

The collaborative construction of the stand-by mode of interpreting
in police interviews with suspects

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ABSTRACT

Interpreting is primarily conceptualized as a form of linguistic assistance between two monolingual speakers even though many of those requiring interpreting services in public service settings have some knowledge of the language of the institution (Angermeyer 2015). A limited knowledge of the host language may be considered sufficient to communicate without assistance, insufficient and/or inadequate, or otherwise acknowledged and be combined with the on-and-off assistance of an interpreter. This is the so-called ‘stand-by mode’ of interpreting (Angermeyer 2008, p.390). The case study presented in this thesis explores interactional dynamics and participation patterns in two authentic video-recorded police interviews conducted in English with two Spanish-speaking suspects and a professional interpreter, in which the stand-by mode of interpreting was used.

Drawing on Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and on a multimodal approach to the analysis, this thesis looks at the unique footprint of the stand-by mode of interpreting as enacted in the way the interaction is organized, the patterns of use, non-use and initiation of interpreter-mediated sequences, the contextual conditions surrounding interpreted sequences, and the functions and demands of interpreting in the stand-by mode as a regime that is used selectively and locally. This thesis contributes to conceptualizing a new interpreting mode within the Dialogue Interpreting paradigm which is likely to become more and more relevant in today’s multilingual societies, problematizes its risks in police interviews, and highlights its potential.

DEDICATION

A mi familia.

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DECLARATION STATEMENT
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Chapter 1 – Introduction

The world is shrinking, with interpreters being ever more present in interviews. It's very, very important that we communicate with those who are vulnerable.... So how do we communicate and engage with people who are very, very vulnerable? It's very difficult. And there's a lot of fantastic work going on of how we can support people to have a voice. (...) Now, regardless of someone's politics; regardless of the way people think. And I think in light of what around the world people are thinking about today, we need to enable people and allow them in our society to have a voice. And that's what we've been doing for the last twenty years, to try and give people a voice. Whether that's about what they have committed; whether that's about what they are victim to or they are witness of; or at a critical incident. It's about allowing someone a voice in society.

Becky Milne, June 2016¹

1.1 Background and context to the study

An interpreter is normally conceived of as an intermediary who is required to facilitate communication in a situation where two or more speakers cannot communicate with each other because they cannot sufficiently access each other's language. As noted in Milne's quote above, interpreters contribute to giving people a voice. Speakers may require an interpreter due to a physical or sensory impairment, or due to mismatching linguistic repertoires. When an interpreter facilitates communication between two parties in a dialogue situation, what is known as Dialogue Interpreting (DI), the interpreter typically interprets from and into both languages, and the interaction involves an order. That order is different from the order of monolingual talk: it involves two languages and at least three people. The interpreter becomes a link in the chain of the other parties' contributions, and she typically takes every turn after each speaker's turn (see Chapter 2) in order to provide a rendition of that turn in the other language. As in monolingual interaction, in interpreter-mediated interaction all speakers carry out conversational actions to confirm, repair or clarify meanings or words, and to redirect or maintain the flow of interaction, such as asking for repetition or clarification. The three participants, including the interpreter, need to coordinate their actions, and different conversational rules apply depending on the type of communicative event, the setting (a hospital, the

¹ Inaugural lecture by Becky Milne. Professor of Forensic Psychology, University of Portsmouth. 22nd June 2016. *Let them be Heard: Enabling communication and recall of forensic interviewees.* <https://vimeo.com/174640484> [00:39:39-00:41:00] [Accessed 10/08/2016]

courtroom, a school), the languages participants speak, their relationship, status, expectations and other individual features (see Chapters 2-4).

This study analyses two authentic police interviews in which two suspects whose first language is Spanish and who reside in Edinburgh are interviewed in English by two English-speaking police officers. The interaction is mediated by an interpreter, but contrary to more prototypical interpreting situations, the suspects use the same language as the police officers to answer to their questions: English. In other words, instead of each party (police officer, suspect) using their first language and communicating through the interpreter, the police officers and the suspect communicate in the language they share. They do so despite having a professional interpreter present and despite having different levels of proficiency in English: whereas the police officers use English as their first language, the suspects use English as a second language that they are in the process of learning. One might wonder, in such a sensitive situation, why the suspects do not use Spanish and the police officers English. Conversely, why is an interpreter present if both the suspects and the police officers use English? This study draws only on the recorded interviews and the answers to these questions are unknown to us. Instead, what this study explores is a form of communication that has so far received little attention from the academy.

This study focuses on how the three participants interact through the alternation between interaction in English and interpreter-mediated interaction provided by a professional interpreter. This hybrid linguistic regime is used in a communicative event that is part of a criminal investigation and that is aimed to gather information about the suspected offence. Given that interpreting is used only intermittently, this study analyses how participants organize their moves and actions; the features of interaction when interpreting is used and also when interpreting is not used; when and how interpreted sequences are initiated; the observable effects of interpreting upon the process of making sense of each other's words; and finally what interpreting as a communicative activity involves as a result of being used intermittently and selectively.

The degree of language matching between the suspects and the police officers participating in the two interviews studied here cannot be considered an exceptional phenomenon. Multilingualism, migration and mobility are all aspects of today's social fabric. There is a degree of societal and cultural hybridity within which interpreting is generally acknowledged as a right in public service settings, including legal and judiciary

settings. Multilingualism increases the likelihood of having users of interpreting who are able to communicate in the language of the institutions, even though their competencies are limited. Nevertheless, interpreting in general is still often seen as an activity that facilitates communication between two *monolingual* participants (Angermeyer 2015) and the intersection of interpreting and a degree of bilingual competence among primary participants has so far received little scholarly attention. As noted above, in today's multilingual societies, however, many individuals have a degree of linguistic competence in the official 'host' language(s), as well as in other languages widely used in international communication, such as English. Speakers' competencies in what for them is a language other than their first language are generally 'truncated' (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005), in the sense that they are limited and dynamic: they are usable but become capacitating or incapacitating depending on the communicative event, the situated context, the linguistic regime and the individual features of the participants involved in interaction. For example, a second language speaker may be able to carry out a transaction in a bank without any form of linguistic assistance but his level of competence in the language may not capacitate them to interact in a medical consultation, or the doctor may decide not to acknowledge the level of competence as a valuable resource and opt for calling in an interpreter.

It follows from the previous considerations that the configuration of language repertoires in interpreter-mediated cross-cultural encounters is not always an all or nothing precondition. That is to say, the language repertoires of participants are not always entirely matching or entirely mismatching, and interpreting can be used in a situation in which users do have a degree of access to each other's language. Müller (1989) uses the terms 'opacity' and 'transparence' to describe the two ends of a continuum, representing the extent to which participants in multilingual communication share their linguistic repertoires:

This property..., that depends on how far linguistic repertoires of participants are mutually exclusive, may be called opacity and its antipode, transparence. In more transparent constellations (...), there may coexist several choices, e.g. a constellation might choose between a translation mode or a mode of 'exolingual conversation' with one party being obliged to accommodate to the other by means of 'hetero-facilitation'. In strongly opaque constellations, translation becomes the inevitable mode ... (Müller 1989, p.716).

Depending on where linguistic repertoires are placed on that continuum, participants can make different decisions regarding the language or communication mode used. The

speakers may accommodate to the language repertoire and use a language that all participants share, albeit at different levels of competence ('exolingual communication'). At the other extreme, complete opacity, each participant may communicate in their preferred language through an interpreter. Or else they may use a combination of exolingual communication and interpreting, which results in the so-called 'stand-by mode' of interpreting explored in this study. The stand-by mode denotes an interpreting regime in which, rather than switching their truncated language competencies off, primary participants accommodate to the other's higher or lower proficiency in the shared language and communicate in that language while using the services of an interpreter intermittently. The interpreter is on stand-by, providing interpreting selectively based on the perceived communicative needs emerging in interaction and of the moves of the interlocutors. The 'stand-by' label was coined by an interpreter in one of the encounters included in Angermeyer's study of code-switching in bilingual courts in New York (2008, p.390) and subsequently adopted by Angermeyer. Code-switching refers to 'the juxtaposition of elements from two (or more) languages (or dialects) within the same sentence or conversation' (Su 2015, p.135). This broad definition encompasses interpersonal code-switching, of which interpreting is a clear example, as well as intrapersonal code-switching. The same person may use different languages within the same utterance, sentence or turn, or switch to a different language from one turn to the next.

The stand-by mode of interpreting explored in this study is conceptualized within the broader notion of interpreting as a communicative activity that occurs in and through interaction. Interpreting is studied here as communication, and communication 'as a process of negotiation of meanings amongst participants' (Wadensjö 1998, p.8) rather than as mere transmission. An analysis of negotiation of meanings requires considering contextual features at different levels. In this study, the contextual features of the particular criminal case, the interview as the communicative event, participants' roles and features and the local contexts of talk are all relevant contextual features. This study draws on Cicourel's (1992) notion of context as including micro and macro features, and the reasons participants are using language in the interaction as a whole and in local moves. As Mason (2006) puts it:

For the purposes of describing real interactions such as those involving face-to-face interpreters, an account of received meanings must be adapted not only to the inter-linguistic/inter-cultural but also to local (i.e. intrainteractional) contextual

environments, including the pretextual disposition of participants at any given moment (Mason 2006, pp.363-364).

Extensive Dialogue Interpreting research over the past three decades has shown that interpreting is not a mechanistic text transfer activity, but a three-party interactional activity in which meaning is co-constructed through all participants' moves, including those of the interpreter (Wadensjö 1998; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000). The notion of interpreting as an interactional activity involving both relaying (translation/interpreting) and coordinating tasks as proposed by Wadensjö (1998) is now well-established in the field. One of the key aspects explored in this study is the notion of coordination as an element of the activity of interpreting, in particular as it surfaces within the stand-by mode of interpreting in the police interviews. Coordination is today considered as inherent to the activity of Dialogue Interpreting, in such a way that the mere action of taking the next turn and using a particular language conditions the next move and thus coordinates talk. Furthermore, interpreters coordinate talk through actions other than taking the next turn to interpret, such as asking for clarification, interrupting a speaker to manage turn length, or nodding to express understanding. No interactional action is void of effect, hence the vast literature on the interpreter's latitude in interaction and its effects.

The notion of visibility is closely related to the notion of coordination. The interpreter's visibility stems from the interpreter's status as a participant whose decisions have an impact upon the development and the dynamics of interaction, and thus make the interpreter visible. The interpreter's visibility has been widely discussed and recognized in the field of Dialogue Interpreting (Mason 1999; Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Hale 1999). This study aims to contribute both theoretically and methodologically to existing conceptualizations of interpreting as an interactional activity and, in particular, to expand them by focusing on the 'stand-by mode' of interpreting (Angermeyer 2008, p.390) as used in practice in the police interview.

As mentioned earlier, this study analyses in particular interactional dynamics in two authentic interpreter-mediated police interviews conducted in Edinburgh in 2012, in which the detainees' truncated competencies were acknowledged as linguistic resources and used during the interviews. Two Spanish-speaking with truncated proficiency in English, the language of the institution, were interviewed in English in two separate interviews. A professional interpreter participated in both of the interviews. As noted above, the distinct feature of the communicative encounters was that both exolingual

communication in English between the primary participants and interpreter-mediated communication between English and Spanish were used throughout the interview.

Before the interview, the police officers informed the suspects about their right to have an interpreter. The suspects took up their right and an interpreter was called in. Some minutes after the beginning of the interview, the lead police officer in either interview acknowledged the suspect's competence in English and checked whether it was okay for them to use English and reiterated that an interpreter was there to make sure the suspect understood what was being said. Both suspects agreed and stand-by interpreting was the mode adopted, although not explicitly referred to as such. The underlying reasons why detainees agreed to use English and to have an interpreter are not accessible to us, but it is worth at least considering the surrounding conditions. Accommodating to the wider society language, in this case the only one shared by the primary participants and the one spoken by the most powerful participant in the interview, can be seen as a form of avoiding divergence by showing affiliation and cooperation (Holmes 2001, p.52). It can also be the case that, in the context of migration, the detainees were used to using English on an everyday basis and did not see that solution as an unreasonable one in the context of the interview either, and with a professional interpreter present who could provide assistance.

The narrative above includes two crucial aspects in relation to interpreting, particularly in the field of Dialogue Interpreting. The first aspect regards policy and the right to an interpreter. When the right to linguistic assistance is not recognized or observed, exolingual communication in the shared language seems the only option. When the right to linguistic assistance is recognized, as it is the case in the interviews analysed in this study, a decision that is particularly relevant when a degree of language transparency exists relates to whether, and to what extent, an interpreter is needed. The second issue relates to the protocol followed to obtain an interpreter. A number of questions apply. Who assesses the language skills of the participants? What qualifications and expertise are required to do so? How is the assessment carried out? Is the suspect given the chance to express their preference for mediated or unmediated interaction? Is the suspect in a position to assess their fitness to communicate in the interview without an interpreter? Are participants aware of what an interpreter does?

The risks of making unfounded assumptions on someone's ability to interact or of making an improper assessment are high. For example, González, Vásquez and Mikkelsen (2012,

p.195) warn about the risks of basing the assessment on questions that require only a Yes/No answer. The task of assessing someone's ability to interact on the spot is complex and delicate even for linguists or experts in language testing. In the interviews analysed in this study, the lay assessment made by police officers did not lead to dispensing with the services of an interpreter, but instead led to using monolingual interaction and accommodating interpreting to the perceived needs of the suspects resulting from their language repertoire.

The solution adopted in the interviews analysed here can be placed somewhere between the standard mode of interpreting, in which each primary participant uses a different language, and purely exolingual communication without the assistance of an interpreter. This solution raises a number of questions regarding the notion of 'completeness', the principle that the interpreter has to interpret everything that is said without adding or omitting information, is a principle that is found in the majority of interpreting codes of ethics and practice. It is based on the assumption that every turn by a primary participant is, in principle, interpretable material and therefore needs to be interpreted. Despite this, this principle does not apply as such in interaction with stand-by interpreting, in which every turn may be considered as being or not being interpretable material.

The view of interpreting as guaranteeing *full* access to procedures is particularly relevant in legal and law-enforcement settings. Despite this, some authors argue that interpreting may not necessarily, or not always, guarantee *full* access (Angermeyer 2015). The police interview is primarily a linguistic and communicative activity situated in a particular setting and at a particular stage in a process: it aims to gather information *through* talk about a suspected offence and everything that is said in the pursuit of that aim serves as a basis for making decisions about the process and, furthermore, can later be used as evidence.

In the light of the previous considerations, interpreting in encounters such as police interviews can be described as a highly sensitive linguistic and communicative activity, in particular because the police interview is a key communicative event at the beginning of the criminal investigation process and it is based on the linguistic performance of participants. The stand-by mode of interpreting explored in this study is thus also considered a highly sensitive mode of communication. Little is known about its mechanics and its features as a mode, and no study to-date has explored its particular workings in the police interview. Having access to authentic video-recorded police

interviews featuring a ‘hybrid’ interaction regime enables us to explore the multimodal moves of the three parties in interaction in their distinct participant roles. This study examines the verbal and non-verbal resources they mobilize, the verbal and non-verbal cues that regulate turn-taking, as well as the intersection of multimodal sense-making dynamics with the institutionally-embedded goals and the socio-textual norms of the police interview.

Lastly, the hybrid interactional configuration challenges a typical feature of interpreter-mediated interaction as conceptualized in the literature on interpreting, namely that interpreter participation is required routinely between primary participants’ turns (Roy 2000). As noted above, studies of interpreting as interaction view interpreting as a process of co-construction of meaning rather than as a meaning transfer process. Acknowledging all participants’ roles and responsibilities in the co-construction of meaning is essential in exploring interpreting and interpreted interaction as a complex sociolinguistic and interpersonal activity rather than as a merely information-processing activity. In the interviews with stand-by mode interpreting, interpreter participation is made relevant or superfluous on a turn-by-turn basis and negotiated over the course of the interaction. As discussed in the analysis (Chapters 6 and 7), compared to standard forms of interpreting, the process of co-constructing meaning unfolds in different ways and becomes a very visible feature.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

As Mason notes (2006, p.360), in interpreter-mediated cross-cultural encounters, interaction is ‘jointly negotiated among participants’ and the context includes situational constraints and assumptions that evolve throughout the interaction. In healthcare settings, Meyer (2012) argues that ‘forms of interpreter participation (...) are influenced by the multilingual competencies of the patients’ (2012, p.99), and Gavioli and Baraldi (2015, p.66) note that while ‘translation negotiation may also regard the actual necessity of providing a translation (...), both translational and coordinating activities take place in the interaction making reference to potentially translatable turns and to a series of consequent participant contributions’. As in Meyer’s study (2012), in the police interviews analysed in this study both non-mediated native to non-native interaction (through exolingual communication) and interpreter-mediated interaction are combined.

The **aim** of this study is to explore and describe interactional dynamics and the features of participation in the police interview when the stand-by interpreting mode is used. Particular attention is paid to the contextual conditions surrounding the emerging patterns. This exploratory approach will enable a discussion of the stand-by interpreting mode emerging in practice under the three overarching situational conditions: the investigative interview genre, language transparency and the participation of a qualified interpreter. The purpose of this study, however, is not normative in the sense that the stand-by mode of interpreting as an approach to facilitate cross-cultural communication is promoted or discouraged, but rather it seeks to understand and describe it based on authentic data.

This study draws on Conversation Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics as research methods, and adopts a multimodal angle to the analysis of interaction (described in Chapter 2). According to this angle, both verbal and non-verbal features are explored and considered across the different layers of analysis. The foci outlined above are analysed in a case study consisting of two authentic video-recorded police interviews related to the same case of misuse of controlled drugs, conducted in English by police officers from Police Scotland and in which English and Spanish were used.

The study is articulated around **three related research questions**:

1. Based on a multimodal approach to the analysis of interaction, what are the overall structure, turn-management and sequence organization features in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting?
2. Considering that interpreting is used intermittently, in which contexts do interpreting episodes emerge and what impact do they have upon the co-construction of meaning in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting?
3. Building on question No. 2, what are the characteristics of the relaying and coordinating activities within the stand-by interpreting mode used in the police interviews analysed?

Following on the statement made at the beginning of this chapter, this study belongs to the body of research on interpreter-mediated-interaction that is primarily aimed at seeking to understand '*how much and with what consequences*' (Jacobsen 2009, p.162) the interpreter is an active and visible participant in interaction and what the activity of interpreting requires. As Wadensjö puts it (1995, p.113):

Given that interpreting is regarded as interaction, the empirical issue concerns how the interpreter's relaying and coordinating take shape in practice, under different situational conditions.

As a participant in interaction, the interpreter has the role of facilitating communication. When defining the overall goal of interpreters in interaction, Wadensjö (1994) states that the question of interest to her is to explore how the interpreter's role of facilitating understanding is pursued in practice and this study intends to contribute to answering that question. Interpreting with transparent language constellations has so far received little attention, but, as noted earlier, multilingualism will increase the likelihood of having speakers with multilingual competencies in cross-linguistic situations in which the services of an interpreter may be considered. This study aims to contribute to describing interpreting as pursued in practice when primary participants have transparent language constellations and use their linguistic competencies in the other's language.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Following Chapter 1 (Introduction), the thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 present the conceptual apparatus and theoretical underpinnings of the study, and the review of the relevant literature. Chapter 2 includes a discussion of the tenets of the Dialogue Interpreting Paradigm within which this study is positioned, and the three main theoretical approaches (Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Multimodal Discourse Analysis) that are combined in the analysis presented in this study. Given the discourse-analytical approach adopted in this study, the review of applied studies focuses primarily on discourse-analytical features. The discussion of Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Multimodal Discourse Analysis thus serves two purposes: to present the conceptual apparatus that feeds into the reviews of the literature on Police Interpreting and on the features of interpreter-mediated interaction with transparent language constellations, which are presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. Moreover, it will serve to introduce the conceptual apparatus that will be applied in the analysis (Chapters 6 and 7).

The methodology used to transcribe, annotate and analyse the data, the illustration of the transcription conventions, a description of the data set and their origin, and the contextual information about the criminal case explored are presented in Chapter 5. Finally, the

analysis of authentic video-recorded interaction is divided into two chapters, Chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 6 focuses on the formal organization of interaction in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting, including the overall features and both the structural and functional organization of the encounter, the particular interactional models emerging within the stand-by mode regime, their distribution across different interview phases and turn-taking features. Drawing on the findings presented in Chapter 6, and using the structural and discourse features identified as a backdrop, Chapter 7 focuses on triadic sequences as a selective and marked interaction type in the stand-by regime. Particular attention is paid to the distribution of responsibility in the opening of interpreting sequences, the devices used and triggers that initiate interpreter participation, the contextual conditions surrounding triadic sequences and the effects of interpreted sequences.

The findings are re-presented in Chapter 8 in relation to the aims and research questions, and their implications; the limitations of the study and avenues for future research are also explored here. The discussion presented in Chapter 8 addresses the features of interaction within the stand-by regime emerging from the analysis, including the alternation of dyadic monolingual talk and triadic bilingual interaction, and the prevalence of unidirectional interpreting into Spanish. Furthermore, it highlights the high degree of collaboration in initiating interpreter-mediated sequences and the particular location and distribution of emerging patterns. As will be discussed in Chapter 8, the distribution of patterns and their occurrence appears to, at the same time, result from the institutional nature of the encounter while also contribute to constructing its institutionality. The crucial role of multimodality for the organization of talk, the signalling of contextual assumptions and the initiation of interpreting sequences is discussed. In particular, the function of gaze is discussed. Finally, the lack of attention to truncated competencies and different forms of linguistic facilitation is problematized.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Foundations. The Dialogue Interpreting Paradigm

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the Dialogue Interpreting (DI) paradigm as part of the broader field of Interpreting Studies. It outlines its evolution, presents its theoretical underpinnings, discusses its interdisciplinary nature, and reviews the academic debate concerning the features of interpreter-mediated encounters within DI. The aim of this chapter is to situate this PhD study as part of the body of research exploring interpreter-mediated interaction as an interactional dialogic social activity, as well as to lay the foundations for the review of studies exploring the field of police interpreting (Chapter 3), those addressing the features of interpreter-mediated encounters with transparent language constellations (Chapter 4), and for the subsequent analysis (Chapters 6 and 7). It pays particular attention to studies exploring the interpreter's role as a coordinator of talk, the contextualized and situated nature of DI, and the particular participation dynamics that have been identified as characteristic of interpreter-mediated encounters.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section, 2.2, introduces the conceptual tenets of the DI paradigm and its origin and evolution. It outlines the foundations of Dialogism, Conversation Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics as the three main disciplines on which DI draws, and discusses their application to the study of dialogic interpreter-mediated interaction. Furthermore, it discusses multimodal approaches to the study of interpreter-mediated interaction.

Sections 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 review the relevant concepts and the literature on DI exploring the focal points of DI as identified by Merlini (2015): the collaborative nature of interaction in DI settings and the discussion surrounding the notions of coordination, participation and the interpreter's role; the nature of DI encounters as presenting particular turn-taking and sequence organization features; the socio-institutional and inter-personal features of DI encounters, including asymmetries between participants, and the notions of face-work and trust in face-to-face interpreter-mediated encounters.

2.2 The Dialogue Interpreting Paradigm: Definitions, Tenets and Theoretical Foundations

The approach adopted in this study is based on a conceptualization of interpreter-mediated encounters as three-party, situated, cross-linguistic and cross-cultural interactions. Interpreting is seen as a dialogic activity that occurs *in* and *through* interaction. This study positions itself among the growing number of studies on Dialogue Interpreting, ‘the dialogic discourse-based interaction (DI) paradigm’ (Pöchhacker 2004, p.79) that brings to the fore the dialogic nature of interpreter-mediated communication. As explained by Merlini in the *Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies* (2015, p.102), the distinct feature of dialogue interpreting situations is the discourse format, that is the dialogue, as opposed to the primarily monologic nature of discourse in conference and other interpreting settings.

As a field of scholarly activity, the DI paradigm emerged in the 1990s following studies of real-life interpreting in settings that would fall under the intra-social sphere, that is within the boundaries of a particular society, rather than the international realm. The settings in which dialogic interpreting prevails range from social work meetings to medical consultations, media encounters (such as interviews), courtroom interaction, asylum interviews or, as in the case of this study, police interviews. Mason (2001) identified the first *Critical Link – Interpreters in the Community* conference in Canada in 1995 and the subsequent publication of a number of key works as crucial factors that propelled the development of DI. At the time DI was – and still is today for many in the academy - the ‘poor relation’ (Mason 2001, p.i) of conference interpreting. Studies by Gentile et al. (1996); Carr et al. (1997); Wadensjö (1998); Metzger (1999), Roberts et al. (2000) and Roy (2000), and two volumes by Mason himself (1999, 2001), laid the foundations of the new paradigm. More recently the field has received increasing scholarly attention, as reflected in the growing number of publications, including monographic works and edited volumes exploring particular features of DI (Mason 2001; Hale 2007; Corsellis 2008; Valero-Garcés and Martin 2008; De Pedro, Perez and Wilson 2009; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012; Tipton and Furmanek 2016).

In the literature on interpreter-mediated encounters with a dialogic discourse format, different terms are used depending on their focus, and Dialogue Interpreting is only one of them. Moreover, Dialogue Interpreting can have different meanings. DI can refer to a paradigm, as in the previous paragraphs; to a particular interpreting mode, as in Hale

(2007); but also to any interpreter-mediated interaction of a dialogic nature regardless of the setting and the interpreting mode used (Falbo 2013).

‘Liaison Interpreting’, ‘Community Interpreting’ (CI) and ‘Public Service Interpreting’ (PSI) are three of the most widely used labels to refer to interpreting occurring within local communities, typically in the context of public service provision. Other labels found in the literature are ‘cultural interpreting’, ‘social interpreting’, ‘escort interpreting’, ‘ad hoc interpreting’, ‘contact interpreting’ and ‘three-cornered interpreting’, as mentioned by Falbo (2013, pp.19-20). Apart from geographical differences regarding the preference for one denomination over the others, conceptual differences also apply. Hale (2011) reviews the three main nomenclatures and definitions as provided by the authors of three of the main publications in the field, and highlights that they refer to the same activity, although with a different focus:

Gentile et al. (1996) [Liaison Interpreting] highlight the setting and the consecutive mode of interpreting, although the simultaneous whispering mode is also common in court and mental health settings; Hale (2007) [Community Interpreting] highlights the participants of the interaction being from the same local community; and Corsellis (2008) [Public Service Interpreting] deals with the type of services provided by government. Other terms such as ‘dialogue interpreting’, ‘social interpreting’, ‘cultural interpreting’, and more recently, ‘cultural and linguistic mediation’, have also been used. In some countries, legal or court interpreting and medical interpreting are regarded as distinct categories (Hale 2011, p.346).

As proposed by Rudvin and Tomassini (2008, p.246), the different nomenclatures may result from the complexity surrounding definitions of the profession and the interpreter’s role ‘across sectors, across institutions, and across countries’. Regardless of the nomenclature, though, DI encounters are characterized by their intra-social nature, the dialogic discourse types and the preference for short consecutive or liaison interpreting (simultaneous in the case of sign languages), normally bi-directional interpreting, whether face-to-face or performed remotely, and the focus of encounters on aspects that pertain to the most private spheres of individuals, such as their health or their involvement in the committal of a crime.

The following sections review the basic tenets of the DI paradigm as interdisciplinary in nature, and in particular the application of concepts from Dialogism, analysis of DI encounters using Conversational Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics, and the study of multimodality in DI encounters.

2.2.1 *Dialogism and Dialogue Interpreting*

The salient features that emerged in the first publications mentioned above are now well established, and are frequently used as a starting point in most studies of DI. As mentioned earlier, dialogue as a discourse format is the basic feature of interpreter-mediated events explored within DI. The growing body of research in the field of DI from the late nineties has contributed to a shift in focus from the interpreter and the product of interpreting as linguistic equivalence, to the particular features of an interpreter-mediated encounter, its dynamics and the effects of all participants' moves upon the process and unfolding of interaction. This illuminating turn has advanced research by, amongst other things, looking into meaning-making processes and interactional routines in interpreter-mediated interaction as co-constructed by all participants, hence acknowledging 'that *making meaning is a co-operative venture*' (Turner 2007, p.183). Studies of interpreting as interaction between - at least - three participants bring to the fore the marked interpersonal nature of DI encounters and the intersection of a complex net of expectations, assumptions, constraints and needs. This intertwining is now seen as dynamic and evolving in and through interaction in what Wadensjö labelled as the 'communicative *pas de trois*' (1998, p.152). Furthermore, the advances in the DI literature have contributed to acknowledging the dynamic and complex conceptualization of the interpreter's role in DI situations, as discussed below.

Merlini (2015) highlights the fact that Tebble and Wadensjö, two of the pioneers in the field, raised in their respective key publications the same three features or 'focal points' of DI encounters, to which we will return in the ensuing sections:

Whatever is attained in communication is a *collective activity* requiring the efforts of all participants; interlocutors' *turn-by-turn contributions* to the exchange need close scrutiny at a micro-analytical level through recording and transcription; and the *interpersonal and socio-institutional dimensions* also require investigation at a macro-analytical level (Merlini 2015, p.103).

Put together, the three features identified as focal points in the preceding quote can be described as shaping a view of interpreting as interaction inspired by dialogic approaches to communication. Following Linell (1998, 2007, 2009), the different approaches that fall under the broad umbrella of *Dialogism* view communication, cognition and social action as occurring primarily through dialogue. Despite differences among authors, one of the principles of Dialogism aligns with the second focal point mentioned above,

namely that social activities are seen as occurring sequentially, following an order that means that each move or act by an interlocutor:

... is dependent on what his or her interlocutor(s) do(es) in the same interaction ... The utterances or turns are *sequentially organized*, that is their interactional significance is intrinsically dependent on their positioning in the sequence (Linell 1998, p.70).

Linell's quote above highlights the collective and inter-dependent architecture of the construction of meaning, as well as the fact that the meaning of an utterance, turn, act or interactional move derives in part from its sequential position among other actions and events, rather than existing or being given beforehand. Not surprisingly, most studies embracing a *dialogic* view of communication, including those exploring interpreting through the DI lens, draw on discourse-analytical approaches, and on Conversation Analysis (CA) to analyse the architecture of interpreter-mediated interaction. As Heritage notes 'From its inception, CA has placed a primary focus on the sequential organization of interaction' (2009, p.304), on how actions normally project next actions and how they address previous actions. Section 2.2.2 discusses Conversation Analysis in more detail.

Underlying the fundamental notion of sequentiality is another aspect of dialogism hinted at above, namely the *joint construction* of meanings. Referring back to the focal points mentioned by Merlini (2015) and presented above, this aspect relates to the first focal point, namely the collective nature of constructing meaning. Within Dialogism, meanings are seen as products of interaction rather than pre-existing and static. Meanings are constructed not only through production (speaking), but in and through interaction, through speaking and listening in contextualized encounters.

The third fundamental aspect of Dialogism is what Linell (1998, 2009) labels as the *act-activity dependency*:

Act-activity dependency means that acts and overarching activities co-constitute each other', that is acts in interaction normally occur 'in the service of more extensive goals, as being part of larger communicative undertakings (activities), and these communicative activities, the larger wholes, as being built on and realized through the constituent acts (Linell 2009, p.187).

This notion of act-activity dependency relates to Merlini's third focal point - interpersonal and socio-institutional dimensions - and to a core concept in Dialogism that has received extensive scholarly attention: *the context*. Linell's definition includes two crucial aspects

relating to the notion of context embraced in this study. Firstly, a multi-layered notion of context, that is the existence of contexts in the plural, rather than a single context. Secondly, the notion of activities as being realized through their constituent acts. On a similar note, Mason (2006) observes the benefits of adopting a broad view of context when exploring DI encounters. Mason draws on Cicourel's (1992) notions of 'narrow' context and 'broad' context as vital to understanding interaction. According to his view, the narrow context consists of local moves in interaction, such as an utterance or a non-verbal action, which occur within a broader context. The broad or framing context moves from the local level to the broader contextual features of the setting, the goals, the participants and their relationships, social group and status, and the previous events surrounding the encounter. Mason stresses the relevance of using ethnographic data surrounding the interpreter-mediated discourses analysed as providing access to aspects of both the broad and narrow contexts. Mason's view resonates with an Interactional Sociolinguistics view of context, with CA calls for the analysis of institutional interaction (Heritage 2005) and with Geertz' ethnographic notion of 'thick description' (1973, pp.5-6) as approaches to research which produce a detailed description of the context in which a behaviour under study occurs.

The focal points mentioned by Merlini (2015) highlight the tenets of Dialogism as a theory of communication. Although they are interrelated and studies of DI often integrate two or even all three of them in the analysis of interaction, for the purposes of clarity, the concepts and studies reviewed in sections 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5 are presented in relation to each of the three focal points separately: the collective nature of interpreting, turn-taking and turn-organization, and interpersonal and socio-institutional features of interpreter-mediated interaction.

Before moving to the review of DI studies, however, the tenets of Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Multimodal Discourse Analysis are discussed and their application to the study of DI reviewed. As mentioned earlier, the majority of discourse-based studies of DI draw on Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics or a combination of both. DI is an intrinsically interdisciplinary field, and this study also draws on a number of theoretical approaches to analyse interpreter-mediated interaction. Moreover, the multimodal approach to the analysis of interpreter-mediated interaction adopted in this thesis requires a review of the principles and application of a multimodal approach to the study of DI. The thesis therefore engage with what is a yet an emerging area of research in the field of DI. The review of these three theoretical approaches, thus,

serves as a basis for both the review of studies of police interpreting and interpreting with transparent language constellations presented in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively, and for the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.2.2 Conversation Analysis and Dialogue Interpreting

Conversation Analysis (CA) is a well-established methodological approach from ethnomethodology, which was first developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in the early 1970s (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). Influenced by sociologists Goffman and Garfinkel, CA is directly devoted to the study of naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction from a bottom-up approach, what Russell (2001) describes as an ‘inside-out’ lens. The moves, practices and routines of participants in natural conversation are seen as building blocks that typically relate to each other in particular ways in order to bring social actions into being. A social action can be something as apparently simple as a greeting or as complex as a cross-examination in court.

CA is largely based on the notion that conversation involves an ‘order’, and that the conducts displayed in conversation manifest and construct that order. The notion of order is explored by conversation analysts through the analysis of turn-taking, silence, interruption, face, sequence types, the position of the different building blocks and preference, that is the ways in which certain actions typically make relevant or prefer certain types of moves and disprefer others. The case of adjacency pairs illustrates this principle very clearly. The adjacency pair is the basic sequence construction unit in conversational terms, such as a question and answer pair:

A first pair part projects a prospective relevance, and not only a retrospective understanding. It makes relevant a limited set of possible second pair parts, and thereby sets some of the terms by which a next turn will be understood – as, for example, being responsive to the constraints of the first pair part or not (Schegloff 2007, p.16).

Conversation Analysis focuses on analysing talk-in-interaction at a micro level. It is a discipline aimed at exploring how people do things with words in everyday interaction. This rather broad definition has been articulated through different studies, which share a series of common features and concepts (drawing on Schegloff 2007). Firstly, language use is explored as occurring in authentic ‘naturally-occurring interaction’. The analysis carried out is systematic and non-selective, no pre-selection of features or occurrences of a particular feature applies. CA-based analyses aim at finding patterns in the data set

selected and the contextual boundaries are those observable at a micro level. The micro-level approach to the analysis implies that communicative actions must be interpreted based on both their location in the interaction and their form.

Turns are identified as pragmatic units, which consist of Turn Constructional Units (TCU), or their inner building blocks. According to the CA tradition, a TCU can be embodied in a grammar shape (clause, sentence), a phrase, or a lexical item, and it is realized phonetically or non-verbally. The recognizable potential end of a turn is called in CA terms a 'transition relevance place' (TRP): a change in pitch, body language, motion or completion of a sentence. Transition between speakers usually occurs at such points in different ways, which are highly relevant for the study of interpreter participation: the current speaker selects the next speaker ('other-selection') (by pointing, naming, through eye contact, use of the first part of an adjacency pair); a speaker self-selects as the next speaker ('self-selection'); or nothing happens, and the current speaker continues talking.

CA views conversational actions as typically occurring in pairs, called 'adjacency pairs'. As mentioned above, many conversational actions call for a particular kind of conversational response in return, e.g. greetings, question-answer pairs. Sequences of two utterances that are adjacent (unless separated by an insertion) are normally produced by different speakers and ordered as first part and second part. Normally, the speaker who produces the first part stops and the other speaker must produce the second part. Intrinsically related to adjacency pairs is the notion of 'preference' (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). A particular pair part prefers or projects particular types of next parts, such as the reply 'You are welcome' following the first part 'Thank you'.

Speakers align to each other by showing mutual understanding. The use of assessments, feedback tokens or continuers (uh huh), formulations and collaborative completions, (such as finishing someone's sentences,), among other devices, serve as evidence to the speaker of how their talk is being understood. If miscommunication occurs, it can lead to conversational repair. 'Repairs' are actions taken to fix a conversational breakdown and restore alignment: misunderstanding, disagreements, rejections and other difficulties. According to the CA tradition, participants in interaction prefer repairing communication themselves (self-repair) over other-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977).

The micro-level approach to discourse analysis and the focus on the local context and the neglect of data other than the transcriptions of the encounters analysed, such as interviews with participants, are some of the most criticized features of CA (Ten Have 1986). Regarding the triangulation of a CA-based analysis with other types of data, Ten Have (1986) flags up that participants' interpretations of actions provided in a different setting to that where the action discussed took place may not add much to the micro-analysis of the action itself. It could be argued, though, that combining different types of data, such as analysis of transcribed data with participants' accounts, should not be considered solely in so far as they add to the understanding of the action, but with regard to the different perspectives about the same action. With regard to the local context and micro-level orientation, although other approaches to discourse, such as CDA or DA, base their analysis on wider levels of discourse, it can be argued that the focus on micro-level patterns can be seen as a methodological and conceptual decision rather than a constraint. As Van Dijk puts it, 'in a CA perspective, if these categories are relevant at all, such relevance should not be assumed a priori, but actually demonstrated by the way they become locally enacted and demonstrably produced in talk' (Van Dijk 2007, p.281).

The discussion surrounding the notion of context does not have to do with whether the context matters or not in discourse-analytical approaches, but rather, with '*how* such contextual influence should be accounted for, and *how* context should be analysed' (Van Dijk 2007, p.283). If CA's endeavour is to explore the unfolding of conversation through the analysis of authentic naturally-occurring interaction, the context is considered to be as wide as it is revealed in and through interaction. The orientation to the local context does not exclude how conversational practices are brought into being and how they are shaped by the constraints imposed by institutional settings. The seminal work by Harvey Sacks (1992) is a good example of this. The study can be considered a case of what is now known as a study of institutional interaction (Drew and Heritage 1992): a corpus of recorded telephone calls to a suicide prevention centre. The main concern for helpers was that callers not always wanted to reveal their names. Identifying patterns that made it possible to identify the point in a conversation at which a person might reveal their name became the focus of Sacks' analysis. This first work was rapidly followed by the development of CA as an approach for the study of patterns and the workings of everyday spoken interaction or 'conversation', and was adapted to explore the architecture of communication in institutional settings, primarily by Drew and Heritage (1992). As Wei explains (2002, p.163), 'The acquired knowledge of conversational organization can...

be applied to institutional organization in order to show how these institutions were ‘talked into being.’ The application of CA to situated communication is also visible in studies of interpreting, as discussed in this chapter and in Chapters 3 and 4.

As stated above, different approaches to discourse serve different purposes with regard to the scope and aim of the phenomenon being analysed. Although it is true that CA focuses on the talk itself, the alleged limitations of the local orientation to context in CA studies seems to stem from an underlying assumption that social phenomena are not deployed within the boundaries of talk itself. The complex notion of context is also problematized by Linell (1998, p.128) with regard to Dialogism (see Section 2.1.1). Linell (1998, p.28) describes the notion of context as ‘multi-faceted and hard-to-define, especially if taken in the singular, ‘context’ rather than ‘contexts’’, and explains the co-existence of a ‘matrix of contexts, assembled from an array of contextual resources.’ These contexts and their resources are subject to variation and overlapping, and they may be shared or not by interlocutors and be relevant at different levels (local, global, situational, cultural, personal).

The dialogical approach to discourse and discourses understands that context is not a stable reality outside communication, as it corresponds to the notion of conduit (Reddy 1979). According to the notion of the interpreter as a conduit, the reality is one and exists outside the act of interacting, and the interpreter’s role is to transfer it from one language to another. Instead, ‘contexts [are] deeply embedded within discursive activities and as emergent with discourse itself’ (Linell 1998, p.134). This view of context(s) treats them ‘as inherently locally produced, incrementally developed, and, by extension, as transformable at any moment’ (Drew and Heritage 1992, p.21), and it is adopted in most micro-analyses of authentic dialogue and discourse within the CA and Interactional Sociolinguistics traditions (Gumperz 1982). Gumperz (1982) stresses the dynamic nature of contexts as comprising the dimensions that actors orient to as salient or relevant. The reflection on the co-existence of several contexts and their dynamic nature leads us to the next section, which focuses on features of CA analysis and its application to the analysis of institutional talk. This latter aspect is of particular interest for this study, which focuses on encounters that belong to a well-defined institution.

– *Conversation Analysis applied to institutional talk*

The term ‘institutional’ applied to the analysis of conversation refers to encounters taking place in institutional settings. The term is useful to explore the following: how are institutions and particular communicative events and actions constructed through talk and how talk is shaped by its embeddedness in particular institutional settings. When conversation takes place in institutional settings, communicative conduct is normally oriented towards the aims of the encounter. For example, even if some small talk is part of a medical consultation, that small talk has a particular function in the consultation and talk will move towards the focus of the consultation. Furthermore, interaction is constrained by factors that are particular to the institutional setting or to the specific type of encounter. Heritage (2009) explains that the range of practices that are observed in institutional interaction is normally narrower compared to communication in non-institutional conversations. This means that participants’ actions are oriented towards the business at hand, and that that oriented-ness, together with certain rights and limits, results in a more limited and more defined set of behaviours.

Heritage (2005) also refers to institutional talk as conversation taking place under the rules and typically within the physical space of social institutions instead of ‘ordinary’ conversation between friends or family members. Institutional talk is characterized by encounter-specific constraints, oriented towards a specific goal or set of goals within an establishment, with participants having different degrees of interactional power as a result of their activity role, and comes into being through conversational practices that result in a unique fingerprint (Heritage and Clayman 2011). Analyses of institutional talk make it possible to explore the features of those unique fingerprints and what they do to contribute to interaction. An illustrative example is found in Atkinson and Drew (1979), who explain the rationale behind analysis of institutional interaction in the particular context of the courtroom as follows:

... we are also concerned with the organization of talk in courts, and with how participants manage the business of courts within the constraints imposed by that organization... we attempt to describe formal, structural or sequential properties of aspects of the organization of verbal interaction in courts, and to identify some systematic features of certain sequences, such as those involving blame allocation during the cross-examination of witnesses (Atkinson and Drew 1979, p.i).

As Atkinson and Drew put it, the focus is on how ‘the business’ is managed in and through conversation, and different studies look at particular sequence types or structural aspects.

As suggested in the previous paragraphs, the strand of CA that looks into institutional interaction focuses on ‘the management of social institutions in interaction... on the ways in which interactants show their orientations to these situations and requirements’ (Wei 2002, p.163). Three aspects are considered here as distinctive of institutional talk (Heritage 2005). Firstly, the roles of participants are oriented towards the institutional aims of the interaction. Secondly, the range of acceptable and allowable tasks and actions are constrained by the goals of the interaction and the regulations and procedures of the institution. Lastly, a series of inferential frameworks and procedures are common in a particular type of encounter. Heritage (2005) articulated an approach to the analysis of institutional interaction around the following six aspects, or places in which the institutionality of the interaction can be observed:

- turn-taking organization
- overall structural organization of the encounter
- sequence organization
- turn design
- lexical choice
- epistemological and other forms of asymmetry

Heritage’s approach offers a useful tool to dissect institutional conversation. Together with specific interactional orders and the significance of contextual features, Heritage’s proposal includes asymmetries as a constituent element of institutionally-situated encounters. As an institutionally-situated genre, the police interview (which is of particular relevance to this study) also features various types of asymmetries which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.2.3 Interactional Sociolinguistics and Dialogue Interpreting

Sociolinguistics explores language use as shaped by particular social domains, speakers’ repertoires and relationships, language variation; and examines the ways in which interlocutors create and interpret meaning in interaction (Baker 2010). Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS) developed as a distinct branch of Sociolinguistics primarily following Gumperz’ (1982) studies on sense-making processes in interaction, that is on the ways participants construct meaning through talk in particular communicative events. Gumperz’ studies paid particular attention to sense-making and contextualization in cross-cultural interaction. As stressed by Bailey (2015, p.1), Interactional

Sociolinguistics ‘is concerned with how speakers signal and interpret meaning in social interaction’, and takes into account the contextual features beyond the local context of talk. These include the schema participants rely on in making inferences and role relationships between the participants in interaction in that particular institutional setting (Gumperz 1982).

IS draws on an eclectic set of analytical tools, including ethnographic and CA tools. Like CA, IS draws on micro-analytical analysis of authentic naturally-occurring interaction. However, as highlighted by Bailey (2015, p.3), ‘While interactional sociolinguistics focuses on meaning-making and interpretation processes, conversation analysis focuses on the structure, or organization, of conversation’. This difference between both micro-analytical approaches makes the combination of CA with IS a fitting method to complement the CA-based structural analysis of interpreted interaction, including interaction in the police interviews within a stand-by interpreting regime explored in this study.

IS has been applied to the study of interpreted interaction (Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000; González 2006; Mason 2006, 2009; Berk-Seligson 2009; Meyer 2012; Nakane 2014), frequently combined with CA or with other discourse-analytical approach. IS enables analysts to explore meaning-making and inferential processes, as well as to integrate aspects related to the relationships between participants, and complements approaches such as CA which are more focused on the organization of talk. Its broader conceptualization of context is useful to explore aspects related to the co-construction of meaning that manifest beyond the organization of talk but which contribute to examining it. As Pérez-González puts it (2006)

Today, our understanding of context assumes a shifting and constant moment-by-moment realignment of speakers’ speech and the concomitant activation of interpretative and inferential processes that allow interlocutors to ratify, contest or ignore the ongoingly negotiated trajectory of the interaction (Pérez-González 2006, p.391).

Three concepts from the IS tradition are particularly relevant for this study. The first concept refers to an aspect that has been highlighted in the previous sections, ‘conversational cooperation’ (Gumperz 1982, p.130). The analysis of sense making from an interactive standpoint is approached by Gumperz as a cooperative endeavour among participants. This endeavour goes beyond the organization of turn-taking and the

particular turn designs, and does not imply commonality of intentions. Several speakers may have different, even opposing intentions in the same event –such as may be the case in the case of the police interview with a suspect, a communicative event in which typically two competing narratives are constructed (Nakane 2014). However, despite their predominantly opposing intentions, both participants cooperate in co-constructing the police interview as discourse genre, and the existence of competing versions can be, in the case of the police interview, one of the features that makes it a distinct genre. Interactional Sociolinguistics, thus, explores cooperation as ‘both willingness and ability to cooperate in the production of coherent discourse’ (Gumperz 1990, p.434).

If ability to cooperate is an element required for interlocutors to interact, their world knowledge, event-specific knowledge, linguistic knowledge, and familiarity with contextual features are part of that ability (Gumperz 1990). Considering the cross-cultural, triadic and bilingual nature of interpreter-mediated events, the ability and willingness to cooperate are required on the part of all participants, including the interpreter. This brings us to the second concept of relevance for this study from the IS tradition, namely Gumperz’ notion of ‘contextualization cues’. Gumperz (1982) explained ‘contextualization cues’ as follows:

These constellations of surface features of message form are the means by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* it relates to what precedes or follows. These features are referred to as contextualization cues. For the most part they are habitually used and perceived but rarely consciously noted and almost never talked about directly. Therefore they must be studied in process and in context rather than in the abstract. Roughly speaking, a contextualization cue is any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions (Gumperz 1982, p.131).

The definition above stresses that cues, as signalling features, are to be understood as situated and almost always unconsciously used and perceived. Knowledge of contextualization conventions and cues is thus part of participants’ ability to cooperate. These cues can be of a verbal, kinetic, prosodic nature. Lexical choices, pauses, rhythm, gaze, nods – can signal how what is said is to be understood (Gumperz 1990). Mason (2009) highlights that contextualization cues guide inferences because they are marked, in the sense that:

The meanings of these cues are not semantically encoded. They are implicit and therefore they have to be inferred from the context in which they occur. What is

typically involved is a departure from the normal (unmarked) linguistic behaviour (Mason 2009, p.63).

Differences among speakers may apply when identifying what is part of the norm or a (marked) divergence in the context of cross-cultural communication. In the case of interpreter-mediated cross-cultural interaction, the inferential process is mediated by the interpreter, whose task both requires and shapes the inferential process. As guides to the illocutionary force, (i.e. the intended meaning of an utterance), contextualization cues in the primary participants' utterances can be missed by the interpreter in the first place, missed in their rendition (Mason 2009), or modified in their rendition if different contextualization cues are included (Mason 2006). Changes like the ones mentioned before can direct the inferential process in a different direction, even if it remains unnoticed by participants.

The third aspect of IS that is of particular relevance for DI studies relates to the concepts of *participation* and *footing*. Within the IS tradition, these concepts are crucial for exploring participants' alignment to each other in talk. According to Goffman, (1961) interlocutors perform roles of different types in interaction, and adopt multiple roles as speakers and hearers as the interaction unfolds. Goffman (1961) distinguished between four aspects related to the concept of role: 'normative role', 'typical role', 'activity role' and 'role performance'. The *normative role* would refer to general ideas about the role a speaker considers they have to play and others expect them to play, normally according to codes of conduct and normative role expectations; the *typical role* would refer to the role played under conditions that may fluctuate, and which result in behaviours that are not determined by the expected or normative role; *activity role* would refer to the role of an actor in a particular situation and/or establishment, such as the role of 'interpreter' or the role of 'doctor' in an interpreter-mediated consultation; finally, *role performance* refers to features of an individual's behaviour that can be explained not based on the normative or typical role, but as resulting from aspects of the actual situation or from the individual's personal style.

Goffman discusses the different participant roles of speakers and hearers in relation to the concept of *footing*. Goffman's definition of footing is 'the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance' (1981, p.128). This is closely related to our role as participants in interaction. According to Goffman's participation framework, participants enact

different roles throughout the interaction depending on their relationship with and their treatment of what they produce (as speakers) and what they receive (as listeners). Goffman's model includes three production roles or speaker roles with regard to the authorship and responsibility they take. One same speaker can perform several roles simultaneously:

- Animator: the 'sounding box' through which utterances are made, who is not the author or the person responsible for the content of the utterance.
- Author: the author composes the utterance, but may not be responsible for the content conveyed in so far as the views expressed is concerned.
- Principal: the principal is the person whose views are represented in the words uttered.

As for the reception roles, Goffman identifies two main types of recipients: ratified hearers (who are addressed or whose presence is acknowledged) and unrated hearers (those who have access to the conversation but are not ratified as hearers).

Drawing on Communication Studies and Interactional Sociolinguistics, Wadensjö applied the concepts of *participation framework* and *footing* to the study of participation in interpreter-mediated encounters. Wadensjö found that the treatment of the interpreter's role in Interpreting Studies was restrictive in the sense that they were primarily considered as conduits. Existing studies of interpreting tended to observe interpreters primarily as performing one role, a mechanistic role of relaying text. Wadensjö drew on Goffman's richer conceptualization of role and she used it to explore the behaviour of interpreters as individuals who take part in social interaction. The view of interpreters as text relayers would correspond with interpreters playing the role of animator. Wadensjö study showed that interpreters go beyond the role of animator and that they act as authors and animators (in so far as they author the rendition in a different language), and at times also as principals, for instance when they request clarification on their own behalf.

Apart from illustrating the variety of production roles taken up by interpreters during interaction, Wadensjö's proposed a revised reception (listening) format. According to Wadensjö's revised taxonomy, a participant as hearer also displays 'diverse ways to relate to the others' utterances while being exposed to them' (1998, pp.91-92). Based on this principle, Wadensjö suggested three potential hearer/recipient roles for participants in interaction:

- Reporter: relates to the other's utterances by repeating their words.
- Recapitulator: the recapitulator is authorized to give a version of the words uttered by someone else.
- Responder: the person relates to others' utterances by reacting to them (responding, asking a question, making a comment, etc.).

The revised framework expanded the ratified/unratified conceptualization of participants' status as hearers by integrating what participants do with what they receive. It provided DI researchers with a conceptual apparatus to carry out a more comprehensive analysis of participants' roles in interpreter-mediated encounters as social interaction, and it was particularly fit to explore the roles taken up by or allocated to interpreters. Wadensjö's proposal has been applied in numerous studies.

Wadensjö highlighted the degree of flexibility participants display, including the interpreter, in treating their and others' utterances as producers and recipients of talk. As a speaker in interaction, an interpreter may be seen as an animator-reporter, a 'sounding box' (Goffman 1961, p.226). If production in a different language is considered a form of authorship, the interpreter relaying someone else's words in a different language can be seen as adopting the roles of author and animator (production), and that of recapitulator (reception). The interpreter can also take up the responder (reception), animator, author and principal (production) roles when, for instance, they ask for clarification or provide a direct reply to a question.

Wadensjö's conceptualization of speaker and hearer roles in interpreter-mediated interaction remains a valuable tool for examining participants' roles at a micro-level, and it is a pioneering adaptation of Goffman's framework to DI encounters. The different roles included in Wadensjö's taxonomy (1998) serve the analyst for the purpose of describing the different positionings interpreters adopt throughout the interaction in performing the task of interpreting. Whereas some can be classed as primarily oriented towards facilitating relaying (such as requesting clarification) some others can be described as primarily oriented towards explicitly handling the interaction, such as allocating the turn to a primary participant. As will be discussed below, in her analysis, Wadensjö labelled those two main functions 'relaying' and 'coordinating', and subdivided the co-ordinating functions into primarily 'text-orientated', handling aspects in order to carry out relaying tasks, and primarily 'interactionally-orientated' coordination functions, associated with handling interactional dynamics such as turn management.

This view of interpreters as adopting multiple roles based on their orientation to talk was already present in Keith's reflection on liaison interpreting (1984, p.314):

...in liaison interpreting one can discern two distinct footings – one where the interpreter is, as it were, macro-conversationally oriented, translating the statement of one of the two interlocutors, the other where he is text-oriented, functioning as himself in dealing with matters of clarification, explanation, repetition, etc. related to one of the interlocutor's utterances.

The remark made by Keith flags up interpreters' different alignments to talk and to their interlocutors. In both Keith's (1984) and Wadensjö's (1993, 1998) conceptualizations, the dual function of interpreters' moves is presented as being necessarily related to the communicative task at hand and to interlocutors' utterances, although in different ways. In Keith's words, what Wadensjö (1998) later labelled as *relaying* is *translating* and what Wadensjö labelled as *explicit coordination* is referred to as being *text-oriented... dealing with matters (...)* relating to primary participants' utterances. In section 2.3, the notion of coordination is discussed in more detail.

Before moving to the particular features of DI as a collective activity and the concept of coordination, studies looking at interpreter-mediated interaction as a multimodal activity, in which both verbal and non-verbal are part of interaction, are examined in Section 2.2.4 below.

2.2.4 The study of multimodal features in Dialogue Interpreting

Dialogic approaches to communication acknowledge its nature as being realized through embodied action, that is verbally as well as through other modes, such as gaze, gesture and object manipulation. These features have been recognized as contributing to sense-making and coordination (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Argyle and Cook 1976; Goodwin 1981; Kendon 1990; Norris 2004, 2011; Rossano 2009; Streeck et al. 2014). Also called 'multimodality', this aspect of interaction is explained by Norris (2004), who calls for an equal communication of all types of 'modes', as follows:

Language is of particular interest to the study of human interaction, as the mode has great informative as well as expressive value. This mode is probably the best understood mode so far. Yet people in interaction seldom communicate only through language. A person takes up a certain kind of distance to others, takes up a particular posture, gestures while speaking, and at times gazes at the interlocutor. Modes like gesture, gaze, or posture have generally been termed nonverbal modes of communication. However, I will steer away from this expression, as nonverbal

conveys that these are appendages to the verbal mode. If the so-called nonverbal modes were actually appendages to language, these modes would always have to be subordinate to language. However, this is not the case. Modes like gesture, gaze, or posture can play a superordinate or an equal role to the mode of language in interaction, and therefore, these modes are not merely embellishments to language (Norris 2004, p.x).

According to Norris' views, interaction is thus not only sequentially organized and jointly constructed through constituent acts and relating to specific goals, but those features are also multimodal in nature. Gestures, gaze, posture, object manipulation, intonation and pauses are all part of the sense-making and turn-taking systems. Birdwhistell (1952, p.9) refers to the study of what he labels as 'kinesics' as 'the study of body-motion as related to the non-verbal aspects of interpersonal communication'. Research on non-verbal communication outside Interpreting Studies by Birdwhistell (1952), Kendon (1967, 2004), Goodwin (1981) and Rossano (2012) has shown that non-verbal communication has not only emotional and referential functions, but also a regulatory function with regard to an interaction.

Despite the significance of multimodality as an intrinsic feature of interaction, it remains largely unexplored in DI, except for a few notable although 'dispersed' (Davitti and Pasquandrea 2017) studies (Lang 1978; Wadensjö 2001; Bot 2005; Ticca 2008; Pasquandrea 2011, 2012; Davitti 2012, 2013; Krystallidou 2012, 2014; Mason 2012; Castillo-Ortiz 2015; Davitti and Pasquandrea 2014; Ticca and Traverso 2015), which corroborate the multiple functions of multimodal features in interaction. The difficulties in obtaining video recordings of authentic encounters in the domains where interpreting takes place hinders analysts' possibilities of analysing interaction as a multimodal phenomenon. In fact, this is one of the factors that has made research in this area particularly difficult. These difficulties are primarily due to confidentiality issues and to the highly sensitive matters dealt with in DI domains (Wadensjö 1998, p.82; Merlini and Favaron 2005, p.296). Some of the studies that have been conducted are reviewed below. They view interpreter-mediated interaction as embodied and explore gaze, gesture and seating arrangements in relation to turn-taking features, the co-construction of meaning and the management of relationships in interpreter-mediated encounters.

– *Seating arrangements*

Wadensjö (2001) analysed how the physical placement of the interpreter with regard to the primary participants affects the 'core activity taking place in therapeutic encounters,

namely narrative activity' (Wadensjö 2001, p.72). Drawing on a corpus of eight video-recorded triadic encounters in mental health settings in Sweden, in which refugees from the former Yugoslavia were treated, Wadensjö commented on lines of sight, the interpreter's positioning and other situational conditions through two selected excerpts. The excerpts belonged to two different encounters with the same patient and doctor, but with a different interpreter. Wadensjö took situational conditions into account as potentially influencing the progression and synchronization of talk, and ultimately, the activity of remembering and narrating in the therapeutic session. The conditions considered included time, space, relationship between primary participants and participants' gender, ethnicity and linguistic profile.

Following the prevalent views and beliefs among therapists, the interpreter in the first interview was placed next to the patient and out of his line of sight. In contrast, the interpreter in the second interview was placed between the two primary parties, who could see the interpreter 'in the corner of their eye, without changing their main orientation towards one another' (Wadensjö 2001, p.82). Apart from the other situational differences mentioned above, being placed within the communicative radius seemed to make the task of synchronizing talk, anticipating and managing turns more fluid for all participants. This was manifested in a more rhythmic interaction, with shorter pauses filled with nods and exchanges of gazes, a more similar pace of talk between the three participants and a higher number of quick clarification exchanges between the interpreter and the patient. Wadensjö noticed that the possibility of directing quick glances at each other seemed to contribute to increasing the 'spiritual affinity' (Wadensjö 1998b, p.20) between the primary parties and the possibility of quickly confirming the substance and progression of talk, without a marked and unnatural head move that automatically and dramatically breaks eye-contact between two of the interlocutors. The option of monitoring the interaction seems to be directly enabled or hindered depending on where the interpreter is placed. Shared communicative radius – enables anticipation of turn-taking and promotes 'the primary participants' experience of 'being *with*' one another' (Wadensjö 2001, p.83).

Contrary to the interpreter's placement in Wadensjö's study, Bot (2005) analysed gaze and gestures in six interpreter-mediated therapeutic sessions in the Netherlands in which the interpreter was sitting next to and slightly behind the therapist, and both of them opposite the patient. Following the recommendations and guidelines on interpreter-mediated therapy, the therapists tended to focus their gaze and attention on the patient

and avoided looking at the interpreter. In one of the recordings with an interpreter and a therapist who had worked together for a long time, Bot observed the quick reactions to verbal and non-verbal cues from the interpreter, apparently revealing the outcomes of a learning process based on their shared experience. Sometimes, the therapist did not look at the interpreter at all. In other cases, the interpreter took the floor as soon as the therapist shifted his gaze towards the interpreter to signal a transition relevant place.

The focus on the patient was observed both in the therapist focusing on the patient and in refocusing his –and the interpreter’s gaze direction towards the patient. Two of the therapists showed a more engaging gaze behaviour towards the interpreter, in particular by shifting their gaze between the patient and the interpreter while the patient listened to the interpreter’s renditions. Bot emphasizes that the seating arrangements and the gaze patterns in the sessions analysed largely differ from those that are typical in monolingual talk, as described by Goodwin (1981). In monolingual interaction, not looking at the person who has the floor and looking at the person listening instead is normally considered an intrusive act. In the interpreter-mediated sessions, the normative use of gaze to pay attention to and monitor the patient while they are listening to the interpreter emerges as a pattern that maintains a degree of intrusiveness. Bot notes that the focus on the patient also through gaze displays disengagement with the interpreter and denies the interpreter the status of participant.

Moving to a type of event that is closer to police interviews, Russano, Narchet and Kleinman (2014) asked interpreters about their views and experiences regarding seating arrangements in human intelligence interrogations. The majority of interpreters reported seating in a triangular formation, with the interpreter between the primary participants, except for three interpreters who reported their preference for sitting behind the target. The position of these three interpreters resembles the placement of the interpreter in Wadensjö’s study (2001). Obstacles to eye-contact emerged as problematic. The interpreters stated they preferred to be visible by primary participants in order to enable verbal and non-verbal communication, thus sitting between primary participants in a triangular formation.

– *Gaze*

As shown in the studies presented above in relation to seating arrangements, the use of gaze and eye-contact affect the interactional and participation dynamics. Gaze has also received attention as a feature of interaction in DI encounters. Davitti’s studies (2012,

2013) of non-verbal features, primarily gaze, in the analysis of interactional dynamics in interpreter-mediated pedagogical encounters explore how gaze and verbal production are integrated in interpreter-mediated interaction. Davitti (2013) discussed the effect of talk and gaze in the context of upgrading evaluative moves in teacher-parent meetings. Upgrading evaluative moves are positive assessments made by a speaker. The study identified the significance of gaze-shifts and eye-contact surrounding or during the rendition of positive evaluative remarks to the parents regarding students' performance. This behaviour among interpreters was located at sequential positions that made the interpreter adopt a principal role, and reinforced the alignment of the interpreter with the institutional participant, in that case the teacher. Thus, as Davitti highlights (2013), patterns such as gaze do not only have a regulatory function, but they also function at the level of managing epistemic knowledge, rapport and alignment among participants.

In the legal field, both Lang (1978) and Mason (2012) followed Kendon's approach to analysing gaze by distinguishing gaze during talking and gaze during listening. Mason (2012) finds this approach useful in the analysis of interpreter-mediated talk, in which the participation framework is necessarily different from monolingual interaction. Although Lang introduced his study as highly 'speculative' and 'heavily data-orientated', his observations of behavioural aspects in Papua New Guinea bilingual court were highly revealing. Lang's study was based on over two hours of observation and the recording, transcription and treatment of a 5-minute excerpt encompassing all participants' verbal and non-verbal behaviour. Considering the limitations of technical means at the time, a carefully-designed endeavour. Lang and a colleague used a stationary camera in order to be able to capture all participants. Lang transcribed the data and analysed participants' moves against their own utterances and against other participants' utterances and moves. Compared to the equipment and software available today (ELAN, Xmeralda), the equipment and means used by Lang would be seen as rudimentary, not only for research purposes, but also for evidentiary, monitoring, training and record-keeping purposes. Lang stressed the valuable contribution of having access to video recordings in analysis of interactional patterns. As Lang aptly puts it, when only audio recordings are analysed, the clear risk is missing visual clues that might have been crucial in the interaction being analysed.

Lang's observations focused on gestural and postural clues and on interpreter's treatment of those clues –or lack thereof. Lang's description of seating arrangements includes positioning, in particular the interpreter's positioning. Seating next to the institutional

participant (sergeant) and opposite the litigants, Lang (1978, p.232) introduces the interpreter as an extension of the sergeant 'rather than a neutral intermediary'. This placement resembles the interpreter's placement in Bot's (2005) study discussed above. As in Bot (2005) and Wadensjö (2001), Lang comments on interpreters' reliance on visual clues to identify turn boundaries. Pauses and verbal clues indicating the end of the turn are some of the types of turn-taking clues. Lang emphasized that visual clues were one of the main turn-taking devices in the encounters, and one of the ones interpreters relied upon most. Furthermore, Lang observed interactional difficulties emerging when participants could not access linguistic clues in the other party's utterances indicating the end of the turn. In particular, Lang highlighted the relevance of postural and gestural clues that are not directly (verbally) accessible when each party speaks a different language.

An example of clues that manifest only through visual features is the postural behaviour of one of the litigants, and Lang's observations are particularly relevant for this study. Lang observed that the litigant used primarily two postures, an expository posture, which he maintained during the interpreter's rendition of his talk, and a listening one. Lang commented on the fact that the litigant could comprehend the other's language as observable in his adoption of an 'expository' posture rather than a listening one before the sergeant had finished his 'source' –and allegedly incomprehensible utterance. The distinct postural behaviour displayed by the litigant while listening and exposing was thus indicative of his competence in the other's language.

As for the sergeant's gaze behaviour, it featured two main patterns. The sergeant combined looking directly towards the litigant with looking down towards his notepad. Lang describes the sergeant's tendency to look down just before initiating a turn, a behaviour that Lang describes as widely documented among English speakers. In that context, when the sergeant maintained his gaze and postured fixed on the litigant, this marked an invitation for the latter to take the turn, that is the sergeant's relinquishing the turn. A similar behaviour was observed by Heydon and Lai (2013) in their study of simulated interpreter-mediated police interviews with witnesses. Instead of the primary participant, in their study the interpreter used gaze to give the floor back to the interviewee after having interrupted them to interpret.

With regard to the interpreter, Lang noticed that the interpreter's gaze and postural behaviour was different from that of primary speakers. The main feature in the

interpreter's behaviour was a tendency to look down rather than to the primary participants. The interpreter directed his gaze towards primary participants primarily to monitor the progression of talk, identify where primary participants were in their exposition, and, when necessary, to mark that a pause was necessary to accommodate the interpreted rendition. The difference between primary participants' behaviour and that of the interpreter observed by Lang clearly brings to the fore the interpreter's positioning as primarily different from that of the primary participants. Regarding the primary participants' behaviour with regard to the interpreter, Lang noticed that the sergeant looked down rather than to the interpreter while the interpreter was interpreting, also looking down. However, the litigant did look at the interpreter when he was the addressee of the interpreter's utterances. The different gaze behaviour towards the interpreter between the institutional and the non-institutional participant can also be seen as their perception of who and what the interpreter is there for, and their status in the institutional interaction.

In Mason's study of gaze behaviour in five televised asylum interviews (2012), Mason also noticed that officers behaved differently depending on who the interpreter was interpreting for. While interpreting for the asylum-seeker, interviewers tended to direct their gaze towards the asylum seeker. When the interpreter's rendition was addressed to the officers, the officers did tend to look at the interpreter. In this case, during the interpreter's rendition into the institutional language a marked and distinct behaviour emerged in the context of immigration interviews, spaces in which the interviewer breaks eye contact with the interviewee in order to also visually accommodate to the interpreter. Mason (2012) analysed participants' gaze during speaking and listening modes for turn-taking, and also to explore participation patterns. The immigration officers tended to glance downwards towards the desk momentarily at the beginning of their turn (speaking mode) before directing their gaze towards the asylum-seeker, and interrupted it only briefly to look at the interpreter and cede the turn before redirecting it towards the 'listening' asylum-seeker (addressed by the interpreter). Mason identified a marked gaze behaviour by one of the immigration officers in his data set, in particular a behaviour of disengagement that resembles the recommended behaviour in therapeutic consultations mentioned by Bot (2005). Compared to the other officers, who typically looked at the asylum seeker while speaking, listening or while the interpreter was speaking, one of the police officers' typical gaze behaviour was gaze aversion.

Mason also explored interpreters' gaze patterns in the interviews. The interpreters in four of the five interviews tended to show a rather neutral stance by directing their gaze *towards* the immigration officer, a deflected gaze that avoided direct eye contact with the officer. Mason notes the similarity between interpreters' gaze aversion in Lang's study and interpreters' deflected gaze in his study, a behaviour that Mason hypothesises may be related to interpreters' deployment of a 'neutral' stance. Revisiting Lang's study reviewed earlier in the chapter, it is worth highlighting that whereas all participants in Lang's study displayed detachment from what other participants were doing if not directly involved in talk, Lang noted that the interpreter's gaze-down or gaze-away behaviour resulted in the interpreter's missing clues that made it necessary to interrupt unfinished contributions from primary participants.

As shown in the studies reviewed above, multimodal features play a crucial role in interactional dynamics and are considered of paramount importance to explore the research questions of this study. In this study verbal language and body language are explored in both their expressive and interactional functions. Participation, production and reception, turn-taking and overall sense-making devices are constructed multimodally, and in particular ways in interpreter-mediated interaction. As the studies above suggest, aspects such as seating arrangements and gaze behaviour contribute to the turn-taking system, the flow of interaction, the resources available for participants to contribute to the ongoing talk, and also to the participant status of the interpreter. The video format of the data set makes it possible to carry out a rich analysis of interpreter-mediated interaction as multimodal in nature, and to contribute to the growing body of research looking at DI as a multimodal activity. The specific articulation of the multimodal analysis in this study is explained in Chapter 5.

2.3 Dialogue Interpreting as a collective activity: coordination, participation and role

2.3.1 Participation and coordination

The concepts of coordination, participation and role lie at the core of this section and are discussed based on the scholarly discussion emerging from both theoretical and empirical studies in the field of DI. The view of interpreting as a collective activity inherently recognizes that the interpreter is a participant in interaction. Wadensjö's seminal study

of medical encounters and immigration interviews (1998) was pivotal in defining the interpreter's role as a fully-fledged participant in a three-party interaction, and to bring to the fore the consequential influence of all participants' actions upon other participants' actions. Studies of interpreter-mediated interaction within the DI paradigm suggest that interpreters' position, linguistic repertoire and activity role in the communicative event makes their participation unique. Moreover, their participation can be very influential in enabling, promoting, facilitating or otherwise limiting or curtailing the participation of other participants (Pöchhacker 2012).

As mentioned in Section 2.2.3, one of the main contributions of Wadensjö's study of interpreting as interaction (1998) was the conceptualization of the interpreter's role in DI encounters as involving both relaying (translation) and coordinating tasks. Wadensjö (1998) distinguished between 'relaying', rendering what a primary participant says in one language into the other language, and 'coordinating' talk as an activity inevitably co-existing with that relaying activity (Wadensjö 1995, 1998; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012). Coordinating activity can be orientated to the co-construction of meaning in interaction or to the management of turns, either through the mere production of a rendition or for example by asking a primary participant to take the floor. Wadensjö (1998) refers to these two types of coordination as *implicit coordination* and *explicit coordination*. Implicit coordination occurs inherently every time the interpreter produces a turn. By producing a rendition of the previous turn, the interpreter coordinates talk implicitly as a participant in the interaction. Others' turns position them and their turn will position themselves and others, and will condition the potential next actions. If sequentiality is one of the features regulating interaction, the sequential position and design of the interpreter's turn necessarily co-ordinates talk: the language chosen, for instance, projects a next speaker and implicitly coordinates turns. According to Wadensjö's distinction, coordination is explicit when the interpreter takes the floor to carry out some meta-communicative action such as asking for clarification to the previous speaker, giving feedback to the previous speaker, initiating a question, and interrupting the speaker to allocate the floor to another speaker. As Wadensjö explains (1993), explicit coordination moves are not renditions per se (in the sense of translations of prior talk). A back-channelling token such as 'Yes', showing comprehension while inviting the speaker to continue, is not a rendition of previous talk in the other language, but an explicit move produced by the interpreter that conditions the next move - in this case the primary participant who had the floor is selected as the next participant to continue talking.

