

The Interpreters' Newsletter

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Corpus-based Dialogue
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Editorial

A dialogue on dialogue interpreting (DI) corpora

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The use of corpus methods to study interpreter-mediated communicative situations has been increasing significantly over the last two decades. Curiously enough, due to a series of unplanned twists in my academic life in the last couple of years, I have found myself dealing with a considerable *corpus* of investigations based on this research paradigm. Part of these are included in the present issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*. Other contributions have been collected in a volume and in a forthcoming special issue of another translation and interpreting journal, which I co-edited with Mariachiara Russo and Bart Defrancq (Bendazzoli *et al.* forthcoming; Russo *et al.* 2018).

Whether machine-readable or not, interpreting corpora have lent themselves to both qualitative and quantitative approaches across different interpreting modes and settings (Bendazzoli 2015). However, the development of electronic corpora, allowing for automatic extraction of occurrences and text-sound/video alignment, has been favored in certain areas more than others on account of greater availability of data (e.g. from public institutions such as the European Parliament) and the more convenient management of monologic speech compared to what is the case in more sensitive settings (such as hospitals, courts, corporate events) and with dialogic interaction. Nevertheless, there are now examples of fully-fledged corpora of dialogue interpreting too, such as the TIPp corpus of criminal court proceedings (Orozco-Jutorán 2017, Orozco-Jutorán forthcoming), and the Community Interpreting Database (Angermeyer *et al.* 2012), bearing witness to the fact that some ways to address and overcome part of the methodological challenges in corpus development have been found (e.g. in transcription and annotation, see Ruhi *et*

al. 2014). In fact, it looks as if major obstacles are hard to die upstream, i.e. at the stage of gaining access to data, collecting them, and then making them available to other scholars. As mentioned by Valero Garcés back in 2006 (86-87):

[...] there are often serious difficulties in gathering corpora of authentic data. The interest that providers (governmental agencies, private institutions, or non-governmental organisations (NGOs)) as well as the users-clients have in keeping the information confidential, contributes to this shortage of data and studies. This situation is often compounded by the fact that it is usually necessary to prepare very detailed reports for those organisations or institutions that do agree to participate in CI [community interpreting] research, to carefully explain the purpose, the use and protection of the data being solicited, only to be rejected dozens of times. In order to be able to carry out CI research, one needs to gain the trust of providers, clients and interpreters often through written authorization in different minority languages so that the clients are able to understand the researchers' aims firsthand and can sign the forms granting permission to observe and possibly record the sessions as long as their anonymity is preserved.

These obstacles often lead to the creation of small size corpora or limited collections of data for which manual analysis apparently remains the only sensible option. And yet even small corpora can be annotated and analyzed through automatic retrieval of occurrences (e.g. Castagnoli/Niemants forthcoming), which can then be quantified as well as investigated qualitatively, the two options being not mutually exclusive (Pöchhacker 2006: 152; Pallotti 2016).

Other often-mentioned challenges to interpreting corpora development concern transcription and annotation. In fact, technological advancements in speech recognition software solutions along with the potential of Web 2.0 are easing up the transcription process (Bendazzoli 2018). Similarly, software tools for corpus-supported linguistic analysis are becoming more user friendly and more easily accessible than in the past (e.g. Corpus Workbench, ELAN, EXMARaLDA, Sketch Engine to name some of the most familiar to interpreting scholars). Nevertheless, technology and research methods are useless without data. And data, whether big or small, are the fundamental ingredient to create a corpus.

Before introducing the contributions gathered in the present issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*, I shall propose some reflections on the implications inherent in corpus-based dialogue interpreting research. To this end, I engaged in a dialogue with expert voices from the field. Their views may help gain insight into some of the practices in data collection and the future developments of this line of enquiry (DI research), which I contend should not be limited to community settings.

1. Dialogue interpreting: beyond community and public service settings

Translation and Interpreting scholars share a variety of labels to refer to what interpreters do and where. According to the description proposed by Pöchhacker (2004), there are different interpreting modalities (depending on whether spoken, signed or written language is involved), modes (simultaneous and consecutive interpreting with all the relevant sub-modes) and settings. When these three factors are considered together it is possible to identify types of interpreting, e.g. conference interpreting, court interpreting, business interpreting and so on.

When it comes to ‘dialogue interpreting’, Merlini (2015, 2007) rightly points out that in this case the focus is placed on the interaction format and not on a collation of contextual and translational features. Though this label is commonly used to reference interpreting activities in community settings, in fact dialogic interaction can also be found in other situations, and consequently in other types of interpreting. Consider, for instance: conference interpreting with simultaneous interpreters at work during debates, question and answer (Q&A) sessions, or press conferences (Sandrelli 2015, 2017)¹; TV interpreting with simultaneous interpreters *in absentia* translating for a secondary audience or interpreters *in praesentia* (Dal Fovo/Falbo 2017: 164-167), e.g. whispering the translation of an exchange between other guests in the same show; film interpreting (Russo 1997), with individual simultaneous interpreters or teams of interpreters translating the dialogues in a movie.

Besides the interpreting modality and mode (with the interpreter either visible or only audible), the degree of confidentiality and spontaneity can be considered distinguishing features along a continuum between two poles. In fact, interpreter-mediated dialogues may be more or less confidential and sensitive, which has a bearing on the possibility to record them and distribute them for research purposes. Similarly, interpreter-mediated dialogues can be more or less spontaneous, where turn-taking is pre-arranged to different extents or follows more or less established procedures which determine the sequential development and the unfolding of the interaction². This applies to situations with or without power asymmetries between participants (as in a doctor-patient encounter or in a business negotiation) and may prompt the interpreter to boost

- 1 According to my field observations and professional experience, in order to better manage dialogic exchanges (with possible overlapping between different interlocutors) alternative practices may be enacted. For instance, one simultaneous interpreter (in a team of two) only translates the questions while the other interpreter takes care of the answers. This way the different voices should also help service users identify more precisely what is being said by whom. In case of fast exchanges between primary interlocutors, interpreters may even decide to keep only one microphone on, without needing to keep switching on and off their microphones when taking the floor. This way, even the interpreters themselves can produce overlapping speech in the booth. On the other hand, consecutive interpreters may find themselves in a situation where more answers are provided to the same question by multiple speakers without waiting for each answer to be translated individually. In these cases, the interpreter would need to add explicit contextual and interactional references (e.g. the question was..., guest X’s reply is...).
- 2 In developing the Directionality in Simultaneous Interpreting Corpus (DIRSI-C) (Bendazzoli 2010, 2012), Q&A sessions were eventually excluded from the corpus due to the radical differences between the dialogic interaction therein and the monologic interaction of other conference sessions (e.g. opening sessions and paper presentation sessions). Despite the presence of the chairperson managing the floor and the need of participants to use the microphone one at a time to permit simultaneous interpreting of each speech event, frequent instances of overlapping speech were registered (especially when negotiating turn-taking and producing back-channeling during one’s reply). The transcription method and annotations adopted for that corpus could not process these features efficiently.

their coordinating role, thus managing the interaction in ways that do not conform to the idealized pattern L1 speaker > interpreter > L2 speaker > interpreter and so on (Baraldi/Gavioli 2012).

As interpreting scholars we are well aware of how prominent the interaction management function becomes, alongside the translational one, when interpreting in a dialogic situation. Let us be also aware that the same interaction format is not exclusive of face to face communication with direct involvement of the interpreter. Further understanding of this kind of interpreter-mediated communication can be beneficial to interpreters themselves and, above all, to service users alike.

2. Expert voices from the field

In order to find out more about current and future challenges in dialogue interpreting research, three experts with long-standing experience in the field were interviewed. The semi-structured interviews were run via Skype and were based on three questions which were sent in advance to the interviewees along with more general information about the main theme of the special issue I was invited to edit. At the beginning of the interview the three questions were presented and expanded to let the interviewees free to express themselves on the main points raised:

- 1) Considering the persisting methodological obstacles in data collection (i.e. in gaining access to the data and permission to use and distribute them, much more than transcription and tools for analysis), in your experience, what are the best practices or ways to deal with these methodological challenges? What are the best sources of data?
- 2) The corpus-based approach is pushing research from micro-analysis of case studies to larger data sets (quantitative analysis supplementing qualitative analysis). What can quantitative analysis tell us that qualitative analysis has failed to tell us?
- 3) What are the areas in particular need of being investigated in dialogue interpreting?

Since many of the answers provided by the three experts overlap to some extent, their comments have been grouped together and are presented below.

2.1 Data collection

Two challenges in particular were mentioned by the three experts concerning data collection: time and trust building. Gaining access to data sources, i.e. interpreter-mediated communicative situations, requires time as in ethnographic research. Even if one can count on inside champions or is sponsored by senior colleagues and university departments, reaching an agreement (possibly a long-

term one) to be allowed to record data, study them, and share them with other scholars or stakeholders takes time. In the opinion of one of the experts, at least 18 months are needed to get the ball rolling, and in some projects it was only after ten years of collecting data that a comprehensive agreement to disseminate them for research purposes was eventually reached. In fact, in sensitive settings one is sometimes required not to disseminate the data, which makes the whole corpus development enterprise quite hard to take. Anonymization is often required and this is also time-consuming besides ‘altering’ the primary data.

A number of successful strategies were mentioned by the three experts to address these issues. For example, relying on MA or PhD students collecting data for their theses, as well as interpreting students involved in internships has been a way to boost data gathering initiatives in some community and business settings, provided that an agreement is in place between the university and the institution providing the data. Although large datasets can be created this way, interpreting scholars then need to pick and choose their data to ensure a sufficient degree of representativeness. Moreover, restrictions may apply in re-using the data or disseminating them in the form of an open-access corpus (thus limiting access to research conducted by a closed group of scholars). The establishment of international research networks sharing similar data-gathering practices could provide the long-term support necessary to create and disseminate large corpora.

Marketing strategies can also be used to promote one’s research and convince stakeholders to open their doors, e.g. highlighting that research results could improve their services. In this vein, businesses may even require not to keep the data anonymous in that they are willing to show how good they are in their quality assurance initiatives. In public service settings, the need to address particularly topical issues may favor research endeavors to the point of gaining permission even to disseminate the data. This has been the case in legal interpreting (e.g. the TIPp corpus mentioned above) and in health care interpreting with a special focus on migrant patients.

A more creative and lateral thinking-oriented approach is recommended when trying to identify the best interlocutor who has the power to greenlight data collection for research purposes. Oftentimes it is complex to reach the person who is entitled to make such a decision within the articulated structure of certain institutions, such as hospitals. Managers at various levels may express genuine interest but, at the same time, pass the baton to somebody else with a higher decision-making power. Researchers run the risk of ending up in a catch-22 situation and waste their time chasing the wrong persons. That is why focusing on a different perspective may be more fruitful, e.g. contacting associations of mediators already working inside a clinic.

Further interesting comments were made by the interviewees about the use of consent forms. There is no standardized format internationally and requirements change between and within countries. In Italy, for instance, the privacy authority confirmed that in medical settings it is not necessary to have the consent form signed when recording data. It is sufficient to have an audio consent so as not to keep any track of the name of the patient. However, in other countries consent forms must be signed, especially in the case of video recording; if the

aims of one's study are described in detail, this may narrow the scope of data exploitation and hinder future developments.

Additional challenges in transcribing data were also raised during the interviews. First, multilingualism can be a major obstacle due to the lack of knowledge of certain languages, which limits the researcher's ability to analyze interactions. Second, notwithstanding greater interoperability afforded by different software tools (e.g. ELAN and EXMARaLDA, which are among the best to manage and represent dialogic interaction based on their partitur format and allowing to link transcripts to audio/video recordings), the way transcribed data are structured and organized still has a strong impact on the extent to which researchers can actually use multiple tools. That is why more shared (general) standards would be highly desirable, not so much in the annotation of specific attributes, but at least in how extra-linguistic data are structured. In this respect, greater added value can be found in software tools whose source code can be modified by the developers (or by users themselves) to adjust it to one's research needs.

Besides audio/video sources of data, good value also comes from participant observation (while recording the data). In fact participant observation enables researchers to connect all the dots when looking at corpus query results (see Angelelli's contribution in this issue for more reflections on the same topic). However, some settings are hard to access for data collection for practical reasons (e.g. emergency wards, though there are examples of fieldwork in this setting with the use of smartpens to take notes while audiorecording interactions at the same time), especially if they have less structured communicative practices but, above all, are highly sensitive. It is easier to collect data in situations where there are well-established pre-planned activities (e.g. standard procedures to deal with patients in maternity wards, vaccination programs, and so on). In addition, the documents used in a communicative situation are useful to inform one's analysis of the interaction. The more the sources from which data are gathered the better, though triangulation is then needed to obtain the full picture and be able to make sense of it.

2.2 Quantitative analysis

All three experts found the second question somewhat provocative in the way it was formulated, as they think that the two types of analysis, quantitative and qualitative, are not exclusive and they mutually inform each other. Even small, microanalysis can be quantitative, so a large corpus is not a prerequisite for counting occurrences. Quantification may better respond to the need for greater awareness (in terms of communication practices) in certain settings, such as in legal interpreting, because of the crucial consequences implied. Also, automatic retrieval of occurrences as a basis for quantification can certainly lead to more accurate queries than can be done counting each occurrence manually. For instance, specific occurrences at the lexical level are easy to find, regardless of the many variants involved. When it comes to annotating their functions or discourse indicators these can be expressed in many different forms, so the anal-

ysis begins even before the annotation stage to account for all the variants. In dialogic interactions, discourse functions are expressed in many different ways and would need such a level of coding that would push forward the analysis too much at the annotation stage, at least as long as the size of interpreting corpora remains too small to take advantage of computer-assisted searches. However, there are also lexically 'empty' phenomena, e.g. looking at what happens at the beginning of each turn, and these can be studied by means of automatically retrieved occurrences more easily.

A quantitative approach is now fundamental for obtaining research funding. Numbers count a lot in the language of the other interlocutor (e.g. funding agencies) and are essential when measuring the impact of a certain phenomenon. In fact, often the result is not different or new compared to what is found in qualitative studies, nevertheless other disciplines are much more interested in the quantitative side (e.g. medicine). This should not be underestimated when setting up interdisciplinary research teams whose members are not familiar with Interpreting Studies.

2.3 More research

In addition to each expert's personal research interests based on their academic background, some common topics in need of further scrutiny emerged from the interviews. For example, comprehensive descriptions of DI communicative situations, particularly of the participants involved and especially those who work with the interpreter, were voiced by all the interviewees. In-depth studies (not necessarily on large quantities of data) would also be needed to show convincing examples to stakeholders in medicine, psychology, etc. Similarly, it would be useful to publish DI research papers in other outlets to have greater impact and receive more attention, not just from the community of translation and interpreting scholars. Comparing and contrasting different settings would also be useful to examine different interactional patterns and the extent to which these are arranged in advance. For instance, in legal interpreting there are pre-established sequences, interaction is highly structured in several situations (in terms of who takes the floor to say what and when). It would seem that the interpreter must follow these sequences and structures quite closely. On the other hand, in healthcare settings, it has been observed that the mediator/interpreter often takes the floor to explain, expand, communicate with the patient and these exchanges are not renditions of previous turns. Given that multiple non-renditions are nearly always present in data from healthcare settings, is this the case also in other settings with less functional discourse? In business settings, evidence of many multilingual sequences is found along with zero renditions (e.g. in the initial introductions among participants) and these would seem to be absolutely fine, as probably it would be embarrassing to translate these exchanges.

Interpreter training is another area worthy of greater research attention to fill the gap between description and didactic applications. Examples of new teaching proposals envisage the use of research data in class, though interpreter trainers

may not be competent enough to manage research data or may not be interested in them. Moreover, there may be skeptical attitudes towards analyses of interpreter-mediated interactions: is a particular interpreter skilled and professional enough to be taken as a model? Focused selection of interactions is fundamental to be fully aware of what interpreter trainees should be exposed to.

3. Issue 22 of *The Interpreters' Newsletter*: Corpus-based dialogue Interpreting Studies

The small number of contributions to the present issue of *The Interpreters' Newsletter* should not be taken as a sign of scant interest in corpus-based DI studies. In fact, an increasing number of research projects have been undertaken within this paradigm over the last two decades, and even more so on DI more generally (see e.g. Dal Fovo/Niemants 2015; Cirillo/Niemants 2017). As mentioned above, other editorial projects run in parallel and absorbed some valuable works that would have fit perfectly in this issue on corpus-based DI research. Nevertheless, the proposed papers cover multiple aspects of this line of enquiry, ranging from theoretical reflection to empirical research and didactic applications, and echo many points raised in the expert interviews reported above.

In “Can ethnographic findings become corpus-studies data? A researcher’s ethical, practical and scientific dilemmas”, Claudia V. Angelelli critically examines fundamental issues involved in setting up a DI corpus using data that had been collected for other research aims through fieldwork and ethnographic research. This paradigm shift and the resulting implications for the analyst in having access to primary or secondary data pose thought-provoking dilemmas, which may also be considered valid in more general terms. The four major issues considered constant, i.e. complying with data protection-related norms, ethics, time, and cost, were also voiced in the dialogue with the experts reported in the previous section.

In “A multimodal corpus approach to dialogue interpreting studies in the Chinese context: towards a multi-layer analytic framework” Fei Gao and Binhua Wang also draw on theoretical reflections concerning the role of multimodality in DI. Given that the analysis of linguistic annotations alone falls short of explaining translational shifts in distant language pairs, such as Chinese and English, a fuller picture can be obtained by including further layers (written transcript, auditory properties, visual semiotics, and context). The proposed analytical model is illustrated together with data sources that are likely to be more accessible for interpreting scholars in China in the near future – an encouraging piece for more data and better data.

Simo K. Määttä’s paper “English as a lingua franca in telephone interpreting: representations and linguistic justice” is an example of DI research based on a small size corpus, which was indeed analyzed manually but which was also informed by quantitative analysis. Määttä investigates the impact of English (used as lingua franca) on participants’ mutual understanding and discourse organization during an exchange mediated by a telephone interpreter in a legal setting. Convincing examples of possible cases of (linguistic) unfairness are presented

from a critical discourse analysis perspective and can be used to generate hypotheses to be tested on larger data sets.

One way to overcome difficulties in data gathering is to simulate interactions. Five bilingual moot court cross-examinations interpreted by interpreting students constitute the corpus analyzed by Xin Liu and Sandra Hale in “Facework strategies in interpreter-mediated cross-examinations: a corpus-assisted approach”. This study clearly shows the potential of a tagged corpus and responds in a way to the worry raised by one of the experts in §2.2 about the methodology (and the related effort) needed to code attributes that go beyond the lexical level (i.e. facework strategies). The detailed analysis of a particular episode or activity type (in Levinson’s terms, 1979) within the constellation of legal interpreting communicative situations is also in line with the areas in greater need of being investigated mentioned in the expert survey.

Finally, in “Using Corpus Linguistics as a research and training tool for Public Service Interpreting (PSI) in the legal sector” Cinzia Spinzi proposes a compelling example of how to combine different kinds of corpora (a learner corpus of simulated interactions, a monolingual corpus of real life speech in legal settings, and a parallel corpus of written legal documents) to generate useful resources for interpreter trainees, scholars and professionals.

If the contributions to issue 22 of this journal were transposed into a corpus, it would be quite small in size and lack representativeness in many respects: it would cover only four languages (English is the only language cutting across all the studies, Chinese comes second followed by Italian and Finnish); just one interpreting mode (consecutive, both face to face and over the phone); only two settings (mostly legal settings, but also health care). As for methodology, the first two contributions are largely reflection and theoretical pieces, while out of the three empirical studies one is based on manual counting of occurrences and only two are assisted by corpus methods proper. For once, such a low degree of representativeness can be looked at with enthusiasm. Indeed, all these works are evidence of the wide range of disciplines and research lines that can revolve around corpus-based interpreting research. Most importantly, they show that interpreting corpora are first and foremost language resources to be used for research, educational, and professional purposes. In recalling Miriam Shlesinger’s (1998) visual metaphor for corpus-based interpreting studies, the *offshoot* continues to grow.

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Corpus Workbench <http://cwb.sourceforge.net/>
 ELAN <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>
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Can ethnographic findings become corpus-studies data? A researcher's ethical, practical and scientific dilemmas

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Abstract

Healthcare interpreting, performed via tele/video-conference or face-to-face interactions is complex. Research in healthcare interpreting has contributed to our understanding of this practice (Metzger 1999; Davidson 2001; Angelelli 2004, 2011, 2012; Baraldi/Gavioli 2012; Meyer 2012). Access to cross-cultural/linguistic interactions between provider/patient mediated by interpreters is essential to study intercultural/linguistic healthcare communication. Access to naturalistic data, however, is not always feasible. Therefore, researchers rely more and more on secondary data for analysis. This paper discusses ethical, practical and scientific dilemmas experienced when assessing the feasibility of turning ethnographic data into data for corpus studies. Firstly, after an introduction and a concise review of the principles underlying ethnography, the original studies are explained briefly to contextualize the data. These studies are: a) an ethnography (Spanish-English) of a medical interpreting unit and b) two case studies (Cantonese/Hmong-English) conducted in a total of three public hospitals in the United States. Secondly, a discussion on using data for a different purpose than the original one, and the resulting ethical, practical and scientific dilemmas will be presented. The goal is to reflect on and examine if the opportunities to advance science may outweigh the issues raised in this paper and if it would be ethical to proceed.

Keywords

Healthcare interpreting, ethnography, corpus data, ethics.

Introduction

An interpreter-mediated healthcare encounter is a private encounter between patients (who may or may not be accompanied by family members or friends), providers, and interpreters on healthcare topics. Topics discussed range from explanations on the value of a procedure (e.g. an amniocentesis test for a pregnant woman over 35), to effects of a complex treatment (e.g. chemotherapy), as well as their cost, access and feasibility. In these discussions, the patient rather than the interpreter or the provider is the most vulnerable party of all (Zinn 2013). In contrast to public encounters in which any of the three interlocutors may be involved (e.g. a court of law where a doctor gives expert witness testimony; or a conference, in which the interpreter interprets or the patient is a participant), the interpreter-mediated healthcare encounter is a private one. This means that compared to a public setting, there are no witnesses. This affords the interlocutors a certain degree of freedom in how they may act out their roles (Angelelli 2004: 74). Being a private encounter it also means that access to observe it and collect data from it is not readily available. Procedures to apply for access and compliance with regulations for the protection of human subjects vary from country to country.

In medical private encounters, access to collect data is feasible if pertinent ethics requirements are met (e.g. obtaining informed consent from the parties; keeping data confidential, etc.). In some countries (e.g. the United States) approval processes and clearance to start collecting data may take three to four months (depending on the ethical committee meeting schedule). Thus, by the time the researcher gets approval and then determines feasibility, it is not rare to see six months or more time invested in gaining access and building trust. Ethnographies (Fetterman 2010) as well as case studies (Yin 2009) require long and sustainable efforts on the part of researchers, both for data collection and analysis. It is not unusual to read ethnographers reporting being flooded by data or drowning in data pools (Le Compte/Schensul 1999). Data collection efforts sustained through long periods of time may be at odds with study timelines or requirements (e.g. university funded scholarships for doctoral students may not accommodate longitudinal studies). And, even when practical and logistic requirements are met, there is still an element of uncertainty in data collection efforts (e.g. trust takes time to build; participants leaving the site, a sudden change in a participant's life with whom trust was established may unexpectedly render previous efforts not valuable any more, etc.). All of this makes ethnographical data even more precious, as it may be difficult to obtain a second chance to go back to the site and find the same participants with whom the ethnographer worked to be interviewed and clarify some points.

Sitting on a data gold mine, ethnographers look at ways in which they can enhance the power of their data, their significance, the different types of questions that could be asked if the data were analyzed from different perspectives, compared to other similar sites/participants, etc. and still be true to ethnographic principles. In so doing, authors of ethnographic studies may encounter trials and tribulations. This article discusses some of the issues that arise during a journey

that started conducting ethnography and ended in preparing/adapting data to be used as a corpus. Like with any change in processes, there are losses and gains in this journey. My goal in writing this article is to contribute to an on-going discussion (Angermyer *et al.* 2012; Bendazzoli 2012; House *et al.* 2012) with researchers who face similar dilemmas and possibilities, as well as to contribute to the body of knowledge created by researchers already working with corpus data on community interpreting (see, for example, <http://www.yorku.ca/comindat/comindat.htm> or <http://pagines.uab.cat/tipp/>) for different purposes, such as teaching of both interpreting (Meyer 1998; Bendazzoli *et al.* 2011; Bührig *et al.* 2012) and translation (Munday 1998; Oloham 2004; Rabadán *et al.* 2009; House 2011).

To ground my contribution, I will first present an overview of ethnography (§ 2) followed by a brief contextualization of the two studies under consideration (§ 3). The remaining part of this paper discusses a journey of reflection. Adapting ethnographic data and getting them ready to build a corpus, as well as the resulting challenges and opportunities encountered along the way, triggered this reflection piece.

1. Ethnography as a research method

The term ethnography, initially used to name the work performed by anthropologists, travelled from Anthropology to Sociology and other Social Sciences (communication, education) and has become more and more discussed in Translation and Interpreting Studies although at times, it is discussed partially as equated with qualitative methods, e.g. ethnographic methods or ethnographic interviews (Koskinen 2006; Angelelli 2015) or confused with case studies (Hale 2007: 63). The Merriam Webster dictionary defines ethnography as “the study and systematic recording of human culture” to also include the resulting descriptive work produced (Merriam-Webster 2017). The term ‘ethnography of communication’ (Hymes 1964, 1974) is worth discussing as it provides a frame of reference for studying language as used by people, whether at the level of society or an organization. Therefore, Hymes’ work offers an important theoretical and analytical lens to learn about ways of speaking of different speech communities (physicians, patients, translators, interpreters), as well as about the participants, or channels used etc. Ethnography and Hymes’ framework have been applied in both Translation and Interpreting Studies to study translators (Asare 2015) and interpreters’ work (Angelelli 2000; Mack 2002) and to compare communicative events (monolingual and interpreted ones) in, for example, an educational setting (Valdés *et al.* 2000) and a medical setting (Angelelli 2004: 34-40).

Conducting an ethnography affords the researcher an emic (insider) rather than an etic (outsider) perspective on the data (Morris *et al.* 1999: 783). As time goes by the ethnographer’s view shifts from the one of an outsider, or the observer to the one of the local, the native, the member of the community observed. By gaining a similar perspective to that of an insider the researcher is in a better position to learn, interpret and even question the ways of doing (e.g. speaking, behaving) of the members of the community observed. This is accomplished by a

focussed, rigorous, sustainable and continuous effort which is necessary to learn about the ways of doing of *the other* observed. The ethnographer makes sense of patterns of behavior and learns to distinguish between typical and atypical ones. Ethnographers walk into a community (e.g. linguistic, occupational), to systematically and constantly observe, learn and record these ways of doing, of speaking, etc. In so doing, ethnographers take a naturalistic approach to data and do not manipulate them. This means that when ethnographers enter a site, they may not have a definite research question in mind for which they want an answer; they do not enter a site to collect data in order to accept or reject a hypothesis. Instead, they take in all information and knowledge, even if at times it does not make sense to them and it was not expected to learn from it and understand it. Their analytical work is led by the data (knowledge and information) gathered, not the other way around. It is important to bear this distinction in mind. It is not unusual to confuse an ethnography with other qualitative types of research such as case studies (especially longitudinal ones). To understand the difference means to understand the intimate relationship between the researcher and the reality observed/studied. The researcher enters the site with a hunch or a curiosity rather than with a definite goal (answering a specific research question or conducting an experiment). This implies not only the use of a specific research approach, method, timeline, analytical lens or paradigm. It also implies a different way of conceptualizing and organizing data.

