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VARIABILITY OF COHESIVE PATTERNS.
PERSONAL REFERENCE MARKERS IN SIMULTANEOUS
AND CONSECUTIVE INTERPRETING

The purpose of the following study is to examine how the two modes of interpreting, simultaneous and consecutive, influence the choice and rendition of personal reference cohesive markers. Taking into account the inherent constraints, these two types of interpreting can be expected to be heavily marked by mode-specific shifts in cohesion. It has been hypothesised that the rendition of cohesive devices in simultaneous interpreting would differ from its realisation in the consecutive mode given the range of inherent constraints.

1. Introduction

As Newmark (1987: 295) puts it: "the topic of cohesion (...) has always appeared to me the most useful constituent of discourse analysis or text linguistics applicable to translation". It is generally assumed that cohesive markers are essential for the comprehension of texts, therefore interpreters, like all other speakers, employ cohesive devices to render their outputs intelligible for the listener. Moreover, cohesion is considered to be one of the core criteria of interpreting quality (see Čenková 1998, Kurz 2001)[1].

Looking closely at the two principal modes of interpreting, namely consecutive and simultaneous, one cannot help noticing that although they involve the same basic processes, they are nevertheless distinctly different. The fundamental difference lies in the fact that these two modes of interpreting are governed by

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[1] In Čenková's study, designed to investigate the quality of simultaneous interpreting, all respondents rated cohesion as their top priority (Čenková 1998: 166). The results of a similar study by Kurz indicated that cohesion constitutes a significant quality criterion for both conference interpreters and delegates (Kurz 2001: 406).

different constraints. As regards simultaneous interpreting, the fact that the context and structure are exposed to the interpreter gradually impedes the process of recognising and rendering cohesive ties. By contrast, the specificity of consecutive interpreting consists in the fact that since the text is presented in most cases either as a complete one or is available to the interpreter in considerable portions of discourse, it becomes too "rich" to be retained in memory and processed easily. Moreover, one has to acknowledge that certain constraints inherent in the interpreting process affect both CI and SI. For instance, both modes are affected to varying degrees by the time pressure factor that differentiates the oral translation from its written counterpart. Finally, a typical feature of all forms of translation, regardless of the channel, is the absence of a common reference frame with the text producer as well as the interpreter's lower level of background knowledge. This feature, combined with the excessive time pressure inherent in interpreting, puts this form of translation at a disadvantage in comparison with the written form.

Taking into account the constraints intrinsic to simultaneous and consecutive translation, these two types of interpreting can be expected to be heavily marked by mode-specific shifts in cohesion. The purpose of the following study is to examine how these two modes of interpreting influence the choice and rendition of personal reference cohesive markers. It has been hypothesised that the rendition of cohesive devices in simultaneous interpreting would differ from its realisation in the consecutive mode given the range of inherent constraints.

2. Cohesion

The list of approaches to text cohesion described below is by no means an exhaustive one, since it attempts to present only the major models that provide the widest coverage of this textual phenomenon and are therefore believed to be relevant to the present study.

2.1. Halliday and Hasan's concept of a cohesive tie

In their bid to give an account of texture organisation, Halliday and Hasan (1976) analyse the relationships among items in the text. These relations, realised either by grammatical or lexical means, are referred to as **cohesive ties**, which are in turn divided into six broad categories of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, reiteration and collocation:

Table 1. Halliday and Hasan's classification of cohesive ties (adapted from Halliday and Hasan 1976)

COHESION	grammatical	reference	
		substitution	
		ellipsis	
		conjunction	
	lexical	reiteration	repetition
			paraphrase
		collocation	

It is emphasized throughout their study that the concept of cohesion should be analysed in terms of meaning relations it establishes within a text. Thus it ought to be considered as belonging to the domain of semantics.

Although cohesion serves to establish meaning relations, it is realised by means of formal resources of the lexicogrammatical system such as, for instance, pro-forms and conjunctions that are exhibited in the surface structure. But, as can be inferred from the following quotation, the mere presence of any of such surface elements does not constitute cohesion.

> Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens, a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 4).

It follows then that the mere inclusion of a given discourse marker or a lexical item has no cohesive force. The prerequisite for establishing the link is the occurrence of another element to resolve the presupposition (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 5). This leads to a conclusion that in this approach cohesion is considered to be a **relational concept**, since "the significant property of the cohesive relation (...) is the fact that one item provides the source for the interpretation of another" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 19).

Cohesive relations are triggered by the presence of two elements: the presupposing and the presupposed. However, cohesive elements tend to form the patterns of **cohesive chains** that may intertwine with other chains forming dense networks. Especially the categories of reference and lexical cohesion display the tendency to form such sequences (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 15).

The density of cohesive ties is by no means a constant value. On the contrary, it tends to vary across texts, or even within them, resulting either in **tight** or **loose texture** (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 296). The alteration between tightness and looseness of cohesive pattering reflects the paragraph structure of written

texts and pre-prepared speeches. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 297) point out two possible patterns of periodic rhythm. Cohesive ties form dense clusters either within paragraphs or between them.

In other theoretical frameworks text cohesion is widely attributed to syntactic parallelism (e.g. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981; Wilkoń 2002). However, Halliday and Hasan's approach denies this kind of formal devices the cohesive force (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 10). They acknowledge that structure is a unifying relation and underscore its role in expressing texture. The structure is a binding relation operating within sentences, whereas:

> (...) cohesive relations have in principle nothing to do with sentence boundaries. Cohesion is a semantic relation between an element in the text and some other element that is crucial to the interpretation of it. This other element is also to be found in the text (...); but its location in the text is in no way determined by the grammatical structure. The two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed, may be structurally related to each other, or they may not; it makes no difference to the meaning of the cohesive relation (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 8).

However, certain instances of cohesion could in fact be treated structurally. In some cases the sentence, as the highest unit of grammatical structure, determines the way in which cohesion is expressed. These are mainly referential relations that are governed by such rules, since the use of pronominal forms is to some extent regulated by the sentence structure. On the other hand, cohesive relations involving substitution, ellipsis, reiteration or collocation are independent of sentence structure. As far as conjunction is concerned, certain forms are associated with grammatical structure, while others are non-structural.

Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model accounts only for **intersentential** relations, regarding them as truly cohesive ones, in contrast to **intrasentential** ones, which, according to them, can be analysed in terms of sentence structure. However, in order to avoid potential misinterpretation, they emphasize that "(...) cohesion is not, strictly speaking, a relation "above the sentence". It is a relation to which a sentence, or any other form of grammatical structure, is simply irrelevant" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 9).