Wadensjö (1993) refers to relaying and coordinating as integrated and co-existing, as ‘the double role of the dialogue interpreter’, rather than separate and exclusive, and this view has been corroborated in later reconceptualizations of the concept of coordination (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012, see below). Before examining other conceptualizations of coordination in interpreter-mediated encounters, the taxonomy of renditions proposed by Wadensjö (1998) is presented in order to address the close connection between rendition types, on the one hand, and relaying and coordinating, on the other, and to integrate it into the forthcoming discussion on coordination.

Wadensjö (1998) analysed interpreter’s contributions based on their relationship with primary participants’ talk. Her taxonomy is based on two main types of texts: those uttered by primary participants and interpreter-produced texts (renditions). Wadensjö identified the following types of renditions in authentic interpreter-mediated interaction, which she categorized as different types depending on their relationship with the source utterances produced by the primary participants:

- Close renditions: translations of the original utterance that are similar in content and style to the original rendition.
- Divergent renditions: the information provided largely differs from the original in form and/or style.
- Expanded renditions: interpreter renditions that add information that was not present in the original utterance, such as explanations or clarifications.
- Reduced renditions: renditions in which the information is less explicitly expressed than in the source utterance.
- Substituted renditions: these renditions feature a combination of reduction and expansion of information.
- Zero renditions: this rendition type refers to the absence of a rendition, that is the original utterance remains uninterpreted.
- Non-renditions: renditions originally produced by the interpreter with no correspondence to someone else’s utterance.

According to this taxonomy, renditions other than close renditions are considered ‘divergent’ from the point of view of their relationship with the source utterance as text, although they can divert from the original in different ways. Wadensjö’s analysis provides multiple descriptions and detailed analysis of interpreter’s renditions in authentic interaction that go beyond the text-text relationship. Wadensjö’s (1992, 1998)

analyses integrate a view of interpreting as a primarily interactional, and thus collective activity, and shows extensively that the surrounding contextual conditions can help us understand the emergence of particular renditions in specific contexts. Her detailed descriptions show that both a text-oriented and a coordination-oriented lens are necessary to describe and understand interpreter's moves and actions.

Regarding the relationship between rendition types and relaying and coordinating mentioned above, non-renditions are normally seen as manifestations of explicit coordination on the part of interpreters. They can be oriented to the text itself, such as asking for clarification about a term, but also to handling interactional dynamics. As mentioned above, other authors have revisited the concept of coordination and proposed a reconceptualization. Baraldi and Gavioli (2012, pp.5-6) propose to look at implicit and explicit coordination as 'basic coordination' and 'reflexive coordination', respectively. Drawing on Social Systems theory (Luhmann 1984), the authors embrace the notion of 'reflexivity' in relation to actions which coordinate the turn-taking system, promote communication about communication and contribute to achieving coordination in interaction:

Basic coordination is the smooth achievement of self-reference, without any emergence of problems of understanding and/or acceptance of references and meanings. Reflexive coordination is the achievement of self-reference through actions that aim to improve (encourage, expand, implement, etc.), question or claim understanding and/or acceptance of utterances and meanings (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012, pp.5-6).

Their claim is that both *basic* and *reflexive* coordination can be achieved through renditions or non-renditions of previous turns. They propose that actions such as additions in the rendering of pragmatic indicators in the source text, and which could be seen as examples of divergent or expanded renditions, can also be viewed as examples of reflexive coordination on the part of the interpreter. The decision to add something can be seen as a reflexive action through which the collaborative construction of meaning is promoted. Baraldi and Gavioli (2012) highlight the function of meta-communicative activity as a guide to what participants are doing in interaction for the purposes of co-constructing meaning. Moreover, Baraldi and Gavioli (2012) stress that all participants in the triadic encounter can help to achieve coordination by carrying out meta-communicative actions that are directly related to the interpreting task, such as encouraging the interpreter to translate something.

Recognizing the multiple functions of interpreters' actions means acknowledging that interpreters are full participants and yet different from primary participants in their relationship with each other's actions. Interpreters' moves affect the development of talk and the outcomes of the encounter and primary participants' turns affect each other's moves and those of the interpreter. Recognising the active role of interpreters is controversial, though, in particular when it comes to establishing a dividing line between the necessary coordinating activity to facilitate communication and participation, and the degrees of latitude that may hamper participation and the outcomes of the encounter. Precisely in relation to the type of actions involved in interpreter's participation, Hale (2007, p.42) distinguishes between two approaches to interpreting depending on the actions performed by interpreters. She labels the first type 'mediated translation' and the second type 'direct translation', and advocates for interpreters embracing a 'direct translation' approach:

The mediated approach argues for an interpreter who does not interpret for two main participants, but who mediates for them, deciding on what to transmit and what to omit from the speakers' utterances. (...) The direct approach argues for an interpreter who renders each turn accurately from one speaker to another, leaving the decision-making to the authors of utterances' (Hale 2007, p.45).

Hale's distinction between the direct approach and the mediated approach stems from the type of interpreters' involvement and the types of decisions that fall under their remit. Direct interpreting means that the interpreter is involved in deciding 'how' to render most accurately, and mediated interpreting refers to the interpreter's involvement in deciding 'what to include and what to omit'. Hale (2007) highlights that this distinction is based on the assumption that an interpreter is necessarily involved and active, and puts emphasis on the fact that the direct approach does not equate to a machine-like view of interpreters. For Hale (2007), interpreters' involvement and decision-making should focus on rendering 'most accurately what the other two participants themselves have chosen to communicate to each other' (2007, p.43). Although it is out of the scope of this discussion to analyse mediation in depth, the notion of mediation is a sensitive one and it is gaining currency in Interpreting Studies. In countries such as Italy, the professional role of intercultural mediators encompasses the activity of interpreting between members of the host community and migrant users of public services. Pöchhacker (2008) proposed viewing interpreting as a form of linguistic and unavoidably cultural mediation, as well as a form of cognitive mediation. Cognitive mediation recognizes the subjective activity

that interpreters carry out in the process of making decisions in their performance. For a more in-depth discussion, see Pöchhacker (2008) and Baraldi (2015).

Baraldi discusses interpreting as a form of mediation and addresses the differences between the profession of intercultural mediators in Italy and that of interpreters. As Baraldi notes, interpreting is seen as a form of linguistic and cultural mediation in Interpreting Studies. Mediators in Italy are acknowledged the role of interpreting as well as the knowledge and skills to solve intercultural problems through actions that would be seen as forms of mediation other than linguistic/cultural or cognitive mediation. Depending on the tradition and on the evolution of interpreting as a profession in a given society, the degree of latitude that is acknowledged to the interpreter or mediator is seen as more or less acceptable.

DI studies exploring interpreters' moves and involvement suggest that the degree of latitude given to the interpreter, taken by them or otherwise resulting from positioning dynamics in the interaction depends on the particular constellation of participants, and it is also genre-specific and context-dependent. As it will be discussed in Chapter 4, the crucial function of language as evidence in the context of the police interview has a bearing on the discussion of coordination and latitude and, particularly, the negotiation thereof. Pöchhacker (2012) proposes approaching the exploration of the participation framework by integrating the analysis of the interpreter's roles at the level of the communicative event and at the micro-level of utterances. This proposal ties in with the discussion presented below, in which the interpreter's role will be discussed from both points of view and in relation to the notions of coordination, participation and latitude examined in this section.

2.3.2 Conceptualizations of the interpreter's role

Defining the interpreter's role is one of the most controversial areas of scholarly attention in the DI field. The ongoing discussion, which, as Jacobsen puts it, 'looks set to prevail for many years to come' (2009, p.163), is closely related to the notion of coordination and the interpreter's latitude in their performance. The main controversy lies in two aspects: the type of actions the interpreter carries out and their effects upon other participants' actions and upon the interaction; and the beliefs about and the perceptions of the interpreter's role based on the actions they are expected to carry out or not.

The focal points mentioned by Merlini (2015) and the empirical studies conducted in the DI field challenge radically the conduit model or metaphor (Reddy 1979) of interpreters. According to the conduit model, interpreters are seen as neutral machines whose role in interaction is to act as invisible text relayers. In the legal sector, language plays a particular role as the central piece of evidence (Laster and Taylor 1994). Given that hearsay evidence is not admissible in court, treating the interpreter as a person would translate into a potential breach of the law – someone’s account is second-hand information and thus it is not valid as evidence. In their study of legal interpreting, Laster and Taylor (1994) critically argued against the conduit model, and proposed the role of ‘communication facilitator’ instead:

Because interpreters have power over language, lawyers have consciously sought to regulate and constrain their role within and outside the courtroom. This has been achieved by constructing a narrow role for interpreters, as neutral machines, or ‘conduits’. ... We argue that reconceptualising the interpreter’s role as that of ‘communication facilitator’ is more realistic’ (Laster and Taylor 1994, p.111).

In order to explore the manifestation of different roles and alignments to talk, Wadensjö (1998) analysed participants’ roles at a micro-level, according to their alignment with talk, and laid the foundations of a methodological and theoretical apparatus to explore participation in triadic interpreted encounters. Her taxonomy, based on Goffman’s participation framework (already discussed in Section 2.2.3) includes the roles of principal, author and animator in the production roles, and reporter, recapitulator and responder for the reception roles. These different footings have inspired discourse-analytical studies in the DI field across several settings, and have contributed to our understanding of the co-construction of meaning and the effects of micro-level moves. These settings include the medical field (Corsellis 1999; Rosenberg 2002; Amato 2007; Baraldi and Gavioli 2014; Cirillo 2012; Farini 2012; Major and Napier 2012), education (Davitti 2012, 2013; Nilsen 2013; Vargas-Urpi and Arumi-Ribas 2014), and the legal domain (Jacobsen 2003, 2008; Martinsen and Dubslaff 2005; Komter 2005; Nakane 2007, 2009, 2014; Ng 2013; Lee 2015).

Hale (2008) enumerates five interpreter roles based on their orientation to talk, which can be seen as applying at the level of the communicative encounter (Pöchhacker 2012), although they are displayed through the unfolding of interaction. According to Hale, an interpreter may act as an *advocate* for the powerless participant, typically the service user; act as *advocate* for the powerful participant, normally the service provider or institutional

user; act as a *gatekeeper*, a role according to which the interpreter is not partial to any party but takes up the responsibility of deciding what to interpret and what not; act as a *filter*, whose main aim is to guarantee clear and effective communication, and who may embellish, clarify or improve what is said to achieve that aim; or act as a *faithful renderer*, that is an impartial renderer who focuses on making renditions faithful in form and content to the source and leaves the responsibility for the success of communication to the primary parties.

The different roles enumerated by Hale (2008) involve different conceptualizations of interpreters as selves, in particular in relation to their alignment with the other participants and with the interaction. According to Hale (2008, p.119), the role of ‘faithful renderer’ is the only one interpreters working in legal settings should adopt due to the potential consequences that adopting other roles can have. The role of faithful renderer, though, should not be mistaken with a literal translation approach. As Hale argues (2008), and as other studies of legal interpreting have corroborated (Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Pym 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001; Morris 1995), a literal approach to interpreting does not translate into accurate renditions that maintain the pragmatic force of originals.

A different conceptualization of ‘role’, also based on a micro-level approach was proposed by Mason (2009). Mason drew on Davis and Harré’s notion of positioning, and criticized the prescriptivism that seems to prevail in the discussion about the interpreter’s role. Instead of focusing on what the interpreter should or should not do, that is on acceptability, Mason proposed to shift the focus of studies on the impact of interpreters’ behaviour and their influence ‘on the likely development of the exchange’ (2009, p.71). Mason illustrated how participants, including the interpreter, position themselves and others, and are positioned by others, through verbal and para-verbal behaviour on a turn by turn basis. Mason proposed to replace the term *role* with *positioning*, a term that, in his view, reflects the dynamic and interactional nature of the interpreter’s role.

His criticism of the notion of role stems from the fact that it appears *static*, as given and unchangeable. The static nature of role, one could argue, conflicts with the very notion of dialogically and collectively co-constructed interaction. Underlying the term *positioning* is a view of participants’ stance towards each other, including the interpreter, which can be reflexive (you position yourself) or interactive (you are positioned by someone else’s moves). That positioning ultimately depends on the take-up by other participants. Mason proposed the notion of positioning as a *dynamic* conceptualization

of role which can be used in accounts of particular moves over the course of the encounter. In Mason (2012), reviewed in more detail above (Section 2.2.4) in relation to multimodal features, the author illustrates this point through a study that is particularly relevant for the study presented here, in which gaze emerges as a crucial regulatory device. Mason observed how gaze and other non-verbal aspects worked as devices indexing participants' positioning. One of the observations made by Mason was that the interpreter's gaze behaviour was different depending on the primary participant targeted. Mason noted the potential effect of interpreters averting gaze as an example of positioning, and its consequences - they risk being perceived as not willing to engage.

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's model (2013) is also based on a dynamic, negotiated and context-dependent view of role. Their view on the interpreter's role is based on the premise that interpreters, as social actors, will be expected to behave as full participants in given circumstances. Strict adherence to codes of conduct requires interpreters to act as conduits, to limit themselves to rendering primary participants' turns, thus minimising the extent to which they are themselves in an interaction at a given moment. The authors argue that there is room for different degrees of presentation of self, alignment and interactional management in different domains and at different moments in a single encounter, and that managing the amount of self, alignment and interaction management is part of the remit of interpreters. Their examples of interpreting in a pre-trial consultation meeting involving two sign language interpreters illustrate how one and the same interpreter can maintain a very low presentation of self while interpreting during the meeting, and increase it during the break to engage in socialising. As in the case of the term *positioning* proposed by Mason (2009, 2012), the conceptualization of role as *role-space* implies a view of role, as evolving, negotiated collectively, interactively and in situated interaction:

...in any given interaction, it is not the interpreter who decides on the nature and dimensions of the role-space; instead, it is the characteristics of the interaction that determine the appropriateness of the myriad approaches and roles available to the interpreter (Llewellyn-Jones and Lee 2013, p.69).

Llewellyn-Jones and Lee's model (2013) places particular emphasis on the collective nature of interpreting and on interpersonal relations within the encounter, and offers analysts a valuable tool to analyse role performance as the result of the intersection of three interrelated aspects.

Aspects related to role expectations and asymmetries are discussed in more detail in Section 2.3.3. below in relation to interpersonal and socio-institutional features of DI encounters.

2.3.3 Expectations and perceptions of role

As mentioned in Sections 2.2 and 2.3.2, participants in interaction adopt different speaker and listener roles and positioning throughout the interaction. In these socially-situated settings, participants may display different expectations and views of the situation and of each other. The interpreting task is framed within a network of relationships and expectations, which participants negotiate and display in and through the interpreter-mediated interaction.

This section focuses on the controversy over the role of interpreters in public service settings based on the expectations and perceptions of different participants, including interpreters themselves. Furthermore, the discussion explores the conflict between the norm of neutrality and impartiality expected from interpreting, and interpreters' needs in handling the set of expectations and asymmetries mentioned above. Given the space constraints and the legal focus of this study, the studies included in this section primarily relate to studies of interpreting in legal settings. Mikkelson (2008) addresses the conflict between the need for neutrality and the interpersonal nature of encounters:

No one would want a biased interpreter rendering services in a court proceeding, yet the nature of the interpreting process requires that the interpreter establish a rapport with the individuals with whom she is working (Mikkelson 2008, p.83).

The question of the interpreter's role and role conflicts in DI encounters has been extensively addressed in the literature. Anderson (1976) pointed at the lack of definition of the interpreter's role and Lang, in his study of court interpreting in Papua New Guinea flagged up the controversy around the normative role and the actual participation of interpreters as observed in his data. The lack of definition Anderson and others described (Hale 2007; Mikkelson 2008) results from different factors, not least the clash between normative views of interpreters as conduits and actual role performances.

Role expectations that users bring to the process range from adherence to the conduit model to seeing the interpreter as an advocate and an ally, as shown in the numerous studies around the views and expectations of interpreting users and of interpreters about the interpreter's role (Morris 1999; Kelly 2000; Mesa 2000; Pöchhacker 2000; Kadric

2001; Angelelli 2004; Kolb and Pöchhacker 2008; Lee 2009; Martin and Ortega-Herráez 2010; Ng 2013). In the legal field, Morris (1995), Kadric (2001) and more recently Lee (2009) and Martin and Ortega-Herráez (2010), have shown that role expectations are often ambivalent and conflict actual performance. Morris (1995) reports on judges' expectations of court interpreters as machines who translate 'verbatim' and do not carry out an 'interpretation'. The concepts of interpretation of the law and interpreting seem to shape the judges' views and contribute to magnify their concerns with interpreters having excessive latitude. A preference for a machine-like role of the interpreter was also observed among judges in the study by Martin and Ortega-Herráez (2013). In their analysis of legal practitioners' meta-comments in the Madrid train bomb trial, the authors noted that judges' meta-comments about interpreting displayed a view of interpreting as a mechanical activity.

In contrast to the view of interpreting among judges in the studies above, in a survey-based study conducted among over 200 judges of local courts in Vienna, Kadric (2001) found that judges viewed tasks such as simplifying and explaining legal language as acceptable tasks to be performed by interpreters, and were supportive of giving interpreters extensive latitude to 'interpret' the law. Jansen (1995) highlights that the complex relationships, divergent expectations and different attitudes in the courtroom add complexity to interpreters' decision-making.

Interpreters' self-perception of their own role comes into play in shaping their and others' behaviour during the interaction. Angelelli's work (2004) was one of the pioneering studies of interpreter's self-perception of their role in DI settings. Angelelli (2004) drew on Bourdieu's theory of practice to reflect the complex set of relationships in interpreted encounters and defined the 'interpreted communicative event (ICE)' as an event in which the relationships between participants as individuals are shaped by the views and experiences that they bring with them, including institutional and social views and constraints. These also apply to participants' expectations of each other's role in the encounter, including primary participants' expectations of the interpreter's role and interpreters' assumptions about their own role. Her research problematized the notion of *invisibility* that pervades codes of ethics. In her study, Angelelli explored interpreters' self-perception of visibility across three settings (conference, healthcare and court) and three countries (Canada, Mexico and the USA). Drawing on ethnographic observation, interviews, authentic interpreter-mediated interaction and a questionnaire-based study, Angelelli analysed interpreters' self-perception of their role and found that interpreters

perceived their role as that of a ‘visible agent’ (Angelelli 2001, 2004), although to different degrees depending on the domain, with medical interpreters registering a comparatively higher perception of visibility than conference and court interpreters.

Lee (2009) studied the differences between interpreters’ self-perception of their role and legal practitioners’ perceptions of the interpreter’s role. Based on the responses from 229 legal professionals and 36 court interpreters in Australia, the study found that the ‘translation machine’ role prevailed among legal professionals (67%), whereas 89% of interpreters responded that they adhered to the role of ‘facilitator of communication’. As in the study by Lee (2009), court interpreters in the region of Madrid, Spain, participating in the study by Martin and Ortega-Herráez (2010) stated adherence to the role of ‘facilitator of communication’. The researchers were interested in finding out whether court interpreters assumed a more active role than that prescribed, and the 19 respondents claimed to adopt a more active role than expected, seeing themselves primarily as facilitators of communication. The functions performed included adapting the register for both speakers, explaining legal procedure, summarizing and omitting repeated information. Half of the respondents believed they had to provide explanations of procedural questions to the non-Spanish speaker. This contrasts with 68.4% who did not believe they should explain cultural issues to legal professionals. Functions outside the context of the interaction, such as providing information about services, were not seen as falling under their remit. Interestingly, these findings show different approaches depending on the user and an underlying alignment with the non-Spanish speaker. The differences regarding the amount of latitude interpreters actually take, and what others and themselves believe they take or they should take does not seem to have a simple solution. Mikkelsen flags up this difficulty by describing:

In the middle of the spectrum between what is deemed by most as unacceptable advocacy for individual clients and what most consider acceptable advocacy for the interpreting process is a range of options for interpreter intervention that has yet to be fully defined (2008, p.87).

There are also views that advocate for an extensive latitude among interpreters in legal settings. This view is probably best represented by Barsky (1996, p.46), who saw the interpreters’ role in asylum interviews as ‘active intermediaries between the claimant and the adjudicating body’ and responsible for breaching cultural and epistemic gaps. Contrary to this view, Fenton (2004) argued against advocacy for interpreters in refugee hearings. Drawing on a questionnaire-based study, Fenton (2004) concluded that

interpreters did not agree with taking up that role, and that it would not be advisable for them or for the profession if they did so. Among other reasons, interpreters mentioned that an advocate role could open the door to risks and high expectations from them among refugees –and probably to conflicts with institutional participants.

The literature on the interpreter's role problematizes tensions between the norms contained in codes of practice and actual practice, between different participants' expectations and views, and contradictions between stated expectations and displayed behaviours. Together with pre-conceptions and, in general, lack of awareness about interpreting, the ambiguous definition of certain norms and terms does not seem to help. Having discussed the different conceptualizations of role and the literature on role expectations, the following sub-chapter focuses on the organization of talk in triadic interpreted encounters.

2.4 The organization of talk in triadic interaction

Salient features that illustrate the types of moves that are part of interpreter-mediated interaction were identified and presented in Chapters 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, in particular sequentiality. Furthermore, the intertwined functions of coordinating and relaying and the functions of different types of renditions were discussed, and different types and conceptualizations of coordination were presented. This chapter addresses, in particular, features related to the organization of talk in DI encounters, including turn-taking, turn-allocation and interactional models emerging from the particular architecture of talk, participation frameworks, and the bilingual nature of DI encounters. The discussion and literature review presented in this sub-chapter ties in with the discussion surrounding coordination, participation and the interpreter's role initiated in the previous sections. Furthermore, turn-taking features are an essential part of the analysis presented in Chapter 7. For this reason, and in order to make it easier for the reader, it was felt that turn-taking features deserved a sub-chapter of their own.

This sub-chapter discusses the interactional features in DI encounters in which a 'standard' linguistic regime applies in the interpreted encounter. By 'standard' we mean primary participants use one language each and the interpreter interprets both ways –back and forth between primary participants. The particular features identified in interaction

with ‘stand-by’ or other less standard interpreting forms are discussed in relation to language permeability and interpreting in Chapter 5, and will not be considered here.

2.4.1 *Interpreter-mediated interactional models*

This section contains a review of four existing formats or interactional models representing the architecture of what could be labelled as a standard or basic sequence in interpreter-mediated interaction. Whereas in ordinary unmediated talk between two participants the base turn-taking system typically consists of pairs of actions each performed by a different interlocutor in the same language (see Chapter Section 2.2.2 for a detailed review of Conversation Analysis), in interpreter-mediated interaction two languages are used and three participants are involved. Sequences accommodate the interpreter’s turn and turn design, such as language choice, and turns normally determine who the next speaker is and the language that will be used in the next turn. The interaction models discussed below are presented in chronological order, starting with Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff’s (1986) model of ‘normal’ mediated interaction and moving to models integrating different options within the base interactional architecture to accommodate dyadic sequences and turns other than renditions. Together with Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff’s model of normal mediated interaction (1982), three other models are discussed below: Roy’s model of interpreter mediated interaction (1989), Davidson’s collaborative model (2002) and Gallez’ models of asides (2014).

– *Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff’s model of ‘normal mediated interaction’ (1986)*

Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff (1986) were pioneers in representing what they labelled as the ‘normal format of mediated interaction’ as the base turn-taking system of interpreter-mediated triadic exchanges. According to this format, in an interpreter-mediated encounter, the interpreter typically takes every second turn at talk between primary participants to translate the previous turn into the other interlocutor’s language. Throughout this study, we will use the label ‘standard’ to refer to this type of interpreting.

As noted by Keith (1984, p.315) however, the adjacency of turns is disrupted to accommodate side sequences such as explanations or clarification sequences. Particularly relevant for this study are direct reactions to the previous turn without waiting for the interpreter’s turn. Wadensjö refers to such moves resulting from primary participant’s comprehension of the previous turn as making the interpreter’s turn ‘superfluous’ (Wadensjö 1998). For the purposes of this chapter, the relevance of actions

such as a direct responses lies in how they are organized from the point of view of the turn-taking system. Examples of deviations from the standard or prevalent format were included already in Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff's (1986) model, and were further developed by Roy's (1989, 2000), Wadensjö's (1998), and Metzger's (1999) studies; Bolden's expansion model (2000), which included clarification turns between the interpreter and the patient; Davidson's collaborative model (2002); and Gallez' (2014) expansion model. These are discussed below.

– *Roy's model of interpreter-mediated interaction (1989)*

Roy (1989, 2000) drew on CA methods to examine the turn-taking system in interpreter-mediated interaction as observed in a meeting between a university lecturer and a deaf student interpreted by an ASL/English interpreter. Roy conceptualized the base turn-taking system in interpreter-mediated encounters as consisting of two dyads, each of which involves a primary participant talking to the interpreter in their language. In her study, Roy showed that phenomena such as overlapping talk, repair, and 'discourse confusion' are part of interpreter-mediated encounters and that recognizing and handling those phenomena falls under the interpreter's remit. The handling of those types of phenomena translates into the prevalent or standard format of mediated interaction being temporarily modified to accommodate coordination actions.

For example, based on her observations, Roy identified four different methods interpreters use to handle overlapping talk (Roy 2000, p.85). These include stopping one or both speakers and allocating the turn to one of them; ignoring the overlapping talk only momentarily and rendering it later; ignoring overlapping talk completely; and ignoring overlapping talk but offering the turn to the other speaker once she has rendered the other speaker's utterance. Those devices would involve explicit coordination on the part of the interpreter, and could be classed as expanded, summarized or non-renditions of renditions within Wadensjö's taxonomy presented in Section 2.2. In addition, each of them results in particular turn-taking and turn-organization systems.

– *Davidson's collaborative model (2002)*

Davidson (2002) proposed an expanded model that included optional turns between the interpreter and either primary participant representing different types of activities, such as clarification sequences. Davidson viewed those optional turns as aimed at building 'common ground' in interaction when speakers do not share the same language and

communicate through an interpreter. Davidson defines ‘common ground’ as ‘a reciprocally held common store of information’ (Davidson 2002, p.1273).

The participants in Davidson’s model are represented on the left, each occupying a row per participant and language. Whereas each primary participant occupies one row each, the interpreter occupies two: each interpreter row represents the interpreter and one of the two languages they use in the interaction. The language used is represented through the Greek letters Δ and Ω . The progression of turns is shown through consecutive numbers placed horizontally at the top of the table. Optional turns appear in brackets (*) and correspond to exchanges which occur between an utterance in a language (e.g. A) and its rendition in the other language (A’), such as comprehension checking:

	1.	(2.)	(3.)	4.	(5.)	(6.)	7.	(8.)	(9.)	10.
Speaker 1 (language Δ)	A	(*)								
Interpreter, Δ		(*)								B'
Interpreter, Ω				A'	(*)			(*)		
Speaker 2 (language Ω)				(*)			B		(*)	

Figure 1 In Davidson (2002, p.1284) ‘Turns-at-talk in interpreted discourse—the ‘collaborative’ model.’

The collaborative model includes potential activity occurring within the two dyads, and presents a view of dialogues within dialogues aimed at building common ground. Thus, the function of dyads is integrated within the architecture of interpreter-mediated interaction as an intrinsic but optional part of it.

– *Gallez’ interactional models of asides (2014)*

In her ethnographic study of the impact of interpreting upon the defendant’s ethos in a Flemish Assize Court, Gallez (2014) drew on Davidson’s collaborative model to identify and represent the different sequential developments observed during the questioning phase of the proceedings. Gallez identified four main interactional models based on the turn-taking order, the inclusion of a rendition or actions by the interpreter other than renditions, and dyadic exchanges between the interpreter and one of the interlocutors. The four main models identified were: ‘classic model’ (*modèle classique*), ‘expansion model’ (*modèle d’expansion*), ‘monolingual model’ (*modèle unilingue*), and ‘unidirectional model’ (*modèle unidirectionnel*).

One of the main contributions of Gallez' models is that they illustrate the different sequential developments. Furthermore, in Gallez' (2014) sequential models, participants are placed on a horizontal rather than vertical axis, with the interpreter in the middle. The letters A and B represent the utterances produced by either primary participant, and the same letters with a superscript 1 represent the interpreter's renditions of A or B into the other language. The numbers represent the turns and order, and the arrows the sequential development of turns. Dark blue arrows represent the turns and light blue arrows the addressee of A or B. Dash arrows (----) indicate that the turn is optional.

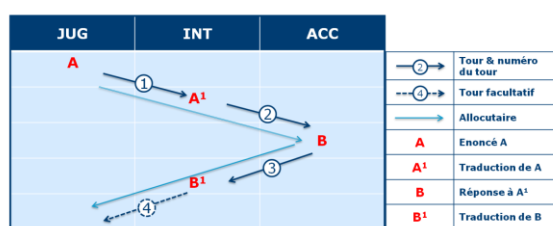


Figure 2 In Gallez (2014, p.122) Sequential development in the 'Classic Model'.

In the diagram above, representing the 'Classic Model' of interpreter-mediated interaction, Gallez observed that the fourth turn, that is the interpreter's rendition of B, is sometimes omitted. In particular, this happens when A is a declarative rather than an interrogative or only part of an utterance, and B is a confirmation or back-channelling token and is not interpreted. Gallez also noted that non-verbal activity in B often leads the interpreter to consider that B is comprehensible for the judge and results in zero rendition, that is B is not interpreted. This occurred in nine of the 233 sequences studied by Gallez.

In instances including expansion, Gallez modelled two variants (presented in Figures 3 and 4 below): expansion resulting from self(defendant)-segmentation and expansion resulting from other(interpreter)-segmentation. In the first case, the defendant chunked his answers into several parts and the interpreter also rendered them in chunks. In the second case, it was the interpreter who chunked the rendition into several parts, and those parts were typically followed by back-channelling tokens from the defendant.

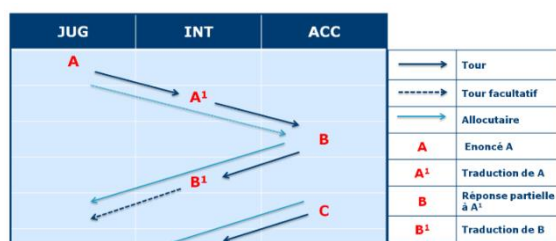


Figure 3 In Gallez (2014, p.127) 'Expansion Model. Variant 1. Self-segmentation'.

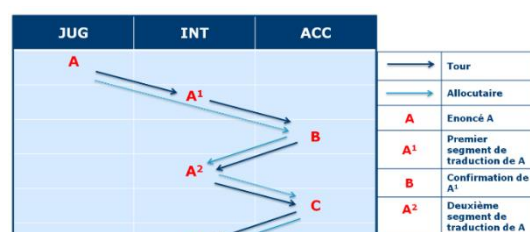


Figure 4 In Gallez (2014, p.125) 'Expansion Model. Variant 2. Other-segmentation'.

Other two models were identified by Gallez, namely the ‘Monolingual Model’ and the ‘Unidirectional Model’. The Monolingual Model (16 occurrences out of 223 in Gallez’ study) represents dyadic exchanges between the interpreter and the judge in which the interpreter’s move is not a rendition and the defendant is excluded. The Unidirectional Model (see Figure 5 below) occurred nine times in Gallez’ study and features a rendition into the defendant’s language that is not met by a next move by the defendant:

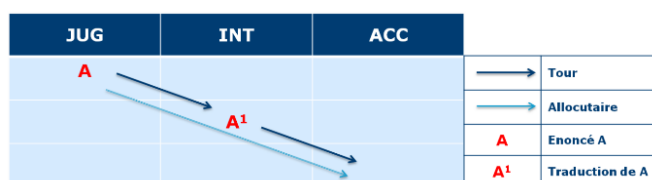


Figure 5 In Gallez (2014, p. 132) 'Unidirectional Model'

In Gallez’ study, 48% of the sequences followed the Classic Model. The remaining 52% involved a turn-taking format that revealed how micro-level actions responded to local needs and factors. Gallez focused on Expansion Model 2, representing side sequences, which had been largely unexplored in the context of courtroom interaction. These sequences occurred between the interpreter and the defendant and included dyadic exchanges initiated by the interpreter preceding the rendition into the other language. They were typically not interpreted, which meant that part of those expanded sequences was not accessible for the judge. The excluding nature of these sequences makes them particularly marked in courtroom interaction, where everything that is said by the defendant needs to be accessible for other participants.

Gallez also observed how the interpreter took an active role in reacting to the defendant’s silent pauses following her rendition. The actions performed included reformulations, disambiguations and alterations (direct into indirect styles) that the interpreter seemed to consider necessary to prompt an answer from the defendant. By doing so, the interpreter took the principal’s role on behalf of the judge, and deprived the judge of the opportunity to pursue certain tactics, such as the intentional use of direct speech to call into question a contradictory account. Another pattern observed by Gallez was the interpreter engaging in dialogues with the detainee when the latter provided answers that did not appear relevant for the question asked. Gallez argues that, by negotiating and filtering the answers, the interpreter alters the defendant’s image and thus, his projected identity.

Interpreter’s actions altering the defendant’s image included clarification and meta-comments. Clarification occurred sometimes due to interpreting difficulties, and others

in relation to perceived lack of coherence, or relevance. Gallez also observed the effects of clarification sequences on matters such as temporality or aimed at obtaining a more precise answer. Gallez noted that defendant's answers became more cohesive and coherent in their interpreted representation. Meta-comments and questions other than clarification were also observed, such as the interpreter prompting more details. These actions sometimes seemed to be triggered by the fact that the interpreter had difficulties in understanding the answer, and at times she introduced elements in the rendition that made it more difficult for the defendant to infer the relevance. In other cases, she sought clarification for no apparent reason. Gallez' analysis showed how, compared to other settings, the rigid interaction rules and the consequences of side sequences made the exclusion of one of the participants particularly risky.

The models presented above illustrate the active role of interpreters in different encounters and the translation of that activity into turns and interactional models that do not follow the standard order mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. More importantly, Gallez (2014) stresses the purpose of modelling the different formats of sequential organization as a starting point for exploring the effects of the interpreter's active role not only upon the substance and outcomes of the interaction, but also upon its order, an assumption that resonates with the tenets of CA. The models presented above were observed in institutional contexts, in which turn-taking systems typically respond to specific formats and asymmetric rights. As shown in CA studies and highlighted in Section 2.2.2 above, one of the features of institutional interaction is that not every participant has the same rights to initiate topics, close topics or modify the turn-taking system. The institutional participant is the one who typically regulates the interaction. This feature of institutional interaction applies even more rigidly in legal settings, as shown in studies of court interaction (Antaki and Drew 1979) and police interviews (Heydon 2005), and it is taken into account in the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

2.5 Intra-institutional features, interpersonal relationships and situatedness in DI encounters

2.5.1 *Asymmetries in DI encounters*

As mentioned in Section 2.1, one of the distinct features of DI encounters is that they occur within communities or societies rather than in international contexts. DI encounters

normally occur in ‘the most private spheres of human life... in settings where the most intimate and significant issues of everyday individuals are discussed: a doctor’s surgery, a social worker’s or a lawyer’s office, a gaol, a police station or courtroom’ (Hale 2007, p.25). The type of encounters mentioned in the previous paragraphs are often framed within specific institutional and social contexts with their own ecologies, rules, and rituals, as well as constraints that have a bearing upon the co-construction of meaning. These encounters typically involve some form of service provision, three parties, including two parties who use interpreting to communicate and are referred to as ‘primary participants’ in the literature, and the interpreter. Of the two primary participants (Jacobsen 2008, pp.159-160):

‘...one primary participant is typically a professional – a police officer, a lawyer, a doctor, a psychologist, a professor, a social worker, etc. – with a certain amount of power, while the other primary participant is typically a non-professional (and a member of a linguistic minority), who has only a small amount of power (e.g. Englund-Dimitrova 1997; Jacobsen 2008; Roy 2000).

The different participants have asymmetric power relationships in terms of epistemic knowledge, institutional power, cultural and social capital in Bourdieu’s terms (1983), and interactional power. Whereas the institutional participant typically acts on behalf or as a member of an institution and is familiar with the language and rituals used within it, the lay participant typically acts on their own behalf as an individual who is not a member of the institution and in most cases they belong to a minority community.

Ng (2013) discusses the influence of power asymmetries upon interpreters’ performance, as it is observed in interpreters’ different forms of address depending on the status of the primary participant addressed. Ng found a pattern in court interpreters’ use of the third and first person form in Hong Kong courts which she interpreted as resulting from interpreters’ having to play two asymmetric roles. Ng observed that interpreters used the normative first person style only when interpreting the powerless participant’s voice into English, but resorted to the third person when voicing the utterances of powerful participants into Chinese. Ng suggests that this pattern may be due to interpreters’ perceptions of power asymmetries and their uneasiness with playing two roles (of the powerful, legal participants, and of the non-powerful, lay participants). The particular features of the Hong Kong court also seemed to have an influence in that regard. By playing these different roles, the interpreters align themselves with the powerless

participant, as do the court interpreters in Martin and Ortega-Herráez (2010), something that challenges the norm of neutrality contained in court interpreting codes of ethics.

In the case of the police interview, the focus of this PhD study, the features of the interview as an institutional discourse genre and the surrounding conditions make interpreting unique in its own way, as stated in the data description section (Section 5.2.2).

2.5.2 Face-work in interpreter-mediated encounters

In dialogic encounters, both mediated and unmediated, participants handle their own and each other's face. According to Goffman (1974), 'face' refers to 'the positive claim on social value made by an individual and the line he or she takes'. Face relates to interaction in so far as speakers' and hearers' behaviour is shaped by their concerns about how they are perceived. Interlocutors handle interaction through face-work, which was defined by Goffman as one of the rituals used in human interaction. Interactional moves can threaten the face of participants (face-threatening acts or FTA), for instance when someone calls into question what the previous speaker just said. Brown and Levinson (1987) developed politeness theory based on the concept of face, and distinguished between positive and negative face and the role of politeness in doing face work: saving face (protecting it), threatening it, etc.

In an interpreter-mediated dialogic encounter, face work is carried out within the interpreter-mediated regime. A number of studies have explored face work and politeness in DI encounters (Knapp-Potthoff and Knapp 1987; Wadensjö 1998; Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001; Pöllabauer 2004, 2007; Jacobsen 2008; Liu 2010; Lee 2013; Gallez 2015), and have revealed that face-saving and face-threatening elements can be missed, altered or introduced (Pöllabauer 2004) through interpreters' renditions. These behaviours have the potential not only for miscommunication, but of repositioning primary participants and their mutual relationship, and ultimately can affect the trajectory of talk.

In an analysis of a court interpreting case in Flanders, Gallez (2015) drew on Bousfield's (2008) notion of impoliteness and observed for instance, that the interpreter tended to mitigate face-threatening acts produced by the defendant against the judge by using a higher register and omitting information, but she did so to a lesser extent when the face-threats were addressed to the defendant. In legal settings, alterations can have an impact upon how credible witnesses, defendants, interviewees or other participants are

perceived, as shown by Berk-Seligson (1990/2002) in relation to the omission of hedges and changes in register in court interpreting. Lee (2013) recorded the face-work carried out by court interpreters in handling their own face, and how this can affect the trajectory of the interaction, for instance not acknowledging agency for an error or avoiding repair initiation at the cost of accurate comprehension to protect their own face.

2.5.3 Trust and interpersonal relationships in DI encounters

Apart from the self-image and the sensitivity of face-work in interpreter-mediated encounters, trust is a salient element related to the interpersonal nature of DI encounters. According to Tipton (2010), trust is a multi-dimensional concept and defining it has proven very complex. The few existing studies on trust in DI encounters (Edwards et al. 2005, 2006; Tipton 2008; Hsieh 2009) agree that trust is decisive for users' perceptions of quality and participants' relationships and behaviour in interaction. Studies of users' experiences and their perceptions have identified trust as a salient element associated with the perceived degree of quality. Martínez-Gómez (2015) mentions three studies in which trustworthiness as a trait of interpreters prevailed over other traits and skills: Edwards et al. (2005), Napier and Rohan (2007) and Napier (2013).

In her own doctoral thesis (unpublished) about non-professional interpreting in prisons, Martínez-Gómez (2011) discusses at length how relationships of trust between fellow inmates acting as interpreters were subjected to interpersonal conflicts or problems emerging from pre-existing relationships of trust. The consequences upon the person acting as an interpreter were, in the case of fellow inmates, accompanied by potentially high risks. This does not mean, though, that the opposite is not true – traits indexing professionalism have also been identified as correlating with trust development. Tipton (2010) explores trust from the point of view of the socio-cultural norms underpinning the relationship between social workers and interpreters as service providers-interpreters. Tipton's study discusses the concept of trust 'as a potential rule of interaction' (Tipton 2010, p.190). Her view on trust is that of a fluid concept that is built on interaction but also shaped by conditions and norms existing before and outside the encounter, for instance as part of each professional's view of the other's profession. Tipton sees the success of communication as largely dependent upon the degree of mutual trust between the two professionals, that is the service provider and the interpreter, and argues that trust negotiated 'at the interstices of interaction can enhance mutual trust through better expectation management' (Tipton 2015).

Tipton's view of trust as negotiable seems applicable to DI encounters across settings in which a server-served relationship also exists, although obviously different settings and discourse genres will require nuanced approaches. One of the aspects Tipton problematizes is the potential difficulty caused by changes in the pre-established power relationships. In particular, the other professional who is normally the powerful 'server' in an unmediated server-served relationship, becomes also the 'served' when an interpreter takes part in interaction.

In the legal domain, Hale (2007) discusses the results of a survey-based study among legal and medical practitioners. In their experience, interpreters taking the gatekeeper role by editing utterances and acting impartially triggers mistrust among participants. In the context of the police interview, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.2.2, trust is associated with the notion of *rapport*, a technical term in investigative interviewing and other settings, such as mental health, to refer to the relationship of trust between the interviewer and interviewee. Walsh and Bull (2012) use Bernieri and Gillis' (2001, p.69) definition of *rapport* as 'a positive and productive affect between people that facilitates mutuality of attention and harmony'. Establishing *rapport* with an interviewee is considered a crucial ground condition in investigative interviews and great emphasis is put on this technique in interviewing training (Baldwin 1993). Walsh and Bull (2012), however, stress that whereas establishing *rapport* with the interviewee has been proven to increase the quality of information retrieved, it can also make them more reluctant to answer for fear of self-incrimination. The stressful conditions of the interview make *rapport*-building a difficult task.

When an interpreter is present, *rapport*-building strategies are normally co-constructed in the triadic relationship and *rapport* between the interpreter and the other participants seems a reasonable precondition to create *rapport* between primary participants. The challenges of handling this endeavour appear evident, but remain largely unexplored. Gallai's (2013) paper on footing shifts is an exception, and it is discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Gallai explored footing shifts in authentic interpreter-mediated police interview and the study showed the clash between interpreter's actions aimed at clarifying and the police officers' *rapport*-building efforts. When an interpreter is present in interaction, it is still unexplored how interpreters build *rapport*. Do they build *rapport* for somebody, with somebody or both? Can these two be separated?

The observations above suggest that more research on rapport in the field of DI is needed. Looking into actual practice can help us identify how relationships of trust between the different participants are established and maintained - or not - in different types of encounters.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the theoretical underpinnings of the Dialogue Interpreting paradigm and the distinct features of DI encounters, in particular the dialogic nature of discourse in those encounters. The chapter has provided a review of the basic concepts of the fields of Dialogism, Conversation Analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics and the analysis of multimodality, with a particular focus on their application to the study of dialogic interpreter-mediated events. Moreover, it has discussed key theoretical concepts in relation to Merlini's (2015) three main focal points of DI research: the collective nature of meaning co-construction, the particular turn-taking organization and turn-by-turn development of talk emerging in the triadic encounter, and the intra-institutional and intra-personal features of interaction. As mentioned above, by placing the encounter at the core of research, the collective nature of interaction has been acknowledged. The interpreter in DI encounters is now seen as both a relayer and coordinator of talk, and the different conceptualizations of coordination have been outlined and discussed, including Wadensjö's notions of 'implicit' and 'explicit' coordination, and Gavioli and Baraldi's notions of 'basic' and 'reflexive' coordination.

DI studies have revealed that, from a structural standpoint, interaction in DI encounters is organized in particular ways. Beyond the 'normal' turn-taking system first described by Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff (1986), other models of interpreter-mediated interaction have contributed to describing and characterising the range of potential moves and sequence types that emerge in actual interpreted interaction (Roy 1989; Davidson 2002; Gallez 2014). These models illustrate the range of activities, both dyadic and triadic, that are embedded in DI interaction and which, as the literature suggests, are part and parcel of meaning-making in interpreter-mediated face-to-face encounters. The different sequence types are the structural result of the enactment of interpreting as a coordination activity, and they also display participants' orientation and positioning towards talk.

This chapter has also discussed the controversies over the enacted, expected and perceived role of the interpreter, and outlined different conceptualizations of role (Mason 2009; Llewellyn-Jones and Lee 2013) which approach the analysis of role as a dynamic concept shaped by various factors. Controversies over the latitude of interpreters to carry out meta-communicative tasks have been discussed, and their manifestation in the form of different types of renditions outlined (Wadensjö 1998). The type, negotiation and functions of interpreter participation are key questions in this thesis, in particular within the stand-by mode of interpreting. This chapter has contended that the participation framework, the co-construction of meaning, interpreter performance and its effects are shaped by the intra-institutional and inter-personal nature of DI encounters. This thesis aims to contribute to describing the display of intra-institutional, participation, and inter-personal features under the stand-by regime, and their relationship with the co-construction of meaning in the police interview. Ultimately, the features identified will allow us to explore and problematize the discourse features and the extent of the interpreter's participation in the stand-by regime, and its particular implications in the police interview as a legal discourse genre.

In the chapter that follows, the field of Police Interpreting is reviewed and the features of the police interview as an institutional discourse genre are discussed. The review of studies on police interpreting and, in particular, of the interpreter-mediated police interview is preceded by a discussion of the main features of the monolingual police interview, linguistic and participation features in police interviews and forensic interviewing models. This introduction serves as a basis to explore the particularities observed in interpreter-mediated police interviews, and to contextualize the aspects analysed in this thesis.

Chapter 3 – Police Interpreting Research

3.1 Introduction

Having discussed the main conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of the DI paradigm and the advances in research in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 presents the features of the police interview as an institutional discourse genre, and a review of the literature on police interpreting. Particular attention is paid to discourse-analytical studies of interpreter-mediated police interviews, which serve the purposes of contextualizing the study presented in this thesis. Before looking at the particular features of police interpreting and the interpreter-mediated police interview, linguistic, procedural and organizational aspects surrounding the police interview as an institutional discourse genre are discussed in the first place.

Although this chapter is structured around the main themes addressed in police interpreting, studies exploring interpreting in other legal settings, such as asylum interviews and court hearings, are integrated in this review, as compared to other law-enforcement and judiciary settings, the field of police interpreting has received less scholarly attention. The field of court interpreting has paved the way and led research since the first publications emerged (Harris 1981), and immigration and asylum settings have also attracted the attention of researchers across the world. Despite the differences between the settings, the studies conducted in other legal subfields and other settings have revealed fundamental aspects of interpreter-mediated interaction that are of relevance across legal settings, and are therefore referred to when relevant in the review presented in this chapter.

3.1.1 Advances in policies, rights to interpreting and research in the legal field

The fundamental human right of access to justice and due process is laid down in Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the case of an individual who does not command the language of the proceedings, the right to translation and interpreting becomes essential in order to safeguard their human right of access to justice and due process. In the EU context, *Directive 2010/64/EU on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings* adopted by the European Parliament in June 2010 and by the Council of Europe in October on the same year, is a milestone for safeguarding of the right to translation and interpreting for suspected or accused persons. The right to

translation and interpreting is expressly acknowledged in the Directive from the moment an individual is informed of their status as a suspected or accused person, until the conclusion of the criminal proceedings, that is the right to interpreting and translation goes beyond courtroom interaction and reaches out to previous and subsequent stages. Member states need to abide by the legislative measures encompassed in the directive, in particular in relation to interpreter training, the establishment of an official register of interpreters, and forms of quality control.

More recently, two other directives have been passed that are of paramount importance to those involved in legal proceedings and requiring the assistance of a translator or interpreter, namely *Directive 2013/48/EU on the right of access to a lawyer in criminal proceedings and on the right to communicate upon arrest*, and *Directive 2012/29/EU, establishing minimum standards on the rights, support and protection of victims of crime*. Both directives are ‘linked in the mindset of the Commission’ (Hertog 2015, p.19) to Directive 2010/64.

Narrowing the focus from universal rights to EU policies to the UK justice systems, the right to an interpreter is contained in CODE C (3.12) (2014) of the Police and Evidence Act (PACE) in force in England and Wales²: ‘...does not speak or understand English or who has a hearing or speech impediment, the custody officer must ensure: (a) that without delay, an interpreter is called for assistance in the action under *paragraphs 3.1 to 3.5*’. In the Scottish jurisdiction, the right to an interpreter in legal proceedings, including with the police, is recognized under the applicable European Convention on Human Rights, Directive EU 64/2010. Lord Advocate’s Guidelines to Chief Constables³ include the instruction of interpreters for criminal court proceedings and contains reference to suspects, victims and witnesses and the assessment of language skills. The right to an interpreter is also recognized in the context of the police interview, both for the consultation with a solicitor and for the interview itself.

As highlighted by Hertog (2015), the legal interpreting field has witnessed an unprecedented development in the EU context over the past decades, both in terms of research and policies. The field is treated in this study as including court, police, immigration and asylum settings. Hertog notes that research projects involving several partner institutions, including universities and professional associations have propelled

² Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/pace-code-c-2014> [Accessed: 28/07/2016]

³ Available at: <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/03/20744/53309> [Accessed 20/07/2017]

the field in the EU context, and stresses the significance of research projects in relation to the financial, bureaucratic, political and ideological obstacles faced during the transposition of Directive 2010/64/EU, as they have ‘collectively... disseminated an invaluable amount of good practice in legal interpreting throughout the EU and one can identify their influence in publications, training programmes, conferences and professional activities’ (Hertog 2015, p.22).

Due to space limitations, only a chronological overview is included here to illustrate the foci and extent of the projects conducted in the EU context, and which are relevant to frame both the literature review and the analysis of authentic interpreter-mediated police interviews presented in this study. The projects conducted in the EU context include *Grotius 1 (Aequitas)* (1998) which focused on legal interpreting, including the competences required, student selection, curriculum, assessment, certification, training of trainers and codes of ethics, together with guidelines for good practice; and *Grotius 2 (Aequalitas)* (2001), which focused on strengthening the legal framework through an assessment of case-law and the suitability of videoconference and interpreting in the legal process. *Agis* projects 1 (2003) and 2 (2006) focused on assessing and assuring legal interpreting provision. An important landmark was the *EULITA* project in 2007, which led to the establishment of the *European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association (EULITA)* in 2009. *Trafut* (2010) focused on providing expert advice to member states on aspects related to training contained in the recitals and articles of the Directive and facilitated a smooth transposition into national legislation. The *Qualitas* project (JUST/2011/JPEN/AG/2889) focused on the quality of legal interpreting, in particular through the evaluation of existing and development of testing and certification mechanisms. *SOS-VICS* (2011) was, as Hertog puts it, an ‘oddity’, in that it is the only national project on the list. Carried out in Spain, it focused on interpreting for victims of gender violence. *TraiLLD* (2013), focused on interpreter training for languages of lesser diffusion, and *Understanding Justice* (2013) explores interpreting in mediation sessions.

Particularly relevant for this thesis is the *ImPLI* project (2010), which focused on providing guidelines to improve police and legal interpreting and disseminated their findings and recommendations through six didactic films and a report; *Building Mutual Trust I* (2010) which also resulted in the creation of five educational videos for different target audiences on best practices when working with interpreters in scenarios including defendants, witnesses and suspects; and *Building Mutual Trust II* (2013), in which video materials with embedded learning points on how to work with interpreters were

developed in particular for legal personnel. *Co-Minor/in-Quest* (2011), focused on interpreting in investigative interviews with minors; *AVIDICUS* 1 (2008), 2 (2010) and 3 (2013), on videoconference interpreting in legal settings, including police settings; and *JUSTISIGNS* (2013), which was developed under the EU's Lifelong Learning Programme and focuses on analysing in particular sign language interpreting in legal settings and on developing training guidelines, events and a stronger resource of sign language interpreters working in this domain. The reports, links and extensive information about the projects listed above can be found on EULITA's website⁴.

3.2 The police interview as an institutional discourse genre

Language plays a crucial role in legal procedures, be it cross-examination in court, a police interview with a suspect, or an immigration hearing. As Gibbon notes, 'the law is an overwhelmingly linguistic institution' (2003, p.1), not only regarding coded legislation, but also relating to the fact that legal processes such as police investigations or court cases are realized primarily through language. This crucial role of language translates into a high degree of sensitivity regarding the discursive choices that interpreters make, as illustrated in micro-analytical studies of court interpreting (Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Pym 1999; Hale 2004) and police interpreting (Krouglov 1999; Russell 2001, 2002; Gallai 2013; Nakane 2014).

Beyond setting-specific features, interaction in court, asylum, police and other legal settings can be considered as sub-genres of institutional interaction, in which a number of constraints and asymmetries apply (See Chapter 2.3 for a review of Institutional CA). The police interview as a specific discourse genre has features that make it distinct from other legal discourse genres. It is explored in this study as an institutional discourse genre within the legal field. Investigations are conducted in the framework of legal processes and justice and law enforcement institutions and, as part of those investigations, investigative interviews are institutional discourse genres. As noted in Chapter 2.3 in relation to institutional Conversation Analysis, the fact that the discourse genre is framed within an institutional domain and subjected to norms and constraints, though, is not sufficient to explain the 'institutionality' of the police interview. As Heydon notes, 'although the police interview is a highly regulated form of discourse that is structured

⁴ <http://www.eulita.eu/european-projects> [Accessed 20 July 2017]

around legislative requirements, its ‘institutionality’ is constructed through the participants’ interaction as they negotiate the organizational goals’ (Heydon 2005, p.4).

The institutionality of the police interview can also be observed in that it is part of a chain of events that shape the criminal investigation process. Russell (2002, p.111) refers to the police interview as ‘the upstream event that sets in motion everything that leads to the trial, months later and miles ‘downstream’.’ González, Vásquez and Mikkelson (2012) highlight the pivotal role of the police interview in the investigative process and the need to protect the right to linguistic assistance:

Protecting the legal rights of Limited English Proficiency suspects through meaningful linguistic access during the investigative stage of a legal case is crucial, as any resulting statements or confessions will be used in court as evidence against them—determining the charges and grand jury findings, impacting every subsequent proceeding, and potentially causing irreparable damage to their legal outcomes. (González, Vásquez and Mikkelson 2012, p.444)

As the excerpt above suggests, the police interview is part of a chain of events and its outcomes affect the subsequent stages. Police interviews, though, are only one type of encounter in which interpreting may be required in police settings. Other interpreting scenarios include interpreting in live police operations, during arrest, and police statements over the counter, among others: ‘The work of police interpreters could see them mobile and working onsite and outside the police station’ (Gamal 2014, p.82). Interpreters in police settings can also be required to carry out transcriptions (Foulquié-Rubio 2002; Ortega-Herráez and Foulquié-Rubio 2008) of taped conversations, as well as translating documents. The different scenarios listed above have in common that they are part of larger-scale proceedings, in which a number of institutionally-driven protocols, constraints and strict rules apply.

This chapter focuses on the particular features of investigative interviewing and interpreter-mediated police interviews, including the formats, the techniques used by police officers and the role of language in the police interview.

3.2.1 The police interview: aims

Investigative interviewing is defined by Milne and Powell (2010, p.208) as a method of communication ‘with anyone within the investigation process in order to obtain the maximum quality of information’. This definition includes interviews with witnesses,

suspects and victims, which are ultimately aimed at gathering accurate and reliable information. Roberts (2012, p.2) defines the suspect interview as a ‘formal questioning of the suspect by one or more police officers following the suspect’s arrest on suspicion of committing the offence’, aimed to find out whether the suspects were ‘knowingly concerned in the committal of the offence’ (Russell 2001).

In the UK context, major changes in practice, research and training in investigative interviewing started in the late 70s and 80s. Skills in effective interviewing among police officers were often taken for granted before the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) was enacted in the UK in 1984. The enactment of PACE was triggered by evidences of bad practice and poor interviewing of suspects, and aimed at preventing miscarriages of justice (Milne and Powell 2010). It has been pivotal for the development of principles and guidelines aimed at conducting quality and ethical (non-coercive) interviews. As Clarke et al. put it (2011, pp.1-2):

...fuelled by a number of infamous miscarriage of justice cases (e.g. Guildford Four). This new approach was built upon research examining good communication skills, human memory, and the management of conversation. Its inception signalled a move from interrogation to investigative interviewing, which heralded a shift in focus from obtaining a confession to acquiring full and accurate information’.

The term ‘interrogation’ was commonly used before the changes in interviewing practice brought about under PACE (1984). It was normally associated with the notion of questioning as a way of obtaining a confession (Williamson 1993). The changes in practices and protocols related to the interviewing of suspects occurred almost in parallel in the Scottish jurisdiction and in England and Wales. One of the main changes adopted was the mandatory taping of police interviews with suspects to allow monitoring and to protect both interviewees and interviewing officers. Tape recording became mandatory in 1984 in England and Wales. In Scotland, experimental tape recording began in 1980 and became standard practice after the enactment of the 1987 Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act (Drummond 2007).

Policy changes propelled changes in practice and research and advances in practice and research propelled policy changes. Advances in research, in particular in the field of Psychology, led to the emergence of forensic interviewing frameworks, many of which have been developed and are still in use today. The following section includes a review

of interviewing protocols, interview formats and interviewing techniques used in investigative interviewing.

3.2.2 The police interview: forensic interviewing formats

As mentioned above, investigative interviewing practice and protocols have undergone significant advances also as fields of scholarly research since the 1980s, in particular propelled by studies in the field of Psychology. Interviewing practices developed from the use of violence and threats to obtain confessions, to more ethically oriented practices which are grounded on the use of non-coercive information-gathering methods and on building rapport with the interviewee (Roberts 2012).

Research conducted by psychologists on memory and quality of information was crucial for the development of interviewing techniques and models, such as the Cognitive Interview, Conversation Management, and the PEACE and PRICE interview models used in the UK context (England and Wales, and Scotland, respectively), each of which is described below. Powell et al. (2005) mention four common aspects of such interviewing protocols, namely the emphasis on building rapport with the interviewee, providing a clear description of the interviewer's investigative needs, using open-ended questions and being willing to explore, in order to obtain more and more accurate information.

The Conversation Management approach devised by Sheperd in 1983 is based on the use of calm and controlled conversational language and the treatment of the interviewee as a conversational participant in order to maximise spontaneous accounts from interviewees. This approach draws on cognitive and social psychology studies, as well as on sociolinguistics and counselling psychology, and aims at ethical conversation. The Conversation Management technique consists of three phases: the suspect agenda phase, in which open questions are addressed to the interviewee so that they offer a free account. The second phase is the police agenda, with a focus on gathering more details and clarifying the interviewee's account, and the last phase is the challenge phase. Elements of the Conversation Management approach are integrated in other interview models.

The Cognitive Interview (CI) is a method used primarily in interviews with witnesses and victims, and elements of it are sometimes integrated within other frameworks (Heydon and Lai 2013). The focus is on enhancing recall and obtaining detailed accounts from interviewees. Its origins are found in the 1980s in the field of cognitive psychology. It is based on memory and cognition (effective use of interviewees' cognitive resources);

social dynamics (rapport building, active interviewee participation), and communication (obtaining detailed and extensive responses through verbal and non-verbal means, by creating the conditions for interviewees to do so) (Geiselman and Fisher, 2014, p.2).

The PEACE interview model was adopted by the police in England and Wales in 1992 (Clarke, Milne and Bull 2011) and the PRICE model in Scotland, also in the early 1990s (Drummond 2009). Both of them are used primarily in interviews with suspects but also in witness interviews. The adoption of the PEACE and PRICE frameworks was part of the efforts to move towards structured, more effective and non-coercive investigative interviewing, and they are strongly based on rapport building. Their names are mnemonic acronyms corresponding to the sequential interview phases:

- PEACE: Planning, Engage and Explain, Account, Challenge, Closure, Evaluation.
- PRICE: Planning, Rapport, Information, Confirmation, Evaluation, Action.

Despite slight differences in the Confirmation stage (see Drummond 2009 for a detailed comparison), the PEACE and PRICE models are otherwise very similar. Within PEACE and PRICE models, planning precedes the actual interviewing phase and rapport-building efforts start from the moment the interviewer first meets the interviewee. Questioning techniques encourage the use of open questions during the Account and Information-Gathering stages in the PEACE and PRICE models, respectively, and the use of yes/no and close questions during the subsequent stage. Both models incorporate elements of other approaches, such as attention to enhancing recall and the focus on rapport building mentioned above (CI), and their structured approach to interviewing has inspired interview models in countries such as Norway, New Zealand and Germany (Bull, Valentine and Williamson 2009).

The models presented above provide investigative interviewing practice with structure and guidelines, both of which are institutionally determined, goal orientated and at the same time co-construct the institutionality of the interview. The following section reviews studies exploring particular features and ‘places’, following Heritage (2005), of the police interview as an institutional discourse genre, including internal functional organization, the participation framework, turn-taking organization and sequence design, and linguistic features.

3.2.3 The architecture of the police interview as an institutional discourse genre

As mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the police interview is a discourse genre that exists within the police institution. Together with the constraints imposed by the aims and requirements mentioned above, the institutionality of the police interview can be observed in the particular features that characterize the aspects or 'places' mentioned by Heritage (2005) and presented in Chapter 2.3.

The overall structural organization, the turn-taking features and the sequence types are three places where the institutionality can be identified. As for its overall structural organization, the police interview is largely determined by the interview model used and the particular interview plan. The turn-taking organization in the police interview presents a rigid pre-allocation of turns, with police officers having control over turn and topic initiation. Sequence organization is the third and main place in which the institutionality can be identified (Heritage 2005). Sequence organization in the police interview reflects, for example, the interactional and institutional identities of interlocutors. The question-answer sequence is the main sequence type in police interviews, but, as explained below, questions can be designed in such a way that they have the potential to elicit certain types of answers. For instance, current interviewing practices prefer open questions during the information-seeking phases in order to elicit longer accounts, which are typically followed by police officers' back-channelling tokens following an interviewee's answer and projecting listenership. Other question types are used during the challenge phases, typically formulations or summaries of previous talk. This is not to say that these particular sequence organizations are unique to the police interview, but the order in which they occur, the lexical choices made, the phases in which they are framed and the turn-taking organization do result in particular features that construct the police interview.

A number of asymmetries apply in the police interview, in particular regarding the distribution of power, including interactional power. Heydon's study of monolingual police interviews conducted in Australia unravelled the power-dynamics of the police interview as displayed in interaction (2005). Drawing on Goffman's participation framework (see Chapter 2.2.3), Conversation Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis, Heydon's study showed that the overarching goal of obtaining a voluntary confession and the evidentiary nature of interviews shaped the way language was used in interviews, the

organization and types of sequences, when, how and whose voice was heard at each stage, thus, it could be argued, that power permeates across the different layers or ‘places’ proposed by Heritage as ‘places to probe the institutionality of the interaction’ (2006, p.5), already discussed in Chapter 2.2.2.

Heydon observed that the opening and closing stages of the interview were the stages in which the police institution was the principal and author, as it was here that legal procedures needed to be observed. Scripted sequences such as the caution or the closing of the interview were delivered here as a procedural requirement, and police officers had little latitude to phrase them freely. Heydon argued that the police officers’ participant role during such stages was that of animators or ‘sounding boxes’, while the police institution remained the principal (responsible for what is said) and author (responsible for the wording). In contrast, during the information-gathering phases, police officers designed their questions themselves in order to elicit an account from the suspect. Obtaining a voluntary account from the suspect is the ultimate goal, and Heydon observed that police officers exerted their interactional power to transfer the role of principal, author and animator to the suspect. Heydon also highlighted that the distribution of participant statuses correlated with the goals of the different phases. The interactional power that police officers’ yield was reflected in police officers’ control over the initiation and closing of topics and on their access to interactional resources, such as turn-allocation and use of specific strategies.

In relation to interactional power asymmetries, Grant et al. (2015, p.23) illustrate the power of the police officer over the interaction with this role description contained in the Guidance for the interview framework used in England and Wales: ‘the interviewer should pick topics, probe and summarize to gather an account of an event, move on to the next topic and repeat these actions’. As this definition suggests, the amount of interactional power in the hands of the interviewer is very high. This is one of the asymmetries referred to in Chapter 2.2.2 in relation to the features of institutional interaction.

3.3 The interpreter-mediated police interview as a discourse genre

The police interview is part of a chain of events (Haworth 2006) in a domain in which language, texts and discourses are of paramount importance. Eades (2010) highlights the

prevalence and significance of written language in the legal field, and how written language permeates spoken legal language. Furthermore, legal processes are characterized by a high degree of intertextuality (Cotterill 2002), with testimonies, narratives, codes, versions of accounts, reports and records of events being referred to, recycled and used at different points throughout the process. The language of the law is characterized by the use of specialized terminology, a specific formal register, syntactic complexity and a high degree of precision in terms of formulation and lexical selection.

The use of legal language across legal settings has been the object of numerous studies and criticism, and problems related to this complexity also apply in investigative interviews. In investigative interviewing, language is a communicative device, a tool to achieve the interview goals, and very delicate due to its evidentiary role. The strong reliance on information gathered in investigative interviews at subsequent stages of the legal process has triggered studies around the validity of written interview records and interviewees' statements and how they are later used in trials or at other stages (Jönsson and Linell 1991; Rock 2001; Coulthard 2002; Komter 2007, 2012; Haworth 2009). Recording of police interviews in certain countries, such as the UK and Australia, makes it possible to check the exact wording of utterances, although recordings are not routinely checked. Instead, police officers' notes and written reports are regularly used as records. This process is problematic in several ways, and examples of obvious differences have been found between the oral interview and the written police report (Komter 2006, Kredens 2011, van Charldorp 2011), and how it is later used in trials (Komter 2012).

From the point of view of the level of formality, Hale (2007, p.66) classes the police interview as an 'informal, semi-formal' legal domain, alongside police interrogations and legal conferences. In contrast she classifies both court hearings and court trials as 'formal' domains. Although language is not the only marker of formality, it is certainly one of the indicators. The combination of procedurally-required exchanges, such as the caution or the closing, with questions and answers about the particular case reflects the combination of legal/formal language and informal language in the police interview.

This combination of formal and informal language also reflects the two realities that are projected through interaction in the police interview, as is the case in other legal settings. Participants rely on two realities to make inferences, namely the reality of the encounter itself (interview, hearing), and the reality that brought the interview or hearing into being, that is the case or business being dealt with (Hale and Gibbons 1999; Gibbons 2007, cf.

in Mulayim, Lai and Norma 2014). During the interview or trial, the encounter itself is the ‘primary reality’ and the matter under investigation is the ‘secondary reality’ on which the questioning focuses. These two realities are made relevant at different moments and their coexistence requires careful handling, and can trigger confusion and comprehension problems for all involved in the interaction, including interpreters.

Section 3.3.1 below discusses practical aspects related to the setting up and follow-up of the interpreter-mediated interview: briefing, introducing and debriefing the interpreter. Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 below focus on two distinct communicative practices that are the building blocks of the police interview: the sequence types and stages dealing with formal aspects (oriented towards the primary reality of the interview), and the questioning phases (oriented primarily to the secondary reality, that is the case). Given their distinct features and functions, they are explored separately. Finally, Section 3.3.4 reviews the findings of existing studies focusing on miscommunication and repair in the interpreter-mediated police interviews. As particular subgenres of police interviews, the aspects presented below in relation to interpreter-mediated police interviews are backed by features and findings of studies of monolingual police interviews.

3.3.1 Interpreter-mediated police interviews: briefing, introducing and debriefing the interpreter

This section reviews existing research in relation to seating arrangements, briefing, introducing, and debriefing the interpreter the interpreter when the decision of calling an interpreter has been made and an interpreter has been called. These aspects involve a degree of decision-making and surround the interpreted event. As it is discussed in the analysis, meta-communicative actions about interpreting impact participants’ actions, and are reviewed here as part of the contextual conditions of interpreter-mediated events.

From the point of view of seating arrangements, these are a matter of concern in relation to police interpreting practice, as it is discussed in Section 3.2.2 below. In the case of spoken languages, the London Metropolitan Police *Working with Interpreters and Translators – Standard Operating Procedures* state (2010, p.19):

Consideration should be given to the position of the interpreter in the interview room, i.e. for spoken language interpreting a triangle arrangement may be suitable, with the officer and interviewee opposite each other on the ‘long’ sides of the table and the interpreter between them on the ‘short’ side... Interpreters may well have preferred methods... so they should be consulted.

Briefing, introducing and debriefing the interpreter are some of the practices typically contained in manuals and guidelines on interpreting in legal and police settings, such as Giambruno (2014), Townsley (2011), the ImPLI project report, and the London Metropolitan Police *Working with Interpreters and Translators – Standard Operating Procedures* 2010. Empirical research on the impact of setting the ground rules in interpreting and on how the way the rules are set out affect the exchange is scant. Despite the existing recommendations for both police officers and interpreters mentioned above, Amato and Mack (2015) note that there exists a strong reluctance among legal professionals to brief interpreters. This reluctance aligns with the view of the interpreter as a machine, whose remit is ‘just translate’ what is said, and the fear of disclosing information to the interpreter. Gamal stresses the importance of briefing the police interpreter (Gamal 2014, p.83) and problematizes the lack of awareness about the complex and sophisticated process of interpreting among members of the police who show reluctance to briefing the interpreter.

Perez and Wilson’s study (2007) demonstrated the positive impact of training and awareness on the attitudes of police officers towards briefing, as well as other aspects of interpreting. They report on Scottish police officers’ opinions on the usefulness and relevance of certain aspects in relation to interpreting. The police officers’ answers followed a training initiative on how to work with interpreters. Interestingly, the police officers mentioned the importance of briefing and understanding the interpreter’s role as two of the aspects identified as most useful and valuable from the training initiative.

Amato and Mack (2015) analysed the experiences related to briefing, debriefing and support expressed by two groups of respondents to the CO-Minor-IN/QUEST survey on interpreting in investigative interviews with minors. The two groups were interpreters and other professionals, including justice and police personnel, psychologists, social workers and a group of ‘others’ with participants such as interpreting coordinators. Although not every respondent responded to every question related to briefing, debriefing and support, the number of respondents for each group was around 200. The respondents came from seven EU countries, namely Belgium, France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, the UK and a number of respondents (11) from unspecified countries. Together with differences between countries, interpreters reported overall a lack of briefing and problems to be able to request it, and differences emerged between the frequency of briefing stated by interpreters and by other professionals. A majority of interpreters reporting sometimes or never being briefed and a majority (47%) of other professionals

reporting ‘always’ briefing the interpreter. As Amato and Mack discuss, these discrepancies may be due to various reasons, but one of the likely factors may be related to what respondents understand by what briefing the interpreter actually involves.

The Police Scotland Solicitor Access Guidance Document (2015, see Appendix 2), which is particularly relevant for this study, establishes that the interpreter provides interpreting service for the police and the defence and that the police should provide the interpreter with sufficient information to interpret, and as much information as they would comfortably provide to the solicitor. This guideline places the interpreter in a similar position to the solicitor. The Guidance document also establishes that interpreters shall not be asked to disclose any information that could undermine the confidentiality between the solicitor and the client.