While doing ethnography, collecting data and analyzing findings are iterative processes. Ethnographers' reports include data gathered through extended field observations (both participant and non-participant ones), and ethnographers are said to be the most important research tool in the study. Analytical categories are not imposed on data but rather emerge from it based on frequency and typicality. Given all of these, one can understand why the question of turning ethnographic data into a corpus merits some serious considerations, as all concepts need to travel across paradigms and research cultures.

Traditional constructs of objectivity and detachment, which have been central to a positivist research paradigm may be constructed differently in other paradigms (e.g. post-positivists) while analyzing the same data set. Ethnographic data on communication result from a specific discourse community immersed in a specific context, meant to be studied from an emic perspective within its context. When turned into a corpus many of the fundamental notions of the conceptual framework that guided the ethnography of communication, for example, and using Hymes' terms (1974: 45-62), the scene, the setting, the participants, the purposes, or the channels of the communicative event studied may no longer be in the corpus. This may occur, of course, only if the corpus is limited to the transcripts and audio files as the new researcher following the path of the ethnographer is facing the message content (Hymes 1974: 55) only.

While extralinguistic information could be included in the form of a header in the transcript, the range and scope of this information are often limited in order to make this kind of annotation more user friendly. And issues like this (limitations imposed by the software or the community of users), are precisely the ones with which an ethnographer has to grapple when thinking of turning

ethnographic data into a corpus. Are we really talking about ethnographic data? If we limit the data to accommodate it to the new tool used to analyze it, are we then not changing the scope and nature of the data? However, these fundamental notions would be available for the new researcher if the corpus were to include all artifacts, interviews, pictures, etc. which is something ethnographers do when using qualitative software such as NVivo (<http://www.qsrinternational.com>) or The Ethnograph (<http://www.qualisresearch.com>) to analyze and organize qualitative data in an electronic format. Qualitative researchers have analyzed and compared specific software that can help the analyst in the work at hand (Gilbert 2002; Richards/Richards 1991; Woods *et al.* 2015).

The eyes and lens of other researchers examining the corpus differ from the eyes of the original ethnographer as they have not had continuity on site. From an ethnographic view, removing sustained presence at the site and conducting check-visits for a specific purpose instead (e.g. querying the data for discourse fillers), may not make as much sense as from a corpus linguistic one. So, in the end, the data transfer may indeed constitute a journey across paradigms and research cultures rather than a data crisis or a turning point. Given that we are discussing interpretation of linguistic and sociolinguistic data across languages and cultures, a reference to a term in one language and its journey towards another language is worth mentioning here: when looking up the term *crisis* in Chinese, two characters are used to depict it. These two characters represent challenge and opportunity. In this article, after giving the reader a brief description of the ethnographic data, I turn to the challenges and opportunities of using ethnographic data to build a corpus.

2. Brief contextualization of the original studies

The data which will form the bulk of the (forthcoming) California Hospital Interpreting Corpus (CHIC) was collected by the author in three public hospitals in California for two separate original studies with distinct purposes.

2.1 Original study 1

The data for Spanish-English interpreted communicative events results from an ethnographic study of Spanish-English interpreted medical communication conducted in a public hospital (California Hope, see Angelelli 2004) around the Bay area, in California, between 1998 and 2000. The purpose of the ethnography of communication (Hymes 1974) was to learn the ways of speaking of linguistically and culturally diverse discourse communities when discussing private health matters mediated by interpreters. Communication between providers and patients was brokered by staff medical interpreters.

To accomplish the purpose of the original study the researcher used multiple methods of data collection and multiple analysis. These are: site observations, observation of interpreted communicative events (ICEs, Angelelli 2000), ethno-

graphic interviews with participants, data interpretation interviews, conceptual memos, notes, artifacts and questionnaires. The subsequent transcription and translation of the 392 Spanish-English interpreted communicative events yielded 2,500 electronic pages of data (4.5 MB), for a total of 521,717 tokens in 153,200 lines. In addition to the interpreted-communicative events, the researcher conducted interviews with each of the participating interpreters and their manager on issues related to their work and role. Those transcripts are available in English to be added to the corpus.

2.2 Original study 2

The data for Hmong and Cantonese interpreted communicative events were collected during two case studies conducted in two public hospitals in the Central Valley area of California. These studies were part of a larger project funded to develop a battery of tests to evaluate medical interpreters in California in a meaningful, valid and reliable way (see Angelelli 2007). In the year 2000, with funding and support from The California Endowment, the Connecting World Partnership (CWP) a consortium of five organizations in California, commissioned the author to develop a Language-Proficiency (LP) test and an Interpreter Readiness (IR) test in three languages: Spanish, Hmong, and Cantonese. The members of CHC were Asian Health Services; Healthy House with a MATCH coalition; Las Clínicas de Salud del Pueblo; PALS for Health and Vista Community Clinic. The hospitals in the Central Valley area were chosen because of the number of Hmong and Cantonese patients that visit the hospital. The case studies were conducted in Spring semester of 2001 by a team of three: principal investigator, research assistant and interpreter. During that time 60 ICEs were collected for Cantonese and 56 for Hmong. Health providers, patients and interpreters communicated over health issues. Interactions were recorded, observed and partially transcribed and translated to meet the requirements of the original project. The transcriptions and translations need to be completed and transferred into a corpus format. This can be accomplished once funding is secured.

In the next section I discuss some of the considerations, challenges and opportunities faced during the journey.

3. From ethnographic data to a corpus: challenges and opportunities

Before starting the process of considering the original data for an electronic corpus to be shared, the researcher had asked specific questions of the ethnographic data. These questions were posed after the ethnographic study was finalized. Questions were both at the macro and micro level. At the macro level, for example, questions related to ways in which interpreters construct understanding (or misunderstanding) among patients and providers while speaking about delicate issues, such as terminating a pregnancy (Angelelli/Geist-Martin 2005) or using a pain-rating scale (Angelelli 2012). At the micro level, questions involved dis-

course bundles (Biber/Conrad 1999), set expressions and collocations such as the use of the term *chronic illnesses* (Angelelli 2011) or the use of a pain scale (Angelelli 2012). It was feasible for the researcher to ask specific questions from a Word database and to conduct searches together with a co-author, simply because the ethnographer was very familiar with the data. In addition, the time lag between the end of the ethnography and the writing was relatively short. As I had not experienced working through my own database with the help of other resources such as annotations and indexes produced by others, I cannot evaluate my experience for those searches in terms of convenience, speed, etc. I can see, however, some evolution of my thinking between now and then.

3.1 Scientific dilemmas

3.1.1 Scope

Transferring ethnographic data into a corpus raises some questions about scope. Ethnographic studies are known for producing large amounts of data. Decisions have to be made as to the data that can be transferred. If only transcripts are included in the corpus, and the rest of the data sources that helped the ethnographer perform a thick interpretation of the data are not, then this calls into question the scope of subsequent studies based on the data. If only transcripts are transferred, then interpretation of the corpus analyst and the ethnographer could not be comparable. If all of the ethnographic data (including observations and recordings, pictures, artifacts, data interpretation interviews, ethnographic interviews, as well as transcripts of the interpreted communicative events, conceptual memos to self) were transferred, then, the corpus analyst could be in a position to almost replicate the nature of the original study, as the corpus analyst would be getting almost the same amount and type of data as the ethnographer but would be one degree removed.

This remote and one-degree removed position of the researcher allows for new possibilities, as the corpus analyst could query the data and triangulate almost in the same way the ethnographer did but, this time it would be using secondary data and with no access to participants. This is an interesting proposition that requires further exploration, especially in relationship to the issues discussed on gaining entry to sites or building trust with participants. This statement, however, by no means suggests that accessing only the electronic data could afford the insight gained by sustained effort and time spent in the field site.

3.1.2 Data sharing

While ethnography of communication has generally been a one-researcher endeavor, the ability to now digitalize data and make data available to other researchers forever changes the way in which we conceptualize this type of studies and designs. Ethnographic data now can be shared with others. This sharing has

advantages and disadvantages. The advantage is that sharing data enables multiple analyses and interpretations from different perspectives, spaces and times. It also allows for comparisons across different linguistic combinations. While the ethnographer generally validates findings with participants and, at times, it is also possible to consult with other researchers to get another perspective, an electronic database increases the opportunities to perform both these tasks beyond limit. This is an advantage that requires compromises.

The disadvantage is we are no longer dealing with ethnography and this needs to be acknowledged. Sharing ethnographic data changes the nature of the analysis. We can no longer access the site, the context, the cues, etc. Instead, we access what can be captured in, and becomes available to us from a database. We access a product, not the iterative process. Reality becomes in some ways mediated by a dataset as well as regulated by it. It is no longer a contextualized direct observation that raises questions or produces data, such as a transcript. Now, it is a transcript (even if decontextualized) that leads the researcher. The tension between using transcripts within or without a context has already been addressed in debates between conversational and discourse analysts (for a brief overview see, for example, Wooffitt 2005; Antaki 2008). Now the transcript becomes the object of study. For some researchers this compromise is a problem, for others an opportunity. There would simply be no opportunity to discuss the data from multiple perspectives, contexts and cultural viewpoints if it were not accessible electronically. And this would be a loss.

3.1.3 Categories, definition of tags/annotations

Categories and patterns of data of the original study may or may not transfer directly into corpus tags and annotations. Transferring transcripts initially conceived to be used for one purpose (e.g. understand communication or to be used in a test script) to another may require some adjustments. The pros and cons of using different types of annotations have been discussed extensively in corpus linguistics and, specifically for community interpreting, more recently by Angermeyer *et al.* (2012). Therefore, instead of engaging in description of technical issues that may or may not have a solution viable for all of those who contribute to a corpus, I would like to take a more philosophical/conceptual approach in the discussion of categories, definitions or annotations.

Deciding on categories and annotations *a priori*, or seeing those of others before diving into the data may constitute a philosophical dilemma for an ethnographer trying to access an existing corpus or preparing his/her own. In ethnography, categories emerge from data and are not a consideration *a priori*. This does not mean however that we, as a community of researchers with shared interests, could not access each other's data with different purposes and using different lenses. Ethnographers can share their categories and make use (or not) of pre-existing categories applied by other researchers to the original ethnographic corpus. Corpus analysts may find exciting opportunities in accessing ethnographic data and transfer pre-existing categories to it and obtain results. Discourse ana-

lysts may transfer pre-existing categories from a study (e.g. discourse bundles in medical communication) with the same language combination, and query the ethnographic data for those occurrences. And, even when ethnographers may not necessarily benefit from looking at other corpora, as that may not be their approach to research, and when corpus annotations depend on the aim of one's study, making ethnographic data available to other types of researcher will undoubtedly contribute to science even if it poses a dilemma.

3.1.4 Dataset

Turning ethnographic data into a searchable dataset offers several advantages to the researcher. Firstly, by turning notes, pictures and artifacts into a searchable electronic corpus the researcher is able to access data faster and easily and can see issues/ask questions that perhaps would have remained unseen/unasked. Secondly, having the ability to compare and contrast naturalistic data (e.g. recordings and resulting transcriptions) with researcher intake and interpretation of such data in the form of conceptual memos, allows for the ethnographer to conduct some type of 'intra-rater reliability check'. Although it is understood that notions of objectivity differ significantly across research paradigms, having the chance to double check and validate one's own perceptions, recalls and insight against a wide range of data sources in a second, makes an invaluable difference that should not be taken lightly. Thirdly, having all data sources in a searchable database allows for quicker verification of emerging categories that can later be used to organize the data for the final report/story. The more we use corpora to analyze interpreted interactions the more we learn about them. Avoiding a top-down approach to categories is possible with researchers' awareness and self-monitoring. So this may not constitute a dilemma. The issue of time and cost of turning ethnographic data into an electronic data set remains.

3.2 Ethical dilemmas

To obtain permission to conduct a study, gain entry to a site, and collect data, whether in the form of field notes and observations or recording of interactions, researchers file ethics and human subject protocols with the Internal Review Board of the university that hosts the researcher and the healthcare organization where the study takes place. The protocol includes a clear explanation of the goal and objectives of the study, the duration, the selection of participants, the materials and procedures to be used, how researchers plan to explain the study to participants, etc. Also in these protocols filed with the Internal Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, researchers have to explain how they plan to store, make use and dispose of their data. Different rules apply in different countries as to the protection of human subjects and the confidentiality of the data. In the United States, for example, participants have to give informed consent as they sign and date a specific form that explains the goal and nature of the

study, the duration, the type of data that will be collected, how it will be used, etc. and who is the party responsible for the data collection, use and storage. In these forms participants consent to different things (e.g. to be observed, audio or video recorded [or both], interviewed, etc.) separately. Because the forms may not include a separate section on making data available to other researchers or sharing them in a database or corpus, many times researchers face the dilemma of making decisions based on their own intuitions (e.g. if stripping data from all personal identifiers takes care of confidentiality for research purposes, can this also be applicable to including data in a corpus, even if there cannot be any control on the purposes for which data is used?). Evidently as corpora become available and data is shared among researchers, various constructions of ethics and protection of human subjects interact. The need to have a shared conceptualization of ethics and protection of human subjects around the world is essential for shared scientific projects.

3.3 Practical dilemmas

3.3.1 Sensitive settings: better access via corpus

The data in the CHIC comes from private provider/patient interpreted encounters. The healthcare setting is a site in which sensitive conversations may take place. Discussions of infectious diseases, life and death, amputations, terminal illnesses, complicated treatment and occupational therapy for paraplegic patients are not only sensitive, but, at times, they can be humiliating for the patients. These discussions do not always lend themselves to be observed and recorded. They require some degree of trust between the researcher and the patient on the one hand (as the patient must be willing to share confidential information), as well as trust on the part of all interlocutors as to the use that the researcher will make of the data. In addition, sensitive topics and interactions require that the researcher observing overcomes emotions and be capable to detach the self from the issue and to focus on the analysis of the object of study (which generally is the communication about the issue at hand, rather than the issue itself). Distance and detachment from the scene and participants are sometimes helpful to focus attention mostly on the communicative issue at hand. Many times the days in the field are difficult and stressful. After so much time spent with participants, detachment from issues and feelings becomes harder. This is an area in which the advantages of working from a corpus rather than from direct observations could be stressed.

3.3.2 Time lag and data access

An electronic format and an organized database will make access more feasible than going back to original data and searching manually. Revisiting the data in machine-readable format after an amount of time has passed may have advan-

tages also for the ethnographer, not only for other researchers. If the time lag in between the creation of a corpus and the original data collection is considerable, the ethnographer may not be able to rely on memory any more and, in addition, the ethnographer may be able to trace changes in her own perspectives or interpretation of original data. This would add a new dimension to intra-rater reliability of data as it could track re-interpretations and potential changes or lack thereof after specific periods of time.

4. Conclusion and implications

The passing of time sometimes allows for learning and change. At the time of *doing ethnography* at California Hope, building a corpus of authentic interactions was not a possibility. At that time, the thought of being true to ethnographic tradition, as well as the responsibility to comply with specific rules and regulations on human subject protection, data gathering, storing and sharing guided my work, my analysis and my reporting. Later on, the same thought and the same rules and regulations prevented me from sharing data. Conceiving the idea that, in due course, the California Hope database could become something different than ethnographic data, that it could feed into a corpus, was attractive and challenging. Time was necessary to produce clear processes and policies as well as to honor previous agreements of confidentiality. Once the time to comply with specific data storing and management has elapsed and previous agreements have been honoured, we can entertain other possibilities and engage in scientific conversations about different kinds of analyses and sets of data. The thought that an original ethnographic database can become a corpus accessible to others affords us more opportunities and may, most certainly, contribute to advancing our knowledge.

In this article we discussed the journey faced by a researcher while considering turning ethnographic data into a corpus. The hope is to have contributed to a conversation on the possibilities and challenges of turning ethnographic data into corpus data. Since access, time and cost are often discussed as obstacles to having databases of interpreted communicative events readily available, sharing data in the form of corpora seems to be a viable option for researchers. Sharing data and making it available to others, however, also implies agreeing on a series of rules for all the steps of the process (e.g. from transcription conventions and data protections to annotations) across languages and cultures. All of these issues have been discussed in the literature in Translation and Interpreting Studies, from the first call made by Mona Baker (1993) to the latest publications in both community and conference interpreting (Angermeyer *et al.* 2012; Bendazzoli *et al.* forthcoming; Russo *et al.* 2018; Straniero Sergio/Falbo 2012). Much progress has been made. While researchers think more and more along the lines of making data available in the form of corpora, four issues remain constant: complying with national/international laws, rules and regulations governing protection of human subjects and data storage/sharing, achieving a shared understanding of ethics (specifically across diverse communities), time and cost. As discussed

above, one should not underestimate the amount of time and cost involved in preparing data for a corpus. And, most importantly, this huge task can hardly be an add-on or an a-posteriori thought of any project.

This discussion has implications for students and researchers of Interpreting Studies, as well as for funding agencies and research sites. Students and researchers who may be studying phenomena embedded in interpreted interactions will benefit enormously from existing corpora both for obtaining data or contributing their own. Therefore, anticipating effort, time and cost for building a corpus and factoring them in their on-going projects may help students and early-career researchers take care of corpus building at the same time as they conduct their studies. Funding agencies should continue assigning (and even increase) funding for digital humanities. Transforming data into a corpus is time consuming and universities generally do not give credit for such an enduring task which is not considered primary research. And without funding to cover expenses or time, the technical/practical part of building a corpus may still not be feasible.

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A multimodal corpus approach to dialogue interpreting studies in the Chinese context: towards a multi-layer analytic framework

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Abstract

Analysing both linguistic and non-linguistic strata in dialogue interpreting (DI) studies sheds new light on the dynamic interaction where meanings are also constructed both verbally and non-verbally. Most existing literature in DI has focused on linguistic description, calling for the need to explore interpretative and explanatory frontiers. DI between English and Chinese involves linguistic and cultural complexities; albeit they impose significant difficulties, these complications provide useful data for analysis beyond description as the multimodal semiotic resources of DI work in an integrated entirety. Underpinned by the stratification theory in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), we propose a multi-layer analytic framework (MAF) that integrates with the multimodal approach to DI, empowers the corpus techniques and enables DI researchers to investigate the 'how' and 'why' questions cross-modally, in particular when distant language pairs (such as English and Chinese) entail investigation into visual and contextual data. This article, though exploratory in nature, raises important methodological issues for future DI studies involving linguistically and culturally distant languages.

Keywords

Dialogue Interpreting Studies, Multimodal Corpus Approach, Multi-layer Analytic Framework, English-Chinese language pair.

Dialogue Interpreting (DI) practice with the English and Chinese language pair is nothing akin to such interpreter-mediated communication with cognate language pairs (or many European language pairs) (Su 2009) which share linguistic and cultural phylogenies. The immense distance between Asian languages and European languages stems from not only linguistic divergences but also cultural complexities (e.g. Ra/Napier 2013). In this study, we attempt to investigate such complication with a focus on DI encounters taking place in China. The focus allows us to contrast the two languages and the cultures embodied by semiotic representations in the generally homogenous Chinese context. The complications involved in DI, both linguistically and culturally, provide intriguing research avenues for DI researchers who embrace the corpus-based approach.

Corpus technology today has immensely enhanced accessibility to data in corpus-based translation studies (CTS) (Laviosa 1998), ranging from exploring translation universals (e.g. Baker 1993, 1995), translation norms (e.g. Munday 1997) to socio-cultural contexts (e.g. Munday 2002) and ideology (Kemppanen 2004; Munday 2012a, 2012b). The incorporation of the corpus approach to interpreting studies has also propelled corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) (Setton 2011; Bendazzoli 2018) with academic interests in linguistic phenomena (e.g. Wang/Li 2015; Bendazzoli *et al.* 2011), interpreting norms (Wang 2012; Wang/Qin 2015), stance-taking (e.g. Wang/Feng 2014; Szczyrbak 2016) and interpreting ideological discourse (Beaton 2007). Corpus techniques could be effective in describing linguistic features in CTS and CIS. These corpus-enabled descriptions, however nuanced they be, still rely safely on transcribed products, without capturing the elusive context or non-verbal dynamics, thus restraining CIS within the confinement of description that “means an absence of evaluation and thus isolation from social and political aspects of interpreting” (Mason 2006b: 105) and shelving the ‘why’ questions.

The problem we have identified in DI studies, analogous to the contributions of CIS, still lies in the reliance on the written (or transcribed) text for analytical purposes. Nonetheless, DI is essentially embedded in a socio-cultural situation where participants have different beliefs and values. The socio-cultural and ideological vectors constitute pivotal meaning-making constituents that require more than linguistic descriptions of transcribed texts to interpret and explain what Wadensjö (1998) delineates as a joint face-to-face interactivity. Studies of DI thus would require not only linguistic interrogations but also semiotic investigations, which entails the combination of multimodal corpus methodologies with linguistics-informed theoretical frameworks. While the corpus approach may capture the semiotic dynamism of DI on one hand, linguistic theories may account for the interwoven semiotics on the other.

Our aim in this article is to offer an analytical framework that can be utilised for comprehensive description and interpretation of multimodal corpus data in DI studies. The utility of the framework is exemplified with corpus techniques applied to a distant language pair (English-Chinese) that poses complications (e.g. Qian 2012; Wang/Gu 2016). We deem the complexities involved in such

language pair as a ‘bonus’ where not only the “live dimension of face-to-face interactive communication” can be preserved (Setton 2006: 375), but also shifts in verbal renditions could be interpreted and explained through triangulation from other semiotic means in the live communicative activity as an integrated entirety. In other words, the interpreter’s attempt to reproduce the intended communication effect can be contemplated via the complementarity of the linguistic lens and the non-linguistic prism, such as gestures, gaze, body posture, and object manipulation, which have been studied sparingly by DI researchers (e.g. Pasquandrea 2011; Davitti 2013; Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017). We argue that the complications of the English and Chinese language pair could be elucidated through this multimodal exploration. By engaging the multimodal data in the corpus approach, it could greatly contribute to describing and analysing the configuration of meanings in DI. Meanwhile, our theoretical discussion attempts to construct a framework from the school of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) that could accommodate and account for the complexities of multimodal data.

Nevertheless, empiricism is neither the means nor the end of this article that focuses on the theoretical side of DI investigations. There are two reasons for our choice of the focus. First, there is a lack of empirical corpus-based investigation in the Chinese context. Globalisation has brought English or other European-language speaking countries’ immigrant populations who necessitate DI in their multi-racial communities or public service institutions. Empirical studies of DI in these places may constitute the bulk of corpus-based contributions. DI investigation in the Chinese context, however, may encounter some obstacles on the empirical avenue at this stage of globalisation that has brought few immigrants in the same sense but some English-speaking expatriates. The immigrant community is a rarity in the Chinese context; the expatriate group in China have their corporate in-house interpreting services and the data is not accessible. In consideration of the scarcity of empirical corpus-based research into DI in the Chinese context and the inaccessibility of the data, we argue for the necessity of developing theoretical frameworks that will enable researchers to analyse the empirical data more systematically, especially when distant languages and cultures create more linguistic and non-linguistic complexities in DI. Therefore, our choice of focus for this article may differentiate it from other corpus-based empirical studies in this special issue, but we hope it will contribute to corpus-based DI investigation theoretically.

This article starts with a review of the relevant literature (§1), which is followed by constructing a multi-layer analytic framework that has general applicable utility for research into distant language pairs in DI studies (§2). With the aim to seek potentially applicable research tools in the Chinese context, we then illustrate the operational nuts and bolts for applying the proposed framework to a multimodal corpus approach to DI studies (§3). The article concludes with a summary and a caveat for the utility of the framework in future DI studies (§4).

1. Taking stock of evolutions in DI studies: towards multimodality

1.1 Linguistic-oriented approaches to DI studies

DI, being largely face-to-face, immediately interpersonal and crossing cultural differences, has lent itself to distinct research orientations. The complex interplay of socio-cultural factors shaping and constraining the communicative interaction has been probed predominantly through linguistic-oriented frameworks such as Conversation Analysis (CA) (e.g. Wadensjö 1998; Mason 2001, 2006a; Davidson 2002; Pöhhacker/Schlesinger 2007), Discourse Analysis (e.g. Roy 2000; Wadensjö 2001; Hale 2004), Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Barsky 1994; Pöllabauer 2005; Inghilleri 2005; Monacelli 2016), and pragmatics-based frameworks like Relevance Theory (e.g. Mason 2006a; Blakemore/Gallai 2014). These contributions exemplify how well-established linguistic theories enable DI researchers to manoeuvre socio-cultural dimensions in live communicative interaction. Synthesis and adaptations of these theoretical frameworks have been made to better suit the purposes of DI studies. The “dialogic discourse-based interaction” paradigm (Pöhhacker 2004: 79), for example, synergised Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA), and still inspires the DI community today.

The reliance on the transcription of video or audio data is “particularly enduring in the literature” (Mason 2006a: 359). Few DI contributions, nevertheless, address the interwoven semiotic resources other than the transcribed written text. Technical issues such as inadequate video-recording tools or limited access to videos may contribute to the reliance on transcription for analysis. In addition, ethical hindrances like confidentiality in personal and sensitive issues involved in DI encounters and anonymising video data are contributing factors (Bendazzoli 2016). These constraints are observed by Mason (2006a), who makes the point of the difficulty of sustaining the “real-time on-line nature of face-to-face dialogue interpreting” (*ibid.*: 360).

1.2 Multimodal approaches to DI studies

The multimodal approach is not new, yet the difficulties on this avenue render its application rather scarce. Lang (1978) trail-blazes the non-verbal route by investigating gaze in courtroom interpreting. The time gap then persists until around the late twentieth century, when Apfelbaum (1998) examines the rhythmic synchronisation of interpreter-mediated interaction; whilst Wadensjö (2001) investigates the interpreter’s proxemics during psycho-therapeutic sessions. Both studies establish close links between rhythmic regularities and “communicative radius” (Wadensjö 2001: 82-83) of participants’ body positioning. Also, in medical scenes, ad-hoc interpreters use non-verbal signals to trigger dyadic sequences during medical examinations (Ticca 2010). Then, the foci on gaze and bodily semiotics seem to have attracted a few DI researches. Bot (2005) probes gaze and gestures in relation to turn organisation in therapeutic scenarios. Mason (2012) describes the intricate relations between bodily position and identities in inter-

preter-mediated asylum seeker interviews. Pasquandrea (2011, 2012) and Krystalidou (2014) explore the negotiation of inclusion and exclusion via analysing how gaze and gestures play their part. Davitti (2012, 2013, 2015) focuses on the role of gaze and body orientations for triggering, eliciting and elucidating conversation moves in parent-and-teacher encounters. This line of enquiry, though still at the embryonic stage, culminated in a workshop on *Integrating Multimodality in the Study of Dialogue Interpreting* in Surrey in 2015¹, when many fresh ideas and interim findings were presented and inspired some later researches. Among them, Davitti and Pasquandrea's (2017) endeavours into the "ecology of action", that is, how the surrounding environment and objects affect participation of the speaker and the interpreter in a semiotic entirety (*ibid.*: 105). Recently, unpublished PhD research, based on simulations of interpreter-mediated dialogues, has investigated multimodal semiotics (including audio, visual and contextual resources) with an aim at constructing the role played by the dialogue interpreter (Bao-Rozée 2016).