2.2. Cohesion as one of the textuality standards

In de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981) approach, a text is defined as a communicative occurrence which meets seven **standards of textuality**, all of which must be satisfied if the text is to be considered as communicative (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 3). The first two standards of textuality are those of **cohesion** and **coherence**, which are regarded as "text-centred notions designating operations directed at the text materials" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 7).

In order to account fully for the activity of textual communication, they introduce two further, user-centred standards of **intentionality** and **acceptability**.

The former one reflects the producer's efforts to generate a text that is both cohesive and coherent, whereas the latter one is concerned with the receiver's attempt to maintain those two text-centred standards. Effective communication depends to a large extent on a certain degree of expectation on the part of the receiver as well as his or her prior knowledge of the subject matter. Thus the fifth standard of textuality, **informativity**, concerns the extent of those two. The sixth standard of textuality is termed **situationality**, since it involves all the "factors which render a text relevant to a current or recoverable situation of occurrence" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 163). Situationality is believed to affect the means of cohesion to a certain extent, especially in those cases where the situational context forces maximum economy of expression (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 10). The producer and receiver's knowledge of other texts exert major impact on the production and reception of a currently processed text. To account for such factors the term **intertextuality** has been employed with a view to providing evidence that the prior knowledge of typical textual patterning facilitates both generating and understanding of texts.

In this model, the seven standards of textuality function as **constitutive principles** of textual communication. De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 11) propose to supplement this concept with that of **regulative principles**. While the constitutive principles serve to define and create textual communication, the regulative ones are responsible for controlling it. The three notions comprising this category are **the efficiency** of expression on the part of the participants, **the effectiveness** in attaining the communicative goals, and **the appropriateness** of the text to the situation. The regulative principles, especially efficiency and effectiveness, influence the usage and distribution of cohesive forms.

In order to account for cohesive patterns in the text, de Beaugrande and Dressler introduce the notion of **continuity of occurrences** that is believed to be responsible for the stability of the text as a system. They assume that each occurrence in the text "is instrumental in accessing at least some other occurrences", and that it is **syntax** that "imposes organisational patterns upon the surface text" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 48). Thus, it can be inferred that in this approach cohesion is interpreted and analysed in terms of syntactic relations. As de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981: 48) put it: "in using the term 'cohesion' ('sticking together') we wish to emphasize this function of syntax in communication".

It follows that de Beaugrande and Dressler's understanding of cohesion is much broader than that of Halliday and Hasan (1976). It includes all means of signalling surface dependencies, ranging from use of pro-forms, ellipsis, junction, paraphrase and (partial) recurrence, all of which have their equivalents in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model, to syntactic parallelism, such as the consistent use of tense and aspect, discounted as cohesive relations by Halliday and Hasan.

Another major difference with the above-mentioned approach is the acknowledgement of the contribution of intrasentential links to textual cohesion.

These relations operating within phrases, clauses and sentences are referred to as **short-range grammatical dependencies**. They are contrasted with **long-range devices** responsible for the creation of intersentential cohesion. The main function of such devices (e.g. pro-forms, junctives or lexical recurrence) can be perceived in terms of their contribution to text efficiency or effectiveness rather than fulfilling grammatical obligations, as it is the case with short-range grammatical dependencies (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 54).

The devices that are deployed to attain the maximum **efficiency** of expression are either pro-forms or ellipsis. However, it has to be noted that establishing this kind of cohesive relations involves a trade-off between compactness and clarity (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 69). On the other hand, such means as parallelism, paraphrase, recurrence or partial recurrence are preferentially deployed in order to avoid potential ambiguity. In this way they fulfil the demands of **effectiveness** of communication (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 80).

2.3. Brown and Yule's views on the function of cohesion

Brown and Yule (1983) recognize Halliday and Hasan's (1976) work as the most comprehensive treatment of the subject. However, their approach runs counter to Halliday and Hasan's views in some respects. In the first place they question the validity of the statement that the explicit realisations of cohesive relations are essential to identify text as a text. To prove their point they quote a number of examples where, in the absence of explicit marking of relationships between the sentences, they are still interpreted as constituting the text.

In fact, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 9) do state at one point that conjunctive relations are not always reflected in grammatical structure. However, the point that Brown and Yule are trying to make is that "texture, in the sense of explicit realisation of semantic relations, is not criterial to the identification and co-interpretation of texts" (Brown and Yule 1983: 196). Their definition of textuality or "textness", as they call it, is more concerned with the receivers' perspective, rather than a set of "constitutive formal features which a text must possess to qualify as a text" (Brown and Yule 1983: 199).

It follows then that this approach assumes that hearers and readers do not depend on formal cohesive markers in order to identify a given sequence of sentences as a text, since cohesive ties are "formal realisations of the underlying meaning which are available to, but not necessarily utilised by, the speaker/writer in constructing what he wants to say" (Brown and Yule 1983: 198). Brown and Yule's model is primarily concerned with one type of cohesive relation, which is reference. In fact, the term they employ to designate this type of textual link is **co-reference**. This terminological inconsistency is due to their understanding of the notion of **reference** in the sense of **denotation**, a term used to describe lexical meaning. Moreover, Brown and Yule's analysis of co-referential relations differs significantly from that of Halliday and Hasan's (1976).

2.4. Cohesive function of exponents of connectivity and segmentation

In his account of academic discourse, Gajda (1982) defines cohesion in terms of a semantic relation operating between predications. Cohesive relation is established whenever the interpretation of one element depends on the interpretation of another element within the same text. However, those two elements must belong to different predications, since all relations within the same predication can be accounted for in terms of syntactic structure (Gajda 1982: 128). The two items establishing a cohesive link (*nawiązanie*) are the **referred** and the **referring element** (*podstawa nawiązania* and *człon nawiązujący* respectively), which, depending on the number of constituents, might in turn form **reference chains**[2] (*łańcuchy nawiązań*).

The classification of cohesive devices adopted by Gajda differs considerably from those used in the approaches discussed so far. The exponents of connectivity and segmentation (*środki więzi i segmentacji*) fall into three categories: **lexical cohesion**, **syntactic cohesion** and **connexity** (*koneksja*). Despite apparent terminological convergence, the first category is not tantamount to lexical cohesion in Halliaday and Hasan's (1976) approach. Apart from repetition, paraphrase and other semantically related items[3], it also subsumes pronominal and demonstrative reference, classified by Halliday and Hasan as a type of grammatical cohesion.

The category of syntactic cohesion comprises syntactic parallelisms (*paralelizmy składniowe*), ellipsis, nominalisation and parcelling. Finally, the term connexity encompasses all kinds of **connectives** (*konektywy*) expressing the relations of equivalence, conjunction, disjunction, comparison, contrast, inclusion, exclusion, time, reason, condition, consent, place, manner, etc., roughly corresponding to Halliday and Hasan's (1976) conjunctive relations.

