sprachen müssen Teil deiner offiziellen Kombination sein.

Falls du andere Sprachen sprichst, die nicht in deiner Kombination sind, bitte hier angeben:

Language Profile Part II

What are your C languages?

? Please write out the language (s) in full, i.e. “Russian, Spanish.” You don’t have to worry about capitalization. These languages must be in your official language combination.

If you speak other languages that are not part of your combination, please type them here:

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

ELF-RednerInnen

*** Wie viele der Englisch sprechenden RednerInnen, die du bereits in Übungen gedolmetscht hast, waren englische MuttersprachlerInnen? Bitte gib einen Schätzwert in Prozent an:**

In dieses Feld dürfen nur Ziffern eingetragen werden

*** Gibt es nichtmuttersprachliche englische Akzente, die du als besonders schwierig zu verstehen bzw. zu dolmetschen findest?**

? Wenn ja, kannst du sowohl einzelne Sprachen als auch Sprachfamilien angeben. Wenn du dir nicht sicher bist, um welche Sprache oder Sprachfamilie es sich handelt, gib die geographische Region an. Wenn nein, einfach „nein“ angeben.

Später fortfahren Weiter >> Umfrage verlassen und löschen

ELF Speakers

How many of the English-speaking speakers you’ve interpreted in class so far were English native speakers? Please estimate the percentage and type it here:

Only numbers may be entered in this field.

Are there non-native English accents that you find particularly difficult to understand and/or interpret?

? If so, you can mention both individual languages and language families. If you aren’t sure about the language or the language family, type in the geographical region. If not, simply type “no.”

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Redner 1

Jetzt folgt ein ca. 1-minütiger Redeauschnitt. Stell dir vor, du musst diesen Redner dolmetschen, höre aber bitte nur zu. Bitte nur einmal anhören, wie es beim Dolmetschen der Fall wäre. Danach sind 3 kurze Fragen zu beantworten. Das Ganze machst du mit insgesamt 3 Rednern und 3 ähnlich kurzen Reden.

▶ 00:00 00:00 ⏮ ⏭

Vermutete Erstsprache angeben:

? Hier muss du eine bestimmte Sprache angeben. Bitte keine Abkürzungen, Großschreibung ist egal.

Akzent

keinen wahrnehmbaren nichtmuttersprachlichen Akzent				einen sehr starken nichtmuttersprachlichen Akzent			
Er hat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Verständlichkeit

problemlos verständlich				sehr schwierig zu verstehen			
Er ist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Speaker 1

Now there will be an excerpt from a speech, which is approx. 1 minute long. Imagine that you have to interpret this speaker; just listen to him though. Only listen once, as you would if you were interpreting. Afterwards, you will answer 3 short questions. You'll do this with 3 speakers and 3 speeches which are also about 1 minute long.

Type in what you think the speaker's first language is:

? You have to type in a specific language. Please don't use abbreviations, capitalization doesn't matter.

Accent

He has no perceptible non-native accent a very thick non-native accent

Interpretability

He is extremely easy to interpret very difficult to interpret

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Redner 2

▶ 00:00 00:00 ⏮ ⏭

Vermutete Erstsprache angeben:

? Hier muss du eine bestimmte Sprache angeben. Keine Abkürzungen, Großschreibung ist egal.

Akzent

keinen wahrnehmbaren nichtmuttersprachlichen Akzent				einen sehr starken nichtmuttersprachlichen Akzent			
Er hat	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Verständlichkeit

problemlos verständlich				sehr schwierig zu verstehen			
Er ist	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Speaker 2

See Speaker 1 for the English translation of the questions.

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Redner 3

00:00 00:00

Vermutete Erstsprache angeben:

Akzent

keinen wahrnehmbaren nichtmuttersprachlichen Akzent einen sehr starken nichtmuttersprachlichen Akzent

Er hat ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Verständlichkeit

problemlos verständlich sehr schwierig zu verstehen

Er ist ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Später fortfahren Weiter>> Umfrage verlassen und löschen

Speaker 3

See Speaker 1 for the English translation of the questions.

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Ranking

Bitte gib an, welchen Redner du insgesamt am besten verstanden hast:

Klicke auf ein Element in der Liste links, beginne mit dem von Dir am höchsten bewerteten Element und fahre fort bis zum niedrigsten.