The initial efforts in the multimodal approach to DI have been encouragingly fruitful, albeit with some weaknesses. First, the multimodal approach remains a general perspective. The existing analytical methods render these studies largely descriptive. Therefore, the interpretation and explanation of the integrated semiotic resources in DI encounters are left out. The methodological frames of multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) used by, for example, Davitti (2012), Pasquandrea (2011, 2012) and Davitti/Pasquandrea (2013), prove feasible, yet still leave researchers unassisted when there is a need to integrate different layers of semiotic resources for the DI studies involving distant languages and cultures. These contributions utilise a semiotic approach to the holistic interplay of "currently relevant semiotic fields" (Goodwin 2000: 1499) with an aim to account for "the complexity of naturally-occurring communicative events" (Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017) in DI. Their methodologies of "combining diverse resources (such as language structure, categories, prosody, postural configurations, the embodied displays of a hearer, tools, etc.)" (Goodwin 2013: 21), or integrating layers of these semiotics to avoid the dichotomy of verbal and non-verbal analyses (Mondada 2014: 138), are utilitarian in describing the complexities of DI encounters, yet fail to help cross the descriptive boundaries in DI studies. Second, most of the contributions examine multimodality partially (probably due to different research focuses or limited article space), not as an entirety; some complementarities nestled in semiotic resources are largely missing from the analysis. Bao-Rozée's (2016) attempt to account for fuller multimodal resources fails to analyse DI multimodality as an integrated whole, leaving her analysis of individual categories only descriptive. Third, research findings are tentative in that most of them rely on one or several encounters, forsaking the possibility of arriving at generalisable discoveries. Fourth, these contributions overwhelmingly investigate cognate or not so distant language pairs, such as English and Italian (e.g. Davitti 2012, 2013), whereby the non-verbal side of communication would be different from distant language pairs (such as Chinese and English) in terms of how interlocutors and interpreters utilise non-verbal means of communication.

1 See <http://www.ias.surrey.ac.uk/workshops/interpreting/index.php>

2. Constructing a multi-layer analytic framework for the analysis

2.1 Stratifying linguistic resources

The investigation of DI encounters in this study involves complexities, which can be approached with analytical tools from linguistics. The existing contributions using the multimodal approach are largely descriptive of what happens in DI, yet do not explain what contributes to the “amoralities” (unexpected shifts) in the rendition. Translation shifts, i.e. “departures from formal correspondence in the process of going from the SL (source language) to the TL (target language)” (Catford 1965: 141), along with what has been reduced or added in the interpreted rendition (Wang 2012), constitute our starting point for constructing the framework. The shifts studied in the T&I literature describe lexical or structural alterations, i.e. changes in form, with the aim of identifying the shifts in meaning between SL and TL. The corpus approach also relies on formal linguistic data (machine-recognisable forms of language) as the mechanics to uncover meanings embodied in the formal data (Baker/McEnery 2015). The analysis of meaning in either T&I studies or corpus studies is incomplete without including relevant references to the context. Therefore, T&I studies and the corpus approach share three analytical vectors: linguistic forms, meanings and context. The corpus approach to DI studies in this article can capitalise on this accordance, yet is still in need of systematically structured linguistic theories for the synthesis of T&I studies and the corpus approach.

Informed by the linguistic theories of SFL, in this section we wish to construct a framework that can enable the interpretation and explanation of multimodal corpus data. With a linguist’s hat, we find that the Hallidayan hierarchical stratification (Halliday 1978, 1994, 2014) can be operationalised for the analysis of multimodal data in the corpus study, whereby the corpus techniques work with lexis and phraseology at the linguistic level (e.g. Baker 2006; Baker *et al.* 2008; Baker/McEnery 2015). Linguistic perspectives, therefore, provide the toolkit for the corpus study of DI. As portrayed by Figure 1 below, the linguistic resources are taxonomised in five layers, from the micro level to the macro level: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar, semantics, and the context of situation and culture, the last one going beyond language proper (Halliday 2001: 15). This stratified framework is capable of not only capturing the multimodal resources of DI interactions, but also accounting for what descriptive interpreting studies fail to explain. For example, the interpreting shifts at the lexicogrammatical or semantic stratum might find explanation at the contextualised cultural stratum; the instance of *old* in DI is a case in point (also see §3.3), where the term *old* is associated with *being well-established* in the Chinese language. Therefore, the rendition of *the old system* from English to Chinese can be shifted lexically into *经久不衰的体制* (a system of long trial). The lexical shift here contributes to the functional equivalence since a positive connotation is attached to this culturally-loaded term (Munday 2012a).

We therefore argue that the strata of lexicogrammar and semantics are most prone to interpreting shifts; contextual meaning in DI communications super-

sedes the lexical or semantic equivalence. Our contention is backed up by Halliday's view towards "good translation", where he proposes a generalised hierarchy of equivalence priority:

[...] equivalence at different strata carries differential values; [...] in most cases the value that is placed on it goes up the higher the stratum – semantic equivalence is valued more highly than lexicogrammatical, and contextual equivalence perhaps most highly of all; (Halliday 2001: 15)

Hallidayan hierarchical stratification can be substantiated in the analysis of contextualised DI interactions, whereby, matching the relations of cultures overrides the need for finding an exact lexical correspondence. Halliday's view of contextual superiority coincides with what we propose for DI studies. Our argument on the primacy of contextual data is also supported by T&I researchers. Mason (2006a) points out the importance of contextual analysis since the context is mutually accessible by the speakers and the interpreter in DI. The magnitude of cultural context is also felt in that "interpreters cannot avoid functioning as intercultural mediators" (Wadensjö 1998: 75) and in seeing DI interpreters as "mediating across boundaries of language and culture" (Pöhhacker/Shlesinger 2002: 1). The need for theorising context in DI studies is voiced by Setton (2011: 37) with the call for the "theoretical prism for [...] processing and access to context". Thus, our theoretical prism with the contextual layer may explain the interpreting shifts occurring at lexicogrammatical and semantic strata. One problem still remains in our attempt to construct the analytical framework: how does the stratification model fit the multimodal approach? The next section matches the two and offers an analytical model.

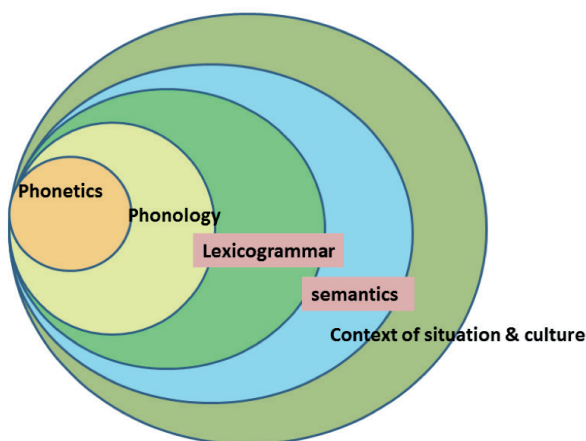


Figure 1. Stratification in a semiotic entirety.

2.2 Integrating the multimodal approach with the theory of stratification

The construction of our analytical framework also incorporates the multimodal approach into the Stratification Frame for DI studies. The immense diversity of multimodal resources discussed in mono-lingual CA (e.g. Goodwin 2013; Mondada 2014; Hazel *et al.* 2014) inspires the multimodal approach to DI studies, where some recent contributions, based on the corpus approach, like Bao-Rozée (2016) and Davitti/Pasquandrea (2017) exploit multimodal conversation analysis (MCA) (Deppermann 2013; Hazel *et al.* 2014). Their findings point to recurring patterns like projecting next action or speaker (Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017: 124) and the use of gaze or body orientation for turn-taking (Bao-Rozée 2016: 214). These multimodal findings complement what could be shifted on the verbal layers of DI interactions, and thus serve as pointers for us to identify multimodal resources that go into the corpus and into DI researchers’ scope of analysis.

Summarising from existing literature on the multimodal approach to DI studies, albeit meagre as it may be, helps us identify audible and visible resources that go into the construction of our framework. Audible resources are largely verbal (including the written transcripts and the phonological properties of utterances), and the written transcript of utterances matches onto the linguistic strata of lexicogrammar and semantics, whilst the auditory properties² (such as pitch, intensity and duration) correspond with the strata of phonetics and phonology. The visual resources constitute gaze, gesture, body orientation, proxemics, and object manipulation. These multimodal resources are as important as the linguistic resources as parallel meaning-making semiotics, since they all work together as an integrated entirety of multimodal semiotics, rather than an ensemble of individual categories. The correspondence between the multimodal resources and SFL strata is pivotal in operationalising the corpus approach that entails machine readable data and clear annotation schemes (for details see §3.3). More importantly for DI, multimodal semiotics construe meanings within certain contexts of situation and culture. Therefore, these four categories of semiotic resources are summarised as the Multi-layer Analytic Framework (MAF) shown below in a formula where they carry equal weight in constructing the meaningful interaction in DI.

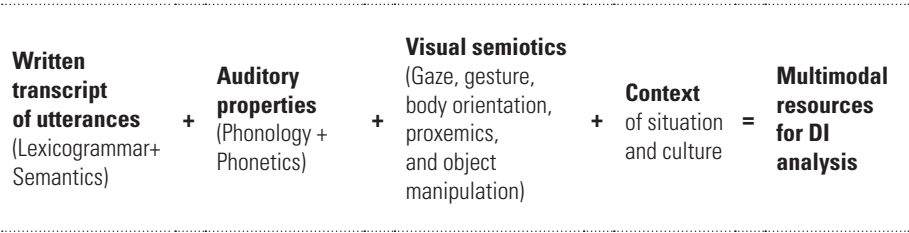


Figure 2. A Multi-layer Analytic Framework (MAF) for a multimodal approach to DI studies.

2 The auditory properties also include sound / noise produced by participants with their body (e.g. finger snapping) or with objects, though we have not been able to explore them in the present study.

The operationalisation of the formula above enables DI researchers to better capture and integrate these multimodal resources in the fuller-canvas analysis. It assumes the integrated sum of multimodal semiotics comes from adding the breakdown of different taxonomies. Therefore, if the researcher wants to explain what leads to the interpreting shifts identified at the written transcript vector, he or she can explore other vectors (auditory, visual and contextual) for possible explanations. The utility of this formula is the strongest when DI studies involves distant language pairs (such as English with Chinese, or with some other Asian languages), where, for instance, the differences in the context of culture can explain the non-equivalence at the semantic level. Hopefully, the formula makes it possible to explore the ‘why’ questions, in particular when probing the utterance transcripts fails to explain interpreting shifts or some other un-expectancies, which otherwise could be unravelled by auditory, visual or contextual data. The operationalisation of this framework with the corpus approach to DI analysis is described in the next section.

3. Operationalising the analytical framework

3.1 Data collection in the Chinese context

One of the gravest obstacles in doing DI studies derives from data collection and data quality, in particular for a multimodal approach that necessitates video-recording of the whole event. This hindrance is not uncommon since DI studies cannot escape the delicate nature of the interactional scenarios being studied, such as “healthcare, courtrooms, pedagogy, police stations, and immigration offices—all of which pose serious problems in obtaining permission to video-tape and study such data” (Pasquandrea 2011: 456). Monacelli (2016) echoes the challenges of data accessibility in her research on confidential settings for DI encounters. This quandary is similar in China, where the doors of e.g. hospitals, educational institutions, corporations, and courts are mostly closed to outsiders, even to researchers like us (e.g. Su 2009; Deng/Wen 2012).

Nevertheless, the obstacles described above should not hinder the growth of DI studies on the English-Chinese language pair in China: they could rather compel researchers to explore niches of possibilities. Two areas have been found promising in this respect, namely educational encounters and business promotional events. Universities and research institutions in China are witnessing increasing academic collaboration with the Western world (e.g. Hammond 2016) and interactional communication that ensues necessitates professional DI mediation. Fortunately, academic staff and “practisearchers” (Gile 1994), who often interpret for the local management-board of these institutions, have access to these cross-cultural and cross-language encounters. Video-recording some non-confidential conversations mediated by an interpreter is thus possible for academic research. Another feasible access comes from business-related events that do not involve business confidentialities but only aim at advertising. Some of the multimodal resources (text information, photos and videos) are occasionally put on-

line. Additionally, student interns interpreting for business communication provide another form of access to authentic DI data. Some of them may record their own performance, after getting consent from their clients, for the purpose of observation and practice, thus their data can also be utilised for research purposes.

We do not attempt to be exhaustive in identifying all niches of data access for DI studies in this paper, yet provide some degree of focus and potentiality. The two areas of data source introduced here are bound to grow in terms of accessibility in future, though obtaining consent for use from participants might continue to be a challenge.

3.2 Data presentation in the multimodal form

The presentation of multimodal corpus data is a major issue due to its innate nature of multi-layered complexity. Efforts are made to capture multimodal data (audible and visible semiotics) (Bao-Rozée 2016), and the reliance on the transcription conventions from monolingual CA indeed provides tools to record multimodal data in corpus form. McNeil's (2006) transcription method for coding multimodal information helps the synchronisation of gesture movements with co-occurring utterances. His hyper-phrase symbols such as # (for an audible breath pause), / (for a silent pause), * (for self-interruption), italics (for gaze), and drawings and screenshots (for bodily actions) might be useful in DI studies. McNeil's (2006) transcription methods helps Bao-Rozée (2016) in capturing complicated gaze and bodily semiotics in simulated DI interactions and are proved to be suitable for displaying the synchronicity of gestural movements with their co-occurring speech.

However, the field of interpreting studies (DI included) lacks agreed conventions for transcription and presentation of multimodal corpus data; it is not realistic to aim at a "universal" one (Setton 2011: 53). Therefore, DI researchers either rely on transcription conventions of CA or DA, which are prone to over-marking and over-analysis (*ibid.*). Alternatively, they create their own conventions that suit the purpose of their study (e.g. Davitti 2013; Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017). We suggest the combination of both approaches could be a possibility. We also need to bear in mind the suitability of the research design since transcription should be limited to the features to be subsequently analysed (O'Connell/Kowal 1994).

ELAN³ is a corpus software tool with multiple functions to annotate and retrieve multimodal data. Its effective data presentation utility is seen in some DI studies with the multimodal (auditory, visual and textual data) corpus approach (see, Davitti 2013, 2015; Bao-Rozée 2016; Davitti/Pasquandrea 2017). The intuitive vertical layers enable the clear presentation of multimodal resources, from layers of written transcript, auditory features (like pitch and intensity), to layers of visual dimensions (such as gaze and body orientation). Contextual data can be recorded in parallel layers, but it is advisable to have file-headers or separate files to enter the meta-data (e.g. Setton 2011). The beauty of using ELAN lies with its em-

3 ELAN 4.9.2 (available for downloading at <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/download/>)

powering synchronisation of all the multimodal resources (with an annotation scheme geared to research purposes) and its structured multi-layer search. For example, the ELAN screenshot below shows the synchronised seven layers where the researcher transcribes the SL and TL, gaze and gestures of the interlocutors, as well as the eye contact between them. The structured multi-layer search function can bring up the video in which all the multimodal semiotics take place. Therefore, with the synchronised presentation of data, the multimodal analysis of DI becomes possible when researchers need to analyse what happens there and then.

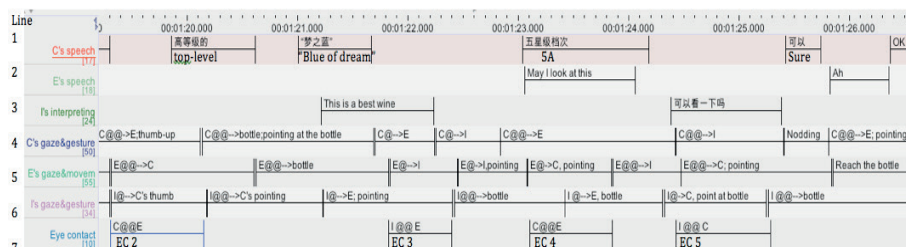


Figure 3. ELAN screenshot of the synchronised multi-layer transcription (Bao-Rozée 2016: 158).

Total reliance on ELAN is not sufficient though, because data preparation and analysis need to be supplemented with additional corpus tools. The discussion on corpus methodologies in the following section (§3.3.2) demonstrates how the corpus techniques contribute to further analytical procedures.

3.3 Data analysis with MAF

3.3.1 Understanding data linguistically and cross-culturally

The analysis of DI data in the Chinese context entails a researcher's full understanding of linguistic and cross-cultural divergences before feeding data into corpus tools. The linguistic and cultural differences between the distant English-Chinese language pair are known for posing great challenges; nonetheless, we discern potentialities for the multimodal approach to DI studies. The wealth of literature on linguistic and cultural differences cannot find space in this article but enables us to offer something genuinely pertinent to DI studies involving these two languages and cultures.

Linguistic differences between English and Chinese, most relevant to our DI studies, come from the broader Translation and Interpreting Studies, which perceive linguistic differences as pivotal since "language-pair-specific differences can indeed have an impact on the difficulty of interpreting" (Gile 2011: 213). First, pronouns pose vast disparities in language use. For instance, "what is expressed by a subject pronoun in English is conveyed by other means in what are known as 'pro-drop' or 'null subject' languages" such as Chinese, Japanese and Arabic (Munday 2012a: 73). The DI interpreter, therefore, may need to infer from the context what the subject is when s/he is working from Chinese into English. Second, Eng-

lish is hypotactic while Chinese is paratactic; this distinction engenders a crucial structural difference that has been noted by T&I researchers in China (e.g. Qian 2012). Hence, connectives (i.e. formal cohesive words or phrases) are added when working into English, and vice versa (e.g. Wang/Qin 2015). DI interpreters may thus better organise what goes into their renditions based on their understanding of this language-pair-specific difference. Third, the structural asymmetry in the English and Chinese language pair is identified as language pair specificity, which is “exemplified by right-branching structures in English and left-branching structures in Chinese” (Wang/Gu 2016: 1). This language-pair specificity could result in interpreters’ strategic waiting, pausing and segmenting (*ibid.*).

More elusive than linguistic differences are the cultural differences of the English-Chinese language pair. The analysis of utterances in cross-cultural communication is not feasible without the knowledge of cultural differences. As Nida (2001: 13) famously puts it, “the role of language within a culture and the influence of the culture on the meanings of words and idioms are so pervasive that can scarcely any text be adequately understood without careful consideration of its cultural background”. Halliday (1999: 19) further explains the relations between language and culture by defining culture as the “semiotic construction” of reality “that results from the particular use of language by members of a community”. Both attest to the complementary nexus between language and culture. Hence, we argue that explanations of the interpreting shifts from lexicogrammatical or semantic layers could be sought from cultural differences when verbal renditions seemingly fail to provide equivalence in their complementary nexus. Cultural awareness equips people with cultural empathy and sensitivity (Tomlinson/Masuhara 2004), DI interpreters with the tools to bridge cultural barriers (Deng/Wen 2012) and researchers with the explanatory power to uncover what verbal texts fail to provide an answer for. One example may help substantiate what we mean by the term “explanatory power”. *Old* is an example of “a culturally loaded word” and could be “at the heart of the debate over the values” projected onto people or entities (Munday 2012a: 55). In Chinese culture, a person being 老 (*old*) equates to connotations of “经验和权威” (experience and authority); a system being 老 (*old*) connotes “久经考验” (of long trial). Whereas, in the English-speaking culture, a person being *old* suggests some degree of invalidity; a system being *old* implies out-dated. If the DI interpreter is able to provide what the term *old* really implies instead of rendering *old* verbatim, his or her cultural knowledge about the positive-and-negative contrast might well explain what contributes to the verbal shift in rendition.

Some generalisations on the cultural differences between the East and the West have been made in cross-cultural studies, albeit with a grain of circumspection. They are important in our contextual analysis for DI studies. Hall’s (1976) seminal work distinguishes high-context culture (such as in China) and low-context culture (in English-speaking countries). DI researchers like Mindess (1999) and Lee (2009) both identify Asian languages (such as Chinese or Korean) as “contextual” languages in DI encounters. In a similar fashion, collectivism (for the East) versus individualism (for the West) is described by culture scholars (e.g. Hofstede 2001). Mindess (2006: 179) observes the avoidance of “loss of face” in the more indirect

communication styles within the collectivist culture. DI researchers, in this sense, need to take into account the two facets of cultural divergences in their analysis.

These linguistic and cultural disparities indeed pose challenges for DI interpreters working between English and Chinese. Nonverbal cues along with cultural factors are crucially important in understanding the full messages in DI. The nonverbal side of communication is more salient in distant language pairs than is the case in cognate pairs that may pose fewer challenges at the verbal level. The multimodal approach can hence be more fruitfully exploited and be more explanatory when analysing distant languages and cultures (English and Chinese in our case) because it is more likely to come across major differences and mismatches at multiple levels. These differences and mismatches offer potentialities to construct MAF (§2) and we demonstrate the utility of this framework for corpus procedures in the next section.

3.3.2 Analysing multimodal data with the corpus approach

The corpus approach can benefit DI studies in a number of ways. The (semi) automatic tools render the analysis of corpus data more efficient (e.g. Partington 2003). It reduces researcher bias where discursive events (such as DI interactions) are analysed in favour of empiricism and objectivity (Baker 2006). It also “reveals patterns of use previously unthought-of” (Partington 2003:12). In addition, triangulation is feasible by running multiple corpus procedures (Baker 2006). The deployment of a corpus approach to DI studies supersedes a non-corpus approach by its efficiency, objectivity and the power to interpret data via identifying patterns and triangulating results.

The multimodal data we have attempted to analyse with corpus techniques could enable DI researchers to explain shifts or non-expectancies in one layer of semiotic configuration with the answers triangulated from other layers. This framework we have constructed (in §2) is particularly pertinent when DI interpreters mediate between distant languages (like Chinese and English), where non-verbal meaning making semiotics, like gaze and gestures, could compensate what is missing or shifted verbally. The effectiveness of the framework is demonstrated by some relevant corpus techniques, which forge synergy between the corpus techniques and the multimodal approach to DI studies.

Machines only recognise forms, not meanings; annotation is one way of making machines understand meanings. Opinions are divided when it comes to annotating corpus data, in that annotation is laborious, however, fruitful in subsequent findings (e.g. Baker 2006, 2010). We therefore offer two analyses with the corpus-based method using annotated data (Analysis 1 and 2) and then another analysis with no annotation using the corpus-driven methods (Analysis 3).

Analysis 1

One type of annotation scheme for our parallel corpus focuses on interpreting shifts at the verbal level. Refusing or declining (by saying *no*) is one area that

draws lexicogrammatical shifts between Chinese and English-speaking cultures. In one interpreter-mediated education scene (though we failed to get permission to video record the encounter, we were allowed to use this instance), the director of the student-exchange-programme office with a Chinese university is talking to his UK counterpart in his office. The Chinese director is not happy with the proposed programme and declines by an elongated pause followed by the utterance “这个学生交换项目，可能，大概，不行吧。” [This student-exchange programme, possibly, roughly, not possible]. The interpreter then unexpectedly renders “This programme stands no chance.” Annotation alone could uncover the lexical shift (tagged) at the verbal layer, yet leave the researcher wondering why this shift occurs. Observation of the synchronised visual data could then enable the researcher to identify the speaker’s hesitation by a long pause and frowns (facial expression) in the ELAN video data. The contextual data (recorded as meta-data) specifies the cultural differences in context: indirectness in the Chinese culture vs. directness in the English-speaking culture, which could also help the researcher understand the unexpected shift in the contextualised analysis. Therefore, by applying the proposed framework, we are able to uncover what is behind the shift by identifying how the multimodal data (visual and contextual) complements the verbal data.

Analysis 2

Annotation of gestures (visual data) helps extracting relevant footage from ELAN. This enables researchers to analyse how gestural deixis is rendered (e.g. pointing at certain people and objects as demonstrated by picture “A” in Figure 4; indicating directions as demonstrated by picture “B” in Figure 4).



Figure 4. Images of gestural deixis

Does the Chinese interpreter emulate the gestural deixis of the speaker, ignore the gestures or render cross-modally into corresponding verbal deixis (such as *this/这, that/那, these/这些, those/那些, this way or here/这边, that way or over there/那边* etc.)? Equally worth investigating is language direction to see how the interpreter renders from Chinese (being paratactic, where connectives are conventionally non-existent in oral communication) into English (being hypotactic with formal connectives to assist in the logical flow of ideas). We therefore show

how cross-modal interpretation occurs in a DI interpreter-mediated cross-cultural encounter, that is, how much gestural deixis is rendered to verbal ones in the following example.

This is an instance we have observed at a trade-fair in a major city of China. A British businessman, accompanied by a Chinese interpreter, approaches a Chinese staff member about the whereabouts of the exhibition hall. The Chinese staff member describes the way to the hall with rich and clear accompanying gestural deixis:

Chinese speaker: “这边转弯到那边 (with accompanying gesture B pointing to the left then to the right direction), 往上走两层(with gesture A pointing to the staircase, 过走廊就是。”
(Gloss: This way, turn that way, climb up two stories, across the corridor, there is.)

Interpreter: “You first turn **left**, next make a **right** turn, then go along the stairs to the 2nd floor, **on the other side** of the corridor is the exhibition hall.” (No accompanying gestures)

Listening to the utterances alone does not make any sense. Analysis for this instance entails taking the multimodal semiotics as an integrated entirety within our MAF. The annotation of the gestural deixis could also utilise the synchronised visual data (showing how the Chinese speaker relies on gestures in communicating the location) and the written transcript data of ST and TT. Gesturing and changes of gaze are observed on the part of the speaker but not at all on the interpreter; the gestures used by the Chinese speaker to convey directional messages are omitted kinetically in the rendition, whereas verbal compensations are made by the interpreter not only in terms of deixis (marked in bold) but also in terms of sequential connectives (*first*, *next* and *then* underlined). This cross-modal rendition could be explained by the fact that meaning construing is highly dependent on the context in China (Hall 1976); the gestural meaning embedded in the Chinese “high-context culture” is explicated with verbal compensation in deixis and connectives for the more explicit English rendition. This example of cross-modal interpreting demonstrates the way verbal and non-verbal semiotic means are utilised in DI encounters involving distant languages and cultures, and MAF can be effectively deployed for analysing multiple semiotic means at play in DI.

Analysis 3

In the two analyses above we use the corpus-based approach with assumptions before we start the corpus procedures. Assumptions on lexicogrammatical shifts (in Analysis 1) and gestural deixis (in Analysis 2) are embedded in the annotation. The third example of corpus approach to the multimodal data in DI studies we wish to introduce here is data-driven, in that it starts with exploratory corpus procedures without any assumption. Though without authentic data for operational demonstration, it may reveal synergy via mobilising other corpus tools and techniques to complement analysis with ELAN.

Baker/McEnery (2015: 10) justly point out the usefulness of multiple corpus techniques, such as frequency, concordance, collocation, and keyness, which are often adopted to give “a much more detailed insight into the working language in use”. Lexis and phraseologies at the lexicogrammatical layer are the machine-readable linguistic items in the absence of annotation. We subsequently harness the utility of keyness and collocation with words or phrases to complement multimodal corpus analysis. The analysis of machine-readable lexis could start with other corpus tools for mono-modal text analysis. Antconc⁴, Wordsmith⁵ or Sketch-Engine⁶ (on-line interface) could produce keywords that highlight lexical saliency (Baker 2006, 2010). Topical information is often revealed in forms of nouns and verbs (*ibid.*). When the keyword procedure is run in both ST and TT, the topical shifts can be identified. What follows could be the analysis of collocates of identified keywords in GraphColl⁷, which shows how strong the keywords are associated with others “in terms of frequency and exclusivity” (Baker 2010: 24). Comparing collocates with their node keywords in the parallel corpus is revealing, since “[i]dentifying the collocates around a word gives us an indication about subtle meanings and connotations that a word possesses” (*ibid.*: 25). Areas of cross-cultural subtlety and nuances are most prone to interpreting shifts between STs and TTs (e.g. Munday 2012a), which then could be observed with the parallel corpus tool Paraconc⁸, which juxtaposes text strings in two languages (English and Chinese in our case) for comparison. The lexical shifts identified from text-based corpus procedures, before multimodal analysis with ELAN, can then be aligned with visual and contextual data that could possibly provide an explanation. Analysis with this proposed framework could hence triangulate explanations of shifts (at the verbal layer) from the synchronised auditory and visual modes, with the triangulation from the contextual data.