The cohesion of a given textual unit (e.g. paragraph) can be defined as the sum of all cohesive relations formed within that unit. However, according to Gajda (1982) the exponents of connectivity and segmentation are not the only clues that lend the text its quality of being a cohesive whole. The auxiliary criterion of **glutinosity** (*glutynacja*)[4], identified by Mistrik (1968, cited in Gajda 1982: 138), should also be taken into account. Mistrik coined the term to describe the binding force of predication beginnings (**incipits** – *incipity*) exerted on subsequent predications. The exponents of glutinosity range from connectives, having the strongest binding force, through predicate, adverbial, compliment to the subject group finally, having the weakest binding properties.

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[2] The term "reference chain" is used here with the meaning of "cohesive chain".

[3] Category subsuming items belonging to the same thematic group, elements bound by metonymy, or any kind of association (Gajda 1982: 134).

[4] Gajda (1982: 139) emphasizes the auxiliary character of this criterion, since texts are not uniform and therefore cannot be systematically described with the aid of glutinosity.

The main parameter in Gajda's analysis of cohesion is the **KW factor**, i.e. the coefficient of cohesion of a given predication (*czynnik kohezji wypowiedzenia*), which is the Σ n of all referring elements (*człony nawiązujące*) that can be found in a predication. Since this parameter does not hold the constant value for all predications, cohesion is subject to marked fluctuations across the text. This phenomenon is referred to as **undulation of cohesion** (*falowanie kohezji*) (Gajda 1982: 140).

2.5. Cohesive force of syndetic and asyndetic connections

In their account of the English grammar, Quirk et al. (1985) present several ways of indicating the closeness of textual connection, ranging from structural parallelism to introducing overt connecting items. The approach in question also underscores the cohesive properties of lexical linkage, prosody and punctuation.

Cohesive relations in this model are marked by **asyndetic** and **syndetic connections**. The term asyndetic refers to those cases where there is no formal linkage between the clauses or sentences, i.e. the logical connection that can be established between them is made linguistically overt. By contrast, the existence of the syndetic connection is signalled by the insertion of an overt linking item to mark "the relevance of sequence and the closeness of textual connection" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1429).

Quirk *et al.* provide a detailed description of a wide range of connective devices, such as, for instance, time and place relators, adverbial indicators, as well as the cohesive devices marking the relations of coordination and subordination. They do, however, stress the contribution of tense and aspect to textual cohesion, particularly in those cases where syndetic linkage might create a semblance of cohesion (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1432). Conversely, neighbouring sentences that are formally regarded as asyndentic are capable of forming a cohesive sequence provided they share grammatical features of tense, aspect, clause structure, or word order (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1427).

Their model also categorises cohesive devices according to discourse designs or strategies that govern their choice and distribution in texts. The most common patterns are labelled as step, chain, stack, and balance (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1435). The **step** procedure, deployed in descriptions, narratives or arguments, is marked by the use of cohesive markers such as *after*, *then* or *next*. The **chain** strategy, which can be traced in reflective or exploratory discourse, tends to establish cohesive ties through *by the way* or *but of course*. Both step and chain procedures are typical of spoken informal discourse, whereas the strategy of stack is to be found in formal speeches or written texts. Characteristic connecting devices for the **stack** structure are summative conjuncts (e.g. *all in all*, or *in short*). Finally, the **balance** strategy, which aims to present both arguments and counter-arguments, frequently resorts to adversative conjuncts (e.g. *on the other hand*, *but*) (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1436).

2.6. Semantic cohesion vs. thematic cohesion

Duszak (1998) assumes that cohesion is manifested in the occurrence of formal markers in the surface structure. However, the nature of this phenomenon is not purely structural. Duszak (1998) divides the former notion into two sub-categories: **semantic cohesion** and **thematic cohesion**. The theory of semantic cohesion is based on the claim that the interpretation of one discourse element is conditioned by the presence of another element. It is through establishing the relations of mutual reference between those two elements that the process of decoding is possible. Considering the type of mental operations involved in identifying cohesive relations, semantic cohesion cannot be considered to be heterogeneous in nature. Adopting the criterion of mental operations, semantic cohesion can be further subdivided into **referential cohesion** and **functional cohesion** (Duszak 1998: 93). The category of **referential cohesion** partly overlaps with those of ellipsis and lexical cohesion established by Halliday and Hasan (1976), since it encompasses not only pro-forms typically forming referential relations, but also ellipsis and all kinds of lexical reiterations. However, apart from the differences in terms of constitutive parts, there are other aspects in which referential cohesion seems to show some affinity with Halliday and Hasan's (1976) approach. In both models the essential prerequisite for establishing referential links is the condition of satisfying semantic presupposition.

As Duszak (1998, 94) points out in her work, the term describing the category of referential cohesion derives from Frege's opposition: **sense—reference**, where reference is synonymous to denotation. Following that line of reasoning, some cohesive relations can be traced to **intension**, a set of defining properties determining the applicability of a term. Others are commonly associated with **extension**, understood as a class of entities to which a word is correctly applied. On the other hand, the other type of semantic cohesion—**functional cohesion**, is defined in terms of intension only. This category embraces all kinds of **junction** (i.e. conjunction, disjunction). The presupposition lies in one sentence carrying the logical functions for the other, and in this way establishing the relation of, for instance, contrast, cause or effect. The elements triggering this kind of presupposition are intersentential connectors which signal that there is a specific kind of relationship between text segments (Duszak 1998: 94).

The theory of thematic cohesion is based on the claim that the power which integrates the sentences can be described in terms of continuity in the flow of information. The thematic element has been perceived as a kind of building factor generating the architecture of a text. It is crucial to note that the analyses of thematic cohesion have developed into the concept of pragmatic coherence (Duszak 1998: 96).

2.7. The semiotic approach to cohesion

The wide scope of the term cohesion in Folkart's (1988) account clearly exceeds any other understanding of that notion in other approaches. Her extended definition of cohesion subsumes the conventional one postulated by Halliday and Hasan (1976), which limits cohesion to the surface connectivity achieved by virtue of grammatical and lexical resources. Folkart (1988) crosses this demarcation line advancing the semiotic definition of cohesion as:

> (...) the integration, on both the expression—and content—planes, of substance, or formants, into an overarching form, and whatever rank this integration may occur. (...) Such integration is of course rule-governed and non-random, following well-defined laws that provide criteria of well-formedness at every rank (Folkart 1988: 142).