Introducing the interpreter and explaining their role may seem a straightforward task, but a look at studies of both simulated and authentic interviews suggests that it may pose difficulties. As Foulquié-Rubio points out (2002) in her study of police interpreting in Granada and Málaga, interviewees are rarely the participants who request an interpreter, primarily because they are normally not aware that they have the right to have one. Despite Foulquié-Rubio’s study being based in data from a particular area, awareness of how interpreter-mediated communication works cannot be assumed by either primary participant, but particularly by the lay user.

In relation to introducing the interpreter it can be argued that, although existing guidelines state that the police officer is the person in charge of introducing the interpreter and explaining their role, interpreters also take up that role, either implicitly through their interpreting practice or explicitly through instructions and meta-comments about their role. Bearing in mind that most police officers work with interpreters only sporadically, and that not every interpreter is aware of their role in a police interview, it is not hard to imagine that the seemingly straightforward task of explaining the interpreter’s role can be a source of tension or affect the interview in different ways.

A number of examples extracted from existing studies of interpreted police interviews illustrate this point. Böser (2013) analyses meta-comments about the practical aspects of interpreting in mock police interviews with witnesses. The data set consists of six simulated video-recorded witness-police interviews (three with English and French and three with English and German), including the pre-interview briefing. The most relevant

examples to illustrate the abovementioned difficulties related to turn length, including the police officer's explanations about his intention to keep turns short, and asking the witnesses to make pauses to enable the interpreter to take turns.

Böser discusses the ambiguity of the different descriptions referring to the brevity of primary participants' contributions (2013, p.124), in particular regarding the units that are meant to be kept short (sentences, turns). Apart from the conflict between making pauses to accommodate the interpreter's turn and the need for an uninterrupted account in the free recall segment of the interview (See Chapter 3.2.2 above for more details), interpreters were observed adherence to the police officer's instructions and meta-talk during the briefing sessions when they rendered the police officer's instructions to the witness. These examples reveal two aspects that deserve further attention: the observable influence of the briefing session upon police officer and the interpreter behaviour during the interview, and the need for clarity in setting apparently straightforward ground rules. The videos created in the Building Mutual Trust 2 project⁵, those created in the ImPLI project⁶ and by the Cambridge Constabulary⁷ are valuable tools that contain examples of briefing.

Also Gallai's study (2013), reviewed in chapter 3.3.3 below in relation to rapport-building, addresses the first stages of the interviews and the way the interpreter is introduced. One of the interpreters in Gallai's data set was seen taking the initiative to give a direct instruction to the suspect, who had some knowledge of the police officer's language. The negotiation emerging from the interpreter's instruction revealed the assumptions of participants about whose responsibility it is to address aspects that affect directly to their doing.

Regarding debriefing, it is mentioned in reports and studies of legal and police interpreting, but it still remains largely unexplored. Amato and Mack stress the value of debriefing sessions as an opportunity to discuss any matters related to the interview and as a form of releasing stress, and it is an area that deserves more scholarly attention.

⁵ Website: <http://www.buildingmutualtrust.eu/the-bmt-project/bmt-2-project> [Accessed 14/03/2017]

⁶ Website: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLx15JSWFqoqCm5ycG6CKzxAQHE-YfrgIj> [Accessed 14/03/2017]

⁷ Website: <http://www.cambs.police.uk/help/professionalInterpreter/> [Accessed: 14/03/2017]

3.3.2 Formal stages: compliance with legal requirements

As stated above, the combination of ‘ordinary’ language with legal language in some parts of investigative interviews (Gibbons 2003) is a distinctive feature of investigative interviewing. Legal language plays a particularly significant role during the more ritualistic and normative opening and closing phases, where procedures are manifested through ritualized language exchanges. Rock (2007, p.144) describes the language used in the opening and closing phases of police interviews as oriented to carrying out ‘form-filling’ types of activities regulated by legislative requirements, such as introductions, communication of interviewees’ rights and the reasons why they are being interviewed. The comprehension and delivery of the caution as one of the formal procedures has been studied from the fields of policing and Sociolinguistics, a number of studies have focused in particular in the issues related to interpreting the caution. In the following paragraphs, the features and communication issues related to the caution are discussed, but the discussion should be understood by the reader as illustrative of linguistic and communication issues related to formal procedures.

In the UK, the formulation of detainees’ rights is known as the police caution (UK), the so-called Miranda Warnings in the US context. Police officers are normally provided with a scripted version that is read or recited by them, and which is then followed by a comprehension check. Rephrasing the caution is frequently necessary for the sake of comprehension due to its complexity (Gibbons 2003, Cotterill 2002). Cotterill warns, however, that paraphrasing the caution can increase incomprehensibility, particularly due to the variability among police officers in their ability to make the technicalities of the caution comprehensible.

As suggested in the previous paragraph, three concerns are especially relevant in this regard: the level of comprehensibility of the police caution among detained persons and among police officers themselves (Cotterill 2000); the mechanisms used to check its understanding by detainees; and the language awareness and skills of interviewing officers to facilitate comprehension if needed. In the case of the interpreted police interview, the complexity, delivery and chunking of the caution, as well as the lack of equivalent protocols in other jurisdictions, have also been identified as sources of difficulties for the interpreter.

As mentioned above, the police caution is formulated in a complex manner in terms of syntax, lexis and grammar (Gibbons 2003, Shuy 1997). This is largely explained by the fact that the more ritualistic parts of the interview are designed for two audiences: the potential audience of the tape (such as judges or solicitors), and the interviewees. This is referred to in Gibbons (2003) as the ‘two-audience’ dilemma, where, as Heydon (2005) argues, the first target audience, the potential audience of the tape, seems to have a higher impact than the interviewees themselves upon the wording and delivery of formal statements. The Scotland Common Law Caution⁸, which is relevant for this study, presents the following wording:

I am now going to ask you questions about (crime/offence). You are not obliged to answer any questions, but anything you do say may be noted, may be audio and visually recorded, and may be used in evidence. Do you understand that?

As shown in the studies reviewed in the following sections, this procedural component of the interview is seen as problematic in monolingual police interviews. Eades (2010) stresses the contribution of a number of linguists who presented expert evidence of non-native speakers’ difficulty in understanding both the caution and certain questions in specific police interviews. In an experimental study of monolingual police interviews in England and Wales, Fenner, Gudjonsson and Clare (2002) showed that 96% of suspects who had claimed to have understood the caution could not demonstrate that they had understood it. Gibbons’ concerns about the syntactic complexity of the police caution and its implications for second-language speakers resulted in the revision of the New South Wales guidelines for police interviews, as well as the wording of the police caution (Gibbons 2001). The wording of the police caution was also simplified in 15 local indigenous languages in Australia. Several other Australian linguists were involved in projects in the Northern Territory to simplify the wording of the police caution and to translate it into 15 local indigenous languages (Mildren 1999).

Interviewees’ assumptions on comprehension and the method used to check comprehension were called into question by Cotterill (2000): the yes/no question proved invalid to check comprehension. Interviewees may answer 'yes' when asked if they have understood the caution even if they have not, intentionally or unintentionally. When they are asked to explain it, detainees may find it difficult to phrase what they have understood.

⁸

http://www.scotland.police.uk/assets/pdf/151934/184779/psos_solicitor_access_guidance_document_ver_1.00.pdf?view=Standard

It is findings like the ones presented above which informed the calls for a standardization and simplification voiced by authors such as Cotterill (2000) and Gibbons (2003).

The following section explores aspects related to the form of delivery of the caution and other written-based formulaic passages, and its effects upon comprehension.

– *Delivering and interpreting the police caution and other written-based information*

Comprehension problems like the ones presented above do not manifest only among interviewees, but also among police officers in the process of delivering the caution. Cotterill (2000) looked at the way in which police officers' understanding and explanation of the caution influence its comprehensibility. Police and custody officers may explain the caution if they observe comprehension problems among interviewees. However, as Cotterill argues, very often its complexity for the person delivering the caution is not recognized as a fact and the wording itself is not treated as a potential cause of poor comprehension. Rewording the caution is not a simple task, and any simplification or modification may have legal consequences. Cotterill argues that asking police officers to decide on the extent of comprehension and simplify the caution equals to asking them to take up the role of psycholinguists when delivering it.

The delivery of the caution requires attention to sequencing, turn length and rephrasing, both in monolingual and interpreter-mediated police interviews. When the interview is interpreter-mediated, delivering the caution through the interpreter can pose problems. Shuy (1997) and Cotterill (2000) observed that altering the order in which the notional parts of the caution were delivered in monolingual interviews affected comprehension among interviewees. The way police officers simplify, rephrase and sequence the caution affects the way it is understood by recipients (Cotterill 2000), and the interpreting process makes changes in order and chunking more likely. Interpreters are recipients of the police caution for the purposes of providing a rendition in another language. The segmentation of the caution has been examined in relation to its effects upon the task of interpreting (Russell 2000, 2001; Berk-Seligson 2002; Nakane 2007). Russell's study (2000) focuses on the potential implications of inaccurate interpreting of the police caution. Drawing on CA methods, Russell analysed twenty authentic audio-recorded suspect interviews conducted in English with French interpreting and explored, among others, the particularly serious problems that the caution poses to interpreters compared to other parts of police interviews. Russell observed that lexical choices, chunking and the use of an approach focusing primarily on maintaining the form of the original ('form-based') rather than focusing on its meaning ('meaning-based') could lead to miscommunication.

Meaning-based interpreting involves ‘translating the locutionary act’ (Russell 2000, p.37). When interpreters adopted a form-based approach to interpret the caution into French, they found the wording of the caution particularly challenging, particularly when trying to reproduce the syntactic structure of the caution in English and the lexical choice, which may lead to the use of false cognates and to difficulties related to the use of low-frequency terms (Pavlenko 2008, p.6). In Russell’s study, interpreters necessarily had to insert lexical items that changed the force of the message. Following these findings, Russell proposed a standardization of the translation of the police caution and the explanation that is often required and provided.

As mentioned above, the delivery of the caution is often accompanied by an explanation of its meaning or simplification by police officers. Russell observed that, for interpreters, a lack of clarity and uncertainty in the wording and organization of these utterances often makes them opt for a form-based interpreting style rather than a meaning-based one, a decision which can lead to miscommunication. Turn length in the delivery can affect the quality of interpreters’ renditions (Nakane 2007; Heydon and Lai 2013). In a study of six interpreted suspect interviews with Japanese native speakers in Australia, Nakane (2007) focused on the impact of turn lengths on interpreting in three audio-recorded interviews, one audio and video-recorded interview and transcriptions of two police interviews, and found that the interpreted version was more accurate when the caution was divided into chunks by the police officer. This finding in part contradicts Russell’s findings (2001), who identified a greater tendency towards form-based interpreting (and to miscommunication) when the delivery is broken down in shorter turns. This discrepancy can be due to different reasons. Turn length is shown to impact upon interpreting style and accuracy. The information load being lower can affect the interpreting task positively, although mimicking the style may be a more obvious temptation, and the closeness between structures in different language pairs can have an impact. The question here is whether the boundaries set make chunks complete in meaning or if they are broken down with little or no guiding criteria.

The turn-taking regime and the underlying power asymmetries also seem to have an impact upon the degree to which interpreters actively set up the boundaries that work for them. Nakane (2007) noticed that interpreters did not interrupt to request their turn when turn length posed clear challenges for them. Nakane (2007) relates this conduct to interpreters attempting to save their face by not interrupting the flow of the police utterance, a behaviour that indexes the power regime in the interpreter-mediated interview. The interpreters’ attitude of avoiding interruptions affected the content and

design of interpreters' renditions. Omissions and restructuring of information were found in the interpreters' versions which may be the outcome of difficulties to cope with the cognitive load or, as explained by Nakane, be the result of a selective approach by interpreters based on what they consider more or less relevant.

Similar patterns to those identified by Nakane regarding turn length are observed by Wadensjö (1998) and Heydon and Lai (2013) about turn length and strategies used by interpreters to cope with a higher cognitive load. In both studies, omissions increased with longer turns. Accommodating turn length can make the interpreting task easier from a cognitive point of view, and more accurate; however it may collide with the conditions that are more favourable to obtaining free narrative accounts from interviewees.

A number of studies have also looked at issues related to the absence of linguistic assistance and to the use of linguistic tools as coercion mechanisms in police interviews. Pavlenko (2008) highlights malpractice and discrepancies in the criteria used to consider whether the waiver of Miranda rights given by non-native speakers of English in monolingual police interviews was valid, including consideration of the presence or absence of an interpreter and misconceptions about language proficiency. As illustrated by Pavlenko's study (2008, p.8), even an interviewee with a high level of interactional competence experienced difficulties to communicate, such as having understood that she was being interviewed as a witness instead of a suspect. Apart from being an example of malpractice, this finding highlights the risks of making assumptions about linguistic competency.

The studies by Berk-Seligson (2002, 2009) focus on cases of coercion in police interviews in which police officers act as interpreters. Berk-Seligson (2002) observed how the police officer who was acting as an interpreter used this dual role to exercise coercion. The two police officers who took part in the interview disregarded the detainee's desire to remain silent, something that he expressed on 14 occasions. Berk-Seligson (2002) applied Goffman's concept of footing to show how the police officer-interpreter adopted primarily the role of principal by using the first person plural to refer to himself and his colleague, acting as an interrogator when the second police officer was not in the room, and changing and omitting information. Interpreting, thus, was used as a linguistic coercion mechanism that enlarged the power asymmetries among participants.

Berk-Seligson's study (2009) presents a compilation appellate cases from California, Florida and New York where the reason for appeal was related to the quality of interpreting (Spanish). In most of the 112 cases (2009), the appeal had originated in the

use of unqualified interpreters, including relatives or friends of the person interviewed as interpreters, while in other cases police interviewers or other police personnel who were supposed to be ‘bilingual’ were used. Not only was the practice found to be frequent, but also the delivery and comprehension of the rights was recurrently a problematic issue. Despite this, Berk-Seligson explains that ‘the use of such potentially biased interpreters, surprisingly, is not generally a basis for appeal’.

The findings presented above suggest that, in the case of interpreted police interviews, comprehension and delivery problems affect the communication process from the moment of delivery and reception –by the police officer and the interpreter, respectively. Given the triadic and cross-cultural nature of talk, the potential for miscommunication is different from the problems observed in monolingual police interviews, and standardization of the caution and its translation is recommended by experts in police interpreting. A group of linguists, psychologists, lawyers and interpreters published the *Guidelines for communicating rights to non-native speakers of English in Australia, England and Wales, and the USA* (2016). These guidelines are a valuable example of the fruits of research efforts.

As stated at the beginning of this section, the police caution is not the only standardized text used in police interview. In the Scottish jurisdiction, in which the interviews analysed in this study are contextualized, as well as the formal openings and closings, suspects are informed of their rights to a solicitor and their answers are recorded in a form, the *Solicitor Access Recording Form (SARF)*, see guidance document in Appendix 2. Suspects have three rights in relation to access to a solicitor: the right of intimation to solicitor; the right to private consultation before questioning; and the right to private consultation at any other time during the questioning. The suspect’s answers recorded in SARF must be reviewed before the interview and recorded in writing or, if the interview is audio or visually recorded, the review of rights must be also recorded and be delivered before the caution (see Appendix 2). In relation to the nature of the passages included in this section, the guidance document establish that police officers must use the exact words as contained in the SARF form every time they inform suspects of their rights to a solicitor. As in the case of the caution, a normative requirement of delivery, review and comprehension check applies to the review of suspects’ answers in the SARF form. Furthermore, the review questions are also scripted and verbalized only when delivered; and a verbatim delivery is preferred or normatively required. As will be shown in the analysis chapters (6 and 7), the delivery, comprehension and interpreting of the SARF

form pose difficulties to all participants. In the ensuing section, the particular features of information-gathering routines are discussed.

3.3.3 Information-gathering: rapport-building and questioning

This section reviews the investigative interview from the point of view of the strategic use of language for information-gathering purposes. As discussed in Chapter 3.2.2 in relation to forensic interview models, rapport-building and question types are two of the focal points of investigative interviewing in both practice and research.

The structure of investigative interviews is largely based on a question-answer sequence format and on addressing, probing and closing specific topics, although the question-answer format in practice is only true at a surface level (Russell 2002). The question and answer pair can adopt the form of statement-confirmation, answer-echo question, or echo question-confirmation. Whereas in the formal stages constraints apply to language use, during the questioning stages language, silence and non-verbal communication are used by police officers for particular purposes. At the same time, interviewees' answers have an evidentiary value and need to be treated carefully by interpreters.

Following the above considerations, a discussion of rapport, rapport-building techniques and studies addressing rapport in relation to interpreting are presented in the first place. Secondly, question types, the use of recycling and the challenges related to the strategic use of language in the police interview are discussed.

– Rapport-building

Rapport is used as a technical term in investigative interviewing and other settings, such as mental health, to refer to the relationship of trust between the interviewer and interviewee. Walsh and Bull (2012) use Bernieri and Gillis' (2001, p.69) definition of rapport as 'a positive and productive affect between people that facilitates mutuality of attention and harmony'. Establishing rapport with an interviewee is considered crucial in investigative interviews and great emphasis is put on this technique in interviewing training (Baldwin 1993). As mentioned earlier, Walsh and Bull (2012) stress that establishing rapport with the interviewee has been proven to increase the quality of information retrieved. However, the stressful conditions of the interview make rapport-building a difficult task.

As mentioned in Chapter 3.2.2, Rapport is the second stage in the Scottish PRICE framework used in suspect interviews and rapport-building is crucial in the Engage and Explain phase in the PEACE model. According to Abbe and Brandon (2013), rapport-building and rapport-maintenance are considered key interviewing skills by the UK's National Policing Improvement Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the USA, and were rated the fourth most important practice of 16 other practices by investigating police officers. Powell et al. (2005, p.14) highlight the significance of rapport and rapport building for police interviews as follows:

Building rapport is considered so important that it is listed as a discrete training phase in most prominent investigative interview protocols (see Poole and Lamb, 1998). ... Establishing good rapport with an interviewee should not compromise professionalism or impartiality (Gudjonsson, 1992). ... those police officers who earn the most respect and cooperation are described as courteous, fair, honest, and respectful of their different traditions and value systems (Powell, 2000). An interviewer who shows acceptance of the interviewee's background and cultural/ethnic differences reduces the interviewee's subjective experience of threat, thereby increasing his or her willingness to cooperate in the interview process. Evidence of this acceptance is displayed by a sensitive and flexible response to the interviewee's needs (when appropriate), showing goodwill (without being patronizing), listening carefully to the interviewee (i.e., showing the interviewee that he or she has been heard and understood), and not assuming that the interviewee is familiar with various legal or interview procedures (Powell, 2000).

The observations of Powell et al. include several points that are relevant for the analysis of the police interview as a discourse practice and the ensuing analysis. The excerpt includes a definition of rapport and a description of behaviours that are presented as oriented to building rapport. Among these, the authors mention attentive listening and giving feedback as mechanisms to show interest, as well as flexibility and avoiding making assumptions about the procedural knowledge of interviewees. Arguably, rapport-building efforts such as the ones described above should result in nuanced moves on the discursive and interactional behaviour of interviewers, but differences in practice are likely to exist.

When an interpreter is present, the rapport-building strategies are co-constructed in the triadic relationship, and the challenges of this endeavour appear evident but are still largely unexplored. Gallai's (2013) paper on footing shifts in authentic interpreter-mediated police interviews provides interesting initial insights. Drawing on authentic audio-recorded interpreter-mediated interviews conducted in England, Gallai (2013)

illustrates how interpreters' initiative in dealing with introductions, their own role and the formalities, such as the delivery and comprehension check of the caution, can affect the interactional order and rapport-building efforts. Gallai (2013) identified a number of behaviours and turn-taking patterns that appeared to affect interviewers' rapport-building efforts. The interview model used was the Cognitive Interview as described in Chapter 3.2.2. The analysis focused on the initial stages, when particular efforts are made to build rapport with the suspect. In interpreter-mediated interaction, interpreters are expected to use first-person style when rendering the primary participants' utterances in the other languages, although in practice footing shifts are frequent and can be related to various factors (Lee 2013). Gallai observed that footing shifts and acting as a principal were the rule rather than an exception in his data set.

Gallai identified footing shifts between the third and the first person that worked as effective ways of solving miscommunication, particularly in exchanges focusing on discussing interpreting-related matters. The interpreter used the first person to refer to herself instead of maintaining the interviewer's style, who talked 'about' the interpreter. Whereas in those instances the shifting footing contributed to avoid misunderstandings because it clarified agency, in other cases interpreters shifted between taking on the role of principals and animators for no apparent reason. These shifts affected negatively the rapport-building efforts made by the interviewer. Gallai illustrates this point in two passages with child interviewees, in which the interpreter acted as principal by answering directly to a question by the interviewee, namely to whether the interviewee should answer in English or in Portuguese. Gallai (2013, p.65) highlights the multiple functions of police officers' moves during the rapport phase, including building rapport itself but also assessing linguistic competence. By acting as a principal, the interpreter hindered the relationship-building efforts made by the police officer.

A particularly telling example in relation to the research questions explored in this study is Extract 3(A) (Gallai 2013, p.66), in which the interpreter interrupts, overlaps, shifts footing inconsistently and omits information in order to try to establish whether the suspect should speak English and resort to her occasionally or stick to speaking Italian. The excerpt between the two police officers (P4) and (P5), the detainee (A) and the interpreter (I3) is partially reproduced here (turns 13-27). In the preceding sequences the interpreter had initiated a turn to flag up that Antonio (the detainee) spoke some English and that she would intervene whenever he found it difficult to answer. The police officer reacts to the interpreter's unilateral decision and a negotiation follows:

- 13 P *I'm just [I'm just wonder]ing er would it be:: is it easier for you to speak in Italian (.) and then
4 we we don't get mixed up?*
- 14 A *[(find the) word] sometime you know why? because er:: I have the habit to:: speak er half and
half*
- 15 P *Right*
4
- 16 A *And sometime I confuse but...*
- 17 P *Right*
4
- 18 A *Sometime I feel like I want to:: speak English and sometime in Italian (.) when I: don't (.) I
really don't know (.) English words (.) I find it (using) to: speak Italian*
- 19 P *To speak Italian alright (.) I'm just wondering whether while we're here whether it's easier to
4 speak in Italian*
- 20 I3 *Tutto il [tempo Lei intende] no? vuol parlare sempre in italiano (.) e io traduco e così...*

*All the [time she means] right? would you mind speaking Italian all the time (.) and I translate
so...*
- 21 A *[yeah yeah yeah yeah] okay*
- 22 I3 *Because otherwise it gets a little bit complicated*
- 23 P *[Ye]jah*
4
- 24 P *[E-] e- exactly and er...*
5
- 25 I3 *Yeah*
- 26 P *We can understand that (.) so like misunderstandings can arise*
5
- 27 I3 *Yes*

Figure 6 Example from Gallai (2013, p.66)

As Gallai observes, the police officer seems to lose control over the turn-taking due to interruptions, overlapping talk, the interpreter's shifts in participant roles, as well as to shifts between English and Italian when addressing the suspect (turns 20, 22). The observable transparency seems to lead the interpreter to co-construct the police officer's suggestion instead of translating (turn 20). This passage is particularly relevant for the focus of this study, as linguistic transparency is the focus of the negotiation. Furthermore, Gallai's findings make visible how interpreter actions such as attending to practical arrangements can have a highly disruptive effect upon ongoing interviewer actions such as building rapport. In the examples analysed by Gallai, the disruption appears to be related to a lack of clarity as to the extent of participants' roles and the timing of events. These moves could be related to a lack of what Böser labels as 'discursive expertise' (2013, p.112) in handling turns, turn boundaries and, in the case analysed by Gallai, also to code-switching and language transparency.

– *The question-answer pair as the building block of information-gathering phases*

Investigative interviewing is primarily conceived as a monolingual act with direct turn exchanges between the two parties. As discussed in Chapter 2.2, in CA terms, a question in the first pair part position typically projects an answer (Schegloff and Sacks 1973). In

the police interview, the question-answer pair is typically initiated by the police officer in order to elicit information from the suspect, who is expected to produce an answer. The police officer's powerful position is reflected in the distribution of interactional activities: they typically ask questions and manage topics. Heritage and Drew (1992, p.49) remark that members of institutions positioned as the ones who ask questions have 'a measure of control over the introduction of topics and hence of the 'agenda' for the occasion'.

The combination of 'ordinary' language with legal language in the parts of investigative interviews dealing with formalities is a distinctive feature of the discourse of investigative interviewing (Gibbons 2003). During the questioning stage, a more conversational register is used in which different question types and conversational routines are displayed. Numerous taxonomies of question types exist in the literature on investigative interviewing. Grant et al. (2015) highlight that most taxonomies found in handbooks and interviewing guides typically include open questions, closed questions, leading questions and echo questions, and are based primarily on the form of the question. They note that the form is typically presented as related to a function. Open questions invite the interviewee to talk about a topic. As Grant et al. explain (2015), they are typically referred to as 'TED' questions ('Tell, Explain, Describe') and are seen as the most effective ones to elicit free-flowing information that is valid as evidence. Closed questions target a specific answer, whether it is a yes/no answer ('polar interrogatives') or a particular detail. Wh-questions starting with *where*, *when*, *how*, are examples of closed questions. Leading questions imply the answer or include assumptions in their formulation and are therefore not advisable, as they can invalidate the evidence. Echo questions are repetitions of some or all the words in the interviewee's answer, which typically trigger further information or confirmation.

Gibbons (2003) and Archer (2005) group questions based on their function and distinguish between two main question types: *information-seeking* and *confirmation-seeking* questions. Heydon (2011) distinguishes between topic/account *initiation* questions or topic/account *facilitation* questions. The first category (initiation) includes TED questions and statements as types that can function as topic/account initiation; and repair questions, self-repair, justification, clarification, wh-questions, restrictive answer questions and echo questions under the facilitation category. These two categories resemble the information/confirmation distinction in the category proposed by Gibbons (2003) and Archer (2005).

Grant et al. (2015), stress that CA and linguistics based studies such as the ones by Gibbons (2003), Archer (2005) and Heydon (2011) can enrich the existing categorizations and research. This follows from an understanding that questions in those studies are classified both based on their overarching function and by considering their structure as ‘playing a part in the function of the question’ (Grant et al. 2015, p.33), but not necessarily determining it. This is crucial for the activity of interpreting, as it will be shown in the ensuing paragraphs. Categorizations that go beyond the form=function equation acknowledge that the same question can have multiple functions. For example, *so*-prefaced questions can function, among others, as information-seeking or confirmation-seeking (Jonson 2008; MacLeod 2010; Heydon 2011). MacLeod (2009, p.52), illustrates this with an excerpt from an interview with a victim from her corpus of monolingual police interviews:

Extract 3.

I: °yeah° okay •hh **so** you went there about (.5) quarter to seven (.) did you [say?]

V: [yeah] because Lucy had got her bus (.) and I went straight there.

I: okay (.) **so** who did you go there with?

V:(.5) I went alone.

[Polly, p.3]

Figure 7 Functions of *so*-prefaced questions. Excerpt from MacLeod (2009, p.52)

MacLeod highlights the two different functions of *so*- observed in the excerpt, confirmation-seeking in the first case and information-seeking in the second case. In the particular case of interpreted police interviews, Lai and Mulayim (2013) explored interpreters’ treatment of TED questions and questions worded with *How come* instead of the more accusatory *Why*, as recommended by the 2004 New Zealand Police Guidelines (Mulayim, Lai and Norma 2014, p.25). In their study, Lai and Mulayim (2013) used two mock interviews, in which they incorporated TED and *How come* questions. They analysed the translations of eleven professional interpreters in eleven different languages and observed that interpreters had difficulties in maintaining *how come* in their versions. Overall 55% formulated their renditions using *why* despite a less accusatory option closer to *how come* being available in ten of the eleven languages. Whereas interpreters’ renditions including *why* conveyed the propositional force of the question, their formulation was more accusatory, and Lai and Mulayim concluded that this may have affected subsequent contributions. As for TED questions, interpreters maintained the form and meaning in their renditions.

Finally, an aspect related to the form of utterances is the length of turns and their impact upon interpreting. As mentioned in relation to the chunking of the caution, the length of questions and answers can affect the interpreting process. In interview frameworks such as the Cognitive Interview, an uninterrupted narrative from interviewees is favoured as a mechanism to enhance recall. Heydon and Lai (2013) used simulations of the same police interview with an eye-witness in eight different languages and compared the impact of interpreting upon interviewing techniques under the PEACE model, and particularly, the features of the Cognitive Interview used in the PEACE framework. They focused on turn length, eye gaze, intentional pauses and linguistic formulae that are used in CI, and found that interpreters needed to interrupt the interviewee's account frequently in order to cope with the cognitive demands of interpreting. This affected the strategy of not interrupting interviewees. Heydon and Lai (2013) also observed that gaze played a crucial role the continuation of interviewees' narratives. Interpreters used eye-gaze to allocate the turn back to the interviewee after interrupting and delivering the rendition, thereby inviting them to continue.

– *Information recycling: quotations, self-repetition, echoing, formulations*

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, intertextuality is one of the features of legal discourse, and it also applies to the interview itself as a discourse event. As discussed in Wadensjö (1997, pp.40-41), information recycling is one of the strategies used by police interviewers and it is a form of intertextuality. Recycling is used as an umbrella term including quotes, repetition, echoing and formulations, as explained below. Interviewers may use quotes from absent persons or documents, quotes from an earlier stage of the interview, or formulations (rephrasing something said by the speaker at a previous point). To these strategies echoing (repeating the previous speaker's turn fully or partially, sometimes with rising intonation) and repetition (self-repetition) can be added as ways of using information given previously, typically to elicit information. Tannen (2007) illustrates a range of functions of repetition in ordinary talk, such as 'participatory listenership, ratifying listenership, humour, savouring, stalling, expanding, participating, evaluating through patterned rhythm and bounding episodes' (2007, p.67).

In an interpreted police interview, problems emerging in the interpreting process can affect the effectiveness of these strategies and affect intertextuality. An example is found in Krouglov's (1999) analysis of interpreter-mediated interviews with two Russian-speaking witnesses and a suspect conducted in England in relation to a murder case. 'I'll

kill you’, ‘I’ll get you’, ‘I will stitch you up’ were the renditions by three different interpreters in three interviews, all of them referring to the words that the same fourth witness had allegedly uttered. Interpreters struggled to translate the original sentence in Russian, which derived from sailors’ jargon. As a result of the different versions, the fourth witness became a suspect because establishing whether he had uttered that phrase was crucial for the investigation. Krouglov (1999) analysed this case not only as an example of the particular difficulties the original phrase posed, but particularly the difficulties faced by the interpreters due to having to interpret someone else’s words out of context.

In her analysis of the handling of miscommunication in interpreter-mediated police interviews with Japanese suspects of drug trafficking, Nakane (2014, p.121) discusses two excerpts in which information given by the suspect was recycled by the police officer but not treated as recycling by the interpreter. In the first case, an answer given by the suspect earlier in the interview was recycled by the police officer. In the interpreted rendition of the suspect’s answer the word ‘office’ was erroneously used, and that was the word recycled by the police officer. In contrast to the example found in Krouglov (1999), in which a difficulty arose from the different translations of the same term by different interpreters, in the case analysed by Nakane the translation error made by one interpreter became transparent for the suspect. When the police officer’s recycling was interpreted back to the suspect, the suspect challenged the police officer on the grounds that he had not said ‘office’.

The examples discussed above illustrate the difficulties of lexical choices and their potential consequences in interpreter-mediated interaction, particularly in contexts such as the police interview, immigration hearings or the court, where what is said and how it is worded can be used as evidence and as an accusation (Krouglov 1999; Mason and Stewart 2001).

As mentioned above, repeating someone else’s words, either unchanged (repetition) or as formulations, that is recycled totally or partially in the words of the person recycling, is a tactic used by police officers, a ‘critical and defining feature of forensic interviews’ (Cotterill 2002, p.147). Holt and Johnson (2006) use ‘repetition questions’ to refer to the following type of repetitions used by the police and their features, which resemble the notion of ‘formulations’ used by other authors (Heydon 2005; MacLeod 2010): ‘1. they are often *so*-prefaced; 2. grammatically they are not built as questions; 3. they repeat

elements of the interviewee's testimony, often bringing several elements together; 4. they invite confirmation.' Repetition is a device used in police interviews to probe the suspect, elicit information and confirm the police version of events and it is used both within the interview and at later stages of the process, such as in court (Cotterill 2002; Holt and Johnson 2010).

Echoing is also a form of repetition, which involves contiguous allo-repetition (Tannen 2007, p.63), that is of repeating other's utterance at a contiguous position. The most distinctive feature of echoing is its contiguous position to the element echoed and allo-repetition. Echoing can have a 'tying function' (Halliday and Hassan 1976; Tannen 1987), that is contribute to mutual recognition and interactional cohesiveness. An example of an echo question is found in Tannen (2007, p.63) (a) 'But how do you learn a new sign' (b) 'How do I learn a new sign?'. Echoing is one of the active listening strategies recommended in investigative interviewing to show listenership and also a technique that can prompt the interviewee to elaborate on an answer, alongside summarizing (formulations) and feedback ('hum', 'OK', 'I see'), also referred in the literature as back-channelling⁹.

Precisely due to their repetitive nature, interpreters can see echoed answers and questions as less significant or redundant interpretable material. Krouglov (1999, p.287) observed omissions and alterations of stylistic features in the interpreted versions that corresponded to echoed answers and questions. He suggests that the omission or alteration of those features can have an impact upon the effectiveness of interviewing techniques and the validity of the evidence gathered.

The discussion presented above brings to the fore the need for interpreters and interpreting users to be particularly aware of the form and function of utterances, and to the tactical use of language in contexts such as the police or the courtroom. Omissions, alterations, even if apparently minimal, can affect interviewing techniques and place the interviewee in the position of answering to a different question and this can ultimately affect them, for example if they are perceived as not being answering to the question asked. The tying function and the use of recycling to corroborate prior answers requires from interpreters

⁹ See for instance the recommendations available at the Authorised Professional Practice website of the College of Policing (England and Wales): <https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/investigations/investigative-interviewing/> [Accessed 02/05/2017]

to treat questions and answers carefully. As it is shown in the ensuing section about miscommunication, subtle alterations and omissions can lead to miscommunication.

3.3.4 Miscommunication and repair in interpreter-mediated police interviews

Chapters 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 focused respectively on communication and language issues in two types of communicative practices in the police interview with two distinct functions: firstly, compliance with legal requirements, and secondly gathering information. As mentioned in the review of the literature, comprehension problems can emerge in the first stage of the interpreting process, during the interpreter's reception of the utterance. Miscommunication may also be introduced by the interpreter or emerge following a correct rendition that is misunderstood by the recipient, as in monolingual unmediated interaction. Participants may adopt mechanisms to repair miscommunication. In the case of interpreted interaction, though, both the turn-taking organization and the participation framework in repair sequences are shaped by the bilingual and triadic nature of the encounter. Interpreter-mediated interaction may involve smooth repair moves, but also give rise to miscommunication, interactional ambiguities or changes in the direction of talk, as the ensuing review of miscommunication and repair in interpreted police interviews shows (Komter 2005; Nakane 2014).

As explained in Chapter 2.2.2, repair is an action or a set of actions used by a speaker to address miscommunication in interaction. This section reviews the handling of miscommunication in interpreted police interviews, an aspect that is of particular relevance for the analysis presented in Chapter 6. Repair activity typically involves a temporary interruption of talk, which is resumed once the miscomprehension or production problem has been addressed. In monolingual interaction, participants prefer self-repair over other-repair. In the case of interpreted interaction, repair can be a three-party action or be handled through side-sequences (Gallez 2014) between the interpreter and a primary participant, but the participation of the third other (interpreter) with access to both languages in interaction makes other-repair more likely.

In the context of the police interview, Komter (2005) drew on CA tools to analyse repair activity in the first ten minutes of a Dutch-French interpreted police interview with a suspect. Komter (2005, p.209) observed that the handling of miscommunication at times was managed through the normal interpreting format. Furthermore, it was often handled through side sequences, from which one of the participants was excluded. Side sequences

were sometimes addressed directly by the interpreter to the interviewee to obtain what the interpreter considered should be a relevant answer; to either primary participant to ask for clarification and repair her own comprehension problems; or to share her views on the suspect's comprehension problems with the police officer.

Nakane (2014, p.109) identified three main types of repair in interpreter-mediated police interviews depending on the turn-taking format (normal or asides) and on the distribution of the repair initiator and repairer roles: a primary participant initiates repair and the other primary participant repairs it through interpreting using a normal turn-taking format; a primary speaker initiates repair and the interpreter performs repair through a side sequence; and the interpreter initiates repair and a primary participant performs it through a side sequence. The participant roles of the interpreter change, in Goffman's terms, from animator to principal to principal respectively.

An important aspect of interpreted interaction is that interactional trouble may originate in any of the participants' contributions, including those of the interpreter. The coordinating activity which ensues from this is managed within the triad. As Nakane (2014) points out, an interactional trouble may be introduced by the interpreter through, for instance, an interpreting error, and then a repair sequence initiated by a primary participant. In relation to repair initiation, Komter (2005) highlights the pivotal position of the interpreter between primary participants and the potential for ambiguities when handling repair, such as in the context analysed in her study in which the interpreter was faced with having to handle hostilities between primary participants. Komter aptly observed that repair does not necessarily result from comprehension or production problems, and hence it may place the interpreter in an ambiguous position. Repair initiation by the suspect in her data, for instance, seemed to manifest as a delaying mechanism or as a reaction to criticism rather than to comprehension problems. In such circumstances, Komter noticed that the interpreter at times took the initiative and carried out the repair herself, whereas in other occasions she interpreted repair initiation devices so that the other primary participant carried out repair. Nakane (2014) also noted the potential for ambiguous distribution of responsibility in relation to miscommunication. Miscommunication might originate in an ambiguous utterance produced by a primary participant and the interpreter might be held responsible for it. Language opacity and the lack of clarity regarding the handling of miscommunication in the interpreted police interview can thus translate into a degree of ambiguity as to the source of miscommunication.

Silent pauses used intentionally to give time to interviewees to recall information can be seen as opportunities to take the floor and interpret (Heydon and Lai 2013), or to initiate repair. Although they were not used to initiate repair, the interpreters in Heydon and Lai's study (2013) systematically used intentional pauses produced by interviewers as spaces to take the floor and interpret in the consecutive mode. The effect of the intentional pauses was lost, and the authors observed that using chuchotage, as one of the interpreters did, could be an effective way of maintaining the effect of pauses as a device to promote recall.

Nakane (2014) analysed the role of silence in police interviews based on its sequential location in the organization of turn-taking: suspect's silence (after interpreters' renditions of police officers' questions); police officer's silence (silence after the rendition of the suspect's turn), used by the suspect to elaborate on an answer; silence as indicative of a negative evaluation of prior talk and aimed at eliciting information; and interpreter's silence, that is silence in or after the primary participant's turn (opportunity to elaborate; as a negative evaluation). In the first case, the suspect's silence, Nakane observed that both the police officer and the interpreter initiated repair after silent pauses following the interpreter's rendition addressed to the suspect. For the interpreter, this repair activity can be seen as an example of reflexive coordination (Chapter 2.3). When interpreters repair their own renditions, they act as authors and animators. When they repair elements in the police officer's question, for instance through explicitation, they act as principals (Nakane 2014, p.203).

Nakane notes that police officers were also observed repairing their own utterances following a silent pause after the interpreter's rendition addressed to the suspect, that is in a sequential position in which a suspect's answer had been projected. Nakane notes that this type of repair is possible because silence is not bound to a language. The silent pause is transparent for all participants and it allows a more flexible turn-taking than a turn produced in a language that only one of the other two participants can understand. Regarding repair and power dynamics, Nakane (2014) observed that interpreters treated silent pauses differently depending on who the projected next speaker was. In particular, interpreters tended to respect the police officers' silence, (i.e. a silent pause in the sequential space in which a police officer's utterance had been projected). Nakane notes that this different treatment by interpreters on whether repair is needed or not may be due to the power differential between participants. Repair would be shaped not only by cues

that could signal conversational trouble, but also by the power relations among the potential repairers.

This section has analysed the emergence and handling of repair in interpreter-mediated police interviews. Studies of repair management in interpreted interaction have shown that, despite participants' preference for self-repair in general (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977), other-repair is more likely to emerge in the three-party interpreted interaction. The interpreter's access to both languages and her role in facilitating communication certainly seem to promote the interpreter-initiated or interpreter-performed repair. The studies reviewed, though, identified different forms of repair, at times initiated by the interpreter and performed dyadically, excluding the other primary participants, at times initiated and performed by the interpreter and at times initiated and performed by primary participants through the interpreter. Depending on who initiates and performs repair, the participation framework changes. Interpreters, for example, may identify certain cues, such as silent pauses at sequential location where an answer is projected, as signalling the need for repair. Conversational cues such as silent pauses or dispreferred answers emerged as potentially ambiguous in nature. Whether used strategically or not during the interview, they were identified as at times being treated by the interpreter or by police officers as signalling the need for repair, and reacted to as such. As shown by Nakane (2014), repair actions affect the next actions, thus the development of the interview, and can affect the effectiveness of interviewing strategies.

In addition, the negotiation of meaning and the special role of the interpreter appears to trigger repair actions that are not aimed at repairing comprehension or production troubles, but interactional tension or hostilities emerging in interaction (Komter 2005), or to repair what the interpreter may consider as an irrelevant answer, for instance in the case of detainees' answers. Power asymmetries seem to underpin the moves performed by participants, including the interpreter's power over the interaction as 'the' bilingual professional, and their orientation to the power status of primary participants and to the institutional business of the police interview.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has defined the police interview as an institutional discourse genre that is aimed at gathering information that is valid as evidence in the criminal investigation. This

aim is the outcome of advances in the field, in particular in the UK, which also brought advances in the development of interview protocols and models and the move towards avoiding coercive practices in order to guarantee interviewees' rights and obtain uncontaminated evidence. As a feature of police interviews, the application of frameworks and protocols and a strategic use of language, silence and non-verbal features (such as eye-contact) is of particular significance for this study. As mentioned above, these aspects are closely related to the aims and validity of the forensic interview, and when interviews are interpreted, the treatment of those features should receive particular attention. The studies reviewed above have highlighted, for instance, that aspects such as turn length, the wording of questions, the use of legal language that is primarily based on written documents, the setting up of the participation framework or footing changes can have an impact upon the amount and quality of information gathered, and ultimately upon the trajectory of the interview and its outcomes.

Alongside procedural and normative constraints, epistemic, interactional and status asymmetries shape interaction in the police interviews. The police interviews are institutional discourse genres in which compliance with certain requirements is required, and participants, including the interpreter, have and display different degrees of knowledge about the institution, the encounter, the 'business at hand'; and different powers over the interaction. The studies reviewed above showed that the participation of interpreters adds a layer to the management of asymmetries, and that awareness of protocols and attention to the way interpreter-mediated interviews are set up and conducted are necessary to avoid potential risks that can affect the validity and fairness of the interview.

Chapter 4 explores the particular features of bilingual interaction in encounters in which one or more participants or members of the audience find both languages transparent. Different types of transparency and different interpreting regimes are observed based on two criteria: 1) the status of the participant who understands both languages, that is, whether they are a member of the audience or one of the primary participants, and 2) whether the (partial) use or (partial) non-use of interpreting is imposed or negotiated. The findings of these studies are discussed in relation to the particular features of interaction, as well as the various variables that are in play surrounding the decision of the type of linguistic support to be used.

Chapter 4 – Transparent Language Constellations and Interpreting

4.1 Introduction

The studies presented in Chapter 3 and some of the studies reviewed in Chapter 2 addressed language and communication issues in either monolingual or bilingual encounters. Interpreting, though, is only one way of overcoming linguistic barriers in multilingual encounters. However, as Angermeyer notes (2015), studies of interpreting tend to be based on the view that each primary participant is a monolingual speaker of a different language and that the interpreter as the only or most bilingual participant. This scenario, however, is only one of the possible scenarios, particularly in the current societal make-up of migration, asylum and refuge (Maryns 2006, 2010). The interpreter might not be the only participant with knowledge of the two or more languages used. This chapter presents a review of studies that involve interpreting in encounters in which language transparency is acknowledged or manifest. These studies focus on the negotiation of interpreting sequences, the turn-taking system, interpreters' being monitored by bilingual audience members or participants, whether the use or non-use of interpreting is imposed or negotiated, and the potential risks emerging from different solutions.

Whereas the use of labels such as 'non-native speaker', 'limited-proficiency' or 'second-language speaker' acknowledge a degree of competence in the majority or majoritised language, the intersection of multilingual competencies among primary participants and the use of interpreting in that context remains largely unexplored (Angermeyer 2015). When phenomena and features related to primary participants' competence to access the other primary participant's language are mentioned in interpreting research, they are normally referred to briefly rather than explored as the focus of analysis.

One of the first mentions of the effect of language transparency upon interpreter-mediated interaction in legal settings is found in Harris (1981). In his observations of the trial of war criminal Lischka in Germany, Harris (1981, p.194) noted that both the presiding judge and other legal personnel spoke French and some of the French people present in the courtroom knew some German. Despite language transparency being a feature of participants' linguistic repertoire, it was decided to use only German when addressing the French-speaking witnesses. The fact that some members of the audience and participants found both languages transparent resulted in the interpreter being under constant

monitoring. As will be explored in Section 4.5., being monitored can shape the interpreter's performance.

Another example of the acknowledgement of language transparency is found in Rosenberg (2002), who expanded Wadensjö's taxonomy of renditions in his quantitative analysis of interpreting in a paediatric consultation. Rosenberg accounted for non-renditions emerging from the fact that the source had been understood by adding the 'Understood renditions' category as a specific category of non-renditions. Gavioli (2014, p.45) also mentioned transparency in relation to turn-taking in medical consultations, and noted that primary participants sometimes took the next turn without waiting for the interpreter's rendition, or displayed understanding. Gavioli (2014, pp.48-49) observed that Italian-speaking doctors invited mediator-interpreters to 'explain' certain critical points. When mediator-interpreters limited themselves to rendering the doctor's utterance, the doctor switched to English to expand on what they seemed to consider an insufficiently explanatory move by the mediator-interpreter.

In relation to the turn-taking format and transparent language constellations, Merlini (2015, p.105) points out that primary parties may have some knowledge of their interlocutors' language(s) or simply grasp the gist of an utterance and reply directly, making the interpreter's turn superfluous. The features of the turn-taking system shaped by language transparency is one of the aspects addressed in the studies with transparent language constellations, and a key aspect of the study presented here.

Moving from turn-taking organization to the effect of having elements that may be transparent interpreted or not, Wadensjö (1998) noticed in relation to back-channelling tokens that their 'relative 'transparency' reduces the relevance of translating' (Wadensjö 1998, p.121). According to Wadensjö, 'the interpreter-mediated conversation in itself transforms the interactional significance of back-channelling', but interpreters sometimes do stick to the role of 'close-texts-producers' and produce close renditions of 'small words' to reinforce their image as adhering to the normative role. By treating back-channelling tokens and small words as interpretable materials, Wadensjö noted that primary participants may be deprived of 'a kind of joyful relief ... when primary parties suddenly find themselves understanding one another directly, and they can laugh at the interpreter being excessively helpful' (Wadensjö 1998, p.122).

The observations made by Merlini and Wadensjö are directly related to the discussion presented in this chapter and the research questions of the present study. They illustrate the tensions between normative expectations, normative role performance, ideologies about language and proficiency, power relationships, and interactional actions that are part and parcel of human interaction.

As mentioned above, the studies reviewed in this chapter share one common feature: language transparency, whether for an overhearing audience or for one or both primary parties. Before reviewing the literature on interpreting in encounters with transparent language constellations, a number of considerations related to multilingualism and linguistic assistance are discussed in Section 4.2. to frame the analysis of the themes related to transparency and interpreting within the macro context of multilingualism.

4.2 Multilingualism and linguistic competencies: selecting a form of linguistic support and assessing competencies

When the right to an interpreter is acknowledged, a crucial aspect are the grounds on which the decision to bring in an interpreter are based. As mentioned above, interpreting is only one of the potential solutions to linguistic barriers in multilingual environments. Establishing how proficient a speaker is to communicate in a particular situation and thereby to determine the most suitable solution is not a straightforward task. More often than not, those assessing language competence make assumptions based on lay observations, such as the amount of time a speaker has been living in the host country (English 2010) or the region or country of origin (Du 2015).

The view of language competence as dynamic (Collins and Slembrouck, 2006 and Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005) is of particular relevance with regard to establishing the need for an interpreter. Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005, p.203) explore multilingual skills as conditioned by context, and use the notion of spatial-scalar dimension:

Every communication event develops in some time-frame and in some space, and both, as we know, have effects on what happens and can happen. Space is part of what we understand by ‘context’, and context (as Gumperz (1982) and others have argued) is not a passive ‘décor’ but an active, agentive aspect of communication. Context (including space) does something to people when it comes to

communicating. It organizes and defines sociolinguistic regimes in which spaces are characterized by sets of norms and expectations about communicative behaviour – orders of indexicality.

According to this view, language competencies are not seen as static, incapacitating or capacitating skills of individuals. Instead, they are seen as evolving skills which depend upon particular spaces and domains. This conceptualization of language competencies understands multilingualism as ‘truncated’, that is as ‘linguistic competencies which are organized topically, based on domains or specific activities’ (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005, p.199), rather than ‘full competence in different languages’. An individual may find their truncated multilingual competencies in the host language are capacitating or incapacitating in different situations.

Together with the notion of space, Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005, p.200) apply the notion of ‘scale’. Scale refers to the aspects of ‘range and scope of meanings and meaningful social behaviour, some of which are strictly local-situational, others being translocal (national, translational, ethnic, political...).’ Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck explain the relationship between the context, the semiotic resources used and scalar relationships based on the relations that are invoked in particular contextualized situations. For example, the local scale of a communicative event can be shaped by national linguistic policies or by institutional norms. The local-national scales are both shaping the semiotic resources and meaning-making processes in that context. The scales invoked can, for instance, affect the value allocated to a given language and the behaviours, including linguistic resources that are legitimized or not.

4.2.1 Solutions to overcoming linguistic barriers

As mentioned earlier, interpreting is only one of the potential linguistic solutions when linguistic barriers exist. An interpreter can be called in or not depending on practical, organizational, financial and ideological factors, among others. Roels et al. (2015) observed how the reasoning of primary participants in public service settings, both ‘institutional end users’ and ‘immigrant clients’, informed the decision-making with regard to the type of linguistic support used. Their findings are based on an ethnographic study of linguistic practices and community interpreting in public administration, employment assistance, healthcare, and education settings in Flanders (Roels et al. 2015, p.155):

In a 'pecking order' of resources the use of Dutch would come out on top; next is the use of a lingua franca; after that, ad hoc interpretation by a person within the organization or by someone brought along by the client; only then comes the option of enlisting an externally-recruited professional interpreter. This form of scalar reasoning informed the hypothesis that a professional has a vested interest in maintaining their professional autonomy and is therefore reluctant to depend on third parties, such as a community interpreter, to perform their tasks. For a professional, the preferred practice would be to communicate directly with clients, one-on-one, without the help of or dependence on third parties. The immigrant clients showed a similar attitude when expressing a preference or even insistence on managing things on their own and avoiding reliance on externally recruited third parties to communicate with professionals.

The attitudes reflected in the paragraph above reveal a preference for unmediated interaction from both primary participants, and a view of the interpreter/third party as 'the necessary evil' (Herbert 1952, p.4). Monolingual communication in the language of the institution would lie at the 'unmediated' end of a continuum of linguistic assistance solutions, and interpreter-mediated interaction with a professional third party (interpreter) at the other. In-between those two ends, other solutions are observed. Opting for one solution or the other can also be shaped by the degree of linguistic permeability among primary participants. Following the observations in the excerpt above, a degree of permeability, regardless of whether it enables exolingual communication or hampers it or otherwise poses risks, would probably be seen by primary participants as justifying one of the unmediated solutions or one of the options closest to unmediated interaction.

Despite the view of interpreting as a solution to be avoided reflected above, Roels et al. (2015) observed that the more familiar users were with interpreting – and the higher their degree of satisfaction with the interpreting services received - the more prone they were to see interpreting as a desirable option. Those users with no prior experience in communicating through an interpreter tended to see it as a highly complex option, both regarding the practicalities of getting an interpreter and the interactional dynamics. Roels et al. (2015) also observed that the organizational philosophy or vision about language and integration could be decisive in deciding on which language regime to use. This is for example the case of organizations that have 'integration' among their institutional aims, and avoid using interpreters because communicating in the majority language is viewed as facilitating the integration process and the integration agenda prevails.

The decision of bringing in an interpreter is thus not only dependent upon linguistic assessment, but also upon the ideologies and norms of the institutions, and upon the views

of the institutional user as the more powerful participant to make practical arrangements play a decisive function. Roels et al. observed how organizations and the professionals who interact with foreign language-speaking clients ‘follow a very individual, often intuitive, path when choosing instruments or strategies for bridging language barriers’ (2015, p.154). In the court domain, Eades (2003, p.116) reports on a similar attitude, with the judgement of users’ competence in the language of the court often resting with the judge and based on ‘considerable ignorance, both about details of the person’s proficiency in the language of the court, and about broader applied linguistic issues’.

Roels et al. (2015) identified a lack of coherence and arbitrary selection of a form of linguistic support, as observed in the different forms of assistance that the same individual had received in one organization. The following excerpt from one of the interviews in Roels et al. study (2015, p.153) illustrates this point. The initials ‘R’ and ‘I’ in the excerpt stand for ‘researcher’ and ‘interviewee’:

Excerpt (1)

- R: *Have you had an interpreter often here in the hospital?*
- I: *Yes, she did once at the doctor’s, doctor’s..., and I did it through the internet.*
- R: *Ah, an interpreter through the internet. And did you like that? Could you see the interpreter on the screen?*
- I: *Yes I saw him.*
- R: *Ah, sort of like Skype, yes. And how often do you come to the hospital?*
- I: *Normally three times here.⁷*
- R: *Three times, ok. And is there always an interpreter present when you’re here?*
- I: *No.*
- R: *Then how do you communicate with hospital staff?*
- I: *I speak a little Flemish and I always speak French too.*
- R: *Yes.*
- I: *And sometimes I come here with a woman, a friend, and she can help sometimes.*

(Moroccan woman, 35; our translation)

Figure 8 Linguistic solutions. Excerpt from Roels et al. (2015, p.153)

The patient reports four different solutions: remote interpreting provided by a professional interpreter; face-to-face professional interpreting; exolingual communication mixed with the use of a lingua franca; and interaction mediated by a friend (non-professional interpreting). The responses from both institutional and lay users revealed that the frequency of encounters and the perceived risks of compromising the message both had a bearing in the type of support used. This is relevant for the present

study: the function of a police institution is not to promote the use of English as a tool for integration; instead the potential consequences of compromising the message for the individual and the institution, and the need to guarantee the fairness of the proceedings prevail in investigative interviews (See Article 17 of *Directive 2010/64/EU on the Right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings*).

With regard to lay users, they may find that their competencies in the majority language allow them to get by in everyday situations and assume that they are sufficient across domains and events. Furthermore, using the language of the institution can also be seen by minority language speakers as a mark of integration, status or cooperativeness – speaking English as a feature of identity (González, Vásquez and Mikkelson 2012). For second language speakers, using an interpreter is normally an exception rather the rule, and they cannot be expected to be aware of how to go about communicating via an interpreter (Hale and Luzardo 1997). As a result of the aforementioned considerations, the assumptions and expectations of all participants are factors that shape the linguistic regime.

Both institutional and lay users in Roels et al. study expressed their views about professional interpreting as being required if one or more of the following variables applies: topic delicacy/sensitivity; complex discourse; and severity of the potential consequences for the client. Interestingly, in some of the responses by lay users, certain remarks pointed at the subjectivity of establishing what is complex and what is not. As discussed in a number of studies in Section 4.3 below (Nakane 2010; Du 2015) and illustrated in the analysis, drawing a line between what is linguistically complex and what is simple is not a straightforward matter, and lay assumptions can lead to uninformed and potentially harmful decisions.

4.2.2 Assessing lay users' proficiency in the language of the institution

This section discusses how and on which grounds the decision of whether interpreting is necessary or not is made. Assessing proficiency is a complex task, but, as suggested above, it is often based on unreliable or inappropriate assumptions (Eades 2009; English 2010; González, Vásquez and Mikkelson 2012) based on the time the person has lived in the country, educational level and occupation, and on their ability to perform in everyday conversation. Using a second (L2) or foreign language (FL) orally in different contexts clearly poses different challenges. Even though it focuses on the comparison

between everyday language use and the use of language for academic purposes, the BICS/CALP model ('Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills'/'Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency') proposed by Cummins in 1984 is useful to illustrate the dynamic nature of linguistic competencies. The BICS/CALP model distinguishes between the skills a second language speaker requires to communicate in everyday social situations (BICS), and higher language skills required for academic purposes (CALP). In this continuum, the level of proficiency in interpersonal situations is normally reached after two years of using the second language and limited communication skills are complemented by contextual information ('context embedded'). Using a language for academic purposes is more dependent on language itself than on the context ('context reduced'), and requires a longer and more targeted learning period.

It could be argued that in order to communicate effectively in institutionally-embedded situations, users are required to develop a level of proficiency that goes beyond the 'Basic Interpersonal Skills'. Eades (2009) proposes a level of language proficiency similar to CALP but specific to the legal process, known as LIMP: 'Language Intricacies and Manipulation Proficiency'. Eades argues that the intrinsic difficulties of communication in the legal process are not only due to the use of technical language, but to the complexity of spoken language resulting from lexical choice, asking several questions in one, and manipulating presupposed statements. Communication in legal settings can thus be considered as 'context reduced', and it is highly dependent on language itself.

González, Vásquez and Mikkelson (2012) mention that failing to provide an interpreter during a trial or interpreting-related problems during the pre-trial stages are common grounds for appeal in the US court context. The authors are critical of the decision resting typically with the judge, as it reveals 'the false underlying assumption that judges have the expertise required to observe and assess the proficiency of an LEP [Limited English Proficiency] defendant' (2012, p.209). The ability to assess competence is not a straightforward task (Gibbons 2003). Cooke (2002) proposed a combination of tools to assess witnesses' proficiency before deciding whether an interpreter is needed or not. In court settings, Cooke argued, the communicative demands are normally higher for defendants than for witnesses because defendants need to understand the proceedings. On those grounds, Cooke argued that whenever it is established that a witness requires an interpreter despite speaking English, then an interpreter will also be required for a defendant with similar language skills. Cooke sees the individual's proficiency and the demands of the communicative event as the two determining variables, but problematizes

a number of features that can escape in a surface analysis. For example, aspects such as speech rate or the English variety spoken by other court users may affect a particular individual's ability to use English unassisted.

The methods proposed by Cooke include asking the second language user about their preferences after having provided them with recorded advice about interpreting in their first/strongest language; having a lawyer run a battery of questions prepared by linguists that would resemble court interaction; or having an expert linguist's assessment. These methods appear comprehensive: candidates are informed, they are exposed to discourse with similar features to those expected in court, and expert opinion is included in the assessment process.

Moving to the particular domain of police interviews, the Police and Criminal Evidence Act (PACE) Code C (2014)¹⁰ in the England and Wales jurisdiction sets out a number of tools to determine the need for an interpreter in relation to the detainee:

13.1A The arrangements must comply with the minimum requirements set out in *Directive 2010/64/EU* of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 October 2010 on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings (see *Note 13A*). The provisions of *this* Code implement the requirements for those to whom this Code applies. These requirements include the following: ...

Procedures to help determine:

/ whether a suspect can speak and understand English and needs the assistance of an interpreter, see *paragraph 13.1* and *Notes 13B* and *13C*; and

13B A procedure for determining whether a person needs an interpreter might involve a telephone interpreter service or using cue cards or similar visual aids which enable the detainee to indicate their ability to speak and understand English and their preferred language. This could be confirmed through an interpreter who could also assess the extent to which the person can speak and understand English. [Underlined: my emphasis]

The PACE code observes Directive 2010/64 on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings (see Chapter 3), as it is shown above, and includes a number of procedures (13B) for determining the need for an interpreter. A telephone conversation

¹⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/pace-code-c-2014> [Accessed: 28/07/2016]

and using an interpreter to assess the language proficiency place the decision with the interpreter.

Dealing with language transparency is one of the aspects mentioned in the guidelines¹¹ Cambridgeshire constabulary on how to brief the interpreter and the client:

- You may understand English well, but please listen to the interpreting first and then give me your answers, in your own language.

The inclusion of this instruction among the 15 steps for briefing interpreters and clients may be indicative of the salience of transparent language constellations in police settings. A question that requires further exploration is the way bilingual users ‘listen to’ interpreted versions after having listened to –and at least partially or ‘sufficiently’ understood the source utterance. From the point of view of the instruction, both clients and interpreters are instructed to disregard linguistic transparency. This instruction coincides with Russell’s view on how to handle linguistic transparency. In her analysis of authentic audio-recorded police interviews, Russell (2001) notes:

... many detained persons using an interpreter have at least a rudimentary knowledge of English, and may attempt to reply directly to a question from the officer, without waiting for the interpretation. Experienced officers will pre-empt this problem by saying during the preliminary formalities: ‘The questions will be put to you in English and will be translated into French. You will reply in French and your replies will be translated into English (Russell 2001, p.56).

Three aspects make this mention worth of a more detailed analysis. Firstly, Russell positions herself strongly against the use of English by the suspect in the presence of the interpreter, as is evident in the formulation as a *problem* to be *pre-empted*. Secondly, allowing interviewees to use their rudimentary English is presented as indicative of lack of experience among officers in working with interpreters. Thirdly, the police officer is presented as the only participant who has the authority to determine the linguistic regime. However, the findings of evidenced-based studies of interpreter-mediated interaction seem to indicate that handling interpreter-mediated dynamics in general does not rest solely with the police officer, but is a collective activity and it may involve a degree of negotiation. A telling example is observed in Gallai’s analysis of footing changes in

¹¹

<https://www.cambs.police.uk/help/professionalInterpreter/docs/Communicating%20via%20an%20interpreter%20aide%20memoire.pdf> [Accessed: 14/07/16]

authentic interpreter-mediated interviews, particularly in one passage (2013, pp.66-67). The interpreter takes the initiative to propose a stand-by interpreting regime:

Interpreter: Er:: Antonio understands quite a bit (.) I'll just intervene whenever (.) he finds a bit difficult to: [er:: answer] (From Gallai 2013, pp.66-67).

The decision proposed by the interpreter was later carefully challenged in a series of sequences that were themselves a manifestation of code-mixing, code-switching and ambiguous participation framework. The police officer, who did not agree with the solution proposed by the interpreter, did have the last word and proposed to Antonio to speak Italian. However, he also acknowledged the difficulties of sticking to using only one language. This example does suggest that the language regime can be subjected to a degree of negotiation.

In the following section, different solutions to linguistic barriers, including but not exclusively interpreting, are presented and discussed, and particular attention is paid to the criteria used to decide on having an interpreter, a bilingual service provider or other types of linguistic assistance.

4.3 Studies of imposed interpreting regimes with transparent language constellations

Having discussed the intricacies of assessing competence in the L2 and the various factors that come into play to decide on the linguistic solution required with users with transparent language constellations, this section reviews studies in which interpreting or non-interpreting are imposed in authentic encounters in which a degree of language permeability was observed. The imposition may apply either throughout the event or at certain stages.

In his study of interpreter-mediated arbitration hearings in small claims courts in New York, Angermeyer (2010, 2015) explored code-mixing, code-switching and other bilingual phenomena with LOTE (Language Other Than English) speakers, including Haitian Creole, Spanish, Russian and Polish. Angermeyer's study included ethnographic observations and 16 hours of transcribed audio recordings. One of the particular features of hearings in small claims courts are that they are heard by arbitrators instead of judges

and are more informal than other court hearings. Litigation is often related to car accidents, housing or small complaints and claimants represent themselves. Code-mixing and code-switching, primarily among complainants, were features identified to different degrees in all the cases observed. Code-switching in court settings has been mentioned in a number of studies (Berk-Seligson 1990; De Jongh 1990; Cooke 1995; Angermeyer 2003, 2008, 2015). The practices observed by Angermeyer included litigants switching to English only to provide yes/no answers, others inserting English words in their sentences in the other language and others giving some of the answers, including long ones, in English. Angermeyer noted that when LOTE speakers who had requested an interpreter switched or mixed codes, the prevailing attitude among court personnel and interpreters was to ask them to use the interpreter throughout the hearing. Angermeyer sees this attitude critically as indicative that 'interpreting is understood as being assigned based on an absolute need, independent of a person's ability to communicate in L2 English at a given moment' (Angermeyer 2015, p.106).

In the recorded hearings, Angermeyer observed that bilinguals with different levels of competence in English had difficulties sticking to one language. The necessary code-switching required in interpreting sometimes resulted in claimants also switching to English after hearing the interpreter's rendition into English. Angermeyer identified a number of phenomena, such as code-mixing, borrowing, insertions in the other language, self-translation and code switching into English at critical moments, particularly to make their voices heard directly. These patterns challenge the views reported in other studies of court interpreting in which jurors who had knowledge of both languages in interaction were asked or expected to base their judgement on the English version only, as if switching off participants' multilingual resources was a matter of choice (Berk-Seligson 1990; Tiersma 1999).

In hearings with consecutive interpreting, Angermeyer observed that the interpreting mode resulted in fragmented narratives, interruptions by arbitrators and a lack of back-channelling. Interpreters had not sufficient experience or training in simultaneous interpreting, and when they used the simultaneous mode it often led to omissions of the propositional content. Based on the observations above, Angermeyer argues that interpreting cannot be seen as necessarily better than enabling LOTE speakers to also use their linguistic resources. Whereas the options that the courts make available for LOTE participants in small claims courts are either communication in English or 'fully'

interpreter-mediated communication, Angermeyer argues that more flexible systems could be explored to accommodate the linguistic repertoires and resources of participants.

As observed in the previous paragraphs, assumptions about monolingualism, bilingualism and interpreting play a role in establishing language regimes, as does the type of event and domain. Nakane (2010) and Du (2015) observed how the court as an institution can impose their ideologies on what second language users are expected or assumed to be able to understand and express. In particular, the use of interpreting can be restricted to the parts of a hearing that they consider either more difficult, practical or procedurally more relevant. Interpreting therefore becomes an optional resource that is not used as needed by the individuals of the particular case, but, as observed in Roels et al. (2015) above, as a resource to be used as little as possible. As shown in the studies by Angermeyer (2003, 2006, 2008, 2015), the contrary also applies, that is language ideologies may favour interpreting over non-interpreting on the grounds that interpreting is a better and safer solution.

Nakane's (2010) study of non-use of interpreting in courts provides evidence of three aspects that are crucial for the present discussion: the bias towards monolingualism in the legal field, the risks associated with lay assumptions on language competence, and the problems associated with the lack of guidelines on the use of interpreting and language assessment. The combination of the three aforementioned aspects may result in both production and comprehension problems that compromise the fairness of the process. Nakane (2010) explored the impact of partial interpreting in Japanese criminal courts through observation of ten trials involving Japanese and six other languages. Interviews with judges, interpreters and lawyers informed the analysis. Nakane (2010) analysed register variation based on the field, mode and tenor as components of Halliday's notion of register (1985). 'Field' refers to what the language is used to talk about; 'mode' is related to the role language plays in interaction; and 'tenor' relates to the relationship between participants. These three features were analysed in the different stages of the trial and a number of patterns of use and non-use of interpreting were identified.

The analysis revealed that both mode (role of language) and field (what talk is about) were useful concepts to identify the assumptions behind patterns of use or non-use of interpreting. The trial stages which involved interpreting used monologic discourse based on written documents which featured legal language, and which dealt with procedural and legal aspects. Non-use of interpreting was imposed during the questioning phase. This

dealt primarily with the event which the case was about, and it featured a dialogic discourse format and a lower register. Nakane argues that assumptions about the relevance and complexity of certain stages of the procedure underlie the language regime used.

Despite the perception that the questioning phase is a less complex stage, Nakane (2010) observed comprehension and production problems in the non-interpreted stages of one of the cases involving Chinese and Japanese. These problems were not only observable for the analyst, but also for the judge, who tried to accommodate by repeating and rephrasing his questions, and by offering the defendant the use of an interpreter. The production and comprehension problems experienced by the defendant challenged the assumptions of the institutional participants about what is linguistically and textually complex. The language used during the questioning phase is typically less formal and in principle less complex 'textually', but the analysis showed that the questioning phase also posed difficulties to the defendant.

Regarding the tenor variable, Nakane (2010) argued that non-use of interpreting during the questioning can affect the perceived credibility of the defendant. Resonating with Berk-Seligson's (1990/2002) study of the impact of the register used by interpreters upon juror's evaluation of the credibility of witnesses' accounts. Nakane noted that the tenor variable operates at the interpersonal level. Using a foreign language in the questioning phase can have a major impact upon the credibility of the defendant's account, as it is directly related to how credible and capable they are perceived.

Du (2015) also examined the selective use of interpreting, in her case in Chinese courts. Whereas the right to have an interpreter present is recognized in Chinese legislation, Du observed that the right in practice is only nominal. Her study focused on observations and interviews carried out throughout a long court case involving twenty defendants from a Hakka-speaking region. They spoke Hakka, a dialect, and they had some knowledge of Putonghua, the national standardized language used in the proceedings. Two interpreters were hired for the case. The interpreters were asked to interpret the defendants' utterances from Hakka to Putonghua but not from Putonghua to Hakka, based on the assumption that Hakka speakers from the defendants' region are able to understand Putonghua.

The trial extended over several weeks, and the interpreters were literally silenced by the judge and only physically present in the room but not interpreting after one of the

defendants used Putonghua. The judge used this opportunity to press defendants to use Puthonghua, again projecting the view of interpreters as an avoidable evil. Both practical and ideological reasons affected the judge's decision, who publicly pressed the defendants to use Putonghua.

The studies presented above reflect the impact of powerful and not necessarily informed views on linguistic competence and interpreting, and how those views can compromise the fairness of the proceedings. In the following section, further studies featuring language regimes that diverge from the 'normal' format of interpreting are presented, but here they emerge as a result of negotiation rather than imposition.

4.4 Studies of negotiated and intermittent interpreting with transparent language constellations

Compared to the features identified in the studies reviewed in Section 4.3 above, interactional and participation features emerging in the studies discussed in this section emerge within encounters in which interpreting is used intermittently and negotiated rather than imposed as the interaction unfolds. The resulting interactional dynamics typically include monolingual interaction, mediated and unmediated passages, and thus may be described as hybrid.

One of the first studies of a hybrid model of communication was Müller's (1989). Drawing on CA tools, Müller analysed interaction in a corpus of five multilingual immigration interviews and discussed the notions of language transparency, opacity and the different degrees of permeability between the transparent and the opaque ends. The interviews in Müller's study were led by German interviewers, and the interviewees were Italian immigrants who had been living in Germany for some time. All participants had some knowledge of each other's language (German and Italian), and the language repertoire in some cases also included English and/or the Sicilian dialect. Thus, participants found each other's language transparent to a certain extent. Müller (1989, p.724) defined the translation mode as being 'used beyond purely local occasions and in a recurrent manner, but not monolithically' and occurring 'naturally', as interpreting was carried out by primary participants themselves. Even though no interpreter was present to perform the activity role of interpreter in the interaction, the phenomena observed by

Müller (1989) are relevant for our discussion of the intermittent nature of interpreting and the interactional dynamics emerging within the stand-by regime.

Müller analysed the opening, development and closing of translation events and the way they were performed in the encounter in response to the communicative needs of the participants with transparent language repertoires. Interpreter-mediated sequences alternated with monolingual ones in a fluid manner, and the start of a translation episode normally coincided with a change of turn, change of topic or closing of a sequence, that is a Transition Relevant Point (TRP) in CA terms. One of the most interesting patterns identified in Müller's study was that interpreting was not performed routinely by a person selected or appointed to interpret, but negotiated based on assessments of language competence made by all participants.