The three examples illustrated using MAF with the corpus approach to DI studies are demonstrative of how corpus techniques can be empowered within the proposed framework. Different corpus techniques or tools could be used to account for interpreting shifts or unexpected renditions that occur in one mode with explanations found in another among the synchronised layers. This best illustrates how utilitarian the proposed framework is, or in other words, how complementary these multimodal semiotics (across-layers) are in unravelling the ‘why’ questions that the pure linguistic description fails to achieve in Interpreting Studies.

4 <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>

5 <http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/>

6 <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/>

7 <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/download.php>

8 <http://www.paraconc.com/>

4. Conclusion

This article ventures with confidence into a new line of DI studies inspired by theories and methodologies from different domains. The MAF we have proposed for DI studies is inspired by the well-established linguistic theory of stratification from SFL and by the previously limited application of the multimodal approach to DI studies, from both of which we discern potentialities of complementary utility for the corpus approach to DI investigations. The stratified linguistic layers in the former remedies the fuzziness of multimodal resources in the latter; the stratum of context of situation and culture, beyond the language proper (Halliday 2001), compensates what DI researchers (such as Mason 2006a; Setton 2011) deem vital for the analysis of real-life DI encounters. The corpus approach is also enabling for DI studies whereby the machine-readable formal data (linguistic data at the lexicogrammatical strata or manual annotations) are combined with corpus techniques to seek more meaningful multimodal data, which provide interpretation, explanation or triangulated results to demystify what descriptive interpreting studies alone are unable to explain.

Built on a well-established linguistic theory, we intend to propose MAF as a theoretical framework with heuristic utility in analysing multimodal corpus data for DI studies. With this contribution, we hope that our accounts on the difficulties and differences with respect to DI studies involving the English-Chinese language pair in China may provide a glimpse into the gap in the literature, while being aware that our analyses call for greater empirical strength. The construction of the framework seems robust with theoretical underpinning, yet it necessitates empiricism in the analysis of authentic video data for DI studies. The corpus procedures in the analyses with the proposed framework offer hands-on usefulness for researchers, albeit further trials are needed with authentic data.

The future of the multimodal corpus approach to DI studies looms large; in particular, the complexities of distant language pairs (English and Asian languages) entail the observation of synchronised live auditory and visual data in addition to the investigation of contextual data. The pointers this article raises methodologically can, hopefully, accommodate these shortcomings. We end with a word of hope for future research. The much coveted authentic video data of cross-cultural DI encounters will be obtained however difficult it is now to obtain them in Asian countries like China. This could be achieved through the future researchers' effort in expanding niches and opening up the dialogue between DI practising venues and academic towers in the DI community.

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English as a Lingua Franca in telephone interpreting: representations and linguistic justice

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the general impact and the potentially adverse effects of the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in a telephone-interpreted police interview in Finland, which was recorded and transcribed. The data were analyzed manually, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The analysis focuses on issues of mutual understanding and the organization of discursive flow from the interpreter's perspective, using theoretical and methodological tools from conversation analysis, critical sociolinguistics, and critical discourse analysis. Examples of repair initiations and candidate understandings in the data, divided into three categories based on the degree of interpreter intervention in interaction, illustrate the interpreter's prominent role as a coordinator of discursive flow and repairer of communication problems. However, while the ELF-speaking interpreter shows accommodation to the ELF-speaking migrant's linguistic resources, the outcome is not necessarily beneficial to the migrant. The service provider's command of English complicates the interaction. Thus, in dialogue interpreting, ELF may function as an instrument of linguistic unfairness in ways that are often unpredictable. The representations that the interpreter constructs of the other participants as persons with limited linguistic and discursive resources play an important role in such processes. The peculiar features of telephone interpreting intersecting with issues related to ELF intensify such phenomena.

Telephone interpreting, English as a lingua franca (ELF), legal interpreting, community interpreting, interpreter-mediated police interviews.

Introduction: English as a lingua franca in dialogue interpreting

English as a lingua franca (ELF) has become an important field of inquiry in interpreting and translation studies. Some analyses have explored the general impact of ELF on translation and interpreting practices (Cook 2012) and translator/interpreter training (House 2013). Studies focusing on specific ELF-related phenomena include Albl-Mikasa's (2015) analysis of ELF speakers' limited power of expression as a source of both activation and retrieval constraints, with an adverse effect on interpretation. In community and legal interpreting studies, such inquiries have been rare. One of the few exceptions is the paper by Gavioli and Baraldi (2011) analyzing the achievement of intercultural communication in legal and health care settings. Corpus linguistic tools have not yet been widely used on community and legal interpreting corpora. In fact, the challenges related to creating interpreting corpora, such as the fact that several languages are involved (Bendazzoli/Sandrelli 2009), are even greater in community and legal interpreting. Thus, corpora are typically studied "manually".

While interpreting studies analyses of lingua-franca interpreting focus on the interpreter, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have been more interested in the migrant's perspective. ELF, other lingua francas, and non-standard varieties of a particular language have been examined in such studies. Thus, Gumperz (1982) and Haviland (2003) have analyzed the case of Mexicans who are assigned interpreters of Spanish in the US legal system, although their first language is not Spanish. Similarly, Eades (2010: 88-91) has discussed research conducted on so-called second-dialect speakers, namely persons who use a variety other than the standard variety of a particular legal system. Much of this research has centered on Australian Aboriginal English speakers. Several studies have identified monolithic and monolingual language ideologies, that is, cultural conceptions of the nature and function of language, languages, and language varieties (Gal/Woolard 1995: 130), as the origin of linguistic injustice in complex multilingual encounters involving interpreters in the legal domain (e.g. Angermeyer 2008, 2014; Berk-Seligson 2008; Haviland 2003; Maryns 2006). In sociolinguistic studies, there have also been some attempts to create larger community-interpreting corpora that can be shared among several researchers (Angermeyer *et al.* 2012). However, it is particularly difficult to create larger corpora of sensitive data. For example, the present study is based on a small data set obtained through personal contacts and subject to significant restrictions governing its usage.

One of the goals of this paper is to inspire more dialogue-interpreting research focusing on ELF and telephone interpreting, as ELF is commonly used as a language of communication between interpreter and migrant in interpreter-mediated encounters in Finland and elsewhere in Europe. For example, based

on my experience as an interpreter in the greater Helsinki area and conversations and interviews with colleagues, I would estimate that in this region at least 80 percent of migrants communicating with the interpreter in English are ELF speakers. Most interpreters are ELF speakers as well (see Määttä 2017 for details). Therefore, it is important to understand the impact of ELF on interpreting strategies and the outcomes of interpreter-mediated encounters. Studies combining insights from interpreting studies and other disciplines such as sociolinguistics and conversation analysis would be particularly beneficial to the field.

This paper is inspired by critical discourse analysis, which means that the analysis is based on the identification of a social problem and the discursive and ideological processes related to it. Issues related to ELF in dialogue interpreting are manifold (Määttä 2015). For example, the practice of interpreting between two B (active) or C (passive) languages is relatively common, and many interpreters lack formal training. An important issue is the wide range of varieties spoken by both migrants and interpreters and the increased pressure to provide accurate renditions because most participants in the encounter have some knowledge of English. However, service providers and many interpreters are not aware of the complexity of the ELF phenomenon. In fact, ELF is an instrument that makes multilingualism invisible and therefore also disguises the power imbalance inherent in any complex multilingual context.

Most phenomena analyzed in the paper can be explained both by features related to ELF and by the special features of telephone interpreting. Existing research has identified the high cognitive load occasioned by efforts to understand the primary speaker in remote interpreting as having an adverse effect on interpreter renditions (Moser-Mercer 2005). Omissions and additions in the interpretation are attributable to the telephone interpreting mode (Braun 2013) as well. Moreover, telephone interpreting is characterized by the interpreter's prominent role as a coordinator of the interaction (Torres 2014: 413-415). Based on my experience as an interpreter and conversations with colleagues, the most significant challenge in telephone interpreting, at least in Finland, remains poor sound quality. The second most significant issue is the lack of non-verbal communication, which translates into problems in the following areas: turn organization, interpretation of written documents present in the situation and interpretation of speech related to objects that are present in the situation, and communication of affect. All of these issues appear in the data analyzed in this paper as well. In fact, issues related to the telephone interpreting mode intersect with the special features of ELF to such an extent that it is impossible to identify whether a communication problem is due primarily to telephone interpreting or the use of English as a *lingua franca*.

1. Data

The interview analyzed in this paper lasted 1 hour 46 minutes in total. The interviewee sat with the interviewer in the police department, whereas the interpreter, who has several years of experience as a community and legal interpreter

and is a trained interpreter, was in another location. The interviewer typed the *official record* during the interview – since this written document is not a verbatim rendering of the original speech, it would be misleading to call it a *transcript*. Both the interpreter and the interviewee were ELF speakers; the interpreter and the interviewer were native speakers of Finnish. The interviewee had arrived in Finland a few months before the interview took place from a country in which English is the most important lingua franca and an official language alongside several other languages. In order to protect the privacy of the persons involved, no details will be given about the exact nature or context of the interview.

The transcription was produced using Praat software for the scientific analysis of speech. The transcription contains 79,063 signs including spaces and 14,084 words, including indications of time (e.g. “00:15”) and pauses (e.g. “(0.5)”).

The following transcription conventions appear in the examples:

?	Rising intonation at the end of a prosodic group
ˆtall	Pitch prominence in the following word
womb	Increased loudness (word)
conflict	Stress (syllable)
in:	Lengthened sound
da-	False start
(.)	Micropause shorter than 0.2 seconds
(1.4)	Pause longer than 0.2 seconds
.hhhh=yes	Elements merging without overlapping
[okay]	Overlapping elements
<veli>	Word spoken more slowly than neighboring words
(-)	Short inaudible passage
(---)	Long inaudible passage
.h	Short respiration sound
.hhhh	Long respiration sound
((laughing))	Transcriber’s comments.

2. Analysis

2.1 Other-initiated repairs and candidate understandings

The analysis started by studying the transcript carefully in order to identify interactional and language problems related to ELF and the telephone interpreting mode. Since the data set was rather small and the focus was on interaction, the analysis was carried out manually and took into account both quantitative and qualitative features. This initial analysis exposed *reformulations* and *verifications* performed by the interpreter as the most salient feature in the data. In a reformulation, the speaker (typically the interpreter) repeats the information content of the previous speaker’s turn using different words and/or grammatical constructions. In a verification, the speaker checks whether s/he has heard or understood another speaker’s turn correctly. In terms of interaction, most

reformulations result from *other-initiated repairs* (Schegloff et al. 1977), whereas verifications can be characterized as *candidate understandings*, namely questions in which the hearer offers an interpretation of what the other speaker just said (Schegloff 1996). Both repair initiations and candidate understandings were counted and analyzed manually.

Out of 33 occurrences of other-initiated repairs (see Table 1) in this data, 9 were initiated by the interviewer, and the interpreter interpreted these in 7 cases, executed the repair in 1 case, and reacted by initiating another repair once. The interviewee initiated 8 repairs, and the interpreter executed the repair in 5 cases (informing the interviewer about the repair initiation once), interpreted the turn in 2 cases, and did nothing in 1 case. The interpreter initiated 16 repairs, out of which 2 were directed to the interviewer and 14 to the interviewee; in all of these cases, the person to which the repair was directed also completed it. Hence, repair organization was largely coordinated by the interpreter, and much of the repair work occurred between the interpreter and the interviewee.

<i>Producer</i>	<i>Number of repairs initiated</i>	<i>Action by the interpreter</i>
Interviewer	9	7: interpreted 1: repaired 1: new repair initiated
Interviewee	8	5: repaired 2: interpreted 1: no action
Interpreter	16	2: directed to the interviewer 14: directed to the interviewee
Total	33	

Table 1. Other-initiated repairs and the interpreter's action

A total of 44 candidate understandings were identified in the data (Table 2). The interpreter produced 31 candidate understandings (out of which 2 were directed to the interviewer and 29 to the interviewee), whereas the interviewer produced 5 and the interviewee 8 candidate understandings. The interpreter interpreted all candidate understandings produced by the interviewer to the interviewee. As for candidate understandings produced by the interviewee, the interpreter reacted twice with the response token *uh-huh*, twice by reformulating the word, twice by interpreting the turn to the interviewer, once by initiating a repair, and once by doing nothing. Hence, the solution to communication problems by means of candidate understandings was also coordinated mostly by the interpreter, and this activity mainly occurred between the interpreter and the migrant.

<i>Producer</i>	<i>Number of candidate understandings initiated</i>	<i>Action by the interpreter</i>
Interviewer	5	all interpreted
Interviewee	8	2: <i>uh-huh</i> 2: reformulation 2: interpreted 1: repair initiation 1: no action
Interpreter	31	2: directed to the interviewer 29: directed to the interviewee
Total	44	

Table 2. Candidate understandings and the interpreter's action

Subsequently, occurrences of other-initiated repairs and candidate understandings were linked to the degree of interpreter involvement, namely the interpreter's role as a coordinator of discursive flow, of which examples were chosen. No software was used in this analysis. The identity of the persons involved in the examples is protected and words that were deemed irrelevant for the analysis have been changed or removed. Since the goal is not to analyze grammatical equivalence between Finnish and English, only the content information of the Finnish utterances is glossed in English. These translations are italicized. Due to significant structural differences between Finnish and English, the translations are not word-for-word. For example, it is impossible to reproduce the Finnish word and constituent order in English, and there are no exact translations for hedges and discourse markers. Pauses in the original Finnish utterances are reproduced in the translation in order to make it easier for the reader to follow the flow of the interaction. For the same reason, turns instead of lines (as is customary in conversation analysis) are numbered in the examples.

The examples were analyzed taking into account the interactional, phonetic, lexical, and grammatical particularities that were salient in each case. I will start with an example in which the interpreter took no initiative to repair the communication problem. Subsequently, I will analyze an example in which such normative action (i.e. "just interpreting") is combined with verification in the form of a candidate understanding, and continue with four examples of candidate understandings leading to different outcomes. Finally, I will analyze three examples in which the interpreter took a prominent role in initiating repairs and executing them.

2.2 The difficulty in maintaining normative interpreting strategies

Wadensjö (1998) has shown that interpreters play an active role as coordinators of interaction. However, deontological norms still disregard this fact. For example, the preamble to the code of conduct for Finnish legal interpreters (SKTL 2016) acknowledges that the interpreter has the right to intervene in turn organization if deemed necessary in order to guarantee exhaustivity and accuracy. However, Article 6 of this code states that the interpreter should just interpret. Such normative interpreting strategies are difficult to maintain in ELF and telephone interpreting. As a result, the interpreter inevitably becomes visible as a coordinator of the interaction.

Interpreter-mediated encounters involving ELF are often characterized by the fact that the service provider knows English, which has an impact on the interaction and on interpreting strategies (Pöllabauer 2004: 152). In this sample, several instances show that the interviewer knows English. In the following example, the interviewer's open acknowledgement of his/her command of English triggers a normative pattern of interpreting: instead of taking the initiative for the repair, the interpreter translates the interviewer's and the interviewee's repair initiations:

Example 1

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 2 INTERPRETER | do you actively celebrate your religion? eh (0.7) da- do- do
you show does your religion show in your daily life? |
| 3 INTERVIEWEE | yes |
| 4 INTERVIEWER | millä tavalla
in what way |
| 5 INTERPRETER | .hh in: what ways: |
| 6 INTERVIEWEE | come again with the question maybe I didn't get you right |
| 7 INTERPRETER | voitko esittää kysymyksen uudestaan en ehkä ymmärtänyt
(.) kunnolla
could you repeat the question maybe I did not understand
(.) correctly |

In turn 4, the interviewer initiates a repair without waiting for the interpreter's rendition of the very short and simple answer *yes*, thus demonstrating a command of English. Naturally, this intervention does not prove that the interviewer is perfectly fluent in English and could therefore assess the interpreting. However, it signals that there is a possibility of both. In fact, in Finland even law enforcement agents who have an adequate command of English (or any foreign language used by the migrant) have to use an interpreter in interviews. The interpreter's respiration and lengthened sounds at the beginning of turn 5 indicate discomfort: since the interviewer knows English and does not wait for the interpreter's rendition of the interviewee's turn 3, there is more pressure to provide accurate renditions. In turn 7, interpreting the interviewee's repair initiation (turn 6) is an exceptional strategy in the data, as the interpreter usually performs the repair directly without interpreting the request to the interviewer. The interviewer's open acknowledgment of his/her English skills may have had an influence in the interpreter's choice.

Both the interpreter and the interviewer are ELF speakers, and both have idiosyncratic features in their English usage. However, although the interviewee's grammar is not always normative, mutual understanding does not appear to be affected by grammatical peculiarities. Instead, there are often lexical problems related to certain semantic fields, such as housing, as in the following sample where normative interpreting strategies and interpreter-controlled strategies merge. Thus, in turn 5, the interviewer's repair initiation is interpreted, whereas in turn 8 the interpreter informs the interviewer about the need to check the facts one more time prior to producing a repair initiation not prompted by the interviewer:

Example 2

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 1 INTERVIEWER | .hh millainen asunto onks teillä kerrostalo vai rivitalo
vai omakotitalo ja kuinka paljon siellä on (.) on neliöitä
<i>what kind of dwelling do you have an apartment building a
row house or a house and how many are there (.) square meters'</i> |
| 2 INTERPRETER | what kind of apartment do you have (.) is it eh (0.6 .hh)
is it an apartment eh (.) in a building? or is it a detached
house or is it (0.7) is it eh a separate house? |
| 3 INTERVIEWEE | it's apartment |
| 4 INTERPRETER | se on (.) asunto
it's (.) a dwelling |
| 5 INTERVIEWER | mikä asunto
<i>what dwelling</i> |
| 6 INTERPRETER | eh (.) is it ehm like in a building with ehm (.) several
floors? |
| 7 INTERVIEWEE | yeah we are (.) yeah (when we are) (.) the time I came
(0.3) he was living in a smaller house. (1.0) then we
moved out from that hou- (.) smaller house we're in a
bigger (0.7) flat (.) two bedrooms flat |
| 8 INTERPRETER | okei eli eli ensin asuttiin pienemmässä asunnossa ja
sitten muutettiin isompaan (0.6) öö (0.5) s- isompaan
tota (0.5) asuntoon (0.5) mä toistan vielä ton kysymyksen
tätä on vähä vaikee selittää tätä kerrostaloa=
<i>okay so first we lived in a smaller apartment and then we
moved to a bigger (0.6) eh (0.5) bigger like (0.5) dwelling (0.5)
I will repeat the question one more time it is a bit difficult to
explain this apartment building thing
=so (0.6 .hhh) is it an apartment ehm (1.8) is it like a ↗
tall ↗ building or is it eh (0.8) what kind of building is
it. (0.3) where the where the flat is</i> |
| 9 INTERVIEWEE | it's a tall building I think I think it's four floors [--] (0.7) yes |
| 10 INTERPRETER | [okay] (0.7) great (1.0) .hh se on kerrostalo (0.4) ö (.)
taitaa olla nelikerroksinen
<i>it's an apartment building (0.4) eh I think it
has four floors</i> |

1 Finnish constituent order is reproduced in this gloss.

In turn 1, the interviewer enquires about housing by using the Finnish word *asunto*, which can be translated as ‘dwelling’, ‘house’, ‘apartment’, or ‘flat’. The interpreter (turn 2) uses the words *apartment*, *house*, and *detached house*, thus omitting *row house* and the number of square meters mentioned in the interviewer’s turn. When the interpreter (turn 4) uses the word *asunto* in his/her rendition of the word *apartment* in the interviewee’s turn 3, presumably with the meaning of ‘apartment’ or ‘flat’ in a block or a building, the interviewer initiates a repair (turn 5). In fact, the interpreter’s rendition does not make sense because the prototypical meaning of the word *asunto* is ‘dwelling’; as a result, the original question in turn 1 related to the type of dwelling is answered by the question itself. In turn 6, the interpreter reformulates the interviewer’s question with the assumption that the persons live in a building with several floors. The first part of interviewee’s answer in turn 7 shows that this assumption is correct. Nevertheless, in the latter part of turn 7, the interviewee uses the word *house*, followed by *flat*. As a result, the interpreter checks the facts one more time in turn 8. Three tasks are performed in this complex turn. First, the interviewee’s turn 7 is translated. Second, the interviewer is informed about the need to check one more time whether the dwelling is situated in an apartment building. Third, the interpreter switches to English and reformulates the question asked in turn 6 by explicitly inquiring whether the dwelling is situated in a *tall building*. Both the word *apartment* and the word *flat* are used, showing accommodation to the interviewee’s usage.

2.3 Monitoring errors

In the previous example, the interaction was complicated by a lexical field in which it is difficult to find exact equivalences both within ELF and cross-linguistically. The interpreter’s efforts to find the right equivalent can also be regarded as a strategy for monitoring potential interpreting errors. This subsection explores the outcome of such monitoring in more detail with four examples.

There are numerous studies on English accents and the language ideologies related to them (Moyer A. 2013; Lippi-Green 2011). However, little is known about the effects of an unfamiliar accent in interaction, and patterns identified in the existing literature are often contradictory (Moyer A. 2013: 93-99, 109). In this data, the interviewee’s pronunciation appears to engender communication problems on several occasions. In the following example, the interviewee’s pronunciation of the word *cupboard* blocks the interpreter’s processing of that word. As a result, the interpreter produces a candidate understanding and combines it with an explicit clarification request which ultimately leads to an erroneous rendition:

Example 3

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| 1 INTERVIEWEE | and the (0.5) there’s a TV in the living room? |
| 2 INTERPRETER | .h olohuoneessa on televisio?
<i>there is a TV in the living room</i> |
| 3 INTERVIEWEE | with a white carboard? |

4 INTERPRETER	ja ja tota siellä on valkea (1.5) <i>and and like there is a white (1.5)</i> cardboard you mean eh (1.5) with [shelves]?
5 INTERVIEWEE	[- yes] but (.) it's a it's like a shelf (.) I don't know how I [--]
6 INTERPRETER	[okay] (0.6 .hh) [siellä on valkoinen hylly?] <i>there is a white shelf</i>
7 INTERVIEWEE	yes?
8 INTERPRETER	yeah (.) and (1.0) and
9 INTERVIEWER	olohuoneessa on televisio ja valkoinen hylly [↑] tää ehkä riittää kiitos (0.7) ja tästä huonekalujen kuvauksesta <i>there is a TV and a white shelf in the living room this is perhaps</i> <i>enough thank you (07) and in terms of describing the furniture</i>

The reasons leading to this erroneous rendition are quite complex. In turn 3, the interviewee states that there is a *white cupboard* in the living room. However, the interviewee pronounces the word as if it were a “carboard”. As a result, the interpreter is confused: turn 4 starts with hesitation (the word *ja* – ‘and’ – repeated twice, followed by the discourse marker *tota* – ‘like’). After having pronounced the word *valkea* (‘white’), the interpreter takes a long pause (1.5 seconds), indicating that the following sequence is problematic. Subsequently, the interpreter switches to English, uses the word *cardboard*, and verifies whether the piece of furniture has *shelves*, thus introducing a word that the interviewee had not mentioned. This question is also preceded by a 1.5-second pause. There are several indications of hesitation in the interviewee’s answer (turn 5): the beginning of the turn overlaps with the interpreter’s turn and starts with the affirmative *yes*, immediately followed by the adversary *but*. The repetition of the relational process *it’s* indicates hesitation as well: the interviewee starts with a clear statement involving the indefinite article, then continues with a statement hedged by the discourse marker *like*. At the end of the turn, hesitation is lexicalized (*I don’t know how I*). The end of the interviewee’s turn is not audible because it overlaps with the interpreter’s turn 6. The pause after the initial *okay* in turn 6 indicates that the interpreter meant the initial *okay* to be a token showing active listening. However, the interviewee considers this *okay* to indicate a new turn. And since the interviewee does not continue, the interpreter decides to use the word *hylly* (‘shelf’) and omits the hedge *like*. Therefore, the pragmatic dimension of hesitation, which scholars such as Hale (2004: 3) have identified as a central requirement of a felicitous interpretation, is not conveyed. As turn 9 shows, the interviewer writes the interpreter’s version in the official record of the interview.

In example 4, an unfamiliar accent coupled with possible poor sound quality related to telephone interpreting lead to a situation in which the interpreter mishears or misunderstands and produces a candidate understanding, which the interviewee mishears or misunderstands. As a result, the problem persists in spite of verification:

Example 4

- 1 INTERVIEWER joo? (0.8) noo (1.5) mitäs tää sus sisko tekee Amerikassa
ok (0.8) so (1.5) *what does this sister of yours do in America*
- 2 INTERPRETER what is your sister doing in America
- 3 INTERVIEWEE that was just my cousin not my blood sister my blood
sister she's living Africa
- 4 INTERPRETER black sister [you said] (0.4) .hhhhh=
- 5 INTERVIEWEE =yes (.) that one in America she's my cousin from my
mother's side
- 6 INTERPRETER .hh öö siis sisko ei ole Amerikassa että minun aa (0.5)
ää musta siskoni on on Afrikassa että tuo (0.4) henkilö
joka on Amerikassa on minun äidinpuoleinen serkkuni
eh like the sister is not in America like my ehm (0.5) ehm
black sister is in Africa like that (0.4) person who is in
America is my cousin from my mother's side

The vowel in the word *blood* in the interviewee's turn 3 sounds more like [æ] than [ʌ]. This is a possible explanation for why the interpreter hears *black* instead of *blood*. However, there were no mentions of family members belonging to different ethnic groups previously in the interview. Moreover, only one sister has been mentioned thus far, which potentially explains the interpreter's candidate understanding in turn 4. The very long respiration at the end of the turn, preceded by a pause, indicates that the interpreter regards the candidate understanding as problematic. However, in turn 5, the interviewee confirms the interpreter's inquiry affirmatively. In addition, the fact that the "black sister" lives in Africa and the cousin in America reaffirms the interpreter's presupposition of an ethnically (and geographically) divided family. However, the interpreter's hesitation is still noticeable: instead of *serkku* ('cousin'), the word *henkilö* ('person') is used in turn 6. This can be regarded as an attempt to minimize the potential damage. There is a 47-second pause between the end of the interpreter's turn 6 and the interviewer's next turn, which suggests that the erroneous wording was written in the official record, too.

On other occasions, verification by means of a candidate understanding is felicitous:

Example 5

- 1 INTERVIEWEE she (0.7) (-) (0.5) hmm (0.6) womb (.) I don't know (if the)
womb problem something like (0.3) I think it was (0.4)
cancer (1.3) she was supposed be operated but she died
before the operation
- 2 INTERPRETER so eh (.) in her *womb*
- 3 INTERVIEWEE womb yeah it's like (.) womb (.) womb problem (.) she
had a womb problem was supposed to be operated (0.8)
but she died before the operation [-]
- 4 INTERPRETER [.hhh] okay. womb eh the place where babies are
- 5 INTERVIEWEE yes

In this excerpt, the interpreter produces two candidate understandings: in turn 2 by repeating the word *womb* used by the interviewee, and in turn 4 by reformulating the organ in plain terms (*the place where babies are*). In this case as well, the unfamiliar accent may explain the problem: in two instances, the vowel sound in the word *womb* is close to [ɜ:], which would make it *worm*. Nevertheless, the verification is successful and the facts are written correctly in the official record.