On the expression plane, cohesion cuts through all possible levels ranging from the phonemes through morphemes and syntagmemes to textemes at the top of the hierarchy. On the content plane, the creation of the ultimate message of the entire text begins with the semantic markers forming lexical items (Folkart 1988: 142).

As maintained by Folkart (1988), the integration of substance into form can be observed at both syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes of the linguistic system, represented by the syntactic structure, lexical co-occurrence and stylistic, registral or rhetorical phenomena respectively. Another significant factor contributing to shifts in cohesion in translation can be traced to the hypothesis of textual entropy or "entropisation"[5] formulated by Folkart (1988) as follows:

> (...) generally speaking, the entropisation of the text most usually manifests itself as a banalisation: the crisp, incisively-written source-text, blunted by translation, degenerates into something distinctly more flaccid (...) but the target-text violates neither the norms nor usage of the target language (Folkart 1988: 144).

It is important to stress that for the purpose of her analysis of cohesion, Folkart adopts the extended definition of cohesion cutting across all linguistic system planes ranging from the phonological level to the examinations of entire texts at the other end of the scale. In her view cohesion is defined as "the integration of substance into form". As emphasised by Folkart (1988: 143), her extended definition of cohesion subsumes the conventional one. Therefore, the approach in question seems at least to some extent pertinent to the present study. Folkart postulates that target texts in general display a marked tendency "to regress from form to substance, with a subsequent loss of ordering and increase of textual entropy". The regress is claimed to be particularly flagrant at the sentential and infrasentential levels. Looking at the syntagmatic relations, it

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[5] Folkart (1988: 143) employs both terms in her work.

can be observed that complex syntactic structures regress to simpler ones. At the level of lexical co-occurrence, collocates tend to select polyvalent items from their collocational ranges in lieu of the marked terms representing a high degree of normalisation employed in the original (Folkart 1988: 144). At the other axis of linguistic analysis, regression of paradigmatic form to substance can be traced in the outputs that tend to substitute lexical items with their distinctly less marked substitutes. This aspect of textual entropy seems to be particularly relevant to the present study in terms of analysing the networks of lexical cohesive ties. Finally, at the sentential or infrasentential levels, text entropisation can also take the extreme form of **degeneration into interlanguage**, violating the combinatory constraints (Folkart 1988: 144). Similar tendency towards text entropisation can be observed at the suprasentential, or discoursal level, where the need to consider the "canonical" cohesive mechanisms, as Folkart (1988: 151) refers to them, becomes apparent. Regression of form into substance might be manifested, for instance, in failing to maintain the anaphoric reference (Folkart 1988: 147).

Folkart does not attribute all those manifestations of textual entropy merely to language interference. She postulates that the instances of regression of form into substance is mostly due to "the tendency of translators in general and student translators in particular to process texts and choose their units of translation at ranks significantly lower than those at which meaning, be it referential, pragmatic or stylistic, is generated" (Folkart 1988: 145). As indicated in the quote, despite the universal nature of the phenomenon, the extent of textual entropy depends to a large extent on a level of translator's skills and experience: "(...) the greater the proficiency of the translator, the higher the rank at which the regression of form to substance occurs on the average" (Folkart 1988: 148).

Although Folkart's approach concentrates mainly on translation, she does make an attempt to compare it at one point to sight translation, which can be considered a type of simultaneous interpreting, hence its relevance to the present study. Having compared both kinds of outputs, she concludes that sight-translating subjects were more prone to operate at too low a level (the morpheme or lexeme levels), compared with those engaging in written translation (Folkart 1988: 146). Such tendency seems fairly predictable given the constraints intrinsic to this form of translation, the limited access of simultaneous interpreter to text structure.

2. Personal reference markers

The term **reference** has a wide application in semantics and denotes a relationship between a word and what it points to in the real world, in which sense it is equivalent to the term **denotation**. However, in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) model of cohesion adopted in this study, the notion of reference is understood in a more restricted sense. The term reference is used in their model to state a relationship of identity which exists between expressions in different

parts of a text, e.g. pro-forms referring to a noun or a noun phrase. Given those terminological discrepancies, some approaches adopted the term **co-reference** (e.g. Brown and Yule 1983) in order to avoid potential ambiguity. It has to be pointed out that the term co-reference does appear in Halliday and Hasan's work. However, it is used to describe a different type of relation:

> Co-reference is one particular form that co-interpretation may take—where the two items do, in fact, refer to the same thing. But the general concept that lies behind the cohesive relation of reference, and by virtue of which personals, demonstratives and comparatives are alike in their text-forming capacity, is that of co-interpretation. A reference item is one which is interpreted by reference to something else. It is this principle of co-interpretation that defines its role in the semantics of the text (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 314).

Halliday and Hasan distinguish between **exophora** or **situational reference** and **endophora** or **textual reference**. Both types of reference require retrieving the information necessary for interpreting the text elsewhere. In the case of exophoric reference, the missing information must be identified in the context of situation, while in the case of endophoric relation, the reference must be traced in the surrounding text. However, what these two types of reference have in common is that wherever they occur "there is a presupposition that must be satisfied; the thing referred to has to be identifiable somehow" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 33).

There seems to be a clear-cut borderline between exophora and endophora. However, Brown and Yule (1983) point to potential difficulties in distinguishing the two notions. They challenge the following Halliday and Hasan's view regarding referential relations:

> One occurrence of *John* at the beginning of a text may be followed by an indefinitely large number of occurrences of *he*, *him* or *his* all to be interpreted by reference to the original *John*. This phenomenon contributes very markedly to the internal cohesion of a text, since it creates a kind of network of lines of reference, each occurrence being linked to all its predecessors up to and including the initial reference (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 52).

Brown and Yule (1983) claim that given the limitation of human processing, it would be virtually impossible when dealing with long stretches of text to be able to retain in memory the original expression. They suggest it is more plausible that the receiver "establishes a referent in his mental representation of the discourse and relates subsequent references to that referent back to his mental representation, rather than to the original expression in the text" (Brown and Yule 1983: 200ff). In such cases endophoric reference becomes exophoric to a certain extent, since referring to mental representation is necessary to determine reference. The potential danger of the presupposed item being displaced from active storage whenever there is a long stretch of text before the presupposing

form appears, is also underscored in de Beaugrande and Dressler's (1981: 60) and Gajda's (1982: 133) approaches.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), only endophoric reference is cohesive. It is emphasised that while exophoric reference lends itself to the creation of text as it links the language with the context of situation, "it does not contribute to the integration of one passage with another so that the two together form part of the same text" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 37). Thus, the type of reference that contributes actively to text cohesion does not indicate a direct relationship between words and what they denote in the extra-linguistic reality, but is confined to the relationship between two linguistic expressions.