Meyer's study (2012) is based on data involving an appointed interpreter. It focused on interactional dynamics and the features of the participation framework in two case studies from a corpus of 35 doctor-patient interactions. The non-institutional users were migrant patients who were partially bilingual in German and had Turkish, Portuguese or Spanish as their first language (L1). The interpreters in Meyer's consultations were non-professional interpreters: either family members or nurses.

In Meyer's (2012) study, the normal format of interpreted interaction was altered in different ways, and multiple exchange formats were combined. Patients' turns ranged from full answers in German (their L2), answers mixing German and their L1 (code-mixing), and repetition of the same answer in both languages (self-translation). Apart from a wider variety of interactional formats, Meyer also highlighted a high degree of collaboration in carrying out interpreting-related tasks. Language transparency made it possible for those who understood both languages to facilitate communication, and thus interpreting became an overtly collaborative activity. Furthermore, Meyer observed that interpreters seemed to align particularly with the institutional participant and tailored their moves to promote the achievement of institutional goals. Although this feature coincides with Bolden's (2000) findings in the case of encounters with standard (non-intermittent) interpreting, the selective use of interpreting seemed to make interpreter's alignment with the institution's aims more visible than in encounters in which the interpreter's moves are closer to being described as 'opaque'.

Meyer remarks that ‘linguistic competencies of patients should not be neglected, nor should they automatically be taken as sufficient’. (2012, p.112), and notes that both institutional participants and interpreters need to learn how to accommodate to transparent language constellations. Meyer observes that acknowledging all the linguistic resources as valuable in the interaction and combining different exchange formats appears to be a flexible and potentially adequate way of achieving the communicative goals. As in Müller’s study (1989), Meyer’s findings highlight the need for further exploration of the challenges which using flexible regimes creates for all participants in interaction. For the interpreter in particular, the changing interactional dynamics required her to accommodate to the changing interaction by intervening or not intervening on a turn-by-turn basis.

Interestingly, Both Müller (1989) and Meyer (2012) present the use of intermittent interpreting as a feature of ‘natural’ (Müller) or ‘ad hoc’ (non-professional) interpreting (Meyer), and point out that those non-professional or natural interpreters tend to step outside their ‘animator’ role more frequently when monolingual and interpreted interaction are combined. This observation suggests that an expansion of the interpreter’s role as coordinator is likely to result from the interpreter’s expertise, but also from the interactional regime alternating monolingual and interpreted sequences.

Gavioli and Baraldi (2015) identified different types of contributions by interpreters and noted that what they label ‘direct interpreting’, that is following the ‘normal’ format of interpreted interaction, is only one type of interpreting in medical settings. On the basis of the type of contribution by the interpreter, the authors illustrated the interpreters’ coordinating activity as one which either contributed or hampered individual empowerment in medical consultations. They identified three main types of contributions from interpreters, including 1) ‘direct’ interpreting as defined by Hale (2007), that is three-party interpreting with no explicit coordination activity or dyadic sequences between the interpreter and a primary participant; 2) ‘dialogic’ interpreting, including dyadic talk between the interpreter and a primary participant; and 3) zero renditions. The third type is particularly relevant for this study: zero renditions (non-interpreting) following the assessment that interpreting was not necessary. Gavioli and Baraldi (2015) observed that, in the medical consultation with transparent language repertoires, interpreters play a role in promoting direct talk between the doctors and patients when talk is permeable, thereby creating opportunities for primary participants to express themselves. Identifying opportunities of direct talk would thus become part of the

reflexive coordination task performed by interpreters. Gavioli and Baraldi (2015, p.68) also noticed a degree of collaboration in initiating interpreting or not, particularly between the institutional participant (the doctor) and the interpreter. As discussed in the previous chapter and in the analysis (Chapters 6 and 7), interactional power can also be observed in participants' orientation to handling interpreting-related decisions.

Both aspects mentioned above (non-interpreting as enabling direct interaction, and cooperation) were also highlighted by Traverso (2012) in her study of natural interpreting in five multilingual work meetings. The languages included in the repertoires of participants were English, French, Arabic and German. English was the 'taken-for-granted lingua franca'. Language competence was assessed collectively by participants themselves and negotiated over the course of the interaction. As opposed to participants in Müller's study, requesting a translation locally was observed by the author as a delicate move among participants, for it could be face-threatening for participants who were excluded from performing that role. This, the author argues, may be due to the fact that all participants in the interaction had the same status.

Regarding the development of talk, Traverso explored participation and sequencing when participants acting as interpreters made an explicit request for the translation of a word. In particular, Traverso explored the ways in which participants requested a translation, the translation itself and the closing of that episode. Transitions into and out of what the author calls 'translation episodes' (interpreting episodes), were a clear example of the coordinating role of the appointed interpreter, for the persons carrying out the task of interpreting normally also coordinated turns. As in the studies reviewed above, Traverso also observed that interpreting became a highly collaborative activity. Compared to encounters where translation falls under the remit of 'the' interpreter, the participants in Traverso's study collaborated with the person appointed to interpret in tasks such as searching for the right word or making clarifications.

Merlino and Traverso (2009) analysed the actions used to request, negotiate and closing interpreting episodes with partially bilingual participants in multilingual work meetings. Merlino and Traverso (2009) observed that primary participants conducting interpreting tasks explicitly requested help when searching for a word during an interpreting episode (or 'translation sequence'). Merlino and Traverso identified a series of typical steps in translation sequences. The interaction was interrupted to open a word search sequence; the opening could take different forms, such as an attempt at translation and auto-repair,

or initiating a collective search for a word; the participation framework was redefined in the process of collaborating in the word search; and the main interactional activity was resumed upon issuance of the proposed translation. The features identified by Merlino and Traverso illustrate the ways in which resources may be put at the service of communication in interaction when participants feel ratified to do so.

Another example of collaborative interpreting in an authentic encounter with transparent language constellations is found in Veronesi's study (2009). The author analysed interactional dynamics in relation to interpreting, which was performed by two of the students and the conductor's assistant in a music workshop held in Italy. The participants in the workshop were a number of Italian students, an English-speaking conductor with a very limited level of Italian and an assistant who intervened ad hoc. Veronesi observed that translation was re-currently co-constructed by the two students who self-appointed to translate, revealing a high degree of collaboration between them. As in the studies presented above, a focus by participants on achieving interactional goals was observed. In this case, the conductor used his position of power in the interaction to take the lead in ensuring that translation tasks were handled efficiently, in ratifying the role of the students acting as interpreters, and in integrating interpreting within the conducting task. Gaze and body language emerged as crucial devices to achieve a fluid handling of interpreting and turn-taking and cooperation among the conductor and the students-interpreters.

Furthermore, Veronesi observed that the collaborative approach to handling translation difficulties extended beyond the triad formed by the ratified interpreters and the conductor. Whenever the students-interpreters faced translation-related problems, both of them engaged in meaning negotiation and were at times joined by other student participants in the group. The conductor, however, tried to prevent cooperation beyond the appointed interpreters, and stopped dyadic monolingual exchanges by inviting the translators to carry on with their task, by taking the floor or through a gesture related to the activity of the workshop. The conductor seemed to perceive dyadic exchanges to address communication issues as disrupting the interactional flow and stepping away from the workshop as the main activity.

Anderson (2012) addressed the phenomenon of code-switching and identified differences depending on the status of primary participants. In Anderson's study, the participants switching between different languages were primary participants in healthcare (35 out-patient visits) and legal settings (nine deportation hearings) in Northern Italy involving

Italian and English with a mediator-interpreter. In her data, code-switching was more frequent in healthcare settings and among institutional users than among lay participants, who were migrants of Nigerian and Ghanaian origin. As the author explains, code-switching was a frequent phenomenon in encounters involving migrant speakers, and also in contexts where a language was used as a lingua franca. In the deportation hearings, Anderson noticed that lay participants moved at least momentarily from English to Italian in all but one hearing, whereas institutional participants used English very rarely. Lay participants code-switched to recognize and confirm their own personal data, which was not really considered as code-switching by the author for it only showed the fact that they understood Italian. Migrants used terms related to bureaucracy or the world of work, so they showed an ability to express themselves in the foreign language in specific fields. The complex collaborative nature of the interaction put pressure on the interpreter.

The studies reviewed in this section reveal a number of features that appear salient in the presence of partial bilinguals. The interpreter in the studies above seem to be a participant who is ready to move in and out of an active role in ongoing talk. In the analysis interpreted interaction formats which do not adhere to the normal format, both the interpreter and the primary participants are observed performing a wider range of tasks related to coordinating interaction, language and the process of translation, such as word search, rephrasing, translating, coordinating talk and negotiating meaning. When a more flexible interactional format is used than the ones typically used in more standard interpreting events, coordination tasks are altered, although power relationships affect the extent of participants' moves.

The studies reviewed also revealed highly cooperative approach towards interacting. Language transparency promotes cooperation among participants in finding the right word, repairing communication, that is, in the construction of meaning, as well as in the management of turns. Nevertheless, when primary participants are the ones acting as interpreters, a higher degree of involvement in linguistic matters may also pose a challenge to their participation and their face, and reinforce or trigger asymmetries. Their role changes from listener to interpreter, or it is expanded, and their performance might be challenged and affect their participation as primary participants. As it will be discussed in the ensuing section, language transparency places the person interpreting in a different situation compared to standard interpreted encounters. Their performance is transparent, and this might promote both cooperation but also monitoring and assessment by those who can understand both languages and assess the interpreter's output.

4.5 When interpreting becomes a transparent activity: monitoring the interpreter

This section reviews studies of interpreter-mediated encounters with interpreting users or members of the audience who find both languages of the interaction transparent to different extents. Their knowledge of both languages grants the latter access to the ‘source’ utterances as well as the interpreters’ renditions. The studies presented below are all set in the legal domain, and explore how the presence and/or participation of ‘bilinguals’ other than the interpreter affects interpreter-mediated interaction, including both bilingual primary participants and bilingual members of the audience present in the encounter. The different status of the participants with bilingual competencies enable us to explore transparency as a phenomenon in interpreter-mediated encounters in a more comprehensive way.

In his analysis of the public perception of interpreters, Pym (1999) challenged a number of common assumptions around interpreting and interpreters. His paper draws on the famous trial of football running back O. J. Simpson, and explores the social debate surrounding the court interpreter and interpreting. One of the aspects that Pym challenged is the assumption that interpreting users do not know the other language in interaction. However, Rosa López, a witness questioned in O. J. Simpson’s trial, had been living in California for twenty years and could speak some English, although Spanish was her first language. As Pym remarks, the interpreter was not there due to linguistic opacity, but because the witness was not a native speaker of English.

A couple of examples from the trial illustrate Rosa Lopez’ ability to understand English, for instance when she replied directly in English instead of waiting for the interpreter’s rendition of a question addressed to her. Pym notes that such a move was far from an exception in the database, and goes on to suggest that, given the actual lack of opacity, the purpose of having an interpreter had to do more with protecting the witness in an ‘ostensibly linguistic institution’. In that situation, regardless of whether justice is done or not, ‘it must appear to be done’ (Pym 1999, p.271). As noted by Pym, language plays a crucial role and doing justice, or justice appearing to be done, may be a significant factor when deciding on linguistic solutions.

Apart from the witness Rosa López, other participants in interaction could also understand both languages, namely the prosecuting counsel and the judge. As mentioned by Harris (1981, p.194), an audience with transparent language constellations results in the interpreter being monitored. Pym discusses how ‘lay’ participants when it comes to interpreting monitored and assessed the interpreter’s performance. Both in Morris’ (1995) and in Pym’s (1999) studies, lack of awareness about the meaning of translation and interpreting/interpretation in relation to the interpreter’s activity was controversial. The term ‘interpretation’ was used by participants to refer to interpreter’s actions as intrusion or too interventionist, and the verb ‘to interpret’ was also seen as problematic by *bilingual* participants in O. J. Simpson’s trial. Their negative evaluative remarks on the interpreter’s performance were based on the grounds that she was not ‘translating’ but ‘interpreting’ (intervening). The power asymmetries are highly visible in such remarks, in which participants who are not experts in interpreting use their institutional power as an instrument to make their case, that is a legal point in the adversarial context of the court.

The monitoring role of audiences and participants with bilingual competencies was one of the features emerging in Ng’s PhD thesis (2013). Ng explored interactional dynamics in what she labels the ‘atypical bilingual court’ in Hong Kong. English is the language of the court and the language used by judges, in the law and by legal counsel, but the majority of the population speak Cantonese. Ng refers to the Hong Kong bilingual court as atypical because interpreting is generally provided for speakers of majority language, Cantonese, rather than for speakers of a minority language. Ng identified two distinct features: firstly, interpreting is used on an everyday basis for most trials in Hong Kong; and secondly, that the interpreter is not the ‘only’ bilingual in the room – normally the defendant, the witnesses, and the public gallery need interpreting but are, to a certain extent, also bilinguals with varying degrees of competence in Cantonese and English. This turns the interpreter’s renditions into at least partially transparent renditions for many of the co-present participants.

Ng drew on Goffman’s participation framework and Bell’s concept of audience design (1984). Audience design refers to adjustments of the form and style of speech made by speakers to match their audience –or to distance from them. Ng applied them to compare the atypical bilingual Hong Kong court with a) the monolingual court and b) the typical bilingual court. According to Ng (2013), in a typical bilingual courtroom, minority language speakers are also a minority within the courtroom, with legal personnel and the

public gallery normally not finding the minority language accessible. Ng notes, for example, that in Hong Kong courts the consecutive mode is required to accommodate to the needs of the audience. Ng explains that even if members of the jury are required to be proficient in English (the language of the court), bilingual locals are primarily speakers of Cantonese as their first language who speak English to varying degrees. Their competence in English, and particularly in ‘courtroom’ English, though, is taken for granted rather than assessed. As a result, if the chuchotage mode was used, it would only be audible for the person receiving it, and would leave many ‘bilinguals’ with only partial access to the testimonies and contributions of court actors.

Access to both the original and the interpreted version changed the participant status of bilingual legal counsel and members of the public gallery in different ways. Ng (2013, p.97) observed that the ‘supposedly silent bystanders as overhearers of the talk sometimes wish to exert their influence by making their voice heard, and when they do, their status changes from non-participating to one of primary participants, potentially impacting on the proceedings and on the administration of justice.’ Ng analysed a number of instances in which members of the public gallery contributed to the proceedings by shouting a more accurate term than that offered by the interpreter, correcting the interpreter or flagging up a problem of miscommunication. Such contributions are visible and overt acts that manifest the collaborative nature of this kind of interpreting –and also the high degree of exposure that interpreters face. As for the defence counsel, they had the power to monitor the interpreted versions and correct or comment on interpreters’ choices. By doing so, legal counsel combine the reception roles of addressees of the witnesses’ interpreted answers and overhearers of the Cantonese interpretation and the witness’s answer in Cantonese.

Another pattern identified by Ng in atypical bilingual courtrooms was the systematic use of a different footing by interpreters depending on the audience of their renditions. When interpreting into the language of the courtroom, that is English, interpreters adhered to the normative first-person style, thus acting as animators. However, when interpreting utterances including a first-person reference into Cantonese, interpreters specified the agent and adopted the third-person style. Although this phenomenon has been identified as a typical pattern in other studies, Ng’s observations and interviews with interpreters led her to conclude that the underlying cause of this markedly different treatment is interpreters’ uneasiness with adopting two roles –those of the two primary participants. In particular, Ng notes that interpreters seemed to feel uneasy adopting the first-person

style to interpret the voice of the powerful participants –court and legal personnel, and it could be argued that language transparency may have an impact upon such differentiated treatment.

Ng observed shifts in the distribution of interactional power among participants in atypical bilingual courtrooms. She points at a proportional increase in power when the interpreter is the only bilingual in the courtroom, as is the case in exceptional hearings in Hong Kong courts when Mandarin instead of Cantonese is used. Bilingual legal personnel roles expand due to their status as bilinguals (p.138). They are empowered, have more control over sense-making and the testimony. Ng observed lawyers correcting interpreters' renditions and targeting interpreting errors even though ambiguities or errors may have originated in their own ambiguous or erroneous wording in the first place. This situation arises because some lawyers have difficulties expressing themselves in English fluently even though Hong Kong courts use English as the language of work. The interpreter's rendition in this case serves as an opportunity to repair faulty 'source' utterances. The expanded participant roles of bilingual legal personnel in this case results in a diminished role and the reduced linguistic power of interpreters (p.140).

Ng observed that changes in participant status affected interpreting decisions and style. This constitutes a difference compared to typical bilingual courtrooms and to the findings discussed above (Section 4.3) in encounters with intermittent interpreting. In the atypical bilingual courtrooms, Ng noticed interpreters adhered to the normative animator role to a greater extent. In the rare typical bilingual hearings examined, interpreters tended to play a more active role by initiating turns and acting as principals to ask for clarification, managing turns and sometimes exceeding their role by replying directly to clarification-seeking questions from witnesses. Ng concluded that the monitoring role of bilingual court audience in the atypical bilingual courtroom seems to work as a control device and interpreters refrain from taking a more proactive role, at times even leaving miscommunication problems unresolved.

With regard to the effects of different degrees of latitude on the part of interpreters, Ng observed that taking up a too active role posed risks for the negotiation of meaning. As Ng notes, interpreters' moves could be seen as responses to the bilingual audience in court. The presence of other bilingual actors in court seem to make interpreters to abide more by the code of ethics, at times giving priority to the bilingual audience present. Ng observed that corrections can affect the interpreter's face (accepting a correction as 'loss

of monopolistic linguistic power' p.145) and the audience's perception of her level of competence.

It can be argued that the interpreting process with the presence of other bilinguals is more transparent and thus in the better interests of justice as any mistakes (which would most likely go unnoticed if the interpreter were the only bilingual as in Case 8) would rarely escape the notice of these other bilinguals. However, this relatively *transparent* interpreting process does have a bearing on the image of the interpreter: the flagging up of an interpreting mistake, real or perceived, by bilingual counsel may lead monolingual court actors to cast doubt on the capability of the interpreter. Following Bell's model of audience design (1984), it could also be argued that the behaviours of the interpreters are a response to the audience in court (2013, p.146).

The monitoring role of other bilingual court actors was also analysed in Zambrano-Piaff (2011, p.195), who observed that inaccurate interpreter's renditions in immigration hearings were sometimes objected to by a bilingual attorney. Zambrano-Piaff focused particularly on inaccurate lexical choices. Whereas the participation of other bilingual court actors functioned as a monitoring device, as in Ng (2013), Zambrano-Piaff noticed that not every inaccuracy in interpreted renditions was flagged up or objected to by the bilingual attorneys. The author observed the potential impact of other factors upon the decision of whether to flag up an inaccurate rendition or not. Factors such as not interrupting the flow of interaction or the relevance of the passage for the particular case may prevail over the perceived need for repair.

In the case of Ng and Zambrano-Piaff, flagging up inaccuracies and the treatment given to them also seems to depend on factors such as the weight the repairable carries in the particular sequence, exchange or encounter, or the potential consequences of not repairing it. The selective approach to repairing interpreter's renditions and to having something interpreted seems to be a manifestation of the extent to which interaction is oriented towards the institutional goals, as well as the negotiation and distribution of power.

In relation to addressing problems in communication, that is repair, Martinsen and Dubslaff (2010) explore what they called 'the cooperative courtroom' as a case study of court interpreting 'gone wrong'. Martinsen and Dubslaff draw on Prunč's model of translation culture (1997, 2000) to analyse the actions of the different participants. The translation culture refers to the set of norms and conventions shaping participants' behaviour with regard to translation and interpreting.

Martinsen and Dubsloff explain that the system of the Danish courtroom is less adversarial than that of other jurisdictions. The principles that underlie the translation culture are cooperativeness, loyalty to each other, their own roles and to the institution, and transparency. The principle of cooperativeness, particularly in relation to handling and solving problems, is particularly interesting in relation to the non-confrontational way in which interpreting problems are treated in this case study. Transparency in their study refer to the interpreter's being transparent about her decisions, the deviations or difficulties that emerge in the process of interpreting, rather than to transparency as the phenomenon of understanding both languages in interaction. Martinsen and Dubsloff highlight that 'the fact that the defendant had some Danish skills made the interpreter's job somewhat less transparent' (2010, p.132), particularly because the interpreter deviated more from the norm of interpreting *everything*.

Different phenomena emerged that show a division of labour, an approach to interpreting and a turn-taking system that deviated from what was referred to in Section 2.4.1 as the 'standard' or 'normal' format of interpreter-mediated interaction. For example, at times the defendant answered directly to a question before the interpreter had rendered it in the other language. The interpreter reacted uncertainly to this breach of the normal order of interaction, as if not knowing how to behave. As in the studies reviewed in Section 4.4, the defendant and the legal professionals cooperated in the interpreting task by, for instance, making lexical choices jointly. The audience also cooperated in handling miscommunication, particularly through meta-comments criticizing the interpreter.

As flagged up above, the question of how much Danish the defendant could be assumed to understand appeared to be a source of uncertainty for the interpreter. The interpreter's uncertainty in turn sometimes resulted in irritation on the part of the defendant. Handling linguistic transparency was an observable issue. A telling example was the defence counsel's announcement of the defendant's skills in Danish. The defence counsel referred to the defendant as someone who could 'excellently communicate in Danish' (2010, p.132). Martinsen and Dubsloff see this move as a face-enhancing move for the defendant rather than a reliable assessment of the defendant's competence in English. For the discussion related to the interpreter, any move initiated by the interpreter to address miscommunication could be perceived as challenging the counsel's assessment, while non-reacting can be seen as the interpreter being uncooperative, disloyal to her role and non-transparent.

4.6 Conclusion

The studies presented in this chapter have discussed matters emerging in encounters in which language transparency was manifest in some form or another. When one or several bilingual participants take part in interaction, interpreting can be one of the potential solutions to be used to bridge linguistic barriers. Code-switching, natural interpreting among interlocutors themselves, and the intermittent use of interpreting provided by either an ad hoc or a professional interpreter were identified as potential solutions. The review presented in this chapter showed that assessing the level of competence, the type of linguistic solution needed and opting for one option or another depend on individual assumptions on linguistic competence, as well as on the nature of the encounter, language ideologies, perceptions of the role of interpreting (Pym 1999), social beliefs and rules, and practical aspects, such as the availability of interpreters (Roels et al. 2015).

Institutional power was overtly exercised by institutional participants in the studies by Pym (1999), Nakane (2010), Du (2015), Zambrano-Piaff (2011). Here the imposition of not using interpreting resulted from a preference for direct interaction, as well as from assumptions on what the truncated competencies of lay users enable them to do without the assistance of an interpreter. Furthermore, assumptions on the higher degree of complexity and significance of certain parts of the encounter, such as the monologic written-based stages in court hearings (Nakane 2010), was a factor regarding when interpreting was used or not. The imposition of interpreting can also result from assumptions on monolingualism, as suggested by Angermeyer (2015), but it also, as Pym suggests, may result from procedural compliance, that is from the view of justice as something that needs to appear to be done. Even if transparency exists, protecting the linguistic rights of those who are involved in a legal case may prevail over legitimizing all the existing linguistic resources among participants. This aspect is particularly relevant for the study presented in this thesis, in which the interaction as a communicative event that exists through language has an evidentiary function. Compared to the O. J. Simpson's trial analysed by Pym, though, the more intimate and less public nature of the police interview need to be considered as factors that may result in a more flexible approach to handling transparent language constellations.

From the point of view of the organization of talk, the studies reviewed in this chapter showed particular ways of distributing interactional tasks, including a high degree of cooperation with the person or people performing the role of interpreter. The studies identified turn-taking systems which integrated dyadic talk, code-switching and interpreted sequences, and which differed from 'normal' models of interpreting. Two aspects are particularly relevant in relation to the study presented here: the high degree of collaboration in dealing with interpreting-related aspects, and the negotiation –and at times uncertainty featuring the initiation of interpreter-mediated interaction.

This chapter has also looked at studies in which the interpreter was under scrutiny as a result of a co-present audience who found both languages transparent (Ng 2013; Martinsen and Dubsloff 2010; Zambrano-Piaff 2011). Language transparency amongst participants or a co-present audience was observed to have an impact upon participants' moves, including the interpreter's, who adjusted their output to the bilingual audience. Participants' assessment of language proficiency become manifest and power asymmetries were observed in those assessments.

Finally, and as mentioned in relation to institutionally-imposed partial non-interpreting (Nakane 2010; Du 2015), these studies suggest that having talk interpreted or not in a particular encounter depends on interpersonal and institutional factors, as well as on the perceptions of the significance of a particular turn. As shown in Ng (2013) and Zambrano-Piaff (2011), the existence of an observable interactional trouble does not always translate into interpreting. As in the study by Nakane (2014), institutional participants used their interactional power to select which repairables or material should be interpreted or not rather than repairing every repairable. These findings show that, among the range of solutions available, the preferred one based on various factors, including practical aspects, institutional beliefs and assessments made by the users, as well as on the unfolding of the interaction at a turn-by-turn level.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 have reviewed the Dialogue Interpreting field, aspects related to Police Interpreting and phenomena emerging in studies in which language transparency was manifest and shaped the interaction. The concepts and discussions presented in the three chapters have laid the foundations required to analyse the data set of this study. Before presenting the analysis in Chapters 6 and 7, the ensuing chapter describes the data set, the data collection method and the methodology used to transcribe and analyse the data.

Chapter 5 – Data and Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This study draws on two authentic video-recorded interpreter-mediated police interviews with Spanish and English, related to the same criminal case. It presents a descriptive and exploratory analysis of interactional dynamics in the police interviews with a particular interpreting mode, stand-by interpreting. The interaction features an alternation between monolingual unmediated talk and bilingual interpreter-mediated talk. Due to its exploratory nature, and to the limited size of the data set related to the same case, this study is treated as a case study. This study is primarily qualitative, although quantification is applied to the frequency of a number of patterns (See Section 5.4 below). The description of frequency and distribution illustrates differences between participants regarding certain actions, such as interpreter-selection as the next speaker; and the distribution of phenomena across different stages during the interview, such as the use of dyadic monolingual interaction and triadic interaction.

As any qualitative study of social interaction, the analysis is shaped by the researcher's lens. In this case, the author's profile as an interpreter educator and a professional interpreter and translator for the language combination of the data set will surface in the observations and discussions. Even though a degree of subjectivity is unavoidable, particularly regarding the focus and the interpretation of interactional moves, drawing on a solid analytical apparatus and a layered approach to the analysis has been crucial to structure and analyse the patterns and phenomena emerging.

This chapter describes the data set, presents the methods used for the annotation and transcription, and explains the analysis methodology. Section 5.2 presents a description of the data set, including the information about the criminal case necessary to contextualize the interviews. Section 5.3 explains the transcription process and the conventions used. It details the adaptations made to the horizontal transcription method proposed by Gallez (2014) to integrate multimodal features and to more clearly illustrate the workings of the stand-by regime. Finally, Section 5.4 explains the analysis methodology used in the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7, particularly Conversation Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics.

5.2 Data set

The data set this study is based on consists of two authentic video-recorded police interviews conducted in Scotland. Audio-recordings are also available to the author, but the video-recordings were selected for the study because they make it possible to carry out a richer analysis and to observe non-verbal features, such as gaze, gestures, body orientation and object manipulation. Empirical research in public service interpreting has no doubt been constrained by the difficulties to access authentic data (Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000; Mason 2012), and particularly video-recorded data. These access difficulties result from confidentiality issues, the unlikelihood of foreseeing the holding of an interview, the match between the language combinations and the linguistic repertoire of researchers, as well as technical difficulties in recording and storing information. In the case study presented here, the two video-recordings and audio-recordings (of the same two interviews) with the Spanish and English combination were made available for research purposes to the Police Interpreting Group at Heriot-Watt University in October 2013 by the former Lothian and Borders Police force, now merged with the other seven Scottish police forces to form Police Scotland. The two video-recordings are part of a larger data-set of 11 video-recorded police interviews in five different languages. The Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR), which sets out to carry out evidence-based research in the field of policing, facilitated the contact and propelled the agreement between Heriot-Watt University and Lothian and Borders Police.

The recordings were made as part of the interview process, as they are routinely made in Criminal Investigation Departments in Scotland. They were therefore not made for research purposes and this allowed the author to access the data ‘untouched by the researcher's paradox’ (Heydon 2005) described by Metzger (1999). A Confidentiality and Non-Disclosure Agreement was signed in 2011 between Lothian and Borders Police and Heriot-Watt University for the use of the audio-visual data for research purposes at the Languages and Intercultural Studies Department. Due to the sensitive nature of the data, an anonymity protocol for the treatment of Sensitive Data was designed and applied to the data. As set out in the protocol, identifiers and quasi-identifiers in the data have been anonymized to avoid unambiguous identification of individuals. These include names, surnames, addresses and other place names, and dates (birth, interview, and other events mentioned). For security reasons, the full transcriptions of the interviews cannot be reproduced in this thesis. The analysis integrates excerpts which illustrate the points discussed.

The data are only accessible to the research group mentioned above in encrypted and password protected files. Furthermore, as required by Heriot-Watt University, an application was made to the PhD Ethics Committee in January 2014 at the School of Management and Languages to use the data for the purposes of conducting this doctoral study. The application received full approval by the Ethics Officer in June 2014.

A copy of the handwritten interview notes taken by the supporting police officer in each interview was also made available for this thesis by the lead investigator of the case (PO1). The interview notes written by the police officers constitute a complementary record of the interviews, as they were taken on-line by the police officer acting as a supporting interviewer in both interviews. An anonymization agreement was signed with Police Scotland for the inclusion and treatment of the interview notes in this study.

Initially, the idea of requesting a copy of the notes taken by the police officers arose during the analysis process. The author considered they would be valuable data sources to explore to what extent the police officers had understood the detainees' answers in English, which featured a marked Spanish syntactic structure and, at times, unclear pronunciation. Following a preliminary analysis of the notes as records of the detectives' comprehension, no comprehension problems were detected, but the author identified two potential uses: firstly, the analysis of meta-comments about interpreting, which had not been foreseen when the interview notes were requested; and secondly, the author realised that they had a high potential as data sources to analyse intertextuality, discourse features or to conduct a comparative analysis of the notes taken by either police officer. However, given the focus of the PhD and the nature and function of the handwritten notes, the methodological decision was made to restrict their use in this study to the meta-comments about interpreting included in them. This element was found to complement the analysis of meta-comments about interpreting observed in the transcribed interviews. It was decided that the other analysis of the notes considered would require a different approach and would be outside the scope of this study. Notwithstanding this methodological decision, the potential of the handwritten notes as data sources for future studies with a different focus is reiterated here.

5.2.1 The case

The two police interviews analysed in this study are related to the same criminal case and are analysed as manifestations of socially and institutionally-situated discourse practices.

The two interviews analysed involve five participants overall. Each interview includes four participants: two English-speaking police officers, one Spanish-speaking suspect and one professional interpreter.

The interviews were conducted one after the other in 2012, by two English-speaking police constables from the then Lothian and Borders Police force, at a police station in Edinburgh. Two suspects were detained following the search of one of the detainees' flat in the early hours on the same day the interviews were held. The suspects were detained under section 4(3b) of the Misuse of Drugs Act under suspicion of:

4(3)(b) to be concerned in the supplying of such a drug to another in contravention of that subsection;

In Section 4(3)(b) above, 'such a drug' refers to a controlled drug as defined in Schedule 2¹². Different punishments apply depending on the offence, the drug class¹³ (classified on a scale from Class A to Class C, from most to least dangerous), and whether the penalty is charged on summary conviction or on indictment. Trials on summary conviction are for less serious cases and are conducted without a jury. A case tried on indictment includes a judge sitting with a jury and it is known as a solemn proceeding.

The suspect interviewed first confirmed he was the tenant of the flat searched and the second suspect declared he was staying at his friend's flat as a guest. During the search of the property, a series of items (productions) were seized by the police. The items were material evidence in the criminal investigation and the detainees were questioned about them during the interview. The productions were the following:

- A baseball bat.
- A shoehorn with traces of white powder.
- A set of scales.
- A spool of thread.
- Plastic bags with holes cut in them.
- Gripper bags.
- A glass jar.
- Five mobile phones.

¹² Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. Controlled Drugs: classes <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/38/schedule/2> [Accessed: 07/08/2016]

¹³ Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 – Schedule 4. Prosecution and punishment. In the case analysed, Sections 5(2) and 5(3) apply: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1971/38/schedule/4> [Accessed: 07/08/2016]

- £600 in 100-pound bundles.
- Controlled drugs worth £2,000 including Class A (cocaine and ecstasy) and Class B drugs (cannabis and hashish) as per the Misuse of Drugs (Scotland) Act 1971.

Following routine practice for the type of suspected offence, the interviews were both audio and video recorded and the interviewees were informed thereof. All participants except the interpreter are visible in the video recordings, but seating arrangements, the layout of the interview room and gaze direction make it possible to establish the approximate location of the interpreter. As established in the Criminal Procedure (Scotland) Act 1995, a suspect can be held in police custody for a maximum of 12 hours to be questioned about their involvement in the suspected crime. Once the 12-hour period is over, the detained person must be arrested and charged or released. Both detainees in the case presented here were arrested and charged after the questioning.

All the excerpts presented in the analysis below refer to either Interview 1 or Interview 2. Interview 1 was 01:02:40 hours long and Interview 2 was 00:52:25 hours long. In total, one hour and 55 minutes of video-recorded interviews have been transcribed and analysed by the author of this thesis.

– *Participants and language constellations*

As mentioned above, in total, five different people participated in the interviews. Four participants were present per interview, three of them in both interviews (the police officers and the interpreter), and two different suspects were interviewed, one in each interview. The table below presents the participants, their activity roles, pseudonyms and the initials used in the analysis:

Activity role	Interview 1	Interview 2
Lead interviewer	PO1 (Peter Carter)	PO2 (Patrick Campbell)
Supporting interviewer	PO2 (Patrick Campbell)	PO1 (Peter Carter)
Interviewee	DP1 (Daniel Palencia)	DP2 (Darío Pelayo)
Interpreter	INT (Isabel Fortese)	INT (Isabel Fortese)

Table 1 Participants, activity roles and pseudonyms in interviews 1 and 2

Detained Person 1 (DP1) is a male, of Spanish origin, resident in Edinburgh and unemployed at the time of the interview. According to his own statement during the interview, DP1 had been living in Edinburgh for three years before he was detained and

lived on his own in the flat where the material evidence was seized. DP1 is a native speaker of Spanish who had studied English as a foreign language in Spain and came to Scotland to improve his English.

DP1's level of competence in English presented here is based solely on DP1's production and performance in the situated context of the police interview. The constraints of the communicative encounter and the specific task at hand are taken into account as shaping all participants' language use, but particularly for DP1 as a second language user. DP1's performance in the interview has been mapped into the level descriptor of A.2. of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR)¹⁴. DP1 can get by in English, more comfortably in exchanges about more familiar and personal themes, but he constantly compromises the message, a feature that is typical of the A.2 level. His production features hedges, false starts, overuse of nouns instead of clauses, monosyllabic answers, systematic errors in the use of tenses, and the syntactic structure Spanish featuring his production in English.

Detained Person 2 (DP2) is a male, of Venezuelan origin, resident in Edinburgh and employed as a glass collector and a kitchen porter. Similar to detainee 1, detainee 2 is a native speaker of Spanish who studied English as a foreign language. He shows a slightly higher command of English than DP1 during the interview, particularly regarding sentence construction and grammar correction. His level in the interview can be mapped to an A2.2/B1.1 level based on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). He formulates longer and syntactically more complex and more correct sentences than DP1, but still his production features hesitation, hedges and lexical deficits that make him at times compromise or abandon the message. DP2 has comprehension problems during the interview and requests clarification, repetition and support from both the police officer and the interpreter.

The terms 'suspect', 'detained person' and 'detainee' are used interchangeably to refer to the detainees in the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7, together with the abbreviations coined by the analyst presented in Table 1 above: DP1 and DP2.

For contextualization purposes, in July 2016, over 10,000 Spanish citizens were registered as residents in Scotland and 9,000 as non-residents (personal correspondence with the Registry office in the Spanish Consulate in Edinburgh). In addition to these

¹⁴ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Cadre1_en.asp [Accessed 03/05/2017]

‘registered’ citizens, the officers in the Spanish Consulate estimate that around 20,000 Spanish citizens live in Edinburgh as of early 2017. Economic, professional and personal reasons and learning English are the main reasons for migrating. As in the case of the two detainees of the interviews analysed, native-like competency in English cannot be assumed or expected, but rather different degrees of competence.

Two male police constables were present in both interviews. On the basis of their participation in the interviews, each police officer adhered to a different role during the interview: a lead interviewer conducting the interview and a supporting interviewer who took notes during the interview and whose participation in asking questions to the detainee was minimal. They swapped the lead interviewer and supporting interviewer roles between interview 1 and interview 2. At that time, both interviewers were police constables, members of the drug squad. They are native speakers of English and use this language throughout the interview. No indication of knowledge of Spanish was observed.

Given that the same two police officers took part in both interviews, the initials identifying each of them have been maintained in both interviews. The police officer acting as the lead interviewer in Interview 1 and as a supporting interviewer in Interview 2 is referred to as PO1 in both interviews. Any reference to PO1 in relation to either interview should be understood as referring to the same person (police officer 1). The same applies to PO2, who is referred to as PO2 because he acted as the lead interviewer in Interview 2, and as a supporting interviewer in Interview 1.

The same **interpreter** participated in both interviews. The translation agency sourcing interpreters for Police Scotland at the time provided a female interpreter of Uruguayan origin with both undergraduate and postgraduate level qualifications in legal interpreting (English and Spanish). The interpreter was a native speaker of Spanish and interpreted during both interviews. She is referred to in the analysis as ‘the interpreter’ or with the abbreviation ‘INT’.

– *Seating arrangements*

Both police interviews took place in an interview room at a police station in Edinburgh. The interview room was equipped with audio and video-recording equipment, one table and at least four chairs, but probably a fifth one for the interpreter that is not visible in the video recordings. As described above, two video angles are filmed simultaneously to include both sides of the table, where the main participants are sitting. As represented in

Figures 8 and 9 below, the table is rectangular and two participants are sitting on one side of the table (the two police officers), and the two others on the on the other side (the detained person and the interpreter):

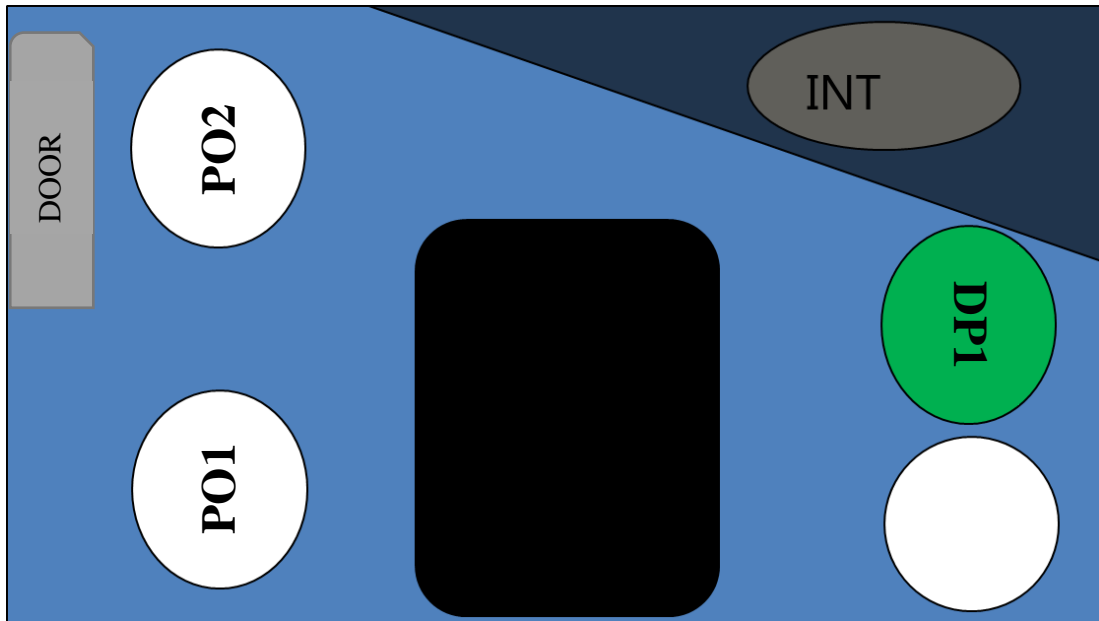


Figure 9 Seating arrangements in Interview 1.

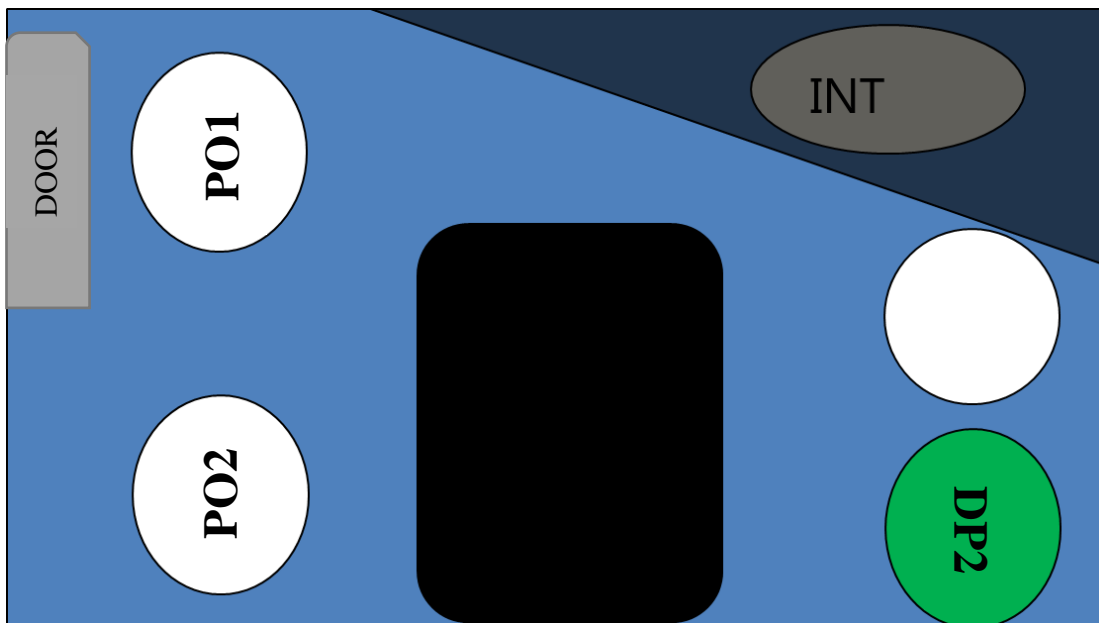


Figure 10 Seating arrangements in Interview 2.

The two interviewing officers were sitting next to each other on the side that was closer to the only door in the room. In both interviews, the police officer acting as lead interviewing officer was sitting next to the wall (PO1 in Interview 1 and PO2 in Interview 2). In interview 2, the lead interviewing officer was sitting directly opposite the detained

person, whereas in Interview 1 the detained person was sitting on the chair opposite interviewing police officer 2. As mentioned earlier, the interpreter is off-screen and is therefore not visible in our data set. However, based on gestures and the direction of the other participants' gaze, our assumption is that the interpreter is sitting almost in line with the detained person, between the police officers and the detained person.

5.3 Annotation and transcription: convention and process

The selection of a transcription mode is directly associated with the methodological and theoretical approach of a research project. As highlighted by Erickson (2010, p.247):

The problem with any approach to transcription is that it illuminates and foregrounds some aspects of social interaction and leaves other aspects either unrepresented entirely or in the background of analytic attention. A transcription approach is an intellectual tool, and like all tools it is designed for particular uses.

In this study, the transcription approach is designed to facilitate the identification, presentation and readability of interactional patterns, including the turn-taking system and the location of interactional actions. The transcription approach adopted is based on the model used by Gallez (2014). Gallez' model features a particular form of special representation: participants are represented horizontally, each of them occupying a column. Turns are displayed chronologically on a vertical axis, in such a way that it is possible to observe the interactional paths from one participant to another on a turn-by-turn basis. This is particularly relevant to represent the distribution of turns-at-talk in the different sequence types, as it allows the exploration of departures from an A-INTintoB-B-INTintoA-A interaction format, where A and B would be the primary participants with the interpreter intervening every second turn.

As stated above, Gallez' model has been selected and adjusted in this study for three reasons: the organization of turns at talk is clearer than in transcription models representing speakers vertically; readability improves because, once the reader identifies a column with a particular speaker, it is not necessary to check the speaker at the beginning of the turn; and, particularly important for this study, departures from the standard model of mediated interaction or from dyadic interaction are readily visible. Contrary to Gallez' distribution of participants across columns, in which the interpreter was placed in the middle column (see Section 2.4.1), in the transcriptions of the interviews

analysed in this study the interpreter is placed in the far right column. This makes it possible to observe dyadic interaction between the primary participants as the prevailing interactional configuration in the data set –and departures from it.

The transcriptions were first made in the annotation software ELAN, which made it possible to include a layer for the verbal output of each participant and a layer for non-verbal actions for each of the primary participants. The transcriptions made in ELAN were converted to text format and subsequently saved in an Excel file, including the start and end points of each turn and the timing of the non-verbal actions annotated. The transcriptions were then edited in two different Word files following the horizontal transcription format adapted from Gallez (see 5.3.1). The process of editing the transcripts to integrate intonation, silent pauses, gaze shifts, gestures and verbal output was lengthy and required a layered approach. Verbal output was inserted in the first place, together with the author's back translation into English of the turns in Spanish. Overlapping talk, gaze and gestures, intonation and silent pauses followed. Each of the units inserted required several viewings and checks, and the back-translation into English of verbal output in Spanish was added in the last phase.

The model used by Gallez (2014) has been adapted here to include non-verbal features, which are described in double brackets. Different methods for transcribing body-language have been proposed by conversation analysts, such as the quasi-musical transcription method (Erickson 2010), the gaze-inclusive method (Goodwin 2000), the use of diagrams to represent gaze moves (Davitti 2013). Their application to interpreter-mediated interaction with a changing interactional organization can be complex for the reader. Although a degree of complexity is unavoidable when integrating multimodal features in a transcription, for the purposes of readability the descriptive method used by Jefferson (1983) has been maintained here, as well as the conventions to represent gaze direction as proposed by Streeck (2014). In the sections below the reader is presented with the adaptations made to Gallez' model, the transcription conventions (5.3.2) and with an example of how to interpret the different elements included in the transcription (5.3.3).

5.3.1 *Horizontal transcription format*

The horizontal transcription model used in this study uses the Jeffersonian transcription symbols and conventions (see Appendix 1) and, as mentioned above, it is inspired by the transcription model used by Gallez (2014) in her study of court interpreting.

The interactional format in the data set analysed in this study includes dyadic sequences between the primary participants (police officer and detainee) and triadic sequences mediated by the interpreter. In addition, interpreting in this data set is unidirectional in 98% of cases, that is the interpreter translates only the police officer's turns into Spanish. As mentioned above, the interpreter's actions are shown in Column 3 rather than in Column 2, which would normally coincide with the position of the interpreter as the woman or man 'in the middle' (Metzger 1999). This makes it possible to identify and analyse triadic sequences more clearly, as well as present 'direct' dyadic interaction between primary participants by placing them next to each other (in Columns 1 and 2). The table below is a template table of the transcription format used and the format of excerpts presented in the analysis.

Excerpt No. Description and time reference in hh:mm:ss.

Column 0	Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON X	INTERPRETER

Columns (vertical) and rows (horizontal) are used for different purposes. Each participant's actions, also referred to as 'moves', are placed in a different column (1, 2, 3). The sequential development of turns is represented vertically and divided into Units, which are numbered in Column 0. Units do not have a specific length, and they normally coincide with a turn produced by a speaker or consist of more than one turn, in the case of overlapping speech. The purpose of dividing the interaction into units identified by numbers is to make it easier for the reader to follow the sequential progression of

participants' moves. Turns can include verbal, non-verbal features or a combination of both, that is a nod can represent a turn or an action among other actions, such as a verbal question.

Both police officers' actions are shown in Column 1 as representing the same party in the interaction. Even though each police officer has a distinct role in the interview – either as a lead interviewer or as a supporting interviewer and annotator – they both represent the police as a party in interaction. Furthermore, the police officer (1 or 2) performing the supporting interviewer role hardly intervenes in the interaction, and thus the inclusion of a fifth column across the transcription would make it unnecessarily complex.

The symbols and conventions used in the transcription and their meaning are available in Appendix 1. In Section 5.3.2., the adjustments made to accommodate the participants, overlapping actions, back-translation and multimodal features are described and followed by an illustration of how to read the excerpts.

5.3.2 Transcription conventions and adjustments

For the purposes of representation and readability, the horizontal transcription method required a number of adjustments to accommodate multimodal features, the back-translation of utterances in Spanish into English, overlapping talk and speaker position. In order to make it easier for the reader to interpret the ensuing analysis in Chapters 6 and 7, the adjustments are described below and exemplified through an illustration of how to read an excerpt.

– Police Officer identification in Column 1

As mentioned above, both police officers' actions were transcribed and are presented in Column 1 'POLICE OFFICER(S). In order to identify which police officer has the floor, the reader needs to take the following three aspects into account:

- If no indication is included in the excerpt or Unit, it means that the lead interviewer in that interview has the floor, PO1 in Interview 1 and PO2 in Interview 2. The interview number at the top of each excerpt can be used as a reference, as it coincides with the number of the lead police officer.
- Indications of which police officer is taking the floor are included only in the transition from one police officer to the other. When 'the other' police officer takes the floor, the starting point of his intervention includes his initials between curly

brackets: {PO1} or {PO2}. If no label is included in the subsequent units in Column 1, it means that that same police officer still has the floor.

- A new label is included when ‘the other’ police officer resumes or takes the floor.

An example of PO identification in Interview 1 is presented in Excerpt 1 (highlighted in yellow), in which PO1 is the police officer whose actions are described by default:

Excerpt 1 PO identification in Column 1. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:37:25-00:38:00].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
693.	{PO2} (1) Okay. But, why wouldn't you take it out when the-, nearer when your rent is due? Why would you have it not in the bank? Why not save the money in the bank and then take it out nearer to the time when your rent is due?		
694.		°Because ((leans backwards)) I have ((/desk)) the money ((/po2)) in cash°.	
695.	[{PO1} (2) ((nods)) (2) ((placing the bag back on the floor, /po2: °We'll come back to that (xxx)°.)) Okay ((/doc on desk)) ((/items, (xxx)/po2)) ((po2 passes po1 a new bag and po1 reads out the label on the bag)) Brown substance ((/dp1, /bag)) ONE. (1) Ehm, what is ((dp1: this?))	[((/po1, /po2, /po1))	
696.		Hashish.	
697.	((/bag)) Who does it belong to? ((/dp1))		

The example above presents two transitions from one police officer to the other. The first transition is observable in Unit 693, in which PO2 takes the floor. The label {PO2} indicates that PO1 had the floor in the preceding unit(s) and marks the beginning of PO2's actions. In Unit 695, the label {PO1} indicates that the actions transcribed in that unit and until {PO2} is found are produced by PO1.

– *Multimodal features*

As shown in the studies reviewed in Section 2.2.4, kinesics have the potential of contributing to communication jointly with verbal features, either reinforcing them, working in isolation or in parallel to verbal communication. As a result, this study approaches non-verbal features in an inclusive manner across the different foci of analysis. Non-verbal communication as a referential resource and as a communicative

resource that can be considered as turns (in its interactional function) is explored in all layers of the analysis.

With regard to transcription conventions, the transcription of multimodal features underwent several piloting tests and refinements in order to find a balance between readability and descriptiveness. Five kinesic units will be included in the analysis. Davitti (2015) identifies gaze, gestures, head movement, posture and orientation, object manipulation, proxemics and space arrangement as multimodal aspects which have an effect upon interaction, and which shape interpreter-mediated interaction in particular ways. Gaze, head movement, body orientation, hand gestures and object manipulation emerged as salient features in the pilot analysis for this PhD, which was based on a fragment from Interview 2, as they were observed to have regulatory, expressive and monitoring functions. As a result, these features were transcribed, and a description and analysis was applied to the full data set:

- Shifts in gaze direction.
- Hand and upper body gestures, such as shrugs.
- Head movement, such as nods.
- Postural orientation, such as changes from the orientation determined by the fixed seating arrangement.
- Object manipulation.

Seating arrangement is taken into account as part of the spatial context, and as an element that determines eye contact, eye direction and postural orientation. Two brackets are used to present non-verbal features, which are verbalized following the descriptive Jeffersonian approach: ((verbal description of non-verbal features)), such as ((nods)). The symbol used to transcribe gaze shift is based on Streeck's proposal (2014, p.39) (drawing on Kendon and Rossano): / preceding gaze orientation, whether it is an object ((/object name)) or a person ((/initials)).

Three examples are shown below:

((/po1)) in DP1 column = DP1 turns directs gaze to PO

((/away)) in PO1 column = PO1 turns gaze away at an indeterminate point

((/desk)) in PO2 column = PO2 directs his gaze towards the desk

The same symbol / has been used to indicate hand gesture direction and body movement direction, such as ((leans/desk)) to indicate that the participant in that column leans towards the desk, or ((points/interpreter)) to indicate that the participant in that column points in the direction of the interpreter.

Silent pauses were also annotated and included in the transcription in order to provide the reader with a transcription of interaction that is as close as possible to the interaction accessible to the author in audio-visual format.

Both intra-turn and inter-turn pauses were included (pauses within a turn or pauses between turns). Intra-turn pauses occur within the turn of a speaker, and are therefore allocated to that particular participant. Inter-turn occur between the end of a turn and the beginning of the next turn, and they cannot be allocated to any speaker. In order to illustrate that inter-turn pauses are not allocated to any speaker, they are transcribed on the far left side in a single-column row (with no columns for different speakers) and are not counted as a unit (See Excerpt 2 below for an example between Units 613 and 614).

Following the CA tradition, micropauses of less than 0.5 seconds are represented like this ‘(.)’. The length of silent pauses of 0.5 seconds or more is indicated in brackets, for instance (2).

– ***Overlapping actions***

As stated above, the sequential development of moves is represented vertically. The starting point of two or three overlapping actions is signalled by placing their inception at the beginning of the horizontal line (on the left of the cell) and on the same horizontal line as each other. The beginning of each overlapping action is marked by a square bracket [at the same level, following a line break, as shown in the two examples found in Excerpt 2 below:

Excerpt 2 Overlapping actions. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:26:01-00:26:12].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
613.	°Okay°. ((/docs)) ((po1 places bags on the floor)) °°shoehorn with traces°°/po2, po2 passes po1 a bag)) This is a shoehorn ((/dp1)) with traces. (1) Who does ((points/bag)) this belong to?		
(0.5)			
614.		Yeah, this is for my shoes. ((gestures of using a shoehorn))	

615.	[Your shoes? ((points/int: Yeah.)) [Your shoes? ((points/int: Yeah.))	[((/int)) [((/int))	Sí, °pero°, [¿a quién pertenece? Yes, °but°, [who does it belong to?
616.		((/po1)) Mine, mine, mine.	
617.	So, this is yours? ((nods))		
618.	[Okay. ((/bag))	[°Hm°.	

Two sets of overlapping actions are presented in Excerpt 3. The first set in Unit 615 includes actions from all three participants (highlighted in green). In Unit 618, two overlapping actions are presented. PO1's confirmation-seeking question in 617 triggers a further confirmation token by DP1 '°Hm°'. This overlaps with PO1's sequence-closing token 'Okay', which is immediately followed by a gaze shift towards the bag.

– *Back-translation*

Utterances in Spanish include the author's back-translation into English. Regarding the approach to the back-translation, an effort has been made to convey the register and style of the source, to include prosodic features (pauses, intonation, vowel elongation), and to reflect discursive aspects such as hesitations, false starts and other types of hedging. The back translation into English was proof-read by a professional interpreter trainer, translator and proof-reader for the Spanish-English combination who is a native speaker of English. In order to help the reader identify the back-translation and read it or skip it, depending on their needs, the back translation is presented in *italics* and a smaller font size (9) than the original utterances. The back-translation of utterances in Spanish is presented below the source utterance if the source is a full turn or a long sentence, as shown in Excerpt 3 below:

Excerpt 3 Back-translation. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:18:17-00:18:28].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
427.	How often do you take cocaine?		
428.		Today? ((shakes his head))	
429.	((nods)) (0.8)		
430.	[((/int, points/int))	No, today [nothi-	
431.→	[((/dp1))	[((/int)) [A:::h! ((/po1)) Depends, the weekends o::r my birthday or ((shrugs one shoulder)) no sé , depends.	No. [¿Con qué frecuencia consumís cocaína?
	[((/dp1))	[((/int)) [A:::h! ((/po1)) Depends, the weekends o::r my birthday or ((shrugs one shoulder)) I don't know, depends.	No. [How often do you take cocaine?

Two examples of back-translation can be seen in Excerpt 3. The first one is the back-translation of the interpreter’s rendition in 431. Both verbal and non-verbal moves by other participants in the same row as the one requiring back-translation are copied at the same level and in the same font size, colour and type as the back-translation. This makes it easier for the reader of the back-translation to identify overlapping actions. The second one is the translation of the insertion in Spanish ‘*no sé*’ (‘I don’t know’) by DP1, also in Unit 431. In this case, the insertion is translated below because back-translation is required anyway for utterances in that Unit.

When back-translation is required for local insertions in the other language and no back-translation is required in other columns in the same unit, the insertion is highlighted in **boldface** and followed by the back-translation in italics immediately after the insertion. An example is presented in Excerpt 4 below, which has been highlighted in yellow to make it easier for the reader to locate:

Excerpt 4 Back-translation insertions in the other language. Interview 1. Phase 2 [14:08-14:19].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
319.	So, was that three in the morning TODAY?		
320.	[[(/int)] [[(/int)]	[[(/int)] [[(/int)]	Era ¿a las [tres de la mañana de HOY? <i>Was it at</i> <i>three in the morning TODAY?</i>
321.		((nods)) Yeah, de hoy <i>(today)</i> .	

DP1 inserts **de hoy** in Spanish in Unit 321, which he had initiated in English. The two words in Spanish are highlighted in boldface and followed by the back-translation into English to facilitate access to non-Spanish speaking readers.

– **Errors**

Grammar and pronunciation errors present in original renditions are maintained in the transcription without further labelling or signalling. Grammar, lexical and stylistic errors in the back-translation are indicative of grammar, lexical and stylistic errors in the original, such as the one in Unit 805 below, extracted from Interview 2 and highlighted in yellow:

Excerpt 5 Errors in the source and back-translation. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:51:01-00:51:10].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
803.	°Okay°. (4) D’ you know a male called Kamil Diouri?		
804.		((/int))	
805.			¿Conoces a u:n masculino llamado Kamil Diouri?

			Do you know a: masculine called Kamil Diouri?
806.		((/po2, shakes his head))	

The translation of ‘a male’ as ‘*un masculino*’ is incorrect in Spanish, as ‘*masculino*’ only works as an adjective and cannot be used to refer to ‘a male’. The translation of the interpreter’s ‘*un masculino*’ as ‘a masculine’ in the back-translation reflects a similarly incorrect choice in English.

5.3.3 Reading the excerpts: an illustration

In order to facilitate the reading process, an example of how to read an excerpt is illustrated in this section. The excerpt below is shown twice: the first time without comments and the second time broken down into three parts, each of them including explanatory notes and followed by a narrative of the actions represented in that part. Excerpt 6 below corresponds to the transition from Phase 2 (preliminary questioning about personal details, work and hobbies) to Phase 3 (questioning about the productions and the suspected offence of the interview). The first three units (469 to 471) correspond to the end of Phase 2 and the subsequent ones to the beginning of Phase 3. The reader should read the excerpts left to right and top to bottom.

Excerpt 6 Excerpt example. Interview 1. Transition from Phase 2 to Phase 3.

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
469.		°Yeah°. ((/away, /po1))	
470.	Okay. ((/po2 while taking a document from the floor)) °Anything that you want to ask just now? °		
471.	{PO2} °No°.		
472.	{PO1} °Okay°. ((coughs, /doc, /po2, /dp1)) Earlier today ehm police [(.) forced entry to your, [to your house at Gillespie Crescent.	[°Hm°. [°Yeah°.	
473. (0.7)		°Yeah°. ((nods))	
474.	Ehm. ((/int, points and nods/int))		
475.	[((/bag))	[((/int, nods)) [mi casa. ((/po1))	Hoy más [temprano la policía forzó la entrada en tu [domicilio en Gillespie Crescent.

	[[(/bag))	[[(/int, nods)) [my house. ((/po1))	Earlier [today the police forced entry into your [house at Gillespie Crescent.
476.		But- (.)	
477.	((/dp1))		
478.		Why you not tocks ((knocks on the desk three times)) the door? ((raises hand))	
479.	I'll explain.		
480.		°Yeah°.	
481.	Because THIS ((/doc)) [[(/shows doc/dp1)) is a::, a drug ((/dp1)) search warrant.	[[(/leans/doc))	

Excerpt 6 consists of 13 units, the last three of Phase 2 and the first 10 of Phase 3 of Interview 1. At a first glance, the reader can observe that the interpreter's participation is the lowest. Interaction between DP1 and the police officers occurs from the beginning, and the interpreter's column is blank until Unit 475. Once the reader has become familiar with the fixed location of participants across the three columns, it should be evident who is talking based on the column used to present the transcription. The sequential development is represented vertically and the beginning of overlapping actions appears on the same line (horizontally).

The second version of Excerpt 6 includes comments indicating the meaning of the symbols used. They are presented in four segments in order to be able to provide a detailed discussion. The symbols referred to in each comment are highlighted in yellow or green:

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
469.		°Yeah°-((/away, /po1))	°..°= words uttered quietly
470.	Okay. ((/po2 while taking a document from the floor)) °Anything that you want to ask just now? °		
471.	{PO2} °No°.		
472.	{PO1} °Okay°. ((coughs, /doc, /po2, /dp1)) Earlier today ehm police [(.) forced entry to your, [to your house at Gillespie Crescent.	°Hm°. [°Yeah°.	[.=Start of overlapping actions (.) Micro-pause (below 0.5 seconds)
473.		°Yeah°. ((nods))	
(0.7)			Silent inter-turn pause

The first actions found in the segment are a verbal answer by DP1 uttered quietly (°...°) in Unit 469 and followed by two gaze shifts, one looking away ((/away)) at an indefinite point, and the second one looking towards PO1 ((/po1)). These actions are followed by a dyadic exchange between PO1 and PO2 preceding the opening of Phase 3 in Units 470 and 471. PO1 as the lead interviewer has the floor in Unit 470, and addresses a question to PO2, who takes the floor in Unit 471. This dyadic exchange is followed by PO1 taking the floor again: {PO1} in Unit 472. PO1 utters ‘okay’ in quiet voice, coughs, looks at the document in front of him, then directs his gaze to PO2, then to DP1 and starts revisiting the events that took place in the morning. While PO1 is doing that, two instances of overlapping actions are observed. DP1 utters ‘Hm’ overlapping a micro-pause and ‘forced entry’ in PO1’s utterance, and ‘Yeah’ overlapping ‘to your house’. At the end of PO1’s statement, DP1 (Unit 473) answers affirmatively, nods and a 0.7 pause is observed. The inter-turn pause cannot be assigned to any speaker in particular, and it is therefore placed at the beginning of the line but not counted as a unit.

In the following segment, the actions transcribed in Units 474 and 475 are presented:

474.	Ehm. ((/int, points and nods/int))			
475.	(((/bag))	/(=gaze shift by PO1 towards bag	(((/int, nods))	Hoy más
			[mi casa. ((/po1))	[temprano la policía forzó la entrada en tu
	(((/bag))		Bold font= code-switch into Spanish	[domicilio en Gilles Crescent.
			(((/int, nods))	<i>Earlier</i>
			[my house. ((/po1))	[today the police forced your
				[house at Gillespie Cr

In Unit 474, PO1 directs his gaze to the interpreter, points and nods at her, and the interpreter subsequently initiates the rendition into Spanish of PO1’s utterance in Unit 472. Overlapping the interpreter’s rendition both PO1’s and DP1’s actions are observed. PO1 directs his gaze towards a bag just after the interpreter has initiated her rendition, and DP1 directs his gaze towards the interpreter and nods. After listening ‘en tu’ (in your), DP1 co-translates with the interpreter and utters ‘mi casa’ (my house), overlapping with the interpreter’s rendition. DP1’s utterance consisting of a Turn Constructional Unit is considered a code-switch from English, the language he used in the previous turns. This is marked in **bold font**. The back-translation into English of the interpreter’s utterance in Spanish is included underneath the source in smaller font and italics. The actions overlapping the interpreter’s rendition are also reproduced together with the back-translation in the corresponding columns, in such a way that the reader who relies on the

back-translation can observe the overlapping talk on the same lines without having to search it in parallel to the source utterance.

476.		But- (.)	--sudden cut-off
477.	((/dp1))		
478.	Error in the source, maintained	Why you not tocks ((knocks on the desk 3 times)) the door? ((raises hand))	(())=description of non-verbal activity))
479.	I'll explain.		
480.		°Yeah°.	CAPITALS: words emphasized, spoken louder
481.	Because THIS ((/doc)) [[shows doc/dp1)) is a :: a drug ((/dp1)) search warrant.	[[leans/doc))	::= vowel elongation

Following the interpreter's rendition, DP1 utters 'but' and stops. Following a micro-pause, PO1 notices DP1's action and directs his gaze towards him (Unit 477). DP1 resumes and utters a question in English addressed to PO1. He mixes Spanish and English and utters 'tocks' instead of 'knock', and performs the action of knocking through gestures. He finishes the verbal question and raises his hand. Following this question, PO1 takes the next turn and announces that he is going to explain why. DP1 takes the next turn and shows listenership through a °Yeah° and PO1 starts to explain the function of the warrant, to which he refers both verbally and non-verbally through gaze (/doc) and showing it to dp1, dp1 leans towards the document following PO1's move). PO1 emphasizes 'THIS' before explaining what it is (a search warrant) by uttering it louder and preceding the gaze and postural orientation towards the warrant. An example of vowel elongation indicated by :: after 'a' is found in PO1's utterance in Unit 481.

5.4 Analysis methodology

Sections 5.2 and 5.3 have presented the data set and the methods used to annotate and transcribe the video-recorded interviews analysed in this study. This section discusses the methodology used to analyse interactional dynamics in the two police interviews with stand-by interpreting.

As discussed in Chapter 2, this study belongs to the body of DI research and it is inspired by Dialogism as a theory of action and meaning, as proposed by Linell (1997). According to Linell's approach to action and meaning, discourse is seen here as a practice of social interaction. This notion of discourse draws on the social-interactionist theory of communication, according to which participants in communication are engaged in

‘practical problem-solving routines in situated action, yielding understanding for practical purposes’ (Linell 1997). In this regard, communication is the process of social construction of meaning through interaction rather than meaning existing in a speaker’s mind and being transferred from one speaker to another.

In Translation and Interpreting Studies, the transfer model of communication understands the translator and/or interpreter as a mere conduit (Laster 1990). As noted in Chapter 2, research has shown that this conception of the interpreter as a conduit is not tenable. Instead, the interpreter is a participant in triadic interaction and her participant status affects interaction. This study aligns with this view of the interpreter as a full participant in interaction, and yet, a participant who is different from primary participants with regard to their relationship with the business at hand, their activity role and their rights and responsibilities. The aspects are seen as enacted and co-constructed in interaction and shaped by event-specific and institution-specific constraints. The institutional and legal nature of the police interview genre are taken into account in this analysis. The features discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 in relation to institutional discourse genres and the police interview in particular, serve as a basis for the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

Furthermore, the approach to the analysis views interaction as multimodal, as a process including verbal and non-verbal features. The analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7 follows a discourse-analytical approach, is primarily descriptive and qualitative. Quantification is limited to the frequency and distribution of patterns per interview, phase and/or participant, as appropriate, and is aimed at illustrating their occurrence in the particular interviews. The analysis of interactional dynamics in the interpreter-mediated interview with stand-by interpreting draws primarily on Conversation Analysis as applied to the interpreter-mediated police interview as a specific institutional discourse genre. Furthermore, it also draws on Interactional Sociolinguistics as a method that enables the analyst to observe the signalling of meaning and inference-making devices (see Section 2.2.3).

CA is used to explore the organization of interactional configurations in the police interview when non-mediated and mediated interaction are combined, particularly the architecture of the interview as a whole, the micro-level organization of sequences, turn-taking and turn-allocation features. Goffman’s participant roles for the production format (animator, author and principal) will be referred to in relation to the roles taken up by participants in the contexts analysed.

Furthermore, two tools from the Interactional Sociolinguistics tradition are applied to the analysis of co-construction of meaning and inference-making: the first one is Gumperz' contextualization cues. These function as signals of the contextualized meaning and as guides to the inferential process. Secondly, the analysis aligns with IS' view of a broader concept of context, and integrates different levels of context in the analysis of regulatory moves (turn-taking, turn-allocation) and the co-construction of meaning. The articulation of different levels of context, as proposed by Mason (2006, 2009) and Pöchhacker (2012) for the analysis of interpreter-mediated situated interaction, is carried out through the consideration of the turn-by-turn local context of utterances and sequences, the context of lines of questioning and phases and the interviews themselves, that pertain to the police interview genre, to the particular case and its surrounding conditions, and the institutional context of the police interview.

5.4.1 Layered analysis

The analysis follows a layered approach. Each layer builds on the previous one, moving from an analysis of the architecture and interactional dynamics of the police interview with stand-by interpreting to the analysis of interpreting episodes, the local contexts in which they emerge and their functions. These two broad layers of analysis make it possible to answer the three research questions of the study: how what is enacted in the stand-by mode of interpreting is brought to bear on the structure of interaction; how the selective activity of interpreting is initiated, carried out and which functions it performs, and finally to describe the features of the activities of relaying and coordinating in the stand-by mode in the interviews analysed in this study.

The first layer of analysis stems from a bottom-up approach to the study of structural features emerging from the transcribed data. Firstly, dyadic and triadic sequences were identified, and their features analysed and quantified. The lines of questioning were identified based on the thematic focus, and then the interview phases identified. The discourse features, thematic orientation and function of the sequences and lines of questioning, and the prevailing participant role (animator, author, principal) adopted by the police officers as the powerful primary participants in interaction, made it possible to identify the boundaries from one interview phase to another. Even though the analysis followed a bottom-up approach, the features and patterns presented in Chapter 6 start from the broadest structural units (the interview) and are broken down into smaller

structural units: the interview phases, the lines of questioning and dyadic and triadic sequence types. These are described here:

Interview: the interview is the largest unit of analysis. In total two interviews are included in the case study.

Interview phases: coinciding with the findings presented in Chapter 3 on police interviews (Heydon 2005, Haworth 2009), each phase has a common set of goals and overall thematic orientation, and presents specific interactional and participation features. The transitions from one phase to another are marked by changes in the participation framework, sequence organization and turn construction features. Together with these features, it was found that the thematic focus and orientation enact the forensic interview format PRICE presented in Chapter 3 and commonly used in police interviews in Scotland.

Lines of questioning: each phase comprises several lines of questioning, each of them addressing a specific matter. The term ‘questioning’ in this case does not refer solely to a sequence or set of sequences during the questioning phase, but to any set of sequences contributing to bringing about an action in CA terms, such as delivering the caution or introducing the persons present.

The discussion focuses on particular discourse patterns identified as emerging in specific phases and lines of questioning, which seem to be related to the function of the phase or line of questioning, before focusing on the types of dyads and triads and their internal organization. This overarching structural description is used as a backdrop to frame the distribution of dyadic and triadic talk across interview phases within the stand-by regime, the different dyadic and triadic sequence types based on the language(s) used and the participants involved, and the distribution, and particular sequential interaction models emerging in the stand-by regime.