Finally, in some cases the interpreter manages to rectify a misheard or misunderstood word:

Example 6

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 1 INTERVIEWER | o:kei mikä hänen ammattinsa on
<i>okay what is her profession</i> |
| 2 INTERPRETER | ehm what is your profession (1.4) your occupation |
| 3 INTERVIEWEE | my occupation I'm? (0.6) business (.) lady? |
| 4 INTERPRETER | cleaning lady |
| 5 INTERVIEWER | business lady= |
| 6 INTERPRETER | =business lady olen öö liikenainen
<i>I am ehm a business lady</i> |

The fact that the interviewee does not respond immediately to the question containing the noun *profession* in turn 2 prompts the interpreter to reformulate the question by using the noun *occupation* at the end of the same turn. The interviewee starts turn 3 with a candidate understanding prior to giving an answer. It is difficult to use accent as an explanation for the interpreter's hearing *cleaning lady* instead of *business lady* in turn 4. Lexical innovation related to unusual collocations as a typical feature of ELF (e.g. Cogo/Dewey 2012: 70) explains the communication problem partially. Nevertheless, the discursive construction of a particular representation of an ELF speaker coming from a third-world country, related to exaggerated generalization resulting from an unfamiliar accent (Moyer A. 2013: 104), is another plausible explanation.

2.4 Proactive interpreting

The interpreter is often a proactive participant, initiating and completing repairs. Thus, in the following example, the interpreter performs a reformulation in response to the interviewee's open repair initiation:

Example 7

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| 1 INTERVIEWER | onko teillä ollu ristiriitoja tavallaan kahden kulttuurin
kohtaamisesta
<i>have you had conflicts so to speak due to the contact between
two cultures</i> |
| 2 INTERPRETER | .hh have there been any conflicts in the relationship because
of the (0.5) clash between two cultures? |

- 3 INTERVIEWEE come again?
 4 INTERPRETER .hh have there been any con- conflicts
 in your relationship because of the fact that you come
 from different cultures
 5 INTERVIEWEE no

In turn 2, the interpreter transforms the word *kohtaaminen* ('contact') used by the interviewer into *clash*. Since the interviewee initiates a repair (turn 3), the interpreter (turn 4) reformulates the question by changing the abstract process of a contact taking place between two cultures to a more tangible process in which the active participants are persons. The word *clash* is not mentioned in the reformulation. As a result, the interviewee (turn 5) understands the question immediately. In fact, the problematic nature of the abstract concept of contact between two cultures is present in the interviewer's turn 1, as indicated by the hedge *tavallaan* ('so to speak' or 'in a way'). In turn 2, the interpreter's respiration sound marks the upcoming rendition as problematic, and the pause preceding the word *clash* marks that word as problematic. In addition, the first syllable of the word *conflict* is stressed in turn 2, and the word is foregrounded as problematic in turn 4, as illustrated by the false start. One explanation for the interpreter-initiated reformulation in turn 4 resides in the fact that the interpreter judges the interviewer incapable of rephrasing the concept in a way that the interviewee would understand (cf. Maryns 2006), and regards such rephrasing as the interpreter's duty. At the same time, the reformulation is based on the interpreter's assumption that the problem resides in the interviewee's abstract-vocabulary limitations.

Example 8 illustrates interpreter-initiated repairs:

Example 8

- 1 INTERVIEWER minkälainen (0.3) sitte niin niin koulutus sinulla on *what*
 kind of (0.3) then like like education do you have
 2 INTERPRETER what kind of education do you have
 3 INTERVIEWEE I'm (0.6) eh secondary but I didn't complete because (3.1)
 I didn't have enough money to complete it
 4 INTERPRETER okay how many years did you go to school
 5 INTERVIEWEE eight years
 6 INTERPRETER .hh olen käynyt koulua kahdeksan vuotta et en voinut
 käydä (0.3) peruskoulua loppuun koska minulla ei ollut
 rahaa
 I went to school for seven years like I could not finish (0.3)
 comprehensive school because I did not have money

The interpreter's repair initiation in turn 4 exemplifies problems related to the lexical field of education in ELF contexts: secondary education can cover different types of schools in various parts of the world. For example, in Finland, secondary covers the last three years of compulsory education and the two or three years following it, depending on the school chosen by the person. Therefore, the risk of an interpretation error is high. In addition, the repair initiation shows the in-

terpreter's goal orientation: typically, interviewers prefer to write the number of years spent at school in the official record of the interview.

In example 1, I analyzed the service provider's English skills as a potential factor leading to normative interpreting strategies (strategies in which the interpreter "just interprets"). The service provider's English skills can also have an adverse effect on the quality of the official record. Thus, on several occasions, it appears that the interviewer does not listen carefully to the interpretation and bases the record on fragments of the interviewee's original speech instead:

Example 9a

- 1 INTERVIEWEE her sister died I think three years (.) ago three to four years ago (1.0) sister
- 2 INTERPRETER .hh e- can you repeat please?
- 3 INTERVIEWEE (it's) her sister she died (0.5) three to: (0.3) four years ago I'm not sure exactly he told me but I forg(h)ot what she was [(-)] yeah
- 4 INTERPRETER [okay] (1.3) eli hänen siskonsa kuoli kolme tai neljä vuotta sitten en ihan tarkkaan muista (0.8) kummin se oli hän kyllä kertoi minulle sen
okay (1.3) so her sister died three or four years ago I do not remember exactly (0.8) which one is correct although he did tell me
- 5 INTERVIEWER joo? (6.0) joo? (.) eli siskonsa kuoli pari kolme vuotta / sitten entäpä sitten <veli> onko
okay (6.0) okay (.) so her sister died a couple of years ago what about the brother is he

In turn 1, the interviewee first says that the person died *three years* ago and subsequently corrects this to *three to four years*. This information is repeated in turn 3 following the interpreter's repair initiation in turn 2. The interpretation in Finnish in turn 4 reflects the corrected version (*three or four years*). The interviewer accepts this interpretation with the minimal response *joo* ('okay'), repeated twice at the beginning of turn 5. There is a long pause (6 seconds) between the two *joo* responses. During this pause, the interviewer is presumably completing the official record and preparing the next question. However, the record appears to be based on the interviewee's initial estimation (*three years*) at the beginning of turn 1, generating an idiomatic collocation *pari kolme* ('a couple of'; literally 'two or three'). The interpreter corrects the interviewer and subsequently checks the fact one more time, thereby acknowledging the service provider's failure to produce what is expected (Maryns 2006: 7):

Example 9b

- 6 INTERPRETER öö mäk- tulk- mä sanoin kyllä kolme neljä
ehm, I act- interp- I actually said three or four
- 7 INTERVIEWER aa kolme neljä okei ((laughing)) joo selvä (0.4) hyvä (0.4) hyvä ku olit tarkkana
ah three to four okay ((laughing)) ok fine (0.4) good

(0.4) *good that you paid attention*
it was three or four years ago right?

8 INTERPRETER

The interpreter's turn 6 is characterized by hesitation and false starts, which indicates ethical stress (Ulrich *et al.* 2007) as a consequence of the interviewer's listening to the interviewee's original English. An experienced legal interpreter knows that minor differences related to numbers can have serious consequences at later stages of the procedure. Furthermore, the interpreter's name will appear on the official record of the interview, although the interpreter cannot sign the record in a telephone interview. Intervening beyond actual interpreting tasks in order to act in a morally sound manner and show responsibility for the outcome of the interview can be viewed as an act of breaking the professional code. In fact, according to the code of conduct for legal interpreters in Finland (SKTL 2016, art. 7), the interpreter should merely transmit messages without expressing an opinion about matters that are discussed. The code does not explicitly mention situations in which the written record does not correspond with what the interpreter has said. The interpreter must also know that errors in the record are often not corrected by the interviewees or their counsels during the sight translation of the record at the end of the interview.

3. Discussion

The analysis shows that it is extremely difficult to achieve perfect accuracy in ELF dialogue interpreting over the phone. Phonetic and lexical differences between different varieties of English and mismatching linguistic resources between the interpreter and the interviewer explain many of the issues identified in this paper. As a result of persistent communication problems, much of the interaction happens between the interpreter and the migrant, which has been identified as a characteristic feature of telephone interpreting (Torres 2014).

The interpreter's accommodation to the interviewee's speech emerges as a key phenomenon in the analysis. In addition, the interpreter shows accommodation to the service provider's needs and the institutional goals of the encounter. As a result, the words and formulations that appear in the official record of the interview reflect choices made by the interpreter, and these choices reflect the interpreter's accommodation to the institutional goals of the encounter. Therefore, the interpreter's role as a gatekeeper of information (Davidson 2000; Moyer M. 2013) is observable in the data.

The interpreter is clearly concerned about the interviewee's linguistic rights, as shown by constant verifications and corrections made to the official record. However, the interpreter also displays a stereotypical representation of the migrant as an ELF speaker with reduced power of understanding and expression (cf. Albl-Mikasa 2015). For example, the fact that the interpreter hears *cleaning lady* instead of *business lady* (sample 6) cannot be explained otherwise. The constant strategy of reducing the level of abstraction in renditions of the interviewer's questions, while contributing to successful communication, constitutes another example of this representation.

For the interpreter, the service provider is an untrustworthy user of institutional language and an unlikely person to resolve communication problems. Hence, the interpreter acts within a representation of the service provider as a non-expert in linguistic and discursive matters. At the same time, the interviewer acts within his/her own system of representations. The fact that the official record is not translated at the end of the interview illustrates such representations. Thus, since the interviewer has been able to monitor the interpreting, s/he may think that another check is not necessary, especially because the interviewer portrays a self-image of an experienced interviewer with superior transcribing skills. In addition, the interpreter's demonstrated concern about the accuracy of renditions, as shown by constant reformulation, verification, and correction strategies, produces a representation of a particularly qualified interpreter in the interviewer's mind, further enforcing the rationale behind non-translation of the record. The fact that the interpreter is a native speaker of Finnish probably reinforces this representation.

4. Concluding remarks

This paper constitutes a pilot analysis yielding results and hypotheses to be tested in larger corpora. Each interpreter-mediated encounter has its own dynamics of interplay between language and identity, representations, and power relations. Therefore, more research is needed in order to ascertain whether reformulations and verifications, resulting from repair initiations and candidate understandings, reflect general tendencies in ELF-mediated telephone interpreting. Such research is also necessary in order to address the main argument of this paper: the interpreter's efforts to remediate ELF-related problems can disguise and engender surprising issues of linguistic injustice and inequality, which are sometimes characterized as a key feature of ELF (Piller 2016: 165).

The analysis conducted in this paper is a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis: a manually performed quantitative analysis of interactional phenomena formed the basis for a selection of examples that were analyzed qualitatively. In a small set of data, such a method works well. In fact, when the analysis is based on the premise that interpreting is a complex interactional phenomenon (Wadensjö 1998), qualitative methods are mandatory. These include a close reading of micro-level phenomena. In order to establish general patterns, larger collections of data would be beneficial. Such corpora could be studied quantitatively using corpus linguistic tools. Telephone-interpreting corpora collected within the EU-funded SHIFT project (SHIFT 2017) constitute a good example of such larger data. However, it is challenging to create larger sets of sensitive data such as police interviews.

To conclude, codes of conduct for legal and community interpreters should acknowledge ELF and other lingua francas, and critical reflection of lingua-franca interpreting through problem-based learning should be a natural part of interpreter training. As a result, future interpreters could foresee ELF-related problems not only in terms of linguistic and interactional features but also in terms of linguistic justice. In addition, the particular features of telephone interpreting should be tak-

en into account in interpreter training, as the telephone as a medium of communication has a major impact on interpretation and interaction in general.

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Facework strategies in interpreter-mediated cross-examinations: a corpus-assisted approach

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Abstract

In cross-examination, witnesses' face is frequently threatened by legal professionals. Face-threatening acts (Brown/Levinson 1987) are considered powerful institutional tools for lawyers; however, in a bilingual courtroom where all the interactions are mediated by a third party, the interpreter, this is often complicated. Drawing on a small-scale corpus, five bilingual moot court cross-examinations interpreted by Interpreting and Translation (I&T) Master's students at UNSW Sydney, this paper investigates facework strategies embedded in cross-examining questions and in their Mandarin interpretation based on Penman's (1990) facework schema. More specifically, it examines the way facework strategies are used in cross-examination questions, the extent to which they are maintained or modified in the interpretation, and how that may affect the pragmatics of the courtroom questions. The findings contribute to a better understanding of the pragmatics of interpreted courtroom questions and to legal interpreter training.

Keywords

Facework strategies, court interpreting, questions, cross-examination, corpus-assisted research.

In an adversarial courtroom, two competing parties present their version of the events that will be challenged by the other party (Ainsworth 2015; Gibbons 2003). The goal of communication in such an institutional setting is for each party to win the legal contest by presenting a case that is more convincing than that of the opponent's (Coulthard/Johnson 2007; Eades 2010). The adversarial and competitive nature of courtroom interactions leads to minimal politeness and intrinsic impoliteness in the facework system (Lakoff 1989; Tracy 2011). Cross-examination, in particular, is designed to diminish the witness (Mason/Stewart 2001) and is inherently face-threatening for the less powerful participant (Jacobsen 2008; Johnson/Clifford 2011). In the field of court interpreting, studies have explored interpreter-mediated institutional communication from a number of perspectives. For example, some investigated the way court interpreters treat politeness markers and its impact on the witness testimonies (Berk-Seligson 1988; Hale 1997); others examined the pragmatics of interactions with a focus on facework (Jacobsen 2008; Lee 2013; Mason/Stewart 2001; Pöllabauer 2004). However, little research has focused on how facework strategies are used in antagonistic questioning and how they are interpreted in cross-examination, especially within the less investigated English-Mandarin language pair. This paper, therefore, explores the facework strategies found in the English cross-examining questions, the way they are interpreted into Mandarin, and how that may affect the facework dynamics in cross-examination.

1. Facework and politeness in bilingual legal encounters

Face is defined by Goffman (1967: 5) as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself”. Based on Goffman's (1967) sociological notion of face, Brown and Levinson (1987) developed politeness theory in which they make a difference between the positive and negative face. The former refers to the wants to be appreciated in social interaction, self-esteem, and positive regard of others; the latter denotes the needs to be independent, the desire for freedom of action, and the rights to freedom from imposition (Brown/Levinson 1987: 70-73). The act that challenges the face wants of an interlocutor and makes someone lose face is called face-threatening act (FTA) (Brown/Levinson 1987: 60). FTAs could potentially undermine the positive or negative face of the speaker, the hearer or both. For example, an order ‘Read the third paragraph in your statement’ threatens the negative face of the witness; and a criticism from the counsel ‘You are simply wasting the court's time’ aggravates the positive face of the witness. On the opposite side of FTAs are politeness strategies, both positive and negative. The former enhances the hearer's positive face by acknowledging the other's wants, for example, praise, agreement, expression of solidarity with others; the latter mitigates the encroachment on the hearer's freedom of action, for instance, apologies for interfering (Brown/Levinson 1987: 79).

In the courtroom where all speech events are regulated by rules of evidence, the facework system is often more complicated than that of daily conversations. Earlier works on politeness and facework in bilingual legal encounters took a pragmatic point of view and investigated the use of politeness markers in courtroom discourse (Berk-Seligson 1988; Hale 1997). Berk-Seligson (1988) used a matched guise experiment to ascertain the impact of politeness markers on jurors' perceptions of witnesses. She found that testimonies that contain politeness markers were perceived as more trustworthy and convincing. This suggests that the inclusion or exclusion of politeness markers in the interpreted testimonies have a pivotal role in affecting the credibility of witnesses. Hale (1997) investigated how politeness markers were treated by court interpreters of Spanish and English. She found that interpreters tended to use more direct speech acts in Spanish, despite the frequent use of indirectness in English requests. Politeness markers, such as "sir or madam", "please", and "thank you" were found often omitted in Spanish interpretation. This demonstrates that interpreters tend to maintain correct strategies when interpreting politeness, as these politeness markers are not so frequently used in Spanish as compared to English. However, this is not a systematic choice by the interpreters. These two studies revealed the complexity of maintaining the same level of politeness between two languages, and that it is important to interpret pragmatically and not literally.

More recent works, using interactional pragmatics and discourse analytical approaches, investigated the complex facework system of the bilingual courtroom. Pöllabauer (2004), using asylum hearings in Austria as data, found that interpreters tended to omit or mitigate the FTA initiated by the main interlocutors and divert blame to other parties for the protection of his or her own face. They may also change footing, for instance, use third person singular (e.g. the officer) instead of first person singular (i.e. I) in the interpretation to distance the interpreter him or herself from the authorship of the FTA. Jacobsen (2008) examined an interpreter-mediated criminal trial in Denmark and found that while the defendant was intrinsically vulnerable to face-threatening acts, the legal professional's face may also be threatened by the defendant's strategies to redress his or her own face. Mason/Stewart (2001), using the pre-trial cross-examination of the O.J. Simpson case, found that speakers attempted to protect their own face and seek to threaten, or sometimes to protect, the face of others. Lee (2013), based on Korean interpreter-mediated witness examination in Australian courts, found that interpreters oftentimes mitigated face threats by blaming other parties or by not using repair attempts when miscommunication occurs, which may relate to their concern about their professional face that is closely associated with their interpreting competence.

These studies on facework and politeness in bilingual legal encounters have provided useful insights into the dynamics of the facework system of interpreters. Firstly, they point out that facework is an integral part of the bilingual courtroom and all participants are engaged, actively or passively, in the complex facework system. Secondly, FTAs used by the primary speakers are frequently modified by court interpreters in the interpreting process, with many being omitted or mitigated. Thirdly, the interpreter may divert blame to other parties

for the protection of his or her own face and/or one of the primary participant's. These findings are valuable in better understanding the complexity of courtroom interactions with the participation of a third party, the interpreter. However, most of the findings are based on instances where facework strategies were initiated by interactants and modifications of these strategies were made by the interpreter. They have not yet provided systematic and quantitative analysis on how facework strategies are utilized by counsel and how they are interpreted into the target language. The present paper, using a corpus-assisted approach, aims to focus on cross-examination questions and to discern how facework strategies are used in questions and rendered in the interpretation.

2. Penman's (1990) schema

This study draws on Penman's (1990) facework schema as its analytical framework. Penman's facework schema builds on Brown and Levinson's theory and extends it into a broader facework framework, which can be applicable to courtroom discourse (*ibid.*: 15). It is based on the key notions of positive and negative face and self- and other-directed facework from Brown/Levinson (1987). The 2 x 2 matrix results in four main types of facework strategies as shown in Table 1.

Positive/negative Self/other-directed	Positive	Negative
	Self-directed	Other-directed
Self-directed	Self-directed positive	Self-directed negative
Other-directed	Other-directed positive	Other-directed negative

Table 1. Four main types of facework strategies (Penman 1990)

Based on this matrix, Penman (1990) included two more dimensions in the classification of strategies, namely the continuum of respect/contempt from Harré (1979) and the distinction between on/off-the-record FTAs (Brown/Levinson 1987). The respect/contempt continuum assumes that the goal of facework is to generate respect and to avoid contempt for self (Harré 1979, cited in Penman 1990). Facework strategies can be direct or indirect. Direct ones towards 'respect' and 'contempt' include some of the direct politeness strategies and 'bald-on-record' FTAs from the Politeness Theory, respectively. Indirect ones towards the two ends include some other indirect politeness strategies and 'off-the-record' FTAs. Thus, there are in total 16 categories of strategies, as shown in Table 2. For the ease of later coding, we use acronyms for each category. For example, 'EPS' represents enhancing the positive face of self and 'TNO' stands for threatening the negative face of the other.

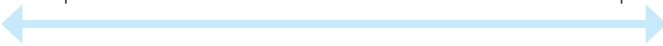
<div style="text-align: center;"> Respect Contempt  </div>					
To	Face	Enhance	Protect	Threaten	Depreciate
Self	Positive	EPS	PPS	TPS	DPS
	Negative	ENS	PNS	TNS	DNS
Other	Negative	ENO	PNO	TNO	DNO
	Positive	EPO	PPO	TPO	DPO
<div style="text-align: center;"> Bald-on-record Off-the record Off-the-record Bald-on-record </div>					

Table 2. Categories of facework strategies based on Penman (1990: 24)

Another factor is also considered in Penman's (1990) schema, that is, the temporal characteristics of strategies. This means that some utterances may appear to be only concerned with informational goals and involve no apparent facework goals, but they may have a cumulative effect on the face of the speaker or hearer over time. Such types of strategies are indeterminate in their effect within the immediate context and are marked with an asterisk after the relevant code, as shown in the diamond in Table 2.

Penman (1990) also provided some micro-strategies under each category which usefully serve as examples of the 16 types of strategy (see Penman 1990: 24). For example, a question from counsel directly challenging the witness's motivation or truthfulness is considered as depreciation of positive face of the other (DPO); an interruption initiated by counsel is considered to threaten the negative face of the other (TNO). A closed direct question that has a salient informational goal and does not have any immediate facework goal is considered as a potential threat to the negative face of the other (TNO*).

One of the important contributions Penman's (1990) work has made is that it shows multiple facework strategies can appear in the same utterance consecutively or simultaneously. She illustrated an example for consecutive strategies used by the same speaker: 'I must be dumb. Could you help me with this?' (*ibid.*: 19). In this example, the speaker first threatened his own positive face and then the hearer's negative face by making a request. The simultaneous use of facework strategies can be illustrated by 'Did you deliberately lie to that person or not?' (*ibid.*: 19). The speaker, in this example, directed her strategies towards the hearer's positive face because the propositional content suggested that she was a liar. At the same time, the hearer's negative face was also threatened, because the question had a force that the hearer was obliged to answer and therefore restrained the hearer's freedom of action.

3. The study

Shlesinger (1998) recommended corpus-based methodology to be applied to interpreting studies. While corpus-based interpreting studies (CIS) have increased in volume and covered a variety of interpreting settings over the years (Bendazzoli 2015; Setton 2011), its application to dialogue interpreting, especially in community settings, is limited. In the field of court interpreting, many take a discourse analytical approach using transcripts based on authentic and/or simulated data (Hale/Napier 2013); however, only a few use a corpus-based approach. This paper, using a corpus-assisted discourse analytical approach (Partington *et al.* 2013), aims to provide a systematic analysis of the facework strategies found in cross-examination questions and the way they are treated by interpreters. More specifically it aims to address two research questions:

- a. How are facework strategies used in counsel's cross-examining questions?
- b. To what extent facework strategies are maintained or modified by English-Mandarin speaking interpreters?

The data for this study were obtained from a corpus created by the authors from five cross-examinations held in an Australian bilingual moot court where English was the language of the court and the interpretation was provided to Mandarin-speaking student witnesses.¹ The moot court was co-organized by the I&T Program at the School of Humanities and Languages and the Faculty of Law at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in 2013. It was one of the interpreting practicum activities for the course Interpreting in Legal Settings which was convened by the second author (Hale/Gonzalez 2017). Participating students from the I&T Master's program, at the time of the exercise, had completed the specialized legal interpreting course. They participated as interpreters and Mandarin-speaking witnesses. Law students played the roles of prosecutors and defense lawyers. Experienced barristers participated as judges. The moot court exercise was designed to offer an opportunity for students to apply the theories and knowledge learnt from class to practice. The simulated trials were based on real cases. Witness statements and background information of cases were provided in advance to the students to assist with their preparation for interpreting. Interactions in the moot court were spontaneous and were not scripted or recited. Students interpreted on the spot, using the short consecutive mode for counsel's questions and witnesses' answers. The whole interactions were video-recorded and posted on the University TV for research purposes with the consent of all participants.

The data set for the present study comprises a total of four-hour videos consisting of five cross-examinations. These videos were first imported to the Express Scribe Transcription Software Pro v 5.69 for assisted manual transcription.

1 Although the moot courts are not authentic legal cases, they were conducted in a manner that resembles a real trial: none of the utterances were scripted or recited and all interactions were natural.

Key prosodic features such as filled and unfilled pauses, intonation, and intensity stress were included in the transcripts. Below is the transcription convention employed in this study. Punctuation marks are used to refer to normal grammatical pauses.

word...	a noticeable untimed interval without talk within utterances
word↗	rising intonation
word↘	falling intonation
#word#	stressed words
[word]	overlapping talk
((word))	transcriber's comment

All exchanges between court participants were transcribed verbatim. There are 36,892 words in the 2013 moot court dataset. However, only cross-examination questions and their interpretation, which are 18,401-word long, were analyzed for the present study. Table 3 presents a summary of the cross-examinations, including cases involved, word count for each cross-examination, and the use of interpreters.

Cross-examination	Case	Crime	Words	Witness	Interpreter
1	1	Bank robbery	2869	Witness 1	Interpreter 1
2			409	Witness 2	Interpreter 2
3	2	Drug offense	5572	Witness 3	Interpreter 3
4	3	Theft	6114	Witness 4	Interpreter 4
5	4	Theft	3437	Witness 5	Interpreter 5

Table 3. Summary of the cross-examinations

The digitized transcripts were saved in Microsoft Excel's 'xlsx' format. The bilingual parallel corpus was aligned using the unit of talk turns, that is, the counsel's turn, parallel to the interpreter's renditions, witness answers and their interpretation. Drawing on Penman's (1990) facework schema as the analytical tool, this paper investigates the use of facework strategies in counsel's cross-examination questions and how they were interpreted into Mandarin. It focuses only on counsel's cross-examination questions and their interpretation in Mandarin, using witness answers and their interpretation as context for analysis. As discussed above, key dimensions of the facework schema were considered, such as self-/other-directed, positive/negative face, and on/off-the-record strategies placed on the respect/contempt continuum. Utterances which involve multiple facework strategies were coded more than once; utterances which have no apparent facework goals were coded as one of the indeterminate categories with an asterisk. The corpus is searchable using the imbedded search function in Excel; semi-automatic extraction of occurrences of strategy types is achieved by using the pivot table function.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1 Facework strategies in counsel's questions

The first research question aims to discern how facework strategies are used in counsel's cross-examining questions. All coded facework strategies were counted using Excel pivot tables and then ranked according to the proportion of their use in the five cross-examinations. There are a total of 302 facework strategies adopted by counsel. As illustrated in Figure 1, a large proportion of these strategies were face-threatening ones directed to the other (TNO, TNO*, TPO, DPO, and DNO, 89.40% in total).