Endophora is further subdivided into **anaphora** and **cataphora**. By means of anaphoric reference it is possible to retrieve the presupposed element from the preceding texts, whereas cataphoric reference serves to indicate connection with the following text, creating a temporarily empty slot. Anaphora is considered to be the most common directionality for establishing reference relations owing to the fact that "the identity of the conceptual content being kept current is made plain in advance" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 60). But although anaphoric referential relations tend to prevail in texts, reference might also be resolved cataphorically. Usually, the presupposing and the presupposed items are not separated by long stretches of text. Halliday and Hasan (1976: 298), however, provide an example when the referent is to be found two paragraphs later. This strategy is genre-specific, being commonly pursued in the openings of short stories. A similar example can be found in de Beaugrande and Dressler's work (1981), where they remark that "cataphora can be used to generate uncertainty and therefore to intensify receivers' interest" (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 61).

Analysing any given language, one comes across a range of devices for establishing discoursal connections by referring either backwards or forward to something else. Instead of being immediately recognised as semantically independent entities, this type of cohesive ties requires on the part of the reader or listener identifying which part of the previous or the following text they refer to and with which they form a logical connection. The resulting cohesion "lies in the continuity of reference, whereby the same thing enters into the discourse a second time" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 31).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish three types of reference: personal, demonstrative and comparative. **Personal reference** is achieved by means of the function it has in the speech situation, and the category involved is the one of **person**. This category includes three classes of pronouns: personal pronouns, possessive determiners and possessive pronouns. It has been postulated by Halliday and Hasan that only the third person is inherently cohesive as it typically refers to an item in the preceding part of the text. First and second person forms are exophoric by nature since their referents are defined by the speech roles of speaker and hearer. Many texts employ the third person forms as the most frequent single class of cohesive ties, as the vast majority of examples of third

person reference are textual, and therefore cohesive. However, the distinction does not always hold when talking about spoken discourse. This finding is particularly crucial for the purpose of this study, since it aims to analyse orally delivered texts, as well as their renditions by interpreters. In spoken English it is common for the third person to function exophorically, while with the first and second person forms, the assumption is reversed.

The most common reference markers in English as well as in Polish seem to be pronouns. Third person pronouns are often employed to make reference to an entity, which either has already been mentioned or is going to be introduced later in the course of the text. However, although both English and Polish employ personal pronouns extensively to establish referential relations, these two languages differ in their systems of personal pronouns. On the morphological level, for the single third person plural English form *they*, Polish has two forms *oni* and *one*, making gender distinction between them. The former one is masculine (virile), whereas the latter form refers to feminine and neuter entities (non-virile) (Fisiak *et al.* 1978: 74). Unlike English pronouns, which exhibit limited case distinction, all kinds of Polish personal pronouns have full declension paradigms (Fisiak *et al.* 1978: 74). English *you* could be rendered into Polish as *wy*, *was*, *wam* or *wami* depending on the case requirements in the given context. Another marked discrepancy between the two systems are the syntactic requirements of the phrase structure. Whereas in English the subject of the main clause is usually retained on the surface, there is no such restriction in Polish. When the subject slot is filled with the pronoun "it can be deleted by Pronominal Subject Deletion transformation, an optional rule that applies after subject-verb agreement has been established" (Fisiak *et al.* 1978: 22).

As pointed out by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), using pro-forms might involve a trade-off between compactness and clarity. Since pro-forms tend to be shorter than the items they replace, they save processing effort. However, if the presupposed elements are hard to locate or determine, the processing effort is wasted on search and matching operations (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, 64ff).

When it comes to translating **reference**, Hatim and Mason (1990: 201) observe that this type of relation is invariably subject to syntactic restrictions. Therefore the discrepancies between the source and the target languages are a potential source of difficulty for the translator since it might entail loss or gain of information. However, their research shows that such cases are relatively rare. They conclude that "what concerns the translator is to access a particular instance of deixis in terms of its significance for the emerging coherence and cohesion of the text" (Hatim and Mason 1990: 196).

As far as the English-Polish language pair is concerned, it has to be taken into account that the marking of pronouns, nouns and verbs for gender in Polish contributes to the greater density of reference compared with English where very few distinctions are made in terms of number, gender, and verb agreement. For instance, the single pronoun *it* refers to all inanimate nouns. Therefore, as it is

advocated by Baker (1992: 190), it might be preferable while working from such languages as French, German, (or Polish[6]) into English to resort to repetition in certain cases to avoid potential ambiguity.

4. Research design

The material for this study was collected by recording 96 outputs of 48 interpreting students. Altogether, it consists of about 10 hours of audio recordings. The analyses have been made mainly on the basis of the transcribed material, while the original recordings have been used for control purposes. All false starts and mispronunciations are recorded in the transcripts.

The subjects in the study were the students of the 3rd year (Novices) and 5th year (Graduates) of English Philology (Translation and Interpreting Programme, University of Silesia). The two groups consisted of twenty four subjects each. The first group received a nine-month training in both consecutive and simultaneous interpreting, the other a twenty-seven month training of the same kind. All subjects were Polish native speakers having English as language B in their language combination. The direction of interpreting was from English into Polish, since language A is the one interpreters most often work into in the simultaneous mode (Gile 1995). Moreover, as underscored by Folkart (1988) "(...) translation into L1 is in some respects a privileged domain of observation (...) because insufficient mastery of the target language can no longer be invoked as a cause of inadequate performance"[7] (Folkart 1988: 147).

The corpus consists of two recorded speeches: "A Lecture" (T1) (5 min.) and "A Political Speech" (T2) (7 min.), both written monologues intended for oral delivery. The subjects were informed in advance about the topic of the speech they were supposed to render.

The experiment was conducted in a standard laboratory used for teaching simultaneous interpreting. The subjects were asked to listen to two texts and interpret the first one (T1) simultaneously and the other one (T2) consecutively. The students were divided into two groups (A and B); the first one (A) interpreting T1 using the simultaneous mode and T2 employing consecutive translation. With the second batch of students (B), the same texts were used but the modes reversed. For the purpose of consecutive interpreting the pauses in the text were made after approximately one minute. The students were allowed to take notes while listening to the input. The interpreted versions were taped, producing

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[6] Baker does not mention Polish in her work, but it has been assumed that since in Polish, like in French and in German, the pronouns, nouns and verbs are marked for gender, the potential difficulty of sorting out such dense reference links might equally valid for this language.