Deine Auswahl: Redner1 Redner2 Redner3

Deine Rangfolge: 1: 2: 3:

Klicke auf die Schere rechts von jedem Element, um den letzten Eintrag in der Rangliste zu entfernen

Später fortfahren Weiter>> Umfrage verlassen und löschen

Ranking

Please specify which speaker you understood best overall:

Click on an item in the list on the left, starting with your highest ranking item, moving through to your lowest ranking item

Your choices

Speaker 1
Speaker 2
Speaker 3

Your ranking

Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen

0% 100%

Demographisches

*** Dein Geschlecht?**

Bitte wähle eine der folgenden Antworten:

☐ männlich

☐ weiblich

☐ k.A.

*** Dein Alter?**

In dieses Feld dürfen nur Ziffern eingetragen werden

*** Im wievielten Semester bist du?**

In dieses Feld dürfen nur Ziffern eingetragen werden

Demographic information

Your sex?

male

female

N/A

Your age?

Only numbers may be entered in this field.

What semester are you in?

Only numbers may be entered in this field.

After completing these questions, the students saw the closing message on page 2 of Appendix C.

The survey for professional conference interpreters

Simultandolmetschen und Englisch als Lingua Franca

Um an dieser Umfrage teilzunehmen, benötigen Sie einen passenden
Zugangsschlüssel.
Falls Sie ein Schlüsselwort erhalten haben, geben Sie es bitte in das untenstehende
Feld ein und klicken Sie auf 'Weiter'.

Schlüsselwort

Simultaneous interpreting and English as a lingua franca

To participate in this survey, you will need a token. If you have a token, please enter it into the field below and click on "Next."

Simultandolmetschen und Englisch als Lingua Franca

Vielen Dank für Ihre Bereitschaft zur Teilnahme an dieser Befragung, bei der ich Sie neben der Beantwortung einiger Fragen vor allem darum bitte, Hörproben von drei Rednern, die Englisch als Lingua Franca benutzen, einzuschätzen. Das sollte nicht mehr als 10 Minuten dauern. Das Umfrageprogramm gewährleistet die vollständige Anonymität der Daten.

Eine Bemerkung zum Datenschutz

Dies ist eine anonyme Umfrage.

Die Daten mit Ihren Antworten enthalten keinerlei auf Sie zurückzuführende/identifizierende Informationen, es sei denn bestimmte Fragen haben Sie explizit danach gefragt. Wenn Sie für diese Umfrage einen Zugangsschlüssel benutzt haben, so können Sie sicher sein, dass der Zugangsschlüssel nicht zusammen mit den Daten abgespeichert wurde. Er wird in einer getrennten Datenbank aufbewahrt und nur aktualisiert, um zu speichern, ob Sie diese Umfrage abgeschlossen haben oder nicht. Es gibt keinen Weg die Zugangsschlüssel mit den Umfrageergebnissen zusammenzuführen.

Zwischengespeicherte Umfrage laden

Weiter >>

Umfrage verlassen und löschen

Simultaneous interpreting and English as a lingua franca

Thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this survey, in which I would kindly ask you to assess recorded samples of 3 speakers who use English as a lingua franca, in addition to answering a few questions. It should not take more than 10 minutes to complete the survey. The survey program guarantees that the data will remain completely anonymous.

A note on privacy

This survey is anonymous.

The record kept of your survey responses does not contain any identifying information about you unless a specific question in the survey asked for this. If you have responded to a survey that used an identifying token to allow you to access the survey, you can rest assured that the identifying token is not kept with your responses. It is managed in a separate database, and will only be updated to indicate that you have (or haven't) completed this survey. There is no way of matching identification tokens with survey responses in this survey.

Simultandolmetschen und Englisch als Lingua Franca


0% 100%

Ihre AIIC-Kombination

Laut AIIC habe ich mindestens eine C-Sprache

☐ Ja ☐ Nein

Falls Sie andere Sprachen sprechen, die nicht Teil Ihrer AIIC-Kombination sind, bitte hier angeben:

 Verwenden Sie bitte die ISO-Standardabkürzungen. Diese sind auf folgender Seite aufgelistet:
<http://www.sitepoint.com/web-foundations/iso-2-letter-language-codes/>

Später Fortfahren

Weiter >>

Umfrage verlassen und löschen

Your AIIC combination

According to AIIC, I have at least one C language

Yes No

If you speak other languages which are not part of your AIIC combination, please type them in here:



Please use the ISO's standard language abbreviations. These are available on the following website:
<http://www.sitepoint.com/web-foundations/iso-2-letter-language-codes/>