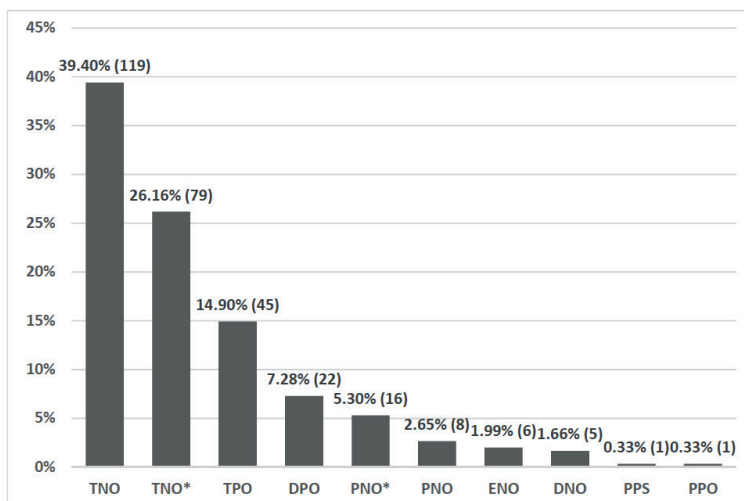


Figure 1. Facework strategies embedded in cross-examination questions presented in percentage (number of occurrence)

The large proportion of face-threatening and depreciating strategies reflects the adversarial and coercive nature of cross-examination. The most frequently used strategy (39.40%) was used to threaten the negative face of the other (TNO). This was followed by the potential threat to the negative face of the other (TNO*). The threat to the positive face of the other (TPO) was the third largest category followed by a depreciation of the positive face of the other (DPO). Face-protecting and enhancing strategies towards the other (PNO*, PNO, ENO and PPO) which only accounted for 10.26% in total were much less frequently used than the face-threatening ones. Self-directed face-protecting strategies (PPS) were among the least used, which accounted for only 0.33%. Below are four examples from the largest four categories, illustrating how these strategies are embedded in cross-examination questions.

Example 1 was extracted from Case 3. The question in Line 1 was asked by counsel after a series of queries into whether the witness told the police about the missing lawn mower. In order to confirm the witness's answer, the counsel used a declarative pre-faced by 'so'.

Example 1. Threat to the negative face of the other (TNO) (Case 3)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	So you told them about the lawn mower. ↘		
2	Interpreter	所以那就是说你跟警察有说到了这个割草机的事情。	Suǒyǐnàjiùshishuōnǐgēnjīngcháyǒushuōdào le zhègegēcǎojī de shìqíng?	So that is to say, you told police about the lawn mower?
3	Witness	对啊。	Duì a.	Yes.
4	Interpreter	Yes.		

According to Penman's (1990) schema, statement questions are considered as a threat to the negative face of the other (TNO). This is because, grammatically, it is phrased in the form of a declarative instead of an interrogative. It merely puts to the witness a proposition and restricts options for answers, thus threatening the negative face of the witness.

Example 2 presents a potential threat to the negative face of the other (TNO*). The question in Line 1 was a subsequent question of an earlier query into the witness's occupation, asking whether the witness had many clients.

Example 2. Potential threat to the negative face of the other (TNO*) (Case 4)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	Do you have a lot of clients Mr Fang? ↗		
2	Interpreter	方先生你有很多的顾客吗?	FāngXiān Sheng nǐyǒuhěnduō de gùkè ma?	Mr Fang, do you have a lot of clients?
3	Witness	是的。	Shì de.	Yes.
4	Interpreter	Yes.		

Line 1 is a closed question, a polar interrogative, which is usually information-seeking and invites a yes/no answer. Its use here in this excerpt is concerned with presenting factual information to the court and does not have an immediate effect on facework. However, given the context where it is used, cross-examination, it may have a cumulative effect towards the negative face and therefore can be considered as a potential threat to the negative face of the other (TNO*).

Example 3 illustrates threat to the positive face of the other (TPO). In Line 1, the defense lawyer was questioning the witness's earlier statement that she was able to recognize the robber because she had served her earlier in the day.

Example 3. Threat to the positive face of the other (TPO) (Case 1)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Defense lawyer	And you never saw the robber without the stocking on the head. ↘		
2	Interpreter	你就是你你确定他们你没有看见没有带丝袜的?	Nǐjiùshìníñíquèdìngtāmen nǐméiyǒukànjiàn-méiyǒudàisīwà de?	You are you you are certain that they you didn't see (the robber) without a stocking?
3	Witness	我没有看见任何没有带丝袜的劫匪。	Wǒméiyǒukànjiànrènhéméiyǒudàisīwà de jiéfei.	I didn't see any robber without a stocking.
4	Interpreter	I didn't, I didn't see any robber that without stock.		

The question in Line 1 was phrased in a statement with falling intonation. It does not only put to the witness a proposition but also questions the reliability of the witness's recall regarding the robber's appearance. This type of question challenges the rationality, motivation and recall of the incident, and is considered as a threat to the positive face of the witness.

Example 4 shows a case where the prosecutor depreciated the positive face of the witness (DPO). In earlier questions, the prosecutor had established that the witness, also the accused in this case, had met the two clients for drug distribution, and they had both given him their names and contact details. However, the accused said in his previous answer that he was not sure why these two clients' names were on his own notebook. The prosecutor then questioned this point.

Example 4. Depreciation of the positive face of the other (DPO) (Case 2)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	#You# don't know why those two names are in #your# notebook. ↘		
2	Interpreter	你竟然不知道他们两个的名字会在你自己的笔记本上.	Nǐjìngránbùzhīdàotāmen liǎnggè de míngzihuìzài nǐzìjǐ de bǐjìběnshàng.	You don't even know why those two names are in your own notebook.
3	Witness	是。	Shì.	Right.
4	Interpreter	Yes.*		

* The interpreter's rendition (Line 4) is questionable. The prosecutor's enquiry (Line 1) is negatively framed. The witness's answer in Chinese 是 (shì, yes) (Line 3) is the confirmation of the truthfulness of the prosecutor's statement, which means 'I agree

In Line 1, the prosecutor used a declarative with falling intonation, with a special stress on the pronoun “You” and “your”. This was to challenge the accused’s truthfulness in his testimony and to expose inconsistencies and illogicality in his answers. This type of facework strategy explicitly ridicules the hearer and therefore depreciates the hearer’s positive face.

An analysis of the facework strategies used in cross-examination questions also shows that counsel used some questions with a single strategy and others with multiple strategies. In the five cross-examinations in the corpus, 125 questions appeared to have a single facework goal and 88 involved multiple goals. Example 5 presents a case in which counsel used a question with multiple goals. In Line 1, the prosecutor was questioning the motivation of the accused to install the surveillance system at his home.

Example 5. Multiple facework strategies (Case 2)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	I refer to your statement, and draw your attention, paragraph twenty one. Can you tell the court what kind of people you are referring to? ↗		
2	Interpreter	现在请你看到自己证词中的第二十一段，你可不可以到庭上告诉大家你想防的是哪些人，防止谁靠近你的房子？	<i>Xiànzài qǐng nǐ kàn dà ozì jǐ zhèng cí zhōng de dì èr shí yī duàn, nǐ kě bù kě yǐ zài tīng shà ng gào sù dài jiā nǐ xiǎng fáng de shì nǎ xiē rén, fáng zhǐ shuí kào jìn nǐ de fáng zǐ?</i>	Now please take a look at the twenty first paragraph in your own statement. Can you tell the court what kind of people you wanted to prevent from getting close to your flat?
3	Witness	嗯，装这个系统主要是为了保证房子的安全，我觉得任何人过来我都需要看一下他们是是谁。	<i>En, zhuāng zhè gè xì tǒng zhǐ hǔ yào shì wèi le bǎo zhèng fáng zǐ de ān quán, wǒ jué dé rén hé rén guò lái wǒ dōu xū yào kàn yí xià tā men shì shì shuí.</i>	Hmm, installing this system is mainly to protect the safety of the flat. I think anyone who comes closer I’ll need to see who they are.
4	Interpreter	I installed such a surveillance system for the security of my flat. I have to keep an eye on any person who wants to approach it.		

that I don’t know why those two names are in my notebook’. The interpreter’s rendition ‘Yes’ in English (Line 4) actually means ‘Yes, I do (know why those two names are in my notebook)’, which contradicts the witness’s answer.

The prosecutor first used a legal formula “refer to your statement” and “draw your attention” to direct the accused to read his statement. In doing so, the prosecutor restricted the accused’s freedom of action, thus affecting his negative face (TNO). He then used a modal interrogative to ask the accused to tell the court the reason why he installed the surveillance system. The use of the modal interrogative to make a request in English is considered to be closely related to politeness (Hale 2004). Therefore, this indirect request, to some extent, protects the negative face of the witness (PNO*). However, in terms of the content of the question, it may elicit information that might be damaging to the defense case. As it proceeded to later examination, the prosecutor suggested that the accused often “has girls around” and this was in fact related to the installation of the surveillance system. FTAs disguised with politeness and indirectness, in Johnson/Clifford’s (2011: 43) words, “polite incivility”, often assist lawyers to “coerce, undermine and challenge” the witness being cross-examined.

4.2 Facework strategies in the interpreted questions

The second aim of this paper is to reveal the extent to which facework strategies are maintained or modified by English-Mandarin speaking interpreters. Figure 2 presents an overview of how facework strategies were relayed into Mandarin in the moot court cross-examinations.

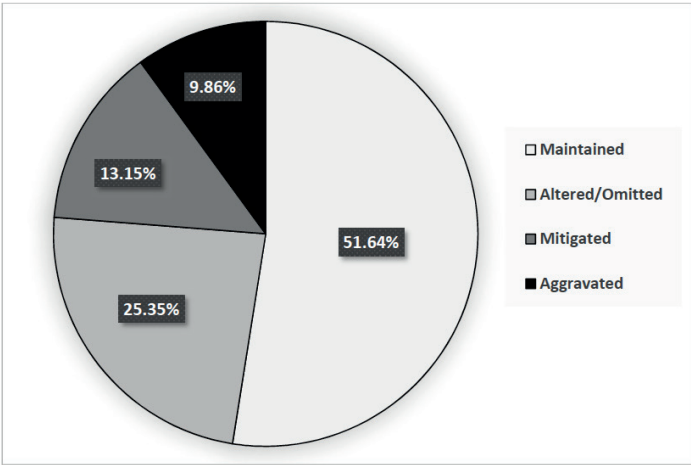


Figure 2. Facework strategies in the interpreted questions in Mandarin

As shown in Figure 2, 51.64% of the facework strategies were maintained in the interpretation. In other words, more than half of the facework strategies were accurately relayed from English to Mandarin. This is a satisfactory result considering achieving equivalence between languages at the pragmatic level is probably the most complex aspect of legal and court interpreting, and the participating student interpreters in the moot court only had received some specialized train-

ing before performing the interpreting task, but not yet to have full competence to apply theory to practice. Example 6 illustrates such a case where the facework strategy in the English question was maintained in the interpretation.

Example 6. Maintained facework strategy (Case 2)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	Mr Fang, how long have you been a self-employed spray painter and panel beater?		
2	Interpreter	方先生, 你自己经营喷漆的工作和汽车钣金的加工有多长时间了?	FāngXiānSheng , nǐzìjǐngyíngpēnqī de gōngzuòhéqìchēbǎnjīn de jiāgōngyǒuduōchángshíj iān le?	Mr Fang, how long have you worked as a self-employed spray painter and panel beater?
3	Witness	大概两年了。	Dà gài liǎng nián le.	Approximately two years.
4	Interpreter	About two years.		

In Line 1, the prosecutor used an open direct question to elicit information regarding the time duration of the witness's work as a "self-employed spray painter and panel beater". This type of question is considered as a protection to the negative face (PNO*) according to Penman's (1990) schema, as it is information-seeking and leaves the hearer more freedom than closed questions, for example, a yes/no question, which strictly constrains the scope of a possible answer. The interpretation used the same type of question, which maintained the information-seeking nature and the facework strategy used by counsel.

Altered and omitted strategies accounted for 25.35% which means the facework strategies embedded in these questions were either altered to a different one or simply omitted in the interpreted questions. Example 7 shows a case where the facework strategy was altered.

Example 7. Altered facework strategy (Case 3) (Line 3)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	Does...so he comes...he comes over to your house frequently, is that correct? ↗		
2	Interpreter	那是不是说他经常来到你的家聚会? /	Nàshibúshishuōtājīngchán gláidàonǐ de jiājùhuì? /	Is this the case that he often comes to your house to party?
3	Prosecutor	Just say... yes or no. ↘		

4	Interpreter	是不是他经常来你家聚会?	Shìbúshìtājīngchángláinǐjī ājùhui?	Is this the case that he often comes to your house to party?
5	Witness	是啊还有其他的朋友。	Shì a hái yǒu qí tā de péng yǒu.	Yes there are other friends too.
6	Interpreter	Yes and other friends.		

In Line 3, the prosecutor used an imperative to make a request for a direct yes/no answer. It is a direct order without any hedge or politeness and considered to be depreciation of the negative face of the other (DNO). However, the interpretation merely repeated the earlier question without explicitly making the order. The closed yes/no question only served as a potential threat to the negative face of the witness (TNO*), thus altering the original strategy intended by the counsel. This alteration may relate to the interpreter's unawareness of the pragmatic functions of the use of imperatives in cross-examination which are closely related to the power dynamics among participants in the courtroom (Hale 2004).

The last two categories in Figure 2 are those questions with unchanged strategies in the interpretation, which means the same strategy was relayed into the target language, albeit with a modified pragmatic force. Among them, 13.15% were interpreted with a mitigated pragmatic force and 9.86% with an aggravated one. Example 8 demonstrates a case where the facework strategy was interpreted with a weakened pragmatic force.

Example 8. Mitigated facework strategy (Case 2) (Line 9)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	And this flat is as you say in your statement your quiet retreat is that right? ↗		
2	Interpreter	就你的就你之前的证词所说你觉得你经常在那个flat啊你的祖母屋里一个人待着对吗?	Jiù nǐ de jiù nǐ zhī qián de zhèng cí suǒ shuō nǐ jīng cháng zài nà gè fā tǎ a nǐ de zǔ mǔ wū lǐ yì gè rén dài zhe duì ma?	According to your according to your earlier statement, you feel you often stay at the flat ah your granny flat alone, correct?
3	Witness	对。	Duì.	Yes.
4	Interpreter	Yes.		
5	Prosecutor	In fact you value your privacy so much you installed surveillance system didn't you? ↘		

6	Interpreter	看来你非常注重自己的隐私，你甚至装了监控系统，是吧？	Kànláinǐfēichángzhùzhòngzìjǐ de yǐn sī, nǐshènzhìzhuāng le jiānkòngxìtǒng, shìba?	It seems you value your privacy so much that you even installed surveillance system, didn't you?
7	Witness	对因为我有一些工作上的一些材料都放在那边。	Duìyīnwéiwǒyǒuxìxiēgōngzuòshàng de yìxiēcáiliàodōufàngzài nàbiān.	Yes, because I keep some work-related materials over there.
8	Interpreter	Yes I do cause I kept some material for my working in the granny flat.		
9	Prosecutor	But it's your private retreat isn't it? ↘		
10	Interpreter	但是你把它当作一个人独处的地方对吗？	Dànshìnǐbǎtā dāngzuò yí gèréndúchǔ de dìfāngduì ma?	But you take it as a place where you can stay alone, correct?
11	Witness	对因为那边很安静。	Duìyīnwéinàbiānhěnānjìng.	Yes because it's quiet over there.
12	Interpreter	Yes cause it's quiet, it's quiet there.		

In this excerpt, the prosecutor was questioning the truthfulness of the witness's statement that the flat was his private retreat. He used three tag questions consecutively (Lines 1, 5 and 9). In Line 9, the tag question was prefaced by the conjunction 'but' and consisted of a declarative and a tag with falling intonation. This type of question "invites confirmation of the statement, and has the force of an exclamation rather than a genuine question" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 811). It was used in this excerpt to expose the inconsistencies in the witness's statement and his testimony, namely, the contradiction between "private retreat" and the installation of "surveillance system" and keeping work-related materials in his flat. This type of question depreciates the positive face of the witness (DPO). The facework strategy in this question was preserved in the interpretation, however with a mitigated pragmatic force. This is because the tag used in the rendition was 对吗 (*duìma*, correct) which significantly reduced the pragmatic force of the original tag. The interrogative particle "ma" is usually considered as a marker for a genuine question and is related to the speaker's sincerity in seeking an answer (Shao 2014: 44-45). Therefore, the pragmatic force contained in the English tag question with falling intonation has been weakened in the interpretation. The modification of the pragmatic force in this interpretation may relate to the in-

herent interpreting difficulties caused by the differences in the formulation of questions across languages (Hale 2004) and different encodings of semantic and pragmatic meanings across cultures (Wierzbicka 2003). The student interpreter may not recognize the accusatory tone of the tag question with falling intonation, as English and Mandarin tag questions rely on different resources to encode the pragmatic meanings. More specifically, the pragmatic force of an English question is heavily influenced by the polarity of the tag question as well as the intonation of the tag. Whereas, Chinese tag questions usually rely on the use of interrogative particles to convey different pragmatic force (see Liu 2017 for a comparative study on the English and Chinese questions).

Example 9 shows an opposite case to Example 8, where the facework strategy was interpreted into Mandarin with an aggravated pragmatic force. It was excerpted from Case 3, a theft case involving a missing lawn mower. In Lines 1 and 5, the prosecutor made queries about whether the witness mowed the lawn regularly and whether she found her neighbor had clean lawns.

Example 9. Aggravated facework strategy (Case 3)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	Uhhhh, do you mow your lawn regularly? ↗		
2	Interpreter	啊你没有经常地去割草吧?	<i>A nǐméiyǒujīngcháng de qùgēcǎoba?</i>	Ah you didn't mow your lawn often, did you?
3	Witness	没有啊因为工作很忙嘛。	<i>Méiyǒu a yīnwéigōngzuòhěnmáng ma.</i>	No because my work is busy.
4	Interpreter	No because I'm busy.		
5	Prosecutor	Do you find that other houses in the neighborhood have very clean lawns? ↗		
6	Interpreter	你没有发现到同区的其他房子花园是非常的整洁的吗?	<i>Nǐméiyǒufāxiàndàotóngqū de qítāfángzihuāyuánshìfēicháng de zhěngjié de ma?</i>	Didn't you find that other houses in the neighbourhood have very clean lawns?
7	Witness	有啊可是别人是别人我是我的呀。	<i>Yǒu a kě shì bié rén shì bié rén wǒ shì wǒ de ya.</i>	Yes but others are others, me is me.
8	Interpreter	Yes I notice that but that's other guys' business. My business... My business is my business.		

In both of the prosecutor's lines, he used a polar interrogative with rising intonation. This type of question is generally information-seeking and can be considered as a potential threat to the negative face of the other (TNO*), as it expects an answer from the hearer and involves no apparent facework goals. The interpretation, using the same question type, however, changed the positive polarity to the negative. However, negative yes/no questions are always conducive, which are quite often accompanied by an expression of disbelief or surprise (Quirk *et al.* 1985). Therefore, the pragmatic force in the interpretation was more challenging than the original one and the facework strategy was aggravated. The arbitrary alteration of pragmatic force of a question may have to do with the interpreter's focus on retaining the propositional content, his/her unfamiliarity with counsel's strategic use of question types and the norms of legal and court interpreting that requires to achieve accuracy in both content and style (Berk-Seligson 2002; González *et al.* 1991; Hale 2007; Lee 2011).

This study also found that questions with multiple facework strategies were interpreted less accurately than those involving a single strategy. As illustrated in Figure 3, 60% of the questions with a single facework strategy were interpreted accurately into Mandarin, while this number was only 39.77% within the questions with multiple facework strategies. In contrast, questions with multiple strategies witnessed increases in the categories of 'altered/omitted' (11.02%), 'mitigated' (6.65%) and 'aggravated' (2.56%) facework strategies. This means that when counsel engaged in multiple facework strategies, interpreters were more prone to modification than with those with a single strategy.

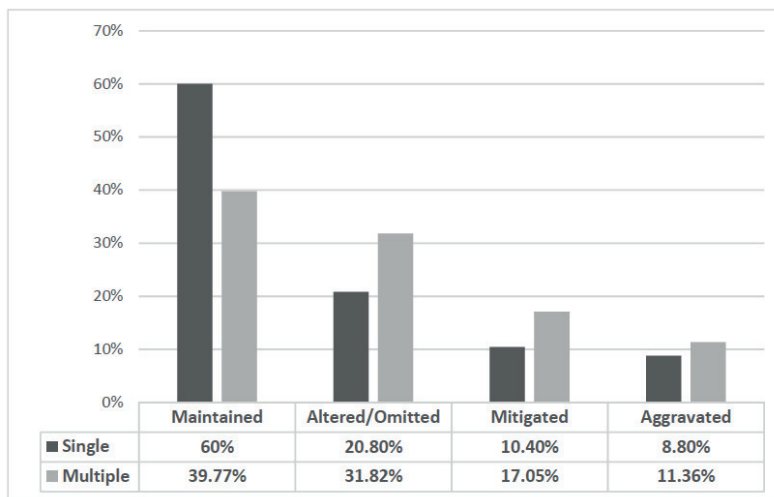


Figure 3. Comparison between questions with single and multiple facework strategies

Example 10 shows such a case where a question with multiple facework strategies was interpreted inadequately into Mandarin. In Line 1, the prosecutor put to the witness a proposition phrased in the form of a statement regarding the interpersonal relationship between the witness and her colleague. However, this confirmation-seeking question did not elicit an explicit yes/no answer; therefore, he asked a follow-up question (Line 5).

Example 10. Altered/omitted multiple facework strategies (Case 1) (Line 5)

Line	Speaker	Utterance/interpretation	Pinyin	English gloss
1	Prosecutor	So there had been a history... of conflict between you and Betty? ↘		
2	Interpreter	所以说你和Betty... 之间有很长时间的那个... 有纠纷的历史?	Suōyǐshuōnǐhé Betty... zhījiānyǒuhěncángshíjiān de nàgè... yǒujiūfēn de lìshǐ?	So there had been a long history of... conflict... between you and Betty?
3	Witness	她可能只是针对中国人... 而已, 不仅仅是我。	Tākěnéngzhǐshìzhēnduì ZhōngGuóRén... éryǐ, bújǐnjǐnshìwǒ.	She probably... merely targeted Chinese, not only me.
4	Interpreter	I think she doesn't...duhh...she didn't only do this to me. She target at all Chinese people.		
5	Prosecutor	Yes. My question was, was there a history between you and Betty Howard? ↘		
6	Interpreter	那你们俩之间有没有... 纷争的这个... 历史?	Nànnǐmen liǎngzhījiānyǒuméiyǒu... fēnzhēng de zhègè... lìshǐ?	So was there... a history of... conflict between you two?
7	Witness	有的。	Yǒu de.	Yes.
8	Interpreter	Yes.		

Line 5 starts with a confirmatory “Yes”, which expressed agreement with the witness’s earlier answer. This, to some extent, protects the positive face of the witness (PPO). This was followed by a reported speech “My question was...”, aimed, on the one hand, to repeat his earlier question which failed to elicit an explicit yes/no answer, on the other hand, to blame the witness for giving an irrelevant answer instead of complying with the rule that she answers the question directly. As Hale (2004: 40) explains, reported speech is loaded with an accusatory tone and speaker’s discontent, which is different from simply repeating a question. In Line 5, the prosecutor insisted on obtaining a direct relevant answer thus threatening the negative face of the witness (TNO); meanwhile, he also threatened the positive face of the witness (TPO) by blaming her for giving an indirect answer. The interpretation of this utterance first omitted the initial “Yes”, and then the reported speech. It was phrased as a polar interrogative, which may threaten the

negative face of the witness (TNO*) but failed to convey the intended facework goals in the original question. This may, again, relate to the lack of awareness of the strategic use of courtroom discourse among student interpreters.

5. Conclusion

Lawyers' questioning styles, the control over witness testimony and the power differential between participants are closely related to their facework strategies. Our admittedly limited corpus-assisted study found that a large majority of facework strategies used in counsel's cross-examining questions were to threaten or depreciate the positive or negative face of the witness, which corroborates earlier studies on facework in the monolingual courtroom (Lakoff 1989; Tracy 2011). This study also found that more than half of the facework strategies embedded in cross-examination questions were interpreted accurately into Mandarin. Approximately a quarter was altered or completely omitted, and the rest were interpreted with the same facework strategies but with either a mitigated or aggravated pragmatic force. Furthermore, this study found that when counsel engaged in multiple facework goals, facework strategies were more prone to alteration than those single-goal strategies. Major causes for the change/modification of facework strategies seem to relate to the inherent difficulties in achieving pragmatic equivalence across languages and cultures and a lack of awareness, or pragmatic competence, to fully relay the pragmatics of courtroom discourse from one language to another. Finally, it is important to point out that this study is small in scale and therefore its results are tentative and do not claim generalizability. Rather, it was aimed to serve as a case study that discerns the way facework strategies are used and interpreted in cross-examination specifically within the English-Mandarin language pair. This study is nevertheless useful in better understanding the facework system in this less investigated language combination and has some implications for the much needed discourse-based education and training of legal and court interpreters.

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Using Corpus Linguistics as a research and training tool for Public Service Interpreting (PSI) in the legal sector

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Abstract

Public Service Translation has for long been the 'forgotten voice' in PSI studies but it is arguably a valuable linguistic support for legal institutions and for training interpreters in the legal sector. Given that interpreters in the legal system in Italy often tend to 'double-up' as legal translators (to make a living) the line between the two is often hazy. Hybrid modalities like sight translation of legal and administrative documents is also a 'borderline' feature of these intertwined professions. The main aim of this paper is to describe how parallel and monolingual corpora can be used to train public service interpreters in double roles (translators, interpreters), namely by using corpora to translate, in multiple community languages. To this purpose, a computerized corpus has been constructed as a representative sample of learners' renditions of legal texts. Then, other two corpora, monolingual and parallel corpora, have been used to verify the stumbling blocks dialogue interpreters struggle with, e.g. discourse markers and phraseological constructions. Corpus data are used descriptively (analyzing data) and prescriptively (providing examples of correct phraseological language usage in the languages at issue). In other words, I will describe how this methodology – through the collection of voice-recorded parallel corpora – is an invaluable tool in the training of legal (dialogue) interpreters. My ultimate aim is to provide concrete tools for legal interpreters and their trainers to facilitate their task primarily by constructing a multilingual parallel corpus as a resource for both academic research and PSIT practitioners.

Public Service Interpreting, corpus linguistics, training, discourse markers.

Preamble

Only a society that can provide access to basic services that safeguard health, education and justice is a true democracy. Such access, however, can be sorely tried when the number of citizens in any given country increases rapidly and suddenly. As such, in the multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual project of European integration, translation and interpreting play a fundamental role in ensuring basic human rights for all citizens. As stated by the Vice-President of the European Commission then responsible for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship (Viviane Reding, October 25th, 2010) “A Citizens’ Europe – a Europe for and by the people – can only be built successfully if we ensure that people can exercise their rights, in full knowledge of what those rights are and how they benefit them. [...]”. Furthermore, whether or not interpreting as a profession and discipline is fully recognized and institutionalized will depend in part on the perception of multiculturalism in a given society and whether or not minority communities as members of our society are seen to have the right to full access to public services and the service channels that enable such access (Valero Garcés/Francisco 2012: 13). Equal access to citizens’ legal services is, or should be, provided for at the institutional level, but as the number of foreign citizens increases in any given geographical area, the institutions themselves are often unable to guarantee an adequate provision of services. The geo-political climate of a country at any given time deeply affects how such services are (un)equally distributed and how the provision of services is organized. The wave of populist politics emerging in the second decade of the third millennium and spreading across many Western countries is not benefitting the provision of services and the growth and professionalization of the public service interpreting and translation (PSIT) profession.