[7] Unfortunately, Folkart's statement has to be considered as an idealistic generalisation to a certain extent, as some studies report that failure in interpreting might in fact be ascribable to slight language deficiencies in the interpreter's mother tongue (e.g. Déjean Le Féal 1997: 620).

a corpus of ninety six outputs, which were examined in terms of both the types of cohesive markers employed and of their distribution in the rendered texts.

The basic method in the following study was to compare, on the basis of the transcripts, the outputs of individual subjects in terms of the choice and rendition of the cohesive markers available in the target texts.

Whereas the main objective of the present study is to examine the shifts that reside in the interpreting process itself, it has been assumed that certain shifts may derive from the English-Polish language pair. In some such cases the change or omission of the cohesive marker is obligatory due to language-specific restrictions, and therefore does not provide legitimate evidence for a study attempting to trace shifts in cohesion attributable to the interpreting process (Blum-Kulka 1986). Hence the exclusion of all examples exhibiting shifts in cohesion imposed by the discrepancies between source-language and target-language grammatical systems. However, the present study does aim to account for the language-specific differences that trigger alterations in the cohesive pattern since the corpus abounds in examples where the shifts attributable to the specificity of linguistic system are optional. In such cases the two factors of the specificity of the linguistic system and the impact of the interpreting mode have been presumed to overlap.

5. Results and discussion

Statistical analysis of the subcategory of Personal Reference shows a significant difference when we compare the mean result for retention and omission, with the former prevailing in SI and the latter in CI. The disparity between the two modes of interpreting in terms of the change of category is negligible ($p > 0.05$).

Table 5. *t test* results

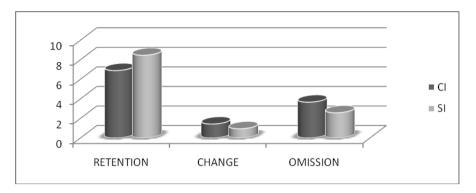| MODE OF INTERPRETING & TYPE OF SHIFT	MEAN & SD	p	CONCLUSION
CI – RET	6.9 +/- 3.36	p<0.05	$m_{CI} < m_{SI}$
SI – RET	8.466 +/- 3.12		
CI – CH	1.433 +/- 2.23	p>0.05	$m_{CI} = m_{SI}$
SI – CH	0.95 +/- 1.77		
CI – O	3.666 +/- 2.7	p<0.05	$m_{CI} > m_{SI}$
SI – O	2.583 +/- 1.28		

Figure 1. *t test* results

The category of personal reference is by no means a uniform one. The analysed examples fall into two distinct groups: 1st person personal pronouns and 3rd person personal pronouns. Examples (9/T2 PR)—(29/T2 PR) come from the same text (T2) where they form a dense network of 1st person forms with the common referent (*the Government*, *the present government*). The ratio of retention in this group is very high for both CI (72.02%) and SI (82.93%), with only 2.98% and 0.59% accounting for any shifts to a different category in CI and SI respectively.

Failure to establish cohesion is either due to the omission of a given cohesive device or the omission of information content, with an even distribution between the two modes in most cases. There are, however, two examples showing marked discrepancy between CI and SI in terms of the omission of information content: (13/T2) and (17/T2). In these two examples the higher percentage of omissions of information content in the consecutive mode can possibly be attributed to the paragraph-final positions of the analysed items, as illustrated by the following example:

ST[8] (13/T2), (17/T2):
but within a very short time of coming back into power / the present government had taken steps / to stabilise the position/no doubt you will remember some of those steps / many of them were painful at the time / but they were necessary if international confidence was to be restored / and **we** did not flinch from taking them
first of all / we applied ourselves to identifying the root causes of our national ailments / examining contemporary evidence / and refusing to be slaves to outmoded doctrinaire beliefs / secondly / we embarked on a reasoned policy to ensure steady economic growth / the modernisation of industry / and a proper

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[8] Source text.

balance between public and private expenditure / thirdly / by refusing to take refuge / as the previous government had continually done in the preceding years / in panic-stricken stop-gap measures / **we** stimulated the return of inte international confidence

TT⁹ (S51/CI):
w bardzo krótkim czasie po objęciu urzędu / nasz rząd podjął kroki żeby ustabilizować sytuację w kraju / na pewno przynajmniej niektóre są jeszcze w naszej pamięci / niektóre z nich były bolesne ale były potrzebne żeby odbudować / zaufanie narodu
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT
po pierwsze / usiłowaliśmy określić jakie były przyczyny tego kryzysu / badając dowody jakie mieliśmy / i odsuwając się od / przekonań / od przekonań poprzedniego rządu / po drugie zajęliśmy się modernizacją przemysłu / usiłując poprawić stan gospodarki krajowej / i chcieliśmy osiągnąć / równowagę pomiędzy wydatkami sektora publicznego i prywatnego / po trzecie zaś nie uciekaliśmy się do / rozwiązań dyktowanych przez panikę / i nie uciekaliśmy od pewnych rozwiązań jak poprzedni rząd to czynił
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT

Bearing in mind that in the consecutive mode the bulk of information is committed to the interpreter's memory, it is hardly surprising that certain parts of the content are lost in the process. The comprehension of input in CI coincides with the task of note-taking which might impose additional strain on the interpreter when it comes to allocating processing capacity. Overload of processing capacity in the first phase of the process (the listening and note-taking phase) may force the interpreter to rely solely on his or her memory for the relevant input segment.

The omission of information content in example (17/T2) can possibly be accounted for in terms of failure sequences. As pointed out by Gile (1995: 175), one of the most common problem triggers leading to failure sequences is the semantic density of the content. This is clearly the case with the speech segment preceding the personal pronoun in (17/T2). It is vital here to search for possible problem triggers in the preceding part of the discourse, since failure sequences are assumed to occur at a distance influencing an input segment that is not problematic in itself. Another possible problem trigger resulting in failure to render the final part of the paragraph is the occurrence of low-frequency lexical items in the immediate vicinity of the omitted segment. The two compound adjectives (*panic-stricken* and *stop-gap*) can possibly impose additional strain on the interpreter, resulting in the omission of the whole fragment. Likewise, the presence of the low-frequency verb *flinch* in (13/T2) may have induced some of the subjects to leave out the whole source speech segment.

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⁹ Target text

A scenario of this kind is in fact typical of the simultaneous mode, where searching for the right equivalent may limit the availability of the incoming discourse string. This is probably how the loss of information content can be accounted for in (13/T2) with the percentage value of 25% for OIC. However, the results for (17/T2) show that subjects in the SI group tend to omit the problematic lexical items rather than the subsequent part of the text (S68/SI) (S86/SI). Moreover, it has to be taken into account that the complexity and length of the sentence may make the consecutive interpreter lose the speaker's train of thought or simply forget it by the time it is rendered into the target language. By contrast, the interpreter working in the simultaneous mode follows the speaker closely and is therefore more likely to retain this part of the source speech, especially if the low-frequency lexical items are omitted.