If the participant clicked on the “yes” button, they were then asked to type in their C language(s):

Ihre AIIC-Kombination

* Laut AIIC habe ich mindestens eine C-Sprache

☒ Ja ☐ Nein

* Meine C-Sprache(n) ist/sind:

? Verwenden Sie bitte die ISO-Standardabkürzungen. Diese sind auf folgender Seite aufgelistet:
<http://www.sitepoint.com/web-foundations/iso-2-letter-language-codes/>

Falls Sie andere Sprachen sprechen, die nicht Teil Ihrer AIIC-Kombination sind, bitte hier angeben:

? Verwenden Sie bitte die ISO-Standardabkürzungen. Diese sind auf folgender Seite aufgelistet:
<http://www.sitepoint.com/web-foundations/iso-2-letter-language-codes/>

Simultandolmetschen und Englisch als Lingua Franca

0% 100%

ELF-RednerInnen

* Wie viele der Englisch sprechenden RednerInnen, die Sie auf Konferenzen dolmetschen, benutzen Englisch als Lingua Franca (d.h. nicht als Erstsprache)? Bitte geben Sie eine Schätzwert in Prozent an:

In dieses Feld dürfen nur Ziffern eingetragen werden.

* Welche Akzente machen Englisch als Lingua Franca für Sie besonders schwierig zu verstehen bzw. zu dolmetschen?

? Hier können Sie sowohl einzelne Sprachen als auch Sprachfamilien angeben. Wenn Sie sich nicht sicher sind, um welche Sprache oder Sprachfamilie es sich handelt, geben Sie die geographische Region an. Wenn es keine Akzente gibt, die für Sie besonders schwierig sind, einfach „keine“ angeben.

ELF Speakers

How many of the English-speaking speakers you interpret at conferences use English as a lingua franca (i.e. not as a first language)? Please estimate the percentage and type it here:

Only numbers may be entered in this field.

Which accents make English as a lingua franca particularly difficult for you to understand and/or interpret?

? You can mention both individual languages, as well as language families. If you are unsure about the language or language family, type in the geographical region. If there are no accents that you find particularly difficult, simply type in “none.”

See the student survey for the questions about the individual speakers, as well as the question in which the participants were asked to rank which speaker they understood best overall.

Demographisches

Ihr Geschlecht?
Bitte wählen Sie eine der folgenden Antworten:

☐ männlich
☐ weiblich
☐ keine Angabe

Ihr Alter?

In dieses Feld dürfen nur Ziffern eingetragen werden.

Ihre AIIC-Region?
Bitte wählen Sie eine der folgenden Antworten:

Seit wie vielen Jahren arbeiten Sie als KonferenzdolmetscherIn?

In dieses Feld dürfen nur Ziffern eingetragen werden.

Demographic information

Your sex?

Male

Female

N/A

Your age?

Only numbers may be entered in this field

Your AIIC region?

Please choose..

The AIIC regions appeared in the following order (taken from <http://aiic.net/directories/interpreters/georegions/lang/1> , last accessed on July 16th, 2015): Africa, Central; Africa, Eastern; Africa, Northern; Africa, Southern; Africa, Western; America, Central; America, North; America, South; Asia, Eastern; Asia, South-Central; Asia, South Eastern; Asia, Western; Australia and New Zealand; Caribbean; Europe, Central; Europe, Eastern; Europe, Northern; Europe, South Eastern; Europe, Southern; Europe, Western; Melanesia; Middle East.

How many years have you been working as a conference interpreter?

Only numbers may be entered in this field

After completing the survey, the participants received the following message:

Das war's! Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme und alles Gute!

That's it! Thank you for participating and all the best!

Messages sent to the professional interpreters:

Invitation

Original	English translation
Datum: 10. Juni 2015 Betreff: „Globish“ beim Simultandolmetschen	Date: June 10 th , 2015 Subject: “Globish” in simultaneous interpreting