These difficulties affect countries in the Americas, Europe, Australia and all those countries where an increasing number of incoming people do not have full command of the language used in public services (PS) and, more specifically, the legal system. As such, not only are translators and interpreters’ crucial for effective communication, but they are a channel through which to safeguard the basic human rights of all citizens. This ‘mission statement’ drives most of the PSI literature, be it in the legal, health, educational, social, refugee, or other broadly humanitarian sectors that touch basic civil rights; it is an underlying ethical

- 1 Although PS interpreting and translation are very different skills, in the PS domain many interpreters also undertake written translation to supplement an often-meagre income. Interpreters in the legal system in Italy, who are grossly underpaid, often tend to ‘double-up’ as legal translators and the line between the two is often hazy. Also, hybrid modalities like sight translation of legal and administrative documents is a ‘borderline’ feature of these intertwined professions.

approach advocated by most interpreting institutions, associations, and broader platforms engaged in this activity, namely that the negation of access to basic citizen's services is a breach of basic rights.

The present study forms part of a wider project initiated and carried out by the author and other colleagues over the last decade, namely LegaII, "Legal Interpreting in Italy" (Rudvin/Spinzi 2013), which is profoundly driven by the 'mission statement' mentioned above. The overall aim of this project is to further, strengthen and promote quality language services in public institutions in my local area, help improve the quality of legal interpreting, and establish and consolidate collaboration with local legal institutions, and undertake activities such as the construction of a multilingual parallel corpus as a translation and interpreter training resource for academic research and PSIT practitioners. One of the more specific aims of LegaII and of this paper is to utilize the tools of corpus linguistics to build a training and research 'package' to be made available to professionals, trainers and students who want to promote and further legal interpreting and translating. More particularly, I will focus on the two main areas of interpreting which need corrective feedback according to my data and that are the use of some pragmatic markers and the phraseology featuring legal language². Both areas will be investigated and discussed in the following sections and sub-sections where my main assumption is that explicit teaching improves accuracy (Robinson 1996: 36-37).

A similar corpus-based PSI project is the one launched and nearly completed at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness. This project, called TIPp (*Traducción e Interpretación en los Procesos penales*, i.e. translation and interpreting in criminal court proceedings), investigates quality in court interpreting as an element to safeguard procedural guarantees in criminal proceedings and is developing electronic resources to help court interpreters of five different languages (Orozco-Jutorán 2017; forthcoming). Similar initiatives are emerging in other countries too. One of the ways in which texts collected and compiled through projects such as these can be made more useful and accessible to the public is precisely through Corpus Linguistics (CL). Despite the methodological difficulties of accessing and analyzing data in PSI settings, corpus-based studies are thus potentially valuable bringing these resources into the public domain as concrete findings of analyzed data or, at a further step, as training tools.

- 2 Another area, which I have not addressed here and which falls outside the legal domain, is idiomatic expressions in English, which proved a true challenge for Italian trainees. Paradoxically, the technical language in the medical, and to some extent business sectors were less of a challenge because the etymological roots of the technical terms derive from Greek and Latin and were familiar to Italian students – indeed medical terminology is very often similar in the English-Italian language-pair. Counter-intuitively, it is frequently the idiomatic expressions and words that English speakers find easy and natural – at the level of every-day expressions – that pose a true challenge to Italian trainees at the level of comprehension.

1. Corpus-based Interpreting Studies as a methodological tool for PSI practitioners, researchers and trainers: opportunities and limitations.

The application of CL, a visual-text based medium, to interpreting is problematic for various reasons: technical (creating a spoken discourse corpus), institutional (confidentiality) and interactional (dialogic and human/social features) (see also Cencini 2002 and more recently Lázaro Gutiérrez/Sánchez Ramos 2015³). Accessing the domain of PS oral interactions, that is of a highly restrictive and private nature is inevitably a frustrating, arduous and lengthy process that requires perseverance – to get the required permission to record data in confidential medical, social or legal settings – and patience, insofar as it requires the physical presence of the researcher (or person collecting the data). Furthermore, these interactions often engage a very small group of people and may not last very long, so the collection of large amounts of data is much more complicated and time-consuming than with more technologized and accessible conference interpreting or interpreting in international organizations where large amounts of data can be accessed. This is one of the inherent limitations of most corpus-based PSI projects and greatly restricts the construction and analysis of large datasets and the subsequent ability to draw more general conclusions regarding social, pragmatic, discursual and textual features of PSI interactions, even at a local level. Acquiring data that is in any way ‘representative’ of a larger reality thus becomes very difficult indeed⁴. Nevertheless, collecting and constructing a broad range of analyzable datasets locally is one way of contributing to build a ‘bigger picture’ of interpreter-mediated discourse in the PS setting.

The problematic issues of privacy and permission, recording, transcription of oral data that beset corpus analysis of interpreter-mediated interactions do not apply to the same extent to written translation, which lends itself easily to this methodology. Its usefulness lies in the easier access of data, i.e. easily ‘manageable’ in corpus linguistic terms. Even with large datasets it is a reasonably easy process of analysis, and also in the creation of standardized and accessible multilingual datasets and other training materials. Multilingual corpora can then be used to assist translation in multiple community languages, and to update administrative documents, especially those that are used daily or regularly by police and other legal institutions. The emerging branch of Translation and

- 3 Cencini (2002) identifies these same practical, technological and institutional limitations to the collection of oral data for CL purposes; more than a decade later we see that these same challenges have not yet been overcome and are also described by Lázaro Gutiérrez/Sánchez Ramos (2015) regarding the construction of their PS spoken corpus at the University of Alcalá.
- 4 Individual case studies in Discourse Analysis sometimes give the impression of being representative of a larger reality when in fact it is only a very small sample of one or a few encounters and can only be illustrative of discourse features in that specific event. The two main reasons for this is the lack of accessibility to private and/or confidential data, and secondly, to the highly time-consuming transcription process of even small amounts of spoken data. This may change in the future with advances in data-processing technology.

Interpreting Studies known as *Translation and Interpreting in Public Services* (TIPS) also covers written translation, which has for long been the ‘forgotten voice’ in PSI studies. The works of Valero Garcés (2014), Valero Garcés/Francisco (2012) and Vargas Urpi (2011) in Spain represent the first in-depth studies on linguistic/ translational and policy aspects in this area in Europe.

2. Data and methods

2.1 Corpus description

The data used in this paper were chosen from three sub-corpora of an open miscellaneous legal corpus (LegalI corpus, under construction). The LegalI corpus can be considered a composite corpus, namely a set of several individual corpora, each of which encompasses a specific sub-field and can be used independently to investigate spoken and written (legal) language. The compilation of the corpus reflects the complexity of legal discourse.

The design of the miscellaneous corpus, shown in Table 1, includes a bilingual (Italian/English) Learner Corpus, a monolingual spoken corpus of legal English (MonoLegalI), and a written parallel corpus of legal Italian texts and their English translations (ParaLegalI).

The Learner Corpus is based on 30 hours of voice-recorded data of simulated interpreted interactions between Italian service providers and non-Italian speakers and has helped to identify some of those stumbling blocks dialogue interpreters struggle with and which were then incorporated into our training programmes. The audio-recordings stretch over a ten-year period of an oral exam that is part of the final assessment of two MA programmes. These include a course on ‘language mediation’ (in Italy broadly synonymous with ‘PSI interpreting’) and a Continuous Development course in legal interpreting at the University of Bologna where students are required to interpret a dialogue from and into English and Italian⁵. It should be noted that the MA students are C1+ learners of English (based on the Common European Framework of Reference for languages), and that English is the medium of instruction. Due to time constraints, only some interactions have been transcribed amounting to a total of 11,075 running words which have been used as an ‘exploratory channel’ to highlight students’ uncertainties and difficulties when interpreting from English into Italian and vice versa.

MonoLegalI contains samples of the English (spoken) language as it is used in different legal settings such as police stations and courtrooms; the latter being of a complex hybrid nature (dialogic/monologic). The data constituting the Monolingual Police Interview Corpus (MoPICo) come from two different legal cases (for a total of four police interviews and two hearings) involving criminal offences⁶. In order to manage these police interview transcripts more efficiently

5 The author has access to the data as one of the trainers involved in the Intercultural Communication module.

6 The cases considered are the following: the first is known as the Steven Avery case, a

and to allow more accurate searches, the corpus has been annotated using XML mark-up, according to the TEI Guidelines (Sperberg-McQueen/Burnard 2007), so that specific contextual information could be retrieved during the analysis; it incorporates information about individual speakers and their roles, date of the interview and text structure.

ParaLegaII comprises two sub-corpora, i.e. the Parallel Corpus of Administrative Documents (PaCad), including source and target texts which mainly perform a bureaucratic function such as identification of a person, renewal of residence permit and so forth. The data contained in this sub-corpus come from official Italian judiciary police websites where the need for publishing multilingual documentation makes it easier for non-Italians to access vital information in their own language. A bilingual parallel corpus like PaCad is a translation corpus in the strictest sense (Biel 2010: 4). The other sub-corpus contains precautionary measures and injunctions granted by the Court of Palermo. These documents are written orders requiring a party to take certain steps or refrain from them. They have been translated from Italian into English by professional translators. This parallel sub-corpus has not been considered for the analysis. The text retrieval software used for quantitative observations and for extracting phraseology is AntPConc⁷.

For the purposes of the present study I will rely on the Learner Corpus along with two sub-corpora, MoPICo and PaCad.

Corpus	Sub-corpora	Corpus type	Language mode	Total running words
Learner Corpus		Bilingual - dialogic	Spoken (IT > EN) (EN > IT)	30 hours recorded (from the MA course and the Continuous Development Course)
MonoLegaII	Police interviews (MoPICo)	Monolingual	Spoken (EN)	8,035 (English, 7 hours)
	Court hearings	Monolingual	Spoken (EN)	4,917 (English, 3 hours)
ParaLegaII	Administrative documents (PaCad)	Parallel	Written (IT > EN)	16,345 (Italian source texts) 14,322 (English target texts)
	Precautionary measures and injunctions	Parallel	Written (IT > EN)	18,677 (Italian source texts) 16,323 (English target texts)

Table 1. Miscellaneous Legal Corpus (LegaII).

man from Wisconsin wrongfully convicted of attempted murder in 1985. Only after 18 years of a 32-year sentence, was he released to be charged with another murder two years later; the second case included in the corpus is the case of English DJ Sir James Vincent Savile, accused of child sexual abuse in 2009.

7 <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antpconc/>.

2.2 Analytical steps

The corpus-based methodological focus of the current investigation is manifold, including three distinct phases here termed as Identification, Verification, and Activation. CL functions foremost as a data-collecting research tool (Identification and Verification) and secondly as a tool through which to illustrate and demonstrate ‘correct’ language-specific phraseology (Activation).

The first step of this three-pronged study is a preliminary investigatory deductive phase in which problems of translation accuracy in PSI learners have been searched for (the Identification Phase). The data for the Identification Phase come from the Learner Corpus. During the course of the training and assessment period, problem areas that were noticed were (predictably) terminological in legal system-bound technical phrases (but for the purposes of the MA exam, many terms were provided by the trainer at the beginning of the exam) and discourse markers (DMs). The former emerged through phenomena such as simpler structures and less ambiguous expression. The latter, unless they contained a strong propositional content, were often sacrificed, especially when students were under stress.

Apart from being intuitively plausible, the terminological/phraseological challenge for my students is confirmed by 20+ years of experience in the classroom and by consulting with colleagues with similar didactic experience. In the Continuous Development course data, the challenges were predominantly terminological and the role plays included few DMs. Stretching across all professional domains DMs are of course general, ubiquitous discourse facilitators, and it is also for this reason that I chose to focus on them, preliminary in a Verification Phase in which they appeared specifically in the field at issue – the legal domain.

In the second phase (the Verification Phase) I investigated challenging features in a monolingual English corpus of police interviews, looking at the more formal and writing-based features of legal discourse that can also be present in an interpreter-mediated setting.

Lastly, the parallel bilingual Italian-English specialized corpus (in progress) of legal documents of a procedural nature (reports and summary notices) was used to see which terminological and phraseological, or indeed other features emerged as potential trouble areas. In the last step of this methodology, I show phraseological examples to be adopted to provide input for PSIT trainees (the Activation Phase). The primary aim of the present study is thus to gain a clearer insight into those stumbling blocks observed in the Learner Corpus (i.e. discourse markers and also more specialized phraseologies) and then to use CL tools to investigate occurrences and contexts in which these occur in order to assist us in formulating more targeted tools – e.g. parallel multilingual specialized corpora – to be used for training purposes.

3. Discourse markers and phraseology

Discourse markers (DMs) have been the object of numerous studies in a vast range of language domains. As noticed in the literature, DMs do not impinge on the propositional content as such but create communication at the level of rapport and beyond the immediate co-text:

[...] the truth condition of the utterance is not affected by them, the propositional content of the utterance is not altered, they relate to the speech situation and their function is emotive and connotative rather than denotative or referential. (Hale 2004: 61 referring to Hölker 1991: 78-79)

DMs have numerous functions, but generally speaking they could be said to facilitate discourse coherence between interlocutors in a conversation (Hale 2004: 62) and they may fulfill an interactional function. Schiffrin (1987: 326) has highlighted their relevant role in building up coherence by “locating utterances on particular planes of talk” and claims that these words contribute to making the speech more understandable and coherent. Other scholars have stressed the pragmatic function of these ‘smallwords’ (Östman 1981; Blakemore/Gallai 2014). For instance, the most frequent functions of *well* include: to preface or mark disagreements or divergence and dissatisfaction, to request clarification, and elaboration (Hale 2004: 63).

A number of scholars, most notably Berk-Seligson (1990), Hale (2004), and Szczyrbak (2014), have drawn attention to the importance of discourse markers in the legal setting. More recently, other, equally important, areas of the legal setting have come under scrutiny, namely the police setting (Blakemore/Gallai 2014; Tipton/Furmanek 2016; Nakane 2014). As Nakane points out:

This is a sensitive and highly important aspect of legal interpreting, since difficulties in collecting evidence – such as lack of coherence, hesitations, and (un)willingness to provide relevant information – are themselves also part of the evidence, especially in cases in which two competing stories are being told. (*ibid.*: 80)

Such studies point to the need to include such aspects in the training of PSI and legal interpreters, and illustrate how corpus linguistics tools can be used profitably to create training material for interpreter students in the legal field. CL is also a valid instrument through which to study phraseological occurrences and patterns not only in written texts, but also in both spontaneous/conversational and formulaic/institutional/domain-specific oral language to train dialogue interpreters. A large body of research on phraseology (see for example, Ellis 2008; Meunier/Granger 2008) has clearly demonstrated that languages are based on regular patterns, associations, formulaic structures, etc. – in short, recurrent lexical and grammatical combinations that also facilitate second-language acquisition due to its formulaic and mnemonic features. This motivated me to search primarily for terms at the phraseological level.

Another point can be made regarding the usefulness of phraseology in a PSIT perspective: Colson (2008) draws a connection between the intrinsically for-

mulaic, phraseological nature of natural language and translation. During the process of translation, the formulaic aspect of language emerges powerfully, precisely because translation functions at the phraseological level (holographs, collocations, phrasal verbs, etc.) rather than at the semantic (individual word) level (Colson 2008: 199). Furthermore, research in the field of collocations and phraseology (Prodromou 2005) has shown that the speech of native speakers can be distinguished from that of non-native speakers by the presence of strings of language. Learning chunks of language, rather than isolated words, improves fluency because usually chunks occupy a single intonation unit: “Choral or private repetition, increasing the speed at each repetition [...] can be a useful way of drilling chunks so that they become imprinted in the memory as ‘musical’ items” (O’Keeffe *et al.* 2007: 77). Presentation of specialized chunks, as those extracted from my sub-corpus PaCad, can raise awareness of them through ‘noticing activities’. Furthermore, some studies in this field have demonstrated that a phraseology-based learning process “‘frees up’ the cognitive processing load so that mental effort can be allocated to other aspects of production such as discourse organization and successful interaction” (Girdard/Sionis 2004, in O’Keeffe *et al.* 2007).

4. Analysis and results

4.1. Learner Corpus

The scripted nature of the students’ dialogues clearly is not ideal for representational purposes, they do not exemplify a real-life situation, but they do illustrate discourse cohesion and facilitation. The stress factor in an exam-situation also matches, at least to some degree, the stress level of a real-life interaction. Although some discourse markers can be sacrificed without significantly affecting the propositional or pragmatic meaning of the utterance, the significance of DMs was underestimated by students who were not always alert to their pragmatic importance in a dialogic interaction or in the power relations that are sometimes played out in institutional dialogues. I believe that bringing greater awareness of the function of DMs and other pragmatic features to the students will improve their overall renditions.

Table 2 shows some of the most frequently recurring translations of ‘well’, the most frequent DM in the spoken Learner Corpus in both source and target texts. ‘Well’ occurred predictably mainly in initial position, but unlike the data described in the monolingual English corpus (see §4.2 below), not in a time-management or defensive capacity (i.e. in the defendant’s replies in the Police Interviews described in §4.2). In the table below the renditions of ‘well’ into Italian – it was translated in 6 different ways – have been listed according to the frequency of use by the students.

RENDITIONS IN ITALIAN ENGLISH ST	It1	It2	It3	It4	It5	It6
well	Ø	<i>uhh</i>	<i>allora</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>niente</i>
very well	Ø	<i>uh, beh</i>				
yes, well						
well actually	<i>in realtà</i>					
well, you see	Ø					

Table 2. Renditions of ‘well’ in Italian translations in the Learner Corpus (Ø = zero rendition).

Vice versa, when translating from Italian into English, ‘well’ was used to render five different discourse markers: *bene, ma, però, adesso, ho capito*.

The dialogues were scripted by the author and other colleagues but were created to emulate a ‘real-life’ situation as closely as possible. Nevertheless, the simulated dialogues were guided by the trainers to test precisely these and other features. One of the easiest ways to guide and assist students is to decrease the pace and increase quality (articulation) of speech when it is clear that a student is having difficulties with the rendition. Slowing down and articulating more clearly significantly increases the ability of the student to maintain ‘extra-propositional’ features such as pragmatic markers. By the same token, when increasing the pace of speech and decreasing the phonetic quality, including the discourse markers, a drop in the maintenance of discourse markers and an increased focus and attention to the propositional content were observed. Only the best students were able to maintain both with a high degree of accuracy in their rendition. This is an excellent training tool to calibrate the level of difficulty of a dialogue to the student’s individual needs.

The following are the main functions for the DM ‘well’ that emerged in the source texts in the Learner Corpus in the Identification as well as in the Verification Phase:

1. an *acknowledgment* token, a *continuer*, above all when followed by ‘yeah’;
2. opens the next turn thus performing a *time-managing* function;
3. *changing* a topic;
4. *avoiding* a topic;
5. *playing for time*;
6. marker of *self-repair* to try to make utterances *clearer* (paraphrase);
7. *requests clarification* and/or *elaboration* (intonation-dependent);
8. prefaces or marks *approval* or *agreement* with the interviewer;
9. prefaces or marks *disapproval*, *disagreement*, dissatisfaction or divergence with the interviewer (intonation dependent).

I suggest that the DM ‘well’ can be seen on a continuum from primarily Relational / Interactional, to Organizational, and primarily Propositional.

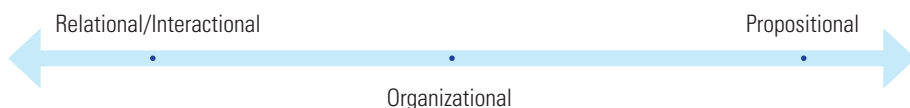


Figure 1. Continuum of the functions of the DM ‘well’.

In the Learner Corpus the students were under pressure to perform in the exam, rather than being in a real-life interpreting situation and their focus was primarily on two aspects: remember each utterance (and not be marked down for omissions) and translate as accurately as possible primarily at the propositional level; translating pragmatically adds a higher stress factor. Thus, the didactic translation function was uppermost in their minds, rather than the interactional function (especially given that the other speakers were the trainer(s) and were perfectly able to understand them despite any omissions; in a real-life situation their management of DMs might have been slightly different. When DMs were jettisoned for reasons of time, memory or focus/concentration, students did tend to compensate for this by signaling cohesion (causal-logical and textual-syntactical) through other discourse elements or through intonation.

In general, I observed that the closer a discourse marker was to the propositional end of the scale, as an explicit acknowledgement, the more students would incorporate it, translating it with an affirmative or negative, for example. Again, intonation would be used to emphasize a strong affirmative or negative function, or intonation would be ‘flattened’, the more redundant the DM was. Intonation was crucial in distinguishing agreement from disagreement, but strong (dis)agreement would usually have a propositional content-based follow-up in the following sentence/utterance that would make the DM ‘well’ redundant.

In turns of the functions of time-management (function no. 2) and topic-avoidance/evasion (function no. 4) ‘well’ was often jettisoned, because the pace of the situation had already changed by the time the turn came to the interpreter (student) and rendered it redundant. As shown in §4.2, in the Police Interview data, these two functions appeared more frequently, probably because of the tense and conflictual nature of the setting (police interviews, the police officer’s more aggressive questioning and defendant’s more defensive and strategic responses, also logistical/organizational). For self-repair motives (function no. 6), the DM would be jettisoned because the weight of a successful rendition (the paraphrasing of the previously unclear utterance) took precedence over signaling it (i.e. signaling that it is unclear), whilst as a signal of a topic shift (function no. 3) there would generally be some indication to substitute this even if with just a pause, a gaze or change of body position or DM like ‘ecco’ or ‘allora’ in a very weak form.

When the trainer was using ‘well’ to simulate that she was thinking out loud and delaying the beginning of the utterance (function no. 5), ‘well’ was, under-

standably, rendered void – a zero rendition. The pragmatic effect of rendering void this discourse marker was to make the utterance and the trainer's attitude seem more definite and less hesitant. Whether or not this impacts on the overall effect of the utterance into the TL is, however, debatable. Nevertheless, students should also be made aware of the subtler pragmatic functions of DMs. Also, when the student asked for repetition and the trainer repeated an utterance, DMs were dropped, unless they were propositionally or pragmatically significant. When the student was playing for time in Italian, the use of the DM *'allora'*, articulated in a long drawn-out fashion, was often resorted to. 'Ok' and 'so' were used frequently in English both at the more propositional end of the continuum but also as gap fillers and the playing-for-time function.

I observed that students and trainees generally aimed to maintain discourse coherence and would attempt to assess the significance of DMs on the spot, but were not always successful. Omission was one frequent option, or substitution for interjections such as *'uhh'*, or *'beh'*. Sometimes a non-lexical empty DM (*'beh'*, *'uh'*) would signal a forward-looking glance at the next words in the utterance if the words were challenging at the propositional level – i.e. the students were already 'attacking' and focused on the next (difficult) part of the utterance and recalling specific and non-specific memory in order to solve a task two or three steps further down the sentence. In those moments (seconds) of activating short-term memory, 'empty' DMs would sometimes, but not always, efficiently and often successfully function as pause-filler to cover up while the students were trying to recall the first part of the utterance (function no. 5, playing for time).

Where the DM *'well'* had simply an interactional and weaker propositional or pragmatic function students seemed to be more relaxed about accuracy (a correct judgment in my view) and used Italian renditions such as *'ma'*, *'sì'*, *'allora'*, *'bene'*. DMs in scripts that were as simple as my corpus was (predominantly main clauses rather than subordinate clauses) had less of a textual cohesive function; forward looking text-cohesive discourse markers are arguably less frequent in spontaneous conversation and difficult to manage for interpreter trainees.

The few times DMs were used to organize discourse in terms of distinguishing between speakers (especially with more than 3 interlocutors) (*'ecco'*, *'così'*), they were rarely jettisoned, and also accompanied by spatial-organizational body language and signs – as such it was the entire discourse event rather than just the spoken utterances that required 'organization' at the cohesive level.

Clearly, at a micro-level, the significance of DMs can be crucial in the legal setting, as Hale (1999), Blakemore/Gallai (2014), Szczyrbak (2014), and others have shown because they can skew not just the development of the interview or conversation, but even the propositional content as well as the perception of a truth condition.

4.2 MoPICO (monolingual spoken corpus): the case of 'well' (Verification Phase)

The aim of the last two sub-sections is to show that both spoken and written corpora can be used to investigate specific translation problems that arise in the translation of legal documentation at various levels of language use and,

more precisely, to emphasise the link between them and interpreter training. This sub-section, in particular, looks at ‘well’ in the transcribed video recordings of four police interviews (two conducted in the USA and the other two in the UK) dealing with murder-related criminal cases. Seen as a sub-genre of legal discourse, the broad purpose of the police interview (PI)⁸ is both to elicit information and to establish whether or not the allegation being made is true or credible. The interview is also a *product*, as Nakane notes (2014: 8), in that it is used as evidence if the case goes to trial. Both process and product are characterized by being a synthesis of two competing narratives, the police officer’s and the suspect’s, at least when the suspect denies the allegation. If the *purpose of police questioning* can be classified as “*elicitation of information*” and “*confirmation of a particular version of events*” (*ibid.*: 33), interviewers will direct their discourse through strategies and ‘interactional resources’ that achieve these broader aims. These strategies are primarily control of topic shifts and of turn-taking as well as question types (information-seeking or confirmation questions). Against this backdrop, DMs are used strategically to perform the above functions.

In MoPiCo, *well* (4%)⁹ comes after the most frequent markers *you know* (6%) and *yeah* (6.7%) and is followed by other discourse devices such as *I mean* (1.1%) and *actually* (1.01%). Syntactically speaking, in my sub-corpus, *well* occupies its proto-typical initial position (Urgelles-Coll 2010: 23), usually after the officer’s question. Thus, compared with the interviewee’s talk, the incidence of *well* in the interviewer is more marginal. Among the functions reported in the literature (Sidnell 2010), in MoPiCo *well*, as used by the interviewee, mainly performs the task of a continuer as in the following examples:

Example 1

OFFICER: And then what did he do to her?

INTERVIEWEE: **Well** after he was done, that’s when he put her back in the jeep...

This “acknowledgment token” function may be easily explained by the fact that most of the interview is made up by the interviewee’s narrative where the use of this marker is primarily a way to accept what had been previously stated and

8 Although this genre – police interviews – has not been studied nearly as much as court interpreting (also because access to empirical data is a severe limitation), it is a crucial phase in the legal process. The importance of DMs in this semi-spontaneous discourse in the police interview (a spontaneous narrative of the event being described and investigated in the framework of a standardized Q/A format) is significant, and may channel the course of the investigations in one direction or another, especially when mediated through interpreting. Accurate interpreting of police interviews is crucial because they are fundamental in potential future court proceedings. Accurate translation/interpreting safeguards the procedural value of the interview as evidence in subsequent phases (see Nakane 2014; Pöchhacker/Kolb 2009). Because the interview is written down and kept as a written police report, all procedural aspects must be maintained, but may also lead to a stylistic ‘mismatch’ between the oral and written versions describing the same episode.

9 The percentages indicated refer to the relative frequency of the DMs in the Monolingual Corpus.

to move on with the narration. In other cases, even though less frequently, the interviewee resorts to *well* as a marker of disapproval with what the officer has said as shown by example 2:

Example 2

OFFICER: And you were dropped off, it's such an event that someone's standing in your field taking a picture of that van, that you remember that too don't you? The bus driver remembers it, the kids on the school bus remember it. The girl taking pictures, you remember that?

INTERVIEWEE: **Well** I wasn't lookin' at the...

OFFICER: Huh

INTERVIEWEE: **Well** sometimes I'm talkin' to Blaine.

Conversely, when used by the interviewer, the marker takes on a time-managing function which is a device to control discourse:

Example 3

OFFICER: You give us permission to go in your house and get the jeans?

INTERVIEWEE: Yeah

OFFICER: Ok. **Well** I'm just gonna make a phone call quick...