Dyadic and triadic sequence types: questioning lines are divided into sequences. The types of dyadic and triadic sequences and their frequency in the interview are presented in the fourth place. The analysis of the sequential organization and the dyadic and triadic sequence types are presented as models that emerge in the particular stand-by regime used in the two police interviews. Following the CA tradition, sequences are analysed here as ‘courses of action implemented through talk’ (Schegloff 2007, p.9). Sequences consist of **turns** and present particular forms of internal organization. Considering that the

question-answer pair is the typical sequence type used in the police interview in general, and it is the case in the two interviews analysed here, the question-answer sequence as the typical **adjacency pair** is considered as the base sequence in this analysis.

Adjacency pairs are a ‘basic unit of sequence construction’ which, in its minimal construction, is characterized by five main features (Schegloff 2007, p.13):

- a) it is normally ‘composed of two turns’
- b) turns are produced ‘by different speakers’
- c) turns are ‘adjacently placed’; that is, they are paired and typically placed one after the other
- d) turns are ‘relatively ordered’. In analysing turns within adjacency pairs, typically a distinction can be made between a ‘first-pair part’ turn and ‘a second-pair part’. The second-pair part is normally a response to the prior turn.
- e) Pair-type related: second-pair parts are not randomly produced, but normally projected by the first-pair part. For instance, a question typically projects an answer. When a second-pair part does not orient to the first-pair part, it is said to deviate from the normative expectations.

The minimal construction rules and features presented above are not sufficient to account for the multiple sequence designs that are produced in talk-in-interaction, particularly considering that the interaction is, at least in part, mediated by the interpreter and accommodates interpreter’s turns. Sequences, whether involving interpreter participation or not, can feature pre-sequences, inserted sequences between the first and the second-pair parts, expansion sequences, and sequence-closing thirds. Adjacency-pair-based sequences surrounding the main sequence are understood as surrounding and associated with that larger-scale action, but still independent as sequences in their inner construction. Following the CA tradition (Schegloff 2007), the main sequence is referred to as the ‘base’ sequence, and its two basic components as ‘the base first-pair part’ (Fbase) and the ‘base second-pair part’ (Sbase). A repair sequence, a pre-sequence or an expansion sequence normally present their own first and second-pair parts, in which case they will be referred to as ‘repair first/second pair part’, ‘insert first/second-pair part’, ‘expansion/second first-pair part’ respectively. An example from the data can be found in Excerpt 7 below:

Excerpt 7 Examples of sequence construction units

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
226.	Okay↓. How much savings do you have?		
227.		Saving? Now?	
228.	°Yeah°.		
229.		No::w. ((/away)) (1.5) ((/po1)) Now, nothing↑	
230.	°Nothing [just now°.	[Well, yes. A little bit in my acct. ((/away, /po1))	
231.	Okay.		
232.		Bu::t, not too much.	

Unit 226 features the base first-pair part (Fbase) and Unit 229 the ‘base second-pair part’ (Sbase). Units 227 and 228 feature a repair sequence, in which unit 227 features the repair first-pair part and Unit 228 the repair second-pair part. In Unit 230 a formulation is placed in third position and expands the base sequence, together with the detainee’s expansion second-pair part overlapping the expansion first-pair part. This expansion is followed by yet another sequence-closing third in Unit 231, which projects a further expansion second-part.

The ‘contiguity rule’ of adjacency pairs whereby pairs typically are placed one after the other is normally altered in standard interpreter-mediated interaction. In a question-translation-answer-translation format, the contiguity rule works between a pair part and its rendition, and thus the pair parts are typically separated from each other. As discussed in previous chapters, adjacency pairs in both unmediated monolingual and interpreter-mediated interaction can be expanded or separated by other actions, such as for instance by insert repair sequences in the form Fbase-Frepair-Srepair-Sbase. The same rule applies in interpreter-mediated communication, although the various activities need to accommodate the third participant and the two languages. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 (Wadensjö 1998; Roy 2000; Komter 2005; Gallez 2014; Nakane 2014), repair sequences in interpreter-mediated interaction are sometimes treated as translatable material (Fbase-Fbase¹-Frepair-Frepair¹-Srepair-Srepair¹-Sbase-Sbase¹), and sometimes treated as material to be repaired directly by the interpreter (Fbase-Fbase¹-Frepair-Srepair(INT)-Sbase-Sbase¹). These chains of turns can accommodate other turns and present different orders, particularly in a hybrid exolingual/interpreter-mediated bilingual institutional encounter.

As mentioned above, sequences are based on **turns**. Turns are characterized by being normally placed before and after another action performed by a different speaker, although overlapping talk and gaps between turns occur in interaction. In this study, both

verbal and non-verbal actions can constitute a turn or appear together within the same turn. The description of multimodal activity in the data acknowledges the multiple functions of verbal and non-verbal activity, particularly their propositional and interactional functions. A nod can work as an affirmative answer and complement or even replace a verbally-produced affirmative answer. Similarly, a shift in gaze direction can occupy the place of a turn and play a primarily interactional function, such as allocating the floor to a participant. As a result, physical activity and verbal activity are not considered as separate in this study, but as embedded in the construction and organization of actions (Kendon 2004; Matoesian 2010; Mondada 2014).

As observed in Excerpt 7 above, two turns can occupy the same 'unit' if they overlap, even partially. The inner construction of a turn or 'building block' (Schegloff 2007, p.3) is the **turn constructional unit (TCU)**. The closer a speaker is to the completion of a TCU, the closer a place of relevance for next-speaker action is. This is known as the **transition relevant point (TRP)**. Even though the phonetic realization of a TCU is considered as one of the features enabling speakers to build and recognize a TCU, the inclusion of non-verbal elements in this study implies that a TCU may be physically embodied rather than phonetically realized. For instance, a nod as an answer is an action that can work as a turn in isolation or as a TCU in a non-verbal or multimodal turn. Its completion is therefore considered to have the power to trigger a next relevant action.

The organizational features described above and which will be presented in Chapter 6, are used as a backdrop to explore the turn-taking and turn-allocation features, contextualization cues and interactional dynamics in interpreter-mediated sequences. The observable functions and effects of interpreter-mediated sequences in the stand-by regime in the police interview are analysed, and the features of relaying and coordinating activities emerging thereof are discussed in the last place.

As for the turn-taking system, participants can be seen allocating the turn and selecting the next speaker, or self-selecting themselves as the next speaker, often at TRPs. In two-party interactions with adjacency-pair-based sequences turn-allocation is often straightforward and projected in the action performed. In multi-party interaction, the number of potential next speakers is larger. In interpreter-mediated interaction, the contiguity rule described above as Fbase-Fbase¹ accommodates the interpreter as the next speaker. Although coordinating and other types of actions can break that order, participants tend to orient towards resuming it. Next speaker selection is typically

determined by the action performed by the current speaker, but a larger number of potential next speakers typically triggers more turn-taking and turn-allocation activity among participants in order to establish who the next speaker is. These basic rules serve as a basis for the analysis presented in Sections 7.2 and 7.3, which focus on the initiation of interpreting episodes based on the initiator, the device used, and the surrounding contextual conditions that trigger that interpreting episode. The micro-level analytical approach that is characteristic of CA makes it possible to identify participant moves and their dynamics under the particular conditions of the exolingual/mediated nature of interaction, and the complementary use of Interactional Sociolinguistics enables the analyst to explore role relationships within the particular contexts, and how participants say what they mean and interpret what others mean within the stand-by regime.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the data set, the rationale for the adoption and adaptation of the horizontal transcription method used (Gallez 2014). An example of a passage was presented and explained in order to guide readers in the process of reading the interview excerpts.

Section 5.4 outlined the methodology used for the analysis, which is primarily descriptive, qualitative, discourse-analytical, and based on the combination of CA and IS. CA and IS are applied to the analysis of multimodal interaction in the police interview as an institutional discourse genre with stand-by interpreting. Following the discussion of the operationalization of the analysis in the different layers presented above, Chapter 6 includes the CA-based analysis of the structural organization of the police interviews with stand-by interpreting, the particular discourse features emerging in certain phases and/or lines of questioning, and the types of dyadic and triadic interaction models that emerged within the stand-by regime in the police interviews.

The particular features of triadic sequences, primary participants' actions in relation to the initiation of interpreter-participation, and the contextualization cues surrounding interpreter self-selection as the next speaker are analysed in Chapter 7. The distribution of patterns across the interview phases and the analysis of interpreter participation and its effects will serve as a basis to explore when interpreting is initiated and performed within the stand-by mode, and its effects upon the interaction in the police interviews.

Chapter 6 – The Organization of the Police Interview with Stand-By Interpreting

6.1 Introduction

The police interviews that are part of this study are analysed as a particular type of institutional discourse genre. As discussed in the previous chapters, interaction in institutional domains is characterized and constrained by features specific to the institution and the encounter, such as the languages of participants. Compared to interpreter-mediated encounters with a standard interpreting regime, in which primary participants do not find each other's language transparent and rely on the interpreter, interpreting is used intermittently in the data. The Spanish-speaking detainees use English, their second language, to interact with Scottish police officers, and this results in the alternation of dyadic monolingual interaction in English with triadic bilingual interaction. As reviewed in Chapter 2, in encounters in which interpreting is used 'by default', triadic interaction is the rule and dyadic sequences normally occur between the interpreter and one of the primary participants. If the exchange is not interpreted for the other participant, the dyadic interaction excludes that participant. In contrast, in the interviews analysed in this study, dyadic interaction is used predominantly by the two primary participants and the interpreter's ability to understand both languages does not exclude her from the interaction, but places her in a position in which she is constantly monitoring, on 'stand-by', and intermittently taking the floor.

This chapter focuses on the organizational features that are enacted when the stand-by mode of interpreting is used in the police interviews. The first section presents an analysis of the overall structural organization of the interviews based on the themes, goals, participation, and emerging discourse features of the interview phases. These emerge from a bottom-up approach to the analysis. As explained in Section 5.4.1, the interviews were transcribed and the smaller components of the interview were identified in the first place (turns), followed by sequences, lines of questioning, and interview phases. This bottom-up approach made it possible to observe the architecture emerging in the data rather than imposing or searching the enactment of an existing model. Commonalities among turn-taking, aims, themes and discourse features made it possible to identify the different organizational layers. These are presented in this chapter starting with the broadest one (the interview), and narrowing the structural units down, in order to use the broadest unit to frame the subsequent units and patterns. The first layer of analysis

presented in Section 6.2 will be used to frame the analysis of interactional configurations (models) in Section 6.4. Before that discourse and participation features emerging in the different interview phase are presented in Section 6.3. The analysis of triadic sequences is the focus of Chapter 7.

6.2 Overall structural organization

As mentioned above, the overall architecture of the interview is based on the phases emerging from the data following an analysis of the themes addressed, the actions performed in the context of the police interview, the participation framework, sequence types and turn design, including syntactic and lexical features. This analysis draws on CA methods and is inspired by Heydon’s analysis of the police interview structure (2005) in monolingual police interviews. Following the transcription of the interviews, their annotation and identification of sequences, four phases were identified per interview.

6.2.1 Interview phases

As stated above, the interview phases are the second level of analysis following the analysis of the interview as ‘the’ encounter and presented in Chapter 5. Table 2 below presents the overall characteristics of the four interview phases identified in Interview 1, including their functional focus, start and ending points, phase length and number of units in the transcript:

Interview Phase	Description	Start	End	Length (minutes)	Units in transcript
Phase 1	Opening and formalities	00:00:00	00:07:18	00:07:18	1-116 (116)
Phase 2	Information-gathering 1 and rapport building: personal information	00:07:19	00:19:53	00:12:34	117-471 (355)
Phase 3	Information-gathering 2: productions and detainee’s account	00:19:54	01:00:53	00:40:59	472-1293 (822)
Phase 4	Closing	01:00:54	01:02:40	00:02:46	1294-1321 (28)
Interview 1		00:00:00	01:02:40	01:02:40	1321

Table 2 Interview 1: Interview phases.

As shown in Table 2 above, Interview 1 consisted of 1321 units and lasted one hour, two minutes and forty seconds. Formalities, including the introduction of all participants, the

caution, the discussion of the interpreting regime, the outline of the suspected offence, and the review of the detainee’s answers about intimating to a solicitor were addressed in Phase 1, the second shortest part. Phases 2 and 3 focused on gathering information. Phase 2 focused on building rapport and gathering information about the suspect’s income, hobbies, drug and alcohol abuse, among other personal details. Phase 3 was the longest phase (40 minutes and 59 seconds) and focused on questioning and probing the suspect about the material evidence (productions) seized in his flat. Every time a new production was discussed, the interviewer typically asked the detainee about its owner, its origin, the last time he had seen it or used it, its cost and purpose. In addition, the detainee’s account was challenged. The last phase is Phase 4, which was particularly short (2 minutes and 46 seconds). The detainee did not admit his involvement in the suspected offence and was reminded of the potential consequences of being found guilty before the interview was formally closed by Po1.

Table 3 below presents the phases, length and units of Interview 2:

Interview Phase	Description	Start	End	Length (minutes)	Units in transcript
Phase 1	Opening and formalities	00:00:00	00:07:08	00:07:08	1-82 (82)
Phase 2	Information-gathering 1 and rapport building: personal information	00:07:19	00:17:06	00:09:46	83-270 (188)
Phase 3	Information-gathering 2: productions and detainee’s account	00:17:18	00:51:57	00:34:39	271-824 (554)
Phase 4	Closing	00:52:07	00:52:25	00:00:18	825-828 (4)
Interview 2		00:00:00	00:52:25	00:52:25	828

Table 3 Interview 3: Interview phases.

Interview 2 was 52 minutes and 25 seconds long, and consisted of 828 units. The structure was similar to that of Interview 1: formalities were addressed in Phase 1, which lasted seven minutes and eight seconds. Phase 2 extended over nine minutes and, as in Interview 1, focused on gathering personal information about the suspect and specific personal information relevant for the offence, such as his habits regarding alcohol and drug use. Phase 3 focused on the suspected offence and the material evidence seized in DP1’s flat. PO2 gathered information on each item from DP2’s account, particularly concerning ownership, origin, last time seen or used, cost and purpose. It was the longest

phase (34 minutes and 39 seconds), although 6 minutes shorter than Phase 3 in Interview 1 (40 minutes and 59 seconds). The last phase was Phase 4, which is only 18 seconds long and consisted of four units. In Interview 2, which was conducted after Interview 1, police officers asked DP2 about each of the items seized and about his knowledge of DP1's involvement in the suspected offence.

The phases identified within the interviews enact the aims of, primarily, the Rapport and Information phases of the PRICE interview model used in Scotland, as well as the Closing phase (see 3.2.2). Even though rapport building efforts are visibly carried out throughout the interview, an observable focus on putting suspects at ease and building rapport with them was identified during Phase 2. In Phase 1 suspects are informed of their rights, formal procedures are carried out, they are informed of their status and of the presence of an interpreter. These actions can be seen as contributing to building rapport, primarily through the provision of information and because they give suspects an opportunity to express their preferences. Phase 2, though, emerged as primarily oriented to building rapport. Most of the preliminary information gathered in Phase 2 was probably already known to the police officers. Apart from confirming and expanding personal information about their suspects and their habits, the preliminary questioning resembled social conversation. The police officers left the suspects space to talk, used back-channelling tokens, and avoided making comments about the case or the events that had taken place in the morning. The shift in focus from the suspect's personal situation to the suspected offence marked the transition from Phase 2 to Phase 3, and represented the shift of the main aim: from building rapport to gathering information. Before describing the particular features emerging in each phase, the lines of questioning are presented in Section 7.1.2.

6.2.2 Lines of questioning

In this section, the lines of questioning in each phase and a summary analysis of the narrative of each phase is presented, in order to provide the reader with an overview of the trajectory of the interviews.

Table 4 below contains the lines of questioning and themes identified in Interview 1.

Interview Phase	Line of Questioning	
	LQ No.	Description
	LQ1.2	SARF (Solicitor Access Recording Form)
	LQ1.3	Caution
	LQ1.4	Setting up of the interpreting regime

Phase 1	LQ1.5	Confirmation of pre-interview events
Opening and formalities	LQ1.6	Suspected offence and detainee's status
Phase 2	LQ2.1	Birth place
	LQ2.2	Residence since arrival and current residence
	LQ2.3	Friends and family
	LQ2.4	Occupation
	LQ2.5	Income
	LQ2.6	Hobbies
	LQ2.7	The flat
	LQ2.8	Relationship with DP2
	LQ2.9	Alcohol and drug use
Phase 3	LQ3.1	Search warrant and forced entry
	LQ3.2	Item No. 1: Roll of thread
	LQ3.3	Item No. 2: 2 Plastic bags with holes
	LQ3.4	Item No. 3: Shoehorn with traces
	LQ3.5	Item No. 4: Baseball bat
	LQ3.6	Item No. 5: £600 cash
	LQ3.7	Item No. 6: Brown substance 1
	LQ3.8	Item No. 7: Brown substance 2
	LQ3.9	Item No. 8: Cannabis
	LQ3.10	Item No. 9: Glass jar
	LQ3.11	Items No. 10 and 11: Green herbal matter 1 and 2
	LQ3.12	Item No. 12: 3 separate bags of green herbal matter
	LQ3.13	Item No. 13: Bag with green seal
	LQ3.14	Item No. 14: Bag containing white powder + 3 bags of white powder
	LQ3.15	Items No. 15: Scales + gripper bags + smelly-proof bags
	LQ3.16	Item No. 16: Ecstasy tablets
	LQ3.17	Questioning about his involvement
	LQ3.18	Questioning about phones
	LQ3.19	Questioning about money matters
	LQ3.20	Questioning about savings
	LQ3.21	Item No. 17: Phone 1
	LQ3.22	Item No. 18: Phone 2
	LQ3.23	Item No. 19: Phone 3
	LQ3.24	Item No. 20: Phone 4
	LQ3.25	Account challenging and third-party involvement
Phase 4	LQ4.1	Warning about potential consequences
Closing	LQ4.2	Closing

Table 4 Lines of questioning. Interview 1.

Table 4 above shows the thematic focus of the lines of questioning pursued in each phase: six in Phase 1, nine in Phase 2, 25 in Phase 3, and two in Phase 4.

In Phase 1, the interviewee was asked about the answers given by him before the interview in relation to his right to access a solicitor, he was asked to confirm them or whether he wished to change them, and he was cautioned. DP1 had waived his rights of access to a solicitor, and, after being reassured by PO1 that he could change his mind at

any time, he reiterated that he wished to proceed with the interview without a solicitor. The detainee was cautioned and asked about his comprehension of the caution. Once the formalities had been carried out (with interpreting), the narrative on Phase 2 focused on the detainee's status (residence, type of accommodation, family, income, hobbies). DP1 claimed to be unemployed and looking for a job, staying on his own in a rented flat, that he had stopped attending English classes, and to be receiving the jobseeker's allowance and financial support from his family, who lived in Spain. His hobbies included 'flying on holiday' and playing baseball. He was asked whether he did any sewing, and this question was misinterpreted by the interpreter, who translated it into Spanish as 'sowing', and the detainee's answer matched the interpreter's rendition and focused on gardening. This interpreting error was not solved and apparently remained unnoticed by police officers. This interpreting error may have led to police officers' wrong assumptions about the non-matching answers by DP1 around gardening. The question about 'sewing' as a potential hobby was relevant in relation to the later questioning in Phase 3, in which a spool of thread found in DP1's flat was shown to him, and he was asked what he used it for. After talking about hobbies, the preliminary questioning focused on DP1 and DP2's relationship: how and where they had met (in a club in Edinburgh), and how often they saw each other. DP2 had stayed overnight at DP1's flat and had been detained together with DP1 when the police entered the flat. Finally, DP1 was asked about alcohol and drug consumption. He acknowledged consuming some alcohol and drugs, in particular weed and cocaine, mainly at the weekend and in special occasions. DP1 was asked where he bought drugs and how much he paid, and he explained that he bought wet weed in order to get it cheaper, and that he used cocaine and ecstasy occasionally, at weekends or in parties.

In Phase 3, the questioning focused on the events that occurred when the police entered the flat and on the items seized. DP1 was holding a baseball bat when the police entered his bedroom, and he claimed that he did it because he thought junkies were breaking into his flat. This account was relevant in relation to one of the charges (assault). After that, DP1 was shown the spool of thread, and he claimed that he used it 'for his clothes' and to wrap up drugs. He was then asked about the different types of bags seized, and he explained that he used them to save drugs. When asked about the shoehorn, he initially responded that he used it for his shoes, but then that he had used it once to take cocaine. DP1 was asked about the money found in his flat and about the price of drugs and the police officers challenged him by referring to the answers given in Phase 2, when DP1

said that he was not working and that he didn't have any savings. DP1 answered how much he paid for the different types of drugs shown to him, and he explained that he bought them to use them, not for supply, and that he sometimes shared some with his friends –which justified why they were packed in individual bags. The police officers asked about each of the drugs found (origin, amount, use, cost), and DP1 gave details about those aspects and systematically denied having bought the drugs for supply. Before Phase 4, PO1 placed all the items on the desk one by one and asked him if he was dealing drugs, and the detainee said that he didn't. PO1 asked him whether he was being forced to sell drugs or threatened, and DP1 answered that he wasn't. After that, the interview was closed.

Table 5 below shows the different lines of questioning pursued in Interview 2:

Interview Phase	Line of Questioning	
	LQ No.	Description
Phase 1	LQ1.1	Opening and introductions
	LQ1.2	SARF (Solicitor Access Recording Form) and setting up the interpreting regime
	LQ1.3	Caution
Opening and formalities	LQ1.4	Suspected offence and detainee's status
Phase 2	LQ2.1	Birth place
	LQ2.2	Residence since arrival and current residence
	LQ2.3	Relationship with DP1
	LQ2.4	Hobbies
	LQ2.5	Alcohol and drug use
	LQ2.6	Supply of drugs
	LQ2.7	Occupation and Income
Phase 3	LQ3.1	Search warrant and forced entry
	LQ3.2	Item No. 1: Baseball bat
	LQ3.3	Item No. 2: Roll of thread
	LQ3.4	Item No. 3: Plastic bags with holes
	LQ3.5	Item No. 4: Shoehorn with traces
	LQ3.6	Item No. 5: £600 cash
	LQ3.7	Item No. 6: Brown substance 1
	LQ3.8	Item No. 7: Brown substance 2
	LQ3.9	Item No. 8: Green herbal matter 1
	LQ3.10	Item No. 9: Green herbal matter 2
	LQ3.11	Item No. 10: Substance
	LQ3.12	Item No. 11: 3 separate bags of green herbal matter
	LQ3.13	Item No. 12: 3 bags of white substance
	LQ3.14	Item No. 13: Scales
	LQ3.15	Item No. 14: 2 sets of gripper bags
	LQ3.16	Item No. 15: White substance
	LQ3.17	Item No. 16: Brown substance
	LQ3.18	Questioning about DP1's involvement in drug supply
	LQ3.19	Questioning about DP2's involvement and fingerprints
	LQ3.20	Item No. 17: Ecstasy tablets
	LQ3.21	Item No. 18: Phone 1
	LQ3.22	Item No. 19: Phone 2
Questioning: productions and suspected offence		

	LQ3.23	Item No. 20: Phone 3
	LQ3.24	Item No. 21: Phone 4
	LQ3.25	Item No. 22: Phone 5
	LQ3.26	Questioning about involvement
	LQ3.27	Item No. 23: Laptop
	LQ3.28	Questioning about DP2's involvement and fingerprints
	LQ3.29	Questioning about DP1's involvement and Kamil Diouri
Phase 4 Closing	LQ4.1	Closing

Table 5 Lines of questioning. Interview 2.

Overall, the organization of lines of questioning in Interview 1 and Interview 2 was very similar. Phase 1 comprised four lines of questioning; Phase 2 consisted of seven; Phase 3 included 29; and Phase 4 only one, the formal closing of the interview. The main differences observed between Interview 1 and Interview 2 are the order of certain lines of questioning, particularly in Phases 1 and 3, and the addition of several lines of questioning about DP1's involvement in drug supply in Interview 2.

The lines of questioning presented above provide an overview of the content and the thematic development of the interviews and the focus of each phase, and a context for the excerpts presented in the ensuing sections. As in Interview 1, the police officers started Interview 2 with the formalities. DP2 also waived his rights to a solicitor. They then moved to a preliminary questioning and then to the questioning itself. The main differences in the narrative of Interview 2 are found in Phases 2 and 3. DP2 was staying at DP1's flat when they were detained, and he was systematically asked not only about what he knew in relation to each item, but also what he knew in relation to DP1 –whether he had seen DP1 using, buying or selling drugs. DP2's account of when and how he had met DP1 coincided with DP1's account. DP2 said he had two jobs as a kitchen porter and as a glass collector; that he and his family had moved to Edinburgh and lived together. DP2 stated that he sometimes met DP1 after work and that they watched films and smoked joints together. When asked about the spool of thread, he said that he had never seen it or DP1 using it, and that he couldn't sew.

Throughout Phase 3, DP2 replied that he had not seen most of the items and that they did not belong to him, except for the phones, which he recognised. He explained which ones belonged to him and which ones to DP1. He also replied that DP1, himself and other friends sometimes met in DP1's flat and smoked joints, and that he (DP2) bought weed from a guy, but that he was not involved in the supply of drugs. When asked whether he knew if DP1 was selling drugs, DP2 reiterated that he did not know, but that, based on

the items shown during the interview and found in the house, he thought that he did. After the questioning, the interview was closed.

Before moving to the description of sequence types and interactional models emerging in the two police interviews, the sequences in which the interpreting regime was negotiated and meta-comments about interpreting at different points during the interview are discussed in Section 6.2.3 below. The negotiations took place within the interview, and their sequential position within the interview structure and their formal features are both relevant to the analysis presented in Section 6.3 and subsequent chapters. They provide a manifestation of participants' views on the interpreter's role, and are considered as a global contextual condition for the analysis of discourse features (Section 6.3) and interactional models (Section 6.4), and the analysis of triadic interaction involving interpreter participation (Chapter 7).

6.2.3 Setting up the interpreting regime and meta-comments about interpreting

As explained by the lead investigator in an informal interview, both detainees were able to talk about personal details and everyday topics (hobbies, football) in exchanges held before the interviews. These exchanges served as an opportunity for police officers to get an idea of the detainees' English skills before the interview. As noted by the lead investigator, the suspects could have a conversation in English but they sometimes had problems understanding or expressing themselves fluently. As a result, and considering the evidentiary nature of the police interview, the suspects were informed of their right to have an interpreter present during the interview and an interpreter was requested. The lead investigator stressed the importance of having an interpreter present during the interview to guarantee compliance with legal requirements and to make sure suspects could communicate during the interview.

In the interviews analysed, the use or non-use of interpreting was negotiated rather than imposed (see Chapter 4), although, as it is shown in the ensuing sections, the police officer's powerful position in interaction manifested in their control over when to openly discuss the interpreting regime, and on the options presented to the interviewees. Interpreting into Spanish was used virtually by default in Phase 1 in Interview 1, but its use or non-use throughout the rest of the interview was not imposed. Instead, it was negotiated on a turn-by-turn basis.

– *Setting up the stand-by mode of interpreting*

The sequences in which the interpreting regime were crucial to negotiate the participation framework and the rules of the bilingual interaction. As it will be shown in the subsequent layers of analysis, the meta-comments about the language competencies and interpreting and the instructions given had an observable impact upon participants' behaviour in interaction in relation to interpreting, and show that the interpreter's role and the function of interpreting are context-bound and negotiated at an encounter level.

Excerpt 8 below presents the sequence in which the language regime was discussed in Interview 1. The first explicit reference to the interpreter and her role was made after the first six minutes and thirteen seconds (00:06:13). The previous sequences included the delivery of the caution and the comprehension check. The yellow ovals signal the first-pair part and its rendition into Spanish:

Excerpt 8 Setting up the interpreting regime. Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:06:13-00:06:31].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
99.→	((/docs)) Ehm, just to, just to check. Obviously, ((/dp1)) you speak some English.		
100.		((/nods)) Yeah.	
101.→	Ehmm. And we've got ((/int, pointing/int, /dp1: the interpreter here.)) So you are quite happy you understand what we are (1), [what we are saying, [what was happening just now, yeah? ((/int, nods))	[Yes. ((/nods)) [[/nodding))	
102.		Okay. ((/nods, yawns))	
103.	((/dp1, nodding, /int: Yeah?))		
104.	[[/dp1)) [[/dp1))	[[/int)) [Sí, está bien. [[/int)) [Yes, it's fine.	O sea, [¿entendés? Que tu inglés es, e::s [bueno, puedes entender↑. That is to say, [do you understand? That your English is, i::s [good, you can understand↑.
105.		Sí. Yes.	
106.→	[[/int)) [[/int))	[[/nods)) [[/nods))	[De todos modos estoy yo acá [y cualquier cosa, me lo preguntás a mí. [Anyway I am here [and if there's anything, ask me.
107.	[[/dp1))	((/po1: Ah, okay.))	

In turns 99 and 101 PO1 makes an evaluative remark of DP1's English competence as 'obviously speaking some English' and comments on the presence and availability of the

interpreter. The comment on the presence of the interpreter in addition to DP1 speaking ‘some English’ reveals the police officer’s view of the interpreter as an optional resource. In her rendition of PO1’s turn in Units 104 and 106, the interpreter upgrades PO1’s evaluative remark by using ‘good’ instead of ‘some’, and later expands the reference to her presence made by PO1 by adding a specific instruction (Unit 106, in red), indicating her understanding of her role following the police officer’s reassuring statement addressed to DP1. The interpreter turned PO1’s mention of her presence into an explicit instruction/invitation for DP1’s to ‘ask’ her anything that is not clear to him. The interpreter is presented as an available optional resource at the disposal of the detainee. The assessment made by PO1 about DP1’s English competence serves as a basis to set up the interpreting regime: communicating in English is the standard format and, in case it is necessary, an interpreter is available to provide linguistic support. What is at stake and analysed in this and the ensuing chapter is what the ‘interpreter being there’ (Bot 2005, p.37) is understood to mean by each of the participants as displayed in their moves, and how it affects the interaction. In Interview 2, the interpreter was introduced earlier (00:01:11), after 8 turns (introductions) and following two confirmation-seeking question-answer sequences:

Excerpt 9 Setting up the interpreting regime. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:01:11-00:01:40].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
12.→	If you have any problem understanding what we're saying ((/int, points/int)), [we've got an interpreter ((/dp2: here)) that's why she's here, [so that you understand exactly what's being said to you.	[[(/int, /po2)] [°I know°. ((/int, smiles)]	
13.→	[[(/int)] [[(/dp2)] [[(/int)] [[(/dp2)]	[[(/po2, nods, /int)] [[(...po2, nodding)] [[(/po2, nods, /int)] [[(...po2, nodding)]	Cualquier cosa [que no te quede claro y querás que [te lo vuelvan a repetir [o me mirás a mí directamente y te lo interpreto, [°okay°? Anything [that is not clear and you want them [to repeat to you [or you look at me directly and I'll interpret it for you, [°okay°?

PO2 provides a very explicit definition of interpreter’s role in the interview in Unit 12 (signalled by the top oval). PO2 informs DP2 of the availability of the interpreter and presents her role as being at his disposal to guarantee that he ‘understands exactly’ what is being said. This statement is an overt manifestation of PO2’s assumptions on the role

of the interpreter as a guarantor of PO2' comprehension, and in this case as the expert who completes or solves gaps in understanding. As in Interview 1, the interpreter's rendition of the statement made about her role included instructions that were not included in the police officer's utterance. Her instructions in Interview 2 are more specific than in Interview 1: in Unit 13, the interpreter invites DP2 to let her know or to look at her if he wishes to hear something again.

The interpreter's rendition (Unit 13) displays her alignment with the stand-by regime presented by PO2. By adding the instructions, though, the interpreter seems to be enacting her influence on a matter that pertains directly to her. Gallai (2013) and Böser (2013) identified a similar behaviour on the part of interpreters in dealing with the business of interpreting. Wadensjö notes in this regard that 'talk about talk means that an issue is touched upon which, in a sense, belongs to the interpreter' (1998, p.192). Whether the addition of 'look at me' was intentional and influenced by the immediately preceding experience in Interview 1 or not, the analysis presented in Chapter 7 features a markedly higher initiative on the part of DP2 not only in resorting to the interpreter, but also in doing so through gaze shifts by *looking* at her.

– *Meta-comments about interpreting*

Apart from the sequences presented above, in which the interpreting regime was negotiated, participants made comments about the interpreter at certain points during the interview. As mentioned above, given the stand-by regime and the truncated linguistic competencies of detainees, the comments are relevant for the analysis in so far as they reveal participants' orientation towards interpreting and manifestations of their views with regard to communication.

Excerpt 10 below shows an explicit comment by DP2 about having understood a question he had been asked before the interview only after having had it interpreted in the context of the interview. The sequences presented below took place 00:02:53 minutes into the interview. The surrounding context to this comment is relevant to understand the sequential development. DP2's assertion of prior partial understanding of the question emerges after a long sequence in which the interpreter expands and explains the questions previously made by PO2 and makes their communicative intention explicit. This can be interpreted as an attempt to guarantee that DP2 understands his rights and the reason why he is being asked to confirm the answers given. The topic being dealt with is the

confirmation of the answers given by DP2 before the interview and recorded in the SARF form in connection with his right to have a solicitor present during the interview:

Excerpt 10 Acknowledging the interpreter. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:02:31-00:03:27].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
28.	((/docs)) Okay. You signed the form to confirm that your answer to that was no (.) °I have here°. (1) Is that your signature there? ((points/docs))		
29.		[[((nodding: Yeah, (.) yeah.)) [[((nodding: Yeah, yeah.))	¿Es tu firma [esa? Is that your [signature?
30.	°Yeah°↓. ((/docs))		
(3.5)			
31.	[You were also ask- ((/int)). Oh, sorry. ((/dp2, handling documents, /doc)) [[((/dp2, /docs)) [You were also ask- ((/int)). Oh, sorry. ((/dp2, handling documents)) [[((/dp2, /docs))	[[((/int)) [[((/POs, /int, nodding: Sí, sí.)) [[((/int)) [[((/POs, nodding: Yes, yes.))	O sea, [lo que te acaba de decir es lo que te habían preguntado antes [de consultar a un [abogado. Te está diciendo- sorry. [Te está explicando lo que antes eh te leyeron, tus respuestas y lo que firmaste. That is, [what he has just said is what they had asked you before [about consulting a [lawyer. He is saying- sorry. [He is explaining to you what they eh read to you before, your answers and what you signed.
32.		Sí. ((nods, /po2)) Yes. ((nods, /po2))	
(1.5)			
33.		[[((/int)) [[((nodding)) [[((/int)) [[((nodding))	Por eso, [a la pregunta tal y tal [contestaste sí, no. So, [to question such and such [you answered yes, no.
34.→	[[((/dp2, /docs)) [[((/dp2, /docs)) [[((/dp2, /docs, /dp2)) {PO1} ((/int, /dp2)) [[((/dp2, /docs)) [[((/dp2, /docs))	[[((po2)) Sí, sí, sí. (1) ((/int)) No, antes no había entendido, ANtes, [cuando me lo habían preguntao, había entendido la mitad. Pero ahora (1), cuando me lo has traducido tú, [sí lo he entendido, sí. No lo había entendido antes. [[((po2)) Yeah, yeah, yeah. (1) No, I had not understood earlier, EARlier,	

	[[(/dp2, /docs, /dp2)) {PO1} ((/int, /dp2))	<i>[when they had asked me, I had understood half of it. But now (I), when you translated it for me, [I understood it, yes. I had not understood it before.</i>	
35.	[[{PO2} ((/int)) [[{PO1} ((nodding))		Before (.) [when you asked me I: I hardly understood, but now, because I am explaining [to him, he, he could understand.
36.	[[{PO1} ((/dp2)) Good. ((nods))	[[(...po2))	
37.→	{PO2} ((/dp2, points/int)) That, that's why [she's here. Okay? (1) You were then asked, 'Do you wish to have a private consultation with a solicitor at any other time during this questioning?' and your answer to that was no. Is that correct? ((...int))	[[((nods))	

In Unit 31, the interpreter explained the illocutionary force of the police officer's question, and used the verb 'explain' to refer to her action in the rendition of DP's meta-comment about her in Unit 35. As suggested by Gallez (2014, p.263) in her analysis of court interpreting, the interpreter's move features an explicitation of the pragmatic intention of the police officer. By overstepping the role of author and animator through explicitation of the metapragmatic force of the police officer's move, the interpreter seemed to place the detainee in a position that would enable him to act in a way that is more appropriate to the institutional practice of the interview.

The police officers' responses in Units 36 and 37 above show their ratification of the interpreter's explanatory moves and reinforce her role in assisting detainees to 'understand exactly' what they are saying. On a similar note, the interpreter's lexicalization of the action performed as 'explaining' in Unit 35 can be interpreted as evidence of her alignment with the assumption of her role as a guarantor of comprehension, which would justify the task of explaining what is said, exceeding the scope of the normative role of the interpreter in the police interview. As noted in Gallez (2014, p.263), through her explanatory moves, the interpreter guides the comprehension process. By contrast to the court case analysed in Gallez, though, the interpreter in the police interviews analysed in this thesis had just been introduced as the guarantor of exact comprehension before the sequences presented above took place.

The assumptions presented above on the interpreter's role as the person who explains are supported by the notes taken by police officers during both interviews. A reference to the

sequences in which the caution was delivered and comprehension checked is found in the notes taken by PO1 during interview 2:

'Cautioned, understood, explained to by PC and interpreter.'

Similarly, a record of understanding of the caution and the detainee's answer to the SARF from is available in the notes taken by PO2 during interview 1:

'Confirmed via interpreter that he was happy to be interviewed without a solicitor being present.'

'Understanding of the caution clarified'.

The fact that interpreter participation is mentioned and recorded in the notes in the framework of the cautioning stage confirms the assumption among police officers of the need for interpreting during that stage and registers compliance with normative requirements.

The initial overall description presented in this section serves as a backdrop to the structural analysis of interactional models and sequence types, which is presented below. The section below presents the discourse patterns and behaviours that emerged in specific phases or lines of questioning, or in set of them. These are reviewed and discussed in the framework of the interviews and in relation to the findings of studies reviewed in Chapters 2 to 4.

6.3 Discourse and participation features of interview phases

Following the initial description of the overall structural organization of the interviews in Section 6.2, this section discusses discourse and participation features emerging in three main contexts based on their prevailing function within the interview: dealing with formalities, building rapport and gathering information. Discourse and participation features emerging in Phase 1 and sequences in which formalities are carried out (transitions from one phase to another) are addressed in the first place. Discourse and participation features during Phase 2, the preliminary questioning, are presented as framed within the prevailing efforts of building rapport and setting the ground before

moving to the questioning and the presentation of material evidence. The features of the questioning phase are presented in the third subsection.

The patterns emerging are predominantly similar in both interviews, hence they are illustrated with excerpts from both Interview 1 and Interview 2. The few areas in which differences emerged are indicated.

6.3.1 Formalities and procedures

The following features emerged within the formal sequences in Phase 1, as well as at other points during the interviews in which procedural actions performed by the police were discussed, such as sending substances to be tested. The typical sequence organization in Phase 1 is the interpreter-mediated question-answer pair, with interpreting happening primarily only into Spanish, henceforth described as ‘unidirectional interpreting’. Police officers’ turns feature lengthy first-pair parts in English that are based on formulaic utterances, the majority of which are read verbatim from written forms. These formulaic utterances are syntactically complex and presented in a formal register, including the use of legal terminology, such as the use of ‘intimate to a solicitor’, or ‘being concerned in the supply of a controlled drug’. The use of written-based formulae during the ‘form-filling’ activities (Rock 2007, p.144; see Section 3.3.2) reveal adherence to institutional requirements in order to avoid compromising the validity of the interview.

The features observed in both interviews coincide with the features identified by Heydon (2005) in the Opening and Closing phases of monolingual police interviews. From the point of view of the participation framework, police officers’ utterances in Phase 1 are primarily the voicing of scripted utterances followed by a confirmation-seeking question in the form of ‘Is that correct?’ or a comprehension check such as ‘Do you understand that?’. The formulaic and scripted nature of police officers’ contributions invokes a participation framework in which the police institution is the principal and the author, and the police officers act primarily as animators.

The review of the detainees’ answers in the SARF form (see guidance document in Appendix 2) emerged as a particularly complex activity in the interviews analysed. Police officers’ statements included direct quotations of the questions that had been asked to the detainees before the interview regarding their right to a solicitor, and quotations of the detainees’ answers, followed by a confirmation-seeking question. Then, the question was

repeated as an actual question being asked in the interview. Thus, although the question being asked is similar to the one asked before the interview and reviewed during the interview, two different contexts or ‘realities’ (Gibbons 2007) were invoked. The first reality corresponds to the activity of reading of rights and detainees’ answers conducted at an earlier stage, before the interview. The second one invokes two realities: firstly, a reference to the first reality through the review of the question and answer, and a request for confirmation; secondly, the actual reality of the interview is invoked through the act of asking the question again to the detainee within the interview. The projection of different realities during the opening phase lead to misunderstandings in both interviews, and posed contextualization challenges for both the interpreter and the detainee, who showed difficulties in framing the questions being asked. Three of the features identified in formal sequences are reduced renditions, expanded renditions through explicitation and explanations, and footing shifts in the interpreter’s renditions.

– *Reduced renditions*

In interpreting, a reduced rendition in which information is omitted can be the outcome of an unconscious or a conscious process (see Napier 2003), and can be seen as a coping strategy or as an error. The video-recordings on their own are not sufficient for us to establish whether the reduced renditions were strategic decisions or reflected performance errors.

The *reduced rendition* label proposed by Wadensjö (1998) and discussed in Section 2.3.1 is appropriate to describe a pattern identified in the renditions of utterances produced during the most formal stages. Wadensjö (1998) referred to a reduced rendition as one which ‘includes less explicitly expressed information than the preceding ‘original’ utterance’ (Wadensjö 1998, p.107). Whether strategically or as a result of performance difficulties, the interpreter produced renditions featuring less or less explicit information than the original, and the label reduced renditions is used in that sense in the ensuing section.

In Excerpt 11 below from Interview 1, two examples reduced renditions are observed. They occurred during the activity of reviewing the SARF form. The lines crossed out represent the information omitted in the interpreter’s renditions in Units 12 and 14:

Unit	POLICE OFFICER 1	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
11.	Okay. ((/docs)) You had your rights in relation to access to a solicitor explained to you. You were asked of your understanding of those rights and you confirmed that you did, ((/dp1)) is that correct? ((/int))	[[(/nod)]]	
12.	[[(/docs)) [[(/dp1)) [°Okay°. ((/docs)) [[(/docs)) [[(/dp1)) [°Okay°. ((/docs))	[[(/int)) [[(/po1)) Yes. ((/nod)) [[(/int)) [[(/po1)) Yes.	Te leyeron [tus derechos y te dijeron que [tenías [acceso a un abogado, ¿co= [=recto? <i>They read [your rights to you and told you that you [had [access to a solicitor, co= [rrect?</i>
13.	You were then asked if you wished to take up those rights and your answers were recorded on a form ((picks up form)) which I have here, ((/dp1, /docs)) okay? You were asked ‘do you wish me to intimate to a solicitor that you have been detained at this police station?’ Your answer to this was ‘yes’. ((/dp1)) Is that correct? ((/int))		
14.	[[(/docs)) [[(/dp1)) [[(/docs)) [[(/dp1))	[[(/int)) [[(/int))	[Te preguntaron [si querías que contactaran a un abogado [y tu respuesta fue que sí. <i>[They asked you [if you wanted them to contact a solicitor [and your answer was yes.</i>

PO1's utterances in Units 11 and 13 were read directly from the SARF form and contain multiple TCUs each. The TCUs contained in the police officer's turn in Unit 11 are the following:

1. You had your rights to a solicitor explained to you.
2. You were asked if you understood them.
3. You confirmed that you did.
4. Are 1-3 correct?

The interpreter's rendition includes the following TCUs:

1. You had your rights read to you.
2. You were told you had a right to access a solicitor.
3. Are 1-2 correct?

The interpreter breaks TCU 1 in the police officer's turn into two (1 and 3) and omits the review of the confirmation-check and detainee's affirmative answer presented in 2 and 3. The interpreter focuses on asking the detainee to confirm whether the police complied with their duty of informing him about his rights and, in particular, about his right to a solicitor, but the question about the suspect's answer is not made available to the suspect. Considering that the purpose of the pre-interview review of the SARF form is to review the suspect's answers, reduced renditions, and hence reduced access to information, can place the suspect in a disadvantaged position with regards to the procedural function if the review of the SARF form. In Unit 13, the TCUs included in the police officer's question are:

1. You were asked if you wished to take up the rights I just referred to.
2. Your answers to that question were recorded on this form (shows the form).
3. The question you were asked was whether you wanted a solicitor told that you had been detained at this police station.
4. You answered 'yes'.
5. Are 1-4 above correct?

The TCUs available in the interpreter's rendition for the detainee to confirm are the following:

1. You were asked if you wanted police officers to contact a solicitor.
2. You answered yes.
3. Are 1-2 above correct?

In this case, the interpreter does include the suspect's answer as part of the confirmation-seeking questions. However, according to this rendition, what the police did was limited to informing the suspect that he could have access to a solicitor, with no reference to the purpose of contacting the solicitor.

The aim of guaranteeing that suspects have been informed of their rights often clashes with the wording of those statements. Heydon (2005) comments on this contradiction, which may compromise suspects' comprehension of procedure. In both these interpreter renditions information is not only omitted, but also simplified, as observed in the use of reported speech instead of reproducing the question as in the source utterances, and as the procedure requires. Whereas the police officer read the actual question and answer on the form, the interpreter rendered the question and answer based on what she had just heard. As mentioned in Chapter 3, written-based statements and questions relating to

legal procedure typically pose comprehension problems for native speakers and non-native speakers alike, and in the interviews analysed they seemed to pose problems to the interpreter.

On the basis of the reduced renditions, it can be said that the suspect has not been unequivocally informed of his rights, although language transparency makes it hard to know to what extent the suspects understood the source utterances in the first place. Being able to understand part of the information provided may make it even add confusing for the detainees, as they may understand the information partially or they may have the impression that they have understood it. In the interviews analysed, the suspects seemed to have understood their rights only partially before the interview, and during the interview they were presented with the same information again in English with reduced renditions in Spanish by the interpreter. The presence of the interpreter, though, seemed to provide an opportunity for the suspect to seek clarification, as observed in Excerpt 12 below (Interview 1):

Excerpt 12 Review of SARF in Interview 1 (contd.). Phase 1 [00:01:20-00:01:58].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
19.	You were then asked, 'do you wish a private consultation with a solicitor, a solicitor, before being questioned by the police?', and your answer to this was 'no'. [Is that correct? ((passing pages))	[[(/int))	
20.	[[(/dp1)) [[(/dp1))		Te dijeron si querías un abogado antes de ser interrogado por la [policía y tú has dicho que no. <i>They said to you if you wanted a solicitor before being questioned by the police and you said no.</i>
21.		((/away))	
22.			¿Eso es correcto? <i>Is that correct?</i>
23.→	[[(/nods))	[[(/po1)) (2) ((tilts head)) (2.3) I think is yes, [but I, I, I no really know when. (0.7)	
24.	[Yeah, ((/docs)) ehmm. ((/dp1)) You were asked if you wanted a consultation with a solicitor before being questioned by the police and, when you were asked that, you answered 'NO' ((/docs))	[Ahhm.	

25.	[Ehm. [((hand/int, /int)) [Ehm. [((/int))	[Eh. [((/int)) [Eh. [((/int))	[Cuando te [preguntaron si querías contactar a un abogado antes de la- ser interrogado por la policía, dijiste que no. [When you were [asked you if you wanted to contact a solicitor before the- being questioned by the police, you said no.
26.	[((/dp1))	[((...po2)) (2.4) Ah, okay. ((/po1))	

The question asked by PO1 in Unit 19 contains two time clauses with two temporal adverbs: ‘then’ and ‘before’. The interpreter’s rendition contains only one (before the interview), but this may remain unnoticed by the police officer, for whom Spanish is opaque. The ambiguous cues in DP1’s reaction in Unit 23 reveal production difficulties. PO1 infers DP1’s cues as expressing doubts about the moment when the question was asked, that is referring to the time clause with ‘then’, as suggested by the inclusion of the ‘when you were asked that’ in Unit 24. Considering language transparency, the reduced rendition (Unit 20) and the ambiguous cues in DP1’s reaction in Unit 23, it is difficult to infer to what DP1’s doubts refer, as he may have understood part of the original in the first place, part of it when presented now and the information provided by the interpreter.

The excerpt above displays a lack of understanding of contextual assumptions by the suspect and the interpreter. DP1’s answer in Unit 23 seems to indicate that the suspect had had problems understanding his rights before the interview. The police officer abides by the normative requirement and does not distance himself from the wording of his questions as contained in the SARF form, and addresses DP1’s doubts only by repeating. The interpreter’s reduced rendition in Unit 25 starts with the TCU that appears to require clarification, and which had been omitted in her previous rendition: ‘*When you where asked*’. Furthermore, she reduces the propositional units in PO1’s utterance and turns ‘you were asked X and when you were asked X you said no’ into ‘when you were asked X you said NO’. In Interview 2 some of the questions referring to the SARF form were presented in a more fragmented style by PO2. The interpreter seemed to have fewer difficulties in conveying the TCU present in the interviewer’s statements, but still a tendency to reduce information is observed in her renditions:

Excerpt 13 Review of SARF form. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:01:58-00:02:22]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
19.	((/docs)) (7.5) Do you wish to have a private consultation with a solicitor ((/dp2)) before being questioned by the police?		

20.		((chin up/int))	
21.→	[[(/docs)] [[(/dp2)] [[(/docs)] [[(/dp2)]		¿Querés que le pregunten [a un-, perdón, que llamen a un abogado antes de ser interrogado por la [policía? <i>Do you want them to ask [a, sorry, to call a solicitor before being questioned by the [police?</i>
22.		((/po2, shaking his head no: °No, no: that's°.))	
23.	°No°. ((/docs)) If you wish we intimate to a solicitor you've attended, °sorry°, you've been detained at this police station. ((/dp2)) Do you wish a solicitor told now? ((/doc)) (.)		
24.→		[[(/int, /desk)] [[(/int, /desk)]	¿Querés [u:n abogado <u>en este momento</u> ? ¿Querés que <u>llamen</u> a algún abogado? <i>Do you want [a solicitor at this moment? Do you want them to call a solicitor?</i>
25.	[{POs} ((/doc))	[[(/POs)] No, I: ((shaking his head, hand gestures, /po2: °I don't know°.))	

In Unit 20, the interpreter renders the formal *'have a private consultation with a solicitor'* in the source first-pair part more informally as *'call a solicitor'*. In Unit 24 she also omits the reason why the solicitor would be contacted, namely to be informed that the suspect had been detained at this police station. As in the example shown earlier from Interview 1, the interpreter's rendition manifests a tendency to reduce information and simplify language.

– *Footing shifts*

As discussed in Chapter 4, numerous studies have looked at the police caution and related comprehension problems in both monolingual and interpreted police interviews (see Section 4.2.1). Reading the rights has been shown to pose particular comprehension difficulties to both suspects and interpreters in interpreter-mediated interviews. In the data, the caution does not seem to pose particular problems to the interpreter, probably as a result of training and/or experience in police interviews. Nonetheless, two aspects are relevant in this regard. The first one is related to the police officers' approach to checking whether suspects had understood the caution. The second relates to the interpreter's

approach to interpreting the caution and other formalities, as observable in footing changes.

Excerpt 14 below shows the delivery of the caution in Interview 1. The lead interviewer delivered the caution and then asked the detainee to explain what he had understood:

Excerpt 14 Delivery of the caution in Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:04:24-00:05:07].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
73.	((arranging documents (3))) I'm now ((/dp1, /docs)) going to ask you questions about an offence ((/dp1)) under Section 4(3) (b) under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. ((/docs)) That offence ((/dp1)) is being concerned in the supply of a controlled drug, namely cannabis. ((/int))		
74.	<p>((/docs))</p> <p>((/int, /dp1))</p> <p>((/docs))</p> <p>((/dp1))</p> <p>((/docs))</p> <p>((/int, /dp1))</p> <p>((/docs))</p> <p>((/dp1))</p>	<p>((/int))</p> <p>[Sí.</p> <p>((/nods))</p> <p>((/int))</p> <p>[Yes.</p> <p>((/nods))</p>	<p>Lo que te [va a hacer es ahora unas preguntas que surgen de una contravención a la ley en materia de drogas y el artículo 43b de la ley del año 1971, [eh, que es de la provisión de drogas, en este caso una droga controlada que es el cannabis.</p> <p><i>What he is now [going to ask are some questions [arising from a contravention of the law on drugs and Section 43b of the 1971 Act, [which is about the supply of drugs, in this case a controlled drug, [namely cannabis.</i></p>
75.		((/po1)) °Mm hm°.	
76.→	((/docs)) You are not obliged to answer any questions, but anything you do say may be noted, ((pointing/camera: may be audio and visually recorded)) and may be used in evidence. ((/dp1)) You understand?		
77.		((/int))	
78.	<p>((/int, nods))</p> <p>((/dp1, /int))</p> <p>((/int))</p>	<p>[Sí.</p> <p>[Ah. ((nods))</p> <p>((/po1)) ((nods))</p>	<p>[No estás obligado a contestar las preguntas, [pero si las contestás, va a quedar graba=[do, registrado por las cámaras [y va a estar anotado.</p>

	[[(/dp1, /int))	[Yes. [Oh. ((nods)) [[(/po1)) ((nods))	[You are not obliged to answer the questions [but if you do, it will be recor= [=ded, registered by the cameras [and will be noted.
79.	[[(/dp1, nods))	[Okay.	
80.	Okay?		
81.		Mm hm.	

The police officer informs the detainee about the purposes of the interview and the suspected offence (Unit 73) and then cautions the suspect (Unit 76) verbally, and points at the camera while uttering ‘*may be audio and visually recorded*’, before redirecting his gaze back to DP1. The interpreter’s rendition omits the fact that DP1’s answers can be used in evidence and the final comprehension check ‘*You understand?*’.

In the rendition of PO1’s pre-caution statement the interpreter uses the third-person style and talks ‘about’ the police officer. In the comprehension check, the interpreter also uses the third person to render the police officer’s question, as shown in Unit 88 below. However, she uses the first person when rendering the suspects’ explanation of the caution in Unit 90:

Excerpt 15 Comprehension check. Police caution in Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:05:32-00:05:58]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
87.	((nods, /docs)) Okay. Ehm, the caution which I read to you. Ehm, what ((/dp1)) do you understand by that? (1) ((/int))		
88.→	[[(/dp1)) [[(/dp1))	[[(/int, /po1, /desk)) [[(/int, /po1, /desk))	¿Qué [es lo que entendés [de lo que te leyó hasta ahora? (.) Te, te leyó una advertencia en un momento. ¿Qué es lo que entendés de lo que te acaba de decir? <i>What</i> [do you understand [of what he has read to you so far? (.) He, he read a warning a moment ago. What do you understand of what he has just said to you?
89.	[[(/int)) [[(/dp1)) [[(/int)) [[(/dp1))	Mmm (0.5) ((slowly...int)) mmh, ((/int)) que tengo que responder las preguntas [y si no, y si no [quiero responderlas, es eso, ¿no? <i>Mmm (0.5) ((slowly...int)) mmh,</i> <i>((/int)) that I have to answer the</i> <i>questions or</i> <i>[otherwise, if I don't</i> <i>[want to answer, that's it, isn't it?</i>	

90.→	[((int))	[((po1)) [((int, /po1))	That I have to [answer the [questions and if I don't want to answer the questions, [that's it.
91.	Yes, ((opens and closes hand/int)) that's right. ((dp1))		
92.		Yeah.	

Interpreting the word ‘caution’ poses some observable problems. In Unit 88, the interpreter repairs her question and seems to be looking for a way of translating ‘the caution’. In Spanish, the same as in French (Russell 2000, 2001), there is not a specific noun to translate ‘caution’. Reference to the caution often requires a formulation, such as referring to reading the rights. The interpreter selects ‘*una advertencia*’ (‘a warning’) in Unit 88, but still she does not appear to be satisfied with her lexical choice and produces a further question, probably to facilitate the inferential process.

In Interview 2, the police officer presents the information about the suspected offence and the caution in the same turn, and the interpreter does not render it into Spanish. DP2 answers ‘*Yeah*’ and nods, and PO2 moves on to some questions about the suspect’s address:

Excerpt 16 Delivery of the caution. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:04:39-00:04:43].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
49.	((/docs)) ((unintelligible talk between POs for 12.5 seconds)) Okay. I'm now going to ask you questions about an offence (.) under section 4 3 of the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 of your being concerned in the supply of a controlled drug. You are not obliged to answer any questions, but anything you do say will be noted, may be audio and visually recorded and might be used as evidence. Do you understand ((/dp2)) that?		
50.		Yeah. ((nods/po2))	

Excerpt 17 below shows PO2 re-opening the cautioning sequence and checking DP2’s comprehension. Between Unit 50 and Unit 67, PO2 checked DP2’s name, address and date of birth. This time, DP2 selected the interpreter through a gaze shift and moving his finger up towards her (Unit 68):

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
67.	((/doc)) Okay↓. (1) Okay. (.) You, you have been, you have been asked questions and you have been cautioned, ((/dp2)) okay? The caution is that you are not obliged to answer any questions, but anything you do say will be noted down and may be used in evidence, okay? Do you undersTAND what that caution means?		
(1.5)			
68.		((/int, finger up/int))	
69.	(((/docs)) (((/dp2)) (((/docs)) (((/dp2))	[Yeah. (((nods)) [Yeah. (((nods))	Te han leído tus derechos, ['kay? (.) Eh, te van a hacer preguntas, no tenés la obligación de responderlas, [pero todo lo que respondas pues [puede ser escrito y tomado como evidencia en tu [contra]. ¿Entiendes cuáles son tus derechos? <i>They have read your rights to you, ['kay? (.) Eh, they are going to ask you questions, you are not obliged to answer, [but anything you answer, well, [can be written down and used in evidence [against you. Do you understand what your rights are?</i>
70.		((/po2))Yeah. ((nods))	
71.	((nodding: You understand that?))		
72.		((shrugs one shoulder, nods))	

As in Interview 1, the interpreter uses the third person to refer to the police officers in her rendition of the caution. The use of verbs in third person plural in Spanish can be problematic for translators and interpreters, as it can refer to a third person plural subject or be used as an impersonal construction (Berk-Seligson 1990, p.105). Spanish is a pro-drop language and agency is expressed in the verb ending. Omitting the subject pronoun is a rule rather than an exception, whereas including the subject pronoun is considered a marked use (Mason and Stewart 2001), which in the case of interpreting should be taken into account. Omitting the pronoun in this particular construction can cause ambiguity. In this case, the physical presence of the police officers and the imminent questioning suggest that the interpreter is shifting footing, that is talking about the police officers rather than using the third person plural as an impersonal form. This is consistent with

her approach to interpreting the caution in Interview 1 and other sequences referring to actions executed by police officers, as shown below.

Another aspect that is salient in Unit 69 is that the interpreter includes information from Unit 49, the first delivery of the caution by PO2, rather than referring to something that has just been done, as formulated by the police officer in Unit 67. The interpreter's formulation '*te van a hacer preguntas*' ('*they are going to ask you some questions*'), may makes it easier for her to avoid the problematic translation of the term 'caution' and allows her to refer to the questions and answers. In this case, her rendition does include an addition, the fact that the detainee's answers can be used in evidence, and, interestingly, she adds '*en tu contra*' ('*against you*'). Gibbons (1990, p.236) explains that the wording 'used in evidence' in the Australian caution is a reduced form of 'will be used in evidence against you in court'. The interpreter's rendition seems to be design following her knowledge of what the caution is, rather than on the source utterance.

From a turn-taking point of view, the 1.5-second silent pause between the police officer's questions and DP2's non-verbal interpreter-selection move in Unit 68 could be indicative of DP2's hesitating about whether to answer or to check with the interpreter. The stand-by mode and the transparent language constellations make this move salient.

As observed above, the two police officers use different ways of delivering the caution and checking comprehension. In Interview 2, language transparency resulted in a dyadic and non-mediated first delivery of the caution. DP2's request for interpreter participation when presented with the comprehension check suggests that either he was not sure about why he was being informed of his rights again or that he actually was not sure about having understood it properly the first time. His receipt token after hearing the caution for the first time ('Yeah ((nods/po2))', Unit 50 in Excerpt 16), may have not been an acknowledgement of comprehension. As shown in Gibbons (2003) and other studies of non-native speakers interacting in legal settings (Cooke 1995), second language speakers tend to answer affirmatively even if they have not understood. 'Yeah' may not be a confirmation of proper comprehension, and participants' unawareness of this fact may lead to miscommunication.

The use of the third person style is observable in other passages in which the police officers were the agents in the clauses uttered or animators of the police institution. A particularly telling example is the interpreter's rendition of PO1's 'I don't believe you'

as *'No te cree'* [(He) doesn't believe you] in Interview 1, after the suspect had denied being involved in the supply of drugs. The face-threatening act produced by the interpreter's move may also contribute to the footing change. As discussed in Section 2.5.2, face-work occurs between all participants in the encounter, including between the interpreter and the other interlocutors. The interpreter may feel the need to save face and make it clear to the suspect that the principal of the face-threatening act is the police officer. Such instances occur during Phases 1 and 3, when police officers review actions they carried out or actions they may carry out in their institutional role, such as sending the phones to be analysed presented in Excerpt 34 in Section 6.5.3. The interpreter seems to distance herself from the actions performed by the police officers or to acknowledge their powerful status by making it explicit that those actions are carried out by police officers. As Ng notes (2013), the use of the third person style when interpreting the powerful participant's utterances may reveal a degree of uneasiness with swapping roles constantly and with taking up the role of the institutional participant. Ng's observation seems to apply to the interpreter's shifting footing in the data, as she does not shift to the third person when interpreting into English except in one occasion, in which the interpreter referred to both herself and the detainee and she seemed to deem it appropriate to clarify who had said what.

– *Expanded renditions*

Explicitation and additions were also observed in some of the interpreter's renditions, particularly in Phase 1 and in sequences where the police institution and police procedures or actions are invoked. Following Wadensjö's taxonomy (Section 2.3.1), an *expanded rendition* includes more explicitly expressed information than the preceding 'original. Utterance' (Wadensjö 1998, p.107). Explicitation is considered here as an addition of information that cannot be explained by structural, stylistic or rhetorical difference between the two languages (Séguinot 1988, p.108). This section does not explore additions that are required due to syntactic differences between the languages, but renditions in which information is made more explicit to guide the sense-making process. Furthermore, interpreter's additions, such as remarks or contextual information, are also considered as part of expanded renditions. In this chapter, different examples of expanded renditions in the data are analysed and discussed within their local context and in relation to the broader function of the line of questioning and or phase in which they occur.

In most of the cases observed in the data set, expanded renditions are located in sequences with a higher degree of syntactic and referential complexity. Through her explicitation moves, the interpreter seems to orient towards facilitating the inferential process, and it is seen here as a form of explanation.

The example presented in Excerpt 18 below features the end of a long sequence from Interview 1 about the SARF form. The main sequence contains several insert sequences and follows a series of clarifications. In the excerpt below, only the end of a clarification sequence is shown. The sequence starts with a confirmation-seeking question following the clarification insert, in which PO1 repeats the question that had just been repaired:

Excerpt 18 Explication by the interpreter. Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:03:53-00:04:11]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
64.	Right, ((/docs)) ehm (.) so, when you were asked if you wanted a private consultation with a solicitor at any other time you said 'no'. A::nd, just to confirm that's your signature ((/points/docs)) there ((/dp1))		
65.→	[(/int)) [(/docs, /dp1)) [(/int)) [(/docs, /dp1))		A la pregunta [anterior que te hizo, [si querías tener contacto <i>To the previous [question he asked you, [if you wanted to have contact</i>
66.		[(/int)) Sí, y yo quería decir no. ((/po1)) [(/int)) Yes, and I wanted to say no. ((/po1))	[con un abogado en esta- <i>[with a solicitor in this-</i>
67.	[(/int)) [(/dp1)) [(/int)) [(/dp1))	[(/int)) [(/int))	Sí; en esta parte [de la entrevista o en algún momento de la entrevista tú has dicho que no [y lo firmaste. <i>Yes; in this part [of the interview or at any time during the interview you have said no [and you signed it.</i>
68.		((/po1)) Sí. ((/po1)) Yes.	
69.			¿Correcto? <i>Correct?</i>
70.	[(/int, /dp1))	[Mm hm. ((/nods))	

This excerpt illustrates how the interpreter appears to actively try to avoid misunderstandings by making the context of PO1's utterance more explicit and visibly engaging in the achievement of the conversational goals. In Unit 65, the interpreter makes explicit the connection between the question presented in the preceding sequence and repeated by PO1 in Unit 64, and the actual question-answer pair referred to, which had

taken place before the interview. The interpreter's explicitation shows take-up of the cues present in PO1's 'Right, so, when you were asked' as referring to the question in the SARF form and already referred to in the preceding sequences. She seems to consider that more explicit cues are necessary for DP1 to make the right inferences.

This example also illustrates the different layers of context that are activated within the sequence: the context prior to the interview when the question was actually formulated for the first time, the initial confirmation-seeking question and the most local context following the insert sequences in which the confirmation-sequence is repeated. Through her explicitation, the interpreter is taking responsibility for framing the information more clearly and allowing DP1 to make relevant contextual inferences. A similar example extracted from Phase 1 in Interview 2 is available in Excerpt 19 below. The sequence below starts with a confirmation-seeking utterance from PO2 referring to the question about intimating to a solicitor:

Excerpt 19 Explicitation in Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:02:31-00:02:53]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
28.	((/docs)) Okay. You signed the form to confirm that your answer to that was no (.) °I have here°. (1) Is that your signature there? ((points/docs))		
29.		[[((nodding: Yeah, (.) yeah.)) [[((nodding: Yeah, yeah.))	¿Es tu firma [esa? <i>Is that your signature [there?</i>
30.	°Yeah°↓. ((/docs))		
(3.5)			
31.→	[You were also ask- ((/int)). Oh, sorry. ((/dp2, handling documents, /doc)) [[((/dp2, /docs)) [You were also ask- ((/int)). Oh, sorry. ((/dp2, handling documents)) [[((/dp2, /docs))	[[((/int)) [[((/POs, /int, nodding: Sí, sí.)) [[((/int)) [[((/POs, nodding: Yes, yes.))	Ø sea, [lo que te acaba de decir es lo que te habían preguntado antes [de consultar a un [abogado. Te está diciendo- sorry. [Te está explicando lo que antes eh te leyeron, tus respuestas y lo que firmaste. <i>That is,</i> <i>[what he has just said is what they had asked you before</i> <i>[about having a consultation with a</i> <i>[solicitor.</i> <i>He is saying- sorry.</i> <i>[He is explaining to you what they eh read to you before, your answers and what you signed.</i>
32.		Sí. ((nods, /po2)) <i>Yes. ((nods, /po2))</i>	

33.		[((/int)) [((nodding)) [((/int)) [((nodding))	Por eso, [a la pregunta tal y tal [contestaste sí, no. <i>So,</i> <i>[to question such and such</i> <i>[you answered yes, no.</i>
-----	--	--	--

In Unit 29, the interpreter starts her rendition at the final TCU of DP2's turn, the question, while DP2's nods and answers affirmatively. The police officer echoes the answer and shifts his gaze towards the documents. These two moves appear to construct a sequence-closing move. The interpreter uses the silent pause (3.5) after PO2's receipt token and his gaze shift towards the document to take the floor and to make explicit the question PO2 is referring to and the metapragmatic function of the police officer's question. The interpreter's explicitation in Unit 31 includes an addition that makes explicit what PO2 is doing through his move in Unit 28:

- *'lo que te acaba de decir es lo que te habían preguntado antes'* ('what he has just said is what they had asked you before');
- *'Te está diciendo'* ('He is saying');
- *'te está explicando'* ('he is explaining to you').

Through the use of the third person to refer to the police officer, the interpreter is manifesting her role as principal of the explanation provided. As noted in Section 6.5.1 in relation to the meta-comments about the interpreter made during the interview and recorded in the interview notes, the interpreter's expanded renditions are found to be legitimate and presented as guarantors of having addressed critical points like the caution.

As in the studies by Mason (2006) and Gallai (2016), the interpreter's explicitation moves remain largely unnoticed in the data, unless they are particularly lengthy or have visible effects on the next move. In the case presented above, it is not clear whether the police officers noticed that the interpreter was making the meta-pragmatic force of PO2's question explicit, but her participation space is respected even if the police officer is excluded from the side sequence in Spanish. This can be observed in Unit 31, in which PO2 attempts to start a new sequence but interrupts himself and apologises when he realises that DP2 and the interpreter are interacting. Excerpt 20 below (also discussed in 7.1.3) shows DP2's reaction to the interpreter's expanded rendition. The reaction in Spanish triggers a rendition in English, which makes it evident for both police officers that the interpreter had expanded the information in her rendition:

Excerpt 20 The interpreter's task of explaining. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:02:31-00:03:27].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
34.	<p>[(/dp2, /docs))</p> <p>[(/dp2, /docs))</p> <p>[(/dp2, /docs, /dp2)) {PO1} (/int, /dp2)) [(/dp2, /docs))</p> <p>[(/dp2, /docs, /dp2)) {PO1} (/int, /dp2))</p>	<p>[(/po2)) Sí, sí, sí. (1) (/int)) No, antes no había entendido, ANtes,</p> <p>[cuando me lo habían preguntao, había entendido la mitad. Pero ahora (1), cuando me lo has traducido tú,</p> <p>[sí lo he entendido, sí. No lo había entendido antes.</p> <p>[(/po2)) Yeah, yeah, yeah. (1) No, I had not understood earlier, EARlier,</p> <p>[when they had asked me, I had understood half of it. But now (1), when you have translated it for me, [I have understood it, yes. I had not understood it earlier.</p>	
35.→	<p>[{PO2} (/int))</p> <p>[{PO1} ((nodding))</p>		<p>Before (.)</p> <p>[when you asked me I: I hardly understood, but now, because I am explaining [to him, he, he could understand.</p>
36.→	[{PO1} (/dp2)) Good. ((nods))	[(/...po2))	
37.→	<p>{PO2} (/dp2, points/int)) That, that's why</p> <p>[she's here. Okay? (1) You were then asked, 'Do you wish to have a private consultation with a solicitor at any other time during the police questioning?' and your answer to that was no. Is that correct? (...int))</p>	[(/nods))	

The excerpt above provides cues that make manifest to participants their assumptions about each other's needs and roles. There is evidence of the detainee's difficulties regarding the comprehension of the questions before the interview (Unit 34). The interpreter makes assumptions about the fact that the detainee has comprehension problems (Units 31, 33 and 35). Furthermore, she takes the initiative in handling miscommunication, which is made manifest through the move itself, through the footing change in Unit 35 (I am explaining to him), and through the use of 'explaining', which probably results from the role of 'explaining' and 'making sure the suspect understands' overtly allocated to her by PO2 earlier in the interview. Finally, the police officers themselves demonstrate embodied ratification of the interpreter's expansion moves through nods, a positive evaluative remark by PO1 in Unit 36, and an assertion by PO2 confirming her role in Unit 37.

In addition, it seems that the hybrid and changing turn-taking format in the data made it more for the interpreter to bring information from preceding sequences into her renditions when she was 'on'. With stand-by interpreting, the interpreter's renditions can not only

project back beyond the previous turn and the local context, as it is typically the case in encounters with standard interpreting models discussed in Chapter 2, but also bring forward information from previous utterances and sequences that is deemed relevant by the interpreter. The explanatory moves by the interpreter seemed to have an impact upon police officers, who engaged more in explaining and clarifying the suspects' rights following the explanatory moves by the interpreter. It seemed as if the interpreter's initiative made the need for repair visible, but it may also indicate an attempt to rebalance the interactional power.

Excerpt 21 below starts with DP2's turn following the interpreter's rendition of the next question and his answer recorded in the SARF form being reviewed by the police. DP2's turn takes the form of intrasentential code-switching that functions as self-translation (Angermeyer 2015, p.154). The intended audience of the 'source' in Spanish and the rendition in English is clearly marked through gaze shifts -from the interpreter (Spanish) to the police officer (English):

Excerpt 21 Explanations as opportunities to seek clarification. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:03:37-00:04:00].