<p>Guten Tag,</p> <p>mein Name ist {ADMINNAME} und ich stehe am Ende meiner Konferenzdolmetscherausbildung an der Universität Wien (Englisch A, Deutsch B, Französisch C). In meiner Masterarbeit unter der Betreuung von Prof. Franz Pöchhacker untersuche ich die Verständlichkeit von Englisch als Lingua franca beim Simultandolmetschen. Dazu erhebe ich in einer Online-Befragung die konkrete Einschätzung von erfahrenen KonferenzdolmetscherInnen mit Deutsch als A-Sprache und Englisch als B-Sprache. Laut dem AIIC-Verzeichnis trifft dies auf Sie zu, weshalb ich Sie herzlich um Ihre Mitwirkung bitten möchte. Die Befragung nimmt maximal 10 Minuten in Anspruch.</p> <p>Zur Teilnahme klicken Sie bitte auf {SURVEYURL}</p> <p>Die Befragung ist einige Wochen aktiv, und es ist mindestens eine Erinnerungsmail geplant. Falls Sie überhaupt kein Interesse an der Befragung haben, schicken Sie bitte eine Nachricht an{ADMINEMAIL} mit „kein Interesse“ in der Betreffzeile, und ich werde Ihren Namen aus der Datenbank entfernen.</p> <p>Mit freundlichen Grüßen</p> <p>{ADMINNAME} ({ADMINEMAIL})</p>	<p>Hello,</p> <p>My name is {ADMINNAME} and I am in the process of completing my studies in Conference Interpreting at the University of Vienna (English A, German B, French C). My master's thesis, which is under Prof. Franz Pöchhacker's supervision, examines the intelligibility of English as a lingua franca in simultaneous interpreting. I will do this using an online survey, which provides me with concrete assessments made by experienced conference interpreters whose A language is German and B language is English. According to the AIIC directory, you meet these criteria, which is why I would kindly ask you to participate. The survey will take a maximum of 10 minutes to complete.</p> <p>To participate, please click {SURVEYURL}</p> <p>The survey will remain active for several weeks and I plan on sending at least one reminder. If you are not interested in the survey at all, please send a message to {ADMINEMAIL} with “not interested” in the subject line, and I will remove your name from the database.</p> <p>Kind regards,</p> <p>{ADMINNAME} ({ADMINEMAIL})</p>
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Token

As I then realized that surveys which use a token function do not automatically send the participants the token in a separate attachment, I immediately sent the participants the following personal email:

Original	English translation
<p>Datum: 10. Juni 2015</p> <p>Sehr geehrter Herr .../Sehr geehrte Frau ...,</p> <p>in meiner Einladungsemail haben Sie den Zugangsschlüssel nicht erhalten. Diesen schicke ich Ihnen zu, falls Sie Interesse an der Befragung haben: {TOKEN}</p>	<p>Date: June 10th, 2015</p> <p>Dear Mr./Ms....,</p> <p>You did not receive the token in my survey invitation. If you are interested in the survey, here it is:</p> <p>{TOKEN}</p>

Mit besten Grüßen Rena Katikos	Kind regards, Rena Katikos
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(If any of the conference interpreters I contacted for the survey happen to be reading this, I would like to thank everyone that helped along the way, be it in the form of filling out the survey, or sending me an email which informed me about any technical issues they had. Unfortunately, not having access to the students' email addresses during the pilot study limited my opportunities to experiment with email message templates; this also includes testing out the token function. I apologize for any inconvenience that may have arisen as a result of my inexperience with designing surveys).

Confirmation

Original	English translation
Betreff: Bestätigung für die Teilnahme an meiner Umfrage	Subject: Confirmation of your participation in my survey
Guten Tag,	Hello,
Vielen Dank für die Teilnahme an der Umfrage mit dem Titel {SURVEYNAME}. Ihre Antworten wurden bei mir gespeichert.	Thank you very much for participating in the survey titled {SURVEYNAME}. Your responses have been saved.
Wenn Sie irgendwelche Fragen zu dieser E-Mail haben, kontaktieren Sie bitte {ADMINNAME} unter {ADMINEMAIL}.	If you have any questions about this email, please contact {ADMINNAME} at {ADMINEMAIL}.
Mit freundlichen Grüßen	Kind regards,
{ADMINNAME}	{ADMINNAME}

Reminder

Original	English translation
Datum: 4. Juli 2015 Betreff: Erinnerung an die Teilnahme der Umfrage „Globish“ beim Simultandolmetschen	Date: July 4 th , 2015 Subject: Reminder to participate in the survey “Globish” in simultaneous interpreting
Guten Tag,	Hello,
vor kurzem wurden Sie eingeladen, an einer Befragung über Englisch als Lingua Franca und Simultandolmetschen teilzunehmen. Ich möchte Ihnen mitteilen, dass die Umfrage bis 30.7.2015 aktiv ist und würde mich freuen, wenn Sie teilnehmen könnten. Klicken Sie	You were recently invited to participate in a survey about English as a lingua franca and simultaneous interpreting. I would like to inform you that the survey will be active until July 30 th , 2015 and I would be very pleased if you could participate. Please click