The other group falling into the category of personal reference, i.e. those examples where cohesion is established by means of 3rd person pronouns, differs significantly from the 1st person group in terms of the retention ratio. The percentage of retained cohesive markers is markedly lower in this group, with the value of 33.95% for CI and 48.46% for SI. Change of category accounts for 27.99% (CI) and 21.92% (SI) of shifts. The most common type of shifts in both modes are Omission or Omission of Information Content (38.05% and 29.61% for CI and SI respectively), with the former one prevailing in CI.

One of the examples showing substantial differences between the two modes in terms of rendering a cohesive device is (5/T1), in which the retention amounts to 16.67% (CI) and 79.17% (SI), omission amounts to 8.33% (CI), 16.67% (SI), and for the omission of information content the percentage values are: 75% (CI), 4.17% (SI). Thus the most common type of shift in the consecutive mode is the omission of information content. In this particular example the tendency to omit this input segment might be due to the syntactic structure of the source text, where the clause containing the personal pronoun is the parenthetical clause.

ST (5/T1):
(...) but now before mentioning some of the other **consequences** / and there were many of **them** / some very important / some much less so / (...)

Given that the information that there were many consequences is not immediately available, this part of the source text is lost in the process of interpreting, resulting in the minimal loss of meaning. This tendency is illustrated by the following examples:

TT (S12/CI):
(...) natomiast chciałbym skupić się także na innych **konsekwencjach** / niektóre z nich są ważniejsze / niektóre mniej ważne /
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT

TT (S28/CI):
(...) a teraz zanim pomyślicie o innych **konsekwencjach** z których jedne były
bardziej a inne mniej znaczące / (...)
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT

Some of the subjects dealt with the syntactic complexity of this input segment
by inserting the quantifier *many* before the lexical item *consequences*:

TT (S30/CI):
(...) jednak istnieje <u>wiele innych</u> **konsekwencji** / pewne z nich są mniej
ważne / inne zaś nieco mniej / (...)
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION

Markedly higher retention of this cohesive marker in the simultaneous mode
in the case of this particular example can clearly be ascribed to the privileged
availability of texture, characteristic of this mode. Owing to that, the interpreter
can follow the surface structure of the target text far more closely than in the
consecutive mode, where the verbatim recall for surface structure undergoes
rapid decay.

Example (33/T2) may seem to resemble closely (5/T1) in that the cohesive
marker is also located in the parenthetical clause. However, whereas in (5/T1) the
embedded clause carried some new information, the clause in (33/T2) seems to
be semantically redundant. Thus, all the target versions marked by the omission
of that particular clause fall into the category of omission, rather than omission
of information content, since leaving out this source language segment does not
entail any information loss.

ST (33/T2):
(...) we attacked / we attacked **restrictive practices** / wherever **they** existed /
(...)

TT (S52/CI):
(...) dlatego staraliśmy się zaatakować pewne **restrykcyjne praktyki** / (...)
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION

TT (S52/CI):
(...) zlikwidowaliśmy **wszystkie restrykcje** ograniczające tą produktywność
(...)
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION

Having eliminated the embeddedness of the clause as the possible source
of omission of information content, it can be assumed that failure to retrieve
information content in (33/T2) is probably mainly due to the semantic density of
the paragraph containing the cohesive marker in question:

ST (33/T2):
we took as our first objective the problem of productivity / for far long for far too long the average level of productivity in this country / had been lower than was to be expected when the quality of the labour force was considered / we attacked / we attacked **restrictive practices** / wherever **they** existed / we instituted measures for the more rational deployment of labour / and we greatly improved the relationship between management and workers // (...)

TT (S84/CI):
głównym naszym wyznacznikiem był wzrost produktywności / charakterystyczne dla naszego kraju było iż produktywność była niższa niż oczekiwana / kładli-śmy nacisk na zwiększenie / polepszenie jakości / siły roboczej i / racjonalny podział pracy / zawdzięczacie nam również polepszenie stosunków z zarządza-jącymi / (...)
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT

Another example exhibiting marked discrepancy between the consecutive and the simultaneous mode is (32/T2), with a similar tendency to omit part of the information content as in (5/T1):

ST (32/T2):
(...) no doubt you will remember some of those steps / many of them were painful at the time / but they were necessary if international confidence was to be restored / and we did not flinch from taking **them**

TT (S73/CI):
(...) jestem przekonany że większość z tych trudnych decyzji które podjął rząd / w dalszym ciągu tkwi głęboko w państwa pamięci / ponieważ były one bardzo ciężkie i / trudne do zniesienia / niemniej jednak z drugiej strony były konieczne aby pomóc naszej gospodarce
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT
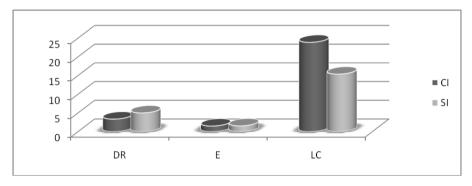
TT (S81/CI):
(...) niektóre z tych kroków były zapewne bolesne w owym czasie / natomiast po / po jakimś czasie widać że były one konieczne
PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT

Since this instance of a cohesive device is located in the same source-text segment as example (13/T2), the loss of information content is largely due to the same problem triggers, namely the semantic density of the preceding part of the text as well as the presence of the low-frequency lexical item (*flinch*) prior to the analysed speech segment.

The group of examples where cohesion is established by means of 3rd person pronouns (1/T1—8/T1) (30/T2—33/T2) displays a stronger tendency to resort to

the change of category (27.99% and 21.92% for CI and SI respectively) compared with the 1st person pronouns where this type of shift is marginal (2.97% in CI and 0.59% in SI). The types of shift occurring within the former group are shown in Figure 2 below:

DEMONSTRATIVE REFERENCE – 3.35% (CI), 5% (SI)
ELLIPSIS – 1.49% (CI), 1.53% (SI)
LEXICAL COHESION – 23.88% (CI), 15.38% (SI)

Figure 2. Change of category in (1/T1—8/T1) (30/T2—33/T2)

As can be inferred from the above bar chart, the category most subjects shift to is lexical cohesion. The changes fall into three subcategories of repetition (identical repetition or partial repetition), paraphrase and collocation, with the former prevailing in both modes of interpreting.