Unit		DETAINED PERSON 2	
39.		((/POs)) (2) Uhhh (1.3) ((/int)) ¿Puedo ((shrugs one shoulder, /po2)) cambiar esa? (<i>Can I change that one?</i>) Can I change for yes? Because if I need it, (1) can I use one?	
40.	{PO1} If, if you change your mind, you can (.) ((nodding: you can speak to a solicitor.)) That is not a problem, we can arrange that.		
41.		Ah (<i>oh</i>), okay, is fine.	
42.	So, you understand (.) [if (.) ((hand gestures: you change your mind)) you just say something and we can go and (0.5) ((/int: sort that out)) okay?	[Yeah, I understand ((nods)).	
43.		((/int))	
44.	[{PO1} ((/dp2)) {PO1} ((/int)) {POs} ((/dp2)) [/{PO1} ((/dp2)) [/{PO1} ((/int)) [/{POs} ((/dp2))	[[((nods, /po2)) [[((nods, /po2))	O sea, ¿entendés? [Si cambiás de opinión, [si cambiás de idea y querés un abogado, [se lo decís y ellos [lo llaman. <i>That is, do you understand?</i> <i>[If you change your mind,</i> <i>[if you change your mind and you want to have a solicitor,</i> <i>[let them know and they'll</i> <i>[call one.</i>

636.	[[((dp2))	((/po2)) [Yeah, yeah. I don't think so. (.) Maybe:, I don't know, in the small bags o in one (.) ((hand gestures)) of that thing because he bring to:: there.	
637.	The small bags of weed?		
638.		Yeah, the small bags.	

The sequence above starts with PO1 explaining what they will do with the bags and offering a formulation of DP2's preceding answers. The interpreter's move in Unit 635 shows an evaluative response to the previous moves. She manifests her role as a guarantor of communication or a preventative attitude both through self-selection as the next speaker and through her opening question addressed to DP2. Here, her assumptions on what is relevant come into play. Whereas it could be said that DP2 had answered the questions asked by the police officers, the interpreter appears to take DP2's answer as not being relevant enough in relation to the question, and hence her apparent concern with DP2's comprehension.

Her explanatory move starts by asking '*Do you understand?*' in Spanish, which is followed by an explicitation of what is being transacted in the preceding and current sequences. Both the use of the third person and the explicitation of the metapragmatic function of PO2's preceding questions 'What they want to know is whether...' reinforce the explanatory force of her move. The metapragmatic force of PO2's questions in the interview is considered as more relevant by INT than the particular confirmation-seeking question asked by PO2 through the formulation in Unit 631.

Moves like the one analysed above have the potential of acting towards goal fulfilment as a result of an interpreter move intended to enhance comprehension, but also as a result of interpreter moves that resemble interviewer action. The interpreter appears to orient to assessing not only comprehension, but also goal-fulfilment in the interview. Faced with a question of which he is the only potential addressee, the detainee finds himself in the position of having to react to the interpreter's move even if no clarification was needed. His response reiterates his previous answers in a way that does not match the police officer's question, but that of the interpreter.

Excerpt 23 below shows an example of explicitation that takes place during the opening of Phase 3. In both interviews, the frame transition from Phase 2 to Phase 3 where the items seized are presented to the detainee, is invoked by referring to the search warrant and the search of DP1's flat. In Excerpt 23, the physical availability of the items seized

by the police is made explicit by the interpreter, who adds that the items recovered are the ones in the interview room. This addition can be seen as a more explicit invocation of the focus and frame of Phase 3, namely questioning the detainee about the items, and, as in the previous excerpts, as an example of a more explicit inclusion of the varying levels of context that are activated. The inference made by the interpreter shows her take-up of the frame being invoked through the assertion made by PO2 in Unit 280, and her assumptions about the set of assumptions of DP2 and his needs in that respect.

Excerpt 23 Explication. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:18:02-00:18:35]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
280.	°You understand°. ((/bag)) Okay. This warrant ((/dp2)) eh:: was executed today, which means that we went to the house where we served ((/dp2)) with this warrant at forty-six Gillespie Crescent. (.) Ehrm, during the search at the address a quantity of items were recovered ((/dp2)) IN the house.		
281.		((/int))	
282. →	[[(/places bag on the floor)) [[(/dp2)) [[(/places the bag on the floor)) [[(/dp2))		Siguiendo a esta orden hoy [e:n la calle eh Gillespie Crescent número cuarenta y seis entraron y en-, en [recuperaron u obtuvieron varios eh items , que son los que tienen aquí. <i>Under the power of this order today [at street eh Gillespie Crescent number forty-six, they entered and fo-, fo-, [recovered or obtained several items, which are the ones they have here.</i>
283.		((/po2, nods))	
284.	((/nods, /po1 and items on the floor)) °Okay↑°.		
285.	[[(/POs handle items on the floor)) [[(/POs handle items on the floor))	[[(/int, nods, /POs)) [[(/int, nods, /POs))	Siguiendo esta [orden de:: allanamiento. <i>Under the power of this [search warrant.</i>
286.		((/int))	
287.	((/po1)) We will start ((/dp2)) and then we'll go with the baseball bat well.		

In Unit 282 the interpreter summarizes the information on the warrant but makes it explicit that the items referred to are the ones in the interview room. Her rendition shows an explication emphasizing the relevance of the items and, in a way, shifts attention from the search warrant to the items. Considering that the sequence presented above

occurred in Interview 2, it is likely that the previous experience of Interview 1 has an influence upon her inference-making process in the second interview. The shifting focus may reveal her knowledge of the subsequent sequences and the focus on the items. The interpreter's explicitation connects the framing context of the items being seized and the relevance of Phase 3. This example shows the interpreter engaging in what Raymond (2014) refers to as 'epistemic brokering', that is brokering between the perceived degree of knowledge of either party about and in the situated practice. The interpreter consciously or unconsciously bridges that potential procedural knowledge gap through explicitation.

The examples of expanded renditions discussed above present two main features. The first feature is the interpreter's take-up of the role of guaranteeing that detainees 'understand exactly what they are being told' (PO2, Interview 12, Unit 12), and contribute to the definition of her role in that particular interview. The interpreter decides to take the floor to make the illocutionary force of turns explicit, reflexively coordinating the sense-making process. The second feature relates to their location. These moves do not seem to occur randomly, but rather at moments in which the matters being dealt with are perceived to be critical by participants. The placement of explanatory moves in the context of procedurally relevant or critical sequences for the case resemble the observations made by Gavioli (2014, pp.48-49) in medical consultations, where doctors invited interpreters to 'explain' and 'tell' when 'what is talked about may be more complex or problematic' and or 'critical', in order to guarantee that participant make sense of what is being talked about.

This section has focused on three patterns identified in the interpreter's renditions during the most formal sequences. Section 6.3.2 discusses the discourse and participation features identified as salient in the preliminary questioning.

6.3.2 Preliminary questioning: building rapport

As outlined in Section 6.2.1, Phase 2 focuses on the preliminary questioning, that is on gathering personal information about the suspect. In line with the PRICE and PEACE interview frameworks presented in Chapter 4, police officers seem to devote particular attention to developing rapport with the suspect. Devices observed in the police officers' behaviour include using non-accusatory, non-coercive questions and showing attention

both verbally through echoing, recycling, and feedback tokens, and non-verbally through eye-contact and postural orientation.

In the interviews analysed in this thesis, turn design in Phase 2 features shorter questions (PO first-sequence parts), typically wh-questions preferring answers providing specific information. Detainees answer in English as a rule and interpreting is used ad hoc, as described in more detail below. The matters dealt with are related to the DPs' personal life and habits and the register used by the police officers is conversational and less formal than in Phase 1, as illustrated in Excerpt 24 below. The police officer shows a supportive attitude through feedback tokens such as 'Okay', nodding, echoing DP1's answer and showing take-up and a sequence-closing third. Eye-contact between the police officer and the detainee is maintained to a higher degree than in Phase 1, during which the police officers shifted constantly between the documents, the detainee and the interpreter. The POs' posture is oriented towards the desk and the detainee. Excerpt 24 below presents an example of a typical dyadic exchange in Phase 2:

Excerpt 24 Typical turn design and sequence organization in Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:08:57-00:09:31].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
186.	Okay. ((/docs)) Ehm, why ((/dp1)) did you come to Edinburgh?		
(0.8)			
187.		Yeah, fo:::r, for learn English.	
188.	((nods))		
189.		And (xxx) my life.	
190.	Okay.		
191.		A-	
192.	And, are you studying here?		
193.		Yeah, I was studying my first time. (0.5) English. Just English.	
194.	Okay↓.		
195.		English, a:::nd, and nothing, I was working↑.	
196.	((chin up)) Working as well? ((chin down))		

Compared to Phase 1, in which the police officers adhered to the procedural norm of voicing the police institution, in Phase 2 the police officers play the role of principals, authors and animators of their questions, and the attention shifts towards the detainee's answers. As observed in Excerpt 24 above, the police officer maintains eye-contact with the interviewee and displays an attentive attitude through eye-contact, nods, back-channelling tokens and echoing, inviting the interviewee to talk. These features index the

focus on placing the interviewee at the centre, as the principal of information, and on the rapport-building efforts of the police officer.

As discussed in Section 6.4.2 below, non-interpreted dyadic interaction in English between the police officer(s) as native speakers of English and the suspect as a speaker of English as an L2 prevails in Phase 2. This may be due to the use of a lower register and the discussion of aspects that belong to the personal domain, which are likely to be more familiar and pose fewer comprehension and production problems than the procedural matters discussed in Phase 1. Despite the higher frequency of dyadic talk, though, comprehension and production deficits are also observed.

Before presenting the main features emerging in dyadic sequences, it is worth highlighting the potential effect of the interpreter even when she is not 'on' but on 'stand-by'. In terms of audience design and participation framework, resorting to the interpreter is always an option at the disposal of primary participants. The analysis in the previous chapter showed that the interpreter does not only participate when she is given a turn, but also self-selects as a participant. It is legitimate for the interpreter to take the floor at any time, and, as a result, she is also an auditor in terms of audience design (Bell 1984), that is a listener who is known to be there and ratified. Primary participants accommodate to each other's language competencies, but, even when she is 'off', her presence can affect the extent to which primary participants make efforts to communicate using their asymmetric linguistic resources in English or to accommodate the other's needs, as well as her understanding of her role and her perception of the need for participating.

Non-mediated stretches of talk range from two-unit sequences to long stretches of up to 49 units. The longest stretch of dyadic interaction occurs in Interview 1, Phase 2, and includes question-answer sequences about alcohol consumption and drug use. The second longest stretch is found in Phase 3, with 46 turns, and includes information-gathering and confirmation-seeking questions about one of the productions, namely the bags containing cocaine. Three main features that emerge as salient in non-mediated interaction in Phase 2 of Interviews 1 and 2 are the use of back-channelling or receipt tokens; echoing the previous participant (continuers in the third-turn position and echo questions in second position); and an orientation towards dyadic repair. Regarding the first feature, both primary participants use back-channelling tokens, but particularly the police officer. The use of tokens such as 'Okay' and 'Yeah', echoing DP's answers, and nods and eye-contact is particularly salient. These back-channelling tokens work as

sequence-closing thirds, through which acceptance of the second-pair part produced in the preceding turn is claimed (Schegloff 2007). They also function as acknowledgement tokens contributing to the continuity of interaction and reinforcing direct communication. In the data, sequence closing thirds by police officers typically trigger a fourth turn from the DP, a minimal affirmative answer further reiterating the second-pair part or containing further details.

Several examples of echoing (coloured ovals) and receipt tokens (green highlight) are shown in Excerpt 25 below:

Excerpt 25 Back-channelling tokens. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:08:38-00:08:56].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
15.	Ehm, how much is the rent?		
16.		Four hundred seventy-five.	
17.	(((nodding: Okay.))) Per month?		
18.		(((nods))) Yes.	
19.	Okay. (((/docs))) (1) Ehm, do you (((/dp1))) have any (.) friends or family in Edinburgh?		
20.	No↑.	(((shakes his head))) No.	
21.			
22.		Friends, yeah.	
23.	(((nods)))		
24.		Only friends.	
25.	Only friends. (((nods))) Where is the rest of the family?		
26.		Mmm (1) Fuengirola.	
27.	Fuengirola↑.		
28.		Yeah. (((nods)))	
29.	Okay. (((/docs))) Ehm, why (((/dp1))) did you come to Edinburgh? (0.8)		
30.		Yeah, fo:::r, for learn English.	
31.	(((nods)))		
32.		And (xxx) my life.	
33.	Okay.		
34.		A-	

As shown in Excerpt 25 above, different devices contribute to creating a direct interactional space and to focusing the attention on each other. PO1 shifts his gaze occasionally to check the document on the table, but he quickly shifts it again to recover eye-contact with the suspect (Unit 33). Nodding, back-channelling with a receipt token and eye-contact contribute to sending the message of attentive listener and take-up to the suspect, and invite him to confirm and/or add information. In Phase 2, PO1 uses a quieter voice and his postural orientation is more relaxed. He leans back on his chair and places his arms on either side, with his hands on his lap or placing a pen over his mouth while keeping eye-contact with the suspect.

6.3.3 *Questioning: information-gathering, probing and confirmation-seeking*

Both Phase 2 and Phase 3 focus on gathering information, but the nature and function of the information gathered differs. Compared to Phase 2, in Phase 3 the police officers ask the suspects a number of questions about each of the items seized and move quickly from one item to another. Lines of questioning present an overall similar construction: asking the detainee to identify the item, establishing who it belongs to, who uses it and what it is used for, and in the case of illegal substances its cost and origin.

The question and answer sequences in Phase 3 present a slightly different turn design compared to Phases 1 and 2. Police officers exercise their powerful position in interaction by initiating topics and are the ones who ask the questions, but in contrast to Phase 2, repair and expansion sequences are more typical than feedback and sequence-closing thirds. In Phase 3, gaze direction targets more focal points than in Phase 2 as a result of object manipulation (productions), and a higher degree of interactional complexity: increased overlapping talk, repair and expansion, and more negotiation of dyadic/triadic interaction.

In Phase 3, where the focus is to gather information about the productions and the suspected offence, police officers are constantly manipulating objects. The focus on the productions seems to shift the PO's attention away from rapport-building efforts, as manifested in a lower use of back-channelling tokens and a faster transition into follow-up questions or next questions. Constant object manipulation of productions by police officers necessarily implies changes in postural orientation and eye-contact. Every time a new production is shown, the interviewing police officer either turns towards his left in the direction of the other PO or towards the floor to reach a bag. Typically, PO1 turns his upper body back towards the desk as soon as he has got hold of the production, and adopts an upright posture, often with his arms on the desk or manipulating the production. PO2 typically sits closer to the desk while holding the productions and asking questions.

Typically, for each of the questions asked by the police officer, either an answer is given by the DP in English or the interpreter renders the question in Spanish and then an answer is given in English by the detainee. PO1 tends to echo the detainee's answer using rising intonation. This typically triggers either more details from DP1 or a further confirmation move from him, such as a nod, an affirmative answer (*'Yeah, yes'*) or a combination of

both. Furthermore, DP1 also tends to echo PO1's questions either partially or totally before answering. An example of these features is presented in Excerpt 26 below:

Excerpt 26 Typical turn design and sequence organization in Phase 3. Interview 1 [00:31:23-00:32:09].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
769.	(.) °Okay°. ((//items on the floor. POs talking very quietly, unintelligible, po1 places a bag on the desk)) What are these? ((/dp1))		
770.		The same. ((/desk, smiles))	
771.	((/bag)) The same? (.) Who do they belong to?		
772.		Mmm?	
773.	(((dp1)) [/(dp1)])		[¿A quién pertenecen? [Who do they belong to?
774.	(((po2 passes item to po1))	[Mine, mine.	
775.	These were tested, ((/dp1)) so they tested positive for cannabis.		
776.		Hm ((/desk)).	
777.	(((int, dp1)) [/(int, dp1)])	(((int)) [/(nod) [/(po1)] [/(int)) [/(nod) [/(po1)]	Les hicieron u:n [análisis y todas dieron positivo [para [cannabis. <i>They had them [analysed and all of them came back positive [for [cannabis.</i>
778.		°Yes°.	
779.	What were you going to do with them?		
780.			¿Qué ibas a hacer con eso? <i>What were you going to do with that?</i>
(0.8)			
781.		°Smoke°.	
782.	Were you going to sell them?		
783.		((leans/po1: Mm?))	
784.	Were you going to SELL ((points/int with fingers, still /dp1)) them?		
785.			¿Las ibas a vender? <i>Were you going to sell them?</i>
786.		((leans backwards)) °No, no°.	
787.	No↑.		

Excerpt 26 shows an example from line of questioning 3.8 about brown substance 2. DP1 had been questioned about six other items previously and cannabis was the second substance shown to him over the course of the interview. PO1 typically initiates question-answer sequences by referring to the item on the table. PO1's gaze shifts between DP1 and the item shown, and also between the interpreter, the detainee and the item being discussed when the interpreter takes the floor. The line of questioning initiated in Unit

769 starts dyadically and monolingually. In Unit 771 the quick move to the next question about the item is observed in PO1's utterance, featuring an echo question and the 'next' first-pair part. DP1's next move is a repair initiation, which is addressed to the police officer but taken up by the interpreter, who renders PO1's question in Spanish and DP1 answers in English, resuming the dyadic interaction. Neither of the primary participants shift their gaze towards the interpreter. They seem to be focused on the cannabis. The next sequence also features the interpreter taking the floor to render PO1's statement. The minimal 'Hm' answer by DP1 seems to be taken up by the interpreter as dispreferred, maybe as indexing comprehension problems, but DP1's nod while looking at the interpreter seems to indicate that he had understood the statement. The face-threatening act presented by the police officer seems a more likely explanation of DP1's minimal reaction.

A number of embodied overlapping actions are observed while the interpreter is rendering the statement in Spanish. Both primary participants shift their gaze towards the interpreter just after she takes the floor. Whereas DP1 maintains his gaze in the direction of the interpreter until he has indicated that he has understood by nodding, PO1 shifts his gaze towards the interpreter and quickly shifts it back towards the detainee, thus observing his nods and probably inferring from the nods addressed to the interpreter that DP1 had understood. As observed in Excerpt 26 above, the focus on gathering information about the items is observed in the quick move to the next question instead of the frequent use of back-channelling tokens that was typical in Phase 2. Furthermore, the interpreter is also reacting quickly to the cues she perceives as indexing the need for her participation.

An example of dyadic interaction in Phase 3 is shown in Excerpt 27 below. The excerpt belongs to Interview 1, LQ3.12, in which DP1 is being asked about the bags of white powder. Gaze direction highlighted in yellow shows both participants orientation towards the productions on the desk and gaze direction highlighted in green shows DP1 and PO1 directing gaze to each other:

Excerpt 27 Echoing, posture and gaze orientation. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:41:21-00:41:39].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
935.	<p>[[(/po1 leaves bag on the floor and puts two bags on the desk)) [There is a bag containing white powder and a bag containing three bags of [white powder. ((/dp1)) (1) What is this?</p>	<p>[[(/desk, /po2, /desk)) [(/desk, /po1)) [Yes ((/desk))</p>	
(.)			
936.		((nods, /po1: White↑.))	
937.	White ↑.		
938.		Yes. ((/desk, nods, /po1))	
939.	What do you mean [by white?	[[(/desk))	
(1.5)			
940.		Eh, ((/po1)) coke↑.	
941.	Coke.		
942.		Yeah. ((nods))	
943.	Cocaine. ((nods))		
944.		Yes. ((nods))	
945.	((/bag)) Okay. (1.5) ((/dp1)) Who does it belong to?		
(0.8)			
946.		°Is ((nodding: mine°.)) ((/desk))	
947.	Yours. ((/bag))		

PO's postural orientation focuses on the suspect and echoing DP1's answers is the typical sequence-closing third. Regarding body orientation, the productions manipulated during Phase 3 are considered to be directly associated with the suspected offence and become the focus of mutual attention. As shown in Excerpt 27 above, PO1's eye gaze moves from the bag to the suspect in coordination with the verbal output, particularly through the use of deictics like 'What is *this*'? in Unit 935, 'it' in Unit 945, while his gaze shifts between the bag ('it', 'this') and the suspect, and back to the bag ('yours'). DP1's gaze shifts from PO1 to the desk, where the bag is placed. Productions represented as ((/bag)) and ((/desk)) are the focal point where the interviewer's and the suspect's gaze meet. This seems to promote, or at least contribute to, direct communication and strengthen the shared interactional space. This is particularly so if compared to the opening and closing phases, during which the matters discussed and the 'objects' manipulated in connection with them – official forms - are primarily associated to the 'police institution' as a party in interaction.

Echoing also seems to reinforce listenership and encourage confirmation of answers. Units 937, 941 and 947 feature PO1 echoing DP1's question. The dyads (937-938, 941-942 and 947-948) function both as post-expansions of the preceding dyad and as pre-sequences of the next question. Echoing and gaze shifts play a major role in making the

transition from one question to the next more fluid and cohesive. Although echoing occurs in both dyadic and triadic interaction, it seems to have a particularly influential effect in dyadic monolingual stretches.

Two main types of echoing are worthy of attention: the police officer echoing the suspect's answer or part thereof, and the suspect echoing the police officer's question or part thereof. In conversation analytical terms, the first type (echoing the suspect's answer) would be second-pair part echoing, and repeating the police-officer's question would be first-pair part echoing. As explained above, echoing seems to strengthen listenership status and cohesion, and it can also function as a form of repair. As is discussed in Chapter 7, the stand-by regime results in the interpreter treating echoing at times as repair initiation.

Self-repair and other-repair both appear as features of dyadic interaction. The position of echoing can be related to different but related functions:

- Second-pair part echoing: as observed in the excerpts above, the police officer echoes the detainee's answers and creates a conversational ritual whereby the detainee's answer is topicalized and there is an invitation to react to the repeat. The detainee either confirms through an affirmative answer or adds some more information. The interesting effect observed in dyadic interaction is what Halliday and Hassan (1976) and Tannen (1987) refer to as the 'tying function' of repeats, producing mutual recognition and interactional cohesiveness.
- First-pair part echoing: repeating the question before answering or 'repeat-prefaced responses' (Bolden, 2009) is observed in the detainees' talk, primarily in DP1's turns in Phase 2. Repeat prefaces can work as devices to resist the question or be indicative of processing efforts in retrieving the answer. In the literature on Communication Strategies among second language speakers (see Dörnyei and Scott 1997), repeating the question can be seen as confirmation-seeking (checking comprehension) or as a stalling technique. As in second-pair part echoing, the effect observed in the data seems to be related to the tying function mentioned above, although a repair-initiation function is attributed by other speakers in certain cases, as shown in the next chapter.

Excerpt 28 below shows an example of first-pair part echoing (Unit 804) preceding the second-pair part (Unit 806):

Excerpt 28 First-pair part echoing. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:34:24-00:34:30].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
791.	((/po2)) (2.3) ((/dp1)) How long would it take you to smoke this?		
792.		How long?	((/away, /po1))
793.	((/nods))		
794.		Years and years.	
795.	Years and years. [(((/int, palm/int))	[Yeah. ((/int))	

Excerpt 29 below illustrates several examples of echoing in different positions:

Excerpt 29 Echoing in different positions. Interview 2. Phase 2 [00:14:17-00:14:40].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
235.→	((/doc)) (1) °Okay°. (4) Have you ever- (.) how ((/dp2)) do you smoke it when you smoke it?		
236.		A joint.	
237.→	In a joint?		
238.→		((/nodding: °Yeah°.))	
239.	've you ever smoked it e:hm (.) in a bong or any other way?		
240.	[(((/doc)) Okay. (0.8) ((/dp2)) A pipe?	I did but it was too strong [e:hrm	
241.		((/nodding: °Pipe as well°)) yeah. A Polish pipe.	
242.→	But normally you, (.) you roll [drugs. ((/doc))	[Yeah: °normally I roll°.	

PO2 echoes DP2's answer with rising intonation in Unit 236. This echo question functions as a confirmation-seeking device and triggers the confirmation sought. In Unit 241 DP2 uses part of PO2's question to answer and expands his answer by specifying the type of pipe. The last echoing example in the sequence corresponds to the closing of the line of questioning about how DP2 smokes weed. The sentence is closed by a formulation by PO2 in Unit 242: having heard that DP2 normally smokes joints, PO2 produces a formulation, which is echoed by DP2 and is thereby confirmed.

One of the features of dyadic interaction observable in the data is participants' preference for dyadic problem-solving, and, as illustrated in Excerpt 30 below, echoing can function as a repair initiation move:

Excerpt 30 Dyadic orientation to repair. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:07:50-00:07:58].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
143.	And just now you live at (.) ((pen points/docs)) where?		
144.		((pointing/docs: Bruntfield.))	
145.	Bruntfield? ((both hands together in front of his chest, elbows resting on the sides))		
146.		Yeah, this is the area.	
147.	Okay, the area. Okay.		
148.		Yeah. ((nods))	

The video recording enables us to observe embodied orientation to sense-making. The verbal question and answer in Units 143-144 are accompanied with embodied orientation to the form, pointing at the document containing the address. Both participants know that the current address of DP1 is known to both of them. The use of the area name instead of the street seems to come as a surprise to PO1, who echoes DP1's answer with an interrogative intonation, which seems to function as a change-of-state token (Heritage 1984), that is as an expression of having received new information, and repair initiator.

Following the qualitative analysis of particular discourse features emerging in the different interview phases and/or in locations with particular functions, the section below describes the features of dyadic and triadic talk within the interviews with stand-by interpreting, and presents particular sequential models emerging in the data.

6.4 Dyadic and triadic sequential models

Section 6.3 looked at particular discourse features emerging at certain phases and parts of the interview and which appear to be related to their functions and aims. This section focuses on the types of dyadic and triadic sequences observed in the data, and their distribution in the interview; and presents interactional models emerging within the stand-by regime. The models presented illustrate the particular turn-taking and participation features of dyadic and triadic interaction as shaped by the alternation between monolingual and bilingual talk, and by the transparent linguistic repertoire. The models will serve as a basis for the analysis presented in Chapter 7, which focuses on the selective use of interpreting and explores the triggers, opening, development and closing effects and the participation features of interpreter-mediated triadic exchanges.

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, police interviews follow a turn-taking system that is typical of institutional talk, what Heritage (2005) refers to as 'pre-allocation'. Pre-

allocation refers to the actions normally performed by participants in specific institutional encounters. In this case, the police officer is typically the participant opening each adjacency pair through a question or a statement (first-pair part), and the detainee is the participant who produces an answer (second-pair part). In interpreter-mediated police interviews, the turn-taking system normally follows with a standard format of ‘question-translation-answer-translation’ scheme (Komter 2005), with occasional dyadic sequences between the interpreter and a primary participant, or sequences initiated by the interpreter or another primary participant to repair or carry out other interactional actions (Nakane 2014).

As observed in the excerpts presented in the previous sections, the interviews studied in this thesis feature different sequence types to those that are typical of police interviews with interpreting throughout the interview. The fact that the interpreter’s participation is intermittent makes every part in an adjacency pair potentially interpretable material. As it is discussed in the ensuing sections, the original utterance and its rendition are typically separated by one or more turns or sequences, such as a repair sequence or an interpreter-selection move.

Every pair of actions counts as a dyad or a triad and one and the same part may belong to more than one sequence. The same applies to actions that are incomplete, when only the first-pair part is produced and the second-pair part is implied or treated as unnecessary by participants before moving on to a new pair of actions. This section contains a description of the different interactional configurations in the data. Although the analysis is primarily qualitative, the frequency and distribution of the different models emerging has been included to explore whether correlations exist between the phases and the most interactional models used. Reference will be made to the interactional models identified in studies of interaction combining monolingual interaction and interpreting in Chapter 4 (Müller 1998; Angermeyer 2003, 2008, 2015; Maryns 2006; Nakane 2010; Anderson 2012; Meyer 2012; Traverso 2012; Du 2015).

6.4.1 *Dyads and triads*

As stated earlier in the chapter, the question-answer pair is the basic sequence type of the police interview and a part of that pair, typically a turn, is the operational unit of analysis that can be interpreted or not. Overall, two broad types of sequences are used in the data: dyadic sequences (or dyads) and triadic sequences (or triads). When a turn is interpreted,

the interpreter’s turn makes the adjacency-pair-based sequence a triadic sequence, that is a three-party sequence that cannot be referred to as a ‘pair’ because it includes at least one turn by the interpreter. The interpreter, though, can take the turn to perform actions other than relaying and engage in a dyadic sequence with a primary participant, as occurs within standard interpreting regimes (see Chapters 2 and 3). Only eight of such instances were identified in the interviews, three in Interview 1 and five in Interview 2.

For the purposes of clarity of what has been considered as a dyad or a triad, Excerpt 31 below shows a sequence including two dyads: a repair dyad (Units 294-295) inserted between the first and second-pair parts of the base sequence (Units 293-296):

Excerpt 31 Dyadic sequences. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:13:13-00:13:17].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
293.	Your friend who stayed there last night, what is his name?		
294.		((chin up/door)) Him?	
295.	((nods))		
296.		Darío.	

The repair dyad (Units 294-295) features DP1 lifting his chin up towards the door before uttering the question and PO1 producing an affirmative answer through a nod. The chin up gestures seems to serve as a contextualization cue that guides the understanding of ‘him’ as referring to DP2. The completion of the base sequence is momentarily delayed by the repair sequence and finally completed in Unit 296. In this case, and despite both pairs belong to the same base sequence, they are treated as two separate dyads.

In Excerpt 32 below, the action of finding out when DP1 had bought the hashish seized by the police includes a triad (green rectangle) and a dyad (orange rectangle) across four units:

Excerpt 32 Dyadic sequences. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:32:48-00:33:03].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
757.	Five-hundred for all of them. When ((/bag)) did you ((/dp1)) buy them? [(3) ((/int, /dp1))	[((/away))	
758.		[Two (.) weeks, I think. <i>[Two (.) weeks, I think.</i>	¿Cuándo [los compraste? <i>When did you [buy them?</i>
759.	Two weeks ago?		
760.		°Yeah°.	
761.	Okay. (0.6) When you bought them, (1) how did they come? Were they all like this ((/bag, /dp1)) or were they (.) separate?		

In Unit 758, the production of the base second-pair part by DP1 partially overlaps with the interpreter’s rendition of the first-pair part in Spanish, thus two parts of the triad are produced simultaneously. As soon as DP1 hears ‘Cuándo’ (*when*), DP1 finds a TRP and utters a preferred answer. The preferred answer is confirmed through a post-expansion dyad including an echo question by PO1 and an affirmative answer by DP1 (Units 759 and 760). Unit 761 contains both the closing of the sequence regarding the date when the drugs were bought and the first-pair part of a new sequence about how the drugs came, separated by a 0.6-second pause.

6.4.2 *Distribution of dyads and triads*

Following the illustration of what has been considered a dyad and a triad in this study, Table 6 below presents the number and frequency of dyads and triads per Interview and Phase:

	INTERVIEW 1				INTERVIEW 2			
	Dyads (N)	%	Triads (N)	%	Dyads (N)	%	Triads (N)	%
Phase 1	11	35%	20	65%	18	56%	14	44%
Phase 2	133	85%	24	15%	75	82%	16	18%
Phase 3	236	72%	92	28%	166	74%	57	26%
Phase 4	6	55%	5	45%	2	100%	0	0%
Total	386	73%	141	27%	261	75%	87	25%
	(N=527)				(N=348)			

Table 6 Distribution of dyadic and triadic sequences per interview and interview phase.

As shown in Table 6 above, dyadic sequences prevail in both interviews and account for 73% of sequences in Interview 1 and 75% of sequences in Interview 2. A preference for dyadic interaction is shown by primary participants in both interviews, particularly in Phases 2 (85% and 82%, respectively) and 3 (72% and 74%, respectively). In the light of the frequency of dyadic sequences, dyadic interaction in English can be considered the ‘standard’ interactional format in the Interviews. Before moving to the analysis of subtypes of dyads and triads in the data, the frequency of dyads and triads per interview and phase in both interviews is shown in the graphs below:

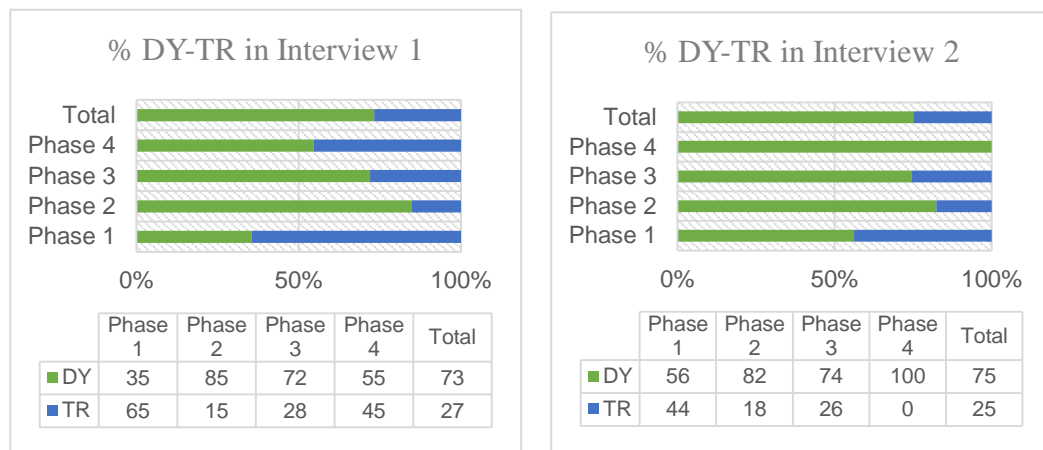


Figure 11 Frequency of dyads and triads per interview and phase

Participants resort to interpreting intermittently and interpreting is provided throughout the interview, but differences between phases are salient. Triadic interaction occurs more frequently in Phase 1 in both interviews, although to a higher extent in Interview 1 (65%) than in Interview 2 (44%). Triadic interaction is less frequent in Phase 2 in both interviews, with only 24 triadic sequences out of 157 in Interview 1 (15%) and 16 triadic sequences out of 91 in Interview 2 (18%). Similar patterns are observed in Phase 3 in both interviews. As noted in the analysis of the features of Phase 3 in Chapter 6.3.3, the Phase devoted to gathering information about the items seized and the suspected offence featured more interpreter participation than in Phase 2, with 92 triadic sequences in Phase 3 in Interview 1 (28%) and 57 triadic sequences in Phase 3 in Interview 2 (26%). Percentages about Phase 4 are meaningful only in so far as it does not include triadic interaction in Interview 2 and an almost even distribution of interactional configurations in Interview 1. However, Phase 4 is too short in both interviews to be able to identify salient patterns, including 11 sequences in Interview 1 and merely two in Interview 2.

As observed in the analysis of the features of each phase, post-sequence closings and expansion sequences featuring back-channelling tokens and confirmation are a typical feature across the interview despite the differences observed. Interpreters in encounters featuring a standard regime tend to omit discourse markers, back-channelling tokens such as ‘Okay’ and other types of minimal responses that appear to be considered by interpreters as less relevant than other elements and frequently transparent (Krouglov 1999; Wadensjö 1998; Hale 1999; Gallai 2013; Nakane 2014). The participants in the data show a systematic neglect of dyads containing sequence-closing thirds and minimal

answers as interpretable material, which in turn translates into a higher percentage of dyadic sequences.

The differences identified between phases and interviews highlighted above may be due to different factors. They may be related to the sequential location of the setting-up of the interpreting regime, as explained in Section 6.2.3. Even though it is not known to us whether the linguistic/interpreting regime had been discussed before the interview, the interpreter oriented to interpreting the police officers' units into Spanish systematically until interpreting was discussed. After the language regime and her role were discussed, the interpreter adhered to a stand-by mode of interpreting. In contrast, in Interview 2 PO2 mentioned the interpreter and her role as early as in Unit 12 and made two meta-comments about interpreting in Units 24 to 37, one minute and eleven seconds into the interview (see Section 6.2.3 above). As explained earlier in the chapter, overall the distribution of triadic and dyadic sequences in both interviews is similar, with a higher prevalence of triadic interaction in Phase 1 in Interview 1. Both differences between individual participants and the fact that the stand-by mode of interpreting was addressed at the beginning of Interview 2 may serve to explain, at least in part, the 19% difference in the frequency of triadic interaction in Phase 1. The frequencies presented illustrate how often each model is used, but a closer look at patterns is necessary to understand how and when participants shift from one model to the other. The section below presents a qualitative analysis of the types of dyads and triads that are typical in the interviews analysed, and their construction.

6.4.3 Dyadic sequence types

Based on the participants involved in the dyad, three main types of dyadic sequences were identified in the interviews:

- Dyadic sequences between a police officer and the detainee.
- Dyadic sequences between both police officers.
- Dyadic sequences between the interpreter and the detainee.

Dyadic sequences between one of the primary participants and the interpreter are rare in the data and typically feature clarification sequences. Only three dyads between the interpreter and the detainee occur in Interview 1 (starting in Units 252, 797, 833) and five in Interview 2 (starting in Units 31, 169, 417, 685, 759,). Whereas some of them have

the form of side-sequences or ‘asides’ in Spanish, in others the detainee uses English, only partially excluding the police officers.

Dyadic sequences between a police officer and a detainee prevail, and typically feature question-answer or statement-answer adjacency pairs, which worked as base sequences, pre or post-expansion sequences, or repair sequences. Excerpt 33 below from Interview 2 shows three different types of dyads between PO2 and DP2 about one of the substances seized:

Excerpt 33 Types of dyads. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:29:12-00:29:25].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
466.	((POs handling bags)) That was found (.) also ((/dp2)) in the bedroom. Ehm (1) is that possibly yours?		
467.		I don't think (.) I never buy that.	
468.	Sorry?		
469.		I, I. (.) Na:: I, I think maybe I smoke ((points/bag)) from there, I don't know if I smoked °from there°.	
470.	You may have smoked from there, but-.		
471.		From that bag, maybe.	

The first dyad in Units 466-467 features the first and second-pair parts of a question-answer sequence. PO2 initiates a repair sequence through ‘*Sorry?*’ in Unit 468, which triggers a repair and a more detailed answer from DP2. The third dyad features a formulation of DP2’s second-pair part in the previous dyad with DP2 further confirming his previous answer. The action of establishing whether the substance referred to belongs to DP2 includes three dyads and triggers information about belonging and use of the substance by DP2. The three dyads are related to the same substance and line of questioning.

In Excerpt 34 below two dyads between DP1 and INT are observed. The sequences belong to LQ3.9 and refer to the cannabis seized. The yellow ovals represent the first-pair part and its renditions and the orange rectangles delimit the dyads. The excerpt illustrates not only comprehension problems emerging in monolingual interaction, but also a clear example of how triadic and dyadic talk were combined for the purposes of repairing communication and establishing common ground:

Excerpt 34 Dyads between the interpreter and a detainee. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:34:24-00:34:47].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
791.	((/po2)) (2.3) ((/dp1)) How long would it take you to smoke this?		
792.		How long? ((/away, /po1))	
793.	((/nods))		
794.		Years and years.	
795.	Years and years. [((/int, palm/int))	[Yeah. ((/int))	
796.	[((/dp1)) [((/dp1))		¿Cuánto tiempo te llevaría fumar eso? <i>How long would it take you to smoke that?</i>
797.		((/po1)) Ahh! Sorry, sorry, no.: How much?	
798.		[How many time? [((/int)) <i>[How many time? [((/int))</i>	[°No°, [¿cuánto tiempo te llevaría? <i>[°No°, [how long would it take you?</i>
799.		¿Fumarlo? (<i>To smoke it?</i>) ((/nods/int))	
800.			Sí. <i>Yes.</i>

The first dyad between DP1 and INT (Units 797-798) is understood as such by the interpreter only. DP1's reaction to the interpreter's rendition in Unit 796 is addressed to PO1, as shown by the shift gaze at the beginning of Unit 797 and the language used. The reaction features the change-of-state token 'Ah' (Heritage 1984), indicating the receipt of new information that changes the epistemic state of the detainee. It may be the case that a change-of-state had taken place after hearing the rendition in Spanish, but the ostensive cues DP1 provides in what he uses as an echo question in English of the interpreter's rendition in Spanish are treated as indexing comprehension problems. *How long* is expressed in Spanish through the question word 'cuánto' (*how much*) and the noun 'tiempo' (*time*). DP1's reaction includes a literal translation in English, the first time partial ('How much'), the second one including 'time' and 'many' instead of 'much'. The interpreter flags up that DP1 is wrong, thus she takes up the initiative of repairing the apparent comprehension problem by repeating her rendition of the first-pair part (Unit 798). This action triggers a further dyad (Units 799-800), this time in Spanish and thus excluding the police officers. A preferred second-pair part to the first-pair part in Unit 791 is finally produced in Unit 801.

The example above resembles the sequence reported in Gibbons (1996; 2003, pp.215-216) in which a second-language speaker of English was interviewed by the police without an interpreter. The Togan-Australian suspect confused the meaning of question

words such as *when* and *where*, *how* and *why*. In our data, inappropriate answers or clarification requests in the form of repeats including the ‘wrong’ question word revealed DP1’s comprehension problems. In the sequence analysed above, DP1’s clarification questions reveal both comprehension and production problems. Inaccurate comprehension is observable in what Gibbons (2003, p.211) refers to as ‘inappropriate answers’ in Unit 794, which in this case triggered a spate of dyads that is only partially opaque for the police officers.

6.4.4 Triadic sequence models

This section explores the types of interpreter-mediated sequences and their constructional features observed in the two interviews. The negotiation of codes and shifts in interactional formats result in particular routes into triadic interaction and different types of triadic sequence organization.

The two main types of triads emerging in the data set are based on the directionality of interpreting. Directionality depending on the language(s) used by primary participants and/or on whether only one or both parts in an adjacency pair are treated as interpretable material. When both adjacency pair parts are interpreted into the other language, triadic sequences are **bidirectional**. Bidirectional sequences are an exception rather than the rule in the interviews analysed. Only six sequences in each interview involve bidirectional interpreting and the use of Spanish also by the detainee and English by the interpreter. The use of English by the detainees makes bidirectional interpreting mostly redundant and the most typical form of triadic interpreting in the data are **unidirectional** triads, that is in which only one pair part is interpreted into the other language.

With regard to the number of languages used, triadic sequences are typically bilingual, although minimally so. They are ‘minimally’ bilingual because the interpreter is typically the only participant who uses Spanish. Unidirectional sequences are presented and modelled in detail below.

Different sequence organization models emerge in the data depending on the routes into interpreting; that is based on the organization of talk between first-part turns, such as Fbase and Fbase1. The interest in these moves lies in their construction, but more importantly in their impact upon the unfolding of interaction. When interpreter participation is not systematic, different moves precede her participation.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, existing models of interpreter-mediated interaction are largely based on the premise that participants require systematic interpreting as opposed to the local interpreting mode in our data set. Gallez' models (2014) presented in Chapter 2 include interactional configurations that depart from the standard model of interpreting. In her study, Gallez analyses the organization of sequences presenting dyadic activity or 'asides' and shows the different ways in which interpreter-mediated interaction in practice deviates from standard conceptualizations of mediated interaction.

For the purposes of this study, two of the models proposed by Gallez (2014) and reviewed in Chapter 2 are particularly relevant for our analysis: the classic model (labelled as 'bidirectional' above) and the unidirectional model. The models which emerge from our data include variations of the unidirectional model, the least frequent model in Gallez (2014). In Gallez study, only 4% of sequences followed the unidirectional model, and unidirectionality was related to a lack of second part from the addressee or a minimal receipt turn rather than to the second part being produced in the language of the original first part turn. In the present study, unidirectional interpreting sequences amount to 132 (94%) in Interview 1 and 71 (81%) in Interview 2.

Four sub-types of unidirectional interpreting sequences have been identified in the data based on the turn-taking system surrounding triadic episodes. They are labelled as 'A', 'B', 'C' and 'D', ranging from the least to the most complex with regard to sequence structure and participation:

- **Classic unidirectional model (A):** only one pair part is interpreted, typically the first-pair part produced by the police officer in English into Spanish. The interpreter either takes the floor after the production of that part or is allocated the turn during its production or directly at the end of it ('same-turn interpreter selection'). Only that part is interpreted and the interpreter's rendition is followed by a code-switch –interaction in English is resumed by primary participants.
- **Unidirectional model with one between-firsts action (B):** an insert sequence separates the source first-pair part from the interpreter's rendition. Different actions are observed in the between-firsts position: a repair initiation move, an interpreter-selection move or a preferred or dispreferred second-pair part.
- **Unidirectional model with several between-firsts actions (C):** more than one action separates the first-pair part from its rendition. The actions observed in the between-firsts position include repair initiation moves, repair sequences, turn-

allocation devices, preferred second-pair parts, dispreferred second-pair parts and new sequence initiation (new first-pair part).

- **Unidirectional model with overlapping actions (D):** the interpreter's rendition occurs in parallel to one or several other actions, such as repair initiation by a primary participant, repair sequences, and second-pair parts (e.g. the answer to a question).

The graphs below illustrate the frequency (%) and the tables show the total count (N) of each type of unidirectional sequence configuration per interview and per interview phase. Phase 4 in Interview 2 does not involve interpreter participation and has thus been excluded from the graph and table:

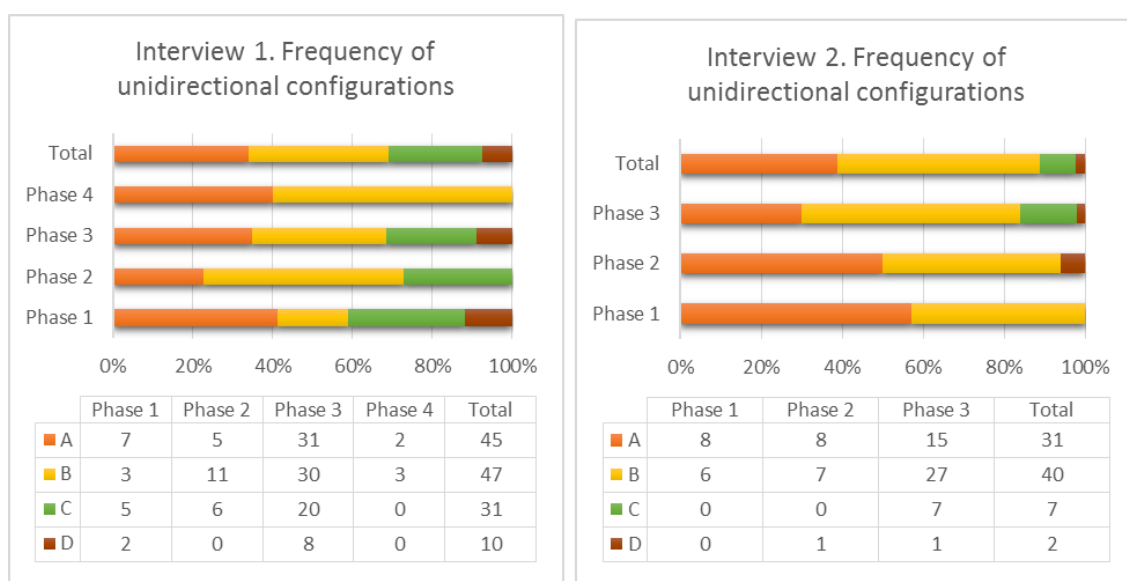


Figure 12 Frequency of Unidirectional sequence models in Interviews 1 and 2.

Unidirectional A (classic) and Unidirectional B (with one between-first pair) are the most frequent ones in both Interviews, with 47 occurrences of Unidirectional B in Interview 1 (35%) and 40 in Interview 2 (40%). Unidirectional A is the preferred model in Phases 1 and 3 in Interview 1, with seven occurrences (41%) in Phase 1 and 31 (35%) in Phase 3, and the preferred model in Phases 1 (57%) and 2 (50%) in Interview 2. The main difference between Interview 1 and Interview 2 lies in the use of the most structurally complex interactional models. Whereas Unidirectional C and D occur 31 (23%) and 10 times (8%), respectively, in Interview 1, in Interview 2 Unidirectional C occurs only seven times (9%) and Unidirectional D only twice (3%). A lower degree of sequential complexity is observed in Interview 2.

Following the overview of their frequency per Interview and Phase, a qualitative analysis of each type of unidirectional triadic model is presented below.

– *Classic unidirectional model (A)*

Classic unidirectional triadic sequences are characterized by a direct transition from the first base part (source) to its rendition, that is the Fbase and the Fbase1. The diagram below illustrates the typical structure of the Classic Unidirectional model (A), including the type of pair parts, their function, the addressee and the next speaker.

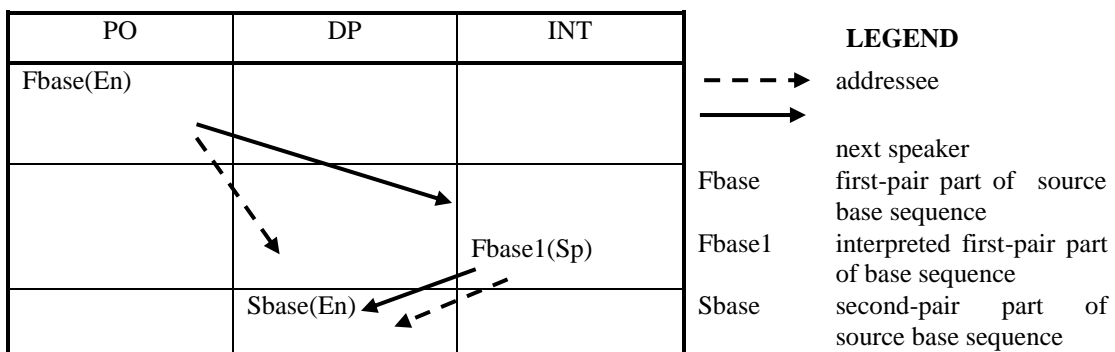


Figure 13 Classic unidirectional model.

In the Classic unidirectional model only one of the adjacency pair parts is interpreted, as illustrated in the Excerpt 15 below. The police officer initiates a sequence in Unit 903 to ask who the owner of the green herbal matter is:

Excerpt 35 Classic unidirectional sequence. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:39:44-00:40:14].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
901.	Ten pounds each.		
902.		Yeah.	
903.	((nods, removes bags from the desk and places a new one)) Eh, whose is this bag? ((/dp1, /bag))		
904.		(((leans/desk)) (((leans/desk))	¿De quién [es esa bolsa? Whose bag [is that?
(5)			
905.	[((/dp1))	[°Maybe: mine°. ((/bag))	
906.	°Okay°. ((/bag))		
907.		O (or) maybe of my friend.	

The interpreter self-selects as the next speaker and produces a first-pair part rendition in Spanish following the production of the Fbase, including PO1's gaze shift towards the bag in Unit 903. Given that the second-pair part is produced in English, the interpreter's rendition is considered as redundant and dyadic interaction is resumed.

A variation of the Unidirectional A model includes a same-turn turn-allocation action in the first-pair part. The turn-allocation action can be produced by the turn producer, typically at or towards the end of the turn, or by the other primary participant, as in Excerpt 36 below. The position of the turn allocation in the same turn triggers a direct transition from the first-pair part to its interpreted rendition. The example below corresponds to Phase 3 in Interview 2. PO2 and DP2 are establishing what the traces of white powder on the seized shoehorn are:

Excerpt 36 Classic unidirectional model with same-turn other-selection. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:22:50-00:23:04].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
356.	°Okay°. ((places the bag back on the floor, picks up a new bag and places it on the desk)) This item was also found in the house [(1) okay? (.) ((/dp2)) Have you seen it before?	(((leans forwards)))	
357.	[D' you know-	Yea:h. [I:s for the feets, no? ((lifts a leg up and makes gestures of using a shoehorn))	
358.	Okay. Normally (.) yeah. Ehm this here however has got traces of WHITE POWDER on it.	(((/int)))	
359.	(((/bag, /int, /dp2)) (((/bag, /int, /dp2))		Tiene rastros [de un polvo blanco en él. It has traces [of some white powder on it.
360.		((/po2))	

DP2 is the addressee of Unit 358, but he allocates the next turn to the interpreter through a gaze shift. This move by DP2 overlaps with the end of PO2's turn and is produced at a transition relevant place (TRP). The interpreter reacts to the gaze shift by repairing comprehension through a reduced rendition. This smooth transition presents features that are similar to those of the standard model of interpreting. The shift in gaze direction could indicate the projection of the expected next participant if a standard interpreting model was in place. In this case, the gaze shift occurs in the framework of dyadic interaction and it is more likely to index next-speaker allocation.

The example presented in Excerpt 37 includes a turn-allocation move at the end of the police officer's turn, produced by himself:

Excerpt 37 Classic unidirectional model with same-turn other-selection. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:03:19-00:03:30].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
37.	{PO2} ((/dp2, points/int)) That, that's why [she's here. Okay? (1) You were then asked, 'Do you wish to have a private consultation with a solicitor at any other time during the police questioning?' and your answer to that was no. Is that correct? (...int)]	[[/(nod)]	
38.	[[/(dp2, /docs, /dp2)] [[/(dp2, /docs, /dp2)]	[[/(int)] [[/(int)]	[Después también te preguntaron si querías que contactaran a un abogado durante cualquier parte del procedimiento, o sea, de este interrogatorio de la policía, y también dijiste que No. [Then they also asked you if you wanted them to: contact a solicitor at any point during the proceeding, that is to say, of this police interview, and you also said that you didn't.
39.		((/POs)) (2) Uhhh (1.3) ((/int)) ¿Puedo ((shrugs one shoulder, /po2)) cambiar esa? (Can I change that one?) Can I change for yes? Because if I need it, (1) can I use one?	

In Excerpt 37 above, the police officer directed his gaze towards the interpreter at the end of his turn. The transition from the first-pair part to its rendition is straightforward, and DP2 acknowledges the turn-allocation move and the interpreter as the next speaker through a gaze shift in Unit 38 and by waiting for the interpreter's turn to be completed before taking the floor. Following the interpreter's turn, DP2 self-interprets his follow-up question in Unit 39.

– *Unidirectional model with one between-firsts action (B)*

Sequences with one between-firsts action are the most frequent type of unidirectional sequences in the data set, with 47 occurrences in Interview 1 (35%) and 40 in Interview 2 (40%). In the data set, the most frequent type of Unidirectional B in the stand-by mode of interpreting includes an insert turn between the two realizations of the first-pair part. Following the production of a first-pair part, such as a question, one of the primary participants produces a turn, such as a request for clarification, or a gaze shift towards the interpreter, and thus the first-pair part and its rendition are separated by an insert. This type of insert will be referred to henceforth as 'between-firsts insertion':

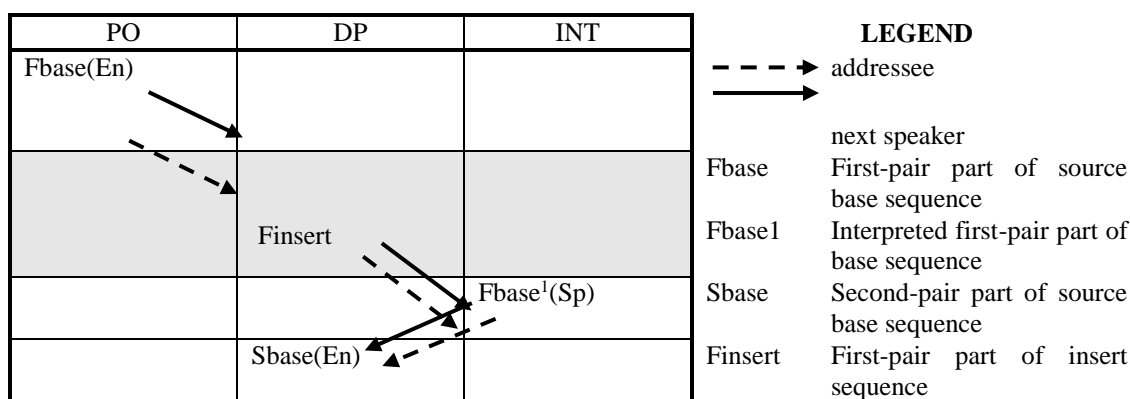


Figure 14 Unidirectional model with one between-firsts insertion.

From a sequence organization standpoint, a between-firsts insertion consisting of one turn only typically features a repair initiation, either in the form of a question or a turn-allocation move. The interpreter’s rendition of the Fbase functions both as the base second-pair part and as the repair second part. An example from Interview 1 is presented in Excerpt 38 below. Having established the use of thread (one of the productions) by DP1 to wrap up drugs, PO1 initiates a question-answer sequence in Unit 566 to establish when DP1 had last used the thread for those purposes:

Excerpt 38 - Unidirectional model with between-firsts insert. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:24:05-00:24:20].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
564.	So, for drugs OR for your clothes.		
565.		Yeah, I-	
566.	((nodding: °Okay°), okay. ((/docs)) ((/dp1)) When was the last time you wrapped up drugs with this thread?		
567.→		((/int: Mmh?))	
568.	[[(/int, /dp1)] [[(/int, /dp1)]]	[[(/po1)] [[(/po1)]]	¿Cuándo fue la última vez [que envolviste drogas [con esa:: eh hilo? <i>When was the last time [that you wrapped up drugs [with tha::t erm thread?</i>
569.		Two days ago.	
570.	((nodding: Two days ago.))		
571.		Hm.	

The sequence initiated by PO1 in Unit 566 and interpreted in Unit 568 includes a gaze shift and an alert by DP1 addressed to the interpreter (grey background). The interpreter shows take-up of the gaze shift and ‘Mmh?’ by rendering the question (first-pair part) in Spanish. At the first TRP in the interpreter’s rendition (after *drogas*), DP1 seems to have the information he needed, shifts gaze direction towards PO1, waits until the interpreter has completed the rendition and only then produces a preferred second-pair part in English (Unit 569). Compared to the unidirectional (A) model, the sequence includes one

more action (Unit 567), often projecting backwards, between the first-pair part and its interpreted rendition. The adjacency pair in 567 and 568 works as a particular type of repair: other-initiated and third-other-solved repair, where the third-other is the interpreter. In Unidirectional model B, Finserts are mainly produced in English.

Variations to Unidirectional model B include insert sequences with different interactional functions: a dispreferred second-pair part produced by DP1; a first-part repair insert, such as a request for repetition to the producer or the original first-pair part, typically PO1; a request for interpreting either produced by PO1 at the end of his turn or by DP1 after PO1's turn; or a repeat of PO1's question or part of it. The different types of between-firsts inserts feature different formal and functional features. In the example of Unidirectional B presented in Excerpt 18 above, the detainee manifests awareness of comprehension problems and initiates the repair sequence. In the variation presented below, repair is both initiated and solved by a third other: the interpreter. The model presented in Figure 10 below serves as an example of a Unidirectional B sequence with a dispreferred second-pair part insert:

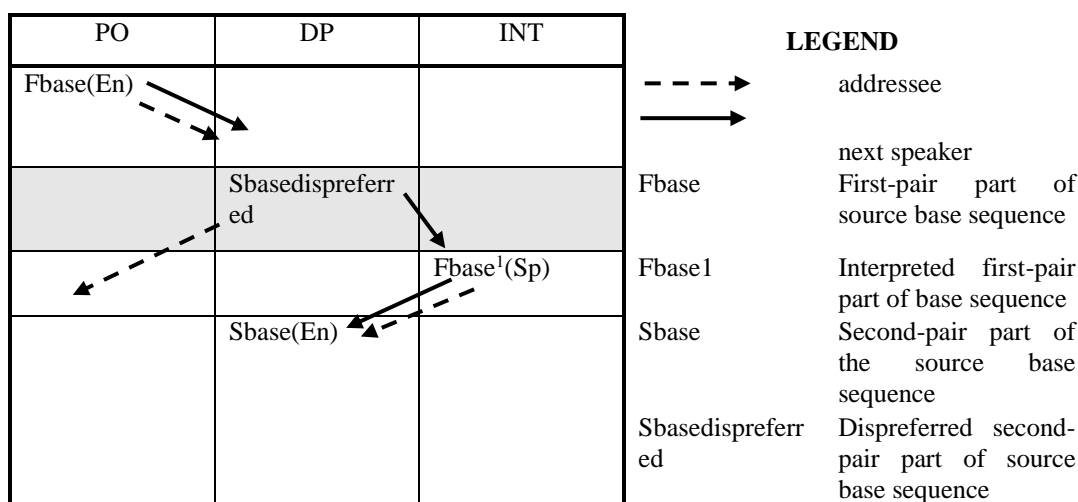


Figure 15 Unidirectional model with between-firsts dispreferred second-part insert.

Excerpt 39 below shows an example of a between-firsts dispreferred second-pair part in Unit 866. DP1 has been asked about who the bags of green herbal matter seized belong to. The affirmative answer by DP1 seems to acknowledge only the first part of PO1's turn in Unit 865 *'These are three bags of green herbal matter'*, or index DP1 as reacting to what he expects rather than as having exactly understood the question (to be asked 'are they yours?' rather than 'who do they belong to?'). The interpreter's rendition is reduced: only the question that has not been unanswered, that is the repairable, is rendered in Spanish:

Excerpt 39 Unidirectional with between-firsts dispreferred second part. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:38:04-00:38:21].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
865.	{PO1} °Okay°. ((shows/dp1 bags)) (/bags) These are three bags of green herbal matter. ((/dp1)) Who do they belong to?		
866.		°Yes°. ((leans/po1))	
867.			¿A quién pertenecen? Who do they belong to?
868.		°Is mine°. ((leans back))	
869.	((turns bag/label))		
(2.6)			
870.		°My or maybe (.) of my friend but-°	

Excerpt 39 above illustrates a case of miscomprehension by DP1 and the immediate reaction of the interpreter to the dispreferred answer addressed to PO1. The interpreter takes up responsibility for repairing the apparent miscomprehension by DP1. This rapid succession of reactions highlights the interpreter’s performance of a monitoring task. However, a ‘deviant’ turn (dispreferred answer) has been necessary in order for interpreter participation to occur. Compared to a turn-allocation insert, which identifies one next speaker among the potential next speakers, a dispreferred answer may or may not be addressed by ratified listeners and, if acknowledged and addressed, there is more than one potential next speaker who may take the floor to repair communication. Furthermore, it may index a comprehension trouble that the ‘listener’ is not aware of; or be a deviant answer that happens to be dispreferred or that has been designed as such on purpose.

– *Unidirectional model with several between-firsts actions (C)*

Unidirectional sequences with several between-firsts actions comprise two or more actions between the Fbase and Fbase¹. These actions cause a delay in the realization of Fbase¹ and often involve negotiation of next speakership in the local sequence. Unidirectional sequences (C) are more frequent in Interview 1 (23%) than in Interview 2 (8.8%). They feature a more complex sequence organization preceding the interpreter’s rendition, typically involving reactions to the same action by more than one participant or different types of actions by different participants.

The typical Unidirectional (C) model includes at least two actions between Fbase and Fbase¹ and an unexpected next speaker, as shown in the diagram below:

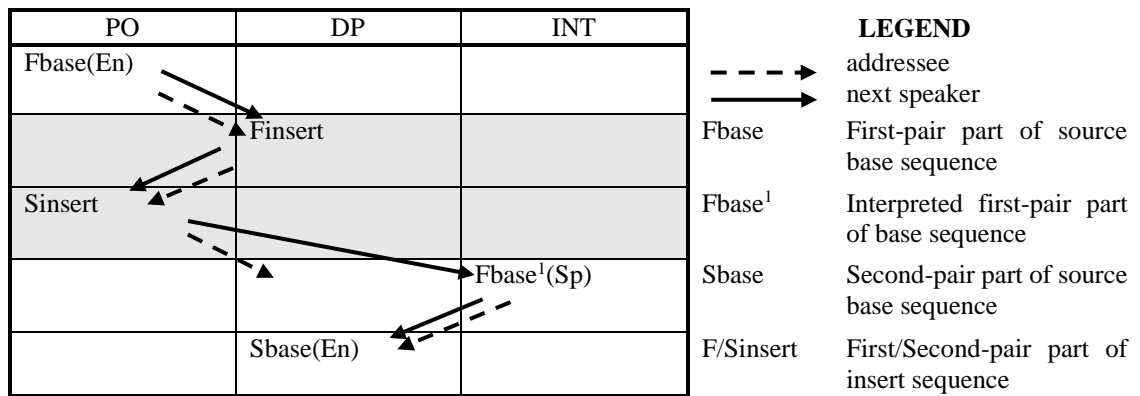


Figure 16 Unidirectional model with several between-firsts actions.

The example presented in Excerpt 40 below shows how repair is carried out by both the interpreter and the police officer:

Excerpt 40 Unidirectional model C with several between-firsts actions. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:16:36-00:16:45].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
381.	Okay. How much [do you pay for an ounce?	[[((leans/po1))	
382.		For ounce?	
383.	[[((nods))	[[((leans backwards))	
384.		[[(/away)) [[(/away))	¿Cuánto pagás por onza? [How much do you pay per ounce?
385.		Like a hundred.	

Two reactions by two different participants are triggered by the echo question in Unit 382: a nod from PO1 confirming the preceding question, and a translation of the Fbase (Unit 381) by the interpreter. These actions show the two potential next speakers adhering to their participant status –the police officer’s status as the principal grants him interactional power to confirm his question, and the interpreter’s status as assisting participants to communicate grants her the power to react to an apparent conversational trouble. The example illustrates the delayed rendition of the first-pair part in Spanish and its potential redundancy. The echo question may index miscomprehension, signify listenership or function as a stalling device.

Excerpt 41 below features a more complex organization of sequential moves preceding the interpreter’s rendition: a dispreferred second-pair part by DP1 and a repair initiation by PO1 through turn-allocation to the interpreter. DP1 has been asked about a glass jar and its owner, but DP1’s answer contains the reason why he saves drugs in the glass jar:

Excerpt 41 Unidirectional model C with dispreferred second part and repair initiation. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:35:04-00:35:32].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
808.	((/dp1)) Who does this belong to?		
809.		((/bag)) Yeah, I put there because is more ((/po1, /desk)) (2) ((/po1)) °more saving°, [no?	
810.			¿A quién pertenece eso? Who does that belong to?
811.		¡Ah! (Oh!) Mine, mine.	
812.	((/bag)) °Okay°. And, ((/dp1)) what did you use this for?		

Whereas DP1's turn projects forward, PO1 and the interpreter's turns project backwards to Unit 808. PO1 does not take up the turn to repair the trouble himself, but shifts his gaze towards the interpreter and allocates the next turn to her. It may be the case that the interpreter produced non-verbal signs indexing her intention or desire to take the floor. Either way, the police officer reacts to the dispreferred question by selecting the interpreter as the next speaker through a gaze shift and a hand gesture. The interpreter shows take-up by taking the next turn and interpreting the question. The rendition of the first-pair part acts as a repair turn. DP1 acknowledges his misunderstanding in Unit 811 ('¡Ah!') and produces a preferred answer (second-pair part) in English.

The last example, below, of unidirectional sequences (C) features a sequence in Phase 2 of Interview 1, in which DP1 is being asked about the time it normally takes him to smoke an ounce of weed. A series of moves index actions that are ambiguous and may or may not index miscomprehension. In Unit 373, DP1 directs his gaze away, stops for 0.8 and shifts his gaze back to PO1 before echoing the question. The three moves preceding the question could index hesitation, a strategy to gain time before answering or comprehension problems. PO1 nods, thus confirming the question, but DP1's second part (Unit 375) is not preferred and PO1 displays comprehension difficulties. PO1 echoes what seems the final answer 'Three' (Unit 376) before allocating the next turn to the interpreter through a gaze shift and pointing at her:

Excerpt 42 Unidirectional model C with repair, dispreferred answer and interpreter-selection. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:16:09-00:16:35].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
372.	And, how long would it take you to smoke an ounce?		
373.		((/away)) (0.8) ((/po1)) How long?	
374.	((nods))		
375.		Li:::ke ((leans backwards, /away)) (2) one, two, (2) three time ((/po1)) I think.	
376.	Three? ((/int, points/int))		
377.	[[(/dp1)] [[(/dp1)]]	[[(/int)] [[(/po1)] ¡A:h! [[(/int)] [[(/po1)] O:h!	¿Cuánto tiempo [te lleva fumar una onza? [¿En cuánto tiempo la fumás? <i>How long</i> <i>[does it take you to smoke an ounce?</i> <i>[How long does it take you to smoke it?</i>
(2.5)			
378.		Pfffff, ((/away)) mm (7) depends. One week↑. ((/po1))	

In total, 14 different actions, including pauses, gaze-shifts and verbal answers, separate the source question from its rendition. The echoing of ‘how long’ by DP1 is misleading, that is understood as a confirmation-seeking question by PO1. DP1’s dispreferred second pair-part, his reaction overlapping the interpreter’s rendition (Unit 377) and the preferred second-pair part (Unit 378) confirm that he had misunderstood the question. Furthermore, the detainee’s orientation to dyadic interaction is manifest. Despite the potential hesitation behind the first moves in Unit 373, DP1 orients towards exolingual interaction rather than interpreter-mediated interaction.

In sequences like the one shown above, the interaction moves in troublesome directions in complex ways and repair actions are needed to enable the progression of the interview. In some cases participants’ actions project a different understanding of what is occurring, depending on their linguistic repertoire or of the matter being addressed. The flexible participation framework (dyadic-triadic) can result in a lack of clarity or the projection of several participation frameworks and the enactment of several actions (repairing).

– *Unidirectional model with overlapping (D)*

In unidirectional sequences involving overlapping actions, several actions occur simultaneously to the interpreter’s turn. Compared to models B and C above, overlapping talk does not add a turn between firsts and is often the result of interpreter self-selection as the next speaker. In addition, overlapping turns in the data are typically related to co-translation, the simultaneous rendering of the second-pair part and the interpreter’s

rendition of the first-pair part or a simultaneous reaction from two different parties to a perceived need for either clarification or interpreter participation.

The example presented in Excerpt 43 below shows the non-verbal activity preceding DP1's answer (points at himself before saying his name) overlapping the interpreter's rendition of PO1's question in Unit 83. The sequence takes place at the beginning of Phase 2 in Interview 1. The police officer is asking the detainee about his personal details, including his address:

Excerpt 43 Unidirectional with overlapping (C). Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:05:07-00:05:37].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
83.	((/docs)) Ehm, (1) ((/dp1)) can you just confirm your ((/docs)) name, address and date of birth. ((/dp1))		
84.	<p>((/int_nodding)) (((/dp1)))</p> <p>((/int_nodding)) (((/dp1)))</p>	<p>(((points/himself)) ((/int_nods))</p> <p>(((po1)) ((/point/himself)) ((/int_nods))</p> <p>(((po1))</p>	<p>[Tenés que [decirle el nombre, [domicilio y fecha de [nacimiento. [You have to [give him your name, [address and date of [birth.</p>
85.		Nombre (name) is Daniel Palencia↑.	
86.	((/nods))		
87.	<p>((/nods))</p> <p>((/nods))</p>	<p>E::: live in 46/9 Gillespie Crescent [y::: (a:::nd) I'm bor in seventeen of May [of one thousand ninety eighty six.</p>	

Unit 84 contains several sets of overlapping activity with apparently different functions. DP1 looks at the interpreter after hearing the beginning of her rendition and nods, probably to indicate that he has understood the question. PO1 also directs his gaze to the interpreter in a TRP and nods, which can be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the interpreter's move. Both primary participants shift their gaze direction and look at each other at the same time, towards the end of the interpreter's turn.

From the point of view of DP1, the interpreter's rendition could be seen as superfluous, as DP1 was already announcing the beginning of his answer by pointing at himself when the interpreter took the floor. PO1 acknowledges her move and both primary participants resume the dyadic interaction. This example shows a case in which the interpreter takes up the next turn to initiate the interpretation and, despite the cues signalling comprehension, her decision is ratified by the police officer through non-verbal activity.

As in the case of sequences featuring a Unidirectional model C (with several between-firsts actions), sequences with overlapping actions (D) illustrate the simultaneous enactment of resources projecting triadic and dyadic interaction. These complex, and at times confusing interactional developments result from the fact that the interpreter is legitimized to take the floor at any point. Compared to models A and B, in which a smoother transition into interpreter participation was observed, models C and D feature a high degree of negotiation of interactional power.