<p>bitte auf {SURVEYURL}, um die Befragung zu starten.</p> <p>Um an dieser Befragung teilnehmen zu können, benötigen Sie sowohl eine aktuelle Version von Adobe® Flash® Player (https://get.adobe.com/de/flashplayer/) als auch einen Zugangsschlüssel. Diesen haben Sie in einer zweiten Email erhalten. Falls Sie diese Email nicht mehr haben, sollten Sie unten Ihren Zugangsschlüssel sehen.</p> <p>Er lautet: {TOKEN} (ich entschuldige mich im Voraus, falls er nicht korrekt dargestellt wird. Bei Problemen mit Ihrem Zugangsschlüssel, schicken Sie bitte eine E-Mail an {ADMINEMAIL} und ich werde einen neuen für Sie erstellen.)</p> <p>Wenn Sie kein Interesse an der Befragung haben, antworten Sie bitte auf diese Email mit „kein Interesse“ in der Betreffzeile und ich werde Ihren Namen aus der Datenbank entfernen.</p> <p>Mit besten Grüßen aus Wien</p> <p>{ADMINNAME} ({ADMINEMAIL})</p>	<p>on {SURVEYURL} to begin the survey.</p> <p>In order to participate in this survey, you will need both a current version of Adobe® Flash® Player (https://get.adobe.com/de/flashplayer/) and a token. You received the token in a second email. If you no longer have this email, you should see your token below.</p> <p>Your token is: {TOKEN} (I apologize in advance if your token has not been displayed properly. For any token-related problems, please send an email to {ADMINEMAIL} and I will generate a new one for you.)</p> <p>If you are not interested in this survey, please respond to this email with “not interested” in the subject line and I will remove your name from the database.</p> <p>Best wishes from Vienna,</p> <p>{ADMINNAME} ({ADMINEMAIL})</p>
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Abstract (English)

The purpose of this master's thesis is to investigate the relationship between simultaneous interpreting (SI) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), i.e. English as a means of communication between speakers who will most likely not speak it as a first language and who do not share a first language. In short, global trends have demonstrated that the majority of participants who speak English in conference settings use ELF, prompting many interpreters to bemoan their divergent pronunciation and use of grammar, as compared to native-speaker standards. This thesis examines whether or not knowledge of a speaker's first language is beneficial to interpreters' understanding of the aforementioned divergences.

It begins with an introduction to what SI is, where it is used, and the various forms that characterize it. This is then followed by a presentation of two models which explain why SI is so cognitively demanding and how second language speakers' output may cause problems for interpreters. The following chapter then presents ELF in detail, showing that it is both an emerging language variety and a field of research which challenges traditional notions of language teaching and language learning. Using corpus-derived data, it then lists the phonological, lexical and grammatical features observed among ELF speakers and presents the interface where SI and ELF meet.

This study differentiates between a *Type 1 shared languages benefit* (the speaker and the interpreter share the same first language) and a *Type 2 shared languages benefit* (the speaker and the interpreter do not share a first language, but the interpreter has the speaker's first language as a B or C language). In particular, it focuses on ELF accents and the extent to which they might exacerbate interpreters' inability to convey a speaker's message. In addition to the question of whether or not shared languages benefits exist, this study also investigates whether or not the inability to correctly identify an ELF speaker's first language correlates with a greater perceived difficulty of understanding, and if a high degree of accentedness has a negative impact on interpreters' ability to understand a speaker. What it means to "understand a speaker" is outlined in detail in one of the study's subchapters.

Using an online survey in which the participants provided information about their experience interpreting ELF speakers, and described the ELF accents which they found to be the most difficult to understand and interpret, they then heard three short speech excerpts from ELF speakers with typologically different first languages (French, German, and Greek) and were asked to rate their accentedness and interpretability.