As reported in the previous section, in my Learner Corpus, numerous instances of \emptyset (non-rendition) for DMs were found, but it was also noticed that generally speaking the students were able to judge the importance of a specific DM (as they had been trained to do so in class) and non-render or substitute it with propositional (or non-verbal) content. CL can thus be used to raise trainees' awareness of the importance of DMs, but also of what other students and practitioners tend to do in similar situations (substitutions). Also, to show them that in a real-life situation they are not 'helped' by a familiar trainer who will be reading the scripted dialogue¹⁰, but they will have a real service provider who depends completely on them for successful communication. If used judiciously in a classroom setting and guided by experienced trainers, the didactic usefulness emerges clearly when using the Learner Corpus and PI data to direct and guide students in their classroom work with peers as well as in the assessment.

4.3. PaCad (parallel written corpus): administrative legal texts and their phraseology

The collection and translation of recurrent and standard documentation (notices, forms, reports, summons, etc.) used by the police forces and the courts is one way to facilitate the work of legal interpreters. Frequently, the translated versions of these administrative texts serve as documentary evidence in subsequent court

10 Although we are mindful of the fact that scripted dialogues are not ideal, the sheer size of my MA classes (often 100+) and having only one trainer, makes it difficult to use more lifelike training and assessment alternatives.

proceedings and their importance should not be underestimated (see Nakane 2014). Administrative texts form a part of our daily lives, but are not ‘trivial’ as they reflect and construct our attitudes towards the worlds which surround us. As well as familiarity with legal formulae, as Pontrandolfo notes, translations of this typology also require familiarity with the “genre structures through which legal institutions conduct their affairs” (Pontrandolfo 2015: 138). The documentation collected is the one used most frequently by the police and courts in their dealings with people involved in criminal procedures, be they suspect, defendant, witness or victim. The communicative function of such texts is arguably descriptive and procedural rather than informative, and thus phraseology will tend to be predominant and of a very fixed nature, more so than an informative typology¹¹. Administrative documents are of different types and usually initiate a legal procedure. Their structure depends on the authorities involved which vary across cultures and they are also a reflection of the institutional role they play (Charrow 1982). It goes without saying that these cultural differences bring about multiple translation problems.

The phraseological constructions which surfaced from the parallel corpus may be considered as underlying structural features of the subsequent or parallel phases in the legal/judiciary process, from police interviews to courtroom discourse. What is argued here is that a hybrid discourse form emerges with a combination of fixed phraseology (of a written nature coming from administrative documents) and pragmatic discourse features pertaining to oral discourse. Indeed, the subgenres of police interviews as well as courtroom discourse contain both written phraseological elements in the administrative and ‘ritual’ language of legal procedures (fixed terminology as well as fixed form – in particular the Q/A format of interviewing and cross-examination) and the dialogic features of spoken interaction.

In my analysis I have adopted the phraseological approach which is described in the literature as being more empirically-based, rather than a lexicographical approach, despite the fact that legal phraseology, at least in Italy, has received scant attention in the literature. Even though the formulaic nature of legal language has been highlighted by many scholars (Crystal/Davy 1969), it is only with the advent of computerized corpora techniques that the landscape of contemporary legal phraseology is beginning to change (Pontrandolfo 2015). In order to investigate the phraseology/fixed collocations of my parallel texts two pieces of software were used: AntConc, which allows the extraction of multiword units that are potential candidates for being considered phraseologies, and AntPConc, which aligns parallel texts automatically and displays the source text (ST) phrases aligned with the target text (TT) translation equivalents.

The investigation started with the extraction of the multi-word units in Italian with minimum 3 units as a baseline parameter to search for phraseological syntagms. I used the n-grams/cluster utility of the software AntConc. All those

11 The notion of phraseology used in this paper refers to the co-occurrence of more than one lexical item with other linguistic elements and which functions as one semantic unit (see Gries 2008: 6).

instances which were not candidate to be phrases (e.g. *art cp* (3), *persona offesa che* (5), *non conosce la* (35)) were disregarded.

Secondly, I looked at all the cases of what I deemed to be translational correspondence and non-correspondence and I classified both cases of phrases according to the following categories:

- a) legal system-bound technical collocations/phrases (e.g. *l'incidente probatorio*/special evidentiary hearing)
- b) semi-technical collocations (e.g. *la persona offesa*/injured party);
- c) shared general language phrases (e.g. *forze dell'ordine*/law enforcement authorities; *i presidi sanitari*/health care establishments).

The first group of fixed expressions, the category which causes difficulties of the cultural type, includes phrases that might refer either to juridical organs (e.g. *la Polizia giudiziaria*) or to procedures (e.g. *l'incidente probatorio*); they all have a precise legal meaning in Italy. As far as *la Polizia Giudiziaria* is concerned, Italy has various law enforcement agencies, each with a different status and structure. The most important law enforcement agencies are the State Police (*Polizia di Stato*), the *Arma dei Carabinieri* and the Customs and Excise Police (*Guardia di finanza*). Any member of any law enforcement agency can be given the task of carrying out investigations into a criminal offence by the public prosecutor and, in this case, they come under the umbrella term of *la polizia giudiziaria*, a term used to indicate a function rather than a specific law enforcement agency. There are particularly close ties between the judicial police and the public prosecutor, with special judicial police sections in all of the Public Prosecutor's Offices. The work of the judicial police starts from the beginning of investigations, when the authorities are first aware of the possibility of a criminal offence. It goes without saying that translators are involved in those communicative acts which include a variety of agents, from authorities to receivers; they are involved in and constitutive of an essential socio-juridical and cultural process that is fundamental for the safeguarding of justice and non-Italian speaking citizens' basic civil rights. During the simulations with interpreter trainees, these terminological items were sometimes either simplified (i.e. using 'police' as a substitute for the other institutions, or disambiguated (i.e. *Arma dei Carabinieri*: the institution that carries out preliminary investigations).

Table 3 shows phraseological units retrieved from the parallel written corpus. What is argued here is that, during their training, interpreters should be provided with these system-bound collocations to be used in their simulations in the classroom and, consequently, in their professional performances. This type of training would accommodate the acquisition of those terminological collocations that were problematic in the Identification Phase and that play an important cultural role in specialized communication across languages and cultures.

Type of phrase	Parallel Corpus	
	Italian	English
a) Legal system-bound technical collocations / phrases	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Ufficio di Polizia Giudiziaria</i> 2. <i>presso la Procura della Repubblica competente</i> 3. <i>Ufficio dei Carabinieri</i> 4. <i>registro delle notizie di reato</i> 5. <i>Giudice di Pace</i> 6. <i>richiedere un incidente probatorio</i> 7. <i>Questore</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Office of the Judicial Police 2. at the competent Public Prosecutor's Office 3. Carabinieri Office 4. register of <i>notitiae criminis</i> 5. <i>Giudice di Pace</i> [Justice of the Peace] 6. request a special evidentiary hearing 7. <i>Questore</i> [Provincial Police Chief]
b) Semi-technical collocations	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>infondatezza della notizia di reato</i> 2. <i>articoli (numero) del cpp</i> 3. <i>richiesta di archiviazione</i> 4. <i>richiedere il patrocinio gratuito</i> 5. <i>cessazione delle misure cautelari</i> 6. <i>in assenza d'apposita richiesta</i> 7. <i>remissione di querela</i> 8. <i>per i reati perseguibili a querela di parte</i> 9. <i>impugnare l'ordinanza del giudice</i> 10. <i>a mezzo del procuratore speciale</i> 11. <i>sentenza di non luogo a procedere</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. groundlessness of the <i>notitia criminis</i> 2. articles (number) of the Italian Code of Criminal Procedure 3. request to the judge to drop the case 4. request of legal aid 5. termination of the protective measures 6. without explicit request 7. withdrawal of complaint 8. in case of a criminal offence persecuted with a complaint of the victim 9. challenge the judge's order 10. specially appointed representative 11. judgement of no grounds to proceed
c) Shared general language phrases	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>con il presente avviso</i> 2. <i>traduzione gratuita degli atti</i> 3. <i>permesso di soggiorno</i> 4. <i>crimini previsti dalla legge</i> 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. with this notice 2. free of charge translation of all documents 3. residence permit 4. crimes specifically referred to in the law

Table 3. Examples from the Parallel Italian-English Corpus.

5. Discussion and final remarks

The primary aim of the present study was to look at corpus linguistics techniques for PSIT pedagogical applications and professional practice, to gain a clearer insight into those stumbling blocks that trainee interpreters tend to encounter, and to appreciate how that knowledge could be used to tackle lexical, pragmatic or interactional challenges.

First, I assembled a miscellaneous legal corpus containing different types of corpora: a bilingual (Italian/English) Learner Corpus of simulated interactions, a monolingual spoken corpus of legal English (MonoLegalII), and a written parallel corpus of legal Italian texts and their English translations (ParaLegalII). These language resources were exploited in the different methodological steps, developed under the labels of Identification, Verification and Activation phases.

In the first step of the analysis, the Learner Corpus was used to analyse learners' obstacles both from a lexical and/or pragmatic perspective and from the point of view of translational transfer in a dialogic interpreting situation (PSI). Before even beginning the analysis, I had a robust vision of what would emerge because I had done the data recording and I was also directly involved as one of the trainers, examiners and data researcher; moreover, my experience in training as English language instructor and as language mediation instructor had already given me a solid knowledge basis of trainees' errors in this sector. Then, the main advantage of using a Learner Corpus is that data can be supplemented and replicated for further research. Furthermore, computer-aided analysis of my corpora through wordlisting and concordances allowed a more systematic analysis of DMs and their translations. Evidence from the Learner Corpus showed regularities in students' deviations from the standard norms. These standard norms were then showed in the Verification Phase through the use of the monolingual corpus MoPiCo. In the third phase, I searched for ways in which I could activate (Activation Phase) what I had unearthed so far, render the data and findings available (e.g. technical phraseology), and model them in such a way as to be useful for interpreter trainees, as a concrete output.

This three-pronged process/approach, that is Identification, Verification and Activation can be broadly used as a model for PSI trainers. The regular access to legal corpora, that is large sets of authentic data, might improve the training of mediators/interpreters with more attention to aspects such as simulation, identification of learners' stumbling blocks, and then, verification against evidence from the corpus. In other words, interpreting output from simulations lends itself to be collected as quantitative representation of students' non-conformity to frequent patterns of usage in a language. This non-conformity becomes more visible when verified against authentic materials from monolingual and parallel corpora in the same area. An example was given by the use of the monolingual corpus of spoken Police Interviews to show the regular behaviour of DMs (e.g. well) in naturally occurring language and the difference between the students' use and the corpus evidence.

Corpus-based Translation approaches with the compilation of a parallel corpus can also be used to show specialized phraseologies which are usually found in spoken legal discourse. Due to the discussed limitations that this type of studies entails, the compilation of corpora of the monolingual type, even though in the written modality, may be a valuable instrument for the training of legal (dialogue) interpreters in that they provide students with pre-packaged or formulaic expressions that are part and parcel of the specialized language and are also used orally.

Another didactic application that will come in useful is to compile specialized phraseological glossaries that provide Public Service Interpreting with technical culture-bound legal phrases, above all when working with minority languages. Greater familiarity with the relevant legal phraseology in Italian documents, for example, should be a fundamental part of interpreter training. Voice-recorded police interviews or courtroom examinations provide examples of set, recurrent legal phraseology, but also of important pragmatic features of spoken discourse, especially in the Q/A format where questions are often imbued with an asym-

metric power relationship through the use of subtly coercive strategies (especially tag questions and silence). The immediate nature of oral interpreting does not (unlike translation) permit the perusal of dictionaries, although a personal glossary, possibly in electronic format on a tablet computer, is feasible. Learning such phraseology is enormously useful, indeed essential. Public Service Translation is, therefore, a valuable linguistic support for legal institutions that could ultimately reduce the need for interpreting. If the non Italian-speaking public is provided with information, material and administrative documents in languages they understand and can access easily, this will reduce contact with institutions.

If used properly – both as a tool to help interpreter trainees learn and memorize phraseological correspondences, and as a reference material to use on the job – multilingual corpora can save PSI trainees a great deal of work. Lastly, although it is not the focus of this paper, the use of multilingual specialized corpora processed through CL is invaluable in the time-consuming and expensive process of written translation in PS and in the public sector generally. That is because multilingual documentation and information reduce the need for person-mediated information.

Generally speaking, the main aim of the Activation Phase is in line with pedagogic approaches to the study of a foreign language (see Seidlhofer 2002, based on Swain 1985), in that the use of corpus-based output increases linguistic knowledge and contributes to accuracy. As such, students are helped to notice the discrepancy between what they want to say and what they are linguistically able to say (Seidlhofer 2002: 218). The collection and analysis of authentic data serve the purpose of identifying those areas – at the linguistic, pragmatic and institutional and socio-cultural level – that lead to miscommunication, misunderstandings, damaging power imbalances, and thus thwart communication and the resulting access to services.

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Book review

SOMEYA, YASUMASA (ED) (2017) *CONSECUTIVE NOTETAKING AND INTERPRETER TRAINING*, LONDON/NEW YORK, ROUTLEDGE, 247 PP. ISBN 978-1-138-65673-4

REVIEWED BY ALESSANDRA RICCARDI

The volume comprises six chapters dealing with various aspects of consecutive interpreting and training from both the theoretical and practical points of view, with special attention on the underlying cognitive processes. It is a cohesive collection of articles on consecutive interpreting and notetaking by five Japanese researchers and one European. It therefore offers not only an interesting overview of consecutive interpreting research in Japan, but also an opportunity to reflect on consecutive interpreting between two such distant languages as Japanese (an Austroasiatic language) and English (a Germanic one). A thorough comprehension of the processes involved in consecutive interpreting is needed to illustrate notetaking and consecutive interpreting between two languages structurally so different. Consequently, an overview of possible research paths and results is offered by the various approaches presented. The authors of the collection have long-standing experience as trainers and researchers, reflected in the empirical studies based on corpora of notations by professional interpreters taken during real work assignments.

Compared to the large collections of simultaneous Interpreting Studies, consecutive interpreting has more recently been less represented or even neglected

in T&I studies; hence, the volume offers a good opportunity for reviewing consecutive interpreting theories from a critical stance and integrating them with new insights from cognitive standpoints. New proposals and applications for consecutive training are described, though they are not always truly innovative.

The first paper of the collection by Tatsuya Komatsu is a general historical account of the interpreting profession and training in Japan since its inception and draws on his personal experience. The author – one of the pioneers of simultaneous interpreting in Japan – belongs to the post-World War II first-generation of interpreters and has contributed greatly to the history of interpreting in his country. The peculiarities of the situation in Japan in terms of professionals and market are critically illustrated suggesting a comparison with the development witnessed in Europe in order to understand similarities and differences. In the 1960s, when Komatsu began his career as an interpreter, there were no courses specializing in teaching interpretation – and hardly any professional interpreters. His training, therefore, consisted principally in ‘learning by doing’. His experience in the U.S. within the “Productivity Program”, designed to provide interpreting in the U.S. for visiting groups of Japanese business and labour leaders, was paramount for his personal professional development. Back in Japan after 6 years in Washington D.C. between 1960-1966, he became active not only as a professional himself, but also promoted a company to provide interpreting services, Simul International. Based on his professional experience, Komatsu analyses how the interpreting market grew in Japan during those years and explains why AIIC rules were and are not always applicable, in his opinion, to the Japanese market.

The first generation of self-made interpreters with very good competence in L2 was followed by the second generation of Japanese interpreters, mainly graduates of a private university, the only one offering an interpreting program at the time. Although the program was limited, it produced a large number of interpreters from the 1970s to the present day, thanks to three factors: a charismatic leader of the programme, talented students and a favourable environment. Interpreting and translation agencies, such as the company established by the author and other first-generation interpreters, played a very important role not only as service providers, but also as training institutions for training their own staff. From the beginning of the profession, interpreter training in Japan has been solidly in the hands of private agencies. Komatsu has trained interpreting students both at the Simul Academy, a private training institution and offspring of Simul International (the agency he co-founded), and at universities.

The differences between interpreter training and praxis in Europe and Japan are further outlined with comments by the author on many of the principles laid down by Seleskovitch and required by AIIC but not always applicable in Japan. He believes that the reason lies mainly in the different language background and market requirements. Europe is a multilingual society but Japan is largely monolingual, therefore, perfect command of working languages is not possible in the latter, where interpreters work mainly between Japanese and English. Consecutive interpreting with two languages makes up 50% of the assignments, while multilingual meetings cover only 10% of the total assignments. At universities

there are no entrance exams for interpreting curricula, therefore, to begin with, courses are language enhancement courses rather than interpreting courses. Postgraduate courses have come into being only since 1995, but there is no independent specialized conference interpreting programme. They are all part of broader disciplines.

In the Conclusion, the author recognizes a clear decline of the social status of professional interpreters (p. 24), although the demand for interpreters has not yet decreased and the profession is still fairly popular. Countering the trend and keeping the profession attractive for young people requires much attention to training and integrating curricula with what is lacking at present: a broader academic and theoretical background in the programmes of agencies and greater attention to practical aspects at the post-graduate level in universities. This picture of conference interpreting and interpreter training in Japan underscores developments and problems that have also been faced in the past by many European countries with a limited conference interpreting market. The solutions depicted to improve the overall situation in Japan are similar to those that have been or are being applied in some European countries. In particular, the presence of International Organizations in Europe is probably one of the elements fostering the profession as we know it in Western countries, with positive effects on the profession as a whole.

The second chapter of the volume by Hiromi Ito presents in the first part the Interpretative Theory of Translation (ITT) developed by Seleskovitch (1975) and Lederer (1981). The short summary and review examine the ITT from a historical point of view embedding it in the time of its emergence to stress its innovative value during that period, which, unfortunately, in her opinion, was not recognized by researchers outside Translation Studies. Ito indicates the reasons, i.e. the difficulties encountered in designing experimental studies to include the parameters encountered in interpreting. In fact, the ITT has often been criticized as based on personal experience. The author, Hiromi Ito is in charge of the Japanese interpreting section at ESIT in Paris, where in addition to other subjects, she trains students with English and French in notetaking for consecutive interpreting from or into Japanese. Her research activity has been devoted principally to consecutive interpreting and the underlying comprehension processes. The ITT is the point of departure for discussing the pros and cons of the training programme for notetaking at ESIT based on the ITT, and its applicability in consecutive interpreting from Japanese into English or French, i.e. whether it is a universal method (p. 38) or whether some language pairs are excluded. Based on her experience as a trainer for Japanese at ESIT, Ito has reviewed the cognitive psychology literature relevant to consecutive interpreting “in order to update the ITT cognitive model and to complement analytical tools” (p. 39): the third section of the chapter is a summary thereof.

The paper is principally a review and defence of the ITT based on the author's PhD. In particular, the review of cognitive psychology presents those studies that corroborate the model of interpreting based on the ITT. Studies on working memory, expert memory as well as research on speaking and writing and their relevance for interpreting are discussed by the author, stressing the links

between these studies and the ITT. The Ericsson and Kintsch model (1995), for example, is seen as “basically comparable to the cognitive model of ITT” (p. 47). Undisputedly, interpreting, both simultaneous and consecutive, is based on cognitive processes, whereby memory and attention are fundamental. Since the 1960s, interpreting, in particular simultaneous interpreting, has been seen by cognitive psychologists as a viable research paradigm to test research hypotheses about attention, memory and comprehension. The point is that cognitive studies should also be applied to interpreting but, given its complexity, no comparable studies have been conducted so far on interpreting nor will be in the foreseeable future, as Hito also recognizes (p. 61).

Finally, in the last section, a study on students’ notes is reported. The study was conducted to understand how students manage to overcome difficulties and specificities when interpreting complex speeches from Japanese into French in consecutive. To this end, she recorded interpreting classes over two years and analysed students’ notes. The last section presents some of the results and a comment on the importance of anticipation in consecutive interpreting and notetaking for structurally different language combinations.

“Notation language and notation text” is the title of the third chapter by Michaela Albl-Mikasa. It presents a concise English version of her book in German in which she developed a cognitive-linguistic model of consecutive interpreting. The book was published in 2007 and was one of the first publications applying cognitive research to notetaking. In the meantime, there has not been much further research on notetaking from this point of view. This abridged English version is a good opportunity to refresh traditional views on consecutive interpreting in the last century in a comparative way. The author illustrates how, from an approach to notetaking as a technique used to capture source text sense or ideas, research has moved “towards a thorough cognitive-linguistic understanding of the issues involved” (p. 75), where notetaking and its specific means of linguistic-expression can be described as a *language* (p. 77). After explaining the various levels (word level, discourse level) and principles involved in the notation language, Albl-Mikasa presents and illustrates a cognitive model of notetaking. The theoretical foundation is provided by cognitive and psycholinguistic research on the processes of comprehension and production of language and texts (cfr. van Dijk/Kintsch 1983; Rickheit/Strohner 1993). Moreover, Relevance Theory is also applied to explain how notations are enriched, completed and expanded. Finally, an empirical study is reported to corroborate the model described, based on consecutive interpretations by students at different levels of their Interpreting Studies.

The author is aware that the study has a bias, because notations by professionals should have been examined to evaluate the usefulness of the methodological tools taken from Relevance Theory. However, the author believes that the principles she has developed may also be applied to professional interpreting. A transcription method for notation is devised that helps analyse the reduction and expansion steps in consecutive: the reduction necessary for notation and the expansion required from the notation to the target text. Traditional notetaking is compared with the results of the study and didactic implications are listed, whereas Albl-Mikasa adopts a very critical stance towards the notation of the

“deverbalized” which is invalidated “by the psychological reality of cognitive and linguistic constraints” (p. 108).

Cheng-shu Yang’s paper is centred on the relation between the inner logic and the outer form of the notetaking symbols and examines the correspondence between symbols and information. After a brief overview of definitions, functions, features, abbreviation rules and structure of notation symbols from the relevant literature, special reference is made to the “cross space mappings” by Fauconnier (1985) to understand the mapping relations for the transmission of verbal information from the source domain to the target domain (p. 121). The author conducted a study analysing meaning and types of symbols based on a corpus of consecutive notes by mainly professional interpreters working at different official events. Notetaking symbols are classified and explained on the grounds of cognitive psychology, in particular, the concept of “image schema” developed by Fauconnier (1997) with its properties and functions. Symbols are divided into four classes: the first one is ‘word symbols’ i.e. content words, including abbreviations and full writing. Abbreviations are divided into a further four classes and full writing into three. As for the latter, notes were mainly taken in the source language.

The second class is ‘ideographic symbols’. It is divided into pictographic and ideographic schemata comprising figures, schemata or symbols with a modal function expressing degree, increase or decrease. The subclass ‘ideographic schema’ comprises five further categories within which different kinds of arrows play a very important role.

The third class devised by Cheng-shu is ‘relation symbols’ through which connective or connotative relations are expressed. The fourth class ‘segment symbols’ is made up of three subclasses consisting of a combination of dots, lines, spaces or special layout.

The notes from the corpus have shown that the “features, meaning, functions and use of symbols are in accordance with their purpose of intermediary representation between two languages” (p. 131). The paper is rich in examples and the four appendices comprise the consecutive notes, the source text and the target text in Japanese, Chinese and English.

A theoretical model of consecutive notes and notetaking is put forward in Yasumasa Someya’s chapter based on linguistic-cognitive studies. The point of departure is that interpreter’s notes reflect understanding of the source text. A sound understanding should then be reflected in the notes. “Interpreters’ mental process of speech comprehension and the mechanism supporting it” can be recognized to a certain extent in his/her notes (p. 147). Sections 2-4 present the theoretical foundation on which the model of interpreter’s notes is based. After defining what is “understanding/text comprehension” from a cognitive-psychological point of view, Someya illustrates the semantic representation of a sentence (based on Halliday 1985), and the semantic properties of arguments. Finally, the Dynamic Propositional Network Model or DPN Model is presented. Herein the target text is represented as a chain of propositions, where the order of Predicate and Argument(s) is determined individually depending on the language and is updated automatically as new information is added (p. 158). Fur-

thermore, the author proposes a revised model of the standard Predicate-Argument(s) schema for interpreter's notes, the Thematic P-A schema, through which it is possible to accommodate the reality of language use (p. 168). The underlying structure of interpreter's notes can thus be explained, albeit theoretically. Evaluation criteria and the pedagogical implications of the model are then presented with a schematic process model of consecutive interpreting.

The last chapter of the volume by Someya is a follow-up to the previous chapter reporting on an experimental study on notetaking in consecutive interpreting. The aim of the study is to find evidence to support his theoretical arguments. Therefore, the small-scale study addresses four of the research questions identified in a previous theoretical study by Someya, which has been revised and updated in an English version and included in the volume as chapter five. The questions range from whether information processing in consecutive interpreting is "text based" and whether the notes are taken on a propositional basis, to whether Thematic A-P depicts actual notes taken by professional interpreters and whether "deverbalization" actually occurs, and, if it does, to what extent.

These questions lie at the heart of research on consecutive interpreting and the author is aware that his study, given the limited number of subjects, can only give tentative answers or indicate a trend. Nevertheless, the study is detailed and clear in all its parts and deserves replication, as the author also suggests. The final part discusses the kind of *editing* included in the process of rendering the target text from the notes and recognizes three categories: minor editing instances, textual/discourse markers and major editing instances based on quantitative data. The research questions that could not be answered or dealt with in the study are to be pursued in future research.

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Issue 23 will be composed of selected papers from the International Conference *Translation and Interpreting: Convergence, Contact, Interaction* held 26th-28th May 2016 at the SSLMIT in the Department of Legal, Language, Interpreting and Translation Studies, University of Trieste. Because translation and interpreting scholars often attend different conferences, or different sessions within the same conference, the Trieste Organising and Scientific Committee decided to offer an opportunity for contact and comparison between specialists in the two disciplines. Furthermore, Translation and Interpreting are ever more frequently found in relations of overlap, hybridity and contiguity, often constituting two interlingual processes performed by the same person in the same communicative act or in different situations. Translation and Interpreting were therefore presented as a binomial (T&I) at the conference, where experts from both disciplines were able to meet to exchange opinions, discuss research and find a common space for reflection. From the various sessions on T&I in law, politics, economics, medicine, television and more, the editors of issue 23 have selected a sample of papers focussing on interpreting.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

THE INTERPRETERS' NEWSLETTER

ISSUE 24 (2019) ON THE THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF TEACHING CONFERENCE INTERPRETATION: 30 YEARS LATER (1989-2019)

Editors: Caterina Falbo, Alessandra Riccardi and Maurizio Viezzi

Scope

In 1986 the Trieste School of Interpreters and Translators hosted an international symposium on *The Theoretical and Practical Aspects of Teaching Conference Interpretation*, which led in 1989 to the publication of a volume of selected papers edited by Laura Gran and John Dodds. The Editorial Board has decided that it would be appropriate to revisit the selfsame topic and take a closer look at didactics in the field of interpreting thirty years on.

Topics of interest include but are not limited to the following areas:

Teaching and learning in interpreting studies;
New trends in interpreter training;
Interpreter training and new technologies;

The theoretical and practical aspects of teaching conference interpretation - 30 years later (1989-2019).

Papers must be submitted in English or French and describe original research which is neither published nor currently under review by other journals or conferences. Submitted manuscripts will be subject to a process of double-blind peer review. Guidelines are available at: <https://www.openstarts.units.it/cris/journals/journalsoo005/journalsInfoAuthor.html>

Manuscripts should be around 6,000 words long, including references and should be sent as Word attachments to the e-mail address of all three editors: cfalbo@units.it, ariccardi@units.it and mviezzi@units.it (Subject: NL 24 PAPER; File Name: author's name __IN2019)

Important dates

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