– *Monolingual triadic sequences*

The transparent language repertoire in the interviews at times results in triadic sequences in which only English is used, that is monolingual triads. Monolingual triadic sequences occur when the interpreter takes part in interaction to provide lexical support or correct the pronunciation of a lexical item or phrase in English produced by the detainee. The interpreter’s contribution takes the form of an insert sequence that repairs some interactional trouble emerging in dyadic interaction. These triadic monolingual sequences index respectively lexical deficits, as in the case of ‘bat’ (512-515), or miscomprehension by PO1 related to mispronunciation of a lexical item by a DP, such as ‘jobseekers’ (198-201, Interview 1) or hesitant pronunciation: for example, ‘thread’ (558-560).

The example presented in Excerpt 44 below is taken from Interview 1, Phase 2. A repair sequence initiated by PO1 in Unit 198 is repaired by both DP1 and the interpreter, who corrects DP1’s pronunciation of the repairable *jobseekers* for the police officer:

Excerpt 44 Monolingual triad. Interview 1. Phase 2 [00:09:05-00:09:26].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
192.	And, are you studying here?		
193.		Yeah, I was studying my first time. (0.5) English. Just English.	
194.	Okay↓.		
195.		English, a::nd, and nothing, I was working↑.	
196.	((chin up)) Working as well? ((chin down))		
197.		Yeah, and now. I:: I have the::: the <u>joseeker</u> the benefit.	
198.	What? ((leans/dp1)) Sorry?		
199.		Joseeker.	
200.	[Jobseekers? backwards]) ((leans backwards))		Job= [=seekers?.
201.		Yeah.	

In Excerpt 44 above, both DP1 and INT take-up the role of repairing following the repair initiation by PO1 in Unit 198. Other repair instances in the data-set feature a minimal code-switch by the detainee into Spanish to present the interpreter with the lexical unit he is trying to retrieve in English, or a non-verbal representation thereof. In such cases, code-switching (language and/or mode) is used as a resource to solve a local problem and continue the interaction in the mainstream language.

Having outlined and described the sequence types and interactional models identified in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting, Section 6.5 presents a summary and a preliminary discussion of the findings of this and sections 6.2 and 6.3.

6.5 Summary of findings

The analysis presented in this chapter focused on the overall architecture of the interview (Section 6.2), the types and distribution of dyads and triads per interview phase, the interactional models identified within the stand-by mode of interpreting, their distribution throughout the interview and their discourse and structural features (Sections 6.3 and 6.4). In the ensuing paragraphs, the findings of each section are summarized and discussed below.

In the analysis presented in Section 6.2 above, the features identified as characteristic of distinct interview phases were described and the thematic organization of the interviews presented. In total, four phases were identified per interview based on their thematic focus, aims, sequence types and turn design, and discourse features. The phases identified include an opening phase dealing with formalities (Phase 1), two questioning phases with different foci (Phases 2 and 3), and a short closing phase (Phase 4). Gathering personal information and building rapport were identified as the foci of Phase 2 and eliciting information about the offence and the material evidence available was identified as the focus of Phase 3. The phases identified follow the forensic interview format, correspond roughly with the Rapport, Information and Confirmation of the PRICE interview model used in Scotland. The Planning and Evaluation phases would not form part of the police recordings.

In the overall structural organization (Section 6.2), the police officers' greater interactional power is observable in the choice of the themes addressed, in their control

over the beginning and ending of lines of questioning and phases, and in the participation framework employed, constructing and reflecting the institutionality of the interview (Heydon 2005). Whereas in Phases 1 and 4 police officers oriented predominantly towards fulfilling the procedural requirements and acted primarily as animators of the police institution, in Phases 2 and 3 POs' tactics oriented towards building rapport and eliciting information from the suspects related to the suspected offence, respectively, and they acted as principals, authors and animators of their utterances.

Each phase displayed distinct discourse features and embodied actions. The orientation towards the sub-goals in each phase is displayed multimodally. In Phase 1, primary participants' body orientation and gaze direction focus on the documents as the embodiment of the police institution and the 'containers' of its voice. Turn design features a complex syntactic structure and formal register, both of which pose comprehension difficulties for the detainees and trigger omissions and simplifications in the interpreter's renditions. Interpreter-mediated interaction prevailed in Phase 1 in both interviews, and three features were observed in the interpreter's approach to interpreting: footing shifts, referring to the police officers in the third person; expanded renditions during sequences that posed comprehension challenges to the detainees; and reduced renditions of police officer's turns. Reduced renditions were observed in the interpreter's renditions of turns containing multiple TCUs, and featuring complex syntax and formal register.

In Phase 2, police officers' back-channelling tokens, body orientation, echoing and gaze display their focus on the detainee and contribute to rapport-building efforts, particularly in Interview 1. Interpreting was used minimally and locally, and primary participants oriented to repair dyadically. In Phase 3, the questioning focuses on the suspected offence and the material evidence available. Object manipulation (productions), a faster transition from one topic to another, overlapping talk and constant shifts between dyadic and triadic interaction characterize the interactional dynamics. Phase 4 was markedly shorter than phases 1-3 in both interviews, and is limited to the formal closing of the interviews.

Section 6.4 focused on the distinctive feature of the police interviews with stand-by interpreting, namely the fluctuation between dyadic and triadic interaction. Dyadic interaction in English between DP1 and the police officers prevailed, particularly in Phases 2 (85% in Interview 1 and 82% in Interview 2) and Phase 3 (72% in Interview 1

and 74% in Interview 2). The written-based nature of police officers' turns in Phase 1 and their procedural relevance seem to trigger more interpreter participation. Furthermore, interpreting arrangements in Interview 1 were only discussed towards the end of Phase 1. This may account for a higher degree of interpreter participation, as the stand-by mode of interpreting had not been discussed. In Interview 2, the detainee shows a slightly higher command of English compared to detainee 1, and the interpreting arrangements were discussed at the beginning of Phase 1.

In interviews with standard interpreting, the turn-taking system accommodates clarification sequences or multi-part turn renditions, which can result in occasional and temporarily-limited dyadic interaction between the interpreter and one primary participant, leaving the other primary participant temporarily excluded from interaction. Dyadic interaction in the data set analysed accommodates local interpreting sequences, but it is not excluding for the third participant (the interpreter), because she can understand what the primary participants are saying. The most frequent dyadic sequence types are exolingual dyads between the detainee and the police officer, including question-answer base sequences; post-expansion sequences, such as repair or expansion questions; and back-channelling tokens and next-moves. Although rare, the second and third types of dyads were exchanges between the two police officers, some of which were produced very quietly and incomprehensible, and dyads between the interpreter and the detainee in Spanish, which are not transparent for the police officer but were not frequent in the data (8 overall).

Three other features were observed in relation to dyads. Firstly, primary participants tend to orient towards repairing communication dyadically before resorting to the interpreter. Secondly, a high frequency of back-channelling and receipt tokens contribute to tying the interaction between the police officer and the suspect, particularly in Phase 2. Both verbal and non-verbal tokens are used frequently by the police officers, most frequently *Okay* and nods, either in isolation or combined. Thirdly, and closely related to the second aspect, both police officers and the detainees tend to echo each other. Echoing occurs in first and second position –either the detainee echoes the police officer's question as a confirmation token or stalling technique or the police officer echoes the detainee.

In relation to triadic sequences, unidirectional interpreting prevails in the data. The 'normal format' of mediated interaction with interpreter participation after each primary participant's turn becomes an exception in the interviews, primarily due to the use of

English by the suspects. Four sub-types of unidirectional sequences have been identified based on the unidirectional triadic sequence organization. In particular, the different types are based on the activity occurring between the ‘source’ utterance and the interpreter’s rendition. The four types include Classic Unidirectional model (A); Unidirectional model with one between-firsts action (B); Unidirectional model with several between-firsts actions (C) and Unidirectional model with overlapping actions (D).

The four different types of unidirectional sequences identified reveal different degrees of negotiation of the next speaker. The four different models identified (A, B, C and D) were based on the distance between the base first part, typically uttered by the police officer, and the interpreter’s rendition thereof. The adjacency rule of the turn-taking system in mediated interaction applied only in Classic Unidirectional sequences (A), in which the interpreter’s rendition followed the source utterance or the source utterance and a next-turn allocation device in the same position, such as a gaze shift or a verbal request. Unidirectional models B, C and D present a progressively higher distance between the source utterance and its rendition, including one-part repair initiation moves, two-part repair sequences, dispreferred answers or a combination of several actions. The turn-taking system enacts the high degree of collaboration in initiating interpreted sequences in the stand-by mode.

Moreover, different types of triadic interactional models prevailed in different phases. The least complex models (A and B) prevail in both interviews. Unidirectional sequences in Phase 1 in both interviews feature a lower degree of interactional complexity, as shown by the prevalence of type A sequences. Compared to Interview 1, in Interview 2 Unidirectional A sequences also prevail in Phase 2. More complex unidirectional models (C and D) are used more frequently in Interview 1 (23% and 8%, respectively) than in Interview 2 (9% and 3%, respectively). A higher involvement by DP2 in initiating interpreter-participation seems to translate in faster transitions from dyadic to triadic interaction, as shown in Chapter 7.

As discussed above, the turn-taking features observed in the two interviews differ to a large extent from the ‘normal format’ of mediated interaction discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. Participants’ accommodation to language transparency and interpreting resulted in unidirectional interpreting as the most favoured one. Unidirectional interpreting into Spanish emerged as the predominant interactional configuration in both interviews, with sequences featuring a first-pair part turn in English by the police officer, the interpreter’s

rendition into Spanish and the detainee's answer in English. Both primary participants used English as the language of interaction, with minimal code-switching into Spanish by detainees.

Chapter 7 focuses on the analysis of triadic sequences as marked moves in the police interview with stand-by interpreting. The analysis explores the distribution of responsibility for the action of initiating interpreter participation and describes the collaborative nature of interpreting. Apart from the interactional effects, analysing the distribution of interpreter selection moves enables the analyst to observe participants' deployment of their views on the unfolding of the interview as a communicative event, and their orientation towards handling linguistic features. In addition, the selection and self-selection devices used by participants are described and discussed with regard to their impact upon the interactional dynamics, and the resulting effects of interpreting are analysed as manifesting particular functions of interpreter participation emerging in the stand-by regime in the police interview.

Chapter 7 – The Initiation and Effects of Interpreting Episodes in Police Interviews with Stand-By Interpreting

7.1 Introduction

The structural features and interactional models presented in Chapter 6 provided a detailed description of the organization of talk in police interviews with stand-by interpreting analysed in this study. The analysis also presented the predominant discourse phenomena emerging in particular phases and sequential locations, such as footing shifts, reduced renditions and expanded renditions in the most procedurally-orientated phases, and the use of echoing and back-channelling during the information-gathering ones.

This chapter focuses on interpreter-mediated triadic sequences as marked sequences within the stand-by regime. That is, as emerging occasionally and being completed and closed locally to resume monolingual interaction. Their selective nature provides the analyst with an opportunity to identify when and how interpreting is used across different levels of context, and participants' orientation towards interpreting as a resource to facilitate communication through the use that they make of it. Moreover, the devices that are used to select the interpreter and the cues used by the interpreter herself to initiate interpreting will be analysed, and the observable genesis and effects of those moves will be explored. That is, what interpreted sequences orient to and how they contribute to the sense-making process. These different foci will provide an overview of the use of interpreting within the stand-by regime, and will enable us to discuss the interpreter's participation, the role she plays, and what the performance of her role involves as observed in the two interviews analysed.

As mentioned above, participants' moves in relation to interpreting are seen in this study as potential manifestations of participants' assumptions on what each participant is using language for (Mason 2006), including the interpreter. As the analysis presented in Chapter 6 suggests, the extent to which the detainees' linguistic competencies are adequate or not to interact in the police interview is assessed by all participants on a turn by turn basis as the interaction unfolds, but it seems to be dependent on factors that go beyond the immediate local context. The extent of the interpreter's contributions and what she uses language for are thus also negotiated by the three parties and highly

dependable not only on the detainees' competencies at different points during the interaction, but also on her own and primary participants' assessment of when and what interpreting is used for.

The structural features presented in Section 6.2 and the interactional models outlined in Section 6.4 will be referred to as appropriate over the course of the analysis in this chapter. The analysis of interactional models presented in Chapter 6 above showed four main interactional configurations: monolingual dyadic interaction between the primary participants, dyadic interaction between the interpreter and one of the participants, bidirectional triadic interaction and unidirectional triadic interaction. Unidirectional triadic interaction prevailed among interpreter-mediated interactions, and four models were proposed to describe the different sequential organization types emerging depending on the actions breaking the contiguity of the first-pair base and its renditions. Unidirectional models A (Classic Unidirectional) and B (Unidirectional with one between-firsts action) were identified as featuring the most fluid transition into interpreting and the most frequent sequence types. Unidirectional models C (Unidirectional with several between-firsts actions) and D (Unidirectional with overlapping actions) are characterized by a higher degree of sequential and participation complexity.

As mentioned above, the initiation of an interpreting sequence is marked in so far as interpreting is not the interactional regime used by default. This chapter looks at various aspects related to triadic sequences, which, when combined, will allow us to present a detailed picture of the use of interpreting in the stand-by regime. Section 7.2 explores the initiation of interpreter-mediated sequences within the stand-by regime from the point of view of the initiator, that is of who selects the interpreter and initiates the transition from dyadic monolingual interaction to triadic interaction. Section 7.3 focuses on the devices used by primary participants to select the interpreter as the next speaker, that is how they initiate interpreter participation, and Section 7.4 explores the contextualization cues surrounding the initiation of interpreting by the interpreter herself, that is why she initiates interpreting sequences. Following the analysis of the initiator, selection devices and the cues surrounding interpreter self-selection, Section 7.5 explores the genesis of interpreting based on observable factors underlying interpreted sequences in the data set, and analyses them in relation to the function of interpreter participation, its effects in the local context in which they emerge, and the cumulative patterns identified in the broader context of the police interview which they co-construct. Together with the analysis

presented in Chapter 6, the findings of each section will enable us to get a fairer picture of what interpreting involves in the stand-by regime regarding participation, its function and how it contributes to co-constructing meaning in the police interviews.

One aspect common to all phases and interactional formats discussed in Chapter 6 was a degree of collaboration among the three parties in initiating interpreter participation: sometimes the interpreter self-selects and sometimes she is selected by another participant or by more than one primary participant to take the next turn, and at times self-selection and other-selection occur simultaneously. Section 7.2 below describes the distribution of interpreter-selection moves among participants for the task of initiating a triadic sequence.

7.2 Initiation of triadic sequences in police interviews with stand-by interpreting

As discussed in Chapter 3, the turn-taking system in police interviews as institutionally-embedded interaction normally follows a pre-allocated system between the primary participants. The base turn-taking system would consist of a sequence initiation move by the police officer through a first-pair part followed by a second-pair part produced by the detainee, with expansion, repair and other types of sequences surrounding the base type. The analysis presented in Chapter 6 illustrated that the base turn-taking system in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting accommodates dyadic repair and expansion sequences and, as well as triadic sequences in which the interpreter participates.

Triadic sequences are selective and emerge in the framework of dyadic exolingual communication. As shown in the ensuing analysis, both the interpreter as the participant acknowledged as a bilingual expert and the two other participants initiate interpreter participation in the police interviews analysed. In Section 7.2.1, the distribution of other-selection and self-selection is presented in order to explore the participants' interactional responsibilities and involvement in handling communication and interpreting-related matters as displayed through their interpreter-selection moves.

7.2.1 Frequency of interpreter selection per type of participant

The overall frequency of interpreter selection per interview and participant is illustrated in the graphs below. Both police officers are treated as one party for the purposes of the distribution of interactional power in selecting the interpreter:

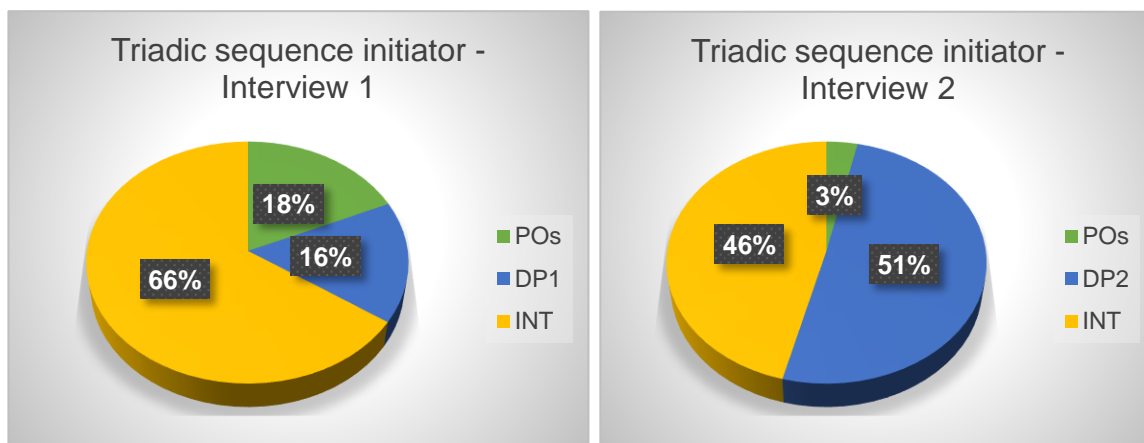


Figure 17 Distribution of triadic sequence initiation per interview

As illustrated in the graphs in Figure 15 above, the three parties in interaction initiated interpreter participation, but differences between the participants, the interviews and interview phases were observed. In Interview 1 primary participants shared the initiation of the remaining sequences, with DP1 initiating 16% of triadic sequences and POs 18%. The initials PO have been used to include triadic sequences initiated by either PO per interview, PO1 initiated every PO-initiated sequence in Interview 1 and 1 of the 3 PO-initiated sequences in Interview 2. The interpreter was the main initiator of triadic sequences in Interview 1 (66%) and the detainee was the least active participant in initiating interpreter participation in Interview 1.

In Interview 2, DP2 was the main initiator of triadic sequences (51%), followed closely by the interpreter (46%). POs only initiated 3 triadic sequences in Interview 2 (3%). PO2 initiated interpreter participation twice. The interpreter and DP2 shared the task almost evenly in Interview 2 (47% and 51%, respectively).

Differences in the distribution of interpreter selection may be due to individual preferences, command of English, attitudes towards language use and communication, as well as to the setting up of the interpreting regime. As discussed in Chapter 6, the interpreting regime was discussed at different stages in Interview 1 and Interview 2, an aspect that may have affected the distribution of interpreter selection moves. Table 7

below shows the number of interpreter-selection occurrences by participant, Phase and interview:

Initiator	Interview 1 (N=142)			Interview 2 (N=87)		
	POs	DP1	INT	POs	DP2	INT
Phase 1	8 (40%)	4 (20%)	8 (40%)	2 (14%)	5 (36%)	7 (50%)
Phase 2	2 (8%)	6 (25%)	16 (67%)	0	6 (38%)	10 (63%)
Phase 3	15 (16%)	11 (11%)	67 (73%)	1 (2%)	33 (58%)	23 (40%)
Phase 4	1 (20%)	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	0	0	0
TOTAL	26 (18%)	23 (16%)	93 (66%)	3 (3%)	44 (51%)	40 (46%)

Table 7 Interpreter-selection: distribution of initiator roles per interview and phase.

Apart from the differences between the interviews and participants, Table 7 reflects differences in interpreter-selection moves per interview phase. PO1 was particularly active in selecting the interpreter during the opening of the interview, a task that he shared evenly with the interpreter (40%/40% of Phase 1, respectively). This happened before the interpreting regime was discussed. PO1 was also more active in initiating interpreter participation in Phases 3 (16%) and 4 (20%) than in Phase 2 (8%), which focused on matters of a personal nature: it features less complex language than Phase 1, but can also be seen as interpersonally more crucial than the opening and questioning phases. Apart from the perception of communicative success, engaging in direct communication with the detainee might have been favoured by the police officer in Phase 2 in order to build rapport through direct interaction. In Phases 2 and 3 of Interview 1, the interpreter was the main initiator (self-selection), with 67% and 73% initiation moves, respectively. Detainee 1 was more active in initiating participation in Phase 2 (25%), but still overall he was less active in selecting the interpreter in Interview 1 than the interpreter herself and PO1.

In Interview 2, the interpreter was also the main initiator in Phases 1 (50%) and 2 (63%), a task that she shared primarily with the detainee. In Phase 3 the detainee initiated 58% of sequences and the interpreter 40%. Whereas in Interview 1 PO1's initiation moves were described above as probably indexing the relevance of the sub-goals of Phases 1 and 3, DP2's open requests for assistance prevail in Phase 3, during which DP2 was questioned about the productions, and his and his friend's involvement in the misuse of controlled drugs.

Differences between the interviewers are evident. PO1 showed a more proactive attitude than PO2 towards managing turns and deciding when interpreting was needed. The different attitudes observed between PO1 and PO2 and DP1 and DP2, and by the interpreter herself, affect the distribution of responsibility for initiating interpreter participation. Furthermore, as noted earlier in the chapter, the more proactive attitude by DP2 may be, at least in part, the result of the earlier addressing of the language regime and the interpreter's role, and the more nuanced instructions given by the interpreter (see Excerpt 32 above).

As observed in the graphs and the analysis presented above, the most salient findings in relation to the initiator of triadic sequences is that participants shared the responsibility for initiating a marked interactional action: interpreter participation. Compared to standard interpreting models, in which interpreting is carried out primarily routinely, the selective use of interpreting seems to result in higher degree of collaboration in handling the initiation – and use - of interpreting. This coincides with the findings of studies with natural interpreting and hybrid forms of interpreting reviewed in Chapter 4 (Anderson 2012; Meyer 2012; Veronesi 2009). In the interviews analysed here, interpreter other-selection and interpreter self-selection display participants' attention to the development of the interview as a communicative event from their different activity roles in the interview. Whereas police officer 1 and the interpreter are particularly active in initiating interpreter participation in Interview 1, the interpreter shares that responsibility almost evenly with the detainee in Interview 2. The section below describes and discusses the devices used by primary participants to select the interpreter.

7.3 Interpreter-selection devices

As discussed in Chapter 1, the interpreter typically takes the next turn after a primary participant's turn to provide a rendition, and interpreter-mediated interaction also accommodates interruptions, for instance initiated by the interpreter to request the floor or to ask for clarification; overlapping talk; and side sequences. They do so through verbal and non-verbal moves.

In the two interviews analysed, primary participants also initiated interpreter participation through different devices. Gaze shifts towards the interpreter played a crucial role in selecting her so that she switched from the 'stand-by' to the 'on' mode. This emerged as

a particularly distinct feature in the data, where dyadic interaction was the standard regime. While engaged in dyadic exolingual interaction, primary participants rarely looked at the interpreter. Their gaze shifted from each other to the desk and to the items referred to, which in turn were either on the floor between the POs or on the desk. Therefore, as we shall discuss below, shifting their gaze towards the interpreter emerges as a marked move and a signalling and regulatory device, which was sometimes used in isolation and sometimes combined with other verbal or non-verbal actions.

7.3.1 Selecting the interpreter as the next speaker: other-selection devices

– Gaze shifts (and gestures)

The analysis of interaction with transparent language constellations and the stand-by mode of interpreting reveals that primary participants typically maintain bodily orientation towards each other and eye-contact during dyadic sequences, interrupt eye-contact to initiate interpreter participation and/or to listen to the interpreter and resume it to orient back to dyadic monolingual interaction. Gaze shifts are the main interpreter-selection and regulatory device used by the primary participants in the interviews, either in isolation or combined with other verbal or non-verbal resources. Gaze shifts seemed to be effective next-speaker selection devices and disrupted the interactional flow to a lesser extent than other actions. Depending on the initiator, gaze shifts occupied different sequential positions and seemed to respond to different factors. When POs initiated interpreter participation, typically through gaze, three different sequential positions emerged: at the end of their turn, following an observable interactional trouble, or delayed.

PO1 sometimes used gaze shifts and other non-verbal actions, such as opening his palm up in the direction of the interpreter, pointing at her or accompanying the gaze shift with a nod. When placed at the end of a first-pair part by a PO, primarily by PO1, gaze shifts typically indexed the police officer's will or expectation of having the previous turn interpreted. In Excerpt 45 below, PO1 selects the interpreter at the end of his turn through a gaze shift. The sequence belongs to Phase 1 and precedes the delivery of the caution. The sequence features a Classic unidirectional sequence model (A) with a same-turn initiation device, and the transition from the Fbase to the Fbase¹ is fluid:

Excerpt 45 Same-turn interpreter-selection through gaze shift by PO1. Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:04:22-00:05:05].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
73.	((arranging documents (3))) I'm now ((/dp1, /docs)) going to ask you questions about an offence ((/dp1)) under Section 4(3) (b) under the Misuse of Drugs Act 1971. ((/docs)) That offence ((/dp1)) is being concerned in the supply of a controlled drug, namely cannabis. ((/int))		
74.	<p>[[(/docs))</p> <p>[[(/int, /dp1))</p> <p>[[(/docs))</p> <p>[[(/dp1))</p> <p>[[(/docs))</p> <p>[[(/int, /dp1))</p> <p>[[(/docs))</p> <p>[[(/dp1))</p>	<p>[[(/int))</p> <p>[Sí.</p> <p>[[(/nods))</p> <p>[[(/int))</p> <p>[Yes.</p> <p>[[(/nods))</p>	<p>Lo que te</p> <p>[va a hacer es ahora unas preguntas</p> <p>[que surgen de una contravención a la ley en materia de drogas y el artículo [43b de la ley del año [1971,</p> <p>[eh, que es de la provisión de drogas, en este caso una droga controlada</p> <p>[que es el cannabis.</p> <p><i>What he is now</i></p> <p><i>[going to ask are some questions arising from a contravention of the law on drugs and Section [43b of the [1971 Act,</i></p> <p><i>[which is about the supply of drugs, in this case a controlled drug,</i></p> <p><i>[namely cannabis.</i></p>

The excerpt above resembles a standard interpreting model, in which the distance between the original and the interpreter's rendition is minimal. When the first-pair part position includes an overlapping gaze shift by the detainee, the interactional effect is similar (the interpreter is selected as the next speaker). The difference seems to lie in the factors triggering those moves. As highlighted in relation to the distribution of interpreter-initiation moves, PO1 was particularly active in selecting the interpreter, thereby signalling that he wishes or expects her to take the next turn. This behaviour by PO1 occurred predominantly in Phase 1, in which unidirectional interpreting was favoured over dyadic interaction, and the interpreting regime had not yet been discussed.

Interpreter-selection gaze shifts in isolation or combined with other non-verbal activity were sometimes placed after what participants oriented to as repairables, and typically triggered an interpreter's rendition. An example is shown in Excerpt 46 below, corresponding to the questioning phase (Phase 3). In the preceding sequences, DP1 had been asked about one of the mobile phones seized in his flat and confirmed that it was his. In the sequences presented below, PO1 warned the detainee about the possibility of

having the phone analysed to find out whether any messages will reveal DP1's involvement in the supply of drugs:

Excerpt 46 post-repairable interpreter selection. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:54:14-00:54:51].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
1164.	If we send this phone ↑ (.) to be examined ↑ , (1) we can find all the text messages [that's on it [and that have been deleted [on it. ((points/bag)) Will any of those text messages (.) ((points/bag)) say or indicate to us that you've been dealing drugs?	[[((nods)) [[((nods)) [[((nods))	
1165 (1.2)		((/desk, nods, /po1)) °Okay°.	
1166. (0.5)	((/int, palm/int, /dp1))		
1167.		((/int))	
1168.			Ellos pueden mandar a analizar los mensajes de texto, aun los que han sido: borrados. Cualquiera de esos mensajes puede decir si estabas, eh:, tratando con- vendiendo drogas o no↑ <i>They can send the text messages to be analysed, even the ones that have been deleted. Any of those text messages can tell whether you were e:rm, dealing, selling drugs or not ↑</i>
1169. (1.8)		((/po1)) °Ah, okay°.	
1170.		[[((/int))	¿Pueden [decir eso? ¿Pueden revelar eso? <i>Can [they say that? Can they show that?</i>
1171.		((...po1, /po1)) If you want↑. ((rocks backwards and forwards once))	

In Unit 1165, DP2 produces the dispreferred answer 'Okay' to a polar question, followed by a pause. PO1 treats the dispreferred answer as signalling a comprehension trouble and selects the interpreter through a gaze shift and a hand gesture in Unit 1166. PO1 immediately shifts his gaze back to DP1, who in turn reacts to PO1's interpreter-selection device by shifting his gaze towards the interpreter. Following the interpreter's rendition, DP1 shifts his gaze back towards PO1 and selects him as the next speaker. Whether a comprehension trouble had occurred or not is not known until DP1 utters a news mark 'Ah' followed by 'OK' in Unit 1169. DP1's defensive answer in Unit 1171 appears to signal his interpretation of the police officer's warning that the mobile phones might be

sent for testing as a face-threatening move. The interesting point in relation to the stand-by mode of interpreting is that, even though it has an open participation framework in so far as any participant can initiate interpreter participation, the lead police officer and the interpreter are the ones who do primarily so in Interview 1. This results in interactional actions that are based primarily on others' evaluations of the detainee's ability to understand or express himself. Whereas moves like the one above do seem to promote the detainee's participation through the initiation of interpreter participation and the resulting repair, a dispreferred answer may not be indicative of miscomprehension resulting from the use of English. As shown by Berk-Seligson (1990/2002), interpreters may draw attention to themselves by clarifying or repairing apparently irrelevant turns from primary participants due to two main motives: because they orient towards fulfilling the objectives of the communicative encounter, but also at times to protect their own face. Their face could be threatened if they uttered something that sounds meaningless or irrelevant. As discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to transparent language constellations, in the stand-by regime, the selective use of interpreting makes evaluations of miscommunication by others a frequent device that is part of the collaborative negotiation of participation and the co-construction of meaning.

Gaze aversion was also used at times as an opportunity to request clarification, a behaviour also observed by Nakane in relation to silent pauses (2014). In Excerpt 47 below, from Phase 3, the detainee uses a change in PO2's body orientation to take the floor and request the interpreter for clarification. An example of an aside initiated by DP2 is shown below:

Excerpt 47 Gaze-aversion as an opportunity to request clarification. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:27:38-00:28:05].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINEED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
445.	°Ok°. This, this has been tested and this has tested [positive for cannabis (0.5), [okay? °Okay°. This, this has been tested and this has tested [positive for cannabis (0.5), [okay?	[[leans forwards and raises his eyebrows, /int)) [[leans forwards and raises his eyebrows, /int))	[Le [hicieron un test y dio positivo para cannabis. [They [made a test on (it/him) and came out positive for cannabis.
446.		((/po2)) ((nodding: Yeah, I smoke it too)) ((/int, /po2))	
447.	Yeah, okay. ((places bag away, /floor))		
448.→	{PO1} ((/int, /dp2)) {PO1} ((/int, /dp2))	((/int)) Pero, ((points/bag)): ¿le hicieron el test [a eso o a él? ((points/door))? ((/int)) But, ((points/bag)): the test was [on that or on him? ((points/door))?	
449.			A él. On him.
450.	{PO2 and PO1} ((/int))		
451.			The test was on this or on Dani? He wants to know that.
452.		((/po2))	
453.	{PO2} On this.		
454.		[[smiles, points/bag)) [[smiles, points/bag))	[En eso. [On that.

In Unit 447, PO2 turns his body and gaze towards the floor. In Unit 448, the detainee shifts his gaze towards the interpreter and asks a clarification question in Spanish. The use of the third-person indirect object pronoun ‘le’ by the interpreter in Unit 445 is ambiguous: it can refer to either a person or an object, in this case to the cannabis or to DP1. The interpreter answers as the principal and her answer reveals that she had misunderstood PO2’s utterance in 445. Embodied interaction in this sequence is particularly revealing. While PO2 is handling items on the floor, PO1 directs his gaze to the interpreter and the detainee, who are conversing in Spanish. Following the interpreter’s answer in Spanish, both police officers look at the interpreter. The interpreter provides a rendition of the detainee’s question and seems to realise that she was acting as a principal and excluding the police officers: she renders the detainee’s question, which she had already and erroneously answered as a principal, and adds a meta-comment to clarify who the principal of the question is (‘He wants to know that’). PO2’s answer confirms that the cannabis had been tested through a deictic (on ‘this’), and the interpreter renders the answer in Spanish, which corrects the answer provided by her in the side sequence.

Looking back at the sequence, the series of clarification sequences could explain DP2's answer in Unit 446. 'I smoke it too' does not seem to follow from the fact that the cannabis had been tested, but it is accepted as a plausible answer. The change in body orientation by the police officer gives the opportunity for the suspect to request clarification. Had the suspect not requested clarification, it is very likely that neither his doubts nor the interpreter's misinterpretation would have been visible. Following his move, his doubts became known for all participants, but the interpreter's misinterpretation was only visible for the suspect, for whom it was transparent. The interpreter saved face with regard to the police officers, as observed in Lee (2013). The suspects' orientation toward the interpreter as a repairer while the police officer averted gaze is also worth noting. The interpreter might be seen by the detainee as 'the repairer' of interactional trouble.

As mentioned earlier, both the devices used to select the interpreter and the frequency of resorting to the interpreter could be related to the setting up of the interpreting regime presented in chapter 7.1.3. When considered in isolation, DP2-initiated triadic sequences in Interview 2 amounted to 44 overall, whereas DP1-initiated triadic sequences in Interview 1 amounted to 23 overall. As stated above, this may be due to individual differences, but it also may be the case that DP2 reacted to the instruction included by the interpreter when the interpreting regime was discussed:

Cualquier cosa que no te quede claro y querás que te lo vuelvan a repetir o me mirás a mí directamente y te lo interpreto, °okay°?

Anything that is not clear and you want them to repeat to you or you look at me directly and I'll interpret it for you, °okay°?

Every interpreter-selection move by DP2 includes a gaze shift. Although it is only plausible that this pattern shows take-up of the instruction given by the interpreter rather than being an individual preference, the effect of detainee-initiated turns and of the use of gaze are observable. Gaze functions as an effective turn-allocation device and Interview 2 features less complex transitions into triadic interaction, as shown by a prevalence of unidirectional sequences types A (classic unidirectional) and B (unidirectional with one between-firsts action).

The last example presented in this section reveals the crucial role played by gestures in guiding the inferential process, which implicitly contribute to initiating interpreter

participation. In Excerpt 48, the interpreter renders verbally a non-verbal cue representing a lexical gap in the detainee's turn. PO2 is explaining the position of DP1 when the police officers entered the house earlier on that day:

Excerpt 48 Verbal rendition of a non-verbal cue. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:19:28-00:19:40].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
299.	Okay. ((/bat)) What was he doing with it? ((/dp2, still holding the bat on his left hand))		
(1)			
300.		He:: I think he thought the same than me. So, he was ((/int)) li:ke ((/po2, pointing the door, pointing/the wall, then, /int: the:: the::))	
301.			¿La pared? <i>The wall?</i>
302.		((/po2)) La [pared. ((/po2)) <i>The [wall</i>	[The wall. <i>[The wall.</i>
303.		((/po2)) eh: fo:r let them know (.) like (.)	
304.	Hm.		
305.	.	He, he's protected with something.	
306.	((/nods)) Okay.		

In Unit 301 in Excerpt 48, following DP2's gaze shift and the hesitant wording (like..the...the), the interpreter checks with the detainee whether the word he is searching for is *pared* (wall) and subsequently renders the translation in English, overlapping with the detainee's confirmation. The video-recording enables us to see the prominence of non-verbal cues in guiding the interpreter in her monitoring role, and also in illustrating the collaborative nature of turn construction and sense making.

Two aspects are worth highlighting in the case of the interviews analysed in this study. Firstly, the analysis shows that vital information would be missed if the video-recordings were not available. Furthermore, in the case of the stand-by mode, non-verbal moves seem to emerge in the context of (verbal) production deficits on the part of detainees and facilitate the inferential process whereby the other participants can take actions. Moreover, in the example above, the interpreter's actions feature first a confirmation-seeking question, and, following the confirmation by DP1 that that was the lexical item he was trying to recall, the rendering into English of that word.

– *Code-switching and verbal requests*

Apart from the prevailing use of gaze, other interpreter selection devices emerging in the data are code-switching into Spanish and verbal repair-initiation moves addressed to the interpreter. Both types of selection devices are typically accompanied by gaze shifts in the direction of the interpreter. Detainees code-switch into Spanish to request the translation of a lexical item or clause (displaying production difficulties), or to ask for clarification (displaying comprehension problems). Both detainees resort to code-switching or addressing a question to the interpreter 6 times throughout the interview (DP1 6 out of 23 interpreter-selection moves and DP2 6 out of 44 interpreter-selection moves). The use of Spanish by DP2 was minimal and significantly less than English by DP1, although higher than by DP2.

In Excerpt 49 below, DP2 is being asked about DP1, particularly whether DP1 normally shares drugs with other friends. While explaining how they normally go about sharing drugs, DP2 identifies a lexical deficit in English (owner/tenant), shifts his gaze towards the interpreter, switches to Spanish and shifts his gaze back to the desk (Unit 597):

Excerpt 49 Gaze-shift and code-switch by DP2. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:37:14-00:37:57].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
592.	[Does he share [with everybody else?	[((/int))	[°Com-°
593.	((/int, nods))		
594.	[((/dp2)) [((/dp2))	[((/po2)) [((/po2))	¿Comparte eso? (.) ¿Hace que [los otros también- Does he share that? (.) Does he [also make others-
595.		E::hrm, sometimes, because sometimes we, sometimes go to other friends' house and they give some to us a:nd something like that, yeah. (.) We was speaking in there li:ke smoking a:nd-	
596.	Uh uhm.		
597.		this a:nd we li:ke, we are friends like who is in the house, who i:s, ((/int)) el que es el dueño de la casa ((/desk)) (the one who is the owner of the house) ((/desk))	
598.	((/int))		
599.			The owner of the house.
600.	((nods, /dp2))		
601.		((/po2)) E::h is who:: (.) has to buy that (.) for us.	

In Unit 599, the interpreter shows take-up of the other-selection moves (gaze shift and code-switch) produced by DP2 in Unit 597, and provides the English rendition of DP2's

insertion in Spanish. The interpreter's rendition is transparent for the police officer, as signalled through a nod in Unit 600, and DP2 resumes the narrative in English in Unit 601. As in the study by Merlino and Traverso (2009), this sequence shows a clear example of collaboration in constructing meaning, with the contribution of the interpreter targeting a particular TCU.

The code-switching episode presented above resembles the passage that Müller (1989, p.721) presents as an example of local, discontinued translation sequences 'that have strong implications within, and no implications beyond their production'. Müller identifies such instances as typical of 'natural translation', that is translation performed by a participant in a multilingual encounter who is not acting as an appointed interpreter, but acting as a primary participant who carries out interpreting tasks. In our data, the detainee is assisted by an appointed interpreter while looking for the '*mot juste*' (Müller 1989, p.721). According to Müller (1989, p.722), calls for translation of this kind display inferior competence in the language and trigger other-repair. That factor applies to our data, and they can also be seen as displays of a co-operative attitude towards the interview by the detainee.

The differences presented in Section 7.2.1 between the distribution of interpreter-selection turns in Interview 1 and Interview 2 deserve further attention. Certain triadic sequence formats prevail depending on the distribution of initiation moves among participants. The fact that the interpreter is the main initiator in Interview 1 correlates with a higher number of triadic sequences initiated after a 'troublesome' turn, and a higher number of more complex sequences from the point of view of their design (sequence types C and D). In Interview 2, DP2 took the lead in selecting the interpreter more frequently, and this in turn correlated with a higher prevalence of Unidirectional sequences A and B and fewer 'dispreferred' second turns or repair insertions. These findings seem to suggest that other-initiation, when possible (depending on the awareness and willingness of primary participants), can lead to a smoother transition into interpreter-mediated sequences than self-selection.

– *Silent pauses preceding interpreter-selection (other-selection)*

This section explores the function of silence in relation to the initiation of interpreter-participation by other participants. Silence is a constituent part of conversation and can be used by police officers as an information-eliciting strategy, by detainees to resist authority, and by all participants as an evaluative move or to indicate uncertainty, lack of

attention, or thinking time. As discussed in Chapter 3.2, silent pauses are ambiguous in nature, but are treated in particular ways by both primary participants and the interpreter when the police interview is mediated by an interpreter, in particular as opportunities to carry out repair. Silent pauses have been identified as units that are not translatable, but which trigger repair-initiation by any participant (Nakane 2011, 2014). Nakane (2014, p.167) highlights that the uniqueness of silence in interpreter-mediated interaction is that the two other participants can react to silent pauses and infer particular meanings from them, because silence is not language-bound. In this chapter, silent pauses are explored in the context of triadic sequences and as contextual factors that appear to surround interpreter selection moves.

The stand-by mode of interpreting in the two interviews analysed in this thesis affects the possible sequential locations of silent pauses for the purpose of analysis. In the 'standard' of triadic interaction, as was the case in Nakane's study (2014), inter-turn pauses could be placed either after the interpreter's rendition or after a primary participant's rendition (see Section 3.3.4). As shown in the previous sections, in the stand-by mode of interpreting, the interpreter's renditions are only present in the sequential construction of triadic sequences. Language transparency means that a silent pause after a police officer's turn can potentially be viewed as either the interviewee's silence or as the interpreter's silence.

As suggested by Nakane, and following CA-based conventions (Sacks et al. 1984; Jefferson 1989), pauses of one second or above have been considered in this study as marked and potential entry/turn-allocation points. The main pattern emerging in relation to silence within the stand-by mode of interpreting is its potential to trigger interpreter participation. All three participants react to silent pauses, although the interpreter to a greater extent. As mentioned above, a silent pause after the police officer's question can be understood as either the suspect's silence or the interpreter's silence. Only the local context indicates the projected next participant. In some cases, the police officer produces a turn and selects the interpreter as the next participant after a silent pause, apparently treating the pause as indicative of a breakdown in communication. Excerpts 50 and 51 below show PO1 selecting the interpreter to take the floor following a silent pause:

Excerpt 50 Interpreter selection following a silent pause. Interview 1. Phase 1 [00:05:30-00:05:45].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
87.	((nods, /docs)) Okay. Ehm, the caution which I read to you. Ehm, what ((/dp1)) do you understand by that? (1) ((/int))		
88.	[[(/dp1)) [[(/dp1))	[[(/int, /po1, /desk)) [[(/int, /po1, /desk))	¿Qué [es lo que entendés [de lo que te leyó hasta ahora? (.) Te, te leyó una advertencia en un momento. ¿Qué es lo que entendés de lo que te acaba de decir? <i>What</i> <i>[do you understand</i> <i>[of what he has read to you so far? (.) He read a warning a moment ago. What do you understand of what he has just said?</i>

The police officer's gaze shift in Unit 87 can be seen as either following a delayed response from the detainee or following a delayed entry by the interpreter. A third possibility can be considered in this context: the interpreter may have requested the floor through gaze or a gesture that is not captured in the video-recording. The police officer's gaze shift could thus be a response thereto. Either way, the silent pause does seem to prompt a gaze shift on the part of PO1 and a subsequent turn-uptake by the interpreter.

In Excerpt 51, a longer pause does seem to indicate the police officer's treatment of the silent pause as the suspect's silence, and as indicative of comprehension problems. DP1 is being asked when he bought the drugs. After a three-second pause, the police officer shifts gaze towards the interpreter and back to DP1:

Excerpt 51 Interpreter selection following a silent pause. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:32:48-00:32:54].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
757.	Five-hundred for all of them. When ((/bag)) did you ((/dp1)) buy them? ((3)) ((/int, /dp1))	[[(/away))	
758.		[Two (.) weeks, I think. <i>[Two (.) weeks, I think.</i>	¿Cuándo [los compraste? <i>When did you</i> <i>[buy them?</i>

Compared to Excerpt 50 above, the sequence in Excerpt 51 occurred in Phase 3, in which dyadic interaction was more clearly the standard format. In Excerpt 50, the sequence occurred in Phase 1 and was related to the caution. This difference makes it more likely that the silent pause in Excerpt 50 is both the suspect's and the interpreter's silence, while in Excerpt 51 it seems more clearly the suspect's silence, also based on his gaze direction: DP1 looks away at an indefinite point, as if he was processing the information. Another

relevant move in Unit 757 relates to the two quick gaze shifts in Unit 757. The PO selects the interpreter and immediately shifts his gaze back towards the detainee, thus re-establishing the postural orientation focused on the detainee. PO1 seems to be cautious of interrupting eye-contact with the detainee in the framework of a question that is evidentiary very relevant and DP1 does not look at the interpreter, as he typically does when she takes the floor.

In Excerpt 52, the ambiguity of whose silence it is observed in a sequence featuring an inter-turn silent pause and a post interpreter-selection move by DP2 after the police officer's utterance. DP2 selects the interpreter after a 1.5 second silent pause. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, DP2 is more active in taking the initiative to select the interpreter than DP1. In the example below, the detainee selects the interpreter through a gaze shift and by raising his finger in the direction of the interpreter:

Excerpt 52 Interpreter selection by DP2 following a silent pause. Interview 2. Phase 1 [00:05:39-00:05:53].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
67.	((/doc)) Okay↓. (1) Okay. (.) You, you have been, you have been asked questions and you have been cautioned, ((/dp2)) okay? The caution is that you are not obliged to answer any questions, but anything you do say will be noted down and may be used in evidence, okay? Do you undersTAND what that caution means?		
(1.5)			
68.		((/int, finger up/int))	
69.	<p>(((/docs))</p> <p>(((/dp2))</p> <p>(((/docs))</p> <p>(((/dp2))</p>	<p>[Yeah.</p> <p>(((nods))</p> <p>[Yeah.</p> <p>(((nods))</p>	<p>Te han leído tus derechos, ['kay? (.) Eh, te van a hacer preguntas, no tenés la obligación de responderlas, [pero todo lo que respondas pues [puede ser escrito y tomado como evidencia en tu [contra↓.</p> <p>¿Entiendes cuáles son tus derechos?</p> <p><i>They have read your rights to you, ['kay? (.) Eh, they are going to ask you questions, you are not obliged to answer, [but anything you answer, well, [can be written down and taken as evidence [against you. Do you understand what your rights are?</i></p>

The suspect takes up the responsibility for reacting to the silent pause and selects the interpreter, who renders the police officer's turn in Spanish. Considering that the sequence occurs in Phase 1, the detainee could be treating the silence as the interpreter's silence or just reacting to his own awareness of having comprehension problems.

Excerpt 53 below illustrates the combination of silent pauses and repair initiation moves that also result in interpreter participation. They belong to Interview 1. The silent pause after Unit 1053 and the two repair-initiation moves by DP1 in 1054 and 1056 occur in the context of an incriminating and face-threatening question-answer sequence, the moment in which the police officer asks the detainee directly whether he deals drugs after having placed the different items seized on the desk one by one:

Excerpt 53 Interpreter selection following a combination of cues. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:48:04-00:48:45].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
1053.	{PO1} ((po1 places items on the desk one by one for 34 seconds, /dp1)) Are you dealing drugs?	((crosses his arms after 10 seconds))	
(2)			
1054.		Uhm? ((chin up/po1))	
1055.	Do you deal drugs?		
(0.5)			
1056.		((/int))	
1057.			¿Vendes drogas? Do you sell drugs?

The sequence shown in Excerpt 53 above features a Unidirectional Sequence C, with several between-firsts actions. The local conditions makes the likeliness of comprehension problems low. PO1 had just displayed of all the items seized in Unit 1053, and the sequential position of the sequence (after PO1 has been questioned about most of the items seized). DP1 orients to initiating repair dyadically in the first place (Unit 1054) following a two-second pause. The police officer repeats the question changing the tense from the Present Continuous to the Present Simple, and DP1 shifts his gaze towards the interpreter. The two-second pause after Unit 1053, the repair initiation move in Unit 1054, the repair in Unit 1055, the 0.5-second inter-turn silent pause and the interpreter's rendition delay the production of an answer by DP1. Similar pauses to those presented in Excerpt 53 are observed in the subsequent sequences of the interview, all of which focused on the detainee' guilt or innocence.

As observed earlier in the chapter, primary participants display a preference for dyadic repair. In this case, the risk and seriousness of the question seems to be the factor that makes interpreting relevant, although miscomprehension cannot be disregarded. The

silent pauses could be seen as processing time during which the detainee is assessing whether he had understood correctly, or as a strategy to gain time and evade, at least momentarily, a face-threatening and high-risk question. In Nakane's study (2014), at times the police officer and at times the interpreter displayed their negative evaluation of the suspect's answer through silent pauses. In the interviews analysed in this thesis, dispreferred answers are at times more overtly dispreferred, in the sense that they are typically indicative of comprehension problems. When the suspect produces a dispreferred answer in English, the interactional ambiguity emerging relates to the fact that repair can be initiated by three potential others: the interpreter and either of the police officers. The example in Excerpt 54 below illustrates the degree of ambiguity observable in the silent pause and the negotiation of the next speaker:

Excerpt 54 Interpreter selection following a combination of cues. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:54:14-00:54:43].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
1164.	If we send this phone↑ (.) to be examined↑, (1) we can find all the text messages [that's on it [and that have been deleted [on it. ((points/bag)) Will any of those text messages (.) ((points/bag)) say or indicate to us that you've been dealing drugs?	[[((nods)) [[((nods)) [[((nods))	
1165.		((/desk, nods, /po1)) °Okay°.	
(1.2)			
1166.	((/int, palm/int, /dp1))		
(0.5)			
1167.		((/int))	
1168.			Ellos pueden mandar a analizar los mensajes de texto, aun los que han sido: borrados. Cualquiera de esos mensajes puede decir si estabas, eh:, tratando con- vendiendo drogas o no↑ <i>They can send the text messages to be analysed, even the ones that have been deleted. Any of those text messages can tell whether you were e:rm, dealing, selling drugs or not ↑</i>

In the example shown above, silent pauses occur together with repair initiation moves, although produced by different participants, and finally trigger her participation. When the detainee does not or cannot take the lead in handling miscommunication because he is not aware, the distance between the first-pair part and its rendition depends on which of the other participants addresses miscommunication: the police officer or the interpreter.

The different cases presented above show that silent pauses can have the power to trigger interpreter participation, but also index a highly ambiguous participation framework, in particular more ambiguous than in interpreted interviews with a standard turn-taking system. Silent pauses in the data set are typically placed between the first-pair part and the interpreter's rendition, and the interpreter-selection move occurring after a silent pause may be indicative of the ambiguity as to who is expected to take the next turn.

In some cases, silence can trigger what could be seen as 'superfluous' interpreter participation, as it may not be indicative of miscomprehension. Silence and other ambiguous triggers of interpreter participation presented in this chapter can therefore have an impact upon participants' perceptions of each other. In particular, interpreter's renditions that are perceived as superfluous can portray the interpreter as pushing the interviewee, as helping the interviewer, as taking up the interviewer role, or as suggesting that the suspect has comprehension difficulties when that may not be the case.

7.3.2 *Interpreter self-selection*

This section explores contextualization cues preceding the initiation of interpreted sequences by the interpreter herself or 'self-selection'. The interpreter switches from being 'on stand-by' to being 'on' by taking the floor, rather than by being allocated the floor. Therefore, she takes up the responsibility for initiating triadic sequences. Different contextual conditions appear to trigger interpreter self-selection, including dispreferred answers by the detainee, silent pauses, clarification-seeking moves in dyadic interaction between the police officers, and observable production deficits. In Excerpt 55 below from Interview 1, PO2 is trying to establish how much DP1 had paid for fifteen ecstasy pills. The police officer calculates the total based on the cost per pill provided by the detainee and provides what could be seen as a formulation. The detainee seems to be processing the information, as observable in his in 'eh' and his gaze direction towards the door, and the interpreter takes the floor:

Excerpt 55 Formulations as interpreting triggers. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:47:53-00:48:03]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
1051.	{PO2} How much did you pay for them?		
1052.		Two pound each↑.	
1053.	Thirty pound for fifteen?		
1054.		((nods)) E::h- ((/door))	
1055.		<p>[((int)) Yes. ((/po2))</p> <p>[((int)) Yes. ((/po2))</p>	<p>Si pagaste treinta libras para las [quince.</p> <p><i>Whether you paid thirty pounds for the [fifteen.</i></p>

The example above shows the combination of factors that appear to trigger interpreter participation. The episode shows the interpreter's orientation to both primary participants: the police officer's agenda and the perception of DP1's processing time as symptomatic of miscomprehension. It could be the case, though, that the detainee was initiating an answer to either correct or provide more information, but it was interrupted by the interpreter's self-selection move. As in the previous examples, the interpreter's ratified status is evident to the analyst. Her self-selection move is accepted by both primary participants and dyadic interaction is resumed as soon as her first TCU is completed. The change in footing and the explicitation of the pragmatic force of PO2 is an example of the interpreter taking an active role in the lower-order activity of interviewing, but it probably remains unnoticed by PO2, he is not troubled by it, and the interactional flow does not seem altered.

– *Silent pauses*

In the case of interviews with transparent language constellations, the data corroborates the treatment of silent pauses as opportunities for the interpreter to take the floor. The interpreter took the next turn following a silent pause seven times in Interview 1 and three times in Interview 2. Excerpt 56 below shows an example from Interview 1. The detainee is being asked about some traces of white powder:

Excerpt 56 Silent-pause as an interpreter self-selection trigger. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:26:57-00:27:05]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
637.	So, the white traces, traces of white powder on this, ((/bag)) what are they? ((/dp1))		
(2)			
638.	<p>(((/int))</p> <p>(((/int))</p>	<p>(((/int))</p> <p>[°Sɪ̃°.</p> <p>(((/int))</p> <p>[°Yes°.</p>	<p>O sea,</p> <p>[que los rastros de polvo blanco</p> <p>[que aparecen ahí,</p> <p>[¿de qué son?</p> <p>So,</p> <p>[the traces of white powder</p> <p>[that are seen there,</p> <p>[what are they?</p>

PO1 clearly selects the detainee as the next speaker through a gaze move in Unit 637. After a 2 seconds inter-turn silent pause, the interpreter self-selects to render the police officer's turn in Spanish.

As mentioned by Nakane (2014), silent pauses can function as pressuring the previous speaker to produce a more acceptable turn, thus indicating a negative evaluation of the one provided. The ambiguous participation framework also triggers interpreter self-

selection moves that seem to indicate her negative evaluation of the preceding move. In one of the cases in Interview 2, the nod and the two-second silent pause is treated by the interpreter as a dispreferred answer:

Excerpt 57 Interpreter self-selection. Silent-pause as a dispreferred answer. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:35:52-00:35:57]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
571.	It's been tested, it's cocaine.		
572.		((nods))	
(2)			
573.	<p>[(/int))</p> <p>[(/int))</p>	<p>[(/int))</p> <p>[(/int))</p>	<p>Lo han testeado [y es cocaína. <i>It's been tested [and it's cocaine.</i></p>

The examples above show instances in which the interpreter reacts to silent pauses by taking the next turn. In some cases, like the one illustrated in Excerpt 57 above, the non-verbal answer (nod) does not trigger a reaction from PO2 and the interpreter takes the floor to render the question, even if DP2 seems to have understood it. The sequences presented above have a common feature. They trigger unidirectional interpreting and can be classified as Unidirectional A (the silent pause is place at the end of the Fbase turn) or Unidirectional B (one between-firsts action).

– *Formulations*

This section explores the role of formulations by POs and receipt markers in the data in relation to interpreter self-selection. As manifestations of the listener's interpretation of the previous participant's turn, formulations offer evidence of inference and often trigger further details or confirmation. Receipt markers also show listenership and confirm comprehension, and can also have the effect of triggering further details. As discussed in Chapter 3, studies of monolingual police interviews (Jonson 2002; Haworth 2009; Heydon 2005; MacLeod 2010) have revealed particular strategies and conversational routines in police interviewer's discourse that are aimed primarily at eliciting information. Information recycling techniques and receipt markers are intended to elicit information about the suspected offence, and also to establish continuity in the co-construction of interaction. In particular, interviewers focus on eliciting quality information that can be used as evidence. As put by Heydon (2005, p.141) 'Formulations are commonly used to provide a 'summary' of prior talk for the purposes of clarification and necessarily contain different words and phrases from the original as a demonstration of comprehension by the producer of the formulation'. This strategy is often used not only to check

comprehension and show listenership, but also to construct a version of events that is more adequate as evidence.

As discussed in Chapter 3, studies of interpreter-mediated police interviews (Wadensjö 1997; Komter 2005; Krouglov 1999; Nakane 2007, 2009, 2011, 2014; Böser 2013; Gallai 2013; Heydon and Lai 2013) have analysed the effect of interpreter participation upon discursive features and interviewing techniques, and revealed patterns that are unique to interpreter-mediated interviews. The use of formulations by police officers has also been explored in studies of interpreter-mediated police interviews (Wadensjö 1997; Nakane 2014), which have revealed that the effect of police officers' formulations can be lost or lessened as a result of interpreting. This happens particularly when they are modified (for instance a question rendered as a statement), or when they are treated as repair initiators.

Two main patterns emerged in the interviews analysed in relation to formulations and receipt markers in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting. Firstly, they are used both in dyadic and triadic interaction. In the case of dyadic interaction, they seem to have the tying effect referred to in Chapters 3 and 6, which is likely to be in part the result of direct interaction between primary participants (see Excerpt 58 below). Secondly, these devices seem ambiguous in nature in the context of the stand-by mode of interpreter, as at times they are treated by all participants, but primarily by the interpreter, as contextualization cues that make her participation necessary, and sometimes they are not.

Excerpt 58 below shows an example of formulation in dyadic interaction in Interview 1:

Excerpt 58 Formulation in dyadic interaction. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:16:49-00:17:16].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
390.	How, how can you get it so cheaply?		
391.		Cheap? ((/away)) Because I take like a:: five hundred, ((/po1)) six hundred. I:s wet, the stuff is wet ((opens and closes fingers)) and it sell me cheaper, and me, I make it more drier [for me.	
	[Okay.		
392.→	So when you buy it you buy it wet.		
393.		Yeah.	
394.→	Which is why you get it cheaper, and then you dry it.		
395.		Yeah.	
396.	Okay.		
397.		I dry and I smoke after. ((/away))	

PO1's formulation in Units 392 and 394 shows evidence of take-up of the interviewees' answer. It functions as a confirmation-seeking device, which in turn appears particularly necessary considering the broken answer by DP1's in Unit 391. DP1's answer contains grammar mistakes (*it sell me cheaper, and me, I make it more drier*). The effort made by DP1 to formulate his answer is apparent. PO1 produces a more correct version of DP1's answer, thus showing take-up and functioning as a confirmation and information-eliciting device. As noted earlier, formulations can also be inferred by the interpreter as indicative of comprehension problems. The excerpt below belongs to Interview 1, Phase 3. DP1 is being asked about the roll of thread seized:

Excerpt 59 Formulations as interpreting triggers. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:23:07-00:24:08].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
558.	What do you use it for?		
	(.)		
559.		For the clothes ((touches his sweatshirt)) a::nd, sometimes, when I take some (.) drugs for go out, I ta:, I take the:::, the::: ((/int)) I don't know, [the stretch ¹⁵ . ((/po1))	
560.	[[(/dp1)] Thread? Yeah?		[Thread ¹⁶ .
561.	Thread, ((nod)) yeah.		
562.		For safe better my stuff. ((/int, thread gestures))	
563.→	Okay. So, you use it to wrap up drugs.		
	(0.7)		
564.		[[(/int)] [[(/int)]	O sea, que lo usás [para envolver drogas. So, you use it [to wrap up drugs.
565.		((/po1)) (1) For both. ((palms up)) Is trech ¹⁷ , is trech. For drugs or for my clothes.	
566.→	So, for drugs OR for your clothes.		
567.		Yeah, I-	

PO1 formulates his own interpretation of DP1's answers in Units 559 and 562, namely that DP1 uses the thread to wrap up drugs. This information is valuable evidence in relation to the suspected offence. The interesting move is the interpreter's decision to interpret that accusatory formulation into Spanish. No cues indicating miscomprehension are observed in the immediate local context, apart from a 0.7 seconds micropause. DP1 seems to experience production problems (Unit 559), as evidenced in his hedged question, which is full of hesitation markers (lengthened vowels, use of 'I don't know'), as well as

¹⁵ Faithful representation of the way word 'thread' was said by the detainee.

¹⁶ Faithful representation of the way the word 'thread' was said by the interpreter.

¹⁷ Faithful representation of the way word 'thread' was said by the detainee.

hesitation in the pronunciation of ‘thread’. These features may affect the perceived function of formulations: with second language speakers, formulations may look and function as improved reformulations of poorly formulated answers.

Excerpt 60 below presents an episode from Interview 2 in which the interpreter takes the floor following a formulation by PO2. PO2 is asking DP2 about the ecstasy tablets found in DP1’s house. As in the example above, no cues indicative of miscomprehension are observed:

Excerpt 60 Formulation as an interpreting trigger. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:41:26-00:41:36].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
666.	Have you ever, have you ever seen Dani with anything like that?		
667.		((/bag)) No, because I never ((points/bag)) saw that. ((/po2))	
668.→	[Is the first time you've seen anything like that.	[O maybe-	
669.		Yea:h, [I: ((/int)) Yea:h, [I: ((/int))	[¿Es la primera vez que ves algo así? [Is the first time you've seen anything like that?
670.		((nodding, po2: Yeah.))	

The interpreter renders the formulation in Unit 668, which is worded as an assertion, as a question (Unit 669). In this example, the interpreter’s move interrupts the detainee’s narrative. Overlapping her rendition, the detainee utters an elongated ‘I:’ which suggests PO2’s formulation had the effect of triggering further information. The interpreter’s rendition interrupts DP2 and the next move is an affirmative answer projected by the interpreter’s question.

As shown in the examples above, formulations are sometimes treated by the interpreter as contextualization cues indexing PO’s repair initiation or dissatisfaction with the previous answer. By self-selecting to interpret, the interpreter acts almost as a co-interviewer. If no comprehension difficulties apply, the transparency of English for the detainees turns her utterance into a repetition rather than a rendition that is presented to the detainee for the first time. Formulations are ambiguous cues for the interpreters, as are echoing and dyadic repair, which are discussed in the section below.

– *Echoing and dyadic repair*

As discussed in relation to the interactional models, repair occurs both in monolingual uninterpreted interaction and in triadic interaction. One of the particular features in the stand-by mode in the interviews analysed is that the interpreter treats repair-initiation moves and even dyadic repair sequences as indicating the need for rendering the repaired or repairable.

Considering the preference for self-repair in conversation (Schegloff 1977), third-other repair appears as a distinct type of repair within the stand-by mode of interpreting used in the two interviews. A third-other who monitors the interaction takes the floor to repair after a repair-initiation move addressed to the other primary participant in dyadic interaction. In Phase 3, the question and answer format is the main adjacency pair type and questions are typically short. In contrast to Phase 1, police officers act as principals, authors and animators of their questions, and have latitude to rephrase them. Police officers use information-seeking questions, confirmation-seeking questions, receipt markers such as ‘*Okay*’, nods or echo questions, and ‘*continuers*’, typically marked by a rising intonation. As discussed in Chapter 3, echoing is used in police interviews and other institutional genres to invite the interlocutor to confirm his previous answer and/or to provide more details about it.

Regarding the suspects in the data set, particularly DP1, they tend to echo police officers questions before providing an answer, and their echo questions often project a next turn confirmation by the police officer in the form of a nod or a verbal affirmative answer. As mentioned earlier, echoing the previous answer or question, either partially or in full, emerges as a pattern in both interviews. As discussed in Chapter 3, the repetition of another speaker’s words has been observed to have a tying effect (Angermeyer 2003), and also to build up rapport by showing listenership and to trigger further information and/or confirmation.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, two types of echoing were observed in the interview: second-pair part echoing, in which the police officer echoes the detainee’s answers, and first-pair part echoing, in which the detainee repeats the previous turn by the police officer before answering. Echoing was presented as a feature of dyadic talk in Chapter 6. In this section, examples of echoing are presented in which the interpreter treats the echoing or receipt marker as a repair initiator. This pattern is more frequent in Interview 1, with four occurrences in Phase 3 and two in Phase 2.

In Excerpt 61 below from Interview 1, the interpreter reacts to the echoing in Unit 546, which consists of the last word of PO1's question, as a cue indicating miscomprehension. The silent pause between PO1's question and DP1's move may have affected the interpreter's decision:

Excerpt 61 First-pair part echoing as an interpreting trigger. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:23:13-00:23:24].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
545.	A:nd (.) ((/dp1)) where was that in your (.) today? (1)		
546.		Today?	
547.	[(/int, dp1)] [(/int, dp1)]	[(/int)] [(/int)]	¿Dónde estaba [hoy?] <i>Where was it [today?]</i>
(0.5)			
548.		((/away)) Eh:::, my:::, in ((/po1)) my bedroom↑.	

In Excerpt 62 below, also from Interview 1, the interpreter takes the floor after the echoed question has been confirmed by PO1. DP1 is being asked about the origin of the money found in bundles in a box in his bedroom:

Excerpt 62 First-pair part echoing and silent pause. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:28:17-00:28:23].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
662.	Where does ((pointing/bag)) come from?		
(1.8)			
663.		Where is come from?	
664.	((nods))		
665.			¿De dónde viene eso? Ese dinero↑. <i>Where does that come from? That money↑.</i>
666.		De::: (fro:::m) yo:: (I::), my savings?	
667.	Savings↑. ((nods))		

The echoing by DP1 functions as a repair initiator and is followed by a confirmation (nod) from the police officer. The interpreter takes the floor to render the question from Unit 662 even though repair has occurred in the form of a non-verbal confirmation (Unit 664) by the police officer. The form of the echoed question in Unit 663, including a grammatically incorrect construction, and the 1.8-second pause preceding it may have contributed to the interpreter's assessment.

Excerpt 63 below contains a slightly different example. In this case, the negotiation of meaning includes self-repetition by POs combined with echoing, and both seem to trigger interpreter participation:

Excerpt 63 Echoing and repetition as interpreting triggers. Interview 2. Phase 3 [00:50:14-00:51:04].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 2	INTERPRETER
794.	Do you know if Dani is involved in any way in the supply of controlled drugs?		
795.		((points/items on the floor)) Seeing this, I think so.	
796.	But, do YOU KNOW (.) if Dani is involved (.) [in the supply of controlled drugs?	[((/int))	
797.		[((/po2)) [((/po2))	¿Sabes (.) tú si Dani está involucrado en la provisión de drogas [de algún modo? <i>Do (.) you know if Dani is involved in the supply of drugs [in any way?</i>
798.	[Now you think but, do you KNOW?	I, I did, I didn't know. °I don't know°. I (.) NOW I know, I think [°he is°.	
799.		((shaking his head no: No, no.))	
800.→	[°You don't know°. [°You don't know°.	[((/int)) [((/int))	[Ahora pensás, [pero vos cree-, sabés? <i>[You now think, [but do you thin-, know?</i>
801.		No, ((shakes his head, /po2)) I don't, I no-. (4) I'm not sure if (1), if he is that, but ((shakes his head)) (.) I don't know, I think so. ((nods))	
802.	°Okay°. (4) D' you know a male called Kamil Diouri?		

In the passage above, PO2 asks DP2 about DP1's involvement in drug dealing. DP2 uses *think*, a non-factive verb, to answer PO2's question formulated with a factive verb, *know*. PO2 insists in obtaining a factive answer and repeats his question emphasizing the verb by rising the volume of his voice (Units 796 and 798). The police officer echoes part of the detainee's answers, but echoing seems to be used in order to refocus the topic and pressure the suspect to produce a preferred answer –that he 'knows'.

This passage resembles the one discussed in Nakane (2014, pp.56-57), in which the police officer used repetition of a question to put pressure on the suspect to try to elicit a specific answer. The interpreter alters the pragmatic force of the question in Unit 796 slightly by omitting 'But'. Compared to opaque language constellations, though, the objection present in PO2's question in unit 796 could have been transparent for DP2. What seems confusing for DP2 is the fact that PO2 insists in getting a different answer, as suggested by the position of the gaze shift towards the interpreter in 796. The interpreter's move could also be seen as displaying her take-up of the interviewer's role, and joining in the efforts of getting a different answer.

As stressed at various points in previous chapters, deciding when to interpret emerges as probably one of the most delicate tasks in the hybrid interactional format observed in the data. The examples shown above also reveal a high degree of ambiguity regarding the need for interpreting. The use of English by second language speakers and their orientation to dyadic interaction is found ambiguous by the interpreter, who sometimes reacts to echoing as a cue of miscomprehension. By doing so, her moves may facilitate or confirm comprehension, but they can also potentially become interviewer-like moves, such as repetition of a question already understood, and interrupt the narrative of the detainee and disrupt the development of the interaction.

– *Wh-questions and anticipation*

The form of the source question also appears to have a bearing in detainees' comprehension and in the interpreter's assessment of the need for her participation. Throughout the interviews, the interpreter reacts to certain question types that appear to pose particular difficulties to the detainees. The interpreter seems to develop a sensitivity towards certain constructions and does not wait for troubles to emerge: she anticipates troubles and pre-empts them. This degree of reflexive coordination can be associated with her monitoring role in the stand-by mode of interpreting as well as to her expertise in what causes problems in this particular language combination.

Sequences like the one presented in Excerpt 64 below are typical in both interviews. They involve a repair initiation move by the detainee addressed to the police officer and interpreter-initiated repair:

Excerpt 64 Interpreting as repair. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:37:25-00:37:33].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
697.	((/bag)) Who does it belong to? ((/dp1))		
698.		Uhm?	
699.	((/int, points/int)) [You-, (/bag)) ((/int, points/int)) [You-, (/bag))		[¿A quién pertenece? [Who does it belong to?

The questions that typically pose comprehension problems present similar linguistic features. These are questions about ownership (*Who does it belong to? Whose is this?*), frequency and length (*How often...? How long...?*), and questions about the use of productions (*What do you use it for? What is it for?*). The structure of wh- questions in English differs significantly from their structure in Spanish, and this seems to pose

particular problems to the detainees. A description of the structure in Spanish and a literal translation is presented below in order to illustrate the differences:

- *What is it for?*
 - Proposed translation: *¿Para qué es/sirve?* [FOR WHAT IS/IS OF USE?]
 - Comparative analysis:
 - Preposition placed at the beginning of the question.
 - Subject omission (pro-drop).
- *Who does it belong to?*
 - Proposed translation: *¿A quién pertenece?* [TO WHOM BELONGS?]
 - Comparative analysis:
 - Preposition placed at the beginning of the question.
 - Absence of auxiliary verb.
 - Subject omission (pro-drop).

The question ‘Who does it belong to?’ has a direct equivalent in Spanish, *¿A quién pertenece?* but this formulation is more formal in Spanish than it is in English. In addition, the structure in Spanish does not include an auxiliary verb or the subject pronoun and places the preposition at the beginning instead of at the end.

- *Whose is it?*
 - Proposed translation: *¿De quién es?* [OF WHOM IS?]
 - Comparative analysis:
 - Preposition placed at the beginning of the question.
 - Absence of auxiliary verb.
 - Subject omission (pro-drop).

‘Whose is it?’ would be expressed as ‘*¿De quién es?*’ in Spanish (literal translation ‘Who is it of?’), as ownership is expressed through the use of the preposition *de* (‘of’). In addition, no equivalent one-word interrogative exists in Spanish to translate ‘whose’ when used in a question.

The differences between these interrogative structures in the two languages make their comprehension and use of this structure particularly difficult for the detainees, as shown in Excerpt 65 below. DP1 is being asked about the use of green herbal matter, one of the productions seized, but his response reveals he has not understood it:

Excerpt 65 Initiation by PO. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:37:04-00:37:13].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
848.	°Okay°. (2) ((points at bag)) [What is this for? ((/dp1))	[[(/desk))	
849.		Or less, eh? ((leans/po1))	
850.	((/int, pointing/int)) Go. ((/dp1))		
851.			¿Para qué es? <i>What is it for?</i>
(0.8)			
852.		For smoke.	