Shifts from referential cohesion to reiteration are perceived by Blum-Kulka (1986) as increasing text explicitness. According to Shlesinger (1995), this method of rendering cohesive ties may lend itself to maintaining the continuity of sense whenever there is a considerable distance between the nodes of a tie. Her study shows that the factor of distance does trigger shifts within the category of reference. Shifts involve either a change to less explicit forms (changing personal a pronoun to the definite article *the*) or inserting more explicit forms by repeating or paraphrasing the referent.

The factor of distance may account for the substantial discrepancy between consecutive and simultaneous renderings of example (2/T1). The personal pronoun *they* marked in the analysis as (2/T1) is part of a referential chain with another pronominal form (1/T1) preceding it:

ST (1/T1) (2/T1):
you will all have seen from the handouts / which you have in front of you / that I propose to divide this course of lectures / on the urban / on the urban and architectural development of London into **three main sections** / and perhaps

I could just point point out right at the beginning / that there will be a good deal of overlap between **them**

they are intended / they are intended to stand as separate self-contained units / (...)

In the simultaneous mode the two pronominal forms follow the referent in close succession. However, since the second referring element belongs to a different text segment, it is not immediately accessible to the consecutive interpreter. Therefore, the disparity between the two modes, in terms of applying lexical cohesion (41.67% in CI and 16.67% in SI), may be due to the temporal distance imposed by the specificity of consecutive interpreting.

TT (S10/CI):

wszyscy będziecie państwo mieli okazję zobaczyć na hendautach które państwu / wręczę / jak będzie / wyglądał plan naszych / naszego wykładu / będzie to związane z rozwojem miejskim i architektonicznym Londynu i będzie to podzielone / na **trzy sekcje**

sekcje te są pomyślane tak aby stanowiły odrębne jednostki / (...)

(1/T1). PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ OMISSION OF INFORMATION CONTENT
(2/T1). PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ REITERATION (PARTIAL REPETITION) + DEMONSTRATIVE REFERENCE

TT (S29/CI):

na hendautach / które macie przed sobą / proponuję sposób podziału tych zajęć / dotyczący miejskiego / miejskiego rozwoju i architektury Londynu na **trzy główne sekcje** / może na samym początku powinienem wskazać że będą **one** na siebie nachodzić / bardzo często

moim zamierzeniem jest pokazanie że każda / z **tych jednostek** jest / jednostką samą w sobie / (...)

(1/T1). PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ PERSONAL REFERENCE
(2/T1). PERSONAL REFERENCE ⇒ REITERATION (PARAPHRASE) + DEMONSTRATIVE REFERENCE

It is interesting to note that the cohesive marker in (1/T1) also displays a marked tendency to be replaced by lexical forms. However, the disparity between the modes is less apparent (54.17% in CI and 37.5%) than in (2/T1).

6. Conclusions

The results obtained in the study confirm Blum-Kulka's (1986) postulate that shifts in cohesion are a universal strategy of language mediation since alterations in cohesive patterns can be observed, albeit to varying degrees, in both modes of interpreting. Shlesinger's (1995) study of SI and the pilot study (Łyda and Gumul 2002) yielded similar results.

Comparison of two stages of interpreting training (Novice and Graduate interpreters) revealed that no marked disparity in terms of cohesive patterns reproduction can be observed between the two groups in either mode. However, in view of Klaudy and Károly's (2002) study which attested to marked differences between trainee and professional translators' renditions of the source-text cohesive pattern, further research is required to validate the hypothesis about experience-level independence in interpreting, since the present study does not aim to analyse the outputs of professional interpreters.

Consecutive interpreting appears to be more prone to shifts in cohesion as the category change and omission rates are considerably higher than in the simultaneous mode. The majority of personal reference cohesive pattern alterations in consecutive interpreting are due to input restructuring which is characteristic of this mode given the intrinsic dominance of structure over the other domain of textuality—the texture. Limited access to texture impedes verbatim recall of the target-language text cohesive pattern. Syntactic structure transformation as a reason provoking shifts in cohesion has been found to be considerably frequent.

Another cause of omissions and categorial shifts in CI is separation of cohesive tie nodes. Taking into account the mode-specific input division into segments, the link is difficult to retrieve if the delivery of the referring element, or the other proposition in the case of conjunctions, is delayed in time.

Cohesive pattern is also subject to alteration in CI owing to the semantic density of the input. A large number of propositions in the speech segment where the cohesive device is located acts as a problem trigger that often engenders omissions and category changes. Recognition and subsequent equivalent reproduction of the source text cohesive pattern is hindered by the time pressure imposed by the two concurrent operations (input comprehension and note-taking in the first phase of CI) that might lead to processing capacity overload.

Source-language cohesive pattern is likely to change in the process of consecutive interpreting due to the considerable length and syntactic complexity of the segment containing the cohesive device, which leads to the interpreter forgetting the speaker's train of thought by the time it is rendered into the target language. This type of problem trigger engenders omissions of the cohesive marker itself or the whole segment, resulting in loss of information content.

The consecutive mode has been found to be prone to cohesive pattern alteration owing to the presence of low-frequency lexical items prior to the segment containing a given cohesive marker. It can therefore be assumed that it is the interpreter's inability to find a suitable equivalent that makes him or her omit the whole source-text string, which results in loss of information content. In CI, where the time constraint is much weaker in comparison with the simultaneous mode, the failure to reproduce the source-language cohesive pattern might possibly be accounted for in terms of the (un)shared knowledge constraint.

The simultaneous mode is affected by shifts in cohesion to a significantly lesser extent than consecutive interpreting. Similarly to CI, simultaneous outputs

have also been found to be prone to alterations in cohesive patterns due to the semantic density of the source text. Dense propositional content, coupled with the time pressure imposed by the three competing efforts involved in the concurrent operations of input comprehension and output production in SI, impede faithful reproduction of cohesive devices.

A substantial number of omissions in the simultaneous mode is apparently a consequence of adopting the strategy of text-editing or economy of expression that involve omitting the cohesive item itself. Resorting to this strategy is due to the external pacing imposed by the speaker.

Similarly to CI, personal reference cohesive patterns in the simultaneous mode are also likely to undergo change owing to the proximity of low-frequency lexical items. Given the mode-specific limited processing capacity resources, searching for the right equivalent may limit the availability of the incoming discourse string resulting ultimately in some loss of information. Thus, unlike in CI, where this could be accounted for mainly in terms of the (un)shared knowledge constraint, the simultaneous outputs may simply be affected by the time constraint. However, it has to be stressed that simultaneous interpreting is affected by this type of cohesive pattern alteration to a lesser extent than the other mode.

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