The study found that a Type 1 shared languages benefit exists; the evidence of a Type

2 shared languages benefit was inconclusive. The correlation between incorrectly identifying a speaker's first language and perceived difficulty of understanding was not found to be statistically significant, while having a thick accent was not deemed to cause problems for understanding when a Type 1 shared languages benefit was present. These findings may have implications for interpreter training and could influence event organizers' decisions when choosing to hire interpreters.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Der Zweck dieser Masterarbeit ist es, die Verbindung zwischen Simultandolmetschen (SD) und Englisch als Lingua Franca (ELF), d.h. Englisch als Kommunikationsmedium zwischen SprecherInnen, die i.d.R. weder Englisch als Erstsprache noch eine gemeinsame Erstsprache haben, zu beleuchten. Globale Trends zeigen, dass die Mehrheit der Englisch sprechenden Vortragenden auf Konferenzen ELF verwendet. Dies veranlasst viele DolmetscherInnen dazu, sich über die Divergenzen in puncto Aussprache und Grammatik dieser Vortragenden zu beklagen. Diese Divergenzen beziehen sich auf die Standardformen von Englisch als Erstsprache. In dieser Masterarbeit wird untersucht, ob Kenntnisse der Erstsprache einer/eines Vortragenden für DolmetscherInnen von Vorteil sind, um die oben erwähnten Divergenzen zu verstehen.

Diese Arbeit beginnt mit einer Einführung ins SD, in der die verschiedenen Settings und Formen des SD präsentiert werden, gefolgt von einer Schilderung zweier Modelle, die erklären, warum SD so kognitiv anspruchsvoll ist. Zudem erklären sie, inwiefern die Sprache von ZweitsprachlerInnen für DolmetscherInnen Probleme verursachen kann. Das folgende Kapitel setzt sich mit ELF ausführlich auseinander und zeigt, dass es sowohl eine neu entstehende Sprachvarietät als auch ein Forschungsfeld ist, welches die herkömmlichen Ansätze des Sprachunterrichts und Sprachenlernens infrage stellt. Darüber hinaus werden aus Corpora gewonnene Daten verwendet, um die bei ELF-Vortragenden beobachteten phonologischen, lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Eigenschaften aufzulisten. Zusätzlich dazu wird die Schnittstelle zwischen SD und ELF präsentiert.

In dieser Studie wird unterschieden zwischen einem *Vorteil geteilter Sprachen Typ 1* (der/die Vortragende und der/die DolmetscherIn haben dieselbe Erstsprache) und einem *Vorteil geteilter Sprachen Typ 2* (der/die Vortragende und der/die DolmetscherIn haben keine gemeinsame Erstsprache, aber der/die DolmetscherIn hat die Erstsprache des/der Vortragenden als B oder C Sprache). Insbesondere liegt der Fokus auf Akzenten in ELF und in welchem Ausmaß sie die Fähigkeit der DolmetscherInnen, die Botschaft eines/einer Vortragenden zu vermitteln, beeinträchtigen können. Neben der Frage, ob es Vorteile geteilter Sprachen gibt, wird untersucht, ob das Unvermögen, die Erstsprache eines/einer Vortragenden richtig zu erkennen, mit einem vermeintlich höheren Schwierigkeitsgrad korreliert. Darüber hinaus wird analysiert, ob ein starker zweitsprachlicher Akzent negative Auswirkungen auf die Fähigkeit der DolmetscherInnen hat, Vortragende zu verstehen. Die Bedeutung von „Vortragende verstehen“ wird in einem Unterkapitel dieser Arbeit ausführlich beschrieben.

Im Rahmen einer Online-Befragung, in der die TeilnehmerInnen Auskunft über ihre Erfahrung mit dem Dolmetschen von ELF-Vortragenden gaben und beschrieben, welche Akzente in ELF für sie am schwierigsten zu verstehen und zu dolmetschen waren, hörten sie drei kurze Redeausschnitte mit ELF-Vortragenden, die typologisch unterschiedliche Erstsprachen haben (Französisch, Deutsch und Griechisch), und bewerteten deren Akzentstärke und Verständlichkeit.

Diese Arbeit stellte fest, dass es einen Vorteil geteilter Sprachen Typ 1 gibt. Die Belege für einen Vorteil geteilter Sprachen Typ 2 waren nicht eindeutig. Die Korrelation zwischen dem Nicht-richtig-Identifizieren der Ersprache und dem wahrgenommen höheren Schwierigkeitsgrad (d.h. geringerer Verständlichkeit) war nicht statistisch signifikant. Bei einem Vorteil geteilter Sprachen Typ 1 hatte ein starker zweitsprachlicher Akzent keine negativen Auswirkungen auf die Verständlichkeitsbewertungen. Diese Ergebnisse können sowohl in der Ausbildung von DolmetscherInnen berücksichtigt werden als auch in der Dolmetschpraxis, beispielsweise bei der Zusammenstellung von Dolmetschteams bei Konferenzen.