In Excerpt 65 above, the suspect has been asked about the use of green herbal matter, but the phonetic realization of ‘for’ seems to guide the detainee’s decoding process and lead him to understand ‘more’ instead of ‘for’. He requests clarification to PO1 after uttering ‘or less’, as if completing ‘more or less’, through ‘eh?’ and by leaning towards PO1. The police officer reacts by allocating the turn to the interpreter, who interprets the question.

The interpreter seems to be particularly aware of the potential difficulties posed by the question types presented above. In the examples of dyadically-initiated triadic repair mentioned above, four of the 12 occurrences in Interview 2 are cases in which DP2 initiates repair after being asked a question including ‘belong to’. Furthermore, DP2 also selects the interpreter as the next speaker following a ‘belong to’. Excerpt 66 below shows an example of the interpreter anticipating comprehension problems and self-selecting as the next speaker after the police officer’s question:

Excerpt 66 Anticipating comprehension problems. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:27:16-00:27:24]

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
651.	((/items on the floor)) Okay. ((/desk, /items, takes baseball bat, /dp1)) Who does this belong to?		
652.			¿De quién es ese bate? <i>Whose is that bat?</i>
653.		Mine.	

What in this study has been included as ‘anticipation’ has a similar structure to interpreting when it is carried out ‘routinely’ rather than intermittently. As observed in Units 651 and 652 above, the interpreter’s rendition is delivered after the primary speaker’s turn, the only differences being that her participation is selective (thus marked) and that interpreting is unidirectional and seems to target only (potential) comprehension troubles on the part of the detainee.

Police officers also anticipate comprehension difficulties related to the question types presented above, and anticipate the need for interpreting, particularly PO1 in Interview 1.

In the sequence presented in Excerpt 67 below, PO1 is asking DP1 about the ownership of the crystal bottle. PO1 allocates the turn to the interpreter as a final move in his turn through a shift gaze and a hand gesture:

Excerpt 67 PO1 anticipating comprehension problems. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:35:13-00:35:38].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
814.	((/bag)) °Okay°. And, ((/dp1)) what did you use this for? ((/int, hand/int))		
815.	[((/dp1)) [((/dp1))		[¿Para qué lo usabas eso? [What did you use that for?
(2)			
816.		Crystal bottle, °no°↑. I, I safe this, the hashish inside, because if there are for long time is no:: (1) ((hand gestures)) ((/int)) ¿secar? (to dry?) ((/po1)) No drier, °no° (xxx)	

The transition from dyadic to triadic interaction is smooth: the interpreter takes up the turn allocated to her by PO1. The next PO1's move is significant. He shifts his gaze back to DP1 as soon as the interpreter starts rendering the question and maintains eye-contact with the suspect while he produces an answer.

As shown in the excerpts discussed in this sub-section, the interpreter develops the ability to anticipate the likeliness of comprehension problems based on previous repair-initiation actions by the detainees. Despite their apparently simple structure, it was noted above that the wording of wh-questions emerged as a trouble source for the detainees, and the interpreted was observed treating them as interpretable material without waiting for cues of miscomprehension. As shown in the last excerpt discussed, PO1 was also observed initiating interpreting directly after a wh-question. Both the police officer and the interpreter build up their ability to identify and even prevent miscommunication, as shown in their repair actions.

7.4 The orientation of interpreter participation in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting

The analysis of interpreted sequences presented in Sections 7.2 and 7.3 focused on the distribution of the responsibility for initiating interpreter participation, the devices used by primary participants to select the interpreter as the next speaker, as well as observable cues that preceded and seemed to trigger interpreter self-selection. In the passages

discussed in the two previous sections, interpreter-mediated sequences were described as 'marked', in so far as they are selective and emerge within dyadic monolingual interaction as the prevailing regime. Interpreter-mediated sequences are surrounded by contextual conditions that make them a meaningful option. This section discusses the functions that interpreter-mediated sequences play in the police interviews and draws on the findings of the previous sections to do so. The function is explored as related to the triggers and to its effect, thus looking both backwards to the preceding cues, and forwards.

In the data, interpreting emerged as being oriented primarily to performing two functions: interpreting as a repair device and interpreting as a resource to prevent miscommunication, or, in other words, to make sure the detainees understand. Even though these functions are interrelated, they are discussed separately in sections 7.4.1 and 7.4.2.

7.4.1 Interpreting as repair

As observed in Sections 7.2 and 7.3, the interpreter was selected to interpret by a primary participant, primarily by the detainee, or self-selected to interpret. Comprehension problems emerged as the main source of interpreter-selection moves and the focus of interpreting sequences. The interpreter's participation can be said to have served as a repair device which was primarily addressed to solve miscomprehension, but also, although to a lower extent, to compensate for lexical deficits and formulation difficulties by detainees. Whereas gaze was the main device used to signal that interpreting was required to solve miscomprehension, code-switching and the use of gestures were the two main devices used by the detainees to trigger interpreter participation oriented to compensating or solving production deficits.

Primary parties oriented prominently to maintaining dyadic interaction, as shown by the selective and minoritarian use of interpreting. Despite the wording of the detainees' answers was at times being broken, it did not always trigger interpreter selection or interpreter self-selection. These features can be seen as emerging within an exolingual communication regime, in which both primary participants and the interpreter tolerated a degree of ungrammaticality or lexical inaccuracy. In the context of the police interviews, the effect of that tolerance would require further study, as it may be the case that the quality of detainees' English affects not only the degree of informativeness and accuracy of their answers, but also how their accounts are perceived by those who assess their

credibility.

When the interpreter self-selected as the next speaker to repair communication, certain cues were identified as ambiguous with regard to their function. The interpreter treated silent pauses, dispreferred answers, formulation and echoing as cues signalling the need for repair, or repair initiation cues, but, as shown in the analysis presented in Sections 6.2 and 6.3, and as reviewed in relation to investigative interviewing (Chapter 3), echoing, formulations and repetition can be used by speakers to index listenership and, in the particular context of the interview, as interviewing techniques to obtain more details. The interpreter's occasional treatment of formulations, silent pauses and echoing as repair-initiation moves can be seen as indicative of the difficulties for her to assess the extent to which her participation is required and can affect the trajectory of the interview and the effectiveness of interviewing techniques. This finding coincides with the findings of the study by Nakane (2014) in the case of interpreters' treatment of formulations in the police interview.

Finally, and as noted above, it was observed that interpreter participation aimed at repairing focused primarily on repairing comprehension. As it has been mentioned earlier, this can be seen as aligning with the way the interpreting regime was set up and the fact that the interpreter was introduced as someone whose role is to guarantee that the detainee understands exactly what is being said. This observation ties in with the second main function of interpreting observed: interpreting as guaranteeing comprehension or preventing miscomprehension.

7.4.2 Interpreting as a preventive measure

As shown in Section 6.4, the distribution of dyadic and triadic interaction shows that interpreting was used more during the opening of the interview than during Phases 2-4. The distribution of interpreter-selection moves also shows that the police officers took the initiative to select the interpreter particularly during that phase, particularly PO1. This attitude can be based on the police officers' and interpreter's assumptions and observations that Phase 1 is the most linguistically complex one. The qualitative analysis shows that interpreter-selection during the opening phase was not necessarily associated to observable interactional trouble, and it would seem that the police officers, and to a certain extent also the interpreter, align with a use of interpreting that seems to be aimed at preventing potential miscommunication, particularly at procedurally critical phases and

lines of questioning. As Pym (1999) notes (see Chapter 4), even when the witness in the O.J. Simpson trial showed in many cases that she had understood before the interpreter's rendition, the decision to use of interpreting might have be related to a protective attitude towards the minority language speaker and to the fact that justice, whether it is done or not, must appear to be done.

As mentioned earlier, production and comprehension problems occur throughout the interview, not only during Phase 1. This reinforces the findings of studies of partial use of interpreting (Nakane 2010; Du 2015), in which risks of miscommunication –and unfair access to justice were identified as a result of the imposed selective use or non-use of interpreting. In the interviews in this study, the negotiation of interpreting makes it possible to observe that, together with the orientation to problem-solving (repair) identified in all participants' actions, both police officer 1 and the interpreter's behaviour also project a preventative attitude. In particular, PO1 and the interpreter initiated interpreting during procedurally relevant stages or in the context of sequences in which linguistic formulae were identified as problematic, despite no signals of miscommunication were observable. In order to illustrate the preventive attitude displayed by PO1 and the interpreter, two excerpts are discussed. In Excerpt 68 below, the police officer initiates interpreter participation despite the absence of cues indicating comprehension problems or production problems. This example is particularly marked because it initiates Phase 3, the phase in which both PO1 and the interpreter adopt a more proactive attitude towards using interpreting compared to Phase 2:

Excerpt 68 The procedural relevance of interpreting. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:19:47-00:20:05].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
474.	{PO1} °Okay°. ((coughs, /doc, po2, dp1)) Earlier today ehm police [(.) forced entry to your, [to your house at Gillespie Crescent.	[°Hm°. [°Yeah°.	
475.		°Yeah°. ((nods))	
(0.7)			
476.→	Ehm. ((/int, points and nods/int))		
477.	[((/bag)) [((/bag))	[((/int, nods)) [mi casa. ((/po1)) [((/int, nods)) [my house. ((/po1))	Hoy más [temprano la policía forzó la entrada en tu [domicilio en Gillespie Crescent. Earlier [today the police forced entry into your [house at Gillespie Crescent.

478.		But-	
	(.)		
479.	((/dp1))		
480.		Why you not tocks ((knocks on the desk 3 times)) the door? ((raises hand))	
481.	I'll explain.		
482.		°Yeah°.	
483.	Because THIS ((/doc)) [((shows doc/dp1)) is a::, a drug ((/dp1)) search warrant.	[((leans/doc))	

As stated above, despite no repairable being identified, the police officer indicated his will to have his statement interpreted. DP1's back-channelling tokens in Units 474 and 475 are not indicative of comprehension problems, but PO1 makes interpreter participation relevant through three non-verbal moves: a gaze shift, a nod and pointing directly at her. The police officer's moves automatically make interpreter participation relevant. However, DP1's overlapping moves in Unit 477 are indicative of, at least, partial understanding of PO1's statement. While INT interprets into Spanish, DP co-interprets. He finishes INT's sentence by saying 'mi casa' (my house), showing he had understood.

PO1's move triggers interpreter participation. The situational condition that appears to make PO1 initiate interpreting could be related to the procedural relevance of the statement, a pattern identified in the data set. The fact that PO1 is the initiator tells us something about his assumptions on the relevance of the statement and the need to guarantee that the detainee understand what is being done, namely revisiting the events that occurred in the morning in order to start the questioning.

A lack of mutual contextual assumptions is observed, though, which seems to be triggered by the stand-by regime. Whereas PO1's statement does not appear to make an evaluative reaction a preferred move, DP1 reacts to the interpreted utterance not as new information, but as signalling the need for a different reaction on his part. The observable inference made by DP1 facing the interpreter-selection move by the police officer and its take-up by INT is that he is expected to respond to the statement in a different way. DP1's reaction in Unit 480 following the interpreter's rendition focuses on the fact that the police officers forced entry into his house, a focus that was not present in his feedback tokens in Units 474 and 475 and which may also indicate that DP1 had not understood 'forced entry' when he heard the original and thus his reaction and focus on that potentially new information following the interpreter's rendition.

The reaction by DP1 in Unit 480 is face-threatening and can be seen as a taunting, as his action initiated a topic and triggered a long explanation by PO1 in which DP1 was overtly told that the police needed to force entry because they had reasons to believe that there were drugs in the house – and to prevent the suspects from hiding them.

Excerpt 69 below illustrates a segment in which DP1 is being asked about one of the productions, a baseball bat that DP1 was holding when the police officers entered the house. In particular, he is being asked to confirm whether he was holding it above his head when the police entered the house. Considering that one of DP1’s charges was assault, the significance of establishing how he was holding the bat is evident:

Excerpt 69 Procedural relevance and interpreting relevance. Interview 1. Phase 3 [00:22:28-00:22:56].

Unit	POLICE OFFICER(S)	DETAINED PERSON 1	INTERPRETER
525.	So, when we came into the, the house, you had your baseball bat above your head?		
526.		No, ((/his left, gestures of holding a bat and putting it on the floor)) I have my::, the baseball bat in my bedroom, you know?	
527.	In your bedroom, yes,		
528.	[yes.	[Yeah, yeah.	
529.	When we came into the house you picked it up?		
530.		Yeah.	
531.→	[And- [[(/int)] [And- [[(/int)]	[[(/int)] [[(/int)]	[Cuando ellos [entraron al departamento tú lo agarraste [When they [entered the apartment you grabbed it
532.	[[(/dp1)] ((/nods)) [[(/dp1)] ((/nods))	[[(/po1)] Yes, ((/laughs)) of course ((/po2)) I don't know ((/po1)) who is that ((/po2)) [[(/po1)] Yes, ((/laughs)) of course ((/po2)) I don't know ((/po1)) who is that ((/po2))	[y lo sostenías en la mano. [and you held it in your hand.
533.	Yeah. ((/docs))		
534.→	[[(/dp1)] [[(/docs)]	I don't know if [[(/po1)] somebody:: [rob me o::r, I don't know.	
535.	((/dp1)) Okay. ((/docs))		
536.→	[[(/dp1)]	But, [just I wake up in the morning, I swear, I::, I was, I wake, ((/head resting on his hand, sleeping gestures)) I was sleeping, pero (<i>but</i>) sleeping ((/smiling, /away))	

In the context of analysing what triggered the interpreter’s rendition, this example illustrates a move that appears to result from a combination of factors: the procedural

significance of the question and what the interpreter takes as ambiguous cues produced by the detainee. DP1's answer in Unit 526 presents cues of partial comprehension, but PO1 tries to break the question into smaller units and reconstruct the events. DP1 answers affirmatively in Unit 530, but the interpreter decides to take up the floor and formulates a compound of the two previous moves by PO1, offering an account of the events.

The relevance of this move within the interview seems to have a particular impact upon the interpreter's decision to intervene. PO1's approach to dealing with the apparent partial comprehension shown in DP1's answer in Unit 526 is challenged by the interpreter, who acts as a principal and takes up the responsibility for trying to obtain a more relevant response. The co-interviewer role emerges again in the form of self-selection.

A last remark about the episode presented above is related to DP1's response in Units 532, 534 and 536 to the interpreter's move. The cues observable are not sufficient to establish whether DP1 reacts to the interpreter's utterance as repetition or as new information. However, the immediate contextual effect that is observable is a defensive response with a significantly higher informative density (Units 534, 536). This example shows the potential impact of a single move by the interpreter, particularly from the point of view of the evidentiary nature of the interview.

7.5 Summary of findings

Sections 7.2 to 7.4 above focused on interpreter participation in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting. Interpreting sequences occurred selectively and intermittently and the analysis looked at the distribution of responsibility for the initiation of interpreter participation, the devices used by primary participants to select the interpreter as the next speaker, the cues that appeared to trigger interpreter self-selection, as well as the effects of interpreter-mediated sequences within the stand-by regime.

The intermittent use of interpreting in the stand-by mode regime in the data made it necessary for participants to carry out interactional actions that initiated interpreter participation. The three parties in interaction shared the responsibility of initiating interpreter participation, although to different extents. The interpreting regime was discussed and set up at the end of Phase 1 in Interview 1 and the interpreter's role was

discussed only one minute into Interview 2. The sequential location of the setting up of the interpreting regime appeared to have an effect upon interactional dynamics and participation framework, in so far as unidirectional interpreting was used predominantly by default until each of those episodes took place. Once the interpreting regime had been discussed, the local negotiation of interpreter participation became necessary. Moreover, all participants in Interview 2 except for DP2 had had the experience of interview 1 with stand-by interpreting, and this was also identified as having potentially had an effect upon their moves in Interview 2.

Regarding the distribution of interpreter-selection moves, differences between Interview 1 and Interview 2 were observed. Whereas in Interview 1 the interpreter was the main initiator (66%) of interpreting episodes, followed by the police officer (18%), in Interview 2 the interpreter (46%) and the detainee (51%) took up the role of initiators. Individual differences between the detainees and the police officers' and the interpreter's approach to handling communication are likely to have affected the distribution of responsibility. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that the difference between the instruction given by the interpreter to detainee 1 and the one given to detainee 2 ('look at me') could have affected the detainees' initiative with regard to the initiation of interpreting sequences.

As discussed in Chapter 7.3, primary participants used different selection devices to initiate interpreter participation. Gaze emerged as the main interpreter-selection device used by both PO1, who was the police officer who initiated most interpreted sequences, as well as by the detainees. Gaze was also used as a regulatory device by primary participants to resume eye-contact and dyadic interaction. Gaze was combined with hand gestures by the police officer, and by hand gestures, code-switching or both by the detainees. These different devices, though, resulted in interpreter participation targeting different aspects: whereas police officers used gaze (at times accompanied by hand gestures) when they observed detainees had comprehension problems, or at particularly procedurally relevant sequences (to prevent miscomprehension), the detainees used gaze in combination with gestures and/or code-switching in episodes during which they experienced difficulties to understand or to word their answer due to their truncated competencies in English. Code-switching into Spanish and gestures also emerged as interpreter-selection triggers, and silent pauses were identified as triggering interpreter selection.

The seating arrangements made it necessary for primary participants to turn their head to look at the interpreter and to resume eye-contact with each other. This need results in a visible and effective interpreter-selection device. As observed earlier in the chapter, gaze shifts either in isolation or combined with other cues are the main next-speaker selection device. Furthermore, the interpreter's instruction given in Interview 2 to the detainee seemed to have an impact upon the interpreter selection moves. Although individual differences between the detainees probably have an impact on the differences observed, it is at least worth noting that the use of gaze appears to have been found a more effective device by the interpreter. This hypothesis is based on the interpreter's instruction given to DP2 in interview 2, which included explicitly the use of gaze to request interpreting ('look at me'). The detainee 2 used gaze in every interpreter-selection move and initiated interpreting more frequently than DP1. Whereas it is not possible for the author to know whether the correlation observed above was coincidental and the interpreter's instruction was unconscious or a reflexive decision based on the interpreter's previous experience, a higher uptake of responsibility by DP2 in initiating interpreting and the use of gaze did translate into smoother transitions into interpreting episodes, as observed in the higher frequency of Unidirectional models A and B in Interview 2.

Code-switching was used primarily in the form of inserts, often in combination with hand gestures. The interpreter's rendition of the inserts in Spanish filled the lexical gap in the detainees' utterance. As mentioned above, the three parties collaborated in clarifying the pronunciation of lexical items, triggering at times monolingual triadic interaction.

Ambiguity emerged as a feature of certain cues, particularly regarding their potential for triggering interpreter participation. Repair initiation, silent pauses, echoing and formulations were at times treated dyadically, without interpreter participation, whereas in other occasions they were also oriented to by either the interpreter or one of the primary participants as indicating comprehension or production problems. This ambiguity posed challenges to the strategic use of certain interviewing techniques, and to the interpreter's task of deciding when to interpret and when not. A salient finding was observed in relation to the interpreter's ability to learn over the course of both interviews. Wh-questions about ownership (belong to) and purpose (what for) were identified by the interpreter and, to a lesser extent, by PO1, as trouble sources for both detainees. In the cases analysed in this section, the police officer (PO1) and more often the interpreter took the responsibility of preventing comprehension problems by anticipating the need for interpreter participation when those questions were uttered. The examples of repair and

anticipation suggest that the interpreter and the police officer accommodated to the particular linguistic needs of the suspects in the interview. The treatment of wh-questions as interpretable material by both the interpreter and the police officer makes trouble sources visible and challenges assumptions about the expectations of L2 speakers in exolingual communication. A lay participant may take for granted that a question like ‘What is it for?’ should be comprehensible for an L2 speaker who is communicating in English in a police interview, but the analysis shows otherwise.

As shown in the different sections in this Chapter, interpreting was used to address both comprehension and production problems, as well as to guarantee comprehension or prevent miscommunication. This was observed when interpreting seemed to be used despite no cues of communication breakdown. The procedural relevance of certain passages as perceived from the point of view of each participant seemed to have an impact upon when interpreting was used – and upon its effect. As noted by Gavioli (2014) in relation to doctors’ invitations to mediators to explain at particularly critical moments, in the stand-by mode of interpreting in the police interviews, the criticality –or relevance of a turn or segment - can be indexed by the fact that the interpreter or the officer select it as interpretable material. As illustrated above, these moves by the interpreter can have an effect upon the detainee’s next moves because they can have an effect that is similar to that of interviewer’s moves. The interpreter’s participation emerged in the context of interactional trouble as well as at procedurally relevant locations. The orientation of participants towards making sure the detainees understand exactly what is being said is observable in their interpreting-initiation moves. The table below summarizes the devices used by each primary participant to select the interpreter and the main function performed by interpreter participation following each type of interpreter-selection device:

	Device	Orientation
<i>Other-selection: detainee</i>	Gaze	Repair miscomprehension
	(gaze), gestures	
	(gaze), verbal repair initiation addressed to int	
	(gaze), code-switching	Repair production deficits
	(gaze), code-switching and gestures	
	(gaze) and gestures	
<i>Other-selection: police officers</i>	Gaze	Repair miscomprehension
	Gaze and hand gesture	
	Gaze	Prevent miscomprehension
	Gaze and hand gesture	

Table 8 Interpreter other-selection devices and orientation.

As observed above, the detainees oriented primarily to the use of interpreting as a resource to repair miscommunication or compensate production deficits. The police officers, particularly PO1, used primarily gaze or gaze combined with hand gestures, to address or prevent miscomprehension.

The table below presents the cues triggering interpreter self-selection and the main function that can be attached to her participation depending on the cue. As mentioned above, though, some cues that appear to trigger interpreter self-selection seem ambiguous and may not necessarily indicate that interactional trouble exists. This makes the function of interpreter participation equally ambiguous - when the interpreter takes the floor, probably to address what she considers a repairable or a potential risk, her status as a third other makes her moves potentially relevant, as justified by her status as the professional interpreter, and equally potentially superfluous. The function, thus, is also ambiguous. In the table below, 'function' has been replaced with the typical presumable orientation of interpreters' self-selection actions depending on the cue that triggers them:

	Cue	Orientation
<i>Interpreter-selection</i>	Dispreferred action	
	Hesitation, hedging	Repair miscomprehension
	Initiation of dyadic repair	
	Wh-questions	
	Silence*	Prevent/(repair*)
	Echoing and formulations*	miscomprehension
	Procedural relevance	

Table 9 Interpreter self-selection cues and orientation.

Underlying the functions of interpreter participation as devices used selectively to repair and prevent miscommunication, participants are constantly monitoring the flow of interaction and assessing the need for intervention. Participants do so based on their assumptions and on their roles. Focusing on the interpreter, monitoring and assessing the need for her participation emerges as the ongoing activity in the stand-by regime in the data, which becomes visible when she takes up a turn allocated by a primary participant or takes the turn herself. A high degree of reflexive coordination is thus observable in the interpreter's moves within the stand-by regime in the police interviews, particularly in the form of monitoring. Monitoring talk is part of any conversation, as materialised

in, for instance, repair moves. In the police interviews with stand-by interpreting, the outcomes of participants' assessments of the ongoing interaction triggers actions that could be seen as signalling the limitations and or risks of the linguistic resources available for the primary participants and used in dyadic interaction and which, from the point of view of interpreting, determine what is interpretable material or not.

A high degree of collaboration in handling interpreted sequences is closely related to the activity of monitoring performed by all participants, but primarily by the interpreter as a ratified participant whose role, made explicit by the police officers, is to ensure that the detainees understand. As observed in the analysis presented above, the stand-by regime is characterized by a collaborative approach to repairing and preventing miscommunication. Following the findings presented in this chapter and in Chapter 6, Chapter 8 will present the conclusions of this study in relation to the research questions outlined in Chapter 1, the contributions of this study to the study of interpreter-mediated police interviews, and future research avenues.

Chapter 8 – Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This study explored interactional dynamics as enacted in two authentic police interviews in which the stand-by mode of interpreting was used. The study was designed as a qualitative, exploratory and descriptive case study of a largely unexplored mode of interpreting in a setting that belongs to the legal field. This chapter discusses the findings of the layered analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7, which drew on a multimodal approach and on the combination of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Sociolinguistics as the analysis methodology.

The findings and conclusions are discussed in relation to the overarching aim and the three research questions of this study, as stated in the Introduction (Section 1.2), to explore and to contribute to our understanding of the stand-by mode of interpreting in police interviews. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the methodological, theoretical and practical implications of the study for the fields of Dialogue Interpreting and, in particular, for the field of Police Interpreting; it outlines the contributions to our understanding of the stand-by mode in the police interview as a particular discourse genre and the potential implications for other institutional discourse genres; and engages in the discussion about linguistic solutions with transparent language constellations.

8.2 Discussion of the findings in relation to the aims and research questions

Following the DI paradigm, the interpreter-mediated encounters analysed in this study were considered manifestations of interaction as situated practice that are the outcome of collective participation. The availability of video recordings made it possible to look into interaction as multimodal in nature through a multimodal lens that took into account verbal and kinetic features across the different layers of analysis. The analysis took into consideration the following global contextual conditions: the institutional nature of the police interview, its discursive and functional features, the specific linguistic repertoires of the participants and language transparency and meta-talk about interpreting and the interpreter; as well as the interpreter's participation in her capacity as a professional interpreter. It aligned with a view of context that is dynamic and multi-layered. According to this view, different levels of context are invoked in conversational actions

and frame the interaction, thus all of them contribute to shaping the interactional dynamics and the co-construction of meaning (Mason 2006; Pöchhacker 2012). Global contextual conditions such as the ones mentioned above and local interactional moves were considered as jointly contributing to the unfolding of the interaction.

As outlined in Section 1.2, this study explored three research questions:

1. Based on a multimodal approach to the analysis of interaction, what are the overall structure, turn-management and sequence organization features in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting?
2. Considering that interpreting is used intermittently, in which contexts do interpreting episodes emerge and what impact do they have upon the co-construction of meaning in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting?
3. Building on question No. 2, what are the characteristics of the relaying and coordinating activities within the stand-by interpreting mode used in the police interviews analysed?

Subsections 8.2.1 to 8.2.3 below discuss the findings in relation to each of the research questions and the overarching aim of the study.

8.2.1 Based on a multimodal approach to the analysis of interaction, what are the overall structure, turn-management and sequence organization features in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting?

In relation to the first research question, the analysis revealed a high degree of similarity between the two interviews analysed regarding the overall structure of the interview and the interactional and discourse features characteristic of each phase. As discussed in Sections 6.2, 7.2 and 7.4, the aims of the police interview as a discourse genre and of its phases were reflected in the themes addressed, the discourse features, including syntax and register, the participant roles enacted by the police officers, sequence construction features, and patterns of use or non-use of interpreting. The analysis presented in Section 6.2 revealed four distinct phases per interview, which can be seen as coinciding with the overall focus of the Rapport, Information and Confirmation phases of the PRICE interview format used in Scotland and discussed in Section 3.2.2.

Three characteristics of the stand-by mode were identified as both co-constructing the institutionality of the police interview and resulting from it. Firstly, the frequency of use

or non-use of interpreting was identified as a feature related to both the linguistic and discourse features of the different interview phases and enacting their institutional aims, as discussed in further detail in Section 8.2.2. Secondly, the location of the negotiation of the interpreting regime and the distribution of interpreter-selection moves among the three parties were identified as projections of the overarching aims of the different phases. Interpreting was used more frequently and initiated more frequently by the police officer during the formal procedures (see Section 6.4.2). The negotiation of the interpreting regime was one of the lines of questioning which marked the transition from the phase dealing with formalities (Phase 1) to Phase 2. These patterns confirm and expand the findings of Heydon's study (2005) of the monolingual police interview discussed in Section 3.2.3. As in Heydon's study, the police institution was identified as the author and principal in the formal stages and the police officers the animators. In the interviews analysed here, though, the role of principal was in part shared with the interpreter, as observed in the explanatory moves, which displayed her proactive attitude towards guiding the sense-making process.

Thirdly, as explained in Chapter 6, primary participants' gaze direction and gestures were also oriented towards the prevailing activity of the phase: the documents during the formal procedures (Phases 1 and 4), eye-contact with each other during the preliminary questioning (Phase 2), and the material evidence during the questioning (Phase 3). A number of discourse patterns were identified as characteristic of different interview phases and as emerging from the particular discourse features, aims and thematic focus of the interview phases, including the interpreter's tendency to expand and explain, to reduce, and to change footing and acknowledge the police officers as agents of 'policing' actions during the most formal phases; the predominant use of back-channelling, echoing and eye-contact between primary participants during Phase 2; and a reduction in back-channelling and sequence-closing thirds in Phase 3, as well as a greater use of interpreting than in Phase 2.

Regarding the broad interactional dynamics, overall, two main types of interaction were used in both interviews: dyadic monolingual interaction in English between the two primary participants and triadic interpreter-mediated interaction. As discussed in Section 6.4.2, dyadic monolingual interaction was the prevailing type of interaction, and it alternated with intermittent interpreting episodes. Compared to studies of what we have referred to as the 'standard' interpreting format in DI, dyadic interaction in the police interviews analysed in this study presented features that differentiate it from standard

interpreting, namely: the particular use of side sequences; the negotiation of the use of non-use of interpreting; the prevalence of unidirectional interpreting; the nature of the turn-taking system; and the importance of gaze in turn-allocation.

Firstly, in encounters with standard interpreting, side sequences between one of the primary participants and the interpreter are the prominent form of dyadic interaction (see Chapter 2), and they typically exclude the other participant. In the data, however, that type of side sequence was very rare. Instead, dyadic interaction occurred between the police officer and the detainee rather than between the interpreter and one of the primary participants, thus being similar to dyadic interaction in monolingual encounters between speakers with different levels of proficiency (exolingual interaction). The language repertoire of participants meant that dyadic interaction was not excluding for the third participant, in this case the interpreter, who had the status of a ratified hearer of the dyadic interaction between the primary participants.

Secondly, there is the prevalence of unidirectional interpreting. Existing models of interpreted interaction (see Section 2.4) typically represent the position of the interpreter's turn following that of primary participants, with 'optional' turns produced to perform actions such as clarification, overlapping talk, expansion or repair. Unidirectional interpreting is considered a rare interpreting form in DI, as illustrated in Gallez' (2014) models and their frequency (see Section 2.4.1). In the data analysed, however, unidirectional interpreting prevailed and four different models of unidirectional interpreting were identified. The models are based on the types and number of actions dividing the first-pair part (typically a turn by a police officer) and its interpreted rendition. These models expand the existing models of interpreter-mediated interaction presented in Chapter 2. They enact the organization of the stand-by mode of interpreting and represent a major difference in relation to them: the interpreter did not take the turn after each participant's turn, and interpreting renditions were not necessarily placed after the source utterance.

Sometimes, different turns were rendered in the form of a summarized rendition several moves after their initial production. This pattern goes against the contiguity rule that applies in monolingual conversation as well as in traditional interpreter-mediated conversation, according to which the interpreter's turns are typically based on or related to the previous turn (see Section 2.2.2). This highlighted the selective nature of interpreting in the stand-by mode regarding when and what to interpret and its unique

footprint: the constantly re-negotiated participation framework, which resulted in turns projecting backwards in a non-contiguous position.

The unidirectional interpreting models identified (A-D, as described in Chapter 6) illustrate an increasing degree of interactional complexity, and show that features such as overlapping talk, repair initiation and turn-allocation, which are typical of monolingual and interpreter-mediated interaction, functioned in particular ways in the stand-by mode regime. The selective use of interpreting meant that they were treated at times, either by the interpreter herself or by a primary participant, as cues signalling the relevance of interpreting, while sometimes they were oriented to dyadically and they did not trigger interpreter participation. This potential dual function can also be highlighted as part of the footprint of the stand-by mode of interpreting, and it is directly related to the assessment activity that will be discussed in the ensuing section. Furthermore, the trajectory of talk is, at least in part, determined by the choice made by participants: whether to treat those features as interpretable material or not.

Thirdly, regarding the turn-taking system, Chapter 6 showed that primary participants adhered predominantly to the pre-allocated turn-taking system of the police interview, with the police officer exercising a higher degree of interactional power through topic control, topic and sequence initiation and closing (through first-pair parts and sequence closing thirds), and the detainees typically producing second-pair parts. This turn-taking system was modified locally to accommodate interpreting sequences. Chapter 7 revealed that the three participants distributed the interactional task of selecting the interpreter as the next speaker, although the interpreter emerged as the most active participant in carrying out this interactional action. This pattern corroborates the findings of other studies with hybrid interaction formats, such as the ones reviewed in Section 4.4 with transparent language constellations (Meyer 2012; Veronesi 2009). Previous studies of interpreting identified a high degree of collaboration in handling interpreting with the participation of non-professional or natural interpreters. This study shows that the initiation of interpreting is shared by the three participants also when a professional interpreter takes part in the interaction, but their individual features and their power status in the interaction do seem to shape when, what for and how much they initiate interpreting, as discussed below.

Fourthly, as has been seen in previous findings, the organization of talk in the stand-by regime was under constant negotiation, rather than the use or non-use of interpreting

being imposed at particular phases, as in the studies by Nakane (2010) and Du (2015) reviewed in Section 4.3. The stand-by mode of interpreting was based on a selective and intermittent use of interpreting, which in turn shaped the sequence types and participation framework emerging in the data set. In the data, interpreting was used intermittently after the interpreting regime was set up. Before the interpreting regime was set up, interpreting was used by default, but it differed from the prevailing type of interpreting in DI situations. The suspects replied to police officers' questions in English, and this made the interpreter's participation superfluous. Overall 98% of the interpreted sequences were into Spanish. As discussed in Section 6.4.2, triadic interaction was used more frequently in Phases 1 (opening) and 3 (questioning) than in Phase 2 (preliminary questioning). Both the prevailing aim of the phase and linguistic complexity were considered as factors that may have had an impact upon the use or non-use of interpreting.

Finally, gaze emerged as a crucial turn-allocation, engagement and regulatory device, corroborating the findings of studies on interpreted interaction (Lang 1978; Mason 2012; Davitti 2013). In the stand-by mode of interpreting, gaze became a device that facilitated a smooth transition from dyadic to triadic interaction, and back to dyadic interaction. As noted in Chapter 7, a more frequent use of gaze shifts towards the interpreter by DP2 in Interview 2 made transitions into interpreting more fluid and the sequential organization less complex than in Interview 1. Gaze emerged as the main and an effective turn-allocation device, which was used primarily in isolation and at times combined with hand gestures, code-switching, verbal requests or silent pauses.

The previous finding conflicts with the requirement of eye-contact between the primary participants in police interviews. In the two interviews analysed in this study, intermittent gaze shifts by detainees towards the interpreter were not called into question by the police officers. The combination of monolingual interaction and interpreted interaction seemed to enable police officers to reach a compromise: they could maintain direct eye-contact with the interviewees during the prevailing dyadic talk, while at the same time accommodating to the interpreting regime.

Corroborating the findings of studies of standard DI reviewed in Section 2.2.4, gaze shifts were effective turn-allocation devices. Within the stand-by regimes, gaze shifts by detainees or police officers towards the interpreter were quick and local, they did not seem to disrupt the communicative flow, and eye-contact between the primary participants during dyadic exchanges promoted engagement.

8.2.2 Considering that interpreting is used intermittently, in which contexts do interpreting episodes emerge and what impact do they have upon the co-construction of meaning in the police interviews with stand-by interpreting?

The second research question explored in this thesis addressed the contextual conditions surrounding interpreting episodes and their function. The analysis presented in the previous chapters showed that interpreting was used selectively, had two main functions (repairing miscommunication and preventing miscommunication), was initiated by the different participants, and was addressed collaboratively. As noted by Baraldi and Gavioli (2012), primary participants can also contribute to achieving coordination through actions related to the use of interpreting. The high degree of collaboration by all participants emerged as a very salient feature of the stand-by regime in the interviews analysed, and corroborates the findings of studies of hybrid forms of interpreting presented in Chapter 4. Through interpreter-selection, primary participants and the interpreter manifested an ongoing assessment activity and collaborated in the coordination of talk by initiating and guiding interpreting sequences, and thus contributing to co-constructing meaning

The selective use of interpreting drew the author's attention towards the contextual conditions in which it was used. 'Selection' surfaces as a crucial concept within the stand-by regime in the interviews analysed with two different meanings. Firstly, interpreting occurs intermittently and selectively. Secondly, the fact that interpreting is not a communicative activity that occurs by default makes interpreter selection necessary. Following the CA tradition, 'selection' was used in the analysis to refer to the action of allocating the turn to the interpreter, both when a primary participant selected her as the next speaker (other-selection) and when she selected herself as the next speaker. This notion of selection is different from the notion of the mode being selective, and refers to an interactional action. The need for selection is, though, the result of the selective nature of interpreting, and the two notions are interrelated.

The analysis also revealed that the selective nature of the interpreting mode was closely related to the selective nature of the interpretable material, as observable in the interpreter's renditions. As mentioned above, the interpreter's turns were not typically located after the source utterance. Interpreting was predominantly preceded by one or more actions separating the source from its rendition, such as a repair sequence, gestures

or a gaze shift. The production of a turn by a primary participant *per se* was only an interpreting trigger either when it was produced in Spanish (and thus it was opaque for police officers), or when it was the police officers' turns before the interpreting regime had been set up. In the rest of the cases, a process of assessment and selection of what qualified as interpretable material and what not in the preceding turns was observed. Some interpreter's utterances were close renditions of the original, while others were selective, such as when the interpreter included information from a turn produced earlier in the interview, and thus revealing her assessment of what was relevant, or when her rendition only featured a lexical item that had been produced through gestures by the detainee. This feature can also be considered as part of the footprint of the stand-by mode of interpreting. As discussed in Chapter 2, in standard interpreting encounters selection of what is interpretable and what is not also occurs primarily at a rendition level, such as when interpreters omit back-channelling tokens or other information that they deem irrelevant. Compared to standard interpreting, in the stand-by mode of interpreting selecting what is interpretable material or not is closely linked to when interpreting is used or not, and to the function of an interpreting sequence.

The use of non-verbal language emerged as a crucial and effective device to signal the need for interpreting. Gaze was the main regulatory device used by primary participants to select the interpreter as the next speaker, and the use of gestures to express propositional meaning functioned as a cue that signalled the need for interpreting due to lexical deficits and guided the interpreter in the process of identifying what the interpretable material was. As discussed in Chapter 7, the interpreter treated gestures as the source of her renditions. The interpreter's renditions also completed or at times corrected lexical gaps in the detainees' English, for example when the detainees expressed hesitation in the production of a term in English or when they code-switched into Spanish to produce the lexical item that they required. There were interpreting episodes in which the trigger of interpreting was not readily observable for the analyst. As discussed in relation to face-work (Section 2.5.2), there might have been cases in which the interpreter interpreted 'just because', because interpreting was her remit, or to protect her own professional face.

In relation to the emerging functions of interpreting and their relationship with the contextual conditions, the analysis revealed that interpreting sequences were primarily oriented towards addressing/repairing miscommunication or guaranteeing detainees' comprehension. The meta-comments about interpreting made by the police officers

analysed in Chapter 6 revealed their view of interpreting as a resource available to guarantee that the detainees understood ‘exactly’ what was happening. Participants aligned primarily with the police officers’ view, and interpreting was used predominantly to address comprehension problems. The local cues signalling the need for interpreting depended on the participant. Comprehension problems among detainees, manifested through verbal or non-verbal requests for clarification, silent pauses, dispreferred answers or repair initiation were identified as potential triggers of interpreter action. Either the police officers or the interpreter herself treated them as indicative of the need for her intervention. The detainees resorted to the interpreter to solve miscomprehension or to obtain assistance when they had production deficits. In particular, lexical deficits were manifested by detainees through code-switching into Spanish, and/or by the use of gestures to compensate for lexical gaps. Both types of actions triggered interpreter participation.

The interpreter self-selected to repair comprehension problems based on existing miscomprehension cues, such as dispreferred answers, silent pauses, or echoing. As discussed in Chapter 7, whereas some features such as *wh*-questions were identified as problematic for detainees and addressed by the interpreter almost automatically, the ambiguous nature of formulations, echoing and silent pauses, and their treatment or not as interpretable material, might have led the narrative in a slightly different direction. The interpreter’s status as a ratified hearer with a high degree of interactional power to take the next turn in her capacity as the professional interpreter may have guaranteed comprehension, but it may have also at times been superfluous or function as repetition, as discussed in Chapter 3 in relation to studies of police interpreting and interpreters’ treatment of formulations (Wadensjö 1998; Nakane 2014).

In relation to the preventive function of interpreting, as observed in the analysis, the interactional power displayed by the police officers (primarily PO1), and the interpreter, revealed their orientation towards preventing miscomprehension at particularly relevant sequential locations. This pattern can be seen as displaying their alignment with the institutional aims of the interview, and thus it shows that the institutionality of the police interviews is also reflected in and constructed through participants’ use or non-use of interpreting. A clear example of this behaviour is the location of the discussion of the interpreting regime in Interview 1. In addition, the interpreter’s and PO1’s initiation of interpreting sequences at particular locations, in which no cues signalling interactional

trouble or requests for interpreting were observable, also revealed their orientation towards guaranteeing comprehension or preventing miscommunication.

The analysis also showed that, in line with the view of interpreting as a guarantee of the continuation of communication, the interpreter tended to add explanations or to make the inferred illocutionary force explicit during the most procedure-related phases of the interviews. The sequences in which explicitation and explanations were used by the interpreter emerged during passages in which comprehension problems were observable in detainees' moves, or when police officers made meta-comments about what they were using language for. Those sequences emerged primarily within sequences dealing with formal procedures, such as the review of the SARF form, which appeared confusing for the detainees, and the interpreter tended to explain what the police officers were doing, and to make references explicit in her renditions.

8.2.3 Building on question No. 2, what are the characteristics of the relaying and coordinating activities within the stand-by interpreting mode used in the police interviews analysed?

As for the third question, interpreting emerged as involving intermittent and primarily local relaying tasks and a particularly salient type of what could be seen as reflexive coordination activity (Baraldi and Gavioli 2012, p.6): monitoring communication, selecting the interpreter (both primary participants and the interpreter) and selecting what qualifies as interpretable material (the interpreter). Every rendition, every act of relaying, involved a degree of reflexivity, in so far as interpreting was not used by default, but involved a decision-making process that included an assessment of the relevance of the interpreting and of what the interpretable material was. Following Baraldi and Gavioli's view of coordination (2012), both renditions and the rare non-renditions observed in the data were used to achieve reflexive coordination, and manifested their functions of addressing miscommunication or attempting to prevent it.

The use of English by the detainees gave primary participants' turns a dual status – they emerged in the framework of dyadic interaction but could at any time become the source turn of an interpreting rendition. Compared to the studies by Nakane (2010) and Du (2015), in which interpreting or non-interpreting was imposed at certain points during the encounter, the stand-by mode of interpreting in the data was constructed through the selective use of interpreting from the moment in which the regime was discussed.

Assessing the relevance of interpreter participation thus became a coordination activity carried out by all participants, but particularly so by the interpreter in her status as the professional interpreter.

In the stand-by regime as used in the interviews analysed, the interpreter's apparently restricted participation seemed to result in a different type of interactional power. She did not take the turn after each intervention by a primary participant, but her status as a ratified hearer empowered her to react to turn-allocations (other-selection) as well as to decide when to interpret based on both local and global contextual conditions. The interpreter was observed detecting and rapidly reacting to interactional trouble, and a mark of her professional competence was displayed through her ability to identify and react to recurrent trouble sources, such as *wh*-questions. However, as mentioned above, her status as a ratified hearer who could switch on at any time also placed her in a particularly sensitive position with regard to her own participation – her turn was not taken for granted, but instead some justification for her participation seemed to be required. As discussed in the studies of transparent language constellations reviewed in Chapter 4, participants in interaction, including the interpreter, tend to make assumptions about what is difficult and what is not for participants with transparent language constellations. Although the more linguistically complex sequences in Phase 1 did pose particular observable comprehension problems to the detainees, their truncated repertoires were also limited to the understanding and expression of simple and high-frequency language, and interactional trouble resulting from the detainees' truncated competencies was observed throughout the interview. Interpreting involved reacting to non-verbal cues, such as gaze-shift, silent pauses, and gestures, and identifying patterns in what posed comprehension difficulties. The coordination activity in the stand-by mode of interpreting in the interviews involved an ongoing turn-by-turn reflexive activity: to assess cues, select interpretable material and decide on the degree of compromise between minimising her participation to enable direct communication in English and complying with her role of guaranteeing comprehension.

8.3 Methodological, theoretical and practical implications

This study looked at interpreter-mediated interaction under global contextual conditions, including the police interview as a subgenre of legal discourse, and the use of the stand-

by mode of interpreting, the participation of a professional interpreter, and, most prominently, the presence of transparent language constellations. In the light of the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7, three main methodological contributions of this study can be highlighted here: the contribution to the study of the interpreter-mediated police interview as institutional discourse, the integration of different levels of context in the analysis, including some information that goes beyond what is observable in the transcription, and the implications of multimodality for analysing interactional dynamics. Firstly, the analysis of when and what for interpreting was initiated and used in the interviews, the turn-taking and sequence organization, and the signalling of contextual presuppositions, revealed features that are of relevance to the study of institutional interaction. The findings reinforce the need to integrate various levels of context in the analysis of interpreter-mediated interaction, and also manifest how the institutionality of this genre is constructed in bilingual interviews. The informal conversation with the lead investigator and access to the interview notes taken by police officer were valuable to contextualise the actions observed in the video-recordings and their analysis.

As for the second methodological contribution, following the tradition in the DI paradigm, the combination of CA and IS has proven to be a valuable approach to integrate different levels of context and to explore both the organization of talk and the signalling and interpretation of cues in the co-construction of meaning. A layered and bottom-up approach was applied to the analysis, and the structural features were presented from the broadest to the narrowest level. This approach was particularly useful in framing the different phenomena observed and made it possible to carry out a layered analysis in which each layer built on the previous ones.

Thirdly, the adjustments made to the transcription method, which drew on Gallez' (2014) horizontal transcription method, is a major contribution to the development of tools to study authentic interpreter-mediated interaction, particularly to study interaction as multimodal in nature. The transcription method was adapted to reflect the prevailing participation framework in the police interviews studied. Moreover, the adjustments made to integrate overlapping talk, back-translation and silent pauses in the horizontal transcription format, and the integration of non-verbal features such as gaze, gesture, head movement, posture and object manipulation in the transcription make it possible to provide richer descriptions of the organization of talk and the signalling devices used by participants: these suggest its potential application in other studies. Future research can integrate and adjust the model to the analysis of interpreted interaction, by, for example,

adapting it to observe a particular non-verbal cue or a set of them, or to explore the turn-taking system in interactions with standard interpreting. The transcription method as adapted and applied in this study can be also used in analysis of monolingual interaction, as it facilitates the reading process and the identification of participants and turns.

Furthermore, this study, and the particular use of this expanded transcription method, revealed the valuable contribution of including multimodal features in the analysis of interaction. The analysis corroborated Norris' (2004) view on the crucial role of non-verbal features in context for the understanding of interaction, including their regulatory (gaze, hand gestures) and propositional functions (gestures signalling meaning), engagement and back-channelling functions (nods, eye-contact), and their contribution to the shaping of the ongoing actions (manipulation of seized items, gaze shifts towards the items being referred to or read from, eye-contact between primary participants). As has been noted at various points in this study, access to authentic audio and video recordings of interpreter-mediated interaction is normally restricted, but without the audio-visual data, many of the patterns identified would have been missed in the analysis. Furthermore, audio-visual data make it possible to explore the impact of seating arrangements upon the interaction, an aspect that can feed into future policies and interpreting practice. The rich analysis and the findings obtained through access to visual features, as illustrated in the discussion of multimodal features, should contribute to the efforts of engaging with the relevant institutions and participants in order to enhance collaboration and obtain permission to record or access further video recordings of authentic interaction.

From a theoretical standpoint, language transparency and the intermittent non-use of interpreting clash directly with the notion of interpreting as an activity which primarily functions as a bridge between two parties who would otherwise be disconnected and has an impact on the discussion of the interpreter's role. As highlighted in Chapter 1, Interpreting Studies tend to see interpreter-mediated interaction as occurring between monolingual speakers and disregard language transparency. This study has shown two examples of authentic interaction in which, as Meyer (2012) puts it, truncated linguistic competencies were not neglected or automatically considered as sufficient. In this study, competencies were acknowledged and their limitations addressed, and the need to include the notion of hybridity within dialogue interpreting was highlighted. Within this hybrid regime, an interpreter was present and interpreted, but she did so intermittently, and through negotiation and a high-degree of collaboration about when and what to interpret.

The dialogue is constructed both dyadically and triadically, reflecting the existing resources and the nuanced participation of the interpreter.

The previous observations link with the implications of the study for the notion of positioning (Mason 2009) discussed in Section 2.3.2 in relation to the conceptualization of the interpreter's role. The study has not only confirmed that the interpreter is not invisible and that her role is dynamic but, more importantly, that, in the context of the interviews analysed, the interpreter is very clearly positioned and repositioned by herself and others as a ratified hearer, a repairer of troubles, guarantor of comprehension, provider of lexical solutions, among other positionings, on a turn-by-turn basis. Furthermore, the study illustrated the evolving nature of the interpreter's positioning through local turns, and the cumulative effect of moves upon the shaping of the interpreter's role in the encounter. Through local actions, including interactional contributions to the interview 'itself' as well as meta-comments on interpreting and communication, the interpreter was positioned and positioned herself as an expert participant who supported communication, repaired and prevented miscommunication. The interpreter's positioning as an expert who primarily guaranteed comprehension was made explicit by the police officers and embraced by all participants, through self-selection moves, other-selection moves as well as through explicit instructions. Power relationships also had a bearing upon the interpreter's positioning (whose voice is being interpreted, who requires support, but also the status of those who potentially find all her renditions transparent). By way of illustration, the impact of power relationships is observable in footing changes (Section 6.3.1), through which the interpreter positioned herself as someone who guaranteed comprehension by adding explanatory moves and avoiding potential ambiguities when interpreting for the detainees, but adhered to the use of the first-person style when interpreting for the police officers.

No official data are available to date on the extent to which hybrid interaction formats are being used, and this study highlights the need to document both the use of hybrid interaction formats, including stand-by interpreting, as well as their potential across settings. To date, a number of studies (See Chapter 4) have stressed the need to broaden the scope of research into interpreting to integrate interaction with transparent language constellations. In the author's experience as an interpreter and through participation in professional and academic conferences on interpreting, stand-by interpreting and issues related to truncated multilingualism among users emerge as part of interpreting practice. As mentioned in the introduction, multilingualism, migration and mobility are features of

today's societies, and interpreting, both as a practice and as a field of scholarly research, needs to look at the intersection of different degrees of bilingualism and multilingualism and interpreting. The findings of the study reinforce the need to look into hybridity and potential linguistic regimes that differ from standard existing formats, primarily because they are related to participants' linguistic resources and to the ways they interact. This has a potentially wide-ranging impact in terms of the workings of communication in specific types of encounters; participants' attitudes to the business at hand; their perception of themselves and others as interlocutors in interaction, and its effects upon their interactional moves; increased efforts towards a discussion of the interpreter's role as a dynamic and (among other factors) linguistic repertoires-dependent concept; the workings of interpreting; and the social image of interpreters.

Acknowledging a degree of competence among one (or more) primary participants as a potential successful basis for interpreter-mediated communication clashes directly with the activity of interpreting as it is conceptualized at present. However, this study has shown that the stand-by mode of interpreting is a potential way of accommodating both, monolingual interaction and interpreter-mediated interaction. Understanding the functioning of the mode requires further inquiry, and the findings of this study suggest that they need to be explored in specific settings. Potential users of interpreting in public service settings who have truncated competencies in the other's language do not limit themselves to non-institutional participants. Institutional users (usually service-providers) can have truncated competencies in the service user's language and the stand-by mode of interpreting may be an option for them to communicate. In addition, the findings of the study raise a number of questions for studies of communication and interaction in general, including monolingual interaction. As mentioned in Chapter 3 in relation to the police caution, the potential for miscommunication and linguistic support are not exclusive of bilingual interaction. The availability of an interpreter who 'stands by' and repairs interactional trouble and supports primary participants due to truncated multilingualism could apply to a professional in monolingual interaction when speakers have difficulties to understand or express themselves. Limiting the use of expert linguistic support in bilingual encounters can place monolingual users in a disadvantageous position. Hence, the findings of this study have implications for the study of communication in legal (and other) settings, and for studies looking at existing and prospective types of linguistic support to cater for the needs of users with specific profiles.

As mentioned earlier, the features of the stand-by mode of interpreting enacted in this case study include that interpreting was used selectively, that interpreter selection was carried out by any participant and often negotiated collaboratively, that the two main functions of interpreting were repairing miscommunication and preventing miscommunication and that the institutionality of the interview was both reflected in and constructed by the use or non-use of interpreter, particular discourse patterns in interpreted episodes, as well as in the distribution of interactional power in dealing with the initiation of interpreted sequences. Furthermore, the turn-taking system enacted alternated dyadic interaction with unidirectional interaction, and four different models of unidirectional interaction were identified. To date, no existing model or conceptualization of interpreting describes what occurred in the two interviews analysed and what this study has described, namely the use of hybrid linguistic regime in police interviews which integrated monolingual interaction and interpreting. The approach to the analysis and the theoretical underpinnings discussed in Chapters 1-4, provide a first model to the study of this new and largely unexplored interpreting mode. The integration of the features of the investigative interview with aspects that pertain particularly to interpreting activity was necessary to explore the intersection of what Gutt (2005) labels as a higher-order act of communication (interpreting) that is about a lower-order act of communication (the investigative interview), and the construction of the particular stand-by regime. In this study, stand-by interpreting is a higher-order act of communication about investigative interviewing. The findings of this study have shed light on the dynamic concept of participation in the higher-order act of interpreting, and showed the impact of both local cues signalling local needs and the impact of the line of questioning or the phase.

This study identified the activities of monitoring and selection as particularly salient types of reflexive coordination performed by all participants, but primarily by the interpreter. Assessing the relevance of the interpreter's participation surfaced as the on-going activity being carried out by all participants, and it became visible both through interpreter selection, interpreter participation and non-participation, as well as through the type of participation. Addressing the local needs emerging in interaction, including repairing comprehension or production and preventing miscomprehension, were the focus of the interpreter's visible actions. Given that her participation did not happen by default, it can be argued that the interpreter's visible actions were the result of her own and primary participants' reflexive coordination tasks. This feature expands the concept of co-

ordination in interpreter-mediated interaction and reflects participants' accommodation to language transparency, the discourse genre and their assumptions about the communicative needs of the particular constellation of participants in the police interviews analysed. Reflexive co-ordination as enacted in the stand-by mode of interpreting in the interviews analysed emerged as a shared and ongoing meta-communicative activity, and confirmed that, as suggested by Baraldi and Gavioli (2012), reflexive co-ordination is crucial to promote active participation. In the case of the interviews analysed, active participation was promoted through the local use of interpreting as compensating deficits or guaranteeing miscomprehension, as well as through its non-use. In this regard, the risks presented by the mode also need to be acknowledged. In particular, and as discussed above, the ambiguous nature of certain cues in relation to interpreting can lead to superfluous interpreting or to unaddressed miscommunication. Furthermore, while participants accommodate to the truncated competencies of the detainees, they may affect not only the extent to which they can express themselves, but also how they are perceived as interlocutors in terms of competence and reliability.

As for the practical contributions of the study, these are primarily related to interpreting practice and to interpreter training, and follow on from the realization that existing theory is insufficient to explain hybrid linguistic regimes. It sheds light on the demands of the stand-by mode for both interpreters and primary participants, particularly on the degree and type of collaboration and assessment required to coordinate participation. Furthermore, it highlights the need to adopt valid mechanisms to assess linguistic competencies, as discussed in Section 4.2.2, which make it possible to make informed decisions about the type of linguistic solution required. This assessment should include the assessment of the interpreter's readiness and expertise to interpret in the stand-by mode.

Closely related to the previous point, the features identified in this study should be integrated in interpreter training programmes. Firstly, awareness of linguistic transparency among interpreting users needs to be considered and discussed as a potential factor that can shape decision-making and interpreting practice. Secondly, the stand-by mode of interpreting and its workings, as shown in this and other studies, should be included among the interpreting modes discussed in interpreting programmes: currently interpreter training is still primarily focused on Conference Interpreting, and the few existing programmes of Public Service Interpreting typically cover various settings or are

specifically oriented to preparing and passing a certification test. Interpreter training should observe the needs of interpreting users in the areas in which interpreting occurs and address the training needs of interpreters. As shown in the analysis, it can be said that stand-by mode requires developing the competence of assessing the development of interaction, reacting to cues, and to select what qualifies as interpretable material, as well as negotiating the rules of interaction. The set of skills required to perform in the stand-by mode needs to be explored, in particular bearing in mind that it will typically be enacted within a constellation of participants with different degrees of competence, powers and different assumptions on their own and others' linguistic needs, as well as on the expectations of the interpreter's role. These aspects should be further researched in relation to interpreter training, and considered in interpreter training programmes.

Furthermore, consultation with the relevant institutions and awareness-raising efforts are required, particularly in relation to the specific demands, risks and opportunities of modes like the stand-by mode in the types of encounters that are part of their institutional activity. The stand-by mode of interpreting requires a negotiation of the interactional dynamics and adherence to a changing regime, in which participants need to acknowledge each other communicative resources and the extent of their participation. It requires acknowledging the interpreter's role as, arguably, the most competent participant to deal with language and communication matters, and it could be argued that interpreters should be equipped the skills to assess, guide and assist on the suitability of different interpreting modes, and be afforded the power to do so. This observation relates to training, practice and policy, and to the efforts aimed at training and raising awareness among institutional and non-institutional users and policy makers.

As follows from the above considerations, acknowledging the existence and potential of truncated competencies has an impact not only on interactional dynamics and participation in interpreted interaction, as observed in the study, but also major implications for the conceptualization of interpreting, training programmes, practice and policy. In order for hybrid modes such as the stand-by mode to be used, adjustments in codes of conduct, interpreter training materials and interpreting guidelines would be required. Those changes, though, need to be based on extensive research, and this study adds up to those pointing in that direction. Together with the ones that have been mentioned in this section, a number of specific areas for further research are explained in Section 8.5 below.

8.4 Limitations of the study

This study is exploratory and descriptive in nature, and, as a case study of authentic interaction, it has three main limitations. The first limitation relates to the fact that only two interviews featuring the stand-by mode and for the Spanish/English language combination were available. As mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, the difficulty in accessing any authentic interactions is one of the main problems in the study of DI. Considering that the field of police interpreting is, one could argue, in its infancy, and that police interviews are private and confidential encounters, the analysis presented is a small and early contribution to the field, and more data with a larger number of language combinations are required to better understand police interaction as co-constructed within non-standard interpreting regimes such as the stand-by mode of interpreting. As a case study consisting of only two manifestations of a discourse genre with a largely unexplored interpreting mode, the implications of the study cannot be generalized to interpreting practice or to police interpreting practice. Nevertheless, the analysis provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of the stand-by regime in police interviews. This research study originated in actual practice, and its findings feed into the advancement of Interpreting Studies as a discipline, as well as into future practice. Furthermore, the findings discussed in relation to the participation framework, the workings of the stand-by mode and the type of reflexive co-ordination identified are relevant for settings beyond the police setting.

The second limitation of the study is related to the fact that the interpreter was not visible in the video recordings, thus the data were impoverished. The analysis of the interpreter's reactions is based only on her oral contributions, and the extent to which certain actions might have been shaped by her non-verbal actions is unknown to us. As in the case of the low number of interviews, the availability of video recordings is a strength of the study despite the lack of access to the interpreter's non-verbal activity, but the findings presented in this study reflect the connection between the features of audio-visual data and its explicative potential.

The third limitation of this study is related to the language combination and the particular features of the case. Some of the features identified in the analysis are determined by the language combination and the level of competence of participants, such as the

comprehension difficulties posed by wh-questions in Spanish. Other features, though, can be seen as generalizable despite the language combination, such as the impact of seating arrangements, the function of non-verbal features, and considerations relating to the management of turns. The findings of this study are primarily relevant for the particular level of linguistic competence of participants and their individual features, including the professional status of the interpreter, and this highlights the extent to which interpreting practice is encounter-dependent. It should be noted that the patterns identified in relation to the handling of turns and participants' orientation to communicating within the stand-by regime is seen as stemming from their particular features as individual participants.

Despite the limitations mentioned above, the rich analysis carried out of an interpreting mode that is largely unexplored in a setting that is still one of the younger siblings of the more-widely explored field of court interpreting make this study a small-scale but valuable contribution to our understanding of interpreter-mediated interaction under the particular situational conditions that result in a non-standard interactional regime.

8.5 Avenues for future research

The study focused on interactional dynamics as emerging within two encounters in which a degree of linguistic transparency shaped the interactional regime. One of the aspects identified in the analysis relates to the sequential location and the way in which the interpreting regime was set up. As discussed in Chapter 4, one of the background considerations of the study is the assessment of service users' linguistic competency in the language of the institution and the range of linguistic solutions available at a given institution. The analysis has shown examples that confirm that assumptions on whether competencies are sufficient or insufficient should not be made based on quick and uninformed assessments. This study showed examples of detainees' ability to express themselves in English without the assistance of an interpreter, but also examples of limitations in their production and comprehension problems. Those limitations emerged across the interview and in the local context of sequences with greater and lower degrees of lexical and syntactic complexity. In the light of the previous considerations, one of the aspects that requires further research is related to a practical matter, namely the devices and protocols used to decide on the type of linguistic assistance for interviewees who

have a degree of competence in the language used by the interviewers. As mentioned above, assessments of linguistic competence should also apply in the case of monolingual encounters.

Secondly, the study presented brings to the fore a major difficulty in handling communication with interviewees with transparent language constellations. As shown in the analysis, language transparency changes the way participants, including the interpreter, address the sense-making process. Arguably, transparency also changes the way participants who find both languages transparent listen to and treat other participants' turns. Detainees at times produced non-verbal tokens (such as nodding) showing comprehension, or reacted in ways that seemed to be shaped by the fact that they had understood both the original and the interpreter's rendition. A high risk is attached to deciding whether interpreting is required or not: it poses the risk of missing information or, if a superfluous turn is produced, it has the potential of being treated by the person who finds it transparent as repetition, as pressure or otherwise as a superfluous move, and it may affect their subsequent moves, their attitudes towards the interpreter and the other participants, and hence the trajectory of the interview.

Having said that, the boundaries between the risks posed by the intrinsic ambiguity of certain cues in relation to their status as interpretable material, and the risks of the imposition of interpreting or non-interpreting are still unclear. A third research avenue that requires further exploration is, thus, the way participants with truncated competencies behave in interaction depending on the type of linguistic assistance adopted, a question that would require an experimental design and controlled conditions. As highlighted in Chapter 4, the different options include using interpreting throughout the encounter and not acknowledging truncated competencies; primary participants interacting without an interpreter in the common language; or using a hybrid interpreting mode such as the stand-by mode analysed in this study. The implications of the interpreter's status and expertise as a professional or non-professional could also be a factor that shapes the way interpreting is used and requires further scholarly attention.

A fourth avenue of research that is also of a practical nature pertains to the discourse genre of the investigative interview with suspects in Scotland, but it has implications for interpreting other formal procedures. It is related to the particular features of the review of the pre-interview answers in the SARF form. As discussed in the analysis, the review of the SARF form was identified as posing difficulties to both the interpreter and the

detainees. Despite the limitations of the findings to the two police interviews analysed, the analysis suggests that the review of the SARF form would benefit from more extensive research in order to identify devices to accommodate the conversational practice to the requirements of interpreted interaction in general. Following the advances made in relation to the interpretation of the caution, interpreting particular practices such as the review of the SARF form and other similar protocols should be formalized in interpreter training, and more attention to the challenges they pose to both native and non-native speakers is required.

Furthermore, the analysis brings to the fore the need to explore the ways in which the interpreting regime, and hence the participation framework, is set up. This has implications for practice, as well as for the professional image of the interpreter. In the light of the findings presented above, it could be argued that setting clear rules about the dynamics appears even more relevant when a more flexible and changing interactional regime is used, such as the one operating in the stand-by mode of interpreting. Even though all participants were observed learning how to interact in the stand-by mode of interpreting as the interaction unfolded, the analysis also suggested that the use of clear guidelines may make the process of accommodating to the needs of the stand-by regime interaction smoother, and potentially less risky for the unfolding and outcomes of the police interview. Future research should look at the type of instructions used, the participant who gives the instructions and the impact of those features upon interaction and participation.

Regarding the interpreting activity, more research is also required on the impact of the changing interactional format upon interpreters' cognitive skills, and the particular needs of interpreters using the stand-by mode identified. This will have implications for both training and practice. One of the features identified in the study was the role of assessing and monitoring communication in relation to decision-making. The interpreter's actions, although apparently reduced, were subjected to a high degree of scrutiny, as her participation was not taken for granted, but had to be justified. The cognitive demands of monitoring and being monitored in relation to her participation or non-participation deserve further study.

In line with studies on the impact of interpreting upon how primary participants are perceived (Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Hale 2004), the impact of the stand-by mode of interpreting upon the image of the interviewee should be explored. The use of truncated

competencies, despite being effective or sufficient to communicate, and despite being compensated for with coping strategies and the assistance of the interpreter, may pose risks to the form and quality of the information provided, and to the way interviewees are perceived. These two aspects cannot be explored with the data available here, as only the stand-by regime is used in the two recordings and no access to information regarding how interviewees communicate in Spanish or how they were perceived are available. Both aspects, however, deserve more scholarly attention, as they pertain to features that play a crucial role in the trajectory and the outcomes of the police interviews. Similarly, the effect of the use of intermittent interpreting upon the way the interpreter is perceived and her own perception of her agency needs to be further explored.

From a theoretical viewpoint, the relevance of interpreter participation could be explored through the lens of cognitive theories, such as Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1986). The Relevance Theory views communication from a cognitive standpoint as an ostensive-inferential process, in which a communicator makes ostensive clues available for the recipient to guide him in the process of inferring meaning. The audience seeks relevance –input that connects with background information and leads to a cognitive effect. Following Mason (2006), the Relevance Theory could be applied to the study of interpreter’s moves as observable outcomes of an inferential process that are shaped by the interpreter’s status as a recipient-oriented producer rather than as a recipient in strict terms. In the particular case of the stand-by mode, the selective nature of interpreting makes it possible for the analyst to identify two inferential processes: the process of inferring the relevance of interpreting and the inferential process of the relevance of the particular sequence.

8.6 Concluding remarks

As a discourse genre that is aimed at gathering quality information related to a suspected offence, and based on which decisions that affect individuals’ freedom are made, the linguistic regime used in a police interview plays a crucial role. Participants in interaction taking place in settings in which equally sensitive matters are dealt with, such as court settings, mental health, medical settings or prisons, to name but a few, may find themselves in the situation of having to make decisions regarding the use or non-use of interpreting when users have a degree of competence in the language. Language

competencies of individuals are dynamic, can be capacitating or incapacitating depending on the space and scale, as suggested by Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005), and they also change over time. As discussed in previous chapters, an all-or-nothing view of linguistic proficiency is unlikely to be appropriate to respond to the needs of the participants when they share, even with limitations, common linguistic resources. And yet, the risks of adopting hybrid forms of interpreting need to be carefully considered, in particular in discourse genres such as the police interview, which are directly related to individuals' freedom.

This study explored a non-standard interpreting regime as co-constructed in authentic triadic interaction in a highly sensitive communicative encounter. The patterns identified in relation to the use of interpreting, the architecture of turns and sequences and the negotiation and dynamics of participation reveal a unique footprint that is characterized by a highly collaborative approach to interpreter-mediated interaction, and a renegotiation of the range and type of resources used by participants in an interpreter-mediated encounter which have implications for the way interpreting occurs and the way participants behave, including the interpreter. The study of the stand-by mode revealed the specific components of coordination when interpreting is used selectively, and corroborated the need to view basic and reflexive coordination as activities that contribute to co-constructing meaning and promoting participation in interpreter-mediated interaction.

As noted in Chapter 1, this study did not aim to prescribe norms in relation to the use or non-use of selective interpreting, but rather to describe the interactional features and to explore how interpreter-mediated interaction and the interpreter's role in it are shaped. Based on the analysis presented in the previous chapters, the author argues that the hybrid interactional regime used featured both risks and effective solutions. There were passages in which the police interview was co-constructed through negotiation, assessment and coordination, and communication flowed, through either non-mediated or mediated interaction. However, there were also passages in which potential risks emerging from the truncated resources of participants and the interpreting regime were observed. Some of the risks highlighted were the potential degree of ambiguity regarding the need for interpreting, in particular in relation to the signalling and detection of interactional trouble, the limitations in detainees' production, the potential for a lack of awareness of miscomprehension, and the demands of the interpreting task in the shifting interactional mode.

In the light of the aforementioned considerations, the author suggests that Interpreting Studies should not neglect language transparency among users, but rather they need to explore the features, risks and the potential of hybrid forms of interpreting in which the linguistic resources of participants are neither automatically neglected nor automatically taken as sufficient.

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Appendix 1

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

VERBAL FEATURES - Symbol	Meaning
[Beginning of overlapping actions
:	Long previous vowel
::	Very long previous vowel
-	Sudden cut-off of the current sound
(.)	Micropause
(n)	Longer pause: length of pause in seconds
↓	Falling intonation
↑	Rising intonation other than a question
=	Latching
°xxx°	Words spoken quietly
°°xxx°°	Words spoken very quietly
°°°xxx°°°	Words spoken extremely quietly
(xxx)	Inaudible passage/unsure transcript
CAPITALS	Emphasized talk
<i>Italics and smaller font</i>	Back-translation and overlapping actions
Boldface	Code-mixing: insertion in a sentence in the other language
{SPEAKER}	Speaker identification in the PO column.
→, xxx , ○	An arrow, oval shapes in different colours and highlighted text draw attention to a particularly significant move in the excerpt.
NON-VERBAL FEATURES	Meaning
((non-verbal))	Text between double brackets: description of non-verbal features.
((non-verbal: verbal))	A colon is used to separate simultaneous verbal and non-verbal actions for the same speaker.
((/INITIALS))	/ indicates gaze direction. The speaker directs their gaze to an object or person presented after the slash.
((/away))	/away indicates that the speaker directs their gaze to an indeterminate point.
((non-verbal action/interlocutor))	the speaker directs a non-verbal action to an object or person presented after /
((...interlocutor))	speaker slowly directs gaze or gesture towards an object or person

Appendix 2

Police Scotland – Solicitor Access Guidance Document (2015)¹⁸

Appendix C

Pre-interview review of rights

To be read to suspect(s) prior to administering the common law caution in advance of interview(s) at a police office. If the interview is being recorded in a notebook, Portable Digital Assistant (PDA) or similar device the following should be recorded verbatim. If the interview is audio/visually recorded it will be read out whilst the recording device is operating.

About (time and date) you attended at this police station on a voluntary basis / under detention / under arrest in relation to (crime / offence). Is that correct?

You had your rights in relation to access to a solicitor explained to you. You were asked if you understood each of these rights and you confirmed that you did. Is that correct?

You were then asked if you wished to take up these rights and your answers were recorded on a form which I have here. You were asked: ‘Do you wish me to intimate to a solicitor that you have attended voluntarily / been detained / been arrested at this police station?’ Your answer to this was (YES / NO). Is that correct?

If NO: You then signed the form to confirm that your answer was No. Is that correct? Is that your signature?

You were then asked, ‘Do you wish a private consultation with a solicitor before being questioned by the police?’ Your answer to this was (YES / NO). Is that correct?

If NO: You then signed the form to confirm that your answer was No. Is that correct? Is that your signature?

You were then asked, ‘Do you want to have a private consultation with a solicitor at any other time during police questioning?’ Your answer to this was (YES / NO). Is that correct?

If NO: You then signed the form to confirm that your answer was No. Is that correct? Is that your signature?

¹⁸

http://www.scotland.police.uk/assets/pdf/151934/184779/psos_solicitor_access_guidance_document_ver_1.00.pdf?view=Standard [Accessed: 02/02/